

Date and Time: Thursday, May 2, 2024 6:13:00 PM EEST

Job Number: 223358453

Documents (100)

1. [Conquer this Fascism now](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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2. [Envoy from a troubled land](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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3. [NEWS SUMMARY](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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4. ['A KING OF PEACE'](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to Dec 31, 2001

5. [BOOM BOOM BOOM FACELESS IN PARADISE, 1997](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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News

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Dec 31, 2001

6. [ISRAEL 'S MILLENNIAL NIGHTMARE; JERUSALEM'S TEMPLE MOUNT IS HOLY TO CHRISTIANS, JEWS AND MUSLIMS. THERE ARE ISRAELIS WHO WOULD DESTROY THE MUSLIM DOME OF THE ROCK THERE TO RESTORE THEIR ANCIENT TEMPLE. CHAOS WOULD BE THE CERTAIN RESULT.](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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7. [NEWS SUMMARY](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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Narrowed by
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Dec 31, 2001

8. [WHEN CHILDREN DIE FOR SMALL PERCENTAGES AND BAD ATTITUDES; 'MUCH HAS BEEN SAID ABOUT THE SHORTCOMINGS OF THE OSLO PEACE AGREEMENT, BUT WHAT ARE THE OTHER POSSIBILITIES?'](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to
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9. [We need to know what jihad really means](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to
Dec 31, 2001

10. [Israel stunned by bus carnage](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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11. [IN TERROR'S SHADOW, A NEW BID FOR PEACE IN MIDEAST / ISRAEL , PALESTINIANS SEE PROGRESS AFTER THE FIRST MEETING IN MONTHS](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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12. [BUS ATTACK BRINGS CARNAGE TO TEL AVIV IN WORST PALESTINIAN ATTACK FOR FOUR YEARS](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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13. [MIDDLE EAST CRISIS: HOW 'WRONG TURN' ENDED IN BLOODY LYNCHING OF SOLDIERS; RAMALLAH](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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14. [Scone stands Timber Country / Arrowfield Group makes a second coup](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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15. [NEWS SUMMARY](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Narrowed by
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16. [NEWS SUMMARY](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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17. [Missing in action; Voices of Scotland](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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18. [Palestine , the 'final solution'?](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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19. [Israeli Pullout Resumes, Despite Gunman's Attack on Bus](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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Narrowed by
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20. [Bush must not ignore the Saudi connection](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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21. [Letters](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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22. [WHAT DRIVES A BOMBER TO KILL THE INNOCENT CHILD?](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

Content Type
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Narrowed by
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23. [WHAT DRIVES A BOMBER TO KILL THE INNOCENT CHILD?](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to Dec 31, 2001

24. [The dove patrolling on the hawk's wing: Israeli peacemaker Shimon Peres tells the Guardian that his warring fellow septuagenarians Sharon and Arafat are old enough to have gained wisdom](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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Narrowed by
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25. [DRIVER RAMS INTO ISRAELIS, KILLING 8 PALESTINIAN LIKELY ACTED ALONE](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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Narrowed by

Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to Dec 31, 2001

26. [*Prada, Gucci and Kalashnikovs; In war-zone kit he was barred from trendy Beirut nightclubs. In female-oppressing Tehran a woman offered to take him hang-gliding. SEAN LANGAN discovers an alternative Middle East*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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27. [*U.S. closes 37 embassies as a precaution*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to Dec 31, 2001

28. [*Kids die, and the blood is on everyone's hands*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to Dec 31, 2001

29. [*7 DAYS*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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30. [*Symbol of both oppression and freedom*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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31. [NEWS SUMMARY](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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News

Narrowed by

Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to Dec 31, 2001

32. [THE WAR COFFERS OF THE CHECHEN TERRORISTS](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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33. [Your say](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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News

Narrowed by

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34. [Those were the years: 'The stiff upper lip is wobbling'](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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News

Narrowed by

Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to Dec 31, 2001

35. [2 SUICIDE BOMBERS STRIKE JERUSALEM, KILLING AT LEAST 10](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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Narrowed by

News

Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to Dec 31, 2001

36. [Islamic racism](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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37. [Arabs Expect No Wider War, but Fear U.S. Coolness](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Narrowed by
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38. [Why I think Brian Sewell is wrong about Israel](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to Dec 31, 2001

39. ['This is a struggle for Islam' Bin Laden's plan was to topple major Muslim countries Analysis](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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40. [BEYOND THE IRON WALL](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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News

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41. [Television: More bollocks about naked men](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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News

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Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to Dec 31, 2001

42. [Mixed feelings among Muslims War on Terrorism](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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News

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Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to Dec 31, 2001

43. [NEWS SUMMARY](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to Dec 31, 2001

44. [NEWS SUMMARY](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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News

Narrowed by
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45. [Terrorists Said to Hide In Canada's Melting Pot](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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News

Narrowed by
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46. [Rally in Tehran Pays Lip Service To the Revolutionary Zeal of '79](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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47. [*Imaginary conspiracies: It's wrong to label as 'enemies of Islam' or as 'anti-Muslim' those who write about the threat posed by militant Arab and Islamic networks*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to Dec 31, 2001

48. [*THE WEST'S FEAR OF ISLAM IS NO EXCUSE FOR RACISM*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to Dec 31, 2001

49. [*Supply lines: Guns for sale - how stolen Israeli weapons arm Fatah's fighters: Palestinian rifles and bullets taken from army depots are killing settlers and soldiers. Why is the enemy turning a blind eye?*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to Dec 31, 2001

50. [*LIFTING FAMILY FORTUNES; UNDISTINGUISHED BACKGROUND PROVES NO BARRIER TO SUCCESS FOR 2,000 HERO*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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News

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Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to Dec 31, 2001

51. [*'IT WILL BE A MIRACLE IF THE LEFT WINS THE ELECTION'*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to
Dec 31, 2001

52. [JAPAN CUP HERO A GENUINE CHAMPION; T M OPERA O NOW WORLD'S RICHEST RACEHORSE
AND LOOKS TYPE TO IMPROVE FURTHER](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to
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53. [THE SENATE CAMPAIGN: THE OVERVIEW; Lazio and First Lady Quarrel On Ethics, Israel and Schools](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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54. [THEY'RE FIGHTING A BATTLE FOR LIFE. BUT WOULD THEY EVER KILL FOR IT?](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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55. [Fear and longing for a state of their own: As much as Palestinians hanker for their own state, they are
ambivalent about the practical impact. In the short term, they fear statehood will cut them off from jobs and
other opportunities in Israel.](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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56. [A Q&A about the creation of Palestinian state](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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57. [Morality and War](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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58. [BOOKS: FREELANCE BELIEVERS; DEVOUT SCEPTICS COULD DO WORSE THAN TACKLE TWO NEW BOOKS WHICH ILLUMINATE THE HUMAN CONDITION BY EXPLORING RELIGIOUS CONCEPTS, SAYS PETER STANFORD](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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59. [Prime Ministers](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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60. [Letters to the Editor](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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61. [NEWS SUMMARY](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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62. [SMUGGLERS 'THEY WERE TAKEN RIGHT OFF THE TANKS. THE ONLY THING I CAN BE HAPPY ABOUT IS THAT THEY DIDN'T TAKE THE TANKS AS WELL'](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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63. [World unites in homage: Potentates, presidents bid Hussein last farewell](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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64. [Change sweeps 'Arab street'](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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65. [Jerusalem Syndrome : As the new millennium closes in, Israel readies for a holy invasion of banjo-eyed prophets, extremists and psychotics](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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66. [*Hypocrisy, corruption and the House of Saud ; And why the West must continue to flatter this cruel, greedy and grasping regime*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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67. [*SOME PALESTINIANS FEAR THE STATEHOOD THEY SEEK / "PEOPLE DON'T HAVE FAITH IN THE FUTURE," ONE SAID. HE CITED A DESIRE FOR ECONOMIC SECURITY.*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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68. [*The News In Brief*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to Dec 31, 2001

69. [*The News In Brief*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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News

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Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to Dec 31, 2001

70. [*The News In Brief*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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News

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71. [The News in Brief](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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News

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72. [Israel deserves continuing aid from Washington](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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73. [U.S. policies are not to blame for terrorist attacks](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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74. [DEATH OF A KING: THE OVERVIEW; Jordan 's Hussein Laid to Rest as World Leaders Mourn](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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75. [HONORING HUSSEIN; 'WE ALL ADMIRED HIM DEEPLY'](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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76. [Don't turn news into propaganda for terrorists](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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77. [*Or Else Caution: This Weapon May Backfire*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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78. [*In praise of Islam: If you're like most Westerners, you've got Islam all wrong. In many ways, the Muslim world is more advanced than the West*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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79. [*Interference from the government is not needed*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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80. [*A NATION CHALLENGED: ISLAM Moderate Muslims Fear Their Message Is Being Ignored*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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81. [*LIFE-AND-DEATH STAKES IN THE WAR ON TERROR; ATTACK ON TERRORISM; All eyes are on Afghanistan as the country of 27 million is caught in the line of fire of yesterday's U.S. -led air attacks as well as in the iron grip of hardline Taliban rulers and a famine-and-war-ravaged past. Here's what major western,*](#)

[*Middle Eastern and South Asian countries have to win and lose in the gathering military, political and humanitarian storm settling over the region.*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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82. [*Vigilantes take up arms, vow to expel 'Muslim filth'*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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83. [*10,000 KILLED IN TERROR OUTRAGE*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to Dec 31, 2001

84. [*Israel 's Y2K Problem*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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85. [*Obituary: Hafez al-Assad: Feared and respected leader who raised Syria 's profile but was ultimately unable to contain Israel*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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86. ['Our world is upside down': Earlier this month Egyptian -born novelist Ahdaf Soueif travelled to Israel and the occupied territories for the first time. Here she concludes her remarkable account of the journey](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to Dec 31, 2001

87. [Travel: Eyeball to eyeball along the Gaza strip; Penny Young decided to get off the beaten track, taking her bikepast the watchtowers and concrete walls. She found herself eating, breathing and living politics](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to Dec 31, 2001

88. [TATTERSALLS BREEZE-UP: AUCTION GAINING IN IMPORTANCE SETS ITSELF SOME STERN TARGETS](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to Dec 31, 2001

89. [Fundamentalists without a common cause; HAZY OUTLINES OF AN ISLAMIST INTERNATIONAL](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to Dec 31, 2001

90. [The year in pictures](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to Dec 31, 2001

91. [The year in pictures](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to Dec 31, 2001

92. [The year in pictures](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to Dec 31, 2001

93. [Letters to the Editor](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to Dec 31, 2001

94. [Linked and dangerous: Terror Inc](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to Dec 31, 2001

95. [Extremists' hatred of U.S. has varied roots](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to Dec 31, 2001

96. [2001: THE YEAR IN PICTURES](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to Dec 31, 2001

97. [A DAY IN GAZA](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to Dec 31, 2001

98. [Jihad University; Education of a Holy Warrior](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to Dec 31, 2001

99. [Inside Jihad University: the Education of a Holy Warrior](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to Dec 31, 2001

100. ['I ran and never wanted to return': Ian MacLeod reported from behind the lines during the Oka crisis in 1990, where 'the sounds and smells were at times strange, often ominous.' Ten years later, he returns to consider the legacy of that summer of violence.](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to Dec 31, 2001

Conquer this Fascism now

MAIL ON SUNDAY

September 16, 2001

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Section: Pg. 59

Length: 1146 words

Byline: Stewart Steven

Body

There is not much that is ever new in this world.

These people who call themselves Muslim fundamentalists are not that at all, of course.

One wouldn't think so from listening to them, but Islam and the Koran teach decency and humanity. So who are these men? To what tradition do they really belong?

Who is this man, the **Hamas** leader Sheik Ahmed Halabaya, who, speaking at a mosque in Gaza, said: 'Kill those Jews and those Americans who are like them.' What right has he to so defame his religion that he can call himself a man of God?

What of Osama Bin Laden and his 'holy warriors' who preach and practise murder and mayhem in the name of the Prophet?

What indeed of Illich Ramirez Sanchez, alias Carlos the Jackal, serving a life sentence in a French jail for the 1975 murder of two French intelligence agents, who wrote at the end of August to George Habash, another godfather of terror and ex-leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine: 'Armed operations worldwide are the alternative to surrender.' What kind of philosophy is this?

Let me tell you, because there is indeed nothing here that is new.

These people are Fascists. Their language is the language of Fascism.

Their methodology is Fascist. Their aims are Fascist. And what of their pitiless nature, their love of violence as an end in itself? Well, that is the core of Fascism. Like Mussolini and Hitler, these modern Fascists feed on the poor and dispossessed.

Don't people like Sheik Halabaya do exactly what Mussolini recommended, that is establish a small, tightly knit group of leaders to 'engage the sentiment, faith and will of the irresolute masses'?

Does one not recognise the thinking of Bin Laden in Mussolini's pronouncement that 'instead of deluding the proletariat as to the possibility of eradicating all causes of bloodbaths, we wish to prepare and accustom it to war for the day of the greatest bloodbath of all'?

'There is no life,' said Mussolini, 'without shedding blood.' History was to be made, not endured.

Conquer this Fascism now

'It's unaccountable to me,' a friend said recently, 'how much support the extremists in these Muslim countries get from the educated classes, especially students.' I told him he didn't know his history.

The Nazis did better among the student population than the country as a whole. The young want neat, giftwrapped solutions to the problems which they believe beset them.

Real life is hard and complicated.

The young have no time for that. A leader who can present them with radical solutions which seem to offer blood and glory will always have an appeal. Sanctioned violence has about it a terrible attraction. No wonder these modern godfathers of violence receive so many willing recruits. It will not be easy to break their spell.

Like their Fascist predecessors, they trade in a mixture of brutish language, paranoia, mythmaking and uncompromising nationalism.

Consider this, from a fatwa signed a few years ago by 63 so-called Muslim scholars: 'We stress that Palestine is Muslim land and will remain so and it will be liberated by the champions of Islam from the filth of the Jews just as it had been liberated by Saladin from the filth of the crusaders.' That's Nazi language, Nazi ideology and Nazi-style nationalism.

But one can well imagine how this terrible language sounds more attractive to a young Palestinian than the insipid dialogue of international diplomacy, Oslo-style, which envisages Israel and Palestine sharing the land between them and living in amity. It is always easier to hate than it is to love.

But it is not just in the Middle East that this is so. There are terrorist groups in Sri Lanka, India, Pakistan, Latin America, the Far East and, alas, in Europe, too.

I have no doubt that many of these groups around the world have genuine grievances for which they have every right to seek support, but just as we have found in Ulster, political solutions are extremely difficult to implement when the combatants have fought an 'all-or-nothing' campaign. In our democratic world, compromise is both honourable and just; in their Fascist world it means sellout.

And, of course, to the ordinary foot soldier, compromise does seem a sellout when the other side has been so demonised.

Here are some choice offerings: 'Israeli authorities infected by injection 300 Palestine children with the HIV virus,' said a Palestinian representative to the UN Commission on Human Rights; 'Israel is distributing food containing material that causes cancer and hormones that harm male virility,' said a Palestinian minister.

These are tactics straight from the Nazi manuals. They build a climate of fear and hatred that make your people ready to do anything. The seeds of the events of September 11 were nurtured in just such manure.

So what should be our response to all of that? We must learn to listen to what men say and believe that they mean it. For ten years, we assumed Hitler was 'grandstanding', that in the end he would see sense.

We failed to grasp then that the language was the politics and the politics the language. Josef Goebbels, Hitler's propaganda chief, said: 'Tell lies and lies and in the end they will believe you.' So it is with the new Fascists who lie so that they can justify the foulest of their deeds. And they also lie so those people whom Lenin described as 'useful idiots' can be persuaded to speak up for them in the chambers of the great democracies.

We've heard them already. They say: 'End the reasons for terrorism and there will be no terrorism.' And to that our response must, from now on, be unequivocal. We know the real reason for terrorism is that it is the tool of Fascism.

We know that now, so we must no longer accept it as a legitimate weapon of political protest. We do indeed need what we have long been promised: a new World Order in which terrorism is outlawed and terrorists destroyed. We

Conquer this Fascism now

must, in our respective countries, vow not to harbour terrorists or give them air time or column inches to propagate their cause. We must never, ever make excuses for them.

Those Americans who collected money for the IRA, those Britons who support extremist Fascist Muslim sects here, those French and Dutch people who sent help to extreme organisations in Palestine, they all helped create the climate which led to September 11.

That's the truth of it: if you start trying to excuse a murder in Belfast, Tel Aviv or Sri Lanka, you end up having to try to excuse the mass murder of innocent men, women and children of all colours and races and religions in New York and in Washington.

The death of one innocent at the hands of the Fascists has the same moral force as the death of thousands. These are crimes against humanity. What September 11 has done is to allow us to look into the abyss. With one voice, we must say: 'No more, for God's sake no more.' Send your emails to steven@stewart-knighton.demon.co.uk

Load-Date: September 17, 2001

End of Document

Envoy from a troubled land

The Dominion (Wellington)
August 15, 2001, Wednesday

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Section: FEATURES; GENERAL;

Length: 1259 words

Byline: BAIN Helen KAHANOFF Ruth

Body

Israel's new ambassador to New Zealand -- in the job for just two weeks -- talks to Helen Bain about the recent escalation in terrorism and violence in her homeland

'Palestinians brought this on themselves. It is regrettable, we are sorry to see any innocent people killed . . . but Arafat has brought this on his own people.'

NEW ISRAELI ambassador to New Zealand Ruth Kahanoff envies us for being a country where a rugby game can be the lead news item.

Everyday life in Israel is not so comfortable. Two weeks before she came to New Zealand, Ms Kahanoff was taking her daughter Tamar, 21/2>>, to the doctor when a car bomb exploded in the next street, injuring several people.

"I was really scared, but I had to pretend I wasn't and joke with my daughter so she was not too frightened," she says.

Ms Kahanoff has witnessed several bombings, but has always been far enough away to avoid being hurt. Several friends have not been so lucky and have been killed by explosions.

"Every time you go to a restaurant or a shopping centre or to see a movie, you feel you won't be safe. Here, it is very different."

But even in New Zealand, the risk to the ambassador is made apparent by the rigorous security at the Israeli embassy. Before a photographer and I can be admitted, we must send identification ahead. On arrival, we are escorted up to the embassy's floor by a burly man with unhealed wounds on his forehead that suggest it has made recent, forceful contact with something hard.

Inside, a smaller man strips us of watches, coins, jewellery -- even my shoes -- before we can go through a metal detector, and every pocket of the photographer's bag is searched.

We go through an electronic door which is locked behind us before we can pass through a second door to meet the ambassador. She points out other security measures which she asks not be published.

Envoy from a troubled land

Israeli embassies and ambassadors in other countries have been attacked, and Ms Kahanoff says she must consider herself a potential target.

"You just have to go on taking

the necessary measures, but try to live and work normally," the slightly built 47-year-old blonde says.

In the latest violence, a Palestinian suicide bomber wounded 15 people at a restaurant in northern Israel on Sunday, and Israeli soldiers shot dead an eight-year-old Palestinian child and injured another 12 people in a fire-fight in the West Bank. The restaurant bombing followed another suicide bomb attack in Jerusalem in which 15 people were killed -- the worst attack since a Palestinian uprising against Israeli occupation erupted when peace negotiations broke down last September.

At least 516 Palestinians, 147 Israelis and 14 Israeli Arabs have been killed in the fighting.

"We are very much concerned about the situation. What happened was outrageous, not just this case in Jerusalem, but that it was the last of a chain of many attacks on Israel," Ms Kahanoff says.

She says Israel had offered considerable concessions and compromise, yet the Palestinians instead "chose violence and terrorism".

"Our assessment is that this was a strategy adopted by (Palestinian leader Yasser) Arafat to bring pressure on Israel to give more and more concessions that could not be achieved by dialogue and negotiation."

Ms Kahanoff says that as long as Palestinian attacks continue, the two sides cannot return to negotiations.

"At the beginning, we were asking for a long cooling-off period (between an end to violence and a return to negotiations); now we are seeking just seven days. But we need a total cessation of violence so we do not go back to the table under fire, but in good faith."

Following the latest attack, militant group **Hamas** says the Palestinian Authority has arrested four of its members, but Israel says the arrests do not go far enough and blames Mr Arafat for the continuing violence. "We expect the international community to put pressure on the Palestinians to stop the violence and find a solution through peaceful means. Arafat can stop the violence if he wishes to," Ms Kahanoff says.

"The Palestinian Authority is directly responsible for attacks against Israel. They have continued to incite people to violence and have done nothing to stop terrorist attacks . . . We are left with no option but to deal with them directly through pre-emptive strikes.

"The Israeli Government has given a one-sided ceasefire -- and what we get in return are suicide attacks. No responsible government can stand back and not defend its citizens."

MS KAHANOFF also defends Israel's seizure of the Palestine Liberation Organisation's Orient House as a "measured response" to the suicide bombing in Jerusalem.

"The Israeli Cabinet decided that any reaction should try not to cause loss of life, but should send a strong message to the Palestinians. That is why (the buildings) were seized . . . During the seizure they found ammunition, weapons and explosives -- which show their activities were not so innocent as they portray." Ms Kahanoff says Israelis are sceptical that the Palestinians have any intention of achieving peace through negotiation.

"With the violence of the past few months, people really feel that the other side is not sincere. They choose specifically **women**, children and babies to kill."

Ms Kahanoff rejects the suggestion that such recriminations, with each side laying the blame with the other, are behind the escalating violence.

Envoy from a troubled land

"There are problems on both sides, there is no doubt, but Israel was ready for compromise and was commended by the international community for that," is as close as she will come to apportioning any blame to the Israelis.

"Palestinians brought this on themselves. It is regrettable, we are sorry to see any innocent people killed . . . but Arafat has brought this on his own people."

Nor, she says, can Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's hard-line approach be blamed for the escalation of violence.

"Violence started in September when Barak was in power, when the government was ready for the most far-reaching concessions . . . they were ready to go very far, but the Palestinians still opted for terror and violence," Ms Kahanoff says. "I don't think anyone can blame Sharon because it started long before Sharon came to power in March. Since then (violence) has escalated itself -- frustrations are growing and the cycle of retaliation is growing."

Meanwhile, Ms Kahanoff tries to remain optimistic. "We want to see (the Palestinians) find their own solutions and live in peace and dignity; we want to have a stable neighbourhood in the Middle East. There has been enough killing and bloodshed."

While Ms Kahanoff's greatest fears as a mother are that her young daughter may be harmed, her daughter also inspires her greatest hope for the future.

Tamar recently went on a trip with her kindergarten class to the library, where they looked for a book on Israel. She found instead a book with Mr Arafat's picture on the cover. Knowing nothing of Palestinians or Israelis, wars or suicide bombers, Tamar clasped Mr Arafat to her chest.

"She recognised him as someone familiar who was a part of her neighbourhood and her home," her mother says.

"I take it as a sign that despite all this, we have a common past and a common future. If we educate our children not to hate, and that we are all in the same boat, we have a chance."

CAPTION:

MARK ROUND

Israeli ambassador Ruth Kahanoff . . . 'we have a common past and a common future. If we educate our children not to hate, and that we are all in the same boat, we have a chance.'

MARK ROUND

Load-Date: August 15, 2001

NEWS SUMMARY

The New York Times

July 18, 2001 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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

Length: 1311 words

Body

INTERNATIONAL A3-13

Bush Proposes Grants To Assist Poor Nations

President Bush called for a major shift in the way rich nations help poorer ones, proposing that up to half the aid to those countries from the World Bank and similar institutions be given as grants rather than loans for needs like education and health. A1

Confident Allies in Drug War

American and Mexican officials said they had created a trusted group of undercover Mexican investigators who were arresting long-sought suspects and attacking big drug cartels, instead of selling out to them. A1

Mexico Opening Secret Files

Interior Minister Santiago Creel said he would let human rights investigators review files containing information about the government's surveillance and detention of suspected political opponents in the 1970's. A3

Talks With Europe on Blood Ban

European blood bank officials told a top American official on blood safety that they were skeptical that the United States could easily replace blood imports from Europe if a proposed ban went into place. A12

Belgrade Identifies Bodies

The Serbian government confirmed that three bodies found in a mass grave in eastern Serbia were those of Albanian-American brothers from New York who had gone to fight Serbian forces in Kosovo. Senior officials in the post-Milosevic government, noting the men had been taken into police custody, called the killings an "extraordinarily serious crime." A4

Assessing India-Pakistan Talks

Ministers from both countries said in separate news conferences that two days of high-level talks that produced not even a joint press release had not failed but had helped each side better understand the other. A7

Beijing Indicts U.S. Scholar

NEWS SUMMARY

Gao Zhan, a permanent United States resident accused of spying for Taiwan, will probably stand trial later this month in Beijing, her lawyer said. Her indictment follows the conviction of a fellow scholar, who was ordered deported. A13

Four Killed in Mideast Violence

Israeli missiles killed four men, two described as senior figures in the militant Islamic group Hamas, and Palestinians loosed their first mortar attack against a Jewish neighborhood on Jerusalem's southern rim. A5

World Briefing A6

NATIONAL A14-20

F.B.I. Check Reveals Missing Guns and Laptops

An F.B.I. inventory found that 449 firearms and 184 laptop computers, including one containing classified data, were missing or stolen, bureau officials said, acknowledging what appeared to be another lapse at an agency already battered by criticism of its managerial practices. A14

Panel Backs Arctic Drilling

House Republicans moved swiftly to transform President Bush's energy plan into legislation, as the House Resources Committee became the first to endorse the White House plan to drill for oil in an arctic wildlife refuge by defeating, 29 to 19, a Democratic move to ban exploration in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. A19

Cheney Electric Bill Budget

The House Appropriations Committee, voting 33 to 29 along party lines, supported a White House plan that would have the Navy pay all the electricity bills for the official residence of Vice President Dick Cheney. A19

Scrutiny of Bush Aide Sought

Representative Henry A. Waxman, the ranking Democrat on the House Government Reform Committee, asked the White House to refer questions about possible conflicts of interest involving Karl Rove, President Bush's senior adviser, to the Justice Department for review. A19

Aid to Religious Charities

Democratic members of Congress made a final plea against legislation to funnel more federal money to religious groups for social services, warning that it would undermine the rights of minorities and women. The House expects to vote today. A16

A Warning to Democrats

The Pentagon warned Senate Democrats that a protracted fight over the administration's ambitious missile defense plans would undermine President Bush's effort to overhaul the 1972 Antiballistic Missile Treaty in coming talks with Russia. A16

Florida Official's Response

Florida's secretary of state, Katherine Harris, responding to a New York Times article about the treatment of absentee ballots in the 2000 presidential election, said she had acted properly and without bias. A20

SCIENCE/HEALTH

Personalizing Stem Cell Debate

Both sides in the impassioned debate over stem cell research sought to put human faces on their points of view at a Congressional hearing. A1

NEWS SUMMARY

NEW YORK/REGION B1-10

New Jersey Ruling Shields Some Young Sex Offenders

The State Supreme Court ruled that children found guilty of sex crimes before age 14 are not automatically subject to the prolonged public notice provisions of New Jersey's sex offender law. Rather, the court said, such youthful offenders can seek exemption at age 18 by presenting evidence that they are not at risk of committing another sex crime. A1

No Charges in Astoria Fire

Law enforcement and Fire Department officials said there would be no criminal charges for the two teenagers whose horseplay led to a gasoline spill that caused the Father's Day hardware store fire last month that killed three firefighters and injured dozens of others. B1

Trying to Understand Rampage

The police and officials in Asbury Park, N.J., studied the extent of the violence and damage done Sunday night when a street festival devolved into mayhem, leaving three people shot and more than a dozen arrested. B1

Suspect Resisting Extradition

Joseph Sean Salley, 29, told a Florida judge in Miami that he would fight extradition to New York on charges that he had killed three people above the Carnegie Delicatessen on May 10 during a robbery. B4

Data Becomes Political Weapon

Democrats running for mayor of New York City used thousands of pages of candidate financial reports and petitions as ammunition in attacks on each other. B3

ARTS E1-10

OBITUARIES C18-19

Katharine Graham

The legendary publisher who transformed The Washington Post into an American institution was 84. A1

EDUCATION B9

SPORTS D1-8

Armstrong's Bluff

Lance Armstrong, seeking his third consecutive Tour de France victory, won the first mountainous stage of the three-week race by feigning weakness early in the day's race and then surging past the pack for the uphill finish. He now stands fourth over all, 20 minutes 7 seconds back. D1

BUSINESS DAY C1-17

A Bellwether's Profits Rise

Intel, offering hope that the worst of the semiconductor slump might be over, said second-quarter earnings beat Wall Street estimates on the strength of renewed growth in sales of microprocessors. C1

Brokerage Firms Lagging

Merrill Lynch and Charles Schwab reported sharply lower earnings for the second quarter, setting the stage for another round of layoffs and cost-cutting on Wall Street. C1

NEWS SUMMARY

G.M. Profits Tumble

General Motors posted a sharp decline in profits because of rising competition in Asia, cooling demand for cars in the United States and disappointing European sales. C1

The Dow rose 134.27 points, or 1.3 percent, to 10,606.39; the Nasdaq gained 38.20 points, or 1.9 percent, to 2,067.32; and the S. & P. 500 advanced 11.99 points, or 1 percent, to 1,214.44. C12

Soft-Drink Bottler Layoffs

Coca-Cola Enterprises, the bottler responsible for about 80 percent of Coca-Cola's soft drink sales in North America, said it would cut 2,000 jobs, or 3 percent of its work force. It also reported a drop in earnings greater than Wall Street forecasts. C6

Beyond House Parties

Tupperware, which has sought to expand by selling goods in mall kiosks, on the Internet and on the Home Shopping Network, has entered into its first agreement with a national retail chain, Target. C1

Business Digest C1

World Business W1

DINING F1-10

EDITORIAL A22-23

Editorials: Triangular diplomacy; the subcontinent summit meeting; Katharine Graham.

Columns: Paul Krugman, Maureen Dowd.

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Public Lives B2

Weather D8

<http://www.nytimes.com>

Graphic

Photo

Load-Date: July 18, 2001

**'A KING
OF PEACE'**

The Toronto Star

February 9, 1999, Tuesday, Edition 1

Copyright 1999 Toronto Star Newspapers, Ltd.

Section: NEWS

Length: 1048 words

Byline: Sandro Contenta

Body

Friends and foes among world leaders set aside differences to attend funeral of beloved Jordanian monarch

AP PHOTO

MIDDLE EAST BUREAU

AMMAN - In death, as in life, King Hussein made peace.

Friends and foes among world leaders put their hatreds aside yesterday to join tens of thousands of Jordanians at Hussein's funeral. It was the 63-year-old king's last act as a peacemaker. Perhaps only the death of Hussein could have brought together in common mourning adversaries like Syrian President Hafez Assad and Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, or U.S. President Bill Clinton and Iraqi officials.

"This is what King Hussein worked for until his last days," said mourner Ahmed Ywainot, referring to the unlikely gathering of leaders from dozens of countries.

"He was a king of peace," said Ywainot, 36, one of thousands of Jordanians lining the streets to witness Hussein's funeral procession.

The gathering of adversaries was a solemn tribute to the skilful balancing act that characterized Hussein's 46-year reign in the volatile Middle East, and a sign of the challenges facing Jordan's new King Abdullah, Hussein's politically inexperienced eldest son.

Abdullah, 37, and other members of the Hashemite royal family will spend the next four days receiving condolences at Raghdan

'A KING OF PEACE'

Palace from ordinary Jordanians.

He'll then have to address the issue that most threatens the stability of this desert nation - a struggling economy where 25 per cent of adults are unemployed and 30 per cent of the population lives in poverty.

The economic malaise could restrict Abdullah's attempts to walk in his father's peacemaking footsteps.

King Hussein, who died Sunday after a long battle with cancer, sold Jordanians on an unpopular peace treaty with Israel in 1994 through the strength of his credibility and his repeated promise of a "peace dividend."

The dividend never came and Jordanians, many of whom are Palestinian refugees, are ever more restless about Israel's reluctance to cede more West Bank land to the control of Yasser Arafat's Palestinian Authority.

If Arafat follows through with his threat to declare the West Bank and Gaza an independent state on May 4, forcing a showdown with Israel, Abdullah may not have the popular support to broker a settlement the way his father did in the past.

A striking image at Hussein's funeral was of Arafat standing at attention before his casket at the Royal Palace, saluting, bowing, and saluting again.

Arafat's dealings with Hussein were anything but cordial, though he came to respect the king's ability to help persuade Israel to give up more West Bank land. In 1970, Hussein crushed supporters of Arafat's Palestine Liberation Organization, which had taken control of Jordan's refugee camps and challenged the king's authority.

No less stunning was the thin, frail figure of Syria's Assad, standing before the coffin with palms opened in the traditional Muslim sign of sympathy. Assad, who often tried to destabilize the kingdom with border skirmishes, had not set foot in Jordan in years.

The funeral also gave Assad a chance to have a brief, face-to-face chat with Clinton - a meeting that would have been almost unthinkable before Hussein's death.

'A KING OF PEACE'

A little bit behind Assad were Netanyahu and Israeli Foreign Minister Ariel Sharon, two hawks who refuse to give Syria back the Golan Heights territory Israel captured in the 1967 war, when it also took the West Bank and Jerusalem from Jordan.

Also close by was Khaled Meshal, a leader of the radical Palestinian Islamic organization Hamas, whom Israel's Mossad agents tried to kill in 1997 after getting into Jordan by using stolen Canadian passports.

Even a visibly ailing Boris Yeltsin made the trip, clinging to an aide for support and looking disoriented. He was whisked away after a 10-minute appearance.

Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy represented Canada. Prime Minister Jean Chretien was in Vancouver when Hussein's death was announced and could not have arrived in time, Axworthy said.

Queen Noor watched her husband's burial from a distance.

The American-born wife of King Hussein hugged the monarch's sister in a courtyard about 30 metres from the grave. Muslim tradition prohibits women - even wives - from attending burial rites.

Several women dignitaries, including Hillary Rodham Clinton and the Netherlands' Queen Beatrix, came to Amman to pay their respects but were unable to join mourners at the burial.

Noor watched from afar as Hussein's body was carried away for a 15-kilometre procession through Amman to the Raghdan Palace. Later, Noor was driven to Raghdan, with her daughters. She shook hands and kissed several women officials, including Rodham Clinton, Queen Beatrix, Irish President Mary McAleese and Queen Sofia of Spain.

Lying in the back of an open jeep, the coffin rested on a bed of flowers and was draped in the national flag. Armed soldiers in red jeeps escorted the coffin, and military helicopters hovered above.

The procession left a wave of tears in its wake. Jordanians burst through the barrier of armed soldiers, surged on to the street and ran after the coffin in despair.

They waved black flags, clutched flowers, shouted "you will stay

'A KING OF PEACE'

alive in our hearts," or just stood in solitude and wept.

Adnan Kosmar and his 5-year-old son, Rakan, had lined up on the street at 8 a.m. to wait for the noontime procession. His child sat next to two framed portraits of Hussein and had a cutout of the king strapped to his head.

"Who is our father?" Kosmar asked his boy.

"The king," the boy replied.

Marlene Khoury, 42, clung to her two daughters and wept. "I wanted to throw myself at the coffin and grab his hand and kiss it," she said.

Hussein's coffin was brought inside the palace and placed in the direction of the Muslim holy city of Mecca. After the heads of state filed past, the coffin was brought out and placed on a cannon carrier. Behind it was Hussein's white stallion, which no one will ever ride again.

Accompanied by bagpipes, the dignitaries followed to the Royal Mosque and then the Royal Cemetery.

Hussein's body, wrapped in a white cloth, was removed from the coffin and placed in the grave, next to his father and grandfather, after jets screamed across the sky.

The peacemaker disappeared into the ground.

Graphic

AP PHOTO

MOURNING HUSSEIN:

A Jordanian woman weeps as she watches funeral procession for King Hussein yesterday.

REUTERS PHOTO:

A NATION GRIEVES:

Queen Noor leaves Amman's royal palace with daughters after King Hussein's funeral yesterday. Top, Mourners surge behind funeral convoy.

Load-Date: February 9, 1999

BOOM BOOM BOOM FACELESS IN PARADISE, 1997

Daily News (New York)

December 16, 1998, Wednesday

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Section: News; Pg. 59

Length: 1067 words

Byline: By TOM ROBBINS Daily News Staff Writer

Body

BY RIGHTS, at the close of the 20th century, the nation that conquered the Depression and built the world's strongest economy, helped defeat worldwide fascism and won the Cold War should have been able to step back and take a breath. Maybe even a bow.

Instead, in the wake of the World Trade Center and Oklahoma City explosions, it found itself daily afraid of small men with twisted minds and recipes for bombs vermin who lived somewhere in the mazes and the warrens of the big city, faceless little guys wandering around thinking unthinkable things.

Guys like Gazi Ibrahim Abu Mezer.

A 23-year-old Palestinian from Israel's West Bank, traveling on a Jordanian passport, Abu Mezer arrived in New York in the late spring of 1997 and took to the city like a pigeon to the park. Together with another footloose young Palestinian, 22-year-old Lafi Khalil, Abu Mezer took a cheap rathole on the fringe of trendy Park Slope near Brooklyn's Arab neighborhood. They put tea and rice in the pantry, plugged in a second-hand TV, tossed a couple of mattresses on the floor and called it home.

Sometimes they picked up a bit of money sweeping floors. Most of the time they just watched the TV soccer games, studied the girlie magazines at the corner newsstand and slickly called out "hey, baby!" to women on the street.

This was certainly paradise compared to the grinding poverty and daily perils of the West Bank, where Abu Mezer had once been arrested for stoning Israeli troops. And here in paradise he had grand plans.

At a neighborhood hardware store, he bought batteries, wires, nails. Along with a bit of gunpowder, those materials became several crude but very deadly devices, entirely capable of killing all living things within 25 feet.

WHAT HE WAS going to do, he boasted to his visitor Abdul Rahman Mossabah on the night of the 30th of July, was carry his homemade pipe bombs in a knapsack a few blocks north on Fourth Ave. to the bustling Atlantic Ave. subway station, where thousands of Brooklynites using many subway lines merged with commuters from the adjoining Long Island Rail Road station.

A lot of the people he would kill certainly would be Jews, he said, and he would be as great an Islamic warrior as the bombers who recently had killed 15 persons and wounded 150 in a Jerusalem market. He was very angry at the paradise America now in any case, for he had been nabbed for jumping a subway turnstile; Gazi Ibrahim Abu Mezer would avenge himself.

BOOM BOOM BOOM FACELESS IN PARADISE, 1997

If he himself were to perish in this great explosion, he would be a martyred Muslim. Were he to live, he would become a proud soldier of the prestigious Islamic Jihad.

"I will burn them like this!" he cried gleefully, detonating a tiny pile of gunpowder on the grimy apartment floor.

Mossabah was dubious. A recent arrival from Egypt, where he had won a U.S. visa in an immigration lottery, 31-year-old Mossabah had always thought that Islam counseled against wanton mass murder. Personally, he liked America. He hoped to bring over the rest of his family somehow.

Troubled in his soul, he took a long walk in the Brooklyn night.

And when he found two Long Island Rail Road police officers, he knew he must unburden himself of his terrible secret. He could speak almost no English. Flailing his arms, desperate to make himself understood, he fell back on sounds that, in the late 20th century, were recognized the world over.

"Boom," he said. "Boom boom boom."

The cops understood.

JUST BEFORE DAWN, an army of police and SWAT troops moved into the streets around Abu Mezer's building, crept across his litter-strewn courtyard and smashed through his door. One of the two men in the back bedroom lunged for the nearest pipe bomb, and the cops opened fire. Khalil was hit five times, Abu Mezer twice.

As they were arraigned in their Kings County Hospital beds and charged with plotting murder and mayhem, police and FBI agents searched the grubby apartment and found not only five bombs filled with big 16-penny nails, but also a long, rambling letter that threatened suicide bombings, demanded the release of jailed Islamic militants and claimed responsibility for the 1996 midair explosion of TWA Flight 800 off Long Island.

Abu Mezer wasn't good with English either. "We are ready by our soul-blood boombes bombs to deines our gouls goals," his manifesto vowed.

Notwithstanding all that, there appeared to be no real connection between the two suspects and **Hamas** or any other radical terrorist group. Indeed, the more investigators dug into the backgrounds of their men, the less they came up with mujahedeen warriors and the more they came up with just a couple of politically infatuated morons.

But it remained the case that the bombs were deadly real. Replicas assembled and exploded by the FBI at the Marine Corps base at Quantico, Va., fragmented into deadly shards of metal and nails that were hurled for yards with flesh-puncturing velocity. Had Gazi Ibrahim Abu Mezer set them off inside the Atlantic Ave. subway station, they certainly would have killed or maimed hundreds of human beings.

AWAITING TRIAL, Abu Mezer kept his guards busy. He made two escape attempts, once leaping atop a courtroom table right in front of marshals who quickly tackled him, another time crawling into an air duct, where he fast became stuck.

During a trial recess, he turned on co-defendant Khalil, beating him in a holding pen near the courtroom in Brooklyn Federal Court. Khalil was treated for his injuries and then kept apart from his comrade for the remainder of the trial.

Lawyers for Abu Mezer said the real crime was attempted blackmail, not attempted murder. The bombs, they said, were merely props to shore up a scheme in which Abu Mezer intended to defraud the government by exposing a phony terror campaign.

But the young Palestinian didn't help himself when he took the witness stand and triumphantly announced that he had once attempted to assassinate President Clinton.

BOOM BOOM BOOM FACELESS IN PARADISE, 1997

As Lafi Khalil's fingerprints were not found on the bombs or the letter, the jury acquitted him of the bomb plot. But they did convict him of immigration fraud. Gazi Ibrahim Abu Mezer was found guilty of conspiracy, weapons possession and threatening to use a weapon.

And off they went to serve many years in prison, as, in the City of New York in the frightened final moments of the American 20th century, the mazes and the warrens continued to swarm with faceless little guys just like them.

Load-Date: December 16, 1998

End of Document

**ISRAEL'S MILLENNIAL NIGHTMARE;
JERUSALEM'S TEMPLE MOUNT IS HOLY TO CHRISTIANS, JEWS AND
MUSLIMS. THERE ARE ISRAELIS WHO WOULD DESTROY THE MUSLIM
DOME OF THE ROCK THERE TO RESTORE THEIR ANCIENT TEMPLE.
CHAOS WOULD BE THE CERTAIN RESULT.**

Hamilton Spectator (Ontario, Canada)

October 8, 1999 Friday Final Edition

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Section: CANADA & WORLD; Pg. C1

Length: 2056 words

Byline: JEFFREY GOLDBERG, THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE

Body

Yehuda Etzion, rebel, settler, archterrorist of the Jewish underground, thin like Jesus and hostage to the fever-dream of imminent redemption, parks his car by a rocky switchback on the western slope of the Mount of Olives.

He leads me up the incline, to the chalk-coloured ground where he comes to pray and to look to the west upon what one day, he believes, will be his.

Just below is the Garden of Gethsemane, where Jesus was betrayed and arrested. Just to the north is Mount Scopus, where the prophet Jeremiah watched the Babylonians burn Jerusalem.

Immediately behind us is a house of modern prophecy, home to American evangelical Christians who have come on one-way tickets to the Promised Land. They are here to watch the Second Coming of Christ, and they are here to encourage the Jews to rebuild their Temple, the Throne of David on which the Christ will sit.

On the other side of the ridge, the eastern slope of the mountain drops off into the Judean desert, the cauldron of prophecy and hallucination. Even here, on the western slope, the sun beats down on us like a spotlight.

We look out before us, to the walled Old City and, at its heart, the 35-acre man-made platform -- the Temple Mount to Jews; the Haram al-Sharif, or noble sanctuary, to Muslims -- that is the single most-explosive piece of real estate on the planet.

And we look at the building that dominates the platform -- the 1,300-year-old Dome of the Rock.

"You've got to admit, it's beautiful," I say.

"How do you mean?"

"Beautiful. It's an esthetically beautiful building."

"Esthetic?" he asks. "Esthetically beautiful? I don't see it."

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The Dome of the Rock, a shrine that in beauty is equivalent to the Taj Mahal, sits in front of him, shining like a close star on a black night, and Yehuda Etzion doesn't see the beauty. Doesn't, he professes, really even see the building -- the stone and glazed tile and the endless gold sheet.

"It's not beautiful at all?"

"Look, maybe it's beautiful. But my father told me once that there are very many nice women in the world, beautiful women, but you have only one wife. This building is not my woman. It's my enemy's woman. So I don't see it."

"What do you see in front of you?"

"I see the place where the Temple will stand," he says in the matter-of-fact manner ordinary people might say. "Tomorrow, the sun will rise in the east."

The First Temple, King Solomon's, stood where the Dome of the Rock now stands, presumably on the rock itself -- the rock where Abraham is said to have offered his son Isaac for sacrifice and the rock from which Mohammed is said to have ascended to heaven. Herod's Second Temple stood on the Mount, too, until the Romans destroyed it in 70 A.D. Since that moment, Jews have wept for the Temple.

For Yehuda Etzion, there is no weeping. Weeping is for cowards. "Belief without action is meaningless," he says.

Fifteen years ago, when he was a leader of the Jewish underground on the West Bank, he and his followers made violent mayhem, planting bombs under the cars of Arab mayors and attacking innocent Palestinians on the streets. He also plotted to blow up the Dome of the Rock, an attack that, had it been carried through, would have brought cataclysm to Israel.

Etzion, who spent six of the last 15 years in jail for his role in the underground, doesn't regret the plot, just its details.

"The idea was right, but the order was wrong." First, he says, "we should have made the Jewish people want to meet God. Most of them don't want to yet. Only when this happens can we remove the Dome."

By force?

"There are things that people have to do by force. We cannot sit and read books and hope the Temple is rebuilt. We have to rebuild it ourselves."

Millions could die, I say.

"The Arabs will yell and scream," he says. "I don't think this will lead to nuclear war, but remember what Ben-Gurion said when he was ready to declare independence for Israel. They came to him and said, 'The Arabs will invade if we declare independence.' And he answered, 'Then let them invade'."

Etzion pauses, then says, "We shouldn't fear our desire."

I wait by the car while he prays "mincha," the afternoon service, which, like the morning and evening services, contains a plea to God to rebuild the Temple, speedily, in our day. When he finishes, we drive through the Arab village on top of the Mount, back to West Jerusalem.

He is late for a meeting of descendants of the priests who led the Temple sacrificial service and hope to again. As we drive, a Palestinian in a Renault sees Etzion, the knitted kippah of the settler movement affixed to his head, and cuts us off, gesturing obscenely.

"Animals," Etzion says.

"What?"

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"The Arabs. They're animals."

I think of the words I heard a few days before in the Sabra slum of Gaza City, in the living room of an Islamic fanatic, Sheik Ahmed Yassin, the leader of the Hamas suicide bombers. I asked the quadriplegic sheik what would happen if a Jew tried to destroy the Dome of the Rock.

"This," the sheik says, without adornment, "would be the end of Israel."

Jerusalem is different from any other city in conflict for one simple reason: Half the world -- Christian, Muslim and Jew -- believes that the Divine Presence will be making His next appearance here. Tradition holds that, at the end of days, the Jewish Messiah will reign from the Temple Mount. So will the Christ and so will the Mahdi, the Muslim Messiah.

In the coming year -- the millennial year, during which some Christians hope Christ will return -- will someone attempt to destroy the Dome of the Rock or the nearby Al Aksa mosque in order to end the peace process or to bring about the End of Days, or both?

"Every day in Jerusalem that ends peacefully is a miracle," says Carmi Gillon, the former chief of the Shabak, the Israeli general security service. "I am afraid of what could happen on the Temple Mount."

The Israeli government, highly secretive about its security planning for the millennium, is said to be spending more than \$15 million Cdn to upgrade security around the Mount, and the FBI has set up a system for the Israelis that tracks American millennialist cults and religious extremists.

Many who fear the peace process are watching with trepidation as Ehud Barak and Yasser Arafat set themselves on a course to settle the fate of Jerusalem in the next year. The proposed end-date set -- the year 2000 -- is freighted with messianic angst, which cannot help making an unstable situation worse.

Gillon, the former Shabak chief, told me, "The year 2000 doesn't mean anything for Jewish extremists, but it does for Christians, and there's the potential for individual Christians to get very agitated by it."

The Temple Mount has been attacked before. In 1969, a deranged Australian Christian set fire to a corner of the Al Aksa mosque. In 1982, a similarly disturbed Israeli soldier fired into the Dome of the Rock, killing two Palestinian guards. In 1984 -- the same year Yehuda Etzion's plot to destroy the Dome of the Rock was uncovered -- another plot to destroy the Dome was foiled, this one hatched by a group of cabalistic Jews who lived in a cave outside Jerusalem.

Two years ago, the police uncovered a cell of Jewish extremists who were plotting to throw a pig's head into the Al Aksa mosque.

But is it simply Y2K hyperbole to think that the Muslim holy places are in special danger in the coming months?

"No, unfortunately," Gillon said. "But from the Jewish perspective, they would be in danger anytime the future of Jerusalem is being decided. It makes the whole situation worse that this is happening at the millennium, but the Jewish extremists would be energized to act anytime the peace process moved forward.

"And the problem is not just that we're moving to final status talks on Jerusalem. Extremists who want to stop the peace process because they don't want to give up the Jewish settlements know that the best way to end everything is to attack the mosques."

But is it technically possible? After all, the security services are aware of the threat.

"You can take a bazooka or an RPG and go to the Mount of Olives and fire on the Dome," Gillon said. "This would be enough to end the peace process."

And there's no way to prevent that?

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"We can be 95 per cent successful fighting the bus bombers. People will die, and that's terrible, but 95 per cent is good. But there's no 95 per cent with the Dome of the Rock. It has to be 100 per cent, and 100 per cent is impossible."

The Israeli government is divided on the issue of millennial threats to the Temple Mount. Barak's Tourism Ministry is doing everything it can to encourage Christian pilgrims to come, even though there are severe doubts about whether Jerusalem's hotels can accommodate the hoped-for millions.

On the other hand, Barak's security services, after years of playing down threats to the Mount, are waiting with great anxiety for the flood of pilgrims.

And yet, Middle Eastern extremists, like Yigal Amir and like the Hamas suicide bombers, traditionally make their moves when political compromise is in the air. "The Jewish underground 20 years ago" -- Yehuda Etzion's terrorists -- "was formed to stop the Camp David process, to keep the Sinai in Israeli hands," Gillon says.

So here's a measure of cold comfort: Violence on the Mount may not be imminent, because few people expect a final deal on Jerusalem any time soon.

Right now, the two sides have staked out positions so far apart as to seem unbridgeable. The Barak government says that Jerusalem is not divisible: The city's Arab neighborhoods will remain under Israeli control, and the Old City, home to the Temple Mount, will most certainly stay Israeli. Palestinian negotiators, on the other hand, state publicly that every inch of land captured by Israel in the 1967 war must be returned to Arab control.

'There are too many crazies in Jerusalem.'

Carmi Gillon, the former chief of the Israeli security service

These are opening positions. They will undoubtedly change, but neither side is interested in letting the other know just how far it will go in order to reach a final settlement.

When I asked Chaim Ramon, Barak's adviser on Jerusalem, whether he could envision the creation of a safe corridor that would run from Palestinian areas to the Temple Mount, he said, "I'm not going to negotiate that with you."

When I met with Faisal Hussein, the senior Palestinian in charge of Jerusalem affairs, I asked him a question about co-existence. Could he envision a day in which the Muslims acceded to Jewish demands to at least be allowed to pray on the Temple Mount?

Such a compromise on the part of Muslims could serve to temper Israeli fears about Palestinian control of Arab neighbourhoods in Jerusalem, for instance.

But Hussein laughed.

"Do you have a wife?" he asked.

"Yes."

"Do you have a problem if you saw her with me here?"

"Doing what?" I asked.

"Having an interview."

"No."

"But what if you had information that I want her? Would you take the same position?" he asked.

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I gave him the answer he wanted.

"Here is what I say about the Haram al-Sharif. People go in, tourists, take pictures of the Dome. This is no problem. But why do the Jews talk about this 'sharing.' Why do they want to share my wife?"

"A Jewish person," I say, "looks at the Temple Mount and says: 'That's my wife. You took my wife.' "

"First of all, I am a Palestinian. I am a descendant of the Jebusites, the ones who came before King David. This was one of the most important Jebusite cities in the area."

I regularly go up to the platform of the Temple Mount and into the mosques and even into the cave under the Rock itself. I try to remember to wear canvas shoes, but I go up there anyway.

There's a certain power to the place, and a great deal of mystery: I imagine the feeling is similar to that felt by a Muslim in Mecca or a Christian in Bethlehem.

The exact spot of the Holy of Holies is unknown. There's an entire body of popular literature just trying to place it, and I've read most of it. It's a matter of yards, where the Holy of Holies stood -- some scholars place it to the north of the Dome of the Rock, some to the south.

These theories have been adopted by Third Temple advocates, Christian and Jewish, who argue that a legitimate Temple could be built without knocking down the Muslim holy places.

It is one of the sillier ideas ever proposed. But dreams of the Temple Mount don't die easily.

Graphic

Photo; Trumpeters celebrate reconstruction of a set of stairs on the Temple Mount. But even for such happy events, security is never relaxed. Two Israeli snipers behind them scan the area with binoculars.

Load-Date: October 17, 2002

NEWS SUMMARY

The New York Times

October 30, 1998, Friday, Late Edition - Final

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Section: Section A;; Section A; Page 2; Column 3; Metropolitan Desk; Column 3;; Summary

Length: 1103 words

Body

INTERNATIONAL A3-14

U.S. Charges Sergeant With Terrorist Link

Federal prosecutors have filed secret charges against a former sergeant in the United States Army who is suspected of switching sides in the war against terrorism and joining Saudi exile Osama bin Laden's global campaign to attack Americans. The former sergeant, Ali A. Mohamed, 46, is being held in Manhattan, according to officials who spoke on the condition of anonymity. A1

Israelis Intercept Suicide Bomb

A jeep carrying Israeli soldiers intercepted a Palestinian suicide bomber as he was about to ram a car packed with explosives into a school bus. One soldier and the bomber were killed. Yasir Arafat, the Palestinian leader, condemned the attack and placed under house arrest Sheik Ahmed Yassin, above, the spiritual leader of the militant group **Hamas**. A1

Truth Report in South Africa

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission's final report on South Africa's brutal past was issued in the bitter atmosphere of court challenges and political bickering, after more than two years of hearings into apartheid-era atrocities. A1

Indonesia Withdrawal Disputed

Opponents of Indonesia's control over East Timor said that documents leaked from the Indonesian Ministry of Defense showed that the army was not withdrawing its forces as the Government had reported. A6

Dozens Dead in Swedish Disco

A suspicious fire in a discotheque killed dozens of young people and seriously injured scores more. The second-floor club in Goteborg, Sweden's second-largest city, was crowded with hundreds of teen-agers attending a Halloween dance. A3

Plans for Successor in Russia

NEWS SUMMARY

President Boris N. Yeltsin will soon name a panel of legal experts to review changes to the Russian Constitution, including the creation of a post for a vice president and successor, a Kremlin spokesman said. A3

World Briefing A8

NATIONAL A16-31

Glenn Returns to Orbit After a 36-Year Break

Senator John Glenn, 77, returned to space for a nine-day mission with six other crew members in the shuttle Discovery. About 250,000 people watched the launching from Cape Canaveral, Fla., one of the biggest crowds to see a shuttle lift off. A1

Voters' Views of the Parties

Americans view Republicans as more ethical, but say Democrats can better tackle education, health care and the future of Medicare and Social Security, a New York Times/ CBS News Poll shows. And nearly 7 of 10 said the White House sex scandal would not affect how they voted in Congressional races. A30

Republicans have prepared a fourth anti-Clinton campaign commercial, portraying his turnabout apology as "legal mumbo jumbo." A29

Republicans are tempering expectations that they can expand their majority to 60 seats in the Senate. A31

Growth of Adult Brain Cells

American and Swedish scientists said they had discovered the generation of brain cells in adult humans, raising new possibilities for treating some neurological disorders. A1

A Drug's Harmful Effects

The illicit drug ecstasy may cause long-lasting nerve cell damage in the brains of heavy users, scientists at Johns Hopkins University said. A27

Preventive Use of Tamoxifen

The Government approved the use of tamoxifen to help prevent or delay development of breast cancer in healthy women at very high risk. A27

\$2 Million for Archimedes Text

The oldest surviving copy of important mathematical works of Archimedes was sold at auction for \$2 million, double the expected price. A27

McDougal Defends Herself

Susan H. McDougal testified at her embezzlement trial that she made credit card purchases and cashed checks with the knowledge of the conductor Zubin Mehta and his wife. A29

NEW YORK/REGION B1-10

D'Amato Attacks Schumer On Long-Ago Ethics Inquiry

NEWS SUMMARY

Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato, who has been the subject of ethics inquiries himself, began broadcasting an advertisement that recalls an ethics investigation of Representative Charles E. Schumer -- one that ultimately brought no charges -- when the Congressman was in the State Assembly, in 1980. A1

Sentence in Newborn's Death

A New Jersey judge imposed a 15-year prison sentence on Melissa Drexler, 20, who had pleaded guilty to aggravated manslaughter in the death of her newborn son at her senior prom in 1997. Ms. Drexler could be eligible for parole after serving 2 years and 11 months. B1

Wrongly Convicted Man Freed

A 29-year-old Brooklyn man who spent eight years behind bars for a double-murder conviction based entirely on what prosecutors now concede was fabricated testimony was freed by a judge who apologized for "the entire judicial system." A man who had claimed to have witnessed the 1990 shootings recanted his testimony. B3

New Finding in Swissair Crash

Investigators in the crash of Swissair Flight 111 off Nova Scotia have found heat damage in wires from the plane's entertainment system, prompting the airline to disconnect the system on all of its jumbo jets, Swissair officials said. But the officials emphasized that it was not known if the entertainment system's wiring figured in the crash. B5

WEEKEND E1-30; E31-46

SPORTS D1-8

OBITUARIES A32

Ted Hughes

Britain's poet laureate, who was known as much for his doomed marriage to the American poet Sylvia Plath as for his powerful, evocative poetry, was 68. A1

BUSINESS DAY C1-20

Optimism Lifts Stocks

The Dow climbed 123.06 points, or 1.47 percent, to 8,495.03, its best gain in two weeks. The S. & P. 500 rose 17.84 points, or 1.67 percent, to 1,085.93. The Nasdaq and the Russell 2000 index of small companies gained 1.13 percent and eight-tenths of a percent, respectively. Underlying the day's advances were encouraging profit reports, optimism about the Japanese banking system and expectations that Election Day would bring no significant shift in the American political landscape. C1

Mutual fund investors tiptoed back into equities in September, apparently encouraged as the stock market became less volatile and stocks regained some of the ground they lost in July and August. C20

Wages and Salaries Rise

The employment cost index -- a closely watched yardstick of inflationary pressures -- rose a surprisingly strong 1 percent this summer, the Labor Department said. C1

Gates Tape Is Delayed

NEWS SUMMARY

The videotaped testimony of Microsoft's chairman, William H. Gates, will not be showed at the company's antitrust trial until at least next week. C1

Business Digest C1

EDITORIAL A34-35

Editorials: Reform in Brazil; re-elect Governor Rowland; re-elect Senator Dodd; Philip Taubman on the secret space race.

Columns: A. M. Rosenthal, Russell Baker.

Crossword E44

Weather B6

Public Lives B2

Graphic

Photos

Load-Date: October 30, 1998

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**WHEN CHILDREN DIE FOR SMALL PERCENTAGES AND BAD ATTITUDES;
'MUCH HAS BEEN SAID ABOUT THE SHORTCOMINGS OF THE OSLO
PEACE AGREEMENT, BUT WHAT ARE THE OTHER POSSIBILITIES?'**

The Independent (London)

April 20, 2001, Friday

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Section: COMMENT; Pg. 3

Length: 1189 words

Byline: David Aaronovitch

Body

IN THE village of Beit Hanoun, in Gaza, - as reported by Phil Reeves in these pages - the bulldozer met the orange tree this week. You don't have to be a poet to appreciate the symbolism as what had been planted in peace and nurtured over time was destroyed in seconds. So with the intifada, so with the suicide bombs, so with the tanks. Women, as ever, returned to their smashed homes to see what the sons of others had done to their lives, and to smell the smell of crushed oranges.

Meanwhile our own pathetic versions of this conflict are played out. Academics write protest petitions as the Freud Society in Vienna ludicrously withdraws a speaking invitation to the Palestinian academic Edward Said, because he - just as ludicrously - shied a stone at an Israeli border post. An empty border post. A Canadian mogul commandeers half of his own British magazine to launch an attack on his own columnist - a ridiculous and universally offensive playboy - because the wretch has attacked Israel instead of sticking to bad-mouthing blacks and Puerto Ricans. Journalists from the region engage in some kind of competition to see who can editorialise most about the renewed agonies of the small lands of Palestine and Israel.

Well, we've made one discovery in the last few weeks. Apparently it did matter after all that veteran head-banger Ariel Sharon replaced Ehud Barak as Prime Minister in the elections a few weeks ago. Readers may recall a strand of thinking that held that at least the Palestinians would know where they were with Sharon. Remember the Nixon-in-China factor, how right-wing leaders can make better peace? How there wasn't, from the Palestinian point of view, that much to choose between him and Barak? And now, all of a sudden, Sharon's utterly brutal past is a significant factor in local politics.

Last July, when the oranges still grew in Gaza, the talks at Camp David broke down, and Arafat and Barak headed home, Barak to be criticised for trying to give away too much, Arafat to be celebrated for refusing to give away too much. The agreement that Bill Clinton had been trying to broker would have resulted in 91-94 per cent of the West Bank becoming part of the Palestinian state, a qualified right of return for refugees (some displaced in 1948), and a complex but unprecedented arrangement for the shared administration of Jerusalem. Barak thought he had gone the extra mile, but Arafat seemed to have thought that he couldn't sell it.

This time, proclaimed the modern Jeremiahs, Oslo was dead. The stuttering peace process, with its messiness and foot-dragging, had finally given up the ghost. To some, this was the fault of the Israelis, with their refusal to treat the Palestinians with any degree of proper respect. Twice now, since the Oslo accords, the Israeli electorate has

WHEN CHILDREN DIE FOR SMALL PERCENTAGES AND BAD ATTITUDES; 'MUCH HAS BEEN SAID ABOUT THE SHORTCOMINGS OF THE OSLO PEACE AGREEMENT, BUT WHAT ARE THE OTHER POSSIB....

rewarded its own extremists, replacing the murdered Rabin with the preposterous Netanyahu, and Barak himself with the man whose visit to Al Aqsa on 28 September sparked the intifada. Naturally the Israelis blamed Arafat for not preventing suicide bombers from appearing at bus-stops, and for "encouraging" acts of violence.

I don't have to play this game. It does not get us anywhere. I can, however, see that time is not on Israel's side. Terrorism was always an easy strategy to defeat, but the intifada is far more dangerous. And this one is happening at a time when many Israelis cannot maintain their own war-fighting mythologies.

As Charles Glass has pointed out in a perceptive article in the London Review of Books, there is a new history being written in Israel by a new generation, one that doesn't beat itself up with the PLO Covenant, or see in every nutter with keffiyeh evidence of another Holocaust to come. They negotiate a more complex world than their parents. Bernard Wasserstein's new book about Jerusalem reveals that many Jews are now leaving Jerusalem, not to escape Palestinians, but to avoid the growing power of ultra-orthodox Jewish sects. These are not people who can go on shooting adolescents forever.

The very success of the intifada makes it inevitable that there is a great deal of cynicism about some of the protestations concerning Israeli barbarity. There are people who regard the deaths of children as a regrettable but necessary element in isolating Israel and cementing Palestinian solidarity. In fact, the whole point of the intifada as a strategy (as opposed to simply being a furious and spontaneous response to occupation) is that the Israelis should kill children. So some people, far from being worried by the bulldozers, will congratulate themselves on having made their enemy so stupid.

But what do they want? What do we want? Much has been said about the shortcomings of Oslo, but what are the other possibilities? The end of Israel as a Jewish state and its replacement by that alluring slogan, "a democratic, secular Palestine" (has anyone told *Hamas* about the secular bit)? If that's what folk believe in, they should be more upfront about it. Then all they have to worry about is the fact that they'll probably have to physically obliterate the Jews of Israel to achieve their objective.

And suddenly we find ourselves back in Oslo again, trying to reach an agreement that allows an Israel and a Palestine to co-exist somehow. And if it isn't Camp David, then it's going to be something very like it. It will involve a compromise on Jerusalem similar to the one proposed by Barak. It will require the closing of many of the Jewish settlements (though not necessarily the loss of Jewish populations), and the ending of the thousand military highways that so compromise Palestinian territorial integrity. It will demand a huge change in the way that the Israeli army and Israeli politicians treat the Palestinian authorities and people.

Right now, kids are dying for small percentages and bad attitudes. And in the process the Palestinians are busy growing their own destructive mythologies. Fighting, though dangerous, is a lot more exciting than state- building. As long as Palestinians can blame Israel or the Americans for everything, then they have no need to confront the sad experience of their own maladministration. Their history of statelessness and their terrible treatment at the hands of other governments (not least Arab ones) cannot be a permanent excuse for corruption and incompetence.

In Palestine, as in Israel, there is a tendency to respond to extremism in precisely the way that those who bomb buses or shoot Arab farmers want. But eventually you run out of sons and tears and start listening to those who would rather make the imaginative leap into the mind of the enemy. Maybe not enough sons have died or tears shed.

Two camps contend, and they have their protagonists everywhere, in the world of journalism as of politics. There are the planters of oranges and the drivers of bulldozers. One side is slow and other is fast. One side is always weary and its labour is tedious, and the other always angry and its actions are dramatic. We in Britain must be adamantly on the side of the tenders to the orange trees.

WHEN CHILDREN DIE FOR SMALL PERCENTAGES AND BAD ATTITUDES; 'MUCH HAS BEEN SAID ABOUT THE SHORTCOMINGS OF THE OSLO PEACE AGREEMENT, BUT WHAT ARE THE OTHER POSSIB....

Load-Date: April 20, 2001

End of Document

We need to know what jihad really means

The Ottawa Citizen

September 7, 1998, Monday, FINAL EDITION

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Section: NEWS; ARGUMENT&OBSERVATION; Pg. A11

Length: 1062 words

Byline: PRESTON JONES; THE OTTAWA CITIZEN

Body

Earlier this year, Newsweek published an article on the "the future" of the Islamic faith. There we read that many American Muslims -- of whom there are between two and six million; no firm statistics exist -- are working to take on anti-Muslim stereotypes. They are upset that Islam is associated in the popular mind with the terrorist likes of Hamas and Algerian and Egyptian Islamic extremists.

"By going back to the basic texts," the article says, young Americanized Muslims are "rediscovering an Islam founded on tolerance, social justice and human rights."

It would be interesting to see how one could go back to the beginnings of Islam in seventh century Arabia and find a faith rooted in philosophical goods -- "tolerance, social justice, and human rights" -- that were not propounded until the early modern period, and then only in Western Europe.

Still, one can say that at least these American Muslims' desire to put a human -- and humane -- face on Islam is admirable because Islam does get a lot of bad press.

One organization that is committed to putting a gentle face on Islam is the Council on American Islamic Relations (CAIR). The day the American embassies were bombed in Kenya and Tanzania, CAIR rightly cautioned Americans against assuming that the perpetrators were Muslims. After all, many Americans had immediately assumed that Muslims were to blame for the Oklahoma City bombing and the explosion that sent TWA flight 800 into the Atlantic Ocean, and they were wrong on both counts.

But for all its good points, the extent to which CAIR's claims should be taken at face value is open to question. For in addition to not acknowledging our that radical Muslims in many countries in the Middle East, North Africa and Asia are making life a living hell for Christians, this organization denies that there is any notion such as "holy war" in Islam.

Unbelievably, it makes this denial despite the fact that Muslim radicals in, for example, Afghanistan, Turkey, and Pakistan commit their depredations using precisely that term, which in Arabic is "jihad."

Just what jihad really means in Islam is an important question. CAIR maintains that it refers to "a central and broad Islamic concept that includes the struggle to improve the quality of life in society, struggle in the battlefield for self-defence or fighting against tyranny or oppression." Others claim that jihad has mainly to do with one's struggle to combat sin in his or her own soul.

We need to know what jihad really means

For example, Catholic philosopher Peter Kreeft, of Boston College, seems to think that jihad has mainly to do with what might be called "spiritual warfare." In Ecumenical Jihad, he calls on Christians, Jews, Muslims and others of faith to band together to combat, spiritually speaking, secularism. Still others say that while jihad certainly has to do with a Muslim's personal religious pilgrimage and spiritual combat, it also has to do with literal warfare. Proponents of this last view are, of course, the ones who show up regularly in the newspapers and on television.

Whether this latter definition of jihad is closer to the heart of orthodox Islam than the others is much debated, among both Muslims and non-Muslim students of Islamic history and culture. But even if violent radical Muslims are heretics, they are heretics in pursuit of power and the establishment of what they think is proper Islamic law.

Some history is in order. In traditional Islam the world is divided into two general regions: the "dar al-Islam" and the "dar al-harb"-- that is, the "domain of Islam" and "the domain of war." For Muslims, then, the world is not made up of nations, peoples and tribes but of two great blocs, one in which Allah is supreme and the other in which Allah must be made supreme, through peaceful conversion, intermarriage or subjugation.

That war, both spiritual and secular, is near the heart of traditional Islam is not surprising, at least from an historical perspective. Muhammad, the divine prophet of Islam, was himself a military commander, and Islam was born in a culture steeped in violence. While Islam took much of its ethical teaching from the two biblical religions (Judaism and Christianity), its way of interacting with non-Muslims was formed by the customs of the nomadic tribes which populated the Hijaz in Arabia, where Islam was founded.

Thus, when Arab converts to Islam first raided towns in present-day Iraq and Syria in the early seventh century, Christians who lived in those places perceived their destructiveness as no more than the usual predatory activities of Bedouins. But what they were in fact experiencing was the beginning of military conquest and the spread of Islam from Arabia to China in the East and, in the West, to Spain and the gates of Vienna, where Islam was checked for the second and last time in 1683.

While the terrestrial power of Islam has been much reduced in recent centuries, for radical Muslims the drive to conquer and reconquer remains. In his recent book on four nations converted to Islam, the prominent writer V. S. Naipaul maintains that there "probably has been no imperialism like that of Islam and the Arabs."

Moreover, if Bat Ye-or, an Egyptian-born Jew and leading historian of Islam is right, radical Muslims are now preparing for jihad in Europe and North America. "The Islamist movement makes no secret of its intentions to convert the West," she observes. "Its propaganda, published in booklets sold in all European Islamic centers for the last 30 years, sets out its aims and the methods to achieve them. They include proselytism, conversion, marriage with local women and, above all, immigration. Remembering that Muslims always began as a minority in the conquered countries ... before becoming a majority, the ideologists of this movement regard Islamic settlement in Europe, the United States and elsewhere as a chance for Islam."

It is surely beyond dispute that there are some well-armed and sophisticated radical Muslims who have already declared war on the West in general, and on the United States in particular. What remains unclear is whether those who advocate literal warfare against the "dar al-harb" are heretics, as many North American Muslims say, or if they are simply practicing the old faith with modern weapons. What is clear is that we would do well to find out.

Load-Date: September 9, 1998

Israel stunned by bus carnage

The Guardian (London)

February 15, 2001

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Section: Guardian Home Pages, Pg. 1

Length: 1150 words

Byline: Suzanne Goldenberg at Azur junction

Body

Morning rush hour brought raw horror to the heart of Israel yesterday when a Palestinian driver turned his bus into a killing machine, mowing down eight commuters at a crowded stop and injuring 20 others.

As a nation careered between rage and grief for its dead - seven soldiers, including three women - Israelis struggled with the chilling realisation that the rogue driver, Khalil Abu Olbeh, had been working in their midst for five years.

The Gaza resident, 35 and a father of five, had cleared his latest security check two weeks ago, one of the few Palestinians still trusted after four months of a bloody uprising, to drive the Egged company's fleet of red and white buses.

The bus ploughed into the crowd with devastating force, hurling people five metres in the air. "All of a sudden, I heard a noise - boom - and before I could turn round and see what was happening, I was thrown to the ground," said Yoel Avniel, whose face was badly smashed.

Mr Avniel, who was admitted to the nearby Asaf Rofeh hospital, was one of the few civilians at the stop. The rest of the crowd were soldiers. "I saw a lot of body parts," said Moshe Sarussi, a soldier, 19, from Ashqelon, who was treated for shock. "I saw a leg split in two, and a stomach split wide open. I saw a lot of bad things."

Three women soldiers were critical in a Tel Aviv hospital last night.

After plunging his bus into the crowd, most of whom were on their way to jobs at an army base south of Tel Aviv, Mr Olbeh swerved back on to the road, leading police in a 12-mile chase through thick traffic until he smashed into a truck. He was shot and was operated on yesterday for injuries to his pelvis and legs.

It was the deadliest single attack inside Israel in nearly four years. Officials said yesterday that the Middle East had embarked on a dangerous new era. That realisation was dawning in Washington as well, where President George Bush called on both sides to halt the latest escalation in violence. In other violence yesterday, Palestinian gunmen shot and wounded a Jewish settler near Hebron, three roadside bombs exploded and a hand grenade was thrown at Israeli soldiers in southern Gaza.

The renewed violence began with last week's landslide election victory by the hardliner Ariel Sharon.

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Mr Sharon, who swept to power promising to restore Israelis' sense of security, was unyielding yesterday. "Once again it has been proven that from the Palestinians' standpoint, there is no difference between Netzarim (in the Gaza Strip), the West Bank, the Lebanese border, and the country's very heart," he said.

After facing international condemnation for the bombing of Palestinian cities, imposing a blockade in the West Bank and Gaza that has devastated the local economy, and assassinating leaders of Mr Arafat's Fatah movement - two within the last 24 hours - Israel yesterday appeared to be running out of options to contain the uprising.

"We are facing the most difficult day Israel has had in the last four or five years," Israel's most senior diplomat, Alon Liel, told reporters. "In addition to the tragedy, we are shocked by the appalling reaction of Yasser Arafat and his senior ministers, justifying it and putting the blame on Israel."

On a visit to Turkey, Mr Arafat described yesterday's attack as a road accident: "What is happening is an Israeli military escalation that has direct consequences on the feelings of the Palestinian people."

It was widely expected that the outrage could spur efforts to forge a national unity government between Mr Sharon and the outgoing prime minister, Ehud Barak, that would feel even more justified in meting out reprisals on the Palestinians.

Yesterday's attack happened just before 8am local time when the pavement near the Azur junction was packed with soldiers making their way to work.

Avi Nager, who was riding his motorcycle behind the bus, said: "I saw him slowing down and all of a sudden he began speeding like crazy. He must have been going 80km an hour." Scores of protesters descended on the junction yesterday, screaming "Death to Arabs" and carrying placards reading "Sharon, keep your promise" and exhorting anyone who would listen that the time had come for Israel to assassinate Mr Arafat and the leading figures in his administration.

Only a few showed restraint. "Many people are in shock," said Shuki Ziv, who returned to the bus stop to search for his soldier son, whom he had dropped off a few minutes before the attack. His son was unhurt. "But I am sorry to say we are getting used to it. The Palestinians don't want us here, and we don't want them, but we have no other choice than to negotiate."

There appeared no chance of that yesterday with Israel sealing off the Palestinian enclaves in the West Bank and closing the sole border crossing into Gaza. Last night, Mr Barak summoned his security cabinet to weigh up Israel's response.

But even as the orders went down, some of Mr Barak's ministers were questioning the wisdom of tightening the ring of steel around Palestinian enclaves in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, which has reduced a population to ruin. "I don't think it is in our favour to keep the Gaza Strip tightly closed with the people starving inside," said the deputy defence minister, Efraim Sneh.

In a sign of the deepening divisions over how to deal with the Palestinian uprising, Mr Barak's security adviser, Danny Yatom, threatened to strike a mortal blow to Mr Arafat's administration: "If the Palestinian Authority does not straighten itself out, we will need to take steps that could very badly hurt the Palestinian Authority itself, to the point of bringing about its collapse."

"Would this improve the Palestinians' lot? Under no circumstances."

But there was also a deep sense of vulnerability, as Israel's police chief admitted that no security regime could stop a lone operator like Mr Olbeh. "I want to stress that despite all the warnings and the precautions and deployments and all the operations by all the security forces, there is no way to prevent an incident like this 100%," said the police chief, Shalom Aharonishky.

In Gaza City, relatives of Mr Olbeh said he had no links to any political organisation and dismissed competing claims for the attack from the militant group **Hamas** and a previously unknown Palestinian group. Instead, they

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described him as a man driven out of his senses by Israel's economic blockade and by the escalation of violence in the southern Gaza Strip.

Yesterday was Mr Olbeh's first day at work after a layoff of several days. His brother said he had spent his time brooding over reports of shot and wounded children in two nights of clashes at the Khan Yunis refugee camp. He was also worried that he could no longer earn enough for his family.

Israeli assassins rebuked, page 14

Links:

www.p-p-o.com Yasser Arafat's office www.freeman.org/m-online/ariela.htm Articles by Ariel Sharon

Load-Date: February 15, 2001

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**IN TERROR'S SHADOW, A NEW BID FOR PEACE IN MIDEAST / ISRAEL,
PALESTINIANS SEE PROGRESS AFTER THE FIRST MEETING IN MONTHS**

The Philadelphia Inquirer
JULY 20, 1998 Monday SF EDITION

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Length: 904 words

Byline: Mark Davis, INQUIRER STAFF WRITER, This article contains information from Inquirer wire services.

Dateline: JERUSALEM

Body

Attempting to break a 16-month standoff, high-level Palestinian and Israeli negotiators shook hands, sat down to talk behind locked doors in Tel Aviv, and emerged late last night to announce that they would meet again today to discuss the same topic - peace.

The talks will continue, they said, despite an attempt yesterday morning to detonate a car bomb on a busy Jerusalem street and ruin the meeting before it began.

After talking for 3 1/2 hours in a session U.S. officials had urged for months, Yitzhak Mordechai, Israel's defense minister, and Mahmoud Abbas, an adviser to Palestinian leader Yasir Arafat, agreed on at least one point: Peace had taken a small, but important, step forward.

"We decided to focus in coming days on the central issues and to look for solutions to bridge the gap . . . between the two sides," said Mordechai, who attended the session at the request of Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu.

"We have discussed all the outstanding issues, dealt with them from all their aspects, and we will follow them up in order to hear more ideas, hoping that such an endeavor will lead to a bridging of the sides," Abbas said.

Officials will meet in "small teams" to discuss some of the sticking points separating the two sides, they said.

Their cautiously bright assessments offered a marked contrast to the meeting's start, over which the aborted bombing had cast a pall.

No one, other than the driver of the explosives-laden van, was hurt when the vehicle caught fire. But the van's successful detonation, a police spokesman said, would have been a "terrible tragedy" and a fresh reminder of the last bombing here in September.

IN TERROR'S SHADOW, A NEW BID FOR PEACE IN MIDEAST / ISRAEL , PALESTINIANS SEE
PROGRESS AFTER THE FIRST MEETING IN MONTHS

The suspected would-be bomber, who was badly burned, remained in serious condition late last night at a Jerusalem hospital. Police identified him as Jalal Rumaneh and said he lived in a West Bank village north of Jerusalem.

The incident prompted Netanyahu to call a news conference at which he asked the Palestinian Authority to take greater responsibility for terrorist acts.

"You can understand why we insist that the Palestinians carry out their responsibilities about terrorism," said Netanyahu, who has thus far refused to agree to withdraw Israeli troops from an additional 13 percent of the West Bank, as called for in a U.S. peace initiative.

He has called on the Palestinians to curb terrorism, claiming they have been responsible for the impasse in the peace process.

Saeb Erekat, a top Arafat adviser, said the near-disaster in Jerusalem yesterday had its roots in Netanyahu's failure to agree to an additional troop withdrawal. He urged the prime minister to negotiate with the Palestinians.

"Mr. Netanyahu needs to put his money where his mouth is," Erekat told Israeli television yesterday. "The only good Palestinian, to him, is one who blindly agrees to his proposals."

Meanwhile, police pressed their investigation of the failed bombing, which occurred almost a year after a suicide blast at a nearby outdoor market claimed 18 lives.

Police cleared Jaffa Street, the busy Jerusalem thoroughfare where the incident occurred, for several blocks in each direction for about three hours as bomb experts went to work.

Officers poked about in the burned van, took away incendiary materials, and made a discovery: A yellow Israeli license plate had been placed over a blue license plate attached to the vehicle. It had been camouflaged, police said, to minimize suspicion.

Rumaneh, 30, a father of three, has been under suspicion before. Officials said that he had been imprisoned for 20 months several years ago, and that he had links to the Muslim fundamentalist group Hamas. According to investigators, he did not have a permit to leave territory controlled by the Palestinians.

But yesterday morning, they said, Rumaneh was on Jaffa Street, driving an off-white van. The boxy vehicle coasted to a stop beside a string of shops and cafes, police and witnesses said. The street was fairly quiet, but beginning to stir.

It was 8:30 a.m., and Yoav Ques was getting ready for another day at the shoe store where he works. He said he looked up in time to see the van come to a stop at the curb, then roll backward until it was about 10 feet from his shop. Suddenly, smoke billowed out of the van's doors and darkened windows.

Ques said he and a coworker ran to the van, broke a window, and pulled out an unconscious figure, his clothes and flesh burning. They leaned him against a traffic light pole, Ques said, and the driver slumped against it, unmoving.

"I thought it was an accident," Ques said. "Then I looked inside the car."

Inside, police said, was 160 gallons of flammable liquid. The van also held an undetermined number of bolts, screws and nails - projectiles designed to maim and kill, police said.

Susan Adika could have become one of the bomb's targets. The knowledge left her shaken and lighting one cigarette after another, hours after police had hauled away the burned van.

A Jaffa Street bakery owner, Adika had nearly reached her shop yesterday morning when she paused to buy a pack of cigarettes. She smelled smoke, someone yelled, and Adika saw the burning man.

IN TERROR'S SHADOW, A NEW BID FOR PEACE IN MIDEAST / ISRAEL , PALESTINIANS SEE PROGRESS AFTER THE FIRST MEETING IN MONTHS

Then she saw the unexploded containers inside the van, and knew - terrorism had returned.

Others knew it, too, she said. "Look out there," Adika said, pointing to the sidewalk where people, in groups and alone, walked quietly past the spot where the pavement was still smoke-smudged. "People are afraid."

Graphic

PHOTO;

PHOTO

Behind police lines, women in Jerusalem watch police and a bomb squad inspect a van that police say contained a bomb that failed to detonate. The van caught fire and burned the driver, they said. (Associated Press, JACQUELINE LARMA)

Israeli police and members of a bomb squad push a van that they say carried explosives. A Palestinian driver was arrested. (Associated Press, MATI STEIN)

Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai arrives at a cabinet meeting in Jerusalem. He was named to attend the peace talks. (Associated Press, MATI STEIN)

Load-Date: October 24, 2002

BUS ATTACK BRINGS CARNAGE TO TEL AVIV IN WORST PALESTINIAN ATTACK FOR FOUR YEARS

The Independent (London)

February 15, 2001, Thursday

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Section: FOREIGN NEWS; Pg. 13

Length: 1155 words

Byline: Phil Reeves In Azur, Near Tel Aviv

Body

SCATTERED DOCUMENTS, an army boot, a ruddy patch of blood, bodies under grey blankets, one marked with a square sign bearing the number "2" like an athlete's vest. The detritus of guerrilla war is always shocking but never more so than when it is strewn around an urban landscape - in a lay-by, beside a car park, just off a motorway junction. Blink and you would think you were at a service station just off the M1.

And yet war arrived even here yesterday, reaching deep into this concrete dormitory suburb, south of Tel Aviv. It was delivered by a Palestinian bus driver who saw no need for bombs or bullets but used his own vehicle as his weapon, crashing it into a crowd waiting at a bus stop and popular hitch-hiking post.

At 7.50am, in the height of the rush-hour on the 139th day of the Al- Aqsa intifada, Khalil Abu Olbeh, 35, made it his turn to strike at Israel's heartland.

He drove his bus past a plant nursery, past a vacant lot, through some traffic lights, and past a couple of scrappy palm trees that stand in front of a snack and ice cream stall. Then - witnesses say - with a burst of speed he veered off the four-lane thoroughfare and swept away the lives of eight people, seven of them Israeli soldiers, five of them women.

It was by far the deadliest Palestinian attack since the start of the intifada, the worst atrocity in Israel for more than four years, and a moment which seemed to confirm the sense of international panic that there is no quick remedy for this worsening conflict; that all talk of the "Oslo peace process" is even more farcical than ever, and that there will be much more bloodshed before peace is restored.

As his victims' broken corpses lay scattered in his wake, and the injured - at least 18 of them, three critical - cried for help, Mr Abu Olbeh drove the bus south for more than 20 miles, pursued by Israeli police and a helicopter in a high-speed chase that ended when he shunted into the back of a lorry after being shot by his pursuers.

"The bus was moving slowly and suddenly it speeded up and drove into the soldiers," said one witness, Ayelet Cohen-Natan, as white-gloved volunteers from an ultra-Orthodox Jewish burial service combed the site, gathering body parts into plastic bags in compliance with a religious law which says that every effort must be made to collect even the smallest body parts for burial. "I saw dead people with arms, heads and legs cut open. It was terrible. One of the soldiers was thrown into a tree."

BUS ATTACK BRINGS CARNAGE TO TEL AVIV IN WORST PALESTINIAN ATTACK FOR FOUR YEARS

The task of working out specifically why Mr Abu Olbeh committed this mass killing, and whether it was spontaneous, will now rest with his Israeli interrogators. The answer is not as obvious as it might seem. He does not fit Israel's definition of a "terrorist".

For five years, he has worked for Israel's state-owned bus company, Egged, ferrying Palestinian workers from Gaza to low-paid menial jobs. In the past four-and-a-half months, only a few workers have been allowed out of the strip because of a devastating Israeli blockade, which yesterday - despite appeals from Britain, the UN and the EU for it to be eased - was tightened further.

Reports said Mr Abu Olbeh took his usual route, dropping off 51 labourers in the town of Ramle. There were claims from the Palestinians that it may have been a road accident. But the details - the burst of speed, the long chase, the deviation from his route - strongly suggested otherwise. Instead of going to rest at a nearby depot, he headed north to Aful on the edge of Tel Aviv where he committed his carnage.

Mr Abu Olbeh was a trusted employee who carried a permit from Israel's Shin Bet internal security service and had been vetted anew only a fortnight ago. Palestinian officials said he had no connection with any political organisation, although there were claims of responsibility yesterday from the **Hamas** military wing, Izzadin Kissam, and from an unknown group called the "Return Brigades".

But, like 1.2 million others, Mr Abu Olbeh lived in Gaza, where an armed conflict pitting the Palestinians imprisoned on the 40km strip against Israelis soldiers and settlers has continued almost daily since the intifada began, largely outside the gaze of the international media.

Yesterday, as on many days previously, Israeli armoured bulldozers were busy turning more Arab orchards and farmland into moonscape. Since last September, many hundreds of Palestinian rioters have been maimed and killed after hurling themselves at the might of a well-armed Israeli army that thinks nothing of killing an Arab. No one in Gaza has been untouched by these events. Mr Abu Olbeh is a father of five. According to his 39-year-old brother, Hussein, he was upset about the death of scores of Palestinian children. "Yesterday, I saw Khalil near the house. He told me he was thinking about many things. My brother was always pained when he heard the Israelis have killed children. The incident today was a natural reaction," Mr Abu Olbeh said.

If true, this may not be the only explanation. Israeli officials conceded that the attack could have been in retaliation to an assassination on Tuesday. Missiles fired from an Israeli helicopter killed Masoud Ayad, 54, a commander of Yasser Arafat's Force 17 bodyguard detail in Gaza. He was the 20th victim of Israel's policy of extra-judicial killings - a violation of international law which was condemned yesterday by the EU and Britain.

Urging an end to violence, the Foreign Office described Mr Ayad's death as murder, a term it also used for yesterday's bus stop killings. The 21st victim appears to have been notched up yesterday morning, when the Israeli army shot dead a 24-year-old Palestinian policemen near Anabta, on the West Bank.

This escalation could scarcely be happening at a more politically precarious time. Israel is undergoing an interregnum: the discredited, defeated Ehud Barak is still prime minister pending the formation of a government by Ariel Sharon. Belatedly, warnings are increasingly emerging from the international community (Britain included) that Mr Arafat's Palestinian Authority is heading for collapse and that anarchy is looming.

As Israel slumped into another debate about whether the ultimate answer lies in total separation from the Palestinians - an impossibility - the region's politicians went through the usual motions. Mr Barak called the attack "abominable"; Mr Sharon said it was proof that the Palestinians see no difference between settlements in the West Bank and pre-1967 Israel; Mr Arafat blamed Israel's recent "military escalation". George Bush said it was "terrible act".

But these words have become stale in this region. None of them will matter much to the Israelis whose lives were ruined yesterday, to the 3,000 Palestinians who turned out for Mr Ayad's funeral, or to the scores of enraged protesters who later gathered at the site of the bus attack chanting "revenge, revenge" and "death to Arabs".

BUS ATTACK BRINGS CARNAGE TO TEL AVIV IN WORST PALESTINIAN ATTACK FOR FOUR YEARS

Graphic

The bodies of Israeli soldiers and civilians lie scattered on a lay-by after a bus driven by Khalil Abu Olbeh, top, ploughed into a crowd queuing at a bus stop. At least 18 people were injured, including the young soldier, right. Three were in a critical condition last night Koko; Barak/Adel Hana

Load-Date: February 15, 2001

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MIDDLE EAST CRISIS: HOW 'WRONG TURN' ENDED IN BLOODY LYNCHING OF SOLDIERS; RAMALLAH

The Independent (London)

October 13, 2000, Friday

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Section: FOREIGN NEWS; Pg. 3

Length: 1179 words

Byline: Phil Reeves

Body

IT WAS the melt-down everyone feared but few believed would happen. As night fell over the Holy Land last night Israeli helicopters were circling the Gaza Strip and West Bank, firing missiles into the heart of Palestinian territory. The Palestinians called it a declaration of war; the Israelis said peace talks were dead.

The crisis had been building for days but it took an act of singular brutality to ignite it - the death of up to three Israeli soldiers at the hands of a Palestinian mob that the police of Yasser Arafat, the Palestinian leader, could not control.

The men were arrested by Palestinian police as they entered Ramallah, the West Bank headquarters of the Palestinian Authority. The town has been as angry as everywhere else in the Israeli-occupied territories in the past two weeks.

It is the most prosperous of the West Bank towns, teeming with liberated young Christian and Muslim Palestinians. It has a thriving cafe society and a vibrant nightlife where women sport high heels, Levi's and the latest Western fashions rather than the chadors of the Arab world. The now-shattered peace process had brought back prosperous Palestinians from the diaspora. They glide around town in latest -model cars and live in villas often funded by Mr Arafat's Palestinian Authority.

Soon after the Israelis were detained yesterday, rumours circulated that they were from an undercover intelligence unit spying on Palestinian militants and gathering information on recently released Hamas prisoners. No one believed the official Israeli version - that the men had strayed into the area by mistake.

Palestinian autonomous areas are clearly marked and - in this fear-stricken society - well known to everyone on both sides. However, the soldiers were, reports said, driving a car with yellow Israeli plates. They had gone through one Israeli checkpoint before arriving at a Palestinian post, where they were detained.

Before long a throng of 1,000 Palestinians, some brandishing Kalashnikovs, converged on the police station and smashed a path to the room where the men were being held and stabbed them to death. Two of the bodies were flung, like tailors' dummies, from the second-floor window to a crowd that began pounding them with metal bars.

Television footage showed the killers emerging, their hands bathed in blood. Youths danced through the streets. Grinning young men, leaning from the windows of the building where the killings had occurred moments before,

MIDDLE EAST CRISIS: HOW 'WRONG TURN' ENDED IN BLOODY LYNCHING OF SOLDIERS; RAMALLAH

made the victory signs. It was a grotesque display - bestial sectarian hatred, frustration built up over years; contempt for Mr Arafat's authority and his pathetically weak police force, and legitimate anger over the Israelis' persistent killing of rioting youths and children. It was also the straw that broke the camel's back, tipping the two sides towards war.

News of the deaths hit Israel like a sledgehammer. There has been terrible brutality on both sides in the past fortnight. Israel was angered and humiliated by the capture of three of its soldiers by Hizbollah guerrillas. The Palestinians and the Arab world has been incensed by the killing of around 90 Arabs by Israeli troops. But this butchery - for Israel - was the worst.

When news broke that the soldiers' bodies had been handed over to Israel, a furious crowd gathered outside the forensic institute in Tel Aviv, where the bodies were brought. In Jerusalem, crowds took to the street demanding all-out war against the Palestinians.

The Prime Minister, Ehud Barak, once the country's most decorated soldier, approved a retaliatory attack by the army, mobilising tanks, troops and Apache helicopters around Ramallah and Gaza.

It was, the Israeli military later said, supposed to be a "limited action" in retaliation to a "barbaric action". And it seems Israel did warn the Palestinians of their attacks - three hours before, military officials claimed.

There will be consequences and they will be bloody. In a piece of astounding self-delusion the Israeli military issued a statement saying it was a "symbolic message".

It did not look symbolic to the terrified Arab crowds fleeing through Ramallah, as Israeli helicopters circled and began pounding the city with rockets.

They hit Palestinian Authority buildings, and at least two police stations, reducing one to rubble. The streets emptied as people, many of whom work in Jerusalem, took cover.

The aircraft hit the Palestinian television station, which has repeatedly broadcasting coverage of the rioting, deaths and funerals of the past fortnight - incitement, according to the Israelis. The helicopters also hit a Palestinian radio transmitter - twice. Medical officials said at least 17 people were hurt, mostly civilians.

As the sun set over the Arab city and the low hills around it, the Israeli helicopters - guided by spotter planes and a drone - were still arcing over the reddening skyline, above a silent, stunned landscape.

A parallel Israeli strike began on the Gaza Strip. The United Nations envoy to the Middle East, Terje Roed-Larsen, was in Mr Arafat's offices in Gaza City when the news came in. It was relayed by the Palestinian leader - and it was nothing if not blunt: Get out of my office. It is about to be bombed by the Israelis. The envoy, who had been delivering a message from the UN secretary general, Kofi Annan, packed his briefcase and hurried away, seeking refuge in a nearby UN office.

The harsh reality of the hatred of the Middle East had erupted at his feet as never before. Nor was he the only senior official in Gaza as Israeli helicopters began circling, poised to launch their missiles. The Foreign Secretary, Robin Cook, had been there the night before, having dinner with Mr Arafat during a mission that was always going to be far too little, far too late.

George Tenet, CIA director, was still there. His agents have long been on the ground in Gaza, a seething fenced-in oblong of coastal land in which 1 million Palestinians are crammed, with a few thousand heavily protected Jewish settlers. But they either spectacularly failed to read the signals or chose to ignore them. For them too yesterday's events must have been a stunning taste of the hard facts.

Soon Israeli naval ships were offshore, their barrels trained on the land. The targets were carefully chosen. Helicopter missiles smashed into several tiny boats belonging to the Palestinian authority's sad little marine force, moored in the grubby waters along the sea front, an area dotted with hotels used by "the Oslo class", the irreverent phrase Gazans use for bureaucrats around Mr Arafat.

MIDDLE EAST CRISIS: HOW 'WRONG TURN' ENDED IN BLOODY LYNCHING OF SOLDIERS; RAMALLAH

A rocket also came close to Mr Arafat's residence, hitting a building housing his bodyguards. Residents ran out of the buildings in the area amid the chaos as ambulances drove to the scene.

In the nearby town of Beit Lahia, rockets hit the headquarters of Tanzim, the armed wing of Mr Arafat's Fatah organisation. A police station was also reportedly hit. Mr Arafat escaped and was soon touring the city, surrounded by crowds yelling defiance and abuse at the United States and Israel.

Graphic

A mob surrounds the police station, top, before the Israelis launch an attack on the building AFP

Load-Date: October 13, 2000

End of Document

Scone stands Timber Country / Arrowfield Group makes a second coup

THE AUSTRALIAN

February 9, 1998, Monday

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Section: SPORT; Pg. 30

Length: 1079 words

Byline: TONY ARROLD

Body

THE Arrowfield Group has announced another internationally recognised elite racehorse, Timber Country, to join its stallion roster this spring.

A US Eclipse award-winning two-year-old and a US classic winner at three, Timber Country is a six-yearold son of acclaimed sire Woodman and the fabulous broodmare Fall Aspen, the northern hemisphere's version of Eight Carat.

The announcement that Timber Country will enter Arrowfield Stud, Scone, New South Wales, comes a week after the group issued details of its coup in securing Fuji Kiseki, the first son of Japan's record-setting sire Sunday Silence to stand in Australia.

Like high-quality runner Fuji Kiseki, Timber Country will stand at Arrowfield Stud by arrangement with Japan's premier stud, the Shadai Farms group.

MATP

The Arrowfield-Shadai partnership began last year with a contract drawn up for the southern-hemisphere use of Shadai's multiple European Group 1 miler Hector Protector, also a son of Woodman.

Hector Protector was warmly received at Arrowfield last spring, departing in late December when it was learned he had finished a very creditable ninth, with three crops to represent him, on the general sires' list for Japan (see Page 31).

Owing to continuing success in Europe for Woodman's progeny in 1997 notably the crack mare Bosra Sham, a sister to Hector Protector -England's National Stud struck an agreement with Shadai Farm to stand Hector Protector for the 1998 northern season.

But he will return to Arrowfield Stud on the annual shuttle in August.

Arrowfield Group chairman John Messara said he had "no problem" standing Group 1-winning sons of Woodman (by Mr Prospector) even if their sire is likely to return for a second southern season at Coolmore Australia, Jerrys Plains, NSW, this spring.

"Hector Protector and Timber Country were outstanding performers in their own right -one a champion in Europe, the other a champion in the USA," Messara said.

Scone stands Timber Country / Arrowfield Group makes a second coup

"Both have an outstanding but quite different female pedigree -indeed, in the case of Timber Country, the northern hemisphere does not have a better performing female family."

Hector Protector and Timber Country were infinitely better runners than Woodman, the former winning European juvenile honours and including the classic French 2000 Guineas at three years among his haul of Group 1 wins.

Likewise, Timber Country was voted best North American two-year-old in the Eclipse awards for 1994, winning two Group 1 events, and adding the classic Group I Preakness to his record at three.

Having taken Belmont's prestigious Champagne Stakes, Timber Country sealed his Eclipse award honour by making the 1994 Breeders' Cup Juvenile his fourth win in seven starts.

His arrival in Australia later this year means seven of the 14 winners of the BC Juvenile have, so far, found their way to this part of the globe.

Timber Country is the fifth winner of the United States'

richest race for two-year-olds to enter Arrowfield Stud.

He follows the inaugural 1984 winner Chief's Crown (who died last year at his northern home in Kentucky), Brocco (1993) and Unbridled's Song (1995).

No BC Juvenile winner has gone on to win the Kentucky Derby.

Although Timber Country was sent off 7-2 favourite among 19 three-year-olds to run a sizzler from well back to finish third by 21/2 lengths, his stable companion, Thunder Gulch (another grandson of Mr Prospector), ran decidedly better on the day to post a 24-1 upset.

But Timber Country had swift revenge two weeks later in the second leg of the US Triple Crown, the Group 1 Preakness Stakes, reversing positions with Thunder Gulch and winning with an irresistible finish to post a time equalling the same marks set by the Preakness giants Secretariat, Seattle Slew and Affirmed.

A fever sidelined Timber Country from the final leg of the Triple Crown, the Belmont Stakes, won in his absence by Thunder Gulch.

In fact, Timber Country never ran again.

He came off the training track in August with what was found later to be a ligament tear of his left foreleg.

Within two weeks, the announcement of his retirement from racing was coupled with confirmation the chestnut colt had been sold for \$US12 million (\$17.6 million) and that he was being shipped off to in Japan.

Although Timber Country was part-owned by two of Kentucky's strongest breeding forces, Gainesway and Overbrook Farms, the Shadai Farms offer was one which could not be commercially refused.

Post-sale details had Timber Country being syndicated there into 60 shares, with Shadai Farm retaining 24.5 shares and the balance farmed out at Y29 million (about \$433,000) a share.

A \$US500,000 Keeneland July yearling, Timber Country returned \$US1,560,400 in 12 starts, winning five from 1000m to 1700m, and placing four other times.

His mother, Fall Aspen, was a competent sprinter who won eight races over three seasons, with her juvenile term her best year when she landed three out of five, including the Group I Matron Stakes.

Fall Aspen was one of 22 stakes winners for the dual US Group 1 2000m winner Pretense, by the Argentinabred Endeavour.

Scone stands Timber Country / Arrowfield Group makes a second coup

She was sold three times at public auction during her breeding career, initially for \$US900,000 in 1984 when in foal to Raise A Native, again three years later for \$US1.1 million when carrying to Shareef Dancer, and for a third time, just days after Timber Country's BC Juvenile win, for \$US2.4 million when in foal to Danzig.

John Magnier, of the Coolmore Stud, was the buyer when Fall Aspen was sold, rising 19 years, at the 1994 Keeneland November breeding stock sale.

She subsequently foaled a colt to Danzig, her 12th in 14 breeding seasons.

Fall Aspen has left nine consecutive foals, 1982-1990 inclusive, before missing the 10th but producing Timber Country in her 11th season.

Timber Country is Fall Aspen's fourth Group I winner, her seventh Group winner and her ninth winning foal.

Fall Aspen's produce have a winning distance range from the 1200m of the Group I July Cup success for **Hamas** (by Danzig) to 4200m of the Group III Goodwood Cup victory by Mazzacano, her 1985 foal by Alleged.

Her 10th winner, and eighth stakes winner, is her 1993 colt Prince Of Thieves who is by Hansel, a Woodman horse who won the Preakness Stakes in 1991, the year Fall Aspen dropped Timber Country.

Fall Aspen's second foal, the Exclusive Native filly Elle Seule, a Group II winner in France, subsequently produced the Group I Irish 1000 Guineas winner, Mehthaaf.

TABLE AVAILABLE / TIMBER COUNTRY CH H, 1991

Load-Date: March 1, 2002

NEWS SUMMARY

The New York Times

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Body

INTERNATIONAL A3-11

W.H.O. Report Details Tobacco Company Tactics

Industry documents show that cigarette makers took part for years in a campaign to influence and undermine the World Health Organization's antismoking efforts worldwide, the agency said. The document also accuses leading tobacco companies of using a network of front organizations and groups with industry ties to thwart the organization. A8

Pinochet May Lose Immunity

The Chilean Supreme Court voted in secret to strip Gen. Augusto Pinochet of his senatorial immunity, according to radio and news Web site accounts in Santiago. Such a decision would remove the last legal obstacle to a full criminal inquiry and would let the former dictator be tried. A4

Life for G.I. in Kosovo Killing

A United States military court in Germany sentenced Staff Sgt. Frank J. Ronghi to life in prison without parole for the murder of an 11-year-old Kosovo Albanian girl. His sentence is the most severe available to an American military court holding a trial in Germany, where the death penalty does not exist. A3

Bosnian in U.S. Civil Case

A civil lawsuit against Dr. Radovan Karadzic, the former leader of the Bosnian Serbs, began in federal court in Manhattan with a witness fainting on the stand as she described her captivity, rape and torture during the Balkans conflict in 1992. Dr. Karadzic has been indicted for genocide by the international war crimes tribunal in The Hague, but has avoided capture and is believed to be hiding in Bosnia. A3

American Family Sues Syria

The family of an Israeli-American, Ira Weinstein, killed in a 1996 terrorist attack in Jerusalem, filed suit in New York against Syria, contending that it had provided critical support to **Hamas**, the militant Palestinian group whose members carried out the suicide bombing. A6

NEWS SUMMARY

Israeli Leader Faces the Right

Prime Minister Ehud Barak's political problems deepened as his right-wing opponents, sensing blood with their defeat of Shimon Peres, his presidential candidate, vowed to bring down his government. A6

Clashes Over Venezuela Vote

President Hugo Chavez used troops to quash street protests and remove an opposition party governor who had accused the governing party of trying to alter the outcome of elections last weekend. A11

No Clues in Concorde Debris

French investigators said they had not found any engine parts in the trail of debris shed by an Air France Concorde on its brief flight before crashing near Charles de Gaulle Airport outside Paris on July 25. In a statement, the Bureau of Accident Investigations also said it had found no evidence of any "particular problem before the departure of the flight." A4

World Briefing A6

NATIONAL A12-23

McCain Vouches for Bush On Handling Foreign Policy

Senator John McCain shed his rebellious image to play admiring party stalwart at the Republican National Convention, commending Gov. George W. Bush to independents and Democrats. He and other military heroes who spoke offered assurances that Mr. Bush would ably defend national interests abroad. Joining the chorus and delivering the other high-profile speech was Condoleezza Rice, Mr. Bush's chief international affairs adviser who, as an African American, also underscores his pledge to place members of minorities in consequential roles. A1

Former President George Bush put President Clinton on notice over Mr. Clinton's belittling of his son. A1

Television ratings indicated only a small fraction of the prime-time audience watched the first night. A17

The Philadelphia police arrested scores of protesters seeking to disrupt the convention with illegal hit-and-run demonstrations that snarled evening rush-hour traffic. A18

The Elite of G.O.P. Donors

The Republican Party's platinum-level sponsors, the Republican Regents, are a group of 139 people and corporations that party officials say have each given at least \$250,000 in soft money since January 1999. But federal campaign records show only 54 corporations and individuals as having given that much, because some donors have split their donations into smaller checks, at the suggestion of party officials. A1

Study Questions Brady Law

There is no evidence that the Brady law requiring background checks of handgun buyers reduced homicide rates since it took effect in 1994, a study in The Journal of the American Medical Association reported. The Clinton administration and others quickly criticized the report. A12

The Rise of an Illicit Drug

Drug experts warned that the use of the psychedelic drug Ecstasy has risen sharply, particularly among young people, raising fears that government faces a major new front in its efforts to curb illegal drugs. A21

NEWS SUMMARY

Heat Wave Draining the West

A lingering heat wave in the West drove demand for electric power in California near record levels and brought the state close to a full-scale power emergency. A23

NEW YORK/REGION B1-7

Bankruptcy Fraud Charges For Fallen Stock Promoter

Robert E. Brennan, a prominent pitchman for hot, little-known stocks that he promoted in the 1980's in television ads for his First Jersey Securities, was charged with criminal fraud involving a bankruptcy claim, and, for the first time, he could face a prison term. Though he has lost or settled civil cases and owes \$200 million in fines and restitution to defrauded investors, he has never before been charged with a crime. A1

An Online Real Estate Lode

New York City's three largest real estate brokerage firms plan to share listings by combining them into one huge database that buyers and renters can view on the Internet. B1

Giuliani's Cancer Treatment

Mayor Giuliani acknowledged that he has been having hormone treatments for his prostate cancer for two and a half months. He indicated that this was a preliminary therapy. B3

EDUCATION B8

The School of Business

Columbia University is venturing further and faster than its peer institutions in forming partnerships with Internet businesses, reflecting a shift in academic culture. B1

Plan to Aid Worst Schools

Chancellor Harold O. Levy announced a plan to lure experienced instructors from private and parochial schools into the poorest public schools by raising starting pay. B3

ARTS E1-10

SCIENCE/HEALTH

New Approach on Warming

The United States, preparing for international talks on cutting levels of heat-trapping gases that may be warming the climate, wants countries to get as much credit for using forests and fields to sop up carbon dioxide as for cutting emissions. A1

Early Abuse, Later Stress

Women physically or sexually abused in childhood show exaggerated physiological responses to stressful events, a study found. A22

BUSINESS DAY C1-20

NEWS SUMMARY

Selling Priceline Shares

Jay S. Walker, the founder of Priceline.com, agreed to sell \$190 million of his shares to Liberty Media and Paul Allen's Vulcan Ventures. Mr. Walker said he would invest the after-tax proceeds of \$125 million in Priceline's WebHouse Club, an affiliate that sells groceries and gas. C1

Mixed Reports on Auto Sales

G.M. and DaimlerChrysler said sales fell in July, leaving both unable to reduce bloated inventories of minivans, pickup trucks and sport utility vehicles. But Ford and foreign automakers announced strong sales and balanced inventories. C1

P. & G. Performance Lags

Procter & Gamble, beset by rising costs, management turmoil and credibility problems on Wall Street, reported fourth-quarter results in line with lowered forecasts. The company also said earnings growth in the first half of its new fiscal year would be sluggish. C2

Business Digest C1

DINING F1-10

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Editorials: The defense debate begins; consolidating power in Venezuela; Brent Staples on the G.O.P. convention's minstrelsy.

Columns: Paul Krugman, Maureen Dowd.

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TV Listings E9

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Weather D7

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NEWS SUMMARY

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NEWS SUMMARY

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Body

INTERNATIONAL A3-8

U.N. Leader Chides U.S. For Holding Back on Troops

Secretary General Kofi Annan, faced with war on several fronts in Africa, criticized the Clinton administration for a reluctance to put American troops on the ground in United Nations peacekeeping efforts. A1

Three hundred Jordanian peacekeepers arrived in Sierra Leone, and 100 United Nations civilian employees who had been evacuated returned to Freetown, the capital. A8

Heavy fighting erupted along the Ethiopia-Eritrea border. Although there have been occasional skirmishes recently, this appeared to be the worst fighting in nearly a year. A8

Debate on Kosovo Force

The Pentagon and a bipartisan group of senators criticized legislation setting a deadline for withdrawing Nato-led American peacekeepers. A7

Questions on Korea Massacre

New evidence has been published that appears to undermine the testimony of two witnesses who said American soldiers were ordered to kill civilians near the No Gun Ri bridge during the Korean War. A1

China Official Dies After Fall

Officials confirmed that China's top foreign exchange regulator, Li Fuxiang, died on Wednesday, after falling from a hospital window. Hong Kong newspapers called the death a suicide. A6

Clinton Presses China Trade

President Clinton took his campaign to elevate trade relations with China to the Midwest, arguing that if Congress rejected the measure it would deny troubled farmers a chance to tap a giant new market. A6

Pakistan Coup Ruled Legal

NEWS SUMMARY

The Supreme Court ruled that the coup last October was legal and justified because of corrupt and ineffective rule by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, but it set a three-year deadline for a return to civilian rule. A4

Russian Police Raid Defended

President Vladimir V. Putin gave a backhanded defense of a police raid on the corporate headquarters of a private media empire, saying, "All are equal before the law, no matter what business they are in." A5

World Briefing A7

NATIONAL A9-14, 20

Officer in Harassment Case Breaks Her Public Silence

Lieut. Gen. Claudia J. Kennedy, who has accused a fellow Army general of making unwanted sexual advances toward her in 1996, said women in uniform who face harassment need to report it immediately to friends and superiors or "misconduct will continue to harm us." A1

League Fights Costly Verdict

Lawyers for the Anti-Defamation League filed motions in a federal court in Denver asking a judge to set aside a defamation verdict against it or at least reduce the \$10.5 million in damages that the jury awarded a couple who were called anti-Semites by a local league official. A1

Suit Against Islamic Charities

The parents of an Israeli-American teenager, David Boim, who died in a 1996 terrorist attack in Jerusalem, sued several Islamic charities, nonprofit groups and individuals that the Boims say raised money in the United States for Hamas, the militant Palestinian group. The Boims, who are seeking \$600 million in damages, say the groups are legally responsible for their son's death. A10

Respite for New Mexico Fire

Better weather stabilized the fire that destroyed much of Los Alamos and threatened the nation's main weapons laboratory. But high winds were expected this weekend. A9

Lottery Winner Steps Forward

A 47-year-old owner of a Michigan swimming pool company claimed half the record \$363 million Big Game lottery prize; after taxes, he will pocket about \$61 million. Officials in Illinois were still seeking the other winning-ticket holder. A9

Recasting G.O.P. Primaries

The Rules Committee of the Republican National Committee voted, 36 to 13, for a new primary system in which the smallest states would hold their contests in February while the biggest states would have to wait until May. The plan must be approved by the full committee and then the national convention this summer. A12

Bush to Offer Trigger Locks

Gov. George W. Bush said he would spend \$1 million a year to provide free trigger locks for handgun owners in Texas and, if elected president, would push for a national initiative, at a cost of \$65 million a year. A12

NEWS SUMMARY

Religion Journal A14

NEW YORK/REGION B1-6

Mayor to Devote Weekend To Health and Politics

Advisers said Mayor Giuliani would spend today and tomorrow considering treatment options for his prostate cancer and whether to stay in the Senate race. The mayor said he owed it to Republicans to make his plans known soon, and aides indicated an announcement by midweek. B1

Judge Allows Water Plant

A federal judge dismissed three lawsuits against a planned water-filtration plant in Van Cortlandt Park in the Bronx, allowing the city to go forward with a project that has been assailed by community groups and environmentalists. B1

Stolen Cyanide Trailer Found

Police officers in Queens found a stolen truck trailer that had held 20 drums of potassium cyanide, a highly poisonous chemical, on a deserted street. The chemical can be used for making bombs, but there was no indication that terrorists were involved in the theft. B3

EDUCATION

Way Clear for Interim Chancellor

Harold O. Levy's last two competitors for the chancellor's position dropped out, a day before they were to be interviewed by the New York City Board of Education. B3

ARTS & IDEAS B7-16

Auction Houses Disclose Data

Sotheby's and Christie's have given confidential company information to lawyers representing customers who accuse them of price-fixing in the wake of a federal inquiry. The move was a sign that the houses may be exploring a possible settlement of a potentially vast class-action suit. B13

SPORTS D1-8

Miami Beats Knicks

The Miami Heat beat the Knicks, 77-76, in overtime. Miami holds a 2-1 lead the NBA Eastern Conference semifinals. D1

Scion of Racing Family Is Killed

Adam Petty, 19, a fourth-generation Nascar driver, died after crashing in practice in New Hampshire. D1

BUSINESS DAY C1-14

Icahn's Nabisco Proposal

NEWS SUMMARY

Carl C. Icahn said in a regulatory filing that he would pay Nabisco Group shareholders \$19 in cash and \$3 a share in short-term debt, which Mr. Icahn said he would retire within two years through a refinancing or the sale of Nabisco's assets. Stock analysts called the price fair, given bids for other food companies, but said the bidding could go higher. Nabisco Group closed at \$19.69, up \$2.13. C1

Wholesale Prices Ease

The Producer Price Index, which measures inflation pressures before they reach consumers, dipped 0.3 percent last month, after shooting up in February and March. Nonetheless, economists expect the Fed to push rates higher on Tuesday. C3

Stocks Markets Rise Slightly

The Dow gained 63.40 points, to 10,609.37; the Nasdaq rose 29.48 points, to 3,529.06; and the S. & P. 500 climbed 13.15 points, to 1,420.96. C3

Ford Closing Dagenham Plant

Ford said it would close its biggest car assembly plant in Britain by early 2002, with a loss of 1,900 jobs. Ford cited poor financial performance in the whole of Europe. C2

Business Digest C1

OBITUARIES A14-15

EDITORIAL A18-19

Editorials: New York's new archbishop; controlled burning, out of control; insuring a fair vote in Peru; a real New Jersey debate.

Columns: Anthony Lewis.

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Crossword B14

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Public Lives A9

<http://www.nytimes.com>

Graphic

Photo

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NEWS SUMMARY

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*Missing in action;
Voices of Scotland*

Morning Star

November 08, 2001

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Byline: Jane Carolan

Body

AS September 11 fades from the forefront of memory, already the cruel and unnecessary bombing raids that continue nightly over the skies of Afghanistan have slipped from the front pages of newspapers and down the running order in the nightly news bulletins.

The deadly firework displays that light up the night sky over Kabul lose any sensationalist value that they initially possessed.

The media moves on to the next story, particularly when the results of the massacre on the ground become only too visible - the bloody, the battered, the buried, all done in our name.

Speculation is rife about the possibility of "our troops" going in to finish off the job and Tony Blair insists that we are in this for the long haul - the end of world terrorism.

The truth about the campaign has already given way to a myth of heroic struggle Perhaps because we watched as Desert Storm was fought and then compared the grim reality of pictures of soldiers roasted to death where they stood with the garish computer-game simulations supplied to entertain us beforehand or perhaps because we found out that the raids on a Sudanese chemical weapons plant targeted an aspirin factory or that collateral damage in Belgrade meant that factories, homes and hospitals were hit, we have become more subtle at interpreting what the media tells us.

People are making up their own minds. As the Morning Star has already commented, the most important and untold story is the development of the peace movement in this country.

Peace marches for a variety of causes over the years had become a gathering of the usual suspects, a happy reunion for generations of left activists to check out which party ex-comrades belonged to, while meeting and greeting old friends and catching up on life histories.

It was rare not to know at least most of the people on the march.

This time, it is different.

Missing in action; Voices of Scotland

The gatherings that took place in London and Glasgow on October 13 and those subsequently have been remarkable not only in terms of the numbers that they have attracted but in the sheer amazing variety of people that have felt the need to protest.

These crowds have been young, they have been multiracial and they have been multifaith - representatives from the Catholic church standing with their Protestant and Muslim counterparts.

They have included pensioners, war veterans, members of the emergency services, women's marching bands, refugees from many war zones, bikers, hippies and political activists from many political parties and community groups.

And the well-dressed middle classes have turned out, CND badges slightly rusty.

But one group has been missing - one very significant group.

Apart from the Fire Brigades Union, which has given magnificent backing, the national unions have been largely invisible on the marches and demonstrations that have taken place and have utterly failed to become part of the campaign.

In their silence, they become passive supporters of the Blair war.

While Labour MPs demonstrate the value of conscience and while every club and pub in the country is having a debate on the morality of war, the trade unions, it seems, have abrogated their responsibility.

Apart from its coverage in the Morning Star, who would be aware that UNISON debated the position at length and decided that "we regret that a military response has been deemed necessary" and "we believe that military action should be concluded as soon as possible?"

Has the TUC said anything beyond its messages of regret and condolences at the events of September 11?

The Scottish TUC has yet to debate the matter. Searching the web, the comments from the trade union movement are noticeable only by their absence.

Is this what has become of our internationalism and compassion?

There has been much talk of late in the labour and trade union movement of trying to reconnect to our communities and to the public.

The evidence, however, is that we are not so much reconnecting on this issue as falling well behind.

Our values and the recent policies that the trade union movement has adopted would suggest that we have learnt some lessons from history. Why are these lessons not being applied?

As trade unions, we have long since recognised that, without a solution for the people of Palestine, there will be no peace within the Middle East.

The failure to implement UN resolutions and to bring an end to the illegal Israeli occupation has been well debated.

Yet, today, as the US bombs Kabul, Israeli troops and tanks continue to wage a war of attrition against the Palestinian people.

While the Israeli outrages continue, the fear and terror that lead to hate and retribution continue, not only within Palestine itself but also throughout the Arab world.

The Palestinian situation is an example of where the military response is not the answer and will inevitably cause the deaths of further innocents.

In the Middle East, without the actions of the Israeli army, there would be no Hamas, no Hizbollah.

Action provokes only counteraction.

Can we learn the lesson that bombing the poorest nation on Earth back to the Stone Age is unlikely to produce peace?

Internationally, unions have recognised that, whether it was in South Africa in the past or Ireland and Palestine today, there is a process to peace which involves continual dialogue at all levels of society, acknowledging difference and seeking reconciliation, but also recognising that there is no excuse not to engage in that process.

There has been recognition that the UN as a whole, not just the security council, must have a role to play. It simply has not happened.

In the recent past, the bombardments in Iraq, Sudan, Sierra Leone and Yugoslavia have ended with grinding poverty and the destruction of civic society.

The other extreme is that dictatorship and despots continue unharmed with US support based on so-called strategic interests rather than ideals.

If we say that we believe in a new world order in the conference motions that, as trade unions, we have already passed - an order based on human rights and dignity - have we not got a mandate to say that all human rights should be respected?

But diplomacy and problem solving have been placed behind a military response, with opportunities and possibilities squandered.

The humanitarian crisis that the bombing of Afghanistan will unleash is already well documented.

Only the terminally cynical would call those organisations calling for a halt to the bombing "sentimental and looking to fund-raise."

There is a choice in Afghanistan - to die by the bomb or to die slowly and painfully by hunger and perishing cold.

For the women and children of the region, left without the most basic of rights by a regime which sought to disallow their innate humanity, even that choice is likely to be denied them.

It is unlikely that those who regard themselves as soldiers in a war will be left without provisions or shelter.

It would help to pump in aid - it would be better still if we stopped the major cause of population displacement.

Above all, what does a war on terrorism mean? How do we know when the "war" is won? After bin Laden? After Saddam? Or when?

This war will inevitably cause the deaths of further innocents and lead to further retaliation, including the possible use of weapons of mass destruction.

A continuing escalation of violence on an increasing scale has horrific implications for every human being in every country.

Morally and politically, increasing the cycle of violence has a dubious logic, which must be resisted.

Reacting without regard to the consequences could dictate a course of action with horrific implications for civilisation and humanity. The only likely result is a prolonged war of attrition.

What has become of our internationalism and compassion?

Graphic

VICTIMS: Anti-war demonstrators outside the Welsh Assembly in Cardiff during a speech by Prime Minister Tony Blair. UNITED: Anti-war protesters march down London's Whitehall opposing the military action against Afghanistan.

Load-Date: November 8, 2001

End of Document

Palestine, the 'final solution'?

University Wire

November 12, 2001

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Section: COLUMN

Length: 1330 words

Byline: By Yoni Cohen, The Student Life

Dateline: ST. Louis, Mo.

Body

In the 1940's, the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, Hajj Amin al-Husseini, traveled to Germany to offer his support for Nazi extermination of the world's Jews. The Mufti, a religious scholar and leader who interprets Islamic law, met with Adolph Hitler and asked the Nazi regime to implement the "final solution" for Jews living in their historic homeland (the area that was to become the State of Israel.) Preaching anti-Jewish hate, he proclaimed: "Slaughter Jews wherever you find them. Their spilled blood pleases Allah, our history and religion. That will save our honor." During his years in Europe, he recruited over 20,000 Muslims to his cause, formed a Muslim SS legion, and led the legion's effort that slaughtered almost all of Bosnia's Jews.

Washington U.-St. Louis

Today, Jews around the world remember what happened in the Balkan country, and throughout Europe, to believers of the faith during the Holocaust. Sensitive to a repetition of history, they resist attempts they perceive to be part of a larger plot to exterminate the Jewish people. Unfortunately, many official and/or mainstream Muslim leaders contribute to Jews' legitimate fears by making statements that call for the destruction of the State of Israel and the death of all the world's Jews. Given the frequency of these hateful proclamations, and the specific historic context of the Holocaust, many Jews (not necessarily including myself) oppose a Palestinian state on the grounds that such a state is not a "solution" to the current conflict, but part of the "final solution."

The Jewish people understood the Nazi effort as the ultimate lesson: they could not be safe in any state other than their own. Oppressed in each and every country in which they had settled, Jews pledged to support a Jewish state that could do what no other country, including the United States, had done, protect their individual and collective livelihood. So Israel has, rebuffing numerous economic, political and military efforts undertaken against Jews, in their homeland and throughout the world. The large majority of Israel's efforts have been commendable, but inevitably (as with any state), some have not.

Recently, I have heard much criticism of Israel for its treatment of Palestinians and targeted assassinations of suspected terrorists. I do not write to refute these criticisms (at least not in this column). I write to refute the conclusions many students reach from these criticisms: the need for a Palestinian state. Isolating a "problem," many students then identify a "solution." In doing so, they assume that a Palestinian state is a viable solution. Although we have limited evidence to support this claim, we have an excess of evidence to support the contrary: a Palestinian state will do little to satisfy many Muslims, and only the complete removal of Jews from the Middle East and the world at large will satiate Palestinian Arabs and the Muslim governments that routinely call for the destruction of the state of Israel. A quick search on Lexis-Nexis produced the hateful statements that follow (and

Palestine , the 'final solution'?

countless others). In each case, the speaker calls for the indiscriminate killing of Jewish men, women and children, whether they reside in Israel or elsewhere, and independent of any responsibility for the Israeli policies students criticize.

- Mustafa Tlas, Syrian defense minister: "We live a tradition of martyrdom. When I see a Jew before me, I kill him. If every Arab did this, it would be the end of the Jews." (Quoted on Lebanese Television, The Jerusalem Post, May 10, 2001)

- Tariq Aziz, top Iraqi diplomat, when asked why Iraq was producing biological weapons: "To kill all the Jews." (CBS News Transcripts: 60 Minutes, October 7, 2001)

- Ahmad Ragab, Columnist for the official Egyptian government newspaper: "Thanks to Hitler, of blessed memory, who, on behalf of the Palestinians, revenged in advance against the most vile criminals on the face of the Earth. Although we do have a complaint against him for his revenge on them was not enough." (Al-Akhbar, the daily Egyptian government-sponsored newspaper, April 20, 2001)

- Ahmed Abu Halabiya, Palestinian Sheik: "Have no mercy on the Jews. Wherever you are, kill those Jews and those Americans who are like them." (Broadcast by Palestinian Authority television, The Boston Herald, November 5, 2001)

These statements are but a sample of the violently anti-Jewish declarations made daily by some Arab leaders. These leaders are not merely "extremists," many are elected and appointed government officials, and others hold positions of authority in the Islamic religion. Similar anti-Jewish sentiment as quoted above -- applied to the issue of Palestine -- can be found with comparable ease. Not only "fundamentalist," but centrist Palestinian religious and political leaders define a "just Palestine" not as a state in the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and parts of Jerusalem, but as a state inclusive of the entire territory of the state of Israel. For them, there can be no compromise.

The Palestinian Authority, whose predecessor, the Palestine Liberation Organization, for decades called for the complete destruction of the state of Israel, tragically teaches schoolchildren "all agreements entered into with Israel are temporary." Ahmad Yassin, a Hamas leader, recently advocated a peace treaty with Israel for a Palestinian state not as a solution to the conflict, but as a "hunda," or temporary cease-fire, until the complete territory of Palestine can be obtained.

The parallels between present-day statements by Muslim leaders and those made by German government officials are striking. But whereas, during the Holocaust, few Jews knew of Nazi desires for a "final solution," (and those who had been told refused to believe), today, Jews know of many Arab regimes' desire for a similar "final solution to the Jewish problem." For many Palestinians, such a "solution" begins with territorial concessions in the West Bank and Gaza Strip that would make Israel more vulnerable to outside attack.

My opinion on a Palestinian state, however, is not consistent with what this column will likely lead you to believe, and the parallel between the Holocaust and current Muslim efforts are not intended to give the Israeli military free reign in the "occupied territories."

If I have appeared to generalize and stereotype all Muslims as militantly anti-Jewish, and unwilling to compromise, I am sorry. I certainly do not subscribe to such ignorant blasphemy. Still, I question the hateful decrees offered time and time again in the Islamic community.

Last year, when asked about the Holocaust, the successor to Hajj Amin al-Husseini (cited in this column's first paragraph) and current Mufti of Jerusalem Sheik Ikrima Sabri, responded: "Six million Jews were killed? It was a lot less... It's not my fault that Hitler hated Jews. The Jews are hated all over the world." Sabri was appointed by Yasser Arafat's Palestinian Authority (Muftis are often government-selected religious leaders) and, to a certain extent, expresses the official position of the organization. Speaking of Palestine, he commented: "Palestine from the [Mediterranean] sea to the [Jordan] river is Islamic." Referring to the "peace process," he noted, "Even if agreements were signed (regarding) Gaza and the West Bank, we will not forget Haifa, Acre, Gaff, the Galilee triangle and the Negev. It is only a question of time."

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The connection between the Holocaust and a Palestinian state is one most Jews would rather not make. But sadly, it is a connection that is being made for us. Some historians have written (inaccurately) that, during the Holocaust, the Jews "marched like sheep to the slaughter." This time around, the Jews are making perfectly clear they will not march. Before you ask them to do so, ask yourself whether you are confident they should once again place blind trust in the world's non-Jewish governments.

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Israeli Pullout Resumes, Despite Gunman's Attack on Bus

The New York Times

November 5, 2001 Monday

Late Edition - Final

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

Length: 1345 words

Byline: By JAMES BENNET

Dateline: JERUSALEM, Monday, Nov. 5

Body

Israeli forces began pulling out early this morning from a Palestinian-controlled city in the West Bank, despite an attack on Sunday by a Palestinian gunman who emptied a semiautomatic rifle into a city bus here, killing two teenagers and wounding dozens of other Israelis.

An Israeli Army official said early this morning that the withdrawal had begun from Qalqilya, one of four Palestinian-controlled cities in which Israeli troops remained. In all, troops and tanks seized positions in seven Palestinian cities in the West Bank after Oct. 17, when the Israeli tourism minister was shot dead in a hotel a few blocks from the site of the attack on Sunday.

Two weeks ago today, the Bush administration demanded that Israeli forces "immediately" withdraw from all Palestinian-controlled territory. It feared that the military operations by its ally could undermine efforts to coax support from Muslims for its own war, in Afghanistan.

But the Israeli prime minister, Ariel Sharon, said the incursions were necessary because Palestinian leaders were doing nothing to prevent terrorist attacks or to arrest the killers of the tourism minister, Rehavam Zeevi.

Before today, under American pressure, the Israelis had withdrawn from three cities. Their reluctance to budge from other positions was creating some strain between the allies.

After Mr. Sharon met with his cabinet on Sunday morning, the government announced plans to begin a gradual withdrawal, beginning with Qalqilya in the northern West Bank. After Sunday's attack, the foreign minister, Shimon Peres, indicated that the pullout would proceed as planned.

Speaking on Israeli television, Mr. Peres promised a forceful response to the assault, which the police blamed on the extremist group Islamic Jihad. "There is no doubt that we will do everything to hit back at these terrorists," he said.

Bus No. 25 was carrying about 40 passengers, including children going home from school, as it approached a busy intersection in the French Hill neighborhood of northern Jerusalem shortly after 4 p.m.

As the bus edged into the right lane to make a turn, the gunman opened fire at its right side, shattering the door and several windows. "There was complete panic," said Mazal Amsalem, a teacher, who was on the bus. "People

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started yelling and screaming. I yelled 'Everyone down, everyone down.' I could see, before I ducked, the gunman standing on the street and endlessly shooting at the bus."

The bus lurched past the gunman and came to a crooked stop across a lane. He continued firing at its rear, near where Rachel Merkin, a 16-year-old 11th grader, was sitting by the back door. Like other passengers, she crouched down between the seats, she recalled, in a chaos of screams, shattering glass, and gunfire.

"It was nonstop shooting," said Shmuel Dargulin, 32, who was interviewed leaving an emergency room here. Mr. Dargulin, whose white shirt was stained with blood, said he was able to recite a brief Jewish prayer, "Hear Oh Israel," some 200 times before the shooting stopped. He was injured slightly.

Several bullets passed over the seats to blow out the windows on the bus's left side, over an advertisement for the Israeli defense industry that read: "It is forbidden to sell Israel's security."

Across the median and two more lanes of traffic, Israelis crowded a bus stop and a popular hitchhiking spot, near a 24-hour police post.

That post was created because the intersection, which is near several Palestinian neighborhoods and provides quick access out of the city, has been the site of several previous attacks.

But the stopped bus was protecting the gunman from the two border police officers on duty. At the sound of gunfire, one of them, Eliad Ella, 19, popped an ammunition clip into his own M-16 -- the same American-made rifle the Palestinian was using -- and sprinted across the road, heading for the back of the bus. His partner, Eti Rehavi, 19, circled around the front, as she shouted for people to get down.

Mr. Ella saw the attacker first. "I saw a gunman shooting in all directions," Mr. Ella said at news conference here on Sunday night. "I fired at him until I neutralized him." A soldier and an armed civilian also opened fire, the police said, and the Palestinian was killed.

Two teenagers were slain in the attack: a 14-year-old boy who was not immediately identified, and Shoshana Ben-Yishai, 16, of Beitar Ilit. Shoshana also had American citizenship. Most of the other injuries were light, but two people were listed in serious condition.

Although the extremist organization Hamas made a dueling claim of responsibility for the attack, the police put the blame on Islamic Jihad. They identified the gunman as Khatem al-Shweiki, 24 years old, from Hebron, which is south of Jerusalem.

Police officers initially searched for two other men seen running from the area, but by late Sunday night the police had concluded that the two were not involved, said Gil Kleiman, a police superintendent.

Israeli officials said the shooting further justified Mr. Sharon's decision to postpone a meeting with President Bush planned for this week. In putting off the meeting, Mr. Sharon cited the security situation here, though some Israeli critics suggested that he was reluctant to go to Washington while relations were strained over the Israeli operations in the West Bank.

Dan Seaman, an Israeli government spokesman, said the shootings on Sunday were further evidence that Yasir Arafat, the Palestinian leader, was doing nothing to prevent terrorism. "There is no effort whatsoever, except an effort by Arafat to get on television," he said. "People think Sharon's making a mockery of Bush? Arafat's making a mockery of Bush." The Bush administration has repeatedly urged Mr. Arafat to arrest militants.

The Palestinian Authority, which governs Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, condemned the attack and said it had issued instructions to arrest whoever was behind it. It suggested Israel might seize on the attack as "a pretext for the Israeli government to continue its aggression and siege and incursions."

This was the second shooting assault by Palestinians in recent days. On Oct. 28, two gunmen in a sport utility vehicle opened fire on a busy street in the Israeli city of Hadera, killing four women. And exactly a month ago, on

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Oct. 4, a Palestinian gunman dressed as an Israeli soldier killed three Israelis in the bus terminal in the city of Afula. In both cases, the gunmen were also slain.

Some analysts said such gun attacks were simply easier to carry out than suicide bombings. But Mark Heller, a senior researcher at the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies at Tel Aviv University, noted that bombs, which can be far more deadly, are no harder to smuggle into Israel than guns. "Therefore you have to wonder why they're using guns and not bombs," he said. "And that raises a suspicion that suicide bombs don't play well on television in the West these days."

Perhaps, he said, the shooting represented a switch in tactics by Palestinian leaders hoping to wound Israel without alienating the United States.

The Israeli military operations under way in the West Bank began after Oct. 17, when Mr. Zeevi, Israeli's tourism minister, was shot to death in a hotel. In a hunt for the killers and in an effort to stop further attacks, Israeli forces pushed into Palestinian cities in areas of the West Bank that by treaty are supposed to be under full Palestinian control.

Mr. Sharon argued that that Palestinians were not complying with their treaty obligations to crack down on militants.

Israeli officials say that in the last week soldiers have killed nine wanted militants and arrested 36.

The first withdrawals came Oct. 28 from the towns of Bethlehem and Beit Jala, hours after the shooting in Hadera.

In fighting before dawn on Sunday, the Israeli army fired missiles into factories in the Gaza Strip that it said were being used to make mortars. Palestinian officials said the firms that were damaged were devoted to crafts like painting and carpentry and did not make munitions.

<http://www.nytimes.com>

Graphic

Photo: The police swarmed around a bus in Jerusalem yesterday after a Palestinian gunman opened fire, killing two. (Agence France-Presse) Map of Israel highlighting French Hill: The bus came under fire at an intersection in French Hill.

Load-Date: November 5, 2001

Bush must not ignore the Saudi connection

The Times (London)

October 11, 2001, Thursday

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Section: Features

Length: 1387 words

Byline: Anatole Kaletsky

Body

Who says that the war against terror is a war against Islam? Not George Bush, despite his characteristically inept use of the word "crusade" in the early days of the conflict. And certainly not Tony Blair, Jacques Chirac or any other Western leader. Media commentators, scholars and religious leaders across America and Europe have also gone to enormous lengths to visit mosques, express their respect for the Muslim religion and emphasise that Islam is no more responsible for the bin Laden terror network than Christianity was responsible for the murderous activities of the Ku Klux Klan.

Who, then, apart from Osama bin Laden, is to blame for the widespread impression that America is at war with the Islamic world? There can be only one honest answer. It is the Muslim countries themselves. Many Muslim governments, which ought to be thanking America for trying to make the world a safer place, have denounced the bombing of Afghanistan as a war against Islam. It is therefore these countries -or at least their governments -that promote the war of civilisations and besmirch their own religion by publicly associating Islam with the al-Qaeda killers and the monstrous fanatics of the Taleban.

The Taleban are a rabble of sadistic torturers and drug-pushers. They have never been recognised by the UN as the legal government of Afghanistan. They deserve no moral sympathy and cannot claim the privileges of an internationally recognised sovereign state. Among their many crimes, the Taleban have enslaved all the women and millions of the men in Afghanistan in an unprecedented reign of terror that could not have been sustained without the support of bin Laden's military and financial network. Indeed, the few Western diplomats who have taken much interest in the region have for years viewed the Taleban as the first example of what can happen when contempt for morality and international law is taken to its logical conclusion -state-sponsored terrorism mutates into the terrorist-sponsored state.

Under these circumstances, there was only one reasonable criticism that any humane, law-abiding nation could have levelled at the US-led campaign to overthrow the Taleban. Why did America initially support the Taleban and why did it wait until September 11 before trying to liberate the people of Afghanistan? That has, in fact, been precisely the criticism of American policy heard in many parts of the world, including a few moderate Muslim countries such as Jordan and Morocco. Pakistan's decision to lock up terrorists who masquerade as religious clerics, and to dismiss senior army officers who were openly in league with the Taleban, suggests that this pivotal Islamic country may be about to rejoin the civilised camp.

Such moderation has not, however, been the predominant reaction of the Muslim world. Instead, America's belated effort to free Afghanistan and the world of the Taleban/al-Qaeda nightmare has been condemned as "an attack on a Muslim nation" -and not only by such outlaw states as Iraq and Iran, but also by supposedly pro-Western

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governments in Saudi Arabia, Indonesia and Malaysia. The real shock is that the Saudis in particular should have the temerity to deny America the use of their military bases, on the ground that any attack on the Taleban and bin Laden would be an attack on fellow Muslims. Curiously, this argument does not seem to apply to US bombing of the equally Islamic Iraqi people, whose ruler just happens to be a mortal enemy of the Saudi regime.

The first question raised by this squeamishness about supporting America's war aims is whether there is any outrage so heinous that it would justify the Western world defending itself against the Saudis' "fellow Muslims". A second and bigger question relates to the next phase of the war against terrorism, after the overthrow of the Taleban. How will the United States and other Western nations protect themselves from future atrocities if they succeed in ending the terrorist state in Afghanistan?

The Bush Administration has offered a very clear answer. The US will follow the chain of international terrorism all the way back to its two primary sources: state protection and state funding. This chain will then be cut, either by persuasion (as in Pakistan and perhaps Sudan) or by military action (as in Iraq and perhaps Iran).

But the question that people in Washington are now beginning to ask is what happens if the chain of money and state support does not lead to such pariah states as Iraq, Iran or Syria. What if a great deal of the money, training, and religious and political inspiration comes from Saudi Arabia, America's main "strategic ally" in the Gulf?

Israel has for years been warning of Saudi involvement with the suicide bombers of Hamas and Islamic Jihad. Now there are numerous circumstantial links with September 11. Many of the US hijackers were Saudis, as is bin Laden. In several cases, their terrorist indoctrination began at fundamentalist Islamic colleges, funded by Saudi money. Their political attitudes reflected an anti-Western religious zeal that is widely promoted in the Saudi media, even though these media are subject to some of the strictest censorship in the world. Saudi Arabia, it should also be remembered, is the source of the ultra fundamentalist Wahhabi sect of Islam that inspired the Taleban regime. Saudi Arabia is also the only country apart from Afghanistan that practises the medieval version of Sharia in all its horror. And the head of the Saudi intelligence service, believed to be the Royal Family's main link with the Taleban, resigned abruptly within 24 hours of the horror in New York. When you put these facts together, there is surely a risk that the trail of money and blood that started at the World Trade Centre could ultimately lead to Riyadh.

What could the West do if evidence emerged of active Saudi involvement with bin Laden? Military action and economic embargoes would be out of the question. Even in a global recession, the world couldn't live without eight million barrels a day of Saudi oil. Moreover, the Saudi financing of anti-Israeli terror has always been through private "charitable and religious foundations" with no direct links to the State. But public opinion would find it hard to understand why US forces continue to defend a Saudi Royal Family that rules with an iron rod over every corner of civil society but seems unable or unwilling to control the monstrous behaviour of its religious extremists. Americans might even start to wonder why they are protecting Saudi religious zealots, with their anti-American blood lust, against an ordinary secular dictator such as Saddam Hussein, whose lust is for Saudi oil.

If the Saudi rulers want to stay in power, they may have to think about whether US protection is a more reliable defence against their numerous enemies than literal implementation of the Koran. The Saudi elite would in effect be forced to confront the moral and political choice that sooner or later presents itself to every fundamentalist theocracy: render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's.

Religion may inspire. It may even contain the ultimate truth. But -whether by God's will or in consequence of the laws of biology and physics -religion has never been a sufficient principle for running a successful state.

That is surely the real issue in the anti-terrorist campaign. This is not a war against Islam, still less a Christian crusade. But it is a war against fanatical Islam -and against fanatical blind faith of every other kind. The killers of September 11 are not fundamentally very different from the Jewish zealot who murdered Yitzhak Rabin, the Branch Davidians of Waco, the medieval crusaders who joyfully slaughtered the women and children of 12th-century Jerusalem and the butchers of Pol Pot.

Islam is no more a threat to world peace than Christianity, Buddhism or communism have been in the past. But slaughter disguised as religion is no more acceptable than slaughter motivated by racial hatred, political ideology or

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a naked lust for power. Religion can offer neither excuses nor sanctuaries for terror. After the Taleban are toppled, this lesson must be firmly impressed on every nation -in the Islamic world and outside.

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Correction

See corrective letters, 'Saudi Arabia's predicament', from the Saudi Ambassador and Sir Alan Munro, October 12, p23.

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Letters

Santa Fe New Mexican (New Mexico)

September 29, 2001, Saturday

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Section: Opine; Pg. A-7

Length: 1324 words

Body

More than ever, community needs your support

The New Mexican's thoughtful editorial on the September 11th Fund and on the need for Santa Feans to remember that community needs will demand support now more than ever was right on-target.

It's virtually certain that community-based social services, health and education programs will lose millions of federal dollars.

As we write checks to support the relief efforts in New York and Washington, we need to think of those outpourings of aid as above and beyond our support for our own communities. Otherwise the long-term effects of this act of terrorism will reverberate to communities throughout our country -- including Santa Fe.

As a collaboration of the New York Community Trust (New York City's community foundation) and United Way of New York City, the September 11th Fund provides a model for how we can work together, not just in crisis, but also on a daily basis.

In this spirit, we urge people to appeal to what unites us, not that which divides us -- and to remember that needs for education, social services, the hungry, the homeless and the aged will continue to command our united support.

Billie Blair

president

Santa Fe Community Foundation

Ron Stevens

executive director

United Way of Santa Fe County

via e-mail

15 years later

Fifteen years ago, I interviewed National Security Council consultant Michael Ledeen about a "myth" -- terrorism as a response to social/political injustice: "This suggests terrorism is justified; we can't combat it until we eliminate its

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alleged root cause." Were Americans at risk? "America never responds unless attacked violently, directly. We'll wait until the terrorist equivalent of Pearl Harbor (selected bombing, hijacking), scream bloody murder about our unprepared government, then demand results."

"Let the politicians hear your voice," Ledeen counseled. Having watched the World Trade Center burn, will we -- finally -- let them hear?

Erika Holzer

Santa Fe

via e-mail

New York view

A friend of ours, a New Yorker, was just coming out of a subway stop near the World Trade Center when the second tower collapsed. This is what she wrote us that night: "When we were crawling out of the subway tunnel, people were cursing the politicians. Anti-Bush was strong on the streets."

Robert Graybill

Santa Fe

via e-mail

Discerning difference

We must distinguish between realizing the pain our own country has caused and justifying the horrific actions of the terrorists, for which no justification is conceivable. My prayer is that our military response will be effective, appropriate and fair. May we emerge from this tragedy united, strong and determined to avoid any national actions that cause the tragic death of innocent men, women and children.

Diane Dennedy-Frank

Santa Fe

via e-mail

Time to intervene

As a Jew who supported Israel during its creation, I am deeply disturbed by its unfolding history. Israel was born of unprecedented human tragedy but, in its development, has created another human tragedy. Palestinian suicide fanaticism is building with Israeli assassinations and retaliations. Arafat's weak control is dangerously giving way to growing popular support of the radical Hamas and Hezbollah factions. Soon the extremists will be in the driver's seat. The United States now must lead third-party intervention to preclude the escalation of a culture of retaliation-by-any-means building in the Arab world.

Fred Bender

Santa Fe

via e-mail

Crime, punishment

As an eighth-grade student at the Santa Fe Girls School, my class and I have been talking about the recent terrorist attack on the World Trade Center Twin Towers. We are the most powerful nation in the world. Are we really going to stoop so low as to bomb a country with thousands of already oppressed women, men and children? If we do

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this, we have sunk to the level the terrorists wanted us to sink to and we have committed the same crime as they have -- and should have the same punishment, by that logic. This is not a war. This is murder.

Natasha Schneider

Santa Fe

via e-mail

Oil, not freedom

I hear people discussing what civil liberties they'd be willing to give up for the sake of fighting terrorism. Rather than our cherished freedoms, why not sacrifice a little oil consumption? Reducing our dependence on that oil would reduce the need for our presence in the region and our tendency to support oppressive, undemocratic governments there. Potential terrorists would then have much less fodder for their movements.

Pamela Homer

Santa Fe

via e-mail

Terrorism is target

We now have worldwide support in a fight against terrorism. We risk losing this deserved support if we resort to full-scale war against Afghanistan. I would like to compare this with the violent attacks against abortion clinics and doctors committed by extreme right-wing religious fanatics. They are indeed an atrocity, and those who engage in such violence should be brought to justice. However, we do not view these attacks as acts of war by the Catholic Church and consider bombing the Vatican in retaliation. By this same token, we should indeed target those responsible for acts of terrorism and leave the innocent Muslim people out of it.

Carolyn Lee

Santa Fe

via e-mail

Sikhs not Muslims

Sikhs wear a turban as a symbol of freedom, democracy and the dignity of all humans. Understanding Sikhism (can) prevent harassment to a community which is not only as innocent as the those who died on the altar of freedom in the acts of terrorism but have themselves fought terrorism, genocide and attacks on human freedom for four centuries in northern India.

Paula A. Reid

Espanola

via e-mail

True 'superpower'

After securing cooperation from Pakistan and other neighboring countries, our bombers should forcefully invade Afghan airspace and drop our first weapon on every Afghan citizen: food. The next wave of attack should be water; after the third and fourth waves of airstrikes (clothing and medical supplies), the country will surely be on its knees and ready for our final assault: paratroopers. Doctors, nurses, farmers, teachers, plumbers, electricians and carpenters will be air-dropped into remote regions to rebuild a country torn by years of civil war and strife. Other

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innocent citizens across the globe may have to be treated the same way -- but no terrorist is going to have any reason to attack a country that has truly earned the term of "superpower."

Jim Norton

Santa Fe

via e-mail

Words of wisdom

I would like to offer these words of wisdom, written by man who spent his life attempting to place a mantle of peace on this nation before he, too, became a victim of hate -- the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.: "Nonviolence is the answer to the crucial political and moral questions of our time; the need for man to overcome oppression and violence without resorting to oppression and violence. Man must evolve for all human conflict a method which rejects revenge, aggression and retaliation. The foundation of such a method is love."

Anne E. Beckett

Santa Fe

via e-mail

Lifestyle under siege?

What will empower the people of the Earth so they no longer desire our destruction? The long-term repercussions to Americans may not be a military siege but a curtailing of our opulent lifestyle. Establishing this commonality among all peoples is a tremendous undertaking that can only begin in this generation through the wisdom we've gained from this terrible day.

Rosemary Zibart

Santa Fe

via e-mail

Thanks to Delgado

I would like to thank Mayor Delgado for his compassionate and patriotic words at the Plaza. He spoke of keeping those you love close to you and of being vigilant in the defense of our country. He also prayed for peace but correctly pointed out that an evil such as terrorism must be defeated and not negotiated into passivity. It was a very moving experience, and I felt proud to be an American living in beautiful Santa Fe. I, for one, will be flying the Stars

and Stripes at my home from now on.

William F. Miller

Santa Fe

via e-mail

Load-Date: October 1, 2001

WHAT DRIVES A BOMBER TO KILL THE INNOCENT CHILD?

The Independent (London)

August 11, 2001, Saturday

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Section: FEATURES; Pg. 3

Length: 1284 words

Byline: Robert Fisk

Body

I ONCE asked the head of the Lebanese Hizballah if he could explain to me how the mind of a suicide bomber works. Sayed Hassan Nasrallah was dressed in his black turban and robes. He had formerly been the Hizballah's military commander in southern Lebanon and from his legions had emerged the first Arab suicide bombers who would - after more than a decade and a half - sap the morale of Israel's retreating army. Explain to me as a Westerner, I told Nasrallah, how a man can immolate himself.

"Imagine you are in a sauna," Nasrallah replied. "It is very hot but you know that in the next room there is air conditioning, an armchair, classical music and a cocktail." There was a pause as the Hizballah leader moved his hand swiftly upwards, as if opening a door. "So you pass easily into the next room." I will not forget the smile he then visited upon me. "That," he said, "is how I would explain the mind of the martyr to a Westerner."

Nasrallah enjoyed metaphors, similes; like the Hizballah's "martyr" posters which so often show the dead in paradise, surrounded by rivers and tulips and weeping willows. Is that where the suicide bombers really believe they are going, I used to ask myself? To the rivers of honey and the trees and - yes, of course - the virgins?

The idea that sacrifice is a noble ideal - and let us, for a moment, put aside the iniquity of murdering children in a Jerusalem pizzeria - is common to western as well as eastern society. Our First World War calvaries in France are covered with commemorations to men who supposedly "laid down their lives" or "gave their lives" for their country - even though most died in appalling agony, praying only that they would live.

When, years after our conversation, Nasrallah's own son was killed in a suicidal assault on an Israeli army position in southern Lebanon, the Hizballah leader insisted that he receive not condolences but congratulations.

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WHAT DRIVES A BOMBER TO KILL THE INNOCENT CHILD?

And that, of course, is the point. When a society is dispossessed, when the injustices thrust upon it appear insoluble, when the "enemy" is all-powerful, when one's own people are bestialised as insects, cockroaches, "two-legged beasts", then the mind moves beyond reason. It becomes fascinated in two senses: with the idea of an afterlife and with the possibility that this belief will somehow provide a weapon of more than nuclear potential. When the United States was turning Beirut into a Nato base in 1983, Iranian Revolutionary Guards in Baalbek were promising that God would rid Lebanon of the American presence. I wrote at the time - perhaps being tongue-in-cheek - that this was likely to be a titanic battle: US technology versus God. Who would win? Then on 23 October, 1983, a lone suicide bomber drove a truckload of explosives into the US Marine compound at Beirut airport and killed 241 American servicemen in six seconds. I later interviewed one of the few surviving marines to have seen the bomber. "All I can remember," he told me, "is that the guy was smiling."

I spent months studying the suiciders of Lebanon. They were mostly single men, occasionally women, often the victims of Israeli torture or the relatives of family members who had been killed in battle with Israel. They would often receive their orders while at prayer in the "masjid" or mosque in their south Lebanese villages. The imam would be told to use a certain phrase in his sermon - a reference to roses or gardens or water or a kind of tree. The cleric would not understand the purpose of these words but in his congregation a young man would know that his day of "martyrdom" had now arrived.

In Gaza, even before the 1993 Oslo agreement, I discovered an almost identical phenomenon. As in Lebanon, the would-be "martyr" would spend his last night reading the Koran. He would never say goodbye to his parents. But he would embrace his mother and father and tell them not to cry if he were one day to die. Then he would set off to collect his explosives. Five minutes before he set off from the West Bank town of Tulkarem last week, a young Hamas member went through this very ritual. Five minutes later, an Israeli missile struck the car he was driving. But scarcely a week later - at two o'clock on Thursday afternoon - another suicider reached the doors of the pizzeria on the corner of Jaffa Street and King George's Street in West Jerusalem.

Yet there's a terrible difference with the suicide bombers of Palestine. However frightening, the Japanese 'kamikaze' pilots attacked battleships and aircraft carriers, not hospitals. The Lebanese largely followed this pattern: they usually went for military targets. I was puzzled why the Lebanese should have been queuing to watch Pearl Harbor when it opened in Beirut last month - until I saw the young men studying the cinema stills of equally young Japanese pilots tying their "martyrdom" bandannas around their foreheads. In similar fashion, the Hizballah targeted the Israeli army and its militia allies. The Palestinians learned from all this. But more and more, their suicide bombers have targeted Israeli civilians. A battleship or an Israeli tank is one thing; a three year-old waiting for his mother to cut his pizza for him is quite another.

I called a Palestinian friend yesterday morning to ask about this, to ask how young Palestinian men - in Lebanon as well as Ramallah - could rejoice in the streets at the pizzeria massacre. She expressed her abhorrence at what happened - she was genuine in this - but tried to explain that the Palestinians had suffered so many civilian casualties since the "intifada" began that Palestinians found joy in any suffering inflicted on their enemy. There was a feeling that "they should suffer too"; which, of course - and the principle applies, though not the historical parallel - is exactly how Air Marshal Sir Arthur Harris explained his area-bombing policy against German civilians.

But I go back to my own first reaction when I reached the Sbarro pizza house. Unforgivable. What did that eyeless, dead Israeli child ever do to the Palestinians? Could not the Palestinian bomber, in his last moments on earth, recognise this child as his daughter, his baby sister, his youngest cousin? Alas, no. He was too far down the road to his own death, too buried in his own people's tragedy. His was not an act of "mindless terror", the words Israeli spokesmen use. He was the logical product of a people who have been crushed, dispossessed, tortured and killed in terrible numbers. The pressure cooker of the West Bank was his sauna. And he passed through the door.

Load-Date: August 11, 2001

WHAT DRIVES A BOMBER TO KILL THE INNOCENT CHILD?

The Independent (London)

August 11, 2001, Sunday

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Section: FEATURES; Pg. 3

Length: 1284 words

Byline: Robert Fisk

Body

I ONCE asked the head of the Lebanese Hizballah if he could explain to me how the mind of a suicide bomber works. Sayed Hassan Nasrallah was dressed in his black turban and robes. He had formerly been the Hizballah's military commander in southern Lebanon and from his legions had emerged the first Arab suicide bombers who would - after more than a decade and a half - sap the morale of Israel's retreating army. Explain to me as a Westerner, I told Nasrallah, how a man can immolate himself.

"Imagine you are in a sauna," Nasrallah replied. "It is very hot but you know that in the next room there is air conditioning, an armchair, classical music and a cocktail." There was a pause as the Hizballah leader moved his hand swiftly upwards, as if opening a door. "So you pass easily into the next room." I will not forget the smile he then visited upon me. "That," he said, "is how I would explain the mind of the martyr to a Westerner."

Nasrallah enjoyed metaphors, similes; like the Hizballah's "martyr" posters which so often show the dead in paradise, surrounded by rivers and tulips and weeping willows. Is that where the suicide bombers really believe they are going, I used to ask myself? To the rivers of honey and the trees and - yes, of course - the virgins?

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Load-Date: August 13, 2001

The dove patrolling on the hawk's wing: Israeli peacemaker Shimon Peres tells the Guardian that his warring fellow septuagenarians Sharon and Arafat are old enough to have gained wisdom

The Guardian (London)

April 7, 2001

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Section: Guardian Foreign Pages, Pg. 16

Length: 1213 words

Byline: Ewen MacAskill in Tel Aviv

Body

The Israeli foreign minister and Nobel peace laureate Shimon Peres is unapologetic that, having devoted so much of his life to the pursuit of peace, he has entered into a partnership with Ariel Sharon. The partnership is only a month old, and the question that will come to dominate Israeli and Palestinian politics is how long the dove and hawk can work together.

In an interview with the Guardian he justified his presence in the cabinet on the grounds that by being there he could exert a moderating influence on Mr Sharon.

"I think I can be effective," he said. "I am not there to add water to the soup. Sharon knows my views and I have not changed."

Regardless of the increasing violence, much of it being inflicted by his own government, Mr Peres is optimistic about the chance of peace.

When serious negotiations eventually began in the Middle East, he said, "You will be surprised how fast it (peace and economic growth) can be."

Throughout a blood-stained career Mr Sharon's instinct has been to resort to force, and events since he became prime minister a month ago suggest that little has changed.

Mr Peres disputed this. "I have known Sharon for 50 years. We did not agree politically, but we kept on a personal relationship. It is the first time he is becoming prime minister. I do not think he would like to wind up his term as prime minister having the country in flame and blood."

Had Mr Sharon changed?

"I think the situation has changed. I think also that age does not necessarily have a negative impact on people. Arafat, Sharon and myself are together 232 years. It is a lot of time. It must have some promise of wisdom and experience."

While Mr Sharon punishes the Palestinians with an economic blockade, rocket attacks and assassinations, it is Mr Peres's job to be the acceptable international face of the government and to open channels to the Palestinians.

The dove patrolling on the hawk's wing: Israeli peacemaker Shimon Peres tells the Guardian that his warring fellow septuagenarians Sharon and Arafat are old eno....

Symbols of peace

If Mr Sharon allows it, it will be through Mr Peres that peace negotiations will eventually resume.

He met his Palestinian counterpart in Athens on Wednesday, the first high-level contact between the two sides since Mr Sharon took office.

"After a long interruption, the mere meeting was a departure from the monopoly of guns," he said.

Mr Peres's office in a high-rise block in Tel Aviv is filled with symbols of peace: statues of women holding doves and olive branches; a buddha; and, in the most prominent spot of all, a blow-up of him signing the Oslo peace accord in 1993 with the Palestinian leader, Yasser Arafat.

Mr Sharon described Oslo as appeasement. Mr Peres plays down the insult. "Politicians have a collection of so many expressions, some of them right, some of them wrong. I think this expression is a wrong expression."

Had it been vanity, at the age of 77, to seek power one more time?

He replied: "I am sure the person who said it is free of vanity." But he added: "It is not a competition of beauty, not even a competition of politicians. It is a very serious situation. If I shall be immodest - you can call it vanity - I will put whatever experience I have to use in order to reopen negotiations. I do not believe the problems can be resolved by force."

Mr Peres spoke to the third of the ageing trio, Mr Arafat, by phone a few weeks ago, and he remains in touch through intermediaries, but they have not yet met since he became foreign minister.

Mr Sharon has called Mr Arafat a terrorist, and the interior minister, Uzi Landau, called him a war criminal yesterday. But Mr Peres said: "We know each other quite well and we are very careful not to turn a disagreement into an insult."

He had no such qualms about insulting the Syrian leader Bashar al-Assad, the London-trained ophthalmologist who replaced his father as president last year and last month likened Israel in its treatment of the Palestinians to the Nazis.

Until last year Israel was hoping to negotiate a peace deal with Syria, but Mr Peres confirmed that there was little chance of pursuing that track in the near future.

"I am not saying it has no future, but there is no present," he said.

"Bashar looks like he studied ophthalmology in London, but his vision is even more short-sighted than his father's. To make a speech comparing Israel to the Nazis! For that, believe me, you should not waste your time in London."

Step by step

In his talks with the Palestinians in Athens, Mr Peres made it clear that he favoured an interim agreement, a step by step approach, rather than the all-embracing one that the previous prime minister, Ehud Barak, was seeking.

He offered to relax the economic embargo on the Palestinian territories in return for their cooperation in reducing violence. His vision is the creation of a vibrant economy in the Middle East embracing Israel and its Arab neighbours

The Palestinians pressed for international observers, from the UN or the EU, to give protection from Israeli soldiers and settlers. Mr Peres was scathing.

"We have doubts about what these observers will do. Will they be allowed to visit the clandestine headquarters of Hamas, Islamic Jihad and Hizbullah to see where the terror is being originated?"

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The only other peace plan around at present, put to the White House this week, is an initiative by Egypt and Jordan. Mr Peres ruled out any progress in that direction.

It was, he said, aimed at trying to put back on the table the final offer made this year by Mr Barak and Bill Clinton, an offer Mr Arafat had rejected.

"Once rejected, they no longer exist," Mr Peres said.

Did he rule out Israel simply leaving the West Bank and Gaza, an option considered but discarded by the previous government?

"The borders are very complicated. Time didn't stand still and what once was two eggs is now omelettes, which are hard to divide and organise."

There were other problems: the future of Jerusalem, the fate of the Palestinian refugees and the issue of Jewish settlements in the West Bank and Gaza.

He said he had extracted a promise from Mr Sharon that there would be no new settlements, though it was announced on Thursday that existing ones would be expanded, which, to the Palestinians, is just as bad.

France and the US condemned the plan as inflammatory. But although most Israelis accept that eventually many settlers will have to leave the West Bank, Mr Peres refused to concede the point.

"The problem is not the settlements but the people who reside there. Take Hebron: there are 170,000 Palestinians and 400 Israelis. Why can't they live in peace? It is a matter of relations, not locations."

In Israel, he said, there were 6m Israelis and 1m Arabs: the implication being that they had learned to co-exist.

He rejected the right of Palestinian refugees to return to their former homes, saying it would mean the end of Israel, and he ruled out an apology for their loss of land.

"Why should Israel apologise? There was a Jewish quarter in Hebron in 1929. Most of them were assassinated in cold blood. You cannot pave history with apologies."

He added: "I think people who are busy with the future should not think of the past: it is so full of so many errors. History is a chain of errors. We have to concentrate on the history of the future, not the history of the past."

Special report on Israel and the Middle East at guardian.co.uk/israel

Load-Date: April 7, 2001

DRIVER RAMS INTO ISRAELIS, KILLING 8 PALESTINIAN LIKELY ACTED ALONE

The Philadelphia Inquirer

FEBRUARY 15, 2001 Thursday SF EDITION

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The Philadelphia Inquirer

Found on Philly.com

Section: NATIONAL; Pg. A01

Length: 1161 words

Byline: Barbara Demick and Nomi Morris, INQUIRER STAFF WRITERS

Dateline: AZUR, Israel

Body

A Palestinian driver rammed his bus into a crowd of young Israeli soldiers at a bus stop yesterday, killing eight people in Israel's deadliest Palestinian attack in nearly four years. More than 20 people were injured.

The driver, a Gaza resident with a permit to work in Israel, was then pursued by police and a helicopter for 22 miles through the Tel Aviv suburbs before being shot and captured alive. He was identified as Khalil Abu Olbeh, 35, and was in serious condition.

Although there were claims of responsibility from militant Islamic groups, Israeli authorities said their initial finding was that the bus driver was a lone operator who may have acted spontaneously.

Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak immediately ordered Gaza and the West Bank sealed off to prevent Palestinians from entering Israel, while Prime Minister-elect Ariel Sharon promised to make "restoration of security" the first priority of his new government.

The attack occurred at 7:50 a.m. at the height of the morning rush-hour along the eight-lane Highway 44 on the outskirts of Tel Aviv.

Abu Olbeh, who had to pass an extensive Israeli security check to get his job with an Israeli bus company, began the day as usual, driving Palestinian day laborers from Gaza to the Tel Aviv suburbs. He dropped his passengers off in the town of Ramleh, as expected, but instead of parking his bus until it was time for the return trip, he drove toward the bus stop, which is five miles from a military training camp and always crowded with soldiers during rush-hour.

"The bus came from behind like a wave in the sea and covered them," said Moshe Saroussi, 19, a soldier from Ashkelon who was being treated for shock at Asaf HaRofe Hospital after seeing his friends crushed to death.

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Dudu Dohan, 19, described how the driver purposefully steered the bus onto the curb, then gunned the engine so that the bus accelerated as it rammed the crowd. The soldiers saw it coming but could not run away because of a high chain-link fence behind the bus stop.

Witnesses described a horrific scene - limbs spilled onto the blood-soaked pavement, bodies and backpacks tossed in the air, teenage soldiers screaming out for their parents.

Among the eight dead were four **female** soldiers and three male soldiers, all between the ages of 18 and 21. A 30-year-old civilian woman was also killed.

Palestinian leader Yasir Arafat, who was in the Turkish capital of Ankara, said: "Whatever the cause, we are against the use of violence and of course killing people."

Palestinian cabinet secretary Ahmed Abdel-Rahman, an adviser to Arafat, said Israel brought on the attack because "violence only begets violence."

One Palestinian was also killed yesterday - a 24-year-old police officer near the West Bank town of Tulkarm. A 14-year-old Palestinian in Gaza was killed Tuesday by Israeli forces, the same day that Israel assassinated a senior political activist in Gaza in a rocket attack by a helicopter gunship.

Yesterday's attack on the bus station is the deadliest since a suicide bombing in July 1997 killed 16 Israelis. The death toll was by far the highest for Israel in 5 1/2 months of violence.

Coming against the politically charged backdrop of last week's elections, it will generate more pressure for the Israeli government to come up with more-effective tactics to improve security. Sharon and Barak are expected to accelerate their talks on forming a coalition government in the coming days so that Israel can tackle the violence.

Barak came under immediate criticism for allowing Palestinians to work in Israel. Ironically, it was just three weeks ago that the Israeli government issued fresh permits for 17,000 workers from Gaza and the West Bank as a way of easing the economic crisis in the Palestinian territories.

Abu Olbeh, the bus driver, has five children and a pregnant wife and had been driving a bus in Israel for five years. Such permits are available only to Palestinians who have families and who have never been arrested or belonged to any banned political faction.

In Gaza City, his family said yesterday that he left home at 3 a.m., with nothing unusual other than a complaint that he was feeling slightly feverish, as though he were coming down with a cold.

"My brother had nothing to do with politics. All of us are against violence," said Hussein Abu Olbeh, 46, at the family home. The men in the family sat glumly around the living room waiting for news of Abu Olbeh's whereabouts. "Maybe it was an accident. If it was deliberate, it would be because of the bad situation we are living in. Our personal situation is difficult financially. The Israelis are killing us, destroying our homes."

After the attack, Abu Olbeh continued driving, pursued by a taxi driver, police cars and a helicopter. He reached Gan Yavneh, 22 miles away, before police shot at the bus and caused the driver to crash into a truck.

As of last night, he was being questioned in Kaplan Hospital in Rehovot, near Tel Aviv, about links to a militant Islamic group. Early in the day, an anonymous caller to Israel radio had claimed Abu Olbeh was part of **Hamas**, a militant Islamic movement, but Israeli officials were skeptical of the claim.

"It doesn't look right now like he was recruited by a terrorist organization or that it was well-planned," said Yarden Vatikai, a spokesman for the Israeli civil administration in the Palestinian territories. "Personally, I think it is something that happened in his head."

Regardless, many Israelis will see his violence as a product of the atmosphere of incitement and hatred among the Palestinians.

DRIVER RAMS INTO ISRAELIS, KILLING 8 PALESTINIAN LIKELY ACTED ALONE

"Arafat had hundreds of opportunities to call his people to stop this violence, and he didn't do it. We see him responsible for the violence. This barbaric act of this morning is part of this intifadah. That it is backed by Arafat and his senior leaders shows they encourage it," said Alon Liel, director general of the Israeli Foreign Ministry.

There have been more than 80 shooting incidents in little more than 48 hours, showing that the Palestinians are trying to escalate the violence, Liel added.

At the scene of the attack yesterday, right-wing demonstrators called for the incoming Sharon government to retaliate harshly against the Palestinians.

"We should make a Holocaust on the Arabs. Every day, let them live with no water, no food, no electricity," yelled demonstrator Motti Efron, 18.

Israeli politicians of all political spectrums are calling for action, with fewer voices in the mainstream talking about the peace process. An exception, however, was the Israeli foreign minister, Shlomo Ben-Ami.

"There is no military solution to what is going on. There never was. The Russians didn't have a solution to Afghanistan. The Americans didn't have one in the places they went into," Ben-Ami said in an interview with Israel radio. "There is nothing in the world which can overcome guerrilla warfare waged from within a hostile population."

* Mohammed Dawas in Gaza contributed to this article.

Graphic

PHOTO AND MAP;

PHOTO

Palestinian Khalil Abu Olbeh, 35, lies seriously injured after being pursued by Israeli authorities. He is accused of crashing the bus into a crowd waiting at a bus stop in Azur. Seven young soldiers and one civilian were killed. (GADI KABALO, Associated Press)

An Israeli police officer assists at the scene near the victims' bodies in Azur. Prime Minister Ehud Barak quickly ordered Gaza and the West Bank sealed off to prevent Palestinians from entering Israel. (Associated Press)

Load-Date: October 31, 2001

*Prada, Gucci and Kalashnikovs;
In war-zone kit he was barred from trendy Beirut nightclubs. In female-
oppressing Tehran a woman offered to take him hang-gliding. SEAN
LANGAN discovers an alternative Middle East*

The Evening Standard (London)

February 23, 2001

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Section: Pg. 30;31

Length: 1203 words

Byline: Sean Langan

Body

BOMBS dropped on Baghdad.

Famine in Afghanistan.

Gun battles rage in Gaza.

Kurdish refugees abandoned at sea. The Middle East made the headlines every day last week. But then we have come to expect nothing less of the Middle East. After all, it is the home of Islamic extremism, terrorism, and mad mullahs. It's also the home of men such as Osama bin Laden and Saddam Hussein, and militant organisations such as Hizbollah and Hamas. How could the Middle East not make the news? It's infamous throughout the Western world.

And yet somehow, for a place that's always in the news, it's amazing how little we really know about its 16 countries and more than 200 million inhabitants. It's as though the entire region, its people and their religion, has been reduced to a few simple headlines.

I discovered this to my cost when I travelled to the Middle East last year for the BBC. Before I left, I knew little more about Islam and the Middle East than the headlines I had read. And so I arrived in Beirut dressed for a war zone, and found myself in the middle of a style war. I was turned away at every bar and nightclub I tried, simply for not having the right look. This, it transpired, was not the rugged, all-weather outfit I was expecting to have to wear. That might look good on the BBC if you're John Simpson or Martin Bell. But if you want to get into a club in Beirut it's strictly Gucci and Prada.

The Lebanese, having emerged from a 20-year civil war, are now hostages to fashion and high living. Even Hizbollah has moved with the times, and now has its own television channel, complete with game shows and cartoons.

But I became very excited about a possible scoop when I visited its TV station. A former militant who had become a PR told me about Osama bin Laden's brother. Apparently he lived in Beirut. After following his trail for more than two weeks, I discovered his whereabouts. He was hardly in hiding.

Prada, Gucci and Kalashnikovs; In war-zone kit he was barred from trendy Beirut nightclubs. In female-oppressing Tehran a woman offered to take him hang-gliding....

The brother of America's most wanted man - the Islamic Terrorist Supreme - turned out to be the owner of that most Americana of establishments, The Hard Rock Cafe.

In all, I visited six countries in the Middle East: Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Egypt, Lebanon and the Palestinian territories in Israel. Every single one of them was completely different from the other, and not one of them matched my preconceptions. Practically the only thing they have in common, apart from a shared passion for Manchester United, is the outrage felt by the people towards the West. Somewhat understandably, they feel the West is both biased against Islam and them as Muslims, and hypocritical in its pro-democracy stance on the one hand and its actual support for undemocratic regimes such as Saudi Arabia on the other. Unlike in Saudi, women in Iran are free to drive cars, vote in elections, hold positions of power and prestige and show their faces in public. And yet the West describes the former country as moderate.

I began my journey in Afghanistan. I had come to meet the Taliban, the radical regime that now controls more than 90 per cent of the country. Even the most sympathetic observer would be hard-pressed to describe its somewhat twisted slant on Islam in a favourable light. Music, television and photography have all been banned as un-Islamic. Their long list of rules have little basis in the Holy Koran - the regime has effectively banned women from the workplace and education - and sometimes they border on the bizarre. Men without beards of a certain length, for example, are punished.

But even the Taliban lack that ideological zeal and appetite for evil found all too often in Europe. Half the time they can't even bring themselves to enforce their own rules. And it's not always clear what the rules are.

(Football, for example, has not been banned. But cheering by the crowd has.

And a visiting team from Pakistan were arrested last year and had their heads shaved when they broke the rules by wearing their usual shorts rather than a long-length version.) I managed to get arrested twice myself. Once for filming on the streets of Kabul, and once for listening to the Venga Boys on the BBC World Service in public.

Men the size of mountains, with faces to match, surrounded me and brandished their Kalashnikovs. I could tell they were angry by the way they shouted and gesticulated, and I began to have visions of a lifetime spent in some awful cell. But on both occasions, after being offered the obligatory cup of tea, I was invited back to their homes to meet the family. Afghans, even the Taliban, are split between their ideology and hospitality.

It was Iran, long demonised by the West and the home to that meaningless phrase: "Islamic fundamentalism", that turned out to be the biggest surprise.

Rather than mad mullahs on every street corner, the only true fanatics I found were the legions of Pink Floyd fans. Iran is in the throes of a youth revolution at present - two-thirds of the population are under the age of 25, and while they respect Islam they want change.

Every young person I met was involved in the struggle, full of hope and prepared to challenge the rulings of the late supreme leader, Ayatollah Khomeini.

Like radical American students in the Sixties, they were publishing newspapers, gathering in parks to listen to pop music - still banned in public places - and talking about underground art and film.

The women were more outspoken than the men and bend the rules concerning dress and makeup every day. I was amazed when one invited me to go hang-gliding with her on the hills above Tehran.

The West continues to see the Middle East as one country with one people. So while the young students in Tehran fight for freedom and democracy they are ignored by the champions of democracy in the West. "In the eyes of the West, we are all the same," said one. I heard the same complaint again and again.

Prada, Gucci and Kalashnikovs; In war-zone kit he was barred from trendy Beirut nightclubs. In female-oppressing Tehran a woman offered to take him hang-gliding....

But if I was surprised by Iran, I was shocked by what I found in Gaza. Israel is as guilty as Iraq for the way it has ignored countless UN Resolutions, while we in the West have turned the other way. Gaza, a small strip of land only 30km long, is hermetically sealed on all sides by the Israeli army.

A QUARTER of a million Palestinians are crammed inside, while the 6,000 or so Jewish settlers there have access to the best land and water, and drive on separate roads. Palestinians are routinely stopped by soldiers in what is supposed to be an "autonomous" area.

Before the present uprising, the media was full of stories about the peace process.

But anyone who visited Gaza for themselves could see it was only ever a myth.

On the first day I visited I was turned away by the Israeli border guards.

Gaza was closed for the day - no one could leave or enter. Even when they are allowed to leave, Palestinians must queue for hours at the border, waiting in line beneath traffic lights in steel pens.

Thoughts of South Africa and ghettos from Europe's past sprung to mind.

But the BBC didn't want me to mention that, just in case we were accused of being anti-Semitic. Being anti-Islamic, on the other hand, is far more acceptable in the West today.

Langan Behind The Lines, a five-part journey through the Middle East, runs nightly from next Monday on BBC2 at 11.20pm.

Graphic

DEVOTED BUT OPEN-MINDED: A CLERIC IN AFGHANISTAN WITH LANGAN INSTEAD OF CONFISCATING SEAN LANGAN'S CAMERA, WHICH THEY WOULD USUALLY DO, MEMBERS OF THE TALIBAN LINE UP FOR A PICTURE WITH HIM MENAT ARMS: LANGAN WITH A TALIBAN FIGHTER AND MACHINEGUN ON THE ROAD TO KABUL

Load-Date: February 26, 2001

U.S. closes 37 embassies as a precaution

Deseret News (Salt Lake City)

October 14, 2000, Saturday

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Section: WIRE;

Length: 1275 words

Byline: Deseret News wire services

Body

WASHINGTON -- Their coffins draped in the American flag, the bodies of five U.S. sailors killed aboard the USS Cole arrived at Ramstein Air Base in Germany Friday as the death toll mounted from an apparent suicide bombing attack the day before.

As scores of U.S. forensics experts arrived at the ancient port of Aden in Yemen to investigate the apparent terrorist strike, the State Department closed 37 U.S. embassies across the Mideast and northern Africa as a precaution against further attacks.

Meanwhile, President Clinton's attempts to convene a Middle East peace summit this weekend fizzled Friday as gunbattles continued between Israelis and Palestinians. In the West Bank, two Palestinians were reportedly killed by Israeli gunfire and five others seriously wounded. Another Palestinian was missing near Nablus.

Despite international pressure, both Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat and Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak on Friday discounted the possibility of immediate peace talks.

Arafat refused to attend a summit until Israel agrees to stop firing at Palestinian demonstrators at flashpoints in the West Bank and Gaza. "Israel must stop its attacks," said Palestinian negotiator Nabil Shaath, "and if Barak does not agree to the Palestinian conditions, there will not be a summit."

Barak, in an interview on Channel One television, said, "We are not willing to accept conditions under the pressure of violence. It is impossible to accept additional demands all the time for something which should be self-evident."

Senior U.S. officials conceded there was no way to force Israelis and Palestinians to stop fighting, to compel their leaders to meet or to prevent extremists on both sides from capitalizing on the turmoil.

The unrest between Palestinians and Israelis spilled into other parts of the globe. Several synagogues were attacked in France and Canada. And in capitals around the Islamic world, as in American communities from Washington, D.C., to Salt Lake City, Muslims staged angry demonstrations.

Return to duty

In Yemen, Americans were advised to vary their routines and not to travel without armed guards.

"I don't want to try to hype the threat," said State Department spokesman Richard Boucher, "but it's very prudent to be careful."

U.S. closes 37 embassies as a precaution

In Norfolk, Va., the Navy on Friday released the names of seven confirmed dead and 10 missing sailors presumed dead in the Cole's wreckage. One **female** sailor was among the dead and another among the missing. One of the 17 on the list was an officer.

Among the wounded, five returned to duty after treatment for relatively minor injuries, and 33 others were airlifted to U.S. military facilities at Ramstein. There, with soldiers and sailors standing at attention, the coffins carrying the remains of seven of the victims were carried from the rear of a large military cargo plane across a rain-soaked runway. The bodies were to remain in Ramstein pending a decision on when to return them to the United States.

"The remainder of the crew will remain with the ship," Adm. Robert Natter, commander-in-chief of the U.S. Atlantic Fleet said during a news conference at fleet headquarters in Norfolk, Va. "We still have a ship that is very capable, and we obviously want to return that ship to full duty as soon as possible."

Pentagon and White House officials were planning memorial services -- to be attended by President Clinton and Secretary of Defense William Cohen -- on Wednesday in Norfolk, the Cole's home port.

The president spoke by telephone with Cole Cmdr. Kirk Lippold to express "his condolences and those of the American people on the loss of the crew . . . and that we would do everything in our power to learn what has happened and, if it was in fact an act of terrorism, to learn who did it and hold them accountable," said P.J. Crowley, National Security Council spokesman at the White House.

In Yemen Friday, a contingent of 50 anti-terrorist Marines arrived to help secure the Cole, which lay stranded in the harbor at Aden, stabilized but pumping water from its hold. Two other Navy ships -- the USS Hawes and the USS Donald Cook -- arrived in the area to provide support and to reinforce the Cole's crew.

Separately, a team of 100 FBI and State Department investigators arrived to begin an extensive examination of the incident. A large explosion blew a gaping hole 40 feet square at the ship's waterline, after the Cole was rammed Thursday by a small rubber craft piloted by a pair of men eyewitnesses said were standing at attention as they slammed against the warship.

U.S. officials are treating the incident as a terrorist act and have promised to retaliate against the perpetrators.

"This senseless act of apparent terrorism is not one that we will take lightly," Natter said.

U.S. officials would not say whether they lent credence to published reports that the Islamic Army of Aden, a staunchly anti-American organization, had claimed responsibility for the attack.

Yemen has been used as a safe haven for a number of terrorist groups, and the State Department's Boucher said investigators had not yet identified or ruled out any suspects.

"There's nothing we can say at this point about responsibility," Boucher said. "It's too early at this point to draw conclusions about culpability."

Conflicting demands

In Israel, the West Bank and Gaza, 96 people, most Palestinians, have been killed in 16 days of clashes triggered by the visit of Israel's hardline opposition leader, Ariel Sharon, to a Jerusalem shrine holy to Jews and Muslims.

Barak had earlier agreed to meet Arafat in the Egyptian town of Sharm el Sheik, as long as the violence stopped. But Arafat demanded an Israeli troop withdrawal, a U.N. inquiry into the amount and nature of force Israel used in the past two weeks, and a reopening of the West Bank and Gaza. Israel closed access to the Palestinian areas because of what Barak said was an increased threat of terror attacks.

Barak demanded that Arafat re-arrest the **Hamas** terrorists he recently released from jail, seize the guns that Palestinian militias are using against Israeli troops and make a public appeal for an end to the violence.

U.S. closes 37 embassies as a precaution

In the televised interview, Barak said a summit now would be like giving Arafat a "prize" for violence that has been raging for the two weeks since Sharon made his provocative visit to the Haram al-Sharif, the Muslim "Noble Sanctuary," in East Jerusalem, which Jews revere as the Temple Mount.

Early in the day, the situation had looked promising when Muslim Friday prayers in Jerusalem's Old City ended without violence for the first of the last three Fridays. That was largely because Israel closed roads to the area and barred anyone younger than 45 from entering the area of the al-Aqsa mosque.

Dozens of young men held impromptu prayers on nearby streets, laying cardboard boxes on the ground to kneel on.

"This is the ultimate humiliation," said Mazen Sublaba, 25. "I tried to go to the al-Aqsa mosque and they prevented me."

For their part, Israelis were still in shock over the Thursday murders of two soldiers. A mob beat the Israelis to death after they drove by accident into the Palestinian-controlled town of Ramallah, near Jerusalem. The Palestinian Authority ordered an investigation of the incident. And Israelis are investigating the possibility that another soldier was killed on the same day.

Thousands attended the funeral Friday of Vadim Norjitz, one of the soldiers, who had just married four days earlier. His brother recounted opening the casket to look at the battered body. "I saw with my own eyes what they did to him," he cried.

CONTRIBUTING: Cox News Service, Knight Ridder Newspapers and Associated Press.

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End of Document

Kids die, and the blood is on everyone's hands

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Section: NATIONAL; Pg. 1A; COLUMN

Length: 1225 words

Byline: SUSAN TAYLOR MARTIN

Dateline: BETHLEHEM, West Bank

Body

Past the place where Jesus was born, Palestinians on Tuesday carried a child to his grave.

He was Muayed Darwish, a 14-year-old student. Shot in the head by an Israeli soldier.

Palestinians say he was just heading home from school Monday, still in uniform and wearing his backpack, when he innocently strayed into a firefight.

Perhaps he was on his way from school, the Israel Defense Force says. But, the IDF says, he was also throwing a Molotov cocktail at soldiers.

MARTIN

Since Israeli-Palestinian violence exploded anew Sept. 28, an estimated 100 people have been killed and more than 2,000 wounded. The toll among Israeli Jews: eight dead, all adults. The toll among Palestinians: around 90 or so, including several children.

That some of the Palestinian victims are young raises two troubling questions:

Why are Israeli soldiers killing kids?

And why are Palestinians letting their kids get in harm's way?

Like everything else in this conflict, they are questions that have no easy answers. But they come up time and again, as Israelis and Palestinians accuse each other of exploiting dead children to advance their own causes.

In what Jews regard as a blatant propaganda, Palestinians charge that Israelis are deliberately murdering innocents.

"Stop Killing Palestinian Children," says one widely distributed, full-color poster with the now-famous image of 12-year-old Mohammed Al-Duri dying in his father's arms after being shot by an Israeli soldier.

Another large poster, that of an 18-month-old girl shot by a Jewish settler, bears this legend: "They kill Palestinian children. Will you say, 'We did not know?'" The poster was issued by the Palestinian National Authority, the governing body of Palestinian areas in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Kids die, and the blood is on everyone's hands

For their part, Israelis accuse Palestinian leaders of encouraging families to let their children join demonstrations knowing full well that the protests are likely to turn violent. How, Israelis wonder, could any responsible parent let a child anywhere near a scene involving guns, live ammunition and highly charged emotions?

"Those children should not have been there in the first place," Capt. Natan Golan, an IDF spokesman, says of the young Palestinian victims.

With the exception of Mohammed Al-Duri, whose death shocked Jews as well as Arabs, the Israeli media in general has had only the sketchiest mention of Palestinian children killed in the recent violence. In most cases, the victims are not even named.

The Arab media, meanwhile, treat every youthful victim as a martyr and stridently accuse Israel of employing excessive force against children.

In recent days, however, both Arab and Jewish commentators have questioned how their own sides have reacted to the Palestinian casualties, albeit approaching the issue from very different angles.

Al Watan, a Kuwaiti newspaper, said Arabs are partly to blame for Mohammed Al-Duri's shocking death because they have done too little to help their Palestinian brethren over the years.

"Do you remember television footage of Israeli soldiers breaking the bones of Palestinian youths during the intifada a few years back," the paper asked. "Didn't we fume and threaten? What happened afterward? Nothing. Didn't the sight of Mohammed appall everyone of us? What will happen now? Nothing."

Meanwhile, Ha'aretz, Israel's leading newspaper, ran a lengthy story last Friday about three Palestinian teenagers shot by Israeli soldiers.

"Three bullets abruptly aborted the childhood of three youngsters, leaving behind one child who is permanently incapacitated and two whose lives are over," Ha'aretz said. "But who ever cares about disabled or dead Palestinian children?"

"The fate of three Israeli soldiers who were kidnapped to Lebanon is an earth-shattering event, and rightly so. The fate of dead or wounded Palestinian children doesn't bother anyone in Israel or abroad, wrongly so."

At the center of the firestorm has been the Israel Defense Force, whose soldiers have drawn worldwide condemnation for using guns and live ammunition against Palestinian children often armed with nothing more than stones.

The IDF, though, counter that stones can also be dangerous weapons and that the use of live bullets is necessary to protect soldiers' lives.

"It's tragic to have a child fall in this violence, but there's no reason for the IDF to fire one shot if there's no violence," says Golan, the IDF spokesman. "All we're trying to say is stop this incessant incitement to violence. We are dealing with a situation in which kids are cynically being used by being put on the front lines where they may be killed, maimed or injured. . . . If a young boy falls, it gives the Palestinians a lot of propaganda points."

If Israeli soldiers are only acting in self-defense, though, how to explain Palestinian claims that some children have been hit from behind? X-rays clearly show that one of the boys in the Ha'aretz story had been shot in the back of the head.

"Unfortunately, they are taken to Palestinian hospitals so it is impossible for us to verify the claims," said Golan. "We're not saying they're true or not true."

Like other Israelis, Golan is incredulous that any Palestinians would let their children get into such potentially dangerous situations in the first place. "I have three kids," he said, "and I'd never send them into a war zone."

Kids die, and the blood is on everyone's hands

In fact, many Palestinian parents feel the same.

"I'm afraid they'll be killed or shot," said Rima Juha, a dentist's wife who insisted her four children stay home and clean the house during Tuesday's funeral for 14-year-old Muayed Darwish.

However, Nawal Nemeh, who works for an agency that helps impoverished Palestinian women, said she understood the frustrations that push entire families into anti-Israeli protests.

"People want the Israelis to leave our land and this is the only way they know how to do it," she said. But, she added, she too would be afraid to let her children take part.

Like many of the young Palestinians who have been killed in recent weeks, Muayed Darwish lived in a refugee camp where it's not unusual for 10 or 12 people to share two squalid rooms. There is virtually nothing for children to do, so the boys, especially, spend much of their time in the streets.

On Tuesday morning, as Muayed's funeral procession began, there was not a school or store open in Bethlehem. Scores of boys and girls joined thousands of adults as his body, wrapped in a Palestinian flag, was borne down the steep streets.

At times it had the air of a macabre parade, with people watching from windows and balconies. There were jeeps full of Palestinian soldiers and ambulances with red lights flashing. The mayor of Bethlehem joined the march, as did several Franciscan monks and flag-waving members of militant Palestinian factions - Islamic Jihad, Hamas, Palestinian Democratic Movement.

"Bring us weapons and we will give you our souls!" some shouted.

"We will fight Tel Aviv!"

"Allahu Akbar (God is great!)"

Among those swept along in the crowds were Rafaf Malish and his 10-year-old son.

"Yes, I'm afraid for him, but he wanted to be here," Malish said. "He went to the same school as Muayed."

As he spoke, Malish firmly grasped his little boy's right hand. His left arm was covered by a cast.

He had been hurt last week, during a fight between Israelis and Palestinians.

Susan Martin can be reached at susan@sptimes.com

Graphic

COLOR PHOTO, Associated Press; COLOR PHOTO, Photo by FLORE DE PRENEUF; A 10-year-old Palestinian boy hides from Israeli soldiers as he slingshots rocks at them Tuesday in Bethlehem.; This poster by the Palestinian authority shows a girl shot to death by a Jewish settler. It asks: "They kill Palestinian children. Will you say, 'We did not know?' "

Load-Date: October 19, 2000

7 DAYS

Sydney Morning Herald (Australia)

April 6, 1998 Monday

Late Edition

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Length: 1220 words

Byline: STEPHANIE PEATLING, LINDA DOHERTY, MELISSA SWEET, PETER COCHRANE, HELEN SIGNY, LOUISE EVANS, SEAN AYLMEER

Body

CANBERRA

AND so it continues. Wik is still in the Senate and a big vote is anticipated today. The Opposition insists the legislation be subject to the Racial Discrimination Act (or RDA in Canberra-speak), which the Government is not happy about. The man with the vote, Senator Brian Harradine - who last week showed off his twinkling toes in a display of Nelson Mandela-like dancing - is supposedly siding with the Opposition on this one. Making the legislation subject to the RDA is one of four remaining sticking points for the Government, and one which PM John Howard has threatened he may go to an election on. Debate on the other aspects of Wik will continue during this shortened Easter sitting week. Over in the ALP camp, a book launch takes place at the National Press Club on Wednesday. This is not usually an event of much interest except the book is by the Opposition education spokesman, Mark Latham, and received much attention in Parliament last week where the Opposition Leader, Kim Beazley, had to distance himself from some of the weighty tome's more controversial tax-related issues. Who's launching the book? Kim Beazley.

STEPHANIE PEATLING

THE STATE

THE Independent Commission Against Corruption (ICAC) today turns the spotlight on State Parliament, beginning public hearings into whether politicians received benefits from Kings Cross identity Louis Bayeh. The Member for Londonderry, Paul Gibson, was named in Parliament by the Opposition as the politician under investigation. Gibson denies the allegation, telling Parliament last week he was not corrupt and attacking the ICAC for casting an "intimidatory shadow" over Parliament. The fate of another Labor MP, Fair Trading Minister Brian Langton, still hangs in the balance. The ICAC will hand down its report after Easter into whether Langton acted corruptly by using air travel warrants issued to other politicians. Premier Bob Carr and his Cabinet meet in Sydney today before Parliament resumes tomorrow. Tonight, Carr launches TropNest for screenwriters. On Wednesday, the Premier starts the day with a breakfast to showcase the new advertising campaign for NSW Tourism. This afternoon, Peter Collins, the Opposition Leader and shearer's grandson, broadcasts his weekly talkback with ABC regional radio from the Royal Easter Show, before tomorrow's shadow Cabinet meeting. Former Speaker Kevin Rozzoli's 25 years in Parlia-ment will be celebrated tomorrow with a dinner.

7 DAYS

LINDA DOHERTY

MEDICINE

THE new Heart and Cancer Offensive Against Tobacco will this morning launch its wish list for the Federal Budget at a function in Melbourne. The Austral-asian Society of Infectious Diseases is holding its annual scientific meeting in Hobart this week. Tomorrow, the Sydney Hospital and Sydney Eye Hospital will celebrate its accreditation by the Australian Council on Healthcare Standards, a voluntary assessment for health care facilities. Researchers at St Vincent's Hospital's clinical trials unit are seeking volunteers for a trial of psoriasis treatment (contact Sue Daffy 9361 2233). And women who were pregnant between 1938 and 1971 who may have taken the synthetic oestrogen, diethylstilboestrol or DES, are invited to join a support group. DES was used to prevent miscarriage but is known to have involved health risks (contact Carol Devine 987 54820).

MELISSA SWEET

THE ARTS

FOR Melbourne producer David Marriner his boat has finally come in. Hal Prince's acclaimed revival of Show Boat, the first production of a new partnership between Marriner and Toronto's Livent Inc, opens at Star City tomorrow. The same night sees the Australian Ballet return to the Sydney Opera House with a new work by Stephen Baynes, 1914. The Archibald Prize People's Choice winner is also announced tomorrow. Australia's Carl Vine is one of six finalists in the Masterprize composers' competition, worth 20,000 pounds, announced in London tomorrow. Other highlights this week: new exhibitions at the State Library (The Architect's Sketchbook) and Art Gallery of NSW (In the Cold: Photography 1945-1965), opening Wednesday. The Museum of Contemporary Art hosts two lecture-performances by Amsterdam-based performance artist Marina Abramovic' on Wednesday and Thursday, while EAT! the food exhibition opens on Friday. The National Playwrights' Conference kicks off in Canberra on Sunday.

PETER COCHRANE

THE WORLD

THE financial world is holding its breath this morning to see what the yen does against the dollar after it traded at its lowest level since 1991 on Friday. Japan is heading into one of the worst downturns since World War II, with Moodys downgrading Japan's debt outlook to negative, the Bank of Japan saying business confidence is plummeting and the head of Sony claiming last week that the Japanese economy is on the verge of collapse. It's all worrying because if Japan's economy - the world's second largest - slides much more, we may be facing a worldwide recession. A peace agreement for Northern Ireland is due to be announced on Thursday. Big differences still remain between the participants, but nothing is impossible. Israel is bracing for attacks this week by the militant Islamic group Hamas, avenging the slaying last week of one of its leaders.

HELEN SIGNY

SPORT

IT'LL be a great moment in sport when the predominantly black waiters at the once whites-only Augusta National Golf Club serve Tiger Woods a last supper of cheese burgers, fries and a milkshake on the eve of the US Masters, which starts on Thursday in Georgia. As defending champion, Woods gets to choose the menu for the past winners' dinner. Woods is king of the canteen after he became the youngest Masters champion aged 21 last year and by the widest margin (12 strokes) with the lowest total (18-under 270). One name not on the dinner list is Greg Norman who has never won the big one. The Shark missed the cut last year and arrives in Augusta this week with a shoulder injury. The hottest ticket in town is for the Swans' Sunday afternoon match against Geelong at the SCG. The men in tight shorts will be playing for a third straight victory.

LOUISE EVANS

BUSINESS

7 DAYS

Caltex Australia's \$370 million float hits the market today. While it was oversubscribed, buyers got the shares at a discount so it's unclear how well the stock will perform. On the small business front, ANZ and National Australia Bank will come under pressure to drop lending rates after Westpac and the Commonwealth slashed business overdraft rates last week. Casinos are making headlines. While we are sure to hear more from the Lloyd Williams-Crown casino saga this week, our local Star City has its annual general meeting tomorrow. The fall off in Asian high-rollers should ensure a lively debate. Employment figures out on Thursday should prove crucial in the Federal Government's thinking. Weak retail and building approvals figures last week have increased speculation that the economy may need one more interest rate cut. Job ads figures and housing finance data will also provide a clue on how strong the economy is travelling. Over-riding it all will be the problems in Asia, especially Japan.

SEAN AYLMER

THIS WEEK'S BIG QUESTIONS

- * WILL HARRADINE SAVE US FROM A WIK ELECTION?
- * WILL THE JAPANESE ECONOMY COLLAPSE?
- * WILL THE PEOPLE BE AT ONE WITH THE ARCHIBALD JUDGES?
- * WILL THE EASTER BILBY VISIT YOUR HOUSE?

Graphic

ILLUS: Weighing up Wik ... Senator Brian Harradine will again be crucial in the debate today on the future of the Government's Wik legislation.

Load-Date: July 23, 2007

Symbol of both oppression and freedom

Christian Science Monitor (Boston, MA)

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Byline: Ilene R. Prusher , Staff Writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Series: PART 3 OF A 4 PART SERIES.

Dateline: GAZA CITY, GAZA STRIP

Body

Even when Shaban Omary is shouting, she is hard to hear.

At a jam-packed forum here on "**Women** in Islam," she rises to respond to a panel of Arab academics and human rights activists expounding on Muslim customs - especially the veil - as a source of **women**'s oppression.

"I represent the free, modern, Muslim woman!" yells Ms. Omary, a graduate student whose entire body is enveloped in black.

But her words are difficult to understand. They sound as if they're coming from another room, muffled by the thick black veil that covers her face, except her eyes.

Here in Gaza, where even a simple headscarf is optional and most public spaces are mixed, the increased popularity of hijab - an all-encompassing term for the various coverings **women** wear in deference to the Koran's counsel to "guard their unseen parts" - ignites debate: Does the veil, like the fabric filter over Omary's voice, mute the rights of **women**?

On the contrary, says Omary. "This way, I'm not defending myself against the looks of other people. I express the genuine face of the true Muslim, who comes out into the world not as a woman, but as a human being."

Arab feminists have argued against **women**'s beauty being held responsible for society's foibles for decades. But simple formulas that equate throwing off the veil with liberation, which might have been met with applause 25 years ago, now seem to arouse more contempt and calls for an end to emulation of the West.

From the height of the Palestinian intifadah, or uprising against Israeli rule that began in 1987, to the upsurge in Islamic fundamentalism in Egypt, the veil has become a socially obligatory part of the dress code for many who hadn't worn it before.

Symbol of both oppression and freedom

Women here and in other moderate Arab countries say they feel an increased pressure to veil for both political and social reasons. But proponents, like Omary, argue that the veil is a central part of God's protection against the mistreatment of **women** - and that gender relations will only improve when more **women** obey the call to cover themselves.

"These traditions have become a means of increasing injustice against **women**," says Violette Dagguerre, of the Paris-based Arab Commission for Human Rights. "Even during the life of the Prophet [Muhammad], the number of **women** wearing hijab was limited," says Dr. Dagguerre, whose comments drew angry reactions from the audience.

To veil or not to veil

The 20th century often saw the veil hijacked for political purposes. Nationalists from Turkey's Ataturk to Egypt's Gamal Abdel Nasser wanted the hijab to come off. Fundamentalists in Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood, Lebanon's Hizbullah, and the Palestinian **Hamas** wanted it back on. Leaders who went overboard in their pro-Western orientation found themselves facing a backlash.

"Hijab was used as a symbol of the backwardness of Muslim **women** by the nationalist movements in the early part of the 20th century," says Omaima Abu Bakr, of Cairo University in Egypt. "It was an apologist trend. In the later part of the 20th century, there was a reaction to that which said, 'We don't want to copy the culture of the West.' "

Today, reasons for veiling are as varied as the types of covering **women** wear, from the long robes and colorful scarves in the North African countries to the black-on-black garb of the conservative Gulf states.

At the American University of Beirut, in Lebanon, young **women** who wear hijab stand out, and say they often feel disdained for it.

"I think I had more respect for what I wore when I lived in America," says Manal El-Fakhani, a freshman who recently returned to her native Lebanon to study. "I know I'm doing the right thing. Wearing it stops you from doing bad things, because people expect more of you," she says, as an unveiled Muslim girlfriend next to her rolls her eyes. Explaining the pale blue veil over her casual pants and top, she adds: "I think it's a signal to guys that this is a girl who doesn't like to mess around."

Stories of young **women** donning veils their mothers and even grandmothers fought to take off are abundant.

Nadia Tewfiq, an Egyptian journalist studying Islamic political thought in London, was devastated to find on her last trip home that her 15-year-old niece, Nihal, had started wearing hijab.

"In the beginning of the 20th century, **women** took off the veil in Egypt, because it was seen as a veil on the mind itself," says Ms. Tewfiq. "It was a symbol that you're a piece of meat, a sex object. But today **women** are putting it back on, voluntarily."

"A woman's body is like honey," Nihal told her aunt, "and you have to keep the flies away."

Symbol of both oppression and freedom

Many reasons to cover

Tewfiq spurns such adages, regaining currency among Egypt's poor and well-educated classes alike.

The motivation to cover, analysts say, is multifaceted, often meaning very different things in different countries. In some places, it is social insurance; in others, quiet political protest.

"In Gaza they wear scarves they didn't have to 10 years ago because they don't want to be harassed by thugs," says Karma Nabulsi, a politics fellow at England's Oxford University.

"In Syria, the veil became a way of showing displeasure with the regime," Dr. Nabulsi says. "It was the only thing you could do to show opposition."

For some, the act of rebellion is a family affair: choosing to cover in a household of women who don't, or refusing to veil in a family of women who do. At one Kuwaiti suburban home, for example, Nura el-Enezi's daughters differ. She and her two older teenage girls wear hijab. But 14-year-old May refuses to wear the veil, even though most girls her age do. "It's too hot," says May al-Enezi, smirking at her sisters, who tell her God will punish her for disobeying.

What is or isn't off-limits to the rest of the world can be a difficult question for outsiders to understand. At the Prestige dress shop in Kuwait City, where a Tunisian designer creates custom-made gowns, all the women who stroll into the store are covered in hijab.

Some also wear face veils, which contrast starkly with the rich and colorful fabrics they examine for their dream dresses, which run \$ 2,000 to \$ 3,000 each.

Inside the fitting room, a male Lebanese tailor fits a crepe and sequin cocktail dress onto Suad el-Martigi, who needs something for the party to celebrate the birth of her first child, a girl. Pinning the fabric along the contours of her body is ok, she and her mother say, but she wears a long-sleeved shirt beneath the fancy cap-sleeve dress and leaves on a snug headscarf. At the party itself - where no men are allowed - it will be a much more revealing story, with exposed arms and ballerina neckline.

"In Europe and America, they dress for the outside," says shop owner Monira Ibrahim. "In our culture, women dress for themselves." Adds the new mother: "But everyone is free to do whatever they want."

Maintaining tolerance

Ekbal Doughan, the president of The Working Women League in Lebanon, says that is the key to maintaining tolerance. Mrs. Doughan, a lawyer who prefers business suits, was recently invited to debate hijab on a television talk show run by Hizbullah, the Iranian-backed Party of God. She was surprised to find that when she arrived at their studio, they wanted her to don a veil before going on air.

Symbol of both oppression and freedom

"I am a religious person," says Doughan. "I love the religion as a message, as a belief, not as a political party."

Rima Fakhry, the director of Hizbullah's women's association, disagrees. "A woman who accepts Islam but not hijab is not really accepting Islam."

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NEWS SUMMARY

The New York Times

February 25, 1998, Wednesday, Late Edition - Final

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Body

INTERNATIONAL A3-11

Congress Seeks Quick Test Of Agreement With Iraq

Republicans and Democrats in Congress asked for a test of Saddam Hussein's promise to allow United Nations weapons inspectors unrestricted and unconditional access throughout Iraq. Legislators were eager for more details about the deal struck between Mr. Hussein and Secretary General Kofi Annan of the United Nations. A11

Mr. Annan returned to the United Nations and said the deal with Iraq "should work" because he had negotiated it directly with President Saddam Hussein, whom he described as calm and well informed. A10

Soviet Biological Weapons

Moscow's plans for World War III included anthrax weapons and smallpox and plague viruses that could be loaded in intercontinental ballistic missile warheads, a defector from the former Soviet Union's biological weapons program said. A1

Head of Mossad Resigns

Danny Yatom, left, resigned as the head of the Mossad, Israel's intelligence agency. He was adamant that he had been unfairly criticized by a Government commission investigating an attempt to assassinate the political leader of the militant organization Hamas, in Amman. King Hussein of Jordan had reportedly said that he would not resume his country's cooperation with Israeli intelligence services as long as Mr. Yatom was in office. A3

New President in South Korea

Kim Dae Jung, a life-long dissident, was inaugurated as President in South Korea's first peaceful transfer of power from one ruler to an opposition party. He immediately called for an exchange of envoys with North Korea, a possible summit meeting, family reunions and private exchanges. A8

China Invites Taiwan to Talk

NEWS SUMMARY

China offered to resume discussions on the future of Taiwan, which it regards as a rebel province and which it has threatened to retake by military force. A Taiwan official called the invitation "positive" and acknowledged that his government was under increasing American pressure to renew contacts with Beijing. A6

Helms Warms to NATO Growth

Senator Jesse Helms, the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said that he had overcome concerns about the cost of adding Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic to NATO and now favored the expansion of the alliance. A6

Mondale Will Go to Indonesia

President Clinton has asked former Vice President Walter F. Mondale to travel to Indonesia this weekend to assure President Suharto that the United States would help the country through its economic crisis, but also to warn that Indonesia must begin to enact the reform plan that Mr. Suharto signed with the International Monetary Fund last month. Mr. Suharto is expected to be re-elected soon to another five-year term by a parliament he closely controls. A6

NATIONAL A12-21

Starr and White House Clash on Aide's Summons

The legal confrontation between President Clinton and the independent counsel, Kenneth W. Starr, left, took a sharply personal turn. Mr. Starr summoned Sidney Blumenthal, a senior Presidential adviser, to a grand jury to seek the source of what he called "misinformation" being spread about prosecutors, and the White House reacted by accusing Mr. Starr of a "brazen" abuse of power. A1

President Clinton is invoking executive privilege to shield top aides from testifying about internal White House discussions on the Monica S. Lewinsky investigation, according to lawyers involved in the case. A1

Lawyers for Paula Corbin Jones were given 10 more days to respond to a motion to dismiss her sexual misconduct lawsuit against President Clinton, even though Mr. Clinton's lawyers said the extra time would probably be used to search for more women to testify. A18

Campaign Finance Debate

A majority of the Senate defied the Republican leadership and voted, 51-48, to keep alive bipartisan legislation that would overhaul the way political campaigns are financed. A1

Price Rise for Human Eggs

A New Jersey fertility clinic has doubled the usual payments to egg donors, offering \$5,000 for a month's worth of eggs. Irritated competitors said they feared the start of a bidding war for human eggs. A1

The Aftermath, on Both Coasts

Search and rescue operations continued in parts of Central Florida that were struck by tornadoes on Monday. President Clinton was to visit some areas today. In California, the worst El Nino storm of a stormy winter left much of California cleaning up from torrential rains, rare tornadoes, mudslides and flash flooding that claimed at least seven lives. A12

Tobacco Wants Protection

NEWS SUMMARY

The top executives of the major tobacco companies told a Senate panel that they would never agree to modify their advertising and marketing practices unless lawmakers gave the industry substantial protection against lawsuits. A16

NEW YORK/REGION B1-8

Court Upholds City Law Limiting Sex Businesses

The state's highest court upheld the constitutionality of a New York City zoning law that bans X-rated businesses from residential neighborhoods, paving the way for the city to start closing down sex shops that are in violation of the law. A1

Criticism of Foster Care

A study by New York City's child welfare agency has found that foster care agencies routinely fail to report allegations of abuse and neglect suffered by children at the hands of their foster parents. B1

Study of Hudson Is Slowed

The E.P.A., under pressure from General Electric and a powerful upstate Congressman, has decided to slow down the completion of a study of PCB contamination in the Hudson River. B1

NEEDIEST CASES B8

EDUCATION B10

U.S. Seniors Lag in Math

The most comprehensive and rigorous international comparison of schooling ever undertaken reveals American high school seniors, even many in advanced classes, to be among the industrial world's least prepared in math and science. B10

Financial Boom for Colleges

Robust investment returns coupled with strong donations to higher education have created a financial boom for American colleges and universities, 25 of which now have endowments of \$1 billion or more. B10

ARTS E1-10

OBITUARIES B8-9

Henny Youngman

The King of the One-Liners, who implored his audiences for six decades to "take my wife -- please," was 91. B9

BUSINESS DAY D1-20

Overhauling Oxford

Oxford Health Plans will get a new chief executive in Norman C. Payson and a \$350 million infusion from outside investors, under a shake-up announced to stop the company's financial bleeding. Industry consultants and analysts said the changes could result in a transformation that moves Oxford away from what has historically distinguished

NEWS SUMMARY

the company in the era of managed care: affordable coverage that offers customers great flexibility in picking a doctor. D1

Caution From Greenspan

Alan Greenspan, the Federal Reserve chairman, warned investors and lenders against assuming that economic good times would last forever, suggesting that they could be underestimating the risks confronting the economy's seven-year-old expansion. Mr. Greenspan gave no clear indication of whether the central bank would raise or lower interest rates this year. D1

Business Digest D1

SPORTS C1-8

DINING F1-10

EDITORIAL A22-23

Editorials: Kenneth Starr's misjudgments; showdown for campaign reform; day of hope in South Korea; out to lunch.

Columns: Maureen Dowd, Frank Rich.

Crossword E8

Weather C7

Public Lives B2

Graphic

Photos

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THE WAR COFFERS OF THE CHECHEN TERRORISTS

What The Papers Say (Russia)

March 28, 2000, Tuesday

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Section: PRESS EXTRACTS

Length: 1404 words

Byline: Anatoly Ovchinsky, Vladimir Ovchinsky

Highlight: WHY ARE CHECHEN TERRORISTS, CURRENTLY HARD-PRESSED BY THE ARMED FORCES OF SUCH A LARGE STATE AS RUSSIA, STILL CAPABLE OF FIGHTING? AT WHOSE EXPENSE ARE THEY REPLENISHING THEIR ARSENALS? THE ANSWER TO THESE QUESTIONS IS OFFERED BY DR. ANATOLY OVCHINSKY AND DR. VLADIMIR OVCHINSKY, WHO ARE RESEARCHING INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM IN CHECHNYA.

Body

We tried to construct a model of international terrorism established in Chechnya by the Dudaev and Maskhadov regimes. We paid special attention to calculations of the funds accumulated by terrorists in order to finance various levels of their destructive activities. Table 1 shows that as the spheres of terrorists' activities grow more and more complicated, their financial resources are steadily increased.

Moskovskie Novosti, March 2000

Analysis of the dynamics of these processes has shown that the basic funds were received during the first two levels of destruction, namely the level of destroying social infrastructure and undermining the economic foundations, not only in Chechnya but also in Russia as a whole. As early as 1991-92 over 1,200 murders for gain were committed in Chechnya, their aim being to seize property and money. This murder rate is ten times higher than in 1989-90. Since then, murdering for money or property and hostage-taking for ransom have become the basic elements of securing funds for the upper (in our table - lower) levels of terrorist activities. These practices spread to all of Chechnya and republics adjacent to it. In the next few years the number of major crimes committed for gain grew steadily in Dagestan, Kabardino-Balkaria, Ingushetia, North Ossetia, and the Stavropol Territory. According to official reports, from 1995 until the beginning of the invasion of Dagestan in the fall of 1999, over 1,700 people were kidnapped in the North Caucasus (according to unofficial sources, over 2,000 people were kidnapped there over that period of time). The ransom demands fluctuated from \$10,000 to over \$1 million per victim. Thus, the terrorists might have received \$200-300 million from kidnappings alone.

A substantial amount of funds was gained by the terrorists under the Dudaev regime, by robbing trains on the Grozny stretch of the North Caucasus Railroad. During 1993-94 alone, the aggregate damage from this sort of gangsterism exceeded \$4 million.

On the second, economic level of destruction the major sphere of terrorists' business became illegal sales of oil and oil products. In 1991-94 no less than 40 million tons of oil was sold. All the money gained was spent on purchasing arms, creating terrorist bases and training camps, and establishing international contacts.

THE WAR COFFERS OF THE CHECHEN TERRORISTS

During the same period, the terrorist coordination centers organized and carried out embezzlement on an unprecedented scale (no less than \$600 million) using letters of credit and "Russia" checks. Simultaneously, Chechnya became the major transfer point for smuggling diamonds and gold stolen from Russian mines.

The mechanisms of accumulating funds for the terrorist coffers covered practically all the major Russian financial and economic centers. Prior to the beginning of the first Chechen campaign, no less than 20% of the Russian banking system, including banks based in Moscow, was under full control of terrorists.

By the end of 1994 the sums collected by these means could already provide for the other levels of destruction, namely political destabilization in Russia, disintegration of this country's state system and spiritual foundations, and also disruption of established international relations. At that time, international Islamic extremist centers and transnational companies competing with Russia had already recognized the terrorist regime in Chechnya as an equal partner for the purpose of attaining their geostrategic goals. According to expert appraisals, in 1994 and 1995 the Chechen regime received between \$1.5 billion and \$2 billion from foreign NGOs exclusively for terrorist operations to disrupt the flow of oil.

After the 1996 Khasavyurt oil agreements the Maskhadov regime started to receive assistance from two directions at once - from the ideologists of the so-called "Universal Islamic Revolution" for the purpose of creating a united Islamic state in the Caucasus, and from transnational financial structures for the purpose of establishing control over the routes of Caspian oil. The fulfillment of these two plans required investments of tens of billions of dollars into the Chechen terrorist regime, but those investments were meant to bring in profits of hundreds of millions of dollars within a few years.

According to the terrorists' plans, using such great sums should have completely split the entire North Caucasus from Russia, created an analogous Islamic state in the Volga area, and established full control over diamond and gold extraction in Russia and no less than 50% of the entire Russian banking system.

Table 1

The amount of terrorists' financial resources depending on the sphere of their activities. The complication of the spheres increases from top to bottom, so do the resources.

1. Social terrorism: \$1,000

destruction of the foundations of society

(kidnapping, trafficking and sexual exploitation of women, gangsterism, blackmail, slavery);

2. Economic terrorism: \$10 million

undermining the economic infrastructure

(corrupting the branches of power, financial fraud, embezzlement of state funds);

3. Political terrorism: \$100 million

political destabilization (separatism, nationalism);

4. State terrorism: \$1 billion

disintegration of the state system

(establishing zones of piracy, local wars, gangster invasions);

5. Moral terrorism: \$10 billion

attacks on morale

THE WAR COFFERS OF THE CHECHEN TERRORISTS

(information terrorism, religious expansion, deideologization);

6. International terrorism: \$100 billion

destruction of international relations

(abolition of credits, closing down oil transport routes, import and export embargoes, deprivation of investments).

Table 2

International sponsors of Chechen terrorists (1991-2000)

Albania: Mak-Albania, Vakefi Islamik, Teliba, Al-Kharamain;

Algeria: the Islamic Salvation Front (IFS), the Armed Islamic Group;

Afghanistan: the Taliban movement, the Islamic Party of Afghanistan, the Al-Kaida (Support) organization;

Bosnia & Herzegovina: the Organization of Bosnian Muslim Youth, the Oil Travnik factory and the Baddar Bosna combine, the BiG Information and Documentation Agency;

Bulgaria: the Movement for Rights and Freedoms, the Supreme Muslim Council;

Germany: the German-Caucasus Society, the Herbera firm;

Great Britain: the London branch of Vainakh, International Alert, the Emigrant Movement, Info Software 2000 Ltd., the Center of Islamic Education;

Egypt: Al-Jihad-Al-Islamii, Al-Jihad;

Iran: the Nakshbandia Sufi cult, the Kaderia Sufi cult, the Adherents to Sunna organization;

Jordan: the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), the Chechen and Caucasus-Circassian communes, a branch of the Persian Gulf Bank, the Islamic Liberation Party, the Circassian Charity Society;

Kuwait: the Society for Social Reforms, the Kuwaiti Charitable Organization for Restoration of Islamic Heritage, the At-Tablig val-Irshad organization, the Islamic Constitutional Movement, the Asian Muslim Committee, the Teiba charity foundation;

Lebanon: the Organization of Islamic Ulems,

Morocco: the Islamic Conference,

Pakistan: Djaamat-I-Islami (Djaama Islamiya), Djaamat-e-Ulema Islam-DUI, the Society of Pakistani Ulems, the Association of Pakistani-Chechen Friendship, the World Jihad Front, the Safa organization, the Allah's Grace organization, the Mojaheddin Movement, the Forces of Victory group, the Youth Wing association;

Palestine: **Hamas**, Al-Jihad al Ismyamii, the "Irreconcilable" groups, Djamaa Islamiya va Taukhid, Asbat al-Ansar, Djaamat al-Irshad, Djaamat al-Ittikhad;

Poland: the Chechen Information Center, the Poland-Chechnya Committee;

Qatar: the Qatar Charitable Society;

Saudi Arabia: the International Islamic League, Djamaat-ad-Dagestaniin-al-Kudama, the Muslim Brothers, the Islamic Congress, the Committee for Assistance with Victory of the Dagestani Muslims, Daava Islamiyi, the Al-Kharamain the Two Relics Foundation, Al-Igasa (the International Islamic Organization for Salvation), the International Assembly of the Islamic Youth;

THE WAR COFFERS OF THE CHECHEN TERRORISTS

Turkey: the Shamil Foundation, Djamaat-ad-Dagestaniin-al-Atrak, the True Way organization, the Hearths of Islamic Order organization, the Middle-East Turkic Union, the Foundation of Friendship between Turkey and Saudi Arabia;

United Arab Emirates: the regional bureau of the Daava Islamiya Islamic Slogan organization;

US: the Caucasus-American Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the Islamic Banking Group in Chechnya, the Supreme Islamic Council of America;

Yemen: the Islakh party, the Group of Salvation.(Translated by Andrei Bystrov)

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Your say

Herald Sun (Melbourne, Australia)

December 25, 2001, Tuesday

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Section: OPINION; Pg. 16

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Body

Christmas shattered

I AM 65 and had never been to a court until I attended the Court of Appeal and saw one young man's hopes and dreams for a happy and peaceful Christmas shattered.

His appeal was dismissed and he was led away to serve an 18-month sentence for culpable driving and endangering life.

His best friend was killed three years ago because of their stupid, self indulgent and thoughtless behaviour.

However, as the mother of a daughter killed in a road accident, I couldn't help thinking that sending this young man to prison was the wrong solution.

He had no previous convictions and will live with the knowledge that he participated in a reckless driving prank that resulted in the death of his friend.

The money used to keep him in jail would surely be better spent on educating young drivers, taking them around some of the hospitals and letting them see the results of dangerous driving.

Jan Bourke, Murchison

Motorcycle maniacs

MOTORCYCLIST Morris Demellis of Eltham complains about the actions of car drivers (Herald Sun, December 17).

But as a frequent Mulgrave-Monash Freeway commuter, may I suggest there would be fewer fatalities if motorcyclists rode with care.

Don't weave in and out of heavy traffic or roar along the emergency lanes and lean at crazy angles around bends so your body is over the centre line, endangering yourselves and others.

Daphne McGinley, Bunyip

Detention centre delays

ONLY now are we hearing from retired politicians lamenting the dreadful delay in assessing illegal immigrants and the time they spend in detention.

Your say

Australians generally believe that mandatory detention is necessary to maintain an effective immigration policy, but why have the politicians done nothing to accelerate the process?

R.J. Moore, Glengarry

Big girls for balance

CHRIS O'Donnell says, "If you don't have it, don't flaunt it" (Herald Sun, December 13).

Overweight **females** have the right to wear whatever they like, be it revealing or not. We should applaud these **women** for being comfortable enough in their own skin to wear these outfits, not plead with them to cover up.

In an age of depression and eating disorders, **women** like Sara-marie and Libby Gore set a fantastic example.

Courtney Smith, aged 17, Bonnie Doon

Speed sense

AS a regular user of the Geelong Road I would like to refute the claim by P.B. Travis (Herald Sun, December 16) that there is no need to change speed signs.

The very fact that work vehicles are entering and exiting the freeway into traffic means lower speeds are required.

Considering the public outcry over the high number of fatalities on this stretch of road, it never ceases to amaze me how many people drive in excess of 20km/h to 30km/h above the limit. Surely a road that needs an extra lane to stop the carnage is more dangerous now that there are no emergency lanes because of roadworks?

Even if it is only a revenue-raising exercise, it targets only the tailgaters and the headlight-flashing morons who harass law-abiding drivers.

C. Ryan, Werribee

Get tough on trucks

FURTHER to Terry Norton's letter (Your Say, December 12): I agree that trucks are the most dangerous and intimidating vehicles on our roads as they scream past at high speed.

We should take note that in New Zealand all trucks are restricted to a maximum 90km/h and in America trucks must always travel in the left-hand lane.

If a similar system operated here, I'm confident we would see a reduction in road trauma.

M. Parker, Oakleigh

CONTINUED page 17

Give Hicks day in court

DAVID Hicks, as a less-than-perfect citizen, is entitled to his day in court in this country.

Sure, Mr Hicks made some very poor choices and seems to have contravened the law regarding mercenaries fighting in foreign countries, but he does not appear to have broken any laws within Australia or the United States.

If we fail to observe our constitution and our laws, we become anarchists and are in no position to pass judgment on other nations.

Barry Turner, Blairgowrie

Your say

Consumerism the new faith

DIVERSITY and multi-culturalism is gradually dismantling Australia's Christian heritage. Also, a materialistic faith inspires consumerism and Santa Claus prevails over the Christ child.

Consumerism is in the ascendancy and even the unions have difficulty in claiming penalty rates for employees required to work over Christmas and Easter.

We may well see unions agitating for the introduction of the perpetual long weekend.

Friday would be in respect of Muslim devotees, Saturday in honour of our Jewish friends and of course, Sunday a memorial to our Christian heritage.

Neil E. Ryan, North Blackburn

Ansett staff not special

I don't agree with the Government selecting which workers it will help with entitlements. My husband was retrenched two years ago and is still owed \$8000.

We hired a solicitor and paid \$1000 to get a court order, which is not worth the paper it is written on. To enforce this order we have to keep paying a solicitor. So we basically have to kiss our \$8000 goodbye because we cannot afford to chase it up.

How dare the Government bail out Ansett just because it's a big company.

What's good for them should be good for everyone else.

Lori Shaw, Edenvale Cres

Christmas priorities

MY five-year-old son's Christmas-carol singing afternoon was on the school oval where I saw at least 20 people, mainly fathers, knocking back the grog.

This is a special time for our kids, not an excuse for us to sneak in a few stubbies.

R. O'Connell, Mt Martha

Arafat a terrorist

YASSER Arafat is not a statesman but an unrepentant terrorist who has consistently broken his promises to provide peace in exchange for land.

Historic Palestine comprised Jordan, Israel and the West Bank and was under Turkish rule for four centuries before being restored to the original owners, the Jews.

There never was a sovereign Palestinian state until Jordan was established.

Palestinian police participate in terrorist attacks on Israelis and Palestinians are suspected of planning terrorist attacks, which is not an unreasonable assumption seeing that 80 per cent of Palestinians applaud terrorism.

Judith Rona, Bondi, NSW

Going broke pays off

I RECENTLY took a taxi-truck company to VCAT because of the unsatisfactory transport of my furniture from Queensland to Melbourne. Seventeen items were damaged and a large bookcase was lost.

Your say

I received some payment from insurance and was awarded \$1477 by VCAT, but the taxi truck company will not pay.

To enforce the order, I have to pay \$188 for a warrant to seize to be issued.

However, if the company is closing down or has no assets the warrant is useless.

I rang the company last week and guess what they told me, yes, they are closing down and have no assets so they can't pay me. How convenient for them. What is the point of the system?

Here's me, just your normal everyday citizen and if I had an order to pay, I'd pay, but if you are a company how easy it is to get out of paying your debts.

Sallyanne Harrison, Seaford

Views of convenience

LES Hutchinson (Herald Sun, December 18) conveniently decries Yasser Arafat as the hapless victim of "Jewish fundamentalism" and an unfortunate in the pages of history.

I wonder how he would justify the content of Arafat's speech to his own constituents, the day after he denounced **Hamas** terrorism to the democratic world.

He reminded the fundamentalists of their rewards for suicide bombings by saying: "We are all martyrs in paradise".

Those who have a lop-sided view of history are often informed by an English-speaking media that does not understand Yasser Arafat.

Bryan Conyer, Cammeray, Melbourne

Why can't we celebrate?

To Norma Bird and V. Vander-Velde (Herald Sun, December 19): No, you are not voices in the wilderness.

There are others who are sick and tired of the stupidity, known as political correctness.

In this case it is banning the singing of Christmas carols in kindergartens and schools.

I have had a gutful of this brainless nonsense. Australia is predominantly a Christian country; Christian meaning followers and believers in Christ.

Why are we compelled to cringe and be afraid that we may upset people of non-Christian faiths, who have no right to expect us to modify our beliefs.

Christmas is celebrating the birth of Christ. Let's do so proudly and perhaps our non-Christian friends will respect us more for our courage.

Ted Malloy, Shepparton

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Those were the years: 'The stiff upper lip is wobbling'

The Guardian (London)

November 26, 2001

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Body

Patrick Wintour on the sacking of Peter Mandelson, January 25

Even Jesus Christ did not earn a second resurrection, and there is no chance of Peter Mandelson ever rising again inside the Labour party he did so much to recreate.

Mr Mandelson once said of himself: "I was the agent, the publicist and the spin doctor of the modernisers' cause." But his departure does not mark the end of the Blairites. Instead it probably signals the final stage in the Labour's transition from a campaigning party of opposition to a party of day-to-day government.

Polly Toynbee on the end of the stiff upper lip, April 6

This is a country on the verge of a nervous breakdown. The stiff upper lip is wobbling, hysteria is in the air. What are the symptoms? A national nervous reflex, an involuntary panic spasm that greets every event. Any minor setback sets off a crise de nerfs, a fit of the vapours turning any mishap into a crisis.

So it came to pass that a law was rushed through parliament postponing local elections never before cancelled in peace time. Why? Because 1.8% of the national herd has caught a disease lethal to neither man nor beast, while the whole of agriculture represents just 0.8% of GDP. A neurotic over-reaction caused filthy pyres which closed the countryside down, destroying tourism which has created a genuine calamity.

Joe Klein on the campaign trail with Tony Blair, June 7

Even now, as he approaches a likely second landslide, no one seems to know how Tony Blair feels as a person or, more to the point, who he is. This is extraordinary and mystifying. He is about as familiar as a public figure can be. His quirks and passions are manifest. We know that he is religious. We know that he was reasonably athletic (captain of the Fettes College basketball squad). We know that he was an accomplished schoolboy actor. We know that he plays the guitar or, at least, carries one around. We even know something very private about his marriage - something that was a source of constant, lurid speculation for 275m Americans during the Clinton years: baby Leo is a living testimony to it. Unlike William and Ffion Hague, who seem to come from Mars and Venus respectively, Tony and Cherie are most definitely from the same planet - they are two clever and ambitious people, pursuing separate careers, who remain extremely married. That should say quite a bit about who they are, who he is.

But there remains an ineffable something missing. There is an antiseptic, impenetrable, stainless-steel brightness to Blair. There are no rough edges; few edges of any sort.

Salman Rushdie on Big Brother, June 9

Those were the years: 'The stiff upper lip is wobbling'

I've been watching Big Brother 2, which has achieved the improbable feat of taking over the tabloid front pages in the final stages of a general election campaign. This, according to the conventional wisdom, is because the show is more interesting than the election. The "reality" may be even stranger. Big Brother may be so popular because it's even more boring than the election. Because it is the most boring, and therefore most "normal", way of becoming famous, and, if you're lucky or smart, of getting rich as well.

"Famous" and "rich" are now the two most important concepts in western society, and ethical questions are simply obliterated by the potency of their appeal. In order to be famous and rich, it's OK - it's actually "good" - to be devious. It's "good" to be exhibitionistic. It's "good" to be bad. And what dulls the moral edge is boredom.

Oh, the dullness! Here are people becoming famous for being asleep, for keeping a fire alight, for letting a fire go out, for videotaping their cliched thoughts, for flashing their breasts, for lounging around, for quarrelling, for bitching, for being unpopular, and (this is too interesting to happen often) for kissing! Here, in short, are people becoming famous for doing nothing much at all, but doing it where everyone can see them.

Simon Hoggart at the sentencing of Jeffrey Archer, July 20

The word "guilty" dropped like a boulder into a duck pond. Some young women in the public gallery had time to yell an ecstatic "Ye . . .!" before being silenced. Archer didn't flinch. He did a moment later when the foreman cleared Ted Francis, the man he believes betrayed him. He jerked as if he had been shot, and his lips pushed forward in what looked like unbelieving anger.

Then the sentence and a speech from the judge, which surely smashed into him as hard as the prison term. Every word dripped with loathing and contempt: "As serious an offence of perjury as I have experience of, and as serious as I have been able to find in the books."

It was a short speech, but lethal. Mr Justice Potts was about to take away his liberty, but first he wanted to strip off what shreds were left of his reputation. He said he took "no pleasure" in sentencing him, though he certainly took a deep draught of satisfaction.

Suzanne Goldenberg on the making of a suicide bomber, August 7

Abdel Halim Azideen knew the young policeman who blew himself up in a cafe north of Haifa better than most. Mohammed Nasr was his jailer.

In his living room in Jenin, a place described by Israel's army chief as the "city of bombs", Mr Azideen, a leader of the militant Islamic Jihad, recalls Nasr as "a real gentleman".

"When he first started to guard us, he wasn't even praying," said Mr Azideen, who was jailed two years ago, in the days when Yasser Arafat's Palestinian Authority worked with Israeli security services to lock up the bombers of Islamic Jihad and its more powerful rival, Hamas. "But we were always very tender with him. Any time he met me he used to shake my hand very warmly. I felt he had a special love and feeling for us." Nasr proved that love on Sunday in a cafe in Kiryat Motzkin when he lit the fuse of a bomb strapped to his waist.

David Lacey on England's 5-1 victory over Germany, September 3

Now all of England is on fire. The pessimism of 11 months ago had already given way to guarded optimism but after the extraordinary events here on Saturday night English joy has, for the moment at least, good reason to be unconfined.

Beating the Germans at football always did lift the nation's hearts. Beating them 5-1 in Germany will have come close to blowing the nation's minds. For 35 years England has lived on the tale of the day a World Cup was won against West Germany at Wembley. Shortly before the countries met in the Olympiastadion here to contest automatic qualification for the 2002 tournament, Geoff Hurst was on German television recalling his hat-trick. From now on talk of hat-tricks against Germany will revolve more around Michael Owen, each of whose goals on Saturday certainly crossed the line.

Those were the years: 'The stiff upper lip is wobbling'

Ian McEwan on the final phone calls made by September 11 victims, September 15

The mobile phone has inserted itself into every crevice of our daily lives. Now, in catastrophe, if there is time enough, it is there in our dying moments. All through Thursday we heard from the bereaved how they took those last calls. Whatever the immediate circumstances, what was striking was what they had in common. A new technology has shown us an ancient, human universal.

A San Francisco husband slept through his wife's call from the World Trade Centre. The tower was burning around her, and she was speaking on her mobile. She left her last message to him on the answering machine. A TV station played it to us, while it showed the husband standing there listening. Somehow, he was able to bear hearing it again. We heard her tell him through her sobbing that there was no escape for her. The building was on fire and there was no way down the stairs. She was calling to say goodbye. There was really only one thing for her to say, those three words that all the terrible art, the worst pop songs and movies, the most seductive lies, can somehow never cheapen. I love you.

To order your copy of the Guardian Year 2001, with an introduction by Ian Jack, and free edition of the Bedside Years, edited by Matthew Engel, published by Atlantic Books, call 0870 7274155. Price pounds 14.99 (includes free p & p)

Load-Date: November 26, 2001

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2 SUICIDE BOMBERS STRIKE JERUSALEM, KILLING AT LEAST 10 - Correction Appended

The New York Times
December 2, 2001 Sunday
Late Edition - Final

Correction Appended

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Section: Section 1A; Column 5; Foreign Desk; Pg. 1

Length: 1233 words

Byline: By JAMES BENNET and JOEL GREENBERG

Dateline: JERUSALEM, Sunday, Dec. 2

Body

In a tightly coordinated assault in the heart of Jerusalem, two Palestinian bombers blew themselves up at each end of a crowded block of a pedestrian mall Saturday night, killing at least 10 other people and wounding about 150 more.

About 20 minutes after the first explosions, as ambulances fought through traffic and the police shouted to control the panicked crowd, a car bomb blew up a block away, sending up a tower of flame but injuring no one.

Casualty figures were still climbing this morning, with more than 20 people listed in serious condition. It was at least the second most lethal terrorist attack in Jerusalem in the 14-month conflict between Israelis and Palestinians.

On Aug. 9, a suicide bomber killed himself and 15 others at a pizzeria just steps away from Saturday's bombings.

The Israeli government blamed the bombings on the Palestinian leader, Yasir Arafat, and President Bush demanded that he immediately punish whoever and whatever organizations were behind them. "Chairman Arafat and the Palestinian Authority must immediately find and arrest those responsible for the hideous murders," Mr. Bush said. "They must also act swiftly and decisively against the organizations that support them."

Colin L. Powell, the secretary of state, said that he had delivered that message directly to Mr. Arafat. Saturday night's violence came as the Bush administration had begun its first intensive drive for peace here by dispatching a new envoy to broker a truce. That envoy, Gen. Anthony C. Zinni, was in Jerusalem Saturday, and he said that he had made the same demand for action, not just words, from Mr. Arafat.

Mr. Arafat's Palestinian Authority, which governs Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza, condemned the bombings.

Ariel Sharon, the Israeli prime minister, was in New York Saturday, and his advisers said he would move up a meeting with President Bush in Washington by one day, to today. Immediately afterwards he is to fly back here.

2 SUICIDE BOMBERS STRIKE JERUSALEM, KILLING AT LEAST 10

The Israeli foreign minister, Shimon Peres, said Saturday night's bombing was perhaps "unprecedented in terms of its method and casualties."

There was no immediate claim of responsibility, but the radical group Hamas had pledged such an attack after Israeli helicopter gunships killed one of its leaders, Mahmoud Abu Hanoud, on Nov. 23.

At about 11:30 Saturday night, the Ben Yehuda pedestrian mall was jammed with young Israelis out for a meal or a late evening walk under the full moon, after the end of the Jewish Sabbath.

"I heard two booms in one second -- boom, boom -- we thought it was thunder or something," said Avraham Sackton, an 18-year-old student who was sitting with three friends in a pizzeria. When he looked outside, he said, "I saw people flying through the air."

The bombs, packed with nuts and screws, strewed severed limbs and chunks of flesh across the paving stones, amid fragmented glass, shredded clothing, and mannequins from a women's clothing store. The air smelled of burned flesh, and blood was spattered more than 20 feet up, above the shattered windows of a shop selling postcards and T-shirts.

Hundreds rushed from the scene, many sobbing, clutching companions, or clapping cellphones to their ears in hopes of reassuring or finding loved ones. One young man called out to a woman, asking if she knew where his mother was.

Blocked by barriers from the pedestrian mall, ambulances idled on nearby streets as medics rushed the wounded on stretchers through narrow alleyways. Bloodied articles of clothing -- a sandal, a blue oxford shirt -- lay blocks away from the explosion. One shopkeeper two blocks from the scene washed away a puddle of blood from his stoop.

Fearing further blasts, the police cleared the area, blocking it off with blue tape.

Gerardo Hazan, 26, was serving customers on the patio of the Cafe Rimon, just steps from one of the bombers. "I heard an explosion," he said, "and then I saw the person I was serving with his head back, bleeding from the head. He was still conscious." Another customer, he said, was unconscious on the ground, also bleeding from the head.

The attacks Saturday were the third and fourth suicide bombings this week, after a relative lull in such incidents since the Sept. 11 terrorist assault on the United States. The surge in violence has coincided with the visit of General Zinni, who is staying in a hotel about half a mile from the scene of the attack.

In a statement, General Zinni said he had spoken on Saturday with Mr. Arafat and "made absolutely clear that those responsible for carrying out this attack must be found and brought to justice. This is an urgent task and there can be no delay nor excuses for not acting right away. These despicable actions can only be prevented if the Palestinians act in a comprehensive and sustained manner to root out terrorists and bring them to justice."

Dan Meridor, a minister in Mr. Sharon's government, said of General Zinni: "I think he really was taught a lesson by Arafat, and I hope the lesson learned is that there's no evenhandedness here, no neutrality or objectivity between the two sides. One side is being attacked, and the other is the attacker who targets civilians and youngsters."

Israeli security forces say they have foiled many suicide attacks in the last two months. But security officials said they had also detected a change in their opponents' tactics, from suicide bombings to shooting rampages.

Until the past week, the only suicide bombing to take place in Israel since Sept. 11 occurred at a northern kibbutz on Oct. 7. In that incident, one Israeli, who accosted the bomber outside the kibbutz gate, was killed.

On Thursday night, a Palestinian bomber blew himself up on a bus near Hadera, in northern Israel, killing three Israelis. On Tuesday, two Palestinian gunmen went on a suicidal shooting rampage in the northern city of Afula, killing two. And on Monday, another suicide bomber blew himself up near the boundary between the Gaza Strip and Israel. He injured two border police officers.

2 SUICIDE BOMBERS STRIKE JERUSALEM, KILLING AT LEAST 10

Witnesses Saturday night described a scene of chaos and horror as pedestrians stampeded and the police shouted warnings of another possible bomber on the loose.

But at first, Yacov Fauci, a 22-year-old student, thought that the explosion he heard as he walked through the mall was just a firecracker, and he could not understand why his friend was pushing him back. "I thought he was being an idiot," he said, adding that he then noticed his friend's injuries. "He had a nail in his arm, two cuts in his face." Mr. Fauci's white shirt was freckled with his friend's blood.

Medics and volunteers dashed to the scene to tend to the wounded. "You had people laying on the floor, gushing -- people without feet," said Aaron Pilchik, 19, one of those who helped the injured. "Zinni had to live through this, and Colin Powell expects peace? There's no peace with these guys."

At the Cafe Rimon, another waiter, Anan Giada, a Palestinian from East Jerusalem, had tears in his eyes as he described the scene. "I saw everyone lying wounded on the ground. There was a lot of blood, everyone was screaming. I saw three people with their heads open."

Regina Rimon, the second-generation owner of the cafe, a Jerusalem institution that opened in 1954, said she would be open again for business today, the first day of the work week here. "Of course, life must go on," she said. "What can we do? We have to go on."

<http://www.nytimes.com>

Correction

A map last Sunday with an article about suicide bombings in Jerusalem misidentified a main street shown. It was Jaffa Road, not Haifa Road.

Correction-Date: December 9, 2001

Graphic

Photos: Seconds after a car bomb exploded, Israeli police officers ran to evacuate the site. That explosion followed two suicide bombings at a nearby mall. (Lefteris Pitarakis/Associated Press)(pg. A1); An Israeli police officer burst into tears after a car bomb went off a block away from the Jerusalem mall where two suicide bombings took place. (Associated Press); Bodies were scattered on the Ben Yehuda pedestrian mall in Jerusalem after an attack by two suicide bombers. (Rina Castelnovo for The New York Times)(pg. A6) Map of Israel highlighting site of explosion: Bombers struck a crowded pedestrian mall in central Jerusalem. (pg. A6)

Load-Date: December 2, 2001

Islamic racism

The Times (London)

October 30, 2001, Tuesday

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Section: Features

Length: 1504 words

Byline: Christopher Andrew

Body

Muslims must confront those who preach race hatred in the name of Islam, says Christopher Andrew

The front-page picture in The Times on Friday was of Tony Blair addressing a conference on "Islamic Responses to Terrorism" at the al-Khoei Foundation in North London. The odds the West faces in the war against terrorism were better summed up by Prince Hassan of Jordan, who introduced Blair, than by any other speaker I have heard since September 11: "Terrorism stands to win by not losing. The West stands to lose by not winning."

I was a speaker at the conference and found it a moving, at times humbling, experience. Azmat Nisa, a lawyer, declared: "There is no dialogue between Islam and the West that is of any significance." With the exception of inter-faith dialogues organised by religious leaders, it was difficult to disagree with her.

It was equally difficult to disagree with the chairwoman of the Association of the Palestinian Community in Britain, Dr Ghada Karmi, when she argued that the West's current interest in Islam derives chiefly from the shock of September 11 rather than respect for Islam itself. The only Muslim who is a household name in most of the West is Osama bin Laden.

In the few years before the attacks on September 11, the main victims of terrorist groups claiming to act in the name of Islam were their Muslim opponents. Earlier this year Amnesty International condemned the lack of Western interest in the 200 to 300 Algerian men, women and children who are killed each month, often savagely, by self-styled Islamic groups and state-sponsored militia. Similarly, the civil war in Sudan, which has cost two million lives in the past 17 years, has gone almost unnoticed in most of the West.

The atrocities of September 11 were the worst terrorist attack committed against Muslims in the West. Far more Muslims than British subjects died in the World Trade Centre. Though the media have been full of stories about the British victims and the families they left behind, I have yet to see similar reports about the Muslim victims. No wonder that some British Muslims at the conference believe that the West does not really care about the fate of Afghan civilians during the current bombing campaign.

Most Western political leaders have so little experience of serious dialogue with the leaders of the Muslim communities in their countries that they shrink from appearing on al-Jazeera TV station or from trying to justify the war against terrorism to Muslim audiences. Despite the fact that there are now more Muslim than Jewish voters in the US, President Bush has shown himself likely to offend Muslims with gaffes such as describing the war against al-Qaeda as a "crusade".

Islamic racism

Blair is a rare example of a Western leader who seems at ease with Muslim audiences. His address at the conference, given without notes or the help of spin-doctors, was a model of its kind. No one has summed up better those terrorists who claim religious justification for their actions: "Whatever the religion of people who engage in terrorism, terrorists is what they are."

Not everyone clapped at the end of his address. A minority in the mainly Muslim audience was not prepared to applaud any speech that did not condemn the bombing of Afghanistan, or the US. But most seemed impressed by his sincerity, aware that his own religious commitment and interest in the Koran go back long before September 11.

Some are more cynical. In The Times on Saturday, Dr Mona Siddiqui, of Glasgow University, wondered what Blair's purpose was in reading the Koran: "Perhaps," she wrote with irony, "his modest ambition was to try to understand the whole of Islam."

Siddiqui might like to consider the more compassionate (and thus more Islamic) example of the Islamic Society at Cambridge University. Last year, when asked by a student newspaper to name the most important book that I had never finished, I replied "The Koran". The Islamic Society would have been entitled to ask what anyone with such a defective knowledge as my own of one of the world's great religions was doing teaching history at Cambridge University. Instead, it sent me a copy of the Koran, together with a friendly note and no denunciation of my ignorance. I had that gesture in mind when I agreed to speak at the al-Khoei conference.

Many Muslims at the conference still seemed in an understandable state of shock at the false image of Islam as a religion of violence created in the West by the fanatics of al-Qaeda and their fellow travellers. It also seemed to me, however, that their very revulsion at the atrocities committed by these fanatics makes it difficult for Muslim leaders to face up to the real prospect of even worse atrocities in future.

In the aftermath of September 11, I wrote in The Times that there is "worse to come even than the destruction of the World Trade Centre and the attack on the Pentagon...The question, alas, is not whether the terrorists of the 21st century will use weapons of mass destruction, but when and where they will do so." In the immediate future the danger is greatest from terrorist groups such as al-Qaeda that claim religious inspiration. Terrorists deranged enough to believe that they are doing the will of God are likely to believe that they have divine authority to massacre as many victims as they wish.

None of the eight Muslim leaders who took part in a round table discussion on "Islamic Responses to Terrorism" at the morning session of the al-Khoei conference, however, even mentioned the threat from weapons of mass destruction. Yet when I asked in the afternoon session whether anyone there doubted the probability of a major terrorist attack using these weapons over the next decade, not a single hand was raised.

Many Muslims are understandably indignant that they should be expected to disown publicly terrorist groups to which they have never given the slightest encouragement or support. American Christians, after all, are not expected to disown publicly extremist groups such as the Christian Patriot movement, which uses the Bible to justify its paranoid call-to-arms and appears to have influenced Timothy McVeigh, the perpetrator of the worst terrorist attack in the US before September 11.

I raised, however, the problem of extremist Muslim websites that preach a doctrine of hate in the name of Islam. I argued that it is unreasonable to expect non-Muslims with little knowledge of Islam to realise that the contents of these websites are abhorrent to most Muslims unless they are explicitly rejected by Islamic leaders. Take Radio Islam, which claims to be "working to promote better relations between the West and the Muslim world" and to be "against racism of all forms, against all forms of discrimination of people based on their colour of skin, faith and ethnic background". Its website (<http://abbc.com/islam>) contains, in addition to items with titles such as "USA's Rulers: They are all Jews" and "The Jewish media occupation in Great Britain", the full text (in eight languages) of one of the most odious documents in modern history: The Protocols of the Elders of Zion. This 19th-century forgery, certified as genuine by Radio Islam, purports to reveal a Jewish masterplan for world domination. Praised by Hitler in Mein Kampf, the Protocols became a cornerstone of Nazi propaganda and an ideological inspiration for the Holocaust.

Islamic racism

Radio Islam's website is only one of a number claiming to speak in the name of Islam, citing the same text. Such sites would doubtless become illegal under David Blunkett's proposed legislation to outlaw "incitement to racial hatred". I was given a courteous hearing when I drew attention to this problem at the conference, but heard no suggestions during the discussion afterwards on how to deal with it.

It would be comforting to think that the Protocols and other anti-Semitic texts no longer have influence on international terrorism. But the Protocols are quoted in article 32 of the charter of the Palestinian group **Hamas**, which pioneered the use of suicide bombers against Israeli targets. More worryingly, most, if not all, members of the al-Qaeda network actually believe in the myth of the Jewish world conspiracy. It is no accident that bin Laden's first experiments with chemical warfare at his Afghan training camps involved the use of cyanide gas. Just as Hitler used cyanide in gas chambers to try to achieve "the final solution of the Jewish question", so bin Laden planned (may still plan) to infiltrate cyanide gas into the air-conditioning systems of US federal buildings.

The Muslim representatives at the conference had no more responsibility for anti-Semitic racism than the Church of England has for McVeigh. But there needs to be a strategy for confronting the small but dangerous minority who preach the doctrines of race hate in the name of Islam.

The author is chair of the history faculty at Cambridge University. His most recent book, written with Vasili Mitrokhin, is *The Mitrokhin Archive*, Penguin, Pounds 9.99.

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Arabs Expect No Wider War, but Fear U.S. Coolness

The New York Times

September 6, 2001 Thursday

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Byline: By NEIL MacFARQUHAR

Dateline: CAIRO, Sept. 5

Body

Arab governments do not see any prospect of a wider war growing out of the violence in Israel, but they view the disengagement of the Bush administration as dangerous and the bloodshed as unstoppable as long as Palestinians live in stateless misery.

"You can't calm things down simply by saying, 'Stop the violence,' " said Nabil el-Araby, an Egyptian lawyer who served as his country's ambassador to the United Nations from 1991 to 1999. "You have to say to the Israelis, 'O.K., you have a right to your security' and you have to say to the Palestinians, 'You have a right to a state.' "

"On this basis, you can move toward negotiations. But you can't just ask people to cease reacting to what is going on around them."

The peace accord that emerged in 1993 was sold to the two million Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza as a deal that would remove Israeli occupation forces from their lives and eventually bring them a state.

At first, it succeeded in doing the former. Israeli troops withdrew from the Gaza Strip and the major cities on the West Bank. The Palestinian leadership returned from exile, and the trappings of statehood began to flow -- a television station, postage stamps, an airport -- albeit with the entrances and exits controlled by Israel.

For the Palestinians, as for the Arab population at large, the long Arab-Israeli dispute seemed to be easing toward a compromise. But then it stalled; Jewish settlements expanded, and in many places, Palestinians found that the soldiers had moved just outside town.

The people in the West Bank and Gaza have felt increasingly frustrated. The promises were that their lives would improve, but their movements, their employment and their very future were still largely subject to Israeli gatekeepers.

It is from that font that the fury on the Palestinian side flows, Arab leaders argue, and they insist that no amount of Israeli counterviolence can stem it. Even suicide bombings like the one in a Jerusalem pizzeria last month are widely applauded as a legitimate tactic that inflicts the sort of suffering on Israelis that Palestinians regularly endure.

Arabs Expect No Wider War, but Fear U.S. Coolness

Not everyone blames Israel for everything. There is some anger that the only Palestinians who seem to have benefited economically from the changes since the Oslo accords have been associates of Yasir Arafat. But such criticism is submerged in the far greater condemnation of Israel's methods.

Occasional noises about a wider conflict are heard. But few commentators expect a Middle East war. Even Syria, an implacable foe of Israel, long avoided any open confrontation during the decades that Hafez al-Assad ran the country.

President Bashar al-Assad, his son, is expected to follow his father's pattern of working through proxy guerrilla forces in southern Lebanon to hit at Israel. (The fact that Israel withdrew from south Lebanon after two decades of guerrilla skirmishes provides encouragement to the Palestinians.)

"Arab countries cannot do anything," said Imad Fawzi Shueibi, a professor of political sociology at Damascus University. "They cannot launch war because they are weaker than Israel and the Americans will make sure Israel wins. It would be stupid to launch war, knowing that you are going to lose."

Finding themselves largely impotent, but with agitated populations, the Arab governments instead seek to lash out at Israel at every available opportunity. They turned the United Nations conference on racism this week in Durban into a forum for condemning Israeli practices, prompting the United States and Israel to walk out.

"Occupation is evil on its own," said Ahmed Maher, Egypt's foreign minister, in his speech to the conference. "And this occupation is accompanied by killing men, women, children and elders, demolishing houses, uprooting trees, deploying the most advanced weapons used only in war."

He later condemned the American departure as an insult to the United Nations and its members.

For Arab governments, it is bewildering that the Bush administration has divorced itself so thoroughly from any active role in halting the bloodshed, especially after Washington brokered the peace negotiations for so long.

They find the American mantra that Mr. Arafat must stop all the violence even more perplexing, viewing it more as a sop to the Israeli lobby in the United States than as a realistic goal. Officials in Jordan and Egypt say American officials, in distancing themselves from Mr. Arafat, are actually undermining his ability to do the very thing they ask.

If Mr. Arafat cannot engage with the United States, the logic goes, then the Palestinian people realize that he cannot deliver an agreement. So they should continue fighting.

"The fact that things are getting uglier and nastier in the occupied territories is because they know they are on their own," said Mustafa B. Hamarneh, the director of the Center for Strategic Studies at the University of Jordan.

In a speech last week, , President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt offered his own interpretation of why Palestinians are driven to violence. "If the blockade remains, I sit at home in any Palestinian village without work, the school is in another village, and the hospital is in town, and the work is in many places, and there I am unable to move from one village to another," he said. "This method pushes Palestinian citizens to a certain degree of despair and frustration. So you can expect them to do anything. You see how they detonate bombs and kill themselves."

For that reason, Mr. Mubarak said, Mr. Arafat cannot be expected to control everything. Arab leaders predicted back in February, after Ariel Sharon was elected Israel's prime minister, that given his past military history, he would increase the level of violence, and they now feel vindicated.

Some officials believe that Arab leaders caution Mr. Arafat privately to try to prevent attacks against civilians.

"We are against violence toward civilians -- I don't think anyone can condone violence toward civilians," said Hesham Youssef, a spokesman for the Arab League. "When we say stop the violence, though, we don't mean stop the intifada because the intifada is a reaction against all these Israeli practices and overall against occupation."

Arabs Expect No Wider War, but Fear U.S. Coolness

The moderate Arab camp -- countries like Jordan and Egypt that have peace treaties with Israel -- cannot push Mr. Arafat to do more without risking the wrath of their own people. Demonstrations have been banned in Jordan, and Egyptian officials are bracing for what happens when the universities reopen this fall.

There is also increasingly vocal grumbling about Arab impotence in the face of Israel's American-supplied arsenal. The Israelis' use of F-16 fighter jets, Apache attack helicopters and tanks is contrasted each night on Arab television stations across the region with Palestinians bearing rifles, homemade mortars or -- usually -- stones.

"No Arab soldier has explained what has happened to our great armies and their weaponry paid for with the money of the people," Al Ittihad, a government daily in Abu Dhabi, said in an editorial last week. "Arab defense ministers have not even held a meeting," the paper noted, at a time when Israelis are "massacring Palestinians."

Given such sentiments, if Mr. Arafat stood up now and tried to stop the violence, the Palestinian population would probably turn on him and then support more extreme groups like Hamas or Islamic Holy War, several political commentators said.

"Palestinian officials have to make some gains, have to get anything so that they could go tell their people, 'We got this,' " said Abdel Wahab Badrakhan, a political analyst with the newspaper Al Hayat. "Please stop now so that we can take a break and solve our economic problems."

There is a sense among Arabs, though, that neither the Palestinians nor the Israelis have a strategy, and that if the United States does not step in they will go on slugging at each other in increasingly horrible ways.

Both Egyptian and Jordanian officials and analysts said they also found it baffling that Israel, just as it was beginning to earn some acceptance in the Middle East with trade offices and the like, should toss it all aside and try to pummel the Palestinians into submission. They point out that a similar series of pinpoint killings of Palestinian leaders by Israel in the 1970's and 80's did nothing to eradicate Palestinian opposition to Israeli rule.

"Fifty years from now there will be a majority of Arabs in Israel and on the West Bank," Mr. Hamarneh said. "The Israelis will be living in a sea of Arabs. What are they going to do then? Now is the time to say, 'We made a mistake; we stole your land; let us see what we can do.' "

<http://www.nytimes.com>

Load-Date: September 6, 2001

Why I think Brian Sewell is wrong about Israel

The Evening Standard (London)

November 7, 2000

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Section: Pg. 24

Length: 1392 words

Byline: Simon Sebag Montefiore

Body

Brian Sewell's column attacking Israel last week provoked hundreds of protest letters. Today SIMON SEBAG MONTEFIORE (left), an English Jew and long-time analyst of the Middle East, attacks 'a distortion of moral and historical truth'

NO one has to love Israel and no one loves the Jewish state less than the British media. It is the fashion to criticise the over-mighty military force of Israel and contrast it with brave warrior-children fighting for Palestinian liberation.

Brian Sewell slavishly followed fashion in his piece Bible Stories last week which provoked accusations of "anti-Semitism" from so-called "Jewish circles". The article was so riddled with clumsy mistakes, historical lacunae and silly ignorance about basic events that it would take this entire page to correct, but that is not my mission here because it also contained a fashionable implication that is an insidious and disgusting distortion of moral and historical truth - and truths matter to all of us.

I certainly do not believe that everyone who criticises Israel is anti-Semitic. As an English Jew, I am embarrassed by Jews screaming anti-Semitism whenever anyone attacks Israel. You do not have to be anti-Semitic to understand Palestinian anger nor to see the folly of aggressive settlement building and the tragedy of dead youths on both sides.

It debases Israel's vibrant democracy and Jewish traditions of tolerance to ban criticism.

The problem with "crying wolf" is that when the wolf really arrives, no one notices. The critics of this article were so busy shouting about its factual muddles and anti-Israeli sentiments, I think they missed the wolf at the gate. I despise the anti-Israeli fashion in the media, especially television, because it ignores the facts that this crisis was caused not just by the Israeli settlement policy, which meant that the Palestinians did not receive full control of cities such as Hebron as they should have done, but also by the Palestinians' refusal of the most generous compromise that an Israeli Prime Minister could ever give, including shared sovereignty of the Temple Mount.

The media also conceals the way these riots, a deliberate alternative policy to the peace process, are designed for TV coverage with children encouraged to torment the soldiers and with Palestinian gunmen behind them to provoke the maximum reaction. Indeed I was ashamed and appalled by the glee with which the BBC and ITN News showed a young Israeli soldier temporarily cornered in Gaza by a mob which would surely have torn him to pieces. While Israel actually has a citizen's army and most of its scared conscripts are no older than the stone throwers, the Press implies it is a militarist Middle-Eastern Prussia, in itself a dishonest media myth.

Why I think Brian Sewell is wrong about Israel

HERE is where your columnist advances across the line into an insidious distortion of reality and perversion of morality. He suggests that, "to the onlooker, it seems that while the rest of us must constantly be reminded of the Holocaust and flagellate our consciences, the Israeli Jews can behave as unacceptably to native Palestinians as other nations have to minorities in their midst." I do not believe for a minute that a decent man, such as Mr Sewell, means this to its full extent - though to the onlooker, as he would say, it seems utterly vile.

He goes on to say that the Holocaust is a useful "instrument of International Jewry", the latter being a phrase that has not been used much since April 1945. (The italics are mine.) The danger of this calumny is in the neat, slick convenience of the parallel that makes it easy to propagate and the way it can be dressed up as a sort of pity for the Jews so bestialised by the Nazis that - irony of ironies - they are repeating their sins. The cowardice of its indirect weasel-words is as shameful as its poison. But as a historian and journalist who has visited Israel, West Bank, Golan and Gaza for the past 30 years with Jewish and (most proudly) Arab friends, I am grateful for this opportunity to expose this for the disgusting absurdity that it is.

There is no parallel - and no informed person could even suggest there was - between the exclusion of Jews from European life, mass murder and their imprisonment in ghettos between 1933-1941 and the death in riots of 150 Palestinians during the last month. Therefore, even to suggest a parallel between Nazi Germany's industrial slaughter of six million Jews and millions more gypsies and Slavs, because of their race, between 1941-1945 and Israel's clumsy, chaotic attempts to control riots and gunfire on the West Bank is iniquitous. Apart from the monumental differences, the Jews who were gassed were children and women who were never armed even with stones, let alone Fatah's and Hamas's arsenal of guns and bombs.

THE article claims there are Israelis who want to "wipe out the Palestinians". There may be a few lunatics who want to "ethnically cleanse" the West Bank just as there are in Britain who want to repatriate the Asians, but no Israelis want to kill Palestinians especially for racist reasons.

There are thousands of Arabs living in Israel who elect MPs to the Knesset - hardly evidence of "wiping-out" and the sort of tolerance you rarely see in the Arab dictatorships around Israel.

It is a similar lie. I suppose, to suggesting that Britain is using genocide to wipe out Ulster's Catholics.

Only in a world of deliberate denial, not just of facts, but of morals, could such a parallel be propagated. It does not approach the iniquity of Holocaust denial.

But I believe it is closely related for, cunningly, it belittles, instead of denies. Equating riots in Ramallah to industrial racist slaughter of six million in German gas

chambers is a wicked attempt to reduce the horror of German hegemony over Europe, implying a moral equivalence between the two.

There is none. Serious newspapers and TV news organisations should differentiate between partisan criticism and this Orwellian historical perversion of truth and morality.

There is a weird anger in Mr Sewell's frenzy about "the rest of us" having to tolerate constant reminders of the Holocaust. I remember in my distant past a girlfriend who bitterly grumbled that she was fed up with those gassed Jews "getting so much attention." I assured her it is the sort of "attention" we do not want to receive again.

We do not want anyone - Bosnians, Palestinians, Armenians - to receive it and the best way to ensure that is to remember it.

Simon Sebag Montefiore is the author of Prince of Princes - the Life of Potemkin and a regular visitor to, and commentator on, Israel and the Middle East.

and a dissenting view

Why I think Brian Sewell is wrong about Israel

HOW dare D J Schneeweiss, the Israeli Embassy press attache use your columns to suggest that legitimate criticism of Israel should be muzzled and that it was "a source of very deep concern" that anyone should be able to publish articles censuring Israel's murderous policies in the West Bank (3 November)?

Is it not far more a matter for concern that Mr Schneeweiss should feel no remorse that his country has in little over two weeks gunned down nearly 30 children as young or younger than Anne Frank? That after 33 years Israel continues to ignore more than 50 United Nations Security Council resolutions instructing it to vacate occupied Arab land? That it continues to ignore both international law and the Geneva Convention by colonising that land with over 200,000 illegal settlers and diverting its precious water resources into Israel; and that it continues to suppress Palestinian dissent by tactics so brutal that Amnesty International has declared that some Israeli commanders may be open to prosecution by the International War Crimes Tribunal in the Hague?

The fact is that only two countries in the world - Micronesia and El Salvador - accept Israel's military occupation of Jerusalem, the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Everyone else - including Britain and the United States - are agreed that Israeli occupation is illegal and that one way or another Israel must get out, in line with UN Resolution 242.

Brian Sewell's article was fully in line with both British policy and international law.

He had every right to express his views, and deserves to be commended for his bravery in taking on the Israel lobby in doing so. Mr Schneeweiss owes him an apology.

William Dalrymple, Chiswick, W4.

Graphic

FIGHTING IN THE STREETS: PALESTINIANS THROW STONES AT ISRAELI SOLDIERS IN BETHLEHEM

Load-Date: November 8, 2000

'This is a struggle for Islam' Bin Laden's plan was to topple major Muslim countries Analysis

Charleston Gazette (West Virginia)

December 19, 2001, Wednesday

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Section: News; Pg. P9C

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Byline: Michael Kilian Chicago Tribune

Body

WASHINGTON - According to the general who won America's last war, the U.S. is winning the conflict in Afghanistan because of the careful way it has wielded its immense military power and because it has prevented what Osama bin Laden and his terrorists wanted most: a fundamentalist Islamic uprising that might topple the ruling regimes of Saudi Arabia, Egypt and other major Muslim countries. .

"Saudi Arabia is really the target here," said Gen. Wesley Clark, retired NATO commander and architect of victory over Yugoslav dictator Slobodan Milosevic in the Kosovo conflict. "He [Osama bin Laden] wants Mecca and Medina. He wants the oil fields. He wants the money. He wants the religious leadership to be able to swing the Islamic world decisively in his camp."

Though the U.S. represents the Western culture, political moderation and secularism that Al Qaida terrorists and fundamentalists such as the Afghan Taliban despise, simply killing Americans was not the overriding goal of the Sept. 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, Clark said.

"What Osama bin Laden wanted was to have a rapid, overpowering American response," Clark said. "Like 500 cruise missiles fired at Afghanistan. A thousand would have been better. It would have been a clear issue. He would have proved his point that this was a war against Islam, that all Muslims had to stand together and fight the West. And he didn't get that."

Instead, the terrorists were confronted by an American response that was deliberately small, slow, cautious, highly focused and supportive of the local Afghan civilian population. Rather than throwing masses of American troops into action on the ground against al Qaida's Taliban ally, the U.S. used carefully targeted air power and small special operations units working with the Northern Alliance and other Muslim opposition, which now have wrested back control of most of their country.

Still vulnerable

But bin Laden's al-Qaida is a worldwide organization, and Saudi Arabia remains a highly vulnerable target.

"The basic thrust of Osama bin Laden's program is that he is trying to create a war which pits Islam against the West," Clark said in a recent interview. "He wants to do this in order to embarrass the Saudi government and force them to end their alliance with the United States, to make them vulnerable at home. There are a number of

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extremist elements in Saudi Arabia, and clearly a man who considers that he walks in the shoes of Muhammad would love to have the holy sites."

"The Saudis were a target and I think the notion was that the quickest way to the heart of the problem was by pulling the chain on the U.S.," said Lexington Institute defense specialist Daniel Goure. "Our response was enormously important - and successful."

Bin Laden, a multimillionaire from one of Saudi Arabia's richest families, was expelled from the country for his radical activities and had his Saudi citizenship revoked in 1994.

But, according to U.S. intelligence officials, the Saudi government has tolerated other extremist elements as a form of "protection payment" against being attacked by them. Some wealthy Saudis have given financial aid to the terrorists.

At the same time, the regime's rigid, authoritarian domestic rule and economic problems are creating fertile ground for those fomenting rebellion and unrest, making the country vulnerable despite U.S. successes in Afghanistan.

"It's a disaster in the making," said one senior U.S. intelligence official.

Both sides

Saudi Arabia's difficulties in trying to curry favor with its American ally and protector while placating Islamic extremists within and outside its borders were evident in its response to the Sept. 11 attacks.

"It is the duty of all of us to stand against the perpetrators of those abhorrent acts," said Saudi Foreign Minister Prince Saud al-Faisal. "This calls for a new perception of cooperation within the international community, a perception that allows us to work together, Muslims and Christians, in the fight against this scourge."

But two weeks later, Saudi Interior Minister Prince Nayef said the U.S. was using excessive force in Afghanistan and that there was insufficient evidence linking the Sept. 11 attacks to the Saudi citizens named by the U.S. as perpetrators and conspirators.

He also declared that the Saudis would support any Arab nation against any attacks launched by the U.S. in its pursuit of terrorists.

In a nation where the media are under the thumb of the ruling regime, the Saudi newspaper Al-Bilad condemned the U.S. for "mass annihilation" of Afghans.

According to the senior U.S. intelligence official, the Saudis have been trying to work "both sides of the street."

The Saudi government has denied reports that it funneled money to al Qaida to advance Islamic culture, but bin Laden has become a popular cult figure among some segments of the Saudi population, especially in his home town of Jiddah.

According to the State Department, wealthy Saudi citizens have bankrolled the Palestinian ***Hamas*** terrorist groups as well as Islamic extremist organizations in Somalia, Sudan and Yemen and the Harakat-ul-Mujahedeen, a Pakistani paramilitary group.

Anthony Cordesman, director of Middle Eastern studies for Washington's Center for Strategic and International Studies, agrees that Saudi Arabia is threatened by the rise in Islamic terrorism but sees it as a major part of a wider problem.

"If you look at Osama bin Laden's alliances, certainly his cells contained elements in Saudi Arabia which were anti-regime," Cordesman said. "But they also had similar currents in Egypt and ties to the Islamic extremist groups in Algeria. He built up networks in places like the Philippines, Indonesia and Malaysia. . . . I think he saw himself as creating a war between the West and Islam."

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In reports on Saudi Arabia and its problems that Cordesman prepared for the center, he said he found the country threatened by extremists who feel they have popular issues on their side.

Against modernizing

"Many of these extremists oppose virtually all efforts to modernize the kingdom," he said. "They see the Saudi royal family as corrupt in religious as well as political and social terms, and hypocritical in its professed religious beliefs and claims to be the guardian of the Islamic holy places.

"For them, Western society is fundamentally corrupt and degrading and leading Saudi society away from the true faith of Islam. To such extremists, the U.S. is a co-conspirator with a Zionist enemy that has seized [Islam's third-holiest place] in Jerusalem. The U.S. military is not securing Saudi Arabia but rather occupying it."

Unrest at home

Economic problems have also fed social unrest in the country.

Despite sagging oil prices and debts from the 1991 Persian Gulf War, Saudi Arabia has been spending an average of 18 percent of its annual gross national product on its military, compared with only 4.6 percent in the United States, according to a report prepared by the Federation of American Scientists.

Government subsidies for gas, electricity and water have been cut to deal with budget deficits. According to a State Department report, "Tighter government budgets have reduced employment opportunities for young Saudis, frozen wages and slowed the private sector."

Cordesman found that "low oil prices and payments for the cost of the gulf war have reduced both government welfare payments and the Saudi economy's ability to create new jobs while broadening the base of education, and population growth has meant that younger Saudis have had to accept progressively less prestigious and well-paid positions."

According to Cordesman, the Saudi economy can no longer absorb the 170,000 young men its educational system turns out every year, and it has no policy on the employment of a like number of women graduates.

"It is turning Islamic education into a societal dead end that will do nothing but encourage further unrest," he said.

Employment opportunities for women in Saudi Arabia are so limited that they constitute only 5 percent of the workforce. They suffer under legal and religious restraints nearly as strict as those imposed on Afghan women by the Taliban. For example, women are not allowed to drive cars and cannot be admitted to a hospital for medical treatment without the consent of a male relative.

"Further, the conflict between the modernists and traditionalists has been fueled by the spread of nearly 1 million satellite TV receivers in Saudi Arabia and some 20 million VCRs" in a population of about 7 million, Cordesman said.

A Saudi government intent on the status quo is being pushed and pulled by these forces in two directions, he said.

"The Saudi royal family and Wahhabi [religious] leaders have increasingly become a target for those who wish to use Islam to serve their own ambitions," Cordesman said. "The Saudi government has responded by trying to defuse Islamic extremism by increasing official and popular adherence to strict religious law and custom and by strengthening the role of the religious police. ... But each new accommodation of extremist demands has strengthened the hands of extremists at the cost of resentment among the many Saudis who favor modernization."

'Struggle for Islam'

Clark thinks the terrorist movement will continue to be dangerous, no matter how successful the U.S. is in Afghanistan.

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"This is a struggle for Islam," he said. "It's not Christianity versus Islam. Far from it. It's a struggle for what Islam really means. The question is, is it Osama bin Laden's misinterpretation of Islam as an aggressive, angry, hostile, murdering religion that will predominate, or is it the hundreds of millions who can believe that Islam is peace-loving and tolerant? That struggle has to be waged by the Islamic nations themselves."

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BEYOND THE IRON WALL

Scotland on Sunday
April 30, 2000, Sunday

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Byline: By Paul Wilkinson

Body

AVI SHLAIM'S position as the leading figure in the new wave of Jewish historians, known as the revisionists, engaged in a searching critique of Israel's policy towards the Arab world is confirmed by *The Iron Wall*. This book is written with a power and clarity that should be a model for other historians, and it demonstrates the author's formidable knowledge of primary sources and secondary literature and the value derived from his extensive interviews with policymakers and participants.

However, as Shlaim makes clear in his preface, he set out to write a critical analysis of Israeli foreign policy, not a comprehensive history of the Arab -Israeli conflict. "Like the British historian EH Carr, I believe that the main task of the historian is not to record but to evaluate."

It is because Professor Shlaim's brilliant and meticulously argued analysis does provide the most sustained, informed, and wide-ranging scholarly critique ever published of Israeli foreign policy throughout the history of the Jewish state that it should be essential reading for all those interested in the modern history and international relations of the Middle East.

In a remarkable tribute to the author, the leading Palestinian scholar, Professor Edward Said, rightly describes the book as "a milestone in modern scholarship of the Middle East".

It is a different kind of Revisionism with a capital R, Vladimir Jabotinsky's Zionist Revisionism, which is the central target of Shlaim's critique. Jabotinsky was a passionate Zionist who developed a far more militant and radical idea of the Jewish state. He advocated the creation of a Jewish state on both sides of the Jordan, and a policy of large-scale immigration to ensure a Jewish majority. The new state was to be, in Jabotinsky's words: "... under the protection of a force that is not dependent on the local population, behind an iron wall which they will be powerless to break down."

Shlaim argues that Jabotinsky's Revisionist ideology was both fundamentally unjust and strategically counterproductive. It was unjust because it ignored the rights of the indigenous Arab population. And it created a much greater long-term threat to the security of the Jewish state because it excluded the possibility of Jews and Palestinians sharing the land in a way which would enable peaceful co-existence to develop, and because the Iron Wall policy implied a permanent military confrontation with the Arab world.

Shlaim's critique of the basic assumptions of Jabotinsky's Revisionism is soberly and compellingly argued. However, he is inclined to equate the deficiencies of Revisionist theory with a lack of political influence. But belief in the Greater Israel and the Iron Wall still exerts a powerful influence on key sections of Israeli society and politics.

BEYOND THE IRON WALL

This was demonstrated all too clearly in the 1996 election and the policies of the Netanyahu government which, by 1999, had almost entirely undermined the Oslo Peace Process.

The great strength of The Iron Wall is its courage and candour in challenging some of the cherished illusions of recent Israeli history.

Shlaim convincingly disposes of the myth that Israel had no responsibility for the flight of the Palestinian refugees in the War of Independence. He points out that Plan D, prepared by the Haganah chiefs in 1948, involved going over to the offensive for the first time in order to capture Arab cities and villages. Their aim was to consolidate control of the area allocated to the Jewish state under the UN's partition resolution and to consolidate by providing a firm territorial basis for claiming Jewish sovereignty. Shlaim's conclusion is unambiguous: "Although the wording of Plan D was vague, its objective was to clear the country of hostile and potentially hostile Arab elements, and in this sense it provided a warrant for expelling civilians. By implementing Plan D in April and May, the Haganah thus directly and decisively contributed to the birth of the Palestinian refugee problem."

By the end of the War of Independence 700,000 Arab inhabitants of Palestine had become refugees in neighbouring Arab countries and Israel was adamant in its refusal to allow them to return. The initial phase in the demographic consolidation of the Jewish state was completed.

However, the Revisionist project of bringing the West Bank and the Old City of Jerusalem under the sovereignty of a Greater Israel was still a long way from being realised.

Indeed, Menachem Begin, a devoted follower of Jabotinsky, moved a motion of no confidence in the Knesset debate on April 4, 1949, protesting that by allowing the West Bank and the Old City of Jerusalem to be incorporated into Jordan, the Israeli government had given away part of the historic land of Israel.

Another myth exposed by Shlaim is the claim that all Israel's wars were purely defensive. He points out that there were offensive elements or phases in Israel's earlier wars. However, his account leaves the reader in no doubt that the first entirely offensive Israeli war was the invasion of Lebanon in 1982.

Ariel Sharon, the author of the 'big plan' for the invasion of Lebanon, enlisted the backing of his cabinet colleagues and the Americans on the grounds that the aim of Israel's military action was to destroy the infrastructure of the PLO in Lebanon, which had been used as a base for terrorist attacks on Israel. But the real objectives of Sharon's plan were much more ambitious: it aimed at installing a new government in Lebanon under Bashir Gemayel, concluding a peace treaty with the Gemayel government, forcing the Syrians to withdraw from Lebanon, and driving the Palestinians into Jordan in order to facilitate the incorporation of the West Bank into Israel.

But Sharon's 'big plan' went badly wrong. Bashir Gemayel was assassinated, the Syrians were not expelled from Lebanon and the IDF now found itself confronting Hizbullah in Lebanon, an Iranian-backed Islamist movement far more deadly and effective than any faction of the PLO. Moreover, Israel's international reputation was badly tarnished as a result of its relentless bombardment of Beirut and the massacre of Sabra and Shatila refugee camps for which, the Kahan Commission concluded, Israel bore indirect responsibility.

Sharon had ordered the IDF commanders to permit Phalangist militia to enter the Palestinian refugee camps to 'clean out' remaining terrorists. The Phalangist militia, eager for revenge against the Palestinians, perpetrated a massacre in which hundreds of men, women and children were killed. The massacre started on Thursday, September 16, 1982, and continued until the following Sunday. Israeli soldiers became aware of what was happening on the first day but did nothing to halt the carnage.

These shocking events and the massive failure of Israel's invasion of Lebanon, in which more than 500 Israeli soldiers lost their lives, had a dramatic effect on Israeli politics and public opinion and were almost certainly major factors in causing Menachem Begin to resign as prime minister and retire from public life.

The author sustains his powerful critique of Israeli policy towards the Arab world right through the period of Netanyahu's premiership.

BEYOND THE IRON WALL

He explains the freezing of the peace process during this period as the result of the resurgence of Revisionist ideology and a reversion to a policy of the Iron Wall with no proper negotiations with the Palestinians. He ends the book with the election of Ehud Barak, describing it as "the sunrise after three dark and terrible years".

Yet in assessing the reasons for past failures in the search for peace and in assessing the prospects of the current peace process, it is not enough to concentrate exclusively on Israeli policies and actions. The Arab states and the PLO have also made numerous serious mistakes in their conduct of relations with Israel. For example, it was a major strategic error by King Hussein of Jordan during the Six Day War which led to Israel suddenly gaining control of the West Bank and the Old City of Jerusalem. It had not been part of the Israelis' plans.

The PLO did itself more harm than good by encouraging its militant factions to carry out a campaign of international terrorism.

The acts of terrorism only served to further polarise relations with Israel and with the US and other western states and made it easy for Israel to demonise the organisation.

Arafat made a disastrous mistake in aligning the PLO behind Saddam Hussein in the Gulf War. And while it remains the case that Israeli Rejectionists still constitute a potential threat to the peace process, it would be wrong to underestimate the danger posed by the Palestinian Rejectionists, and the recruitment of alienated and bitter Palestinian youth by **Hamas**. Those who want the peace process to succeed must work quickly if a return to conflict is to be prevented.

* The Iron Wall: Israel And The Arab World (1948-1998), by Avi Shlaim, is published by Penguin, GBP 25.

* Paul Wilkinson is Professor of International Relations at the University of St Andrews

Load-Date: May 2, 2000

Television: More bollocks about naked men

The Independent (London)

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Byline: David Aaronovitch

Body

A FEW DAYS ago, I found myself on Radio Wales, arguing against some chap from National Turn It Off Week or whatever who chooses to do karate instead of watching telly, and is sure that we all would be better off if we did the same. "Pooh and Piffle!" I told him (it had been a big week for costume dramas). "Damn your eyes, sirrah!" There was, I averred, a lot of good, useful stuff on the box.

What I might have admitted is that much of it doesn't get on in prime time on the main channels. On BBC1 and ITV there is sometimes a terrible similarity of tone and content, illustrated this week by Inside Story Special: Ladies' Night Out (BBC1, Tuesday), yet another film about male strippers.

What, I wondered immediately was "special" about this Inside Story? Once upon a time the word, when applied to a factual TV programme, was used to denote an investigation that had cost many thousands of pounds and was only now coming to triumphant televisual fruition. That convention is obviously dead. But nevertheless, I invite anyone associated with this particular show to explain what was so "special" about it.

Except, of course, for the ratings. These can be anticipated, because you got to see a lot of penises (oh bugger, there's my penis count up again - oh well, in for a penis, in for a pound), and a job-lot of women screaming about seeing penises. Everything, in other words, that you've already witnessed a zillion times ever since this fascination with dick- dancing first began.

We were promised the definitive explanation of "why men take their clothes off on stage, and why women fling their knickers at them". But this claim was subverted in the first few seconds of the film when, after a turned-to-stripping-with-decline-of-traditionalmale-employment voice- over, the two principal strippers revealed that they had been, respectively, an employed bus-driver and a student (another member of their troupe was discovered to be an accountant).

So there were the fondlings, the screamings, the hands stuffed inside jockstraps, the baby oil, the doubtful girlfriends, and the routine amazement at the animality of released housewives (surely the oldest story in the world). And that really was it. There wasn't any more. At exactly the same time, Channel 5 was showing a 1994 film in which Imelda Staunton goes to a hen night and has an affair with a male stripper. Screams, baby- oil, animality. OK, we may initially have been fascinated by the inversion, but as one elderly woman said in the film, "seen one, seen 'em all". Unfortunately schedulers and commissioners don't always see it like that. Their motto seems to be "Liked one, will like 'em all." So, like terriers with their teeth in the audience's necks, they will not let go until all residual interest is killed off.

Television: More bollocks about naked men

If I've had enough willies, however, the sad truth is that I cannot get sufficient mummies, which makes BBC2 my channel du choix. Programme of the week was a macabre detective story which began in 1976 when a figure in an LA ghost ride turned out to be a real mummified stiff. In *Timewatch: the Oklahoma Outlaw* (Wednesday), we discovered how, in 1911, Elmer McCurdy - a failed train robber - drank a quart of whisky and went to his death at the hands of an Oklahoman posse. He was embalmed in arsenic, but - with no one to claim him - stood in a corner of the local funeral parlour for five years, gently mummifying.

His posthumous peregrination round the carnival sideshows of early 20th-century America provided a window on the vanished world of cheap wonders. "If you didn't have a mummy, you didn't have a sideshow," one white-bearded veteran revealed, introducing us to his own mummy, a good-time girl who had been thrown into the Great Salt Lake by her boyfriend. Then, in October 1977, the rediscovered Elmer was packed off back to the Osage and buried with full (and sentimental) honours. Times had changed, and nowhere more than in the treatment accorded to dead bodies.

And black people. *A Respectable Trade* (BBC1, Sunday) was the first in a cliché-free drama serial about ol' time slaving. It had many strengths, but - for me - Warren Clarke is the key to its success. As the Bristol slave merchant Josiah Cole, Clarke does his decent-uneducated-man-unhinged-by-desire-for-advancement act, last seen in *Nice Work*, to perfection. Amazement, gaucheness, embarrassment and determination chase each other across his salt-of-the-earth features, making the moment when he says to his captain, "I want the tight-pack" (referring to the slaves) all the more shocking.

The spiritual heirs to the slavers were out in force for *The Trial of Enoch Powell* (C4, Monday), in which the live studio audience managed to "acquit" the old devil of being a racist by 2 to 1. Actually they weren't really voting in favour of Powell's character, but in favour of their own mild racism. How else could one explain the appreciation given to "witness" Gary Bushell's crass attack on multiculturalism? This is what the moronic TV critic of the Sun actually said: "Anglo-Saxon culture is being neglected." (I know, Gary, they haven't held a Witan for centuries.) "Our history, our culture, our religion is downgraded. Diwali is celebrated in many schools and Christmas isn't. It's not only black people who have roots, we have our roots too."

And that is as much Gary Bushell as I will ever mention again. He and his ilk reminded me of the fear that I felt as a 13-year-old when Powell made his original speech and the dockers marched in support. Foolishly, I thought they had gone away. They haven't.

Now, let us celebrate the work of Brian Lapping, the independent producer from whose company has issued the long sequence of witness-to-history series that began with *The Second Russian Revolution*. A slightly lugubrious figure, Lapping trudges the corridors of the BBC and elsewhere with the professionally sad air of an artist who does not expect to last out the week, yet has so much important work to do. This mien helps him in his inevitable pitch to be allowed more money for his projects than any other factual programmes in the history of British television. Usually he gets that money, and usually it is well worth the investment.

Last weekend saw the end of one Lapping series and the beginning of another. The newcomer was *The Money Changers* (BBC2, Saturday), a history of European Monetary Union. Once again nearly all the actors were there, including a yellow Francois Mitterrand, shortly to follow the healthier-looking Elmer McCurdy to the place beyond. The programme's perspective was to see EMU as a product of Mitterrand's unprincipled wiliness in the face of the failure of French socialism and his fear of the overweening Deutschmark. But my abiding memory will be this marvellous line from the dying President, when he described a previous spat between himself and his cautious finance minister, Jacques Delors: "He was inclined to slow down. I was inclined to accelerate. But it was I who was President of the Republic."

It was, of course, hard to impart to the recent history of currency integration quite the same drama as one gets from four fully fledged wars, one invasion and 30 years of insurgency. *The Fifty Years War: Israel and the Arabs* (BBC2, Sunday) ended with the beginning of optimism and the decline back into pessimism. The testimony revealed how precarious was the peace process, how confidence built confidence once it was underway, and how that momentum was stopped in its tracks by the men (always men) who couldn't live without enemies.

Television: More bollocks about naked men

So, we had Rabin's foreign minister offering a deal to the Syrians, asking, "Do you wish to fly high and fast, or low and slow?" And then, just months, two bombs and an assassination later, the words of Benjamin Netanyahu, the real beneficiary of the **Hamas** bombs and the murder of Yitzhak Rabin: "If it has not been written down, it is not a final contract."

And surely that insight was worth missing karate for. Or is the world not full enough of men who practise the martial arts?

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Mixed feelings among Muslims; War on Terrorism

Sydney Morning Herald (Australia)

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Late Edition

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Byline: Hamish McDonald

Body

The US-led strikes in Afghanistan are inflaming the Muslim world, but Islamic unity is paper-thin so far, as Herald Foreign Editor Hamish McDonald reports from Tehran.

Hossain Alamdari, 27, is thin with intense brown eyes and a straggly beard, dressed in worn clothes. With a few other theological students he is sitting and chatting on the floral carpets in the foyer of Ayatollah Marashi Majafi Library in Iran's holy city of Qom, only a metre away from the sarcophagus containing the late ayatollah himself.

Alamdari, from a remote southern province, is certain what the United States has been doing in neighbouring Afghanistan this week: expanding its regional power.

"We believe that all Muslims should join hands to resist the Americans," he said.

In the traditional bazaar of the capital, Tehran, where more than a third of Iran's economic activity takes place, Mohsen, 24, is lanky, elegant, and clean shaven in his family's large carpet showroom. His concerns this week were the high local price of personal computers, and the difficulty of getting visas to the West, rather than joining any war.

"They will never get young people now to volunteer like they did against Iraq," he said, referring to the 1980-1988 war in which at least half a million on both sides died.

At least until late yesterday, when mullahs across Iran sharply raised the volume on anti-US messages at midday prayers, and worshippers were then encouraged to join officially organised street rallies, Iran's reaction to the US-led bombing in Afghanistan has been divergent.

It has almost been two countries. The Iranian state has condemned the US intervention, with the supreme leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, taking the harshly critical line that has filtered down to Alamdari in Qom, and the government of the liberal reformist cleric, President Mohammad Khatami, issuing a cooler verdict of "unacceptable". Like the young businessman Mohsen, the Iranian public's reaction was noteworthy for its detachment and self-absorption.

This alone should be enough to counter any assumption that Islamic reaction to this crisis will be uniform. Or that it will be predictable on the basis of whether particular countries are "pro-Western" or "US allies", or "radical" or "fundamentalist". Or that some sweeping confrontation of the civilisations, Islamic versus the West, is coalescing.

Mixed feelings among Muslims War on Terrorism

Elsewhere in much of the Muslim world, in contrast to Iran, it has tended to be the regimes trying to express their support for the US action and at the same time quell surges of public protest that would reveal the unpopularity of their policies.

This reversed situation has led to tragedies: Yasser Arafat's police firing on Palestinian crowds for the first time, with some fatalities. It has led to more routine suppression, with the Jordanian Government rounding up members of the Muslim Brotherhood and other usual suspects. And to occasional farce, like the Turkish officials who blocked two families naming their newborn sons Osama in honour of the US's ultimate target, Osama bin Laden.

The mixed feelings were reflected when the foreign ministers of the 57-nation Organisation of Islamic Countries had an emergency meeting in the Qatari capital, Doha, on Wednesday and broke up early, issuing a mild communique that did not condemn the strikes in Afghanistan but expressed concern they might cause civilian casualties. Several of the organisation's leaders even found positive outcomes emerging from the crisis, notably US President George Bush's statement that Washington had long had in mind the emergence of a Palestinian state, and the subsequent US rebuke for the Israeli Prime Minister, Ariel Sharon, for implicitly comparing this to British prime minister Neville Chamberlain's appeasement of Hitler in 1938.

But regional analysts point out the subdued mood could easily turn to outrage if the US campaign causes significant civilian casualties and suffering. "The situation is very tense," said Abbas Maleki, a former deputy foreign minister of Iran. "From Indonesia to Morocco, they are waiting to see the balance of the US attacks: are the Americans really targeting terrorist groups, or all the cities and people of Afghanistan who have suffered from the 1980s up to now?"

The use of US and other foreign ground troops, as opposed to raids by special forces that would presumably remain unseen, would also risk a backlash, said Abbas, who heads Tehran's International Institute for Caspian Studies. "It is very, very dangerous. Afghans are opposed to the Taliban, but it does not mean they support foreign troops inside their country."

Even so, the paradox of Islamic reaction is that if he calls this week for a jihad against the US from the Taliban leader, Mullah Mohammad Omar, and Osama bin Laden strike fire anywhere it will probably be in some of the most pro-Western, pro-US countries, such as Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, the Gulf states, and the Islamic parts of Asia from Pakistan to Indonesia and the Philippines.

The ingredients for receptivity include: populations excluded from power by traditional rulers, social oligarchies or political elites; visible links of dependency on US and other Western military and economic support; and religious education systems

that augment or replace non-existent or failing state education.

In many cases, the forcible suppression by secular elites or traditional despots of modernising Islamist oppositions which typically seek egalitarian democratic societies infused with Muslim values, and support the emancipation of women (as long as they are modestly dressed) has cleared the way for reaction in the form of Taliban-style fundamentalism, which seeks only to apply the Sharia law based on Koranic precepts and the life of the Prophet Mohammed.

One example was the Algerian Army's refusal of the 1991 election result that should have put FIS, the Islamic Salvation Front, into government a violation of democracy that had the transparent backing of France and other Western powers.

Since then, Algeria has been racked by anarchic and random massacres carried out by the shadowy fundamentalist movement GIS, the Special Intervention Group.

Scores of other alienated young Algerians have gravitated to bin Laden's al-Qaeda network, as have similar dislocated Islamists from other countries, and drifted towards fundamentalism. In a recent paper, the noted French scholar of Afghan and Islamic radical movements Olivier Roy noted a "growing disconnection of militant networks

Mixed feelings among Muslims War on Terrorism

from their sponsoring States", which resulted in a brand of militant Islam that was "both more radical and less sophisticated than the preceding Islamism. Activism has replaced ideology".

By contrast, Iran, which has been under US economic blockade virtually since its Islamic revolution in 1979 and on Washington's list of states sponsoring terrorism since 1984, is becoming more moderate in its behaviour towards the West, if not in its

rhetoric.

"Unlike the Arab Middle East, which is becoming very politicised, the Iranian public is becoming apoliticised," says one of Tehran's leading specialists on Middle East affairs, who asked not to be named.

The reason, he thinks, is the wide generational gap that has suddenly emerged in the country. With 65 per cent of the population under the age of 30, the national leadership talks from a different era that of the harsh struggle against the Shah's rule and the long sacrifice of the war with Iraq. "This young generation is more interested in its future, job security, employment, and economic well-being rather than politics," the expert said.

One result is that Iran, culturally distinct from the Arabs and the only Muslim country with a Shia majority, is quietly slipping into an older pattern of foreign relationships. "Historically, Iranians have not really associated themselves with Middle-Eastern politics," he said.

"Strategically speaking, Iran has always searched for partners beyond the region, not within the region. So Iranian foreign policy within the last two decades is really a historical aberration searching for a Middle Eastern identity." The generational shift would increase the tendency to look to the West, he said.

The shift is apparent in lessening interest in the Israel-Palestinian question, despite constant hostile references to Israel and its US backing in leaders' speeches and newspaper commentaries.

"The Palestinian issue has been part of the revolutionary ideology of the state for the last two decades, but there is not much public backing," the specialist said. "That's the contrast: in the Arab countries the governments are trying to distance themselves from the Palestinian issue whereas the public is vastly interested. In Iran, Central Asia, Turkey and the Caucasus people may follow what's happening with the Arab-Israeli issue or Arab grievances regarding the United States, but they're not part of it. "

With Israel's withdrawal from southern Lebanon, Iran's active confrontation of Israel through its sponsorship of the Shia Hezbollah forces there has been sidelined, the specialist said.

Iran continued to give explicit moral backing as a state to the radical **Hamas** and Islamic Jihad groups among the Palestinians, which have tried to disrupt the Oslo peace process.

This irks the United States, but in terms of substantial support to these groups, Iran was far outweighed by private contributions from places like Saudi Arabia and Kuwait another Middle Eastern paradox. Rhetoric and substance will remain hard to unravel in the Islamic world if the Western intervention in Afghanistan deepens.

Often, and sometimes misleadingly, it will be ideological faces like Hossain Alamdari in Qom's seminary that are more apparent than the apolitical Mohsen in the Tehran bazaar.

Graphic

ILLUS: An Afghan woman holds her sick child while being detained in south-eastern Iran. Photo: AFP/Behrouz Mehri. An Afghan woman holds her sick child while being detained in south-eastern Iran. Already host to more than

Mixed feelings among Muslims War on Terrorism

2 million Afghan refugees, Iran has closed its frontiers. Photo: AFP/Behrouz Mehri (Appeared in the Early edition only).

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NEWS SUMMARY

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Body

INTERNATIONAL A3-9

Tough Questions on Iraq For U.S. Officials at Forum

The Clinton Administration rolled out its top foreign policy officials at Ohio State University in Columbus to make its case on Iraq, but Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright, Defense Secretary William S. Cohen and National Security Adviser Samuel R. Berger were greeted with tough questions, catcalls and a lot of anxiety about American goals from protesters and supporters alike. A1

The forum was broadcast around the world exclusively by CNN, much to the aggravation of other networks, which gave the Administration's performance dismal reviews. A9

Soldiers in Fort Stewart, Ga., appeared strikingly casual about their being sent to the Middle East. The relative ease of the last war against Saddam Hussein seems to have given American troops a remarkable self-confidence. A8

Former Zambia Leader Charged

Kenneth Kaunda, the former President of Zambia who has been in custody since December, was formally charged with concealing information about a failed coup last October in the southern African country. Mr. Kaunda, who ruled Zambia for 27 years after independence in 1964, was charged along with his security chief. A4

Mexico Limits Chiapas Travel

The Mexican Government is clamping down on foreigners in the troubled State of Chiapas who show support for the Zapatista guerrillas or monitor events in Indian regions where the rebel movement is active. In recent days, Mexican immigration authorities have ended a longstanding tolerance for foreigners who travel to Chiapas with tourist visas and then participate in Zapatista meetings or marches, or visit villages where the tension between rebel and pro-Government factions is active. A6

Israeli Officials to Visit Jordan

Three top Israeli officials will soon visit King Hussein of Jordan in an effort to repair ties after a report this week on the botched Israeli assassination of a Hamas leader last year in Amman, Israeli public radio reported. The officials

NEWS SUMMARY

are Infrastructure Minister Ariel Sharon, Internal Security Minister Avigdor Kahalani, and Industry and Trade Minister Natan Sharansky. (Agence France-Presse)

Police Reforms in Belgium

Belgium announced sweeping changes in its police forces in response to public outrage over a child sex and murder scandal. After a special Cabinet meeting, Prime Minister Jean-Luc Dehaene said that a unified national police force would be created, combining paramilitary gendarmerie and the judicial police. Blaming a rivalry between the forces, two reports harshly criticized them for bungling the hunt for the abductors of four girls found dead in 1996. (Reuters)

NATIONAL A10-A17

Stage Set for Legal Test Of Executive Privilege

The deputy White House counsel, Bruce R. Lindsey, President Clinton's closest friend, spent nearly five hours before the Federal grand jury investigating Mr. Clinton's relationship with the former White House intern Monica S. Lewinsky. Mr. Lindsey's lawyers and prosecutors interrupted the proceedings for 45 minutes to consult with the judge supervising the grand jury in anticipation of formally arguing the issue of executive privilege today, officials involved in the case said. Democrats close to Mr. Clinton announced the creation of a new legal defense fund for the Clintons. A1

More than 40 percent of the early news reports on the investigation of Mr. Clinton's relationship with Ms. Lewinsky consisted of analysis, opinion and speculation, not factual reporting, said a watchdog group composed largely of journalists. A14

Fund-Raiser Is Indicted

A Federal grand jury indicted a Democratic fund-raiser, Maria Hsia, on charges that she laundered illegal contributions through a Buddhist temple in California to the re-election campaigns of President Clinton, Senator Edward M. Kennedy and other politicians. A13

Museum Director Forced Out

The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum forced the resignation of its director, Walter Reich, ending an acrimonious tenure highlighted by an embarrassing on-again-off-again invitation last month to Palestinian leader Yasir Arafat. A10

Expanding Use of DNA Evidence

Federal and state experts said that the F.B.I. and state laboratories had set new technical standards for testing DNA strands, aiding the development of a national system of quicker, cheaper testing. A1

AIDS Tests Drop Placebo

Government health officials said they were suspending use of dummy pills in a series of controversial overseas experiments on pregnant women because they had found a cheap way for developing nations to use the drug AZT to reduce mother-to-infant transmission of the AIDS virus. A16

New Police Officials Named

John Timoney, left, a former first deputy police commissioner in New York, was named Philadelphia's new police commissioner. He succeeds Richard Neal, who resigned after five years of struggling to lead a force accused of

NEWS SUMMARY

brutality, graft and ineptitude. In Chicago, Terry Hilliard, a detective popular among uniformed officers, was named the superintendent of police. He takes over a department beset by corruption, charges of brutality and dissension in the ranks. A16

Agreement on Minority Policy

The Clinton Administration has reached an agreement with the Big Three auto makers to increase their purchases from minority-owned companies by nearly \$3 billion by the year 2001, officials of the Administration and the auto makers said. A16

NEW YORK/REGION B1-10

Deans of Law Schools Assail Magazine Rankings

Law school deans angry and alarmed by a forthcoming ranking of law programs by U.S. News and World Report have mailed pamphlets to 93,000 applicants with a scorching critique titled "Law School Rankings May Be Hazardous to Your Health!" A1

Review of Substation Plan

Mayor Giuliani took a step back from his whole-hearted endorsement of the Police Department's agreement to accept \$5 million from a business group to put a substation near Wall Street, ordering a review of the arrangement. B1

Burglary Suspect Identified

The police in Greenwich, Conn., said they had identified the "dinner-time burglar," who they said was responsible for the theft of \$750,000 in jewels from 16 homes in Greenwich and Westchester County. But the police said they did not know the whereabouts of their suspect, Alan Golder, a 42-year-old paroled murderer. B1

A Challenge to Uniformity

Visits to several public, private and parochial schools that already require student uniforms made it clear that for most students, a dress code is a challenge, not a mandate. B1

Bicycle Crackdown

The police pressed their quality-of-life campaign with a crackdown on aggressive bicycle riders, including food deliverers, on the Upper West Side. B3

Arrest in Bludgeoning Death

The police arrested Thomahl S. Cook, 24, of Somerville, N.J., in the bludgeoning death of Katrina Suhan, a 15-year-old freshman at South Amboy High School. B4

NEEDIEST CASES B5

SPORTS C1-10

Rangers Dismiss Their Coach

The New York Rangers dismissed their coach, Colin Campbell. The leading candidate to succeed him appeared to be John Muckler, who coached the Edmonton Oilers to the Stanley Cup in 1990. C1

NEWS SUMMARY

HOUSE & HOME F1-16

BUSINESS DAY D1-24, 26

Producer Prices Decline

Reports issued by the Labor and Commerce Departments showed that prices paid by manufacturers last month posted the biggest decline in nearly four years, while housing construction remained vibrant. The data reinforced evidence of a robust economy and nearly nonexistent inflation. D1

Dell Beats Expectations

Dell Computer reported quarterly earnings after the market closed that exceeded Wall Street analysts' estimates, as the company's strategy of selling computers directly to consumers continued to fuel torrid growth. Dell also announced a 2-for-1 stock split. D1

Business Digest D1

ARTS E1-10

OBITUARIES D24-25

Harry Caray

The baseball announcer whose zesty, raucous style of play-by-play electrified airwaves and roused fans for more than half a century was 78. D25

Arnold Aronson

An advocate of civil rights who helped to plan the 1963 March on Washington and who was a founder of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, he was 86. D25

EDITORIAL A18-19

Editorials: A raucous meeting on Iraq; the McCurry confessions; more police on Wall Street; Brazil's brighter future.

Columns: William Safire, Bob Herbert.

Bridge E7

Public Lives B2

Crossword E7

Weather B9

Graphic

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Photos

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Body

INTERNATIONAL A3-9

U.S. Seeking to Limit U.N. Chief in Iraq Talks

The U.N. Secretary General, Kofi Annan, is expected to leave this week for Baghdad carrying American guidelines to limit any diplomatic compromise he might negotiate with Saddam Hussein. The guidelines, which have not yet been endorsed by the Security Council, emphasize that the role and powers of the U.N. weapons inspectors must not be undermined or limited. A1

Hundreds Die in Taiwan Crash

A China Airlines flight from the Indonesian resort of Bali crashed while trying to land in Taipei, killing all 197 passengers and crew, including Taiwan's Central Bank governor, and at least 7 people on the ground. A3

Panel Absolves Netanyahu

An Israeli commission appointed to investigate the bungled attack on the political head of the militant Islamic movement Hamas in Jordan last fall absolved Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of any blame for the fiasco. The three-person panel also endorsed the policy that terrorists can be hit "wherever they may be." A1

Sinn Fein Expulsion Considered

The British and Irish Governments moved closer to expelling Sinn Fein, the political wing of the Irish Republican Army, temporarily from peace talks on the future of Northern Ireland on the grounds that the I.R.A. was involved in the killing of two civilians a week ago in Belfast. A5

Court Ponders Quebec Issue

The Government went before Canada's Supreme Court for a legal opinion on whether Quebec could unilaterally secede without the agreement of the rest of the country. A5

Voting Begins in Uncertain India

Voting began in India on the first of four days of the second general election in two years. There was doubt about whether the election would end a period of political instability. A3

NEWS SUMMARY

New Scourges for Sierra Leone

A military junta was ousted from Freetown, the capital of Sierra Leone, but the city faced vigilante gangs, hunger and the threat of disease spread by rotting corpses, relief agencies said. The junta's forces elsewhere in Sierra Leone began surrendering to the peacekeeping troops who captured the capital. A9

Violence in Somalia

Four people were killed when rival militia members fought south of the capital of Somalia on Sunday, witnesses said. It was the first serious outbreak of violence since major faction leaders announced a truce two weeks ago and pledged support for a national reconciliation conference. Somalia has been without a central government since the overthrow of a military dictator in 1991. (Reuters)

Enforcing Secularism in Turkey

Turkey has ordered religious schools to stop letting female students and teachers cover their heads with scarves in the Islamic manner, the Education Ministry said. Such scarves have been banned in public institutions since the foundation of the secular Turkish republic, but had in recent years been tolerated at the religious schools. (AP)

NATIONAL A10-17

Ex-Officer Set to Testify In Clinton-Lewinsky Inquiry

The Whitewater prosecutor, Kenneth W. Starr, begins a fourth week of presenting evidence to a Federal grand jury today concerning President Clinton's relationship with Monica S. Lewinsky. Lewis C. Fox, a retired uniformed Secret Service officer, could testify as early as today, under an agreement between Mr. Starr and the Justice and Treasury Departments that allows Mr. Fox to answer only questions that do not betray the means by which Secret Service personnel guard the President and other high-ranking officials. His lawyer said that Mr. Fox was prepared to tell the grand jury only that he saw the President and Ms. Lewinsky together on a Saturday afternoon in the fall of 1995. It is unclear when and on what terms Mr. Starr will question Ms. Lewinsky. A12

Nashville Banner to Close

The publisher of the Nashville Banner said the 122-year-old afternoon newspaper would cease publication on Friday, becoming the latest casualty in the continuing battle between morning and afternoon newspapers. The Banner, which is locally owned, had a circulation of 39,839 last month, down from about 63,000 a decade ago. It had dropped by nearly 6 percent since September, and was projected to decline to 25,000 or less within two years. A10

Murder Case Goes to Jury

A jury began deliberations in the trial of Diane Zamora, a 20-year-old former Naval Academy midshipman charged with kidnapping and murdering a high school girl who had had sex with the midshipman's boyfriend. A15

A Killing Is Acknowledged

Lawrence Singleton's lawyer acknowledged in opening statements at his first-degree murder trial that Mr. Singleton, who raped a California girl and chopped off her arms in 1978, took a prostitute home and stabbed her to death in his living room. But the lawyer asserted that the crime was the result of a drunken struggle over money and a knife, and not something he had planned. A16

On Science and the Law

NEWS SUMMARY

Justice Stephen G. Breyer of the Supreme Court said in a speech at a scientific gathering that the country's judges must explore the use of neutral experts and other ways to insure sound decisions in cases involving scientifically complex issues like cancer causes, DNA sampling and assisted suicide. A17

Seven Years Young

After seven and a half years on ice, what may be the world's oldest frozen embryo developed into a healthy baby, doctors in Tarzana, Calif., announced. A baby boy weighing 8 pounds 15 ounces was delivered by Caesarean section at Encino-Tarzana Regional Medical Center. He was 21 inches long, according to a statement from the hospital. The identities of the child and his parents, a 44-year-old mother and 54-year-old father, were withheld to protect their privacy, officials said. (AP)

NEW YORK/REGION B1-16

Private Group to Finance New Wall St. Police Station

Police Commissioner Howard Safir has agreed to open a Wall Street police substation that will be paid for in part by \$5 million from a downtown business group. The plan calls for 200 officers to be based in the new station. Some City Council members and leaders of community groups criticized the plan, saying that additional police officers should be sent to more dangerous areas. B1

Examining the Clinton Budget

New York State and Congressional budget analysts said that President Clinton's budget proposal contained provisions that undercut several of Mr. Clinton's major new initiatives. The analysts said the plan would do less for the New York metropolitan region than had been projected during the initial fanfare surrounding the President's announcements. B4

15-Year-Old Beaten to Death

The police in South Amboy, N.J., were investigating the bludgeoning death of a 15-year-old girl who disappeared over the weekend while walking home from a roller rink. B5

Uniform Sales Investigated

A national mail-order supplier has been soliciting uniform and equipment orders directly from 27,000 city officers, a business move that has led to a departmental inquiry over two issues: the possible increased risk of police impersonations, and whether the home addresses of officers were improperly disclosed. B3

NEEDIEST CASES B5

SCIENCE TIMES F1-8

HEALTH F6

SPORTS C1-8

Sprewell Hearings End

Closing statements were made in the hearings on Latrell Sprewell's suspension by the N.B.A. C8

BUSINESS DAY D1-10

NEWS SUMMARY

Beneficial Weighs Options

Beneficial, a large consumer finance company based in Wilmington, Del., said that it intended to explore strategic business alternatives, including, among other things, putting itself up for sale. D1

Business Digest D1

ARTS E1-8

Rauschenberg Art Seized

Fifteen works of art by Robert Rauschenberg were removed on Friday from the walls of the Menil Collection in Houston by deputies carrying out a court order in a suit against the artist by a creditor. E6

FASHION B10

OBITUARIES B11

Martha Ellis Gellhorn

One of the first **female** war correspondents, who covered a dozen major conflicts in a writing career that spanned more than six decades, she was 89. That she was known to many largely for her marriage to Ernest Hemingway, from 1940 to 1945, was a source of unending irritation. B11

EDITORIAL A18-19

Editorials: Teaching myths and history; black-white income inequalities; scenes from a marriage; topics.

Columns: Thomas L. Friedman, A. M. Rosenthal.

Chess F6

Public Lives B2

Crossword E8

Weather B12

Graphic

Photos.

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Terrorists Said to Hide In Canada's Melting Pot

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Byline: By JOHN KIFNER

By JOHN KIFNER

Dateline: MONTREAL, Dec. 23

Body

All street and shop signs here, by Quebec provincial law, must be in French. But walk a few blocks from the modest bachelor apartment at 1250 Fort Street where Ahmed Ressam lived under the name of Benni Antoine Noris, and sometimes Mario Roig, and the signs tell of a rich ethnic bouillabaisse.

Here is Boutique Ali, a shoe repair shop, next to Bombay Palace-Cuisine Indienne, and then, in quick succession, Thai, Chinese, Italian, Russian and Swiss restaurants, as well as two Middle Eastern groceries and "Pandit A. B. Chowdhury, immigrant consultant for refugee claimant."

Since the arrest of Mr. Ressam, an Algerian, near Seattle last week and his indictment Wednesday on charges of trying to smuggle enough bomb-making material into the United States to flatten a building, that rich ethnic mix and the loose immigration controls that have made it possible have come under close scrutiny in Montreal and across Canada.

Officials here have been trying to explain, among other things, how Mr. Ressam managed to remain in the country after his application for asylum was refused, and even after he was arrested on charges of breaking into automobiles -- in the spring of 1998, two months after a nationwide warrant for his deportation was issued.

Mr. Ressam seems to have simply melted into the immigrant community in Montreal, which includes more than 15,000 Algerians, obtaining driver's licenses under his false names and even a Canadian passport last February, a year after the initial deportation order, by using his French-sounding alias and a forged Roman Catholic baptismal certificate. In Quebec, a baptismal certificate is sufficient identification to receive a passport.

Mr. Ressam was not alone. Critics of the government charge that as many as 10,000 people a year who are seeking asylum simply vanish from official view, some smuggling themselves across the porous border into the United States, many apparently disappearing into the population here.

A spokesman for the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service said the United States has had similar problems with asylum seekers, especially those who file for asylum after being charged with violating immigration law. A 1995 study by the I.N.S. found that 90 percent of those vanished while their applications were pending.

Terrorists Said to Hide In Canada's Melting Pot

According to a recent report by Canada's intelligence agency, the Canadian Security Intelligence Service, the country's openness to immigrants has helped make it "a haven for terrorists."

A senior intelligence official told the Toronto Globe and Mail that the agency had begun watching Mr. Ressay shortly after he arrived in early 1994 with a fake French passport and a tale of being falsely accused and tortured by Algeria's military government, which is battling Islamic insurgents. But, he added, the intelligence agency dropped the investigation.

"He has been known to us for some time," the official was quoted as saying in today's issues. "We had to drop it recently because of lack of resources. We just don't have the time and people to continue these investigations indefinitely."

Montreal's Algerians came under closer scrutiny by the city's police last October, when a team of French counterterrorism investigators arrived in Canada. Montreal had experienced a rash of car break-ins around the financial district, with cell phones and laptop computers being stolen and then peddled on the streets.

The French were conducting an investigation based on the arrest of Fateh Kamel, an Algerian Islamic militant, and they wanted to question two men they believed to be his lieutenants -- Mr. Ressay and Karim Said Atmani, who the police now say had been directing the Montreal theft ring. Mr. Ressay was not found.

Mr. Kamel, who had fought with Afghan rebels against the Soviets, was arrested by the authorities in Jordan last spring and extradited to France.

According to the French, Mr. Kamel had been the leader of a band of gangster-terrorists who carried out a series of armed robberies and shootouts around Roubaix in northern France. He had also operated out of Montreal in the 1990's and may have married a Canadian woman, and was believed to have directed a loose group of Islamic terrorists. Some of those terrorists were veterans of fighting in Bosnia, which, like Afghanistan, attracted Arab Muslim volunteers to what they regarded as a holy war.

"I think he was the leader of this group," a senior official of the French police and judicial antiterrorism task force said in Paris. "We have material evidence he conducted this group from Montreal. He moves around -- Bosnia, Syria, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Jordan."

Mr. Atmani, the other man sought by the French, had been deported last year to Bosnia because he carried a Bosnian passport when he arrived in Montreal as a stowaway on a cargo ship. His whereabouts are unknown, although officials suspect he may have slipped back into Canada.

Last week, the Montreal police arrested 11 men -- most of them Algerians -- who they said had been stealing from parked cars in groups of two and three and extorting money from other Algerians. The police said that part of the proceeds was going to finance the Armed Islamic Group, an Algerian group that has carried out massacres in villages there.

"These guys are financing organizations that train people to assassinate fathers of families, pregnant women, old people and children," said Jean-Yves Mailloux, the head of the Montreal police counterterrorism division.

As the investigation accelerated, the police found a second apartment where they believe Mr. Kamel, Mr. Atmani, Mr. Ressay and two others spent several months together in 1998. It is in Ville d'Anjou, just east of Montreal, near the working-class neighborhood where Mr. Ressay had been preparing to open a small grocery store with a license issued under his identity of Benni Noris.

Investigators also believe they have identified the second man who shared rooms at a motel in Vancouver with Mr. Ressay before he made his ferry trip into the United States. He was said to be Abdul Majid Dahoumane, an Algerian who applied for asylum here in 1995, was refused, and, like Mr. Ressay, was under a deportation order.

Police and intelligence officials say that Canada's generous immigration policies have meant that foreign terror groups can more easily establish and maintain cells here.

Terrorists Said to Hide In Canada's Melting Pot

Last year, the Canadian Security Intelligence Service reported that it had active investigations into 50 terrorist groups and 350 individuals.

The agency's director, Ward Elcock, told the Canadian Senate's security and intelligence committee last year that terrorists have been taking advantage of the system for years and that almost every terrorist group in the world had a foothold in Canada.

"Terrorist groups are present here whose origins lie in every significant regional ethnic and nationalist conflict there is," he said. "The nature of our society and the related policies concerning refugees and immigrants make us particularly vulnerable to terrorist influence and activities."

The intelligence agency's Web site lists a wide variety of foreign groups operating in Canada, including Hezbollah, Hamas, groups from Algeria and Iran, the Tamil Tigers of Sri Lanka, the Irish Republican Army and "all the major Sikh" separatists. It adds that more groups are arriving, including the Kurdish Worker's Party, "trained assassins" from the Palestinian Force 17 and the Iranian intelligence service.

Since 1992, Canada has deported only 11 people as terrorists. Before that, none.

In addition to Canada's general welcome of immigrants, Mr. Rassem was probably helped by official Quebec policy of trying to bring more French-speaking immigrants into the province. Many Algerians speak French as a legacy of French colonial rule.

In 1999, 12,600 French-speaking immigrants were admitted. Next year the number is expected to reach as high as 14,600.

"Quebec has attained its objective of increasing French-speaking immigration," the provincial immigration minister, Robert Perrault, said in a news release last month.

The number of Algerian immigrants increased markedly after 1992, when the Islamic Salvation Front started a bloody insurgency in Algeria after the military canceled elections and seized power. In 1990, 493 refugees and immigrants entered Canada from Algeria; last year the number grew to 1,914. Since 1997, the government has stopped extraditing people to Algeria because of the violence there.

Of 1,197 Algerians who applied for refugee status in 1998, 67 percent were accepted, compared with 40 percent for all refugee groups that year.

Leon Benoit of the opposition Reform Party contended that Canadian authorities cannot account for as many as 10,000 people who claimed refugee status at border points last year. Of 24,000 who made claims, he said, about 10,000 were given refugee status, and 4,000 to 5,000 more were sent away. The whereabouts of the rest, he said, are unknown.

<http://www.nytimes.com>

Graphic

Photos: Police officers blocked a street in Montreal on Sunday after finding a van belonging to Ahmed Ressam. Mr. Ressam has been charged with trying to smuggle bomb-making material into the United States. (Associated Press); Ahmed Ressam was one of 15,000 Algerians living in Montreal.

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Rally in Tehran Pays Lip Service To the Revolutionary Zeal of '79

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Byline: By JOHN F. BURNS

By JOHN F. BURNS

Dateline: TEHRAN, Iran, Nov. 4

Body

For Islamic revolutionaries, it's a red-letter day, a day to raise old banners, shout old slogans, burn a few flags, renew the old fervor -- savor the days when Iran, in its dealings with America, had the sense that at last it was calling the shots.

It's Nov. 4, the day in 1979 when militant students clambered into the United States Embassy compound, seized more than 50 diplomats and began the 444-day hostage crisis that has poisoned ties between Iran and the United States ever since.

This anniversary, the 20th, was to have been a day of days, a triumphal homecoming for the revolutionary class of '79. Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, the Muslim cleric who leads the country now, had called on "followers of the Imam's line" -- the Imam being Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, the revolution's original leader, who called the United States the Great Satan -- to show that time had not exhausted the passions that drove out the shah, and with him America, the "tyrant" that was his principal backer.

But somehow, amid the strident speechmaking and the punching of air that accompanied the rally in Tehran today, there was something out of temper, something registering unmistakably that even in Islamic Iran, the years have marched on. For one thing, there can hardly have been more than 5,000 people at the gathering, 7,000 by the most generous estimate, in a city of 12 million.

For another, many in the crowd, especially the young, seemed to have trouble working up the requisite animosity toward the United States. One 21-year-old woman, assigned to the rally by her college photography instructor, looked out bemused from beneath the head scarf required by Islamic dress codes. What did she think of the protest? "It's a joke," she said, nodding toward a group of young women with Western dress poking out from beneath their black cloaks. "How can you shout, 'Death to America!' when you're wearing blue jeans?"

Asked if she favored re-establishing Iran's ties with the United States, she scoffed. "Where have you been, asleep?" she said. "In every sense that really matters to me, we've had relations with America for years. All this is just a big show."

Rally in Tehran Pays Lip Service To the Revolutionary Zeal of '79

She was alluding to the Iran of 1999, with its Internet cafes, up-to-date Hollywood movies in video rental stores, American designer clothes in fancy boutiques, Coca-Cola served from sidewalk stalls, prosperous Iranian-Americans commuting between Tehran and new homes in New York and Dallas and Los Angeles. What is missing are the diplomatic links severed the moment the embassy was seized, and even they may not be far away, in view of feelers put out by both governments in recent years.

On the podium set up close to the gates of the old embassy on Taleqani Street, one of those who participated in the embassy takeover, Mohsen Rezaie, former commander of the Revolutionary Guards, had trouble holding the crowd with his speech. It was mostly a walk down memory lane, with references to the "den of spies," as Ayatollah Khomeini called the embassy, to American "arrogance," and to the hostage-takers' "compassion" in releasing women and African-Americans before the diplomatic deal that sent the others safely home on Jan. 20, 1981.

This year there was no repeat of an awkward moment at the 1998 rally, when an indecorous student pointed out that Mr. Rezaie's son had recently fled to the United States and sought refugee status there, a fact prominently reported in Tehran newspapers that support a democratic reform movement. The student suggested, to laughter from the crowd, that the former hostage-taker might want to bring his son home before lecturing other Iranians about revolutionary vigilance toward the United States.

But if there was nothing quite so cheeky today, there was plenty to suggest that many young Iranians are exhausted by the enmity. There was an array of caps bearing logos for the Yankees, the Lakers, the Redskins and other American teams. There were students, and others, who turned up with posters bearing the image of President Muhammad Khatami, the cleric who has galvanized the reform movement and outraged conservative clerics. Mr. Khatami envisions an Iran that curbs the excesses of clerical rule with democratic institutions and an enhanced regard for human rights.

The Khatami images were vastly outnumbered by posters for Ayatollah Khomeini and his successor, Ayatollah Khamenei, who in a speech on Wednesday rebutted President Khatami's calls for a "dialogue" with the United States, saying that only "simpletons and traitors" could seek a rapprochement. One young man who unfolded a homemade Khatami poster had it snatched away and crumpled up by a rough-hewn man in his 40's who identified himself as a member of Hezbollah, the Party of God, one of the most contentious Islamic groups in Iran.

The poster-snatcher, in all likelihood, was one of the '79 veterans for whom the embassy seizure and the militancy that engendered it have a sacred quality not to be tampered with by revisionists. In one of the twists to Iran's revolutionary story, many of the most influential advisers to President Khatami were agitators once themselves. Some helped seize the embassy, and watched as the bewildered diplomats were led blindfolded into the compound to be displayed as trophies.

Judging from today's crowd, the unwaveringly loyal are mainly those for whom the Islamic revolution offered an opportunity for self-aggrandizement, or relief from penury and powerlessness. There were graying men with red headbands and bandoliers; factory workers, clerks and janitors; Iran-Iraq war widows and orphans; rural dwellers for whom the revolution brought government jobs, educational opportunities and pensions; Muslim clerics who emerged as powers in the land.

Many sported the several-day stubble and collarless cleric's shirts that became the revolutionary uniform. They shouted, "Death to America!" and "Death to Israel!" Harking back to a tradition that has fallen out of favor last year, they burned flags, clambering atop scaffolding opposite the old embassy compound to drape the Stars and Stripes, the blue-and-white flag of Israel and the Union Jack of Britain, then set them alight. One banner denounced the Great Satan, a phrase little heard since Ayatollah Khomeini died in 1989.

Still, it was the irreverent counterpoints that lent a special character to the day. A 17-year-old student, Hassan, said that from what he had heard, America wasn't so bad. "My sister is in America, and she says it's a nice place, so I don't see why I should shout, 'Death to America!'" he said. "Besides, many Iranians live in the United States, so wouldn't it make sense if we were good friends?" Ardeshtir, also 17, thought the moment called for something ironic. "Oh, America, my love!" he said, in English, spreading his arms, grinning broadly.

Rally in Tehran Pays Lip Service To the Revolutionary Zeal of '79

Nearby a dispute about the flag-burning had broken out, with a glowering, stubble-faced member of the "basiji," revolutionary volunteers who have often acted as vigilantes, remonstrating with Samim, an 18-year-old, for expressing doubts. "I don't believe in flag-burning, it's disrespectful," Samim rejoined. "How would you feel if somebody burned the Iranian flag?" As smuts from the flags floated down like chaff, a 14-year-old boy chipped in, "We shouldn't burn the American flag because we love the American people."

In the hubbub, there was one point on which even those most genially disposed toward the United States seemed to concur: that Washington should stop setting conditions for Iran to meet before economic sanctions and diplomatic isolation are stopped. The Clinton administration has said Iran must disavow the development of nuclear weapons, end its support for "terrorists" -- including Hamas and Hezbollah, which have attacked Israeli civilians from bases in Lebanon and Gaza -- and stop opposing the peace process between Israel and the Palestinians.

In his speech on the eve of the rally, Ayatollah Khamenei said Iran was effectively being asked to "submit" to the United States as it had under the shah. In this, at least, the ayatollah appeared to have almost universal support. Abbas Dasht, a 35-year-old lawyer who had joined the hostage-takers as a teenage volunteer, said the United States had learned nothing from the experience. "Our message was that Iran wanted to be independent, and to have that independence respected," he said. "So there cannot be any question of setting conditions for us now."

<http://www.nytimes.com>

Graphic

Photo: A Tehran scene yesterday recalled the American Embassy takeover 20 years ago, and the start of the hostage crisis. Crude renderings of the American flag received familiar treatment, but the fervor seemed forced. (Associated Press)(pg. A16)

Load-Date: November 5, 1999

Imaginary conspiracies: It's wrong to label as 'enemies of Islam' or as 'anti-Muslim' those who write about the threat posed by militant Arab and Islamic networks

The Gazette (Montreal, Quebec)

November 01, 1999, FINAL

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Section: Editorial / Op-ed; B3

Length: 1479 words

Byline: STEVEN EMERSON

Body

Today, Islamic fundamentalists have found a new language to propagate their radical views. Through a combination of misinformation, doublespeak and pressing politically correct buzzwords, they continue to promote their agenda while trying to hide under the veneer of being victims.

The most recent demonstration of this in Canada can be seen in the Gazette articles by Salam Elmenyawawi of the Islamic Centre of Quebec. The views he has expressed, like those of the fundamentalists he seeks to protect, can be subsumed under a set of doctrines to which Islamic fundamentalists religiously adhere.

Islamic fundamentalists seem to believe that the "enemies of Islam" are engaged in conspiracies to subjugate Islam, despite the absence of any factual basis for the so-called cabal. In his article of Sept. 27, 1999 (Comment, "It's time to eradicate bias"), Elmenyawawi leaves the impression he believes there is a conspiracy designed to fan the flames of hatred against Islam among myself, Middle East academic Daniel Pipes and Gazette columnist George Jonas (with whom I have never spoken or met).

Sorry to disappoint Elmenyawawi, but any conspiracy exists only in his own mind - unless merely writing about the threat posed by militant Arab and Islamic networks is evidence of an anti-Muslim conspiracy.

In reality, some Muslims themselves hatch the conspiracies. In the mind of an Islamic extremist, there must always be someone else externally responsible for the violence attributed to Islamic extremists - never the extremists themselves.

Islamic fundamentalists routinely ascribe to Israel and the United States conspiratorial cabals.

Elmenyawawi wrote that "many Arabs fear that the two stripes on Israel's flag symbolize a desire for a 'greater Israel' from the Nile to the Euphrates. " This canard has long been a staple of militant Arab propaganda, including that of **Hamas**. But its ultimate fiction can readily be seen by the fact that Israel pulled away from its proximity to the Nile and Euphrates when it gave back the Sinai Peninsula to Egypt, pulled back from part of the Golan in 1974 and began withdrawing troops from the West Bank. When Elmenyawawi claims that "many Arabs" endorse this demonstrable falsehood, he is either proving Jonas's point that "Arabs do not want peace" or he is casting a terrible aspersion on the vast majority of Arabs.

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As for blaming the United States, Elmenyawawi (Gazette, Dec. 27, 1998) accused U.S. President Bill Clinton of carrying out a policy of premeditated and deliberate murder of Iraqi civilians (with the complicity of Prime Minister Jean Chretien) when the strikes in fact targeted Saddam Hussein's military infrastructure. Oddly, it is Clinton that Elmenyawawi accuses of "crimes against humanity"- and not Saddam Hussein, who has killed thousands of his opponents and who is amassing an arsenal of chemical, biological and nuclear weapons. Given Elmenyawawi's professed sympathy for civilians, I wonder why he remained conspicuously silent when scores of Serbian civilians were killed by American strikes designed to prevent the horrific ethnic cleansing being orchestrated by Slobodan Milosevic's policies.

Ever since the Salman Rushdie episode, some Islamic fundamentalists have accused journalists and writers of denigrating Islam if they write something at variance with their view of history and politics. Two years ago, Elmenyawawi accused Gazette cartoonist Aislin (Terry Mosher) of "attacking the Islamic religion as a whole, labeling it as extreme, with a connotation of violence."

Nonsense. Aislin drew a cartoon that highlighted the extremism of Islamic militants, not the religion. It was Elmenyawawi who linked the two. Some fundamentalists seem to be making a systematic effort to blur the distinction between extremists and mainstream Islam, in order to hide under the protection of the larger Muslim umbrella.

Similarly, Elmenyawawi implied that Jonas is part of a "campaign to denigrate, malign and slander Islam and Muslims." Jonas's transgression? He dared to question the view of history held by Elmenyawawi, which posits that the Prophet Mohammed did not abrogate the Treaty of Hudaibia.

Islamic fundamentalists often deny the existence of "Islamic extremism" and the violence associated with it, claiming it is an offensive appellation contrived by the enemies of Islam to slur all of Islam. Although it is understandable why some fundamentalists would want to deny the extremist religious motivation of Islamic terrorists, we in the West should have no illusions.

In The Gazette Dec. 13, 1997, Elmenyawawi contended that Gazette cartoonist Aislin's mere "use of the expression 'Islamic extremism' is tantamount to saying that Islam is extreme or a religion of extremists." Nonsense. The term Islamic extremists, just as do the terms Jewish or Christian extremists, refers to the group of violent fundamentalists who carry out terror to advance their religious agenda. The names of the terrorist groups, Hizbollah - or Party of Allah - and the Islamic Jihad, were not coined by the West but by the terrorist groups themselves.

Islamic fundamentalists routinely deny that attacks are carried out by Islamic terrorists. Islamic militants in Israel have routinely denied responsibility for their bus bombings. Hizbollah has denied its role in the bombing of the Jewish centre (AMIA) in Argentina. In Algeria, the notorious Armed Islamic Group has denied its role in killing tens of thousands of innocent Muslim civilians or in the execution of secular Muslim women who refuse to wear the veil. The World Trade Centre bombing culprits and Islamic fundamentalists blamed Israel and the United States for the attack.

In the same article smearing Aislin, following the brutal massacre of innocent tourists by Islamic terrorists in November 1997 in Luxor, Elmenyawawi tellingly wrote that "the majority of Muslims worldwide question the reports that the perpetrators of these terrorist attacks in Egypt or Algeria are Muslims." Really? Did the tourists commit suicide? Were the culprits Japanese Red Army members? Or were they from the IRA, PKK or Shining Path? The facts are that the terrorists were caught with guns and blood on their hands and were members of the Al Gama'a al-Islamiya (the Islamic Group). Any effort to deflect suspicion away from the Islamic terrorists who carried out this brutal attack is nothing less than an effort to defend them.

Elmenyawawi charges Pipes and myself of "falsely" accusing "Muslims" of the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing and the crash of 1996 TWA Flight 800. Sorry to be the bearer of bad news, but in 1995, 1996 - as well as today - Islamic militants were responsible for more American casualties than any other group of terrorists; in fact, Islamic militants are responsible for more acts and threats of violence than any other collection of terrorist groups. Given the militants' track record, their abiding hatred of Americans and their previous attempt to kill tens of thousands of Americans in the World Trade Centre bombing and subsequent plot to blow up New York City bridges and

Imaginary conspiracies: It's wrong to label as 'enemies of Islam' or as 'anti-Muslim' those who write about the threat posed by militant Arab and Islamic network....

buildings, the FBI appropriately suspected militant Islamic fundamentalists of being behind the blast in the first 36 hours after the bombing, until it was discovered that ultra-right-wing militia types were the real culprits. As for the 1996 TWA explosion, it was none other than the militant Islamic Movement for Islamic Change - connected to master terrorist Osama bin Laden - that openly threatened to attack American targets a day before the TWA flight exploded right after take off. That turned out to be a coincidence.

One final point. Elmenyawie falsely writes that my credibility has "crumbled in a sea of retractions, court actions and apologies." I wonder whom Elmenyawie is writing about. My documentary, Jihad in America, garnered six major journalism awards and is standard viewing for federal law-enforcement personnel throughout the United States.

I have issued one correction in my entire career - because I believe that when one is wrong, it is incumbent to say so. I had erred in writing that one-time student radical Reese Erlich was arrested for one set of charges when he actually had been arrested for another set of charges, for which he was acquitted. But it had nothing to do with my assessment of Erlich or anything I had written about the threat of Islamic terrorism.

As for the relevant set of retractions, let me cite the letter of the CBC ombudsman in a letter dated May 21, 1997, apologizing to me for having made a "series of unsupported and irrelevant factual allegations" stemming from faulty information supplied by an Islamic fundamentalist posing as a human-rights activist.

- Steven Emerson is a U.S. -based writer and film-maker who specializes in Islamic fundamentalist networks.

Load-Date: November 2, 1999

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THE WEST'S FEAR OF ISLAM IS NO EXCUSE FOR RACISM

The Independent (London)

November 3, 1999, Wednesday

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Section: COMMENT; Pg. 5

Length: 1385 words

Byline: Robert Fisk

Body

ON A rainy summer afternoon in 1992, a certain Colonel Popovic welcomed me to the notorious concentration camp at Manjaca with a question. "Do you know what jihad is?" he roared. My heart sank. He could have stepped out of any Hollywood movie or Western newspaper report, let alone from the heart of Serbian nationalism. Inside Manjaca were the "ethnically cleansed" Muslim survivors of north-western Bosnia. But listening to Colonel Popovic, I reflected I had heard the same pernicious, insidious words used about Arab Muslims in the Middle East.

A reporter is uniquely positioned to observe the cancer of racism. Just a year later, I was in southern Lebanon, interviewing hundreds of Palestinian Hamas members who had been illegally deported from Israel and the occupied territories and marooned on a mountainside inside Lebanon. Most of them were intelligent men, some with university degrees, several educated in Britain. They were against the "peace process", but only a few of them believed violence could achieve their ends. A week later, I was back in Bosnia where, on CNN, I heard them described as "extremists". A further three weeks later in the California resort of Pismo Beach, I was watching the American CBS television channel and there were the same Palestinians on their cold mountainside, this time described as "suspected terrorists".

Pismo Beach was an ironic place to witness this transformation of humans into potential beasts. For it was on the sands here that Hollywood first immortalised the Arab as a heroic son of the desert. This was where Rudolph Valentino made *The Sheikh*, where the Arab was defined as a romantic, courageous figure in the third decade of the century. Unfortunately, you only have to watch the scratched old movie to realise that Sheikh Ahmed is not an Arab. "His father was an Englishman," says the script. "His mother a Spaniard." So that's all right then.

Later this week, in the sublimely neutral countryside of Ditchley Park, some of the great and the good will be gathering to debate how we in the West have demeaned, stereotyped and racially abused Muslims in our press, television and cinema. Prince Abdullah of Saudi Arabia, former US ambassador Edward Djerejian, Arab editor Khaled al-Maeena, Rabbi Neuberger and sundry diplomats and journalists will spend three days discussing the ever-more dangerous "Islamophobia" that is currently infecting our reporting and vision of the Muslim world - and especially of the Middle East.

They will have a lot to talk about. For the portrayal of Arab Muslims over the past 30 years - in our cartoons and films as well as words - has reached Nazi-like proportions. Greedy, hook-nosed, vicious, violent, rapacious, turbaned or "kaffiyehed" Iranians and Arabs have replaced the cartoon Jews of *Volkischer Beobachter* or *Der Ewige Jude*. I had just arrived in the Middle East more than 20 years ago when I first saw, on television, the movie *Ashanti*. It starred Omar Sharif and Roger Moore and portrayed Arabs as slave traders, murderers, child-molesters and sadists. The film was, said the credits, partly made on location in Israel.

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I was stunned. No wonder so many reports spoke of Arabs as "terrorists". No wonder so many editorials referred to "terrorist animals". And the more films I watched, the more cartoons I saw, the more editorials I read, the more our fear of the despicable, fearful, alien Muslim seemed to be spreading. If the Nazis could portray the Jews as sub-humans who threatened Western "civilisation" and "culture" so could we portray Muslims as sinister, evil, over-breeding and worthy of destruction.

How come, I asked myself, that a Palestinian who murdered innocent Israelis was in our reports a "terrorist" - which he surely was - while an Israeli who murdered 29 innocent Palestinians in a Hebron mosque was merely an "extremist", a "zealot" or (my favourite) "a member of the Jewish underground"? How come a Hizbullah guerrilla fighting Israeli occupation forces in Lebanon was an "Islamic fundamentalist" while Croatian or Serb killers in Bosnia were not "Christian fundamentalists"? Even our most right-wing newspapers refer to "IRA terrorists" rather than "Catholic terrorists". How come an Arab who threatens America (Ossama bin Laden) is a "super-terrorist", but an Israeli who murders his own prime minister is just a "fanatic"?

Who laid these ground rules, these vicious double standards? You only have to go to Hollywood to understand part of the answer. Navy SEALs, True Lies, Broadcast News, Delta Force, even The American President - remember the Arab "terrorist" attack on US forces in Israel which leads "our" president to launch an assault on Libya? - are only a few of the dozens of movies to portray Arab Muslims or Iranians as a hateful, cruel people.

An investigation by Professor Jack Shaheen of Southern Illinois University provides a list of expressions used about Arabs in Hollywood movies (most of which have been widely shown in Britain), including "scumbag", "son-of-a-bitch", "a fly in a piece of shit", "animals", "bastards", "sucking pigs", "stateless savages", "desert skunks" and, of course, "terrorists". Cartoons and American papers routinely show Arabs as virtual animals.

In 1996, the Miami Herald pictured a bearded ape creature with "Islam" on his turban, saying "We bomb innocent women and children to smithereens". Two days after the bombing of the World Trade Centre - a wicked act that was indeed carried out by Muslims - the New York Post carried a cartoon of the Statue of Liberty with this distorted version of its poem: "Give us your tired, your poor, your huddled masses, your terrorists, your murderers, your slime, your evil cowards, your religious fanatics..."

Needless to say, when Americans bombed the Oklahoma government building, Muslim "terrorists" were the first to be blamed. "In the name of Islam", one of Rupert Murdoch's US papers headlined over a picture of a dead child. Even in Britain, we did the same. Bernard Levin wrote that: "As for Oklahoma, it will be called Khartoum on the Mississippi, and woe betide anyone who calls it anything else." Needless to say, when Americans bombed the Oklahoma government building, Muslim "terrorists" were the first to be blamed. Once the culprits turned out to be Americans, the word "terrorism" faded from the headlines. They were "fanatics". A similar transformation occurred when the "terrorist" bombing of a TWA flight turned out to be a disaster probably caused by a technical fault.

Turbaned mullahs became stock figures in British cartoons from the Seventies - especially in Punch. By 1992, The Times could show a Muslim wiping his bloodied sabre on a union flag while an innocent woman lay dead behind him. The Rushdie affair brought forth a contagion of such images while journalists and political leaders warned us of the dangers of a coming war with Islam. "Muslim fundamentalism" announced Nato secretary general Willy Claes in 1995, "is at least as dangerous as communism once was... It represents terrorism, religious fanaticism."

Yes, I know the Arabs can be their own worst enemies. They have produced some truly grotesque dictators and their violent groups have committed some evil deeds in the name of Islam. It didn't need 23 years in the Arab world to make me rage about those puritanical, infantile clerics - Christian as well as Muslim or Jew - who refuse to see that the world is a complex society worthy of compassion as well as dogma. And in the Cairo press, Jews are often pictured in top hats with money bags - the classic Nazi image - although it was a Jewish-American friend who lamented to me the other day about the number of anti-Arab cartoons and films produced by Jewish Americans.

So this week's Ditchley conference will have plenty to discuss. It should not forget the flaws of Muslim societies or the cruelty of Arab regimes. Guests should remember how seriously - and rightly so - we regard any racial or anti-Semitic slur against Jews. But I wonder if they should not also ask themselves whether it is time to show the same sensitivity, the same concern and - given the fact that Arabs are also a Semitic people - the same hatred of racism

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when Muslims of the Middle East are portrayed in the same manner that Hitler used for the doomed Jews of Europe.

Graphic

Top: a cartoon by Peter Brookes in 'The Times' that accompanied an article by Bernard Levin; bottom: a Mac cartoon from the 'Daily Mail' at the time of the Rushdie affair; right: 'super-terrorist' Ossama bin Laden; AP

Load-Date: November 3, 1999

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Supply lines: Guns for sale - how stolen Israeli weapons arm Fatah's fighters: Palestinian rifles and bullets taken from army depots are killing settlers and soldiers. Why is the enemy turning a blind eye?

The Guardian (London)

December 16, 2000

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Section: Guardian Home Pages, Pg. 15

Length: 1559 words

Byline: Suzanne Goldenberg at the Rafah border, Gaza Strip

Body

Three shots ring out in the still of the afternoon, and three Palestinians run for cover. The Israeli army sniper on the 25 metre-high security tower watches the men below scatter and dive for gaps in the concrete wall.

As Sergeant Dan Jacobi pulls the trigger, one Palestinian shoves a wooden crate into waiting hands on the Gaza side of the wall: one more lethal cargo slipping past Israeli troops, one more shipment of arms and ammunition for the Palestinian uprising.

With the insurrection entering its 12th week, the West Bank and Gaza are awash with illegal weapons - enough to keep the militiamen of Yasser Arafat's Fatah movement fighting for months, the Guardian has learned.

The secret trade obscures an embarrassing fact: that the Palestinians are getting their guns straight from the Israeli army's arsenals. In this increasingly vicious guerrilla war, the guns turned on Israeli troops and Jewish settlers are Israel's own.

Evidence is emerging that arms are being smuggled from Israeli army weapons depots through a criminal world to the Palestinian militias. Jewish and Arab Israeli arms dealers are acting as middlemen.

The steady flow has helped to transform this intifada from a popular uprising into a low-intensity guerrilla war.

During the 1987-1993 uprising the Palestinians' favourite weapon was the rock. Nowadays, as Palestinian gunmen spray settlers' cars with bullets in drive-by shootings and Israeli hit squads assassinate suspected militants, the preferred weapon is the American-made M16 assault rifle, which is used by the Israeli army.

"I could sell a thousand guns a day if I wanted to," says a gun dealer operating from the West Bank city of Nablus. "Especially big pieces like the M16."

Israeli intelligence officials claim that the Palestinian militias - tanzim - have 70,000 guns at the ready: M16s and other automatic rifles mainly, but heavy machine guns, too. "They are not going to run into any shortage of guns or ammunition," an Israeli military official says.

Supply lines: Guns for sale - how stolen Israeli weapons arm Fatah's fighters: Palestinian rifles and bullets taken from army depots are killing settlers and so....

Together the move from rocks to rifles and Israel's early use of live rounds and snipers have driven the death toll inexorably upwards. More than 320 people have been killed in the past 11 weeks - the vast majority of them Palestinian. In the first 30 months of the more intense 1987 intifada 670 Palestinians died.

The weapons shaping the present intifada arrive through a variety of channels. At the Rafah border crossing to Egypt, shipments are tossed over the fence by Egyptian dealers, or slid along tunnels burrowed beneath the border road.

Some arms trickle in through Jordan, carried on small boats across the Dead Sea, or by Bedouin trekking over the wind-swept desert hills.

Still more travel in air-conditioned luxury, tucked into the Mercedes and Audis of the most privileged Palestinian officials - the lucky few holding VIP-1 status, giving them immunity from security checks. Others are trafficked by organised criminals.

But, as officials on both sides agree, most of the illegal guns can be traced back to Israeli army stores. Once stolen, they are spirited away to the West Bank and through a series of shadowy transactions into the hands of the tanzim.

A few weeks ago Palestinian gunmen waltzed into an Israeli army tank depot near the West Bank city of Jericho, stripping off four heavy machine guns, and drove off into the desert, Israeli military official says.

That was an unusually dramatic incident; most of the theft is done by stealth and betrayal.

"Inside jobs," says Mr Ali, who counts himself among the leading suppliers of illegal weapons in the West Bank.

He says the most reliable sources are the Israeli army weapons exchanges, where soldiers deposit their guns for maintenance or repair. A raid on these depots typically nets 30 guns for the tanzim : M16s and other automatic rifles, and Uzis. Mr Ali grimaces at the last: Israeli-made guns are not popular with his clients.

He describes an elaborate chain, improbably linking a Palestinian gunman with a corrupt Israeli soldier (or officer) who organises the disappearance of weapons from the army stores.

Mr Ali says the trade hinges on a rogue soldier. "It takes a leader, someone in command, to make it work."

The senior Israeli military official cannot deny it. "We have had cases like that. I can't rule it out."

Mr Ali says the betrayal is driven by money or drugs. But once a soldier decides to steal, there are many willing buyers among Israeli criminals, Jewish and Arab. The Israeli gun dealers then exchange the stolen arms for cash or drugs from their Palestinian counterparts, who move them on to small-scale weapons traders or the militias.

The paymaster behind all these transactions is alleged to be the Fatah organisation, which then sells the guns on to the tanzim , or, according to some militia members, doles them out for free.

Moving the guns inside the West Bank has become trickier because of Israel's economic blockade, however - new restrictions ban cars carrying only Palestinian males. Such laws have forced Israeli dealers to make drop-offs in the stoney hills of the West Bank, or employ female couriers to charm their way past soldiers at checkpoints.

A week ago the Balata refugee camp militia, one of the toughest, got an unexpected gift when a Jewish settler drove into the West Bank with a shipment of 12,000 bullets.

"I swear to God a Jewish person passed in front of the Israeli soldiers with this," says Majid al-Massri, the militia commander. "Do you know how much money he made? Thirteen thousand shekels (about pounds 2,150)."

Supply lines: Guns for sale - how stolen Israeli weapons arm Fatah's fighters: Palestinian rifles and bullets taken from army depots are killing settlers and so....

Mr Massri's arsenal includes a wide array of weapons. Aside from the Iraqi-made, nickel-plated pistol at his hip, he has a fondness for a cache of 52 M16s emblazoned with cypress trees - the national symbol of Lebanon - stolen from the South Lebanese Army, Israel's proxy militia, by departing troops during Israel's withdrawal last May.

Mr Massri has no shortage of guns or ammunition to choose; his only problem is price, driven up by the Israeli economic blockade and spiralling demand.

A single M16 round now sells for up to two shekels (about 30p), double the price before the uprising. Rounds for Kalashnikov sell for seven shekels each, out of range for the militias.

Gun prices have also soared. On the street, where prices are customarily quoted in Jordanian dinars, the going rate for an M16 is 3,500 dinars (pounds 3,350), up from 2,000 dinars.

Limited firepower

Nobody expects the trafficking of illegal weapons to end when the intifada stops. Gun running is a product of peace, the result of the loosening of controls over Palestinian enclaves which came with the Oslo agreements.

The peace agreements gave the Palestinians the right to raise police forces in the West Bank and Gaza, but severely limited their firepower. The Palestinian Authority was also obliged to hunt down and confiscate illegal private firearms.

It did not. Over the last six years, guns have become a symbol of family honour. In some West Bank refugee camps they are displayed like university diplomas.

Israel accuses the Palestinians of breaking its promise to round up illegal guns by collecting only a token amount of weapons. "They made no effort to confiscate arms, and the guns stayed in the hands of the tanzim and of Hamas," the senior Israeli military official said.

The Palestinians say this is unfair. "Israel manufactures guns and controls all the borders," says Colonel Kamal al-Sheikh, the Palestinian police chief in Ramallah. "We don't manufacture guns, and we don't control the borders. So tell me, who is responsible for the gun smuggling?"

He argues that the authorities in Ramallah did confiscate illegal guns - albeit a laughable total of 28, some of them of second world war vintage. In times of conflict the rules change, and the Palestinians have no intention of disarming the "tens and thousands" of militiamen now bearing arms, Col Sheikh says. "We are not about to confiscate those while Israeli soldiers and settlers are shooting at Palestinians."

Col Sheikh and other Palestinian officials have a convincing counter-argument to Israel's charges. They claim that Israeli security and intelligence forces keep a close eye on the trafficking of arms to the Palestinian militias, and to the underworld.

But Israel secretly encourages the trade - even now - hoping to provoke a civil war that will see Palestinians turn their guns on each other once the battle with Israel is over and a peace deal struck.

If Mr Arafat agrees to an unpopular deal, he could face armed opponents who resist handing over their guns. That would make it practically impossible for Mr Arafat to enforce an eventual truce, and move beyond the cycle of killing and revenge that now consumes both peoples. Even if there is a deal, the gun could still rule.

Many of the fighters now aiming their guns at Jewish settlements also believe that they are operating with Israel's tacit approval. "If they want to stop a fly from getting to Bethlehem they can, so I don't know why they cannot control the ammunition coming in," says a militia commander directing gunfire against the Jewish settlement of Gilo from the Palestinian town of Beit Jalla.

Supply lines: Guns for sale - how stolen Israeli weapons arm Fatah's fighters: Palestinian rifles and bullets taken from army depots are killing settlers and so....

The commander, who gave only his first name - Mike - added: "You cannot just put 20, 30 or 40,000 bullets in your pocket and just walk in. Someone has to want you to."

Load-Date: December 16, 2000

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**LIFTING FAMILY FORTUNES;
UNDISTINGUISHED BACKGROUND PROVES NO BARRIER TO SUCCESS
FOR 2,000 HERO**

Racing Post

May 4, 1999, Tuesday

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Section: FEATURES; Pg. 13

Length: 1380 words

Byline: Tony Morris

Body

FANCY breeding Classic winners? A family that will keep breeding Classic winners for generations?

No problem. Just pop along to the December Sales in Newmarket, select yourself a young winning mare whose sire won the Derby and whose dam won the 1,000 Guineas and was beaten a head in the Oaks. Then buy her.

Easier said than done? It could hardly have been much easier for Federico Tesio, who secured just such a prize with an outlay of only 75gns in 1915, though not even the 'Wizard of Dormello', as he came to be known, could have anticipated the consequences of his bargain-basement deal.

The mare was Catnip, a five-year-old daughter of Spearmint and Sibola, and, crucially, she remained in England while Europe suffered the ravages of World War I. When she eventually left for her owner's stud in Italy in 1918, she was accompanied by her Tracery foal, named Nera di Bicci.

Catnip was to produce a filly, Nogara, who won both Italian Guineas events. Nogara, in her turn, delivered two winners of the Derby Italiano and one of the Oaks d'Italia. Twenty years on from the arrival of Catnip, her grandson out of Nogara, Nearco, was sold for pounds 60,000, to become the most influential import to England since the Godolphin Arabian.

Nera di Bicci, meanwhile, had become dam and grand-dam of Classic winners in Italy. More significantly, in the long term, her daughter Nella da Gubbio departed for Germany, where a daughter (Nereide), two grandsons (Nordlicht and Niederlander) and one great-grandson (Neckar) became Derby winners.

Neckar, a black son of Ticino out of Nixe, grand-daughter of Nella da Gubbio, was more than a Derby winner and an undefeated champion three-year-old. In his final start he won the Prix de Chantilly at Longchamp, putting German breeding back on the racing map six years after World War II.

Neckar's ***female*** line flourished in the Erlenhof stud that came to be associated with Countess Margit Batthyany. Neckar's sister, Naxos, won the Preis der Diana and their dam went on to produce a total of 14 foals, six of them by Ticino and the last two by Ticino's son Orsini.

LIFTING FAMILY FORTUNES; UNDISTINGUISHED BACKGROUND PROVES NO BARRIER TO SUCCESS FOR 2,000 HERO

Nixe consolidated, expanded and greatly enhanced the reputation of what Germans were calling their 'N' family. Following German custom, all the descendants of Nella da Gubbio in the female line were named with the same initial letter.

It continued to produce major winners for more than a quarter of a century, peaking again with two 1976 foals, Nebos (by Caro) and Nadjar (by Zeddaan), heroes of a string of European Group 1 events between them.

The triumphs became more spasmodic when the Batthyany fortunes waned. Some of the 'N' line mares and fillies drifted into studs whose owners could not afford the attempt to preserve the family's quality by using stallions of genuine repute.

Some were transferred to countries where their new owners did not appreciate that the initial 'N' was the best advertisement a product of this family could be granted.

One such was Nirvanita, a daughter of King George VI & Queen Elizabeth Stakes hero Right Royal out of Nuclea, Nixe's penultimate foal. She wound up in America, after a brief spell in France, and three of her 11 offspring were given names not in keeping with the tradition.

As it turned out, two of them were the mare's best racing representatives. The third was about as bad as she could possibly be, yet she is the one who has now revived her family's Classic glory.

Vaguely's Son (by Vaguely Noble) was Nirvanita's first foal and he won five of his 21 races and was stakes-placed in the Grand Prix de Nantes as a five-year -old.

Corrupt (by Lear Fan), foaled when his dam was 17, was also a five-time-winner and, at his peak, a far better performer. He even started joint-favourite for the Derby, at under half the odds laid against Generous, and though out of the money at Epsom, he did win a Group 2 (Great Voltigeur) and a couple of Group 3s (Derby Trial Stakes, Prix Gontaut-Biron) before a sojourn in America that proved almost fruitless and an eventual stud career in New Zealand.

There are scarcely words to describe just how awful Tiavanita (foaled two years before Corrupt) was as a racehorse. She was by J O Tobin, who looked a crackerjack until Blushing Groom beat him, then went to the US and robbed Seattle Slew of his unbeaten certificate. Unlike the other great sons of Never Bend, Mill Reef and Riverman, J O Tobin proved pathetic when it came to passing on his superior racing qualities.

According to the Goffs catalogue, when her son Island Sands was offered, Tiavanita "ran a few times in France". A more accurate description would have said "ran a few times in France at three and many more times at four".

She was presumed to be a miler, because all but the first of her 12 starts were over that distance. But her total lack of form makes one wonder why, at some time, she was not tried over something different.

She was a low-class handicapper, trounced in sellers, never finished closer than fifth in poor company. At the end of her second season she was expelled from the training ranks for the equivalent of about pounds 3,000.

It needed a fair stretch of the imagination to see this damned bad specimen of a damned good breed as the dam of a Classic winner. But breeding will out, they say.

Tiavanita's first two runners were winners; the third was placed. Now her fourth has won a 2,000 Guineas, lifted the family's fortunes and provided a surprising boost for his sire, Turtle Island, in his first crop.

Turtle Island, of course, could look good - very good when he had mud to revel in while others floundered. He won an Irish Guineas by 15 lengths when those conditions prevailed.

LIFTING FAMILY FORTUNES; UNDISTINGUISHED BACKGROUND PROVES NO BARRIER TO SUCCESS FOR 2,000 HERO

But few took him seriously as a prospective sire of star performers - his fee had dropped from Ir9,000gns to Ir7,000gns before he had a runner and, after Island Sands had run twice, won twice and been sold to Godolphin, his fee came down again to Ir5,000gns.

PEDIGREE ASSESSMENT

SIRE: TURTLE ISLAND

Bred by Ron Con Ltd & Swettenham Stud. Retained 24,000gns as Doncaster St Leger yearling. Won 6 (5-8f) of 13 starts, viz. 4 (inc. Norfolk S.-Gr3, Phoenix S.-Gr1, Gimcrack S.-Gr2) out of 7 at 2 years, 2 (Greenham S.-Gr3, Irish 2,000 Guineas-Gr1) out of 6 at 3 years. Earned pounds 356,024. Timeform 115 at 2 years, 123 at 3 years.

Strong, quite attractive individual. Performed gamely and creditably on a firmish surface, but needed soft - or softer - ground to show to best advantage. Well suited by a mile and did not compete over longer distances.

Quite well bred, closely related to Mother Of Pearl (sires brothers, same dam). Dam (by excellent broodmare sire) won up to 10.5f in Italy and out of a half-sister to Sea Break (leading 2-y-o, disappointing at 3). Rather inconsistent family.

Stands at Coolmore Stud, Fethard, Co. Tipperary at a fee of Ir5,000gns (Oct 1). Sire of 2 crops of racing age, inc. notable winner: Island Sands (2,000 Guineas-Gr1).

DAM: TIAVANITA

Bred by Claremont Green & Kathryn Nikkel in Kentucky. Fr125,000 Deauville August yearling. A bad performer. Unraced at 2, 5th once (selling race) from 3 starts at 3, 5th once from 9 starts at 4. Otherwise never nearer than 8th.

Presumed to have been a miler (11 of her races at that distance), but no form. Sold out of training as November 4-y-o for Fr30,000.

By a top-class runner but indifferent sire. Half-sister to 8 winners, inc. Corrupt (Gr2) and Vaguely's Son (Listed-placed). Dam unraced half-sister to Nadjar (Gr1) and No No Nanette (Gr3, dam of Gr3 winner Nikos).

Grand-dam a leading 2-y-o filly in Germany and smart performer in France, from a high-class German family.

To stud at 5 years, and dam of: Muferr (1992 c by Groom Dancer; winner), Favora (1994 f by Polish Patriot; winner in Sweden), Ruby Affair (1995 f by Night Shift; placed), Island Sands (1996 c by Turtle Island; Classic winner), Alzita (1997 f by Alzao; in training with James Toller). She has no yearling and was covered by **Hamas** in 1998.

CONCLUSION

No oil painting and has a rather undistinguished pedigree background (at least close up), but no different in those respects from several other Guineas winners of recent years.

Graphic

Island Sands powers to 2,000 Guineas victory

Load-Date: May 5, 1999

LIFTING FAMILY FORTUNES; UNDISTINGUISHED BACKGROUND PROVES NO BARRIER TO SUCCESS
FOR 2,000 HERO

End of Document

'IT WILL BE A MIRACLE IF THE LEFT WINS THE ELECTION'

The Evening Standard (London)

May 5, 1999

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Section: Pg. 22

Length: 1343 words

Byline: Joel Wolchover

Body

As Israel's election approaches, the opinion polls don't look good for Rightwing prime minister 'Bibi' Netanyahu. But many Israelis, including some of his most bitter critics, still think he will win another term.

JOEL WOLCHOVER, who has spoken to young voters - a key group, explains why WHEN Charlotte Hall first heard that a nail bomb had exploded in Brixton she rushed to call her younger brother, who lives in the area, to see if he was all right. Relieved as she was to hear that he had been nowhere near the scene, she could not help pondering the irony that this was a call she had expected would be made in reverse.

Halle, 28, who emigrated to Israel six weeks ago, explained over a mug of mint tea in one of Tel Aviv's trendier cafes: "I heard that there had been a bomb in Brixton, and that's where my brother lived, so I began to panic. It was strange because I had anticipated that it would be the other way around.

So far, since I moved here, Israel has been the safer place to be, though I expect that is unlikely to continue."

Her anxiety is understandable. In less than two weeks' time the country will go to the polls, and terrorist attacks have, according to one Middle East expert, decided the outcome of the last four general elections here. The fear that the bombers will once again cast their lethal vote is ever-present.

The promise of an end to the bombings was the major factor in the election of Benjamin "Bibi" Netanyahu as prime minister in 1996. His slogan - "Peace with Security" - neatly

expressed the twin aspirations of his countrymen, though his interpretation of the formula has given such weight to security that the peace process started by his predecessors has struggled to survive.

Although opinion polls suggest that his popularity may be waning - he is down eight per cent on his nearest rival Ehud Barak, leader of the Israeli Labour Party - nobody is writing him off.

Halle, who cannot vote as she has not been in the country for the required three months, supports the Israeli Left, led by Barak. She sees him as the best hope of moving the peace process on. "If Netanyahu gets back in, I think he will assume he has a mandate to bring the peace process to a halt. That would be disastrous."

But she admitted: "If I had come to live here in the expectation that Labour would win the election, I would be living in an absolute dreamland.

'IT WILL BE A MIRACLE IF THE LEFT WINS THE ELECTION'

There has been so much corruption linked to the current government, but it doesn't seem to make any impact on people's voting habits."

Her friend, Budi Hermel, 26, is equally pessimistic. She used to live in Jerusalem, but moved out because the growing domination of the city by the ultra-orthodox made her feel uncomfortable.

Both young women meet at the Sus Etz, or Wooden Horse, cafe on Tel Aviv's ultrachic Sheinkin Street. It is clear that they are bracing themselves for another Netanyahu victory. As Hermel explained: "People like us who are secular, middle-class, educated and Left-leaning are now in the minority. It will be a miracle if we win the election, so I am preparing for the world to collapse. Okay, that is democracy, but if the religious ruled the country there would be no democracy.

They do not believe in it."

Young voters make up a fifth of the four million-strong electorate, and the choices made by the many first-time voters could swing the final result.

As well as liberals like Hermel and her friends, they also include others like 18-year-old Noam Rozenman, who was blown 30 feet across the city's main shopping street by a terrorist bomb in September 1997.

The blast propelled Rozenman towards the site of two further explosions which went off even before the dust and broken glass from the first had hit the ground. In all, eight people died in the attack by Hamas extremists.

Rozenman was in surgery for nearly six hours, as surgeons put his shattered leg back together and removed the largest pieces of shrapnel from his body, and he remained in hospital for seven weeks with 30 per cent burns.

He betrays very little anger about

the attack when we meet at his parents' house in the Jewish quarter of Jerusalem's Old City, to discuss the forthcoming election. He said: "The truth is I didn't really care for politics then and I still don't. I am going to vote for the Right, for sure, but I am not yet sure which party or candidate to vote for.

"Among teenagers like me, Netanyahu is seen as 'hazak' - it means strong but it also means cool like you would say if you have just seen a great film.

For sure it's not going to be Barak - he is too sympathetic to the Arabs and too optimistic about the peace process. I am more realistic." Rozenman's lack of interest in the election could be put down to youthful indifference, but elsewhere in the Old City and across the country there are thousands of young men whose minds are, literally, on higher things.

Ari Goldstein, 24, moved to Jerusalem from Salford in Manchester two-and-a-half years ago and has an 18-month-old daughter. Not that he gets much chance to see her. Six days a week, from 5.30am until 7pm, he studies the Jewish bible, the Torah, at a religious seminary. He said: "I am not a Zionist, I was brought up to be completely against the State of Israel, because my father said Israel would only be created when the Messiah comes.

He has never stepped foot here, because he considers it to be a holy place and he cannot stand to see how the secular Israelis behave."

Goldstein's attachment to the land in which he lives is mundanely practical.

He accepts that the Palestinians have a valid claim to a state of their own, but he is against the peace process because he fears for the safety of his family. "The only reason it matters is because I don't want to be killed and don't want my kids to live on the line.

"All you are doing by offering the Palestinians land for peace is giving in to them. They will just ask for more and more, in the end they will ask us for the Wailing Wall itself."

'IT WILL BE A MIRACLE IF THE LEFT WINS THE ELECTION'

Like the majority of Israel's ultra-orthodox Jews, Goldstein will vote as the rabbis instruct him. No surprise then that Israel's spiritual leaders have the ability to make or break a government. The growing influence of the religious parties, and their alignment with Netanyahu's Rightwing Likud party is terrifying for Israel's non-observant, educated, middle-classes. As Jews of European origin,

known as Ashkenazi, Hermel and her friends lie on one side of an ethnic fault-line which threatens to divide the country in two. On the other side are Sephardic Jews from north Africa and the Middle East who have long resented their lesser social status in Israeli society.

Netanyahu's electoral strength, and the reason that no one is betting against him winning another term in office, lies with these Sephardic immigrants, who arrived shortly after the State of Israel was declared in 1948. Many of them were settled in remote development towns, where they have since been joined by equally poor Russians and Ethiopians. Typical of these towns is Dimona, in the middle of the bleak Negev desert, which covers the southern half of Israel. Known to outsiders only as the home of Israel's nuclear weapons plant, it is a long way from both cosmopolitan Tel Aviv and the spiritual hothouse of Jerusalem. Here, I am told, if Netanyahu's party put a donkey up for prime minister it would win.

In the central square two girls are handing out leaflets on behalf of the party. At 16, they are still two years away from voting, but campaigning can be a lucrative business. They are being paid 12 shekels an hour - about £2 - to help plaster the town with leaflets and posters of the prime minister.

They would not, they assure us, offer their leafleting services to just any candidate, they really do believe in the slogan which is emblazoned across their campaign T-shirts: "Strong Peace."

It is a simple message, some might say too simple, but in a country which had begun to fear it had a monopoly on terrorist violence the promise of security - with or without peace - is an appealing one.

Graphic

BOMB VICTIM: NOAM ROZENMAN SAYS NETANYAHU IS "STRONG" AND "COOL" RIGHT CHOICE: ULTRA-ORTHODOX ARI GOLDSTEIN WILL VOTE AS INSTRUCTED BY RELIGIOUS LEADERS LEF T-LEANING: PROSPEROUS LIBERALS LIKE BUDI HERMEL AND CHARLOTTE HALL FEAR THE PEACE PROCESS IS BEING HELD BACK BY THE GOVERNMENT

Load-Date: May 6, 1999

**JAPAN CUP HERO A GENUINE CHAMPION;
T M OPERA O NOW WORLD'S RICHEST RACEHORSE AND LOOKS TYPE
TO IMPROVE FURTHER**

Racing Post

November 30, 2000, Thursday

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Section: SPORT; Pg. 10

Length: 1480 words

Byline: Tony Morris

Body

JAPAN'S emergence as a world power in racing has been one of the most significant features of the turn-of-the-century years. The long-time enigmatic outsider has become increasingly adventurous abroad, its fresh, ambitious approach yielding famous Group 1 victories in the 1999 Grand Prix de Saint-Cloud (El Condor Pasa) and Prix de l'Abbaye (Agnes World) and in this year's July Cup (Agnes World again). In the few international events at home, Japanese-trained runners have continued to defend stoutly against strong invading forces. They are devilishly difficult to beat on their own territory, as Montjeu discovered a year ago.

On paper, the raiding party for the 2000 Japan Cup did not appear to be as strong as its immediate predecessor; Fantastic Light had the best credentials, and Montjeu had cantered all over him at Ascot in July. No wonder the locals expressed overwhelming confidence in a home win by making T M Opera O the 1-2 favourite.

It was quite a close call in the end, and Fantastic Light acquitted himself nobly to reach third, but T M Opera O was always doing enough, and Meisho Doto, who had chased him vainly in two previous Grade 1 races this year, had to settle for second again.

T M Opera O was the best three-year-old colt in Japan in 1999, when he won the (10 furlong) Guineas equivalent and was placed in both the Derby and St Leger. This season he has proved invincible, and he came into the Japan Cup with three Grade 1s and three Grade 2s in the bag; among that collection was a double in the Spring and Autumn Tenno Shos, a feat achieved only twice before.

Here was a fitting finale to a perfect campaign, and though few observers seem to have noticed, it was a victory that enabled T M Opera O to snatch Cigar's crown as the world's richest racehorse. He is the first to cross the \$ 10,000,000 barrier, and, if he follows his sire's example by proving better at five than he was at four, his earnings are going to grow appreciably.

T M Opera O comes from the third crop of Opera House, a Meon Valley-bred son of Sadler's Wells who showed distinct promise at two, suffered an inhibiting pastern injury at three, began to blossom at four, and in his final season found glory in a Group 1 treble-Coronation Cup, Eclipse and King George.

Opera House did not run in Britain after Ascot. Second to Muhtarram in the Irish Champion, he then finished third in Urban Sea's Prix de l'Arc de Triomphe and sixth behind Kotashaan in the Breeders' Cup Turf. He had a trip

JAPAN CUP HERO A GENUINE CHAMPION; T M OPERA O NOW WORLD'S RICHEST RACEHORSE AND LOOKS TYPE TO IMPROVE FURTHER

booked for the Japan Cup after that, but the Santa Anita effort seemed to suggest that he was over the top, so when he left for the far east it was as a prospective stallion.

Seven years on his son has carried out the mission that was denied him, while younger brother Kayf Tara has upheld the family's honour with eight Pattern wins, leading to a stud opportunity at Overbury.

T M Opera O is the best of Opera House's runners to date in Japan, where he has another Grade 1 star in Nihon Pillow Jupiter and a classy performer on dirt in Opera Hat, runner-up in the 1999 Japan Dirt Derby.

In common with most Japanese runners who have achieved international recognition, T M Opera O comes from a background which owes little or nothing to Japanese heritage. On both sides of his pedigree he is a foreigner, produced from parent stock acquired abroad.

His dam Once Wed is a long-time Hokkaido resident, and he is the seventh, and much the most distinguished, of the seven foals she has dropped, but she was bred in Kentucky by Helen Alexander, sent unraced to Japan and covered there first as a three-year-old.

At the time of her purchase Once Wed could boast of a sire (Blushing Groom) who was one of the most fashionable in the world, and she was out of a young mare (Noura) with winning form.

As it turned out, this branch of the family did not make much progress back in the States. Noura spent most of the rest of her breeding career consorting with lesser sires, and she never managed to produce a stakes- winner. Her dam River Guide did not make a lot of generally better chances, though her Icecapade daughter Icy Folly was twice placed in Graded company in 1989.

HOWEVER, there was another branch of the family that did thrive -and how! The connection is remote, but the fact remains that the female line runs back through River Guide and modest winner Blue Canoe to Portage, who bred four good stakes-winning colts and, finally, a Swaps filly called Change Water who managed a maiden victory from 12 efforts at the track.

Change Water had a more productive time at stud, producing nine winners from 10 runners, and the best of them became the outstanding broodmare of her era. It was not enough for Gr1-winning Fall Aspen to achieved unprecedented success as the dam of seven individual Pattern winners (Northern Aspen, Elle Seule, Mazzacano, Colorado Dancer, Hamas, Fort Wood and Bianconi); she also produced a US Classic winner in Timber Country and a non-Graded stakes-winner, Prince Of Thieves, who ran third in a Kentucky Derby.

Fall Aspen's influence has been extended beyond the first generation through sons and daughters. Fort Wood has been champion sire in South Africa, Elle Seule has delivered Mehthaaf and Elnadim, and Colorado Dancer is dam of Dubai Millennium. Charnwood Forest and Medaaly are grandsons, and Occupandiste is a great-grand-daughter.

This has developed since Once Wed arrived in Japan, but her son has no need of any reflected glory. As the world's richest runner, he has earned his own.

PEDIGREE ASSESSMENT

SIRE: OPERA HOUSE

Bred by Meon Valley Stud in England. 340,000gns Tattersalls Highflyer yearling. Won 8 (7-12f) of 18 races, viz. 1 out of 1 at 2 years, 1 out of 3 at 3 years, 3 (Tattersalls Gold Cup-Gr2, Brigadier Gerard S.-Gr3, Cumberland Lodge S.-Gr3) out of 7 at 4 years, 3 (Coronation Cup-Gr1, Eclipse S.-Gr1, King George VI & Queen Elizabeth S.-Gr1) out of 7 at 5 years. Timeform 100P at 2, 112 at 3, 125 at 4, 131 at 5. Earned pounds 737,701, plus Ff1,200,000.

Somewhat leggy, well-made sort. Good walker fluent action. Top-class from 10 -12f on any ground. Very genuine and consistent.

JAPAN CUP HERO A GENUINE CHAMPION; T M OPERA O NOW WORLD'S RICHEST RACEHORSE AND
LOOKS TYPE TO IMPROVE FURTHER

Brother to another multiple Gr1 winner in Kayf Tara. By the outstanding sire of his era out of a winner of the Irish Oaks. Grand-dam Gr3 winner, half -sister to Classic-placed Bella Colora (dam of Gr2 winner Stagecraft, by Sadler's Wells).

Stands at JBBA Iburi Stallion Station, Shiraoi, Hokkaido. Sire of 4 crops of racing age, inc. notable winners: Nihon Pillow Jupiter (Nambu Hai-Gr1), T M Opera O (Satsuki Sho-Gr1, Spring Tenno Sho-Gr1, Takarazuka Kinen-Gr1, Autumn Tenno Sho-Gr1, Japan Cup-Gr1), Opera Hat.

DAM: ONCE WED

Bred by Helen Alexander in Kentucky. Unraced.

By a Classic winner and sire of Classic winners. Half-sister to 10 minor winners. Dam a winner, sister to stakes-placed winner, half-sister to respectable stakes-winners Lomax (c by Star de Naskra) and Icy Folly (f by Icecapade).

Grand-dam unraced half-sister to stakes-winning fillies Wildwook and Blue Teepee, and to high-class stakes-placed sprinter Gaylord's Feather. Next dam winning half-sister to dam of exceptional broodmare Fall Aspen.

To stud at 3 years and dam of: Channel Four (1988 f by Northern Dictator; stakes-winner), Victory Mach (1989 f by Bamboo Atlas; winner; dam of winners), Shimano Latour (1990 c by Symboli Rudolf; unraced), Blushing Roman (1991 f by Bravest Roman; unplaced; dam of a winner), Shimano Beauty (1993 f by Dancing Brave; winner), Victory Arrow (1994 c by Scan), T M Opera O (1996 c by Opera House; multiple Gr1 winner), Captain Cook (1997 c by Danehill; winner), Yellow Wing (1998 f by Jade Robbery; unraced). Her yearling is a colt by Rodrigo de Triano and she was covered by Opera House in 1999.

CONCLUSION

A worthy national champion who would be competitive at Gr1 level in Europe, but is likely to remain at home.

T M OPERA O (ch c, 1996)

Opera House (b 1988)

Once Wed (ch 1984)

Sadler's Wells

Colorspin

Blushing Groom

Noura

Northern Dancer

Fairy Bridge

High Top

Reprocolor

Red God

Runaway Bride

Key To The Kingdom

JAPAN CUP HERO A GENUINE CHAMPION; T M OPERA O NOW WORLD'S RICHEST RACEHORSE AND
LOOKS TYPE TO IMPROVE FURTHER

River Guide

Nearctic

Natalma

Bold Reason

Special

Derring-Do

Camenae

Jimmy Reppin

Blue Queen

Nasrullah

Spring Run

Wild Risk

Aimee

Bold Ruler

Key Bridge

Drone

Blue Canoe

Nearco

Lady Angela

Native Dancer

Almahmoud

Hail To Reason

Lalun

Forli

Thong

Darius

Sipsey Bridge

Vimy

Madrilene

Midsummer Night

JAPAN CUP HERO A GENUINE CHAMPION; T M OPERA O NOW WORLD'S RICHEST RACEHORSE AND
LOOKS TYPE TO IMPROVE FURTHER

Sweet Molly

Majority Blue

Hill Queen

Nearco

Mumtaz Begum

Menow

Boola Brook

Rialto

Wild Violet

Tudor Minstrel

Emali

Nasrullah

Miss Disco

Princequillo

Blue Banner

Sir Gaylord

Cap And Bells

Jet Pilot

Portage

Bred by Kineusu Bokujo

Graphic

T M Opera O: the son of top-class Opera House comes from parent stock acquired from outside Japan

Load-Date: November 30, 2000

THE SENATE CAMPAIGN: THE OVERVIEW;
Lazio and First Lady Quarrel On Ethics, Israel and Schools

The New York Times

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Length: 1499 words

Byline: By ADAM NAGOURNEY

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

Body

Rick A. Lazio and Hillary Rodham Clinton engaged in a quarrelsome hour of bickering and badgering in their final debate yesterday, as they attacked each other's ethics, commitment to Israel and proposals to improve the nation's education system.

Mr. Lazio and Mrs. Clinton turned their third and final encounter of the Senate race in New York into the political equivalent of a food fight, barking out insults, citing damaging newspaper accounts about each other's alleged misdeeds, and repeatedly talking over each other.

The moderator, Gabe Pressman of WNBC, seemed at times amused -- though at times startled -- by the rancorous display between a first lady and a member of Congress that was unfolding within the hushed confines of a third-floor television studio at 30 Rockefeller Plaza. Excerpts, Page B8.

Mr. Lazio suggested that Mrs. Clinton's support for a Palestinian state, as well as what he asserted was her association with radical Palestinian leaders, had threatened Israeli security and undercut the peace process. Mrs. Clinton accused Mr. Lazio of trying to avoid a discussion about his positions on health care and the economy by raising what she asserted were false claims about her commitment to Israeli security.

They accused each other of playing politics on everything from legislation to finance breast cancer treatment to abortion.

But the substance of the debate -- and there was some -- was frequently drowned out in the theatrics of the moment: Mr. Lazio turned red and angry as Mrs. Clinton criticized his ethics for taking contributions from the housing industry, and Mrs. Clinton folded her arms and looked sternly at him as he blamed her for the quality of schools in Arkansas.

"Can I just try to get the truth through for one moment please, Gabe?" Mr. Lazio said during one of a number of rounds in which both candidates demanded the floor from Mr. Pressman.

THE SENATE CAMPAIGN: THE OVERVIEW; Lazio and First Lady Quarrel On Ethics, Israel and Schools

"You don't know where to start with Mr. Lazio. He does go on," Mrs. Clinton said at another point, with what appeared to be an exaggerated exhibition of exasperation.

Mr. Pressman, 76, who has been moderating debates in New York politics since 1965, seemed like the teacher trying to take control of an unruly classroom for much of the session. "Order, please, order!" Mr. Pressman demanded. The request often went unheeded.

The debate was taped yesterday afternoon at WNBC studios and broadcast last night. The two candidates are seeking to succeed Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, a Democrat who is retiring after serving four terms in Washington.

In a departure from the previous debates, where both candidates stood behind lecterns, Mr. Lazio and Mrs. Clinton sat at a round table with Mr. Pressman, with bookshelves at their backs. The absence of lecterns or any time limits lent itself to something of a free-for-all. And by now, both candidates were experienced enough with debating, and with each other, that both seemed comfortable in the setting and primed for a fight.

Of the three debates, yesterday's was nearly as quarrelsome as the first one. Mr. Lazio was noticeably more combative than he was in the second debate, perhaps reflecting the pressure he may feel because of polls that show him slightly trailing Mrs. Clinton.

In this environment, it was hardly surprising that Mr. Lazio seemed startled midway into the debate when Mr. Pressman, reading from a series of e-mail news releases sent out by each campaign attacking the other, inquired if the two candidates disliked each other.

"It's not a matter of personal dislike," he finally said. He returned to what was his standard campaign speech, suggesting that the main differences between them were philosophical -- until Mrs. Clinton cut him off.

"This is what's called a filibuster, Gabe," she said. Mr. Pressman then asked Mrs. Clinton to name three things she liked about Mr. Lazio.

After hesitating a moment, she responded, "It seems like he has a very nice family. And that he, you know, has worked very hard. And that, you know, he's an attractive young man."

Mr. Lazio, who is a very youthful 42-year-old, gazed back at his opponent and said: "Well, I think you're an attractive woman. And I think you've got a very nice family. I'm sure you're a very good mother as well."

There was, at that, roars of laughter from the supporters of both candidates who had joined reporters to watch the taping on video monitors that had been set up in another studio, which is normally used by "Saturday Night Live."

At another point, Mr. Lazio became infuriated as Mrs. Clinton suggested -- "Let me perhaps enlighten you on his record," she said to Mr. Pressman -- that Mr. Lazio had taken campaign contributions in return for supporting a bill that weakened consumer protections on factory-made housing.

While it is true that Mr. Lazio accepted donations from housing industry executives in the late 1990's, the final bill that passed this year was modified to address concerns raised by consumer groups and the AARP, an alteration that Mrs. Clinton failed to mention when she attacked Mr. Lazio.

"That is absolutely false, and you know it Mrs. Clinton," Mr. Lazio said, a flash of anger in his eyes. "Please, do not make up things."

She responded by citing a report in The Daily News, but was interrupted by Mr. Lazio: "Let me tell you something, Mrs. Clinton: In eight years, there's one thing that I will not tolerate, and that's being dragged down into the mud. My reputation is impeccable. My integrity is impeccable. Never in my life has anybody accused me of doing a single thing because of who supported me."

THE SENATE CAMPAIGN: THE OVERVIEW; Lazio and First Lady Quarrel On Ethics, Israel and Schools

The first lady got her own opportunity to display anger at Mr. Lazio when he attacked her record on Israel, noting that she had been an early supporter of the creation of a Palestinian state and had raised \$50,000 at an event sponsored by a Muslim American group. The group's president has been accused of having expressed support for the right of Palestinians to use armed resistance against Israel. Mrs. Clinton decided this week to return the money.

Mr. Lazio suggested that there was a "question mark" next to Mrs. Clinton on Israel. The problem is "that many people around the world -- and the Palestinian Authority -- looks at you and your comments and your proximity to the White House and your role in the White House," Mr. Lazio said. "And when you call for a Palestinian state, when you accept contributions from people that support Hamas, when you invite them to the White House, and they're your guests, you send a message out to the world and to the Palestinian Authority that encourages violence to be used as a tool to achieve political ends."

Mrs. Clinton turned sternly to the camera and noted that she had returned the money. "I learned that an organization claimed credit for sponsoring a fund-raiser I attended. And it's an organization whose members have made statements that I find offensive and have condemned. And as soon as I found out the facts, I returned all of the money that was raised because I did not want anyone to have a false impression about my strong support for Israel's safety and security."

She later said, "There is no question mark next to me. There's an exclamation point. I am an emphatic, unwavering supporter of Israel's safety and security."

The two candidates also quarreled over Mr. Lazio's role in Congressional approval of legislation to finance breast cancer treatment for working poor women. President Clinton signed the bill without a ceremony in part, aides said, because he did not want to give his wife's opponent a prominent stage on an issue that could prove potent with women.

Both Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Lazio claimed some credit for the bill getting through, with Mr. Lazio insisting that he was the author of the legislation and had personally pushed it through the House. But the first lady said that her opponent was trying to gain political points with the bill, asserting that he had neglected it until shortly after he entered the race for Senate. "This bill, which he does try to take credit for, the credit really belongs to the breast cancer advocates," she said. "And in fact, I just don't think that this is a bill that we should be playing politics with."

Mr. Lazio interrupted her. "My opponent is playing politics with breast cancer right now," he said.

At Mr. Pressman's urging, the candidates returned to the topic of Mrs. Clinton's residency. Mr. Lazio noted, again, that he lived in New York all his life, and that "you can rest assured no matter what happens with this election, you check on me a year from now," and he would still be in the same Long Island home.

Mrs. Clinton also told Mr. Pressman that she intended to stay in New York for "the rest of my life." And to bolster her case that a non-New Yorker can serve the state, she pointed, in general terms, to a game between two New York teams that had dominated the news here for the past week. "What I was struck by was how, you know, people who weren't born in New York could deliver for New York," she said.

<http://www.nytimes.com>

Graphic

Photo: The third and final debate between the major United States Senate candidates, Rick A. Lazio and Hillary Rodham Clinton, which was moderated by Gabe Pressman, center, often turned contentious. (Marilynn K. Yee/The New York Times)(pg. B6)

THE SENATE CAMPAIGN: THE OVERVIEW; Lazio and First Lady Quarrel On Ethics, Israel and Schools

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End of Document

THEY'RE FIGHTING A BATTLE FOR LIFE. BUT WOULD THEY EVER KILL FOR IT?

The Scotsman

November 2, 1998, Monday

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Section: Pg. 9

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Byline: Allan Hall

Body

PRESIDENT Clinton went to extraordinary lengths to bring peace to the Middle East, but is incapable of stopping a war that has raged inside the United States for the past 25 years. Last weekend another front-line warrior in this conflict fell dead, shot by an assassin whose fanaticism is every bit as volatile as the suicide bombers of Hamas or Hezbollah.

The murder of abortion doctor Barnett Slepian inside his home shows that there is no armistice in this most protracted of conflicts - only periods of greater and lesser violence. The war between pro- and anti-abortionists has waged ever since the procedure was legalised, fuelled in this country of massive contradictions by an extreme religious right wing with easy access to lethal weapons.

In the past 25 years there have been 1,750 violent assaults - arsons, bombings, murders - committed by the often inappropriately named pro-lifers who answer to only that most partisan of leaders, God. Over 50 people have been killed, hundreds more wounded. Still more run gauntlets of hate and rage every day and return home at night to threatening e-mails, letters and suspect packages.

For a nation that prides itself on law and order and defeating terrorism, the United States has a palpable air of hypocrisy when it comes to the issue of abortion. Politicians are well aware of the clout wielded by the country's late-20th-century puritans and are keen to steer away from the controversy that surrounds terminating pregnancies when it comes to election time.

Washington's innate desire to make the whole thing disappear like a mad old aunt locked away in the cellar has emboldened a threatening new breed of anti-abortion terrorists who are prepared to kill to stop those they brand baby-murderers.

Pavement protesters - or "sidewalk counsellors" as they call themselves - have become a regular fixture outside family planning clinics.

They are generally right-wing Christians, carrying placards with slogans such as "Baptists for Life" and "Pro-Life Action League." Their aim is to persuade women against abortion and stop them going inside.

In their Websites, posted on the Internet, the groups boast about their success rates. One organisation claims to have stopped 26 women having abortions on a single day at a Chicago clinic. They also advocate picketing the homes of abortion doctors to try to "shame" them out of their communities. Most appear, or profess at least, to draw

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the line at violence and are seen by many clinic workers as a nuisance rather than a threat to life. But an underground militia movement operates through covert meetings and word-of-mouth, targeting doctors, nurses and clinic receptionists.

The militiamen are typically fundamental Christians with an obsessive interest in guns and government conspiracy theories. In these cases, links with bombed abortion clinics are hardly surprising. But in a country strangely at odds over its Christian beliefs and liberal politics, another, more sinister group of anti-abortion activists is emerging.

John Salvi, the architect of a 1994 bloodbath at a Massachusetts clinic in which two clinic receptionists died and five women were injured, is relatively easy to dismiss as a lone nutter - his hitlist even included members of his own family. But he embodies the new breed of assassin: men who set themselves up as protectors of the unborn, taking the personal choice of pregnant women out of the equation.

The Army of God is probably the most fanatical of the violent anti-abortion groups. Described as a loose network of anti-choice terrorists, they have been rallying support for the past four years and at one stage published a how-to manual on terrorism, bombing and arson.

Then there is Rachelle Shannon, serving 20 years in jail for shooting an abortion doctor in Wichita, Kansas. While in custody she admitted to a whole series of arson attacks on women's clinics. The FBI believes she may have been connected with other terrorist groups.

Double murderer Paul Hill is believed to be one of 30 leaders of extreme anti-choice groups. The FBI says he still commands his Defensive Action organisation from his jail cell.

In a paper sneaked out to his side-kick Gary McCullough, who runs the California-based Missionaries to the Preborn, he advocated killing abortion doctors as "justifiable." Another group called The Lambs of Christ calls family planning clinics "killing centres" and moves around the US like a band of nomadic warriors, picketing, protesting and, says the FBI, plotting terror attacks.

The FBI has so far been unable to contain these attacks on abortion clinics. "As a country we were proud of our terrorist-free record," says FBI agent John Azzimac. "The World Trade Center bomb was horrific, but we caught the Middle Eastern perpetrators immediately. When you discover we have home-grown terrorists determined to do your country down it is heartbreaking.

But I have to say the net will eventually close in on these excuses for human beings. Every time they set off a bomb or kill an abortion doctor they leave clues behind. It is only a matter of time before we stamp this out."

Security forces across the country have been on red alert all year as the pro - and anti- factions marked the 25th anniversary of legalised abortion in the US. But that did not save Slepian's life, or that of an off-duty policeman killed in a horrific bombing at a clinic in Birmingham, Alabama in January this year. A nurse was also critically injured in the blast.

Thirteen days earlier, bombs with sophisticated timers ripped through two abortion clinics near Atlanta, Georgia. Across the nation, the harassment, the arson and the shooting attacks have continued.

Such prolonged and sustained violence has achieved one intended effect: in the 31 states where abortion is legal, fewer doctors are willing to offer themselves up as moving targets. They don't want to dine in restaurants picketed by people with placards reading "Abortionists eat here", or check under their cars each morning with mirrors to ensure no bombs have been planted.

Hospitals, where 86 per cent of all abortions were once performed, now shun the business. Only 44 per cent of abortions are now performed in hospitals. The rest are carried out in private clinics and doctors' offices. Hospitals say they want to concentrate on better health care for all instead of "fringe" procedures for a few. But in channelling abortions to smaller clinics, the major institutions have assisted the fanatics in identifying their targets.

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For those intent on offering safe abortions in the US, keeping women out of the hands of back-street operations, the prospect of the religious Right winning the fight is a horrifying one. "If this country ever turns back the clock, it will be a black day," says David Grimes, of the Southern California School of Medicine. "I have personally taken care of women who have come to me from the clutches of the back-street abortionists and I never want to have to do that again." Some states have already implemented laws to restrict women's right to choose.

Illinois and Kentucky are among several which require a woman to gain consent from her husband before having her pregnancy terminated; Arkansas and Minnesota are among those which insist a minor must have parental permission. Other states have banned the use of public funds or will not allow Medicaid -public health insurance - to pay for them.

Paul Schuyler, a pro-choice activist in Los Angeles, says: " In the final days of this century we bow before religious fanatics who get their way through terror and change the law through the strength of their voting block. The possibility of Roe vs Wade - the landmark legislation which brought legal abortion back into this country - being reversed with the next conservative government that gets into power, is a very real one. No-one should be under any illusion that these puritans are powerful or that politicians are fickle.

"Why are we like this?" adds Schuyler. "That we can have laws protecting blacks and gays and other minorities, but not laws protecting our laws? It often seems we are powerless. I think the saddest thing of all is that these fanatics are mostly men telling women what they can and cannot do with their bodies."

Some 1.6 million abortions are carried out each year throughout the US, terminating almost a quarter of all pregnancies. Rich pickings for the back -street abortionists if violence carries the day.

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End of Document

Fear and longing for a state of their own: As much as Palestinians hanker for their own state, they are ambivalent about the practical impact. In the short term, they fear statehood will cut them off from jobs and other opportunities in Israel.

The Gazette (Montreal, Quebec)

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Byline: BARBARA DEMICK; KNIGHT RIDDER NEWSPAPERS

Dateline: AMALLAH, West Bank

Body

The personal ads speak of Palestinians' anxiety about the future. "Girl from Bethlehem, 18, student, fair-skinned, green-eyed, seeks man from inside the green line," reads one recent advertisement, using an expression that means Israel proper as opposed to the West Bank or Gaza. In another, a man describing himself as a 26-year-old intellectual from Ramallah says he wants to marry a woman "from within the green line," and "age and religion are unimportant."

There has been a wave of such ads in Fosta, a Palestinian women's magazine. Fawzi Abdo, 32, the publisher, says that more than half the personal advertisers in his magazine are West Bank or Gaza residents looking for a way out.

Although some advertise for spouses with foreign passports, it is far more popular to request a mate with Israeli documents. A West Banker who makes such a fortuitous match (usually with an Israeli Arab, occasionally with a Jew) can apply for an Israeli ID card.

And that card offers a potential escape valve from a future Palestinians both long for and fear: a Palestinian state.

"People don't have faith in the future of the Palestinian state. They're used to thinking of the worst and they'll figure, 'Better the devil you know than the devil you don't know,'" Abdo said. "They're looking for economic security. If they get an Israeli identity card, they'll be able to work."

It is one of the internal contradictions for Palestinians living here. As much as they hanker for a state of their own, they are ambivalent about the practical impact. In immediate terms, they fear that statehood will cut them off from jobs and other opportunities in Israel. In the long run, they recognize that the proto-state emerging under Yasser Arafat's leadership doesn't live up to their dreams of a homeland.

Recent polls show that Palestinians are hardly more enthusiastic about the prospect of statehood than Israeli Jews. The Centre for Palestine Research and Studies in Nablus found in a poll last month that only 45 per cent of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza supported Arafat's announced plan to unilaterally declare a state next May when a deadline for a negotiated settlement with Israel expires.

Fear and longing for a state of their own: As much as Palestinians hanker for their own state, they are ambivalent about the practical impact. In the short term....

Palestinians polled even gave higher marks to Israel than to Arafat's self-rule Palestinian Authority in respecting human rights. Asked to rate the level of "democracy and human rights" in Israel, 70 per cent of those polled answered good or very good, while only 27 per cent answered positively about the Palestinian Authority's track record.

"The Palestinian state is the dream of every Palestinian - this is what we've been fighting for all these years - but we want a democratic state that can give people jobs, that can give people civil rights," said Said Abdul Wahed, 45, who teaches romantic poetry at Al Azhar University in Gaza. "We watch the Israelis. They can demonstrate against the government, they can speak out. This is what we want, too."

The Palestinians have been lurching toward some kind of statehood since 1994, when they were granted limited autonomy in the West Bank and Gaza under the Oslo peace accords. They have their own license plates, passports and Olympic team. The International Telecommunications Union last week granted them their own international dialing code (970, as opposed to Israel's 972), though it will not take effect immediately.

Only six years ago, teenagers faced arrest if they were caught with anything resembling a Palestinian flag. Nowadays, the red, white, green and black flag is in every Palestinian office.

For all the heady symbolism of potential statehood, the daily lot of Palestinians has not improved. If anything, it has got worse - at least economically. Per-capita income among Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza has dropped 23 per cent since the start of the Oslo process, according to the International Monetary Fund. And although to say so publicly would be tantamount to treachery against Palestine, it is not uncommon to hear quiet grumbling that life was better under the Israeli occupation.

One reason is that Israel's frequent closing of its borders - usually prompted by some kind of anti-Israel violence in the territories - prevents Palestinians from reaching their jobs inside Israel. Roughly 40 per cent of Palestinians' personal income is earned from work in Israel. Not without reason, they fret that statehood will mean more separation from Israel, tighter border crossings and further loss of income.

Hence, the craze for Palestinians to seek spouses living within Israel - "blue marriages," as they are nicknamed after the coveted blue Israeli identity card.

"It's no secret. Whoever has a blue ID card has freedom of movement and can get through the checkpoints," Israeli Interior Minister Eli Suissa said in a recent interview. He said that so many Palestinians are applying for Israeli identity cards that his office has a backlog of 10,000 applications just for Jerusalem. "What's happening is that people who live in the territories find it better and more secure (in Israel). I can understand that."

As it stands, more than 90 per cent of the Palestinian population in the West Bank lives under Palestinian rule, in a scattering of disconnected areas amounting to 27 per cent of the territory. If the Wye agreement reached last month is implemented, the land total under Palestinian rule will jump to 40 per cent. (The agreement does not affect the territorial division on the Gaza Strip, which is 60 per cent under Palestinian rule.)

Is it enough land on which to build a viable state? Palestinian critics of the Oslo process say no, and that Arafat is effectively building a jail with token self-rule by the inmates.

"It is not that people don't want the Palestinian state as a matter of self-determination. It is our right," said Hanan Ashrawi, a former member of the Palestinian cabinet who parted ways with Arafat over the summer. "They are afraid that Israel will exploit the idea of statehood and we will be enclosed on these little reservations."

Arafat's personal approval rating in the polls is at its lowest level since 1994, according to the Centre for Palestine Research and Studies.

Palestinians frequently complain that their 69-year-old leader is too frail to go up against the pugnacious Israeli prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, in the tough negotiations. Several of his key players, Ashrawi being the most

Fear and longing for a state of their own: As much as Palestinians hanker for their own state, they are ambivalent about the practical impact. In the short term....

prominent, resigned last summer after Arafat broke a promise to reshuffle his cabinet and clean up the mismanagement and corruption riddling his four-year-old government.

Ashrawi blames a guerrilla mentality left over from the years that the PLO was in exile in Tunis. "This is not a revolution any more, this is a government. When they came back from Tunis, they had to learn how to work within a civil society. It is that transition that is not happening," she said. "If the leadership loses the support of the people, they will have to resort to undemocratic means."

The peace agreement signed Oct. 23 at Wye has only accentuated the weaknesses among the Palestinian leaders. Arafat, apparently trying to live up to a promise to crack down on terrorism, has ordered the arrest of hundreds of Islamic militants - some of them potential terrorists, but others political opponents. Journalists were even arrested when they tried to interview Sheik Ahmed Yassin, the spiritual leader of Hamas, the night the Wye pact was signed in Washington.

If further signs were needed of an ineffectual government, the Palestinian Authority's attempt to confiscate illegal weapons resulted in a tragic farce. Two different Palestinian police agencies led by quarreling factions of Arafat's Fatah party ended up in a shoot-out with each other. An 18-year-old high-school student, Wassim Tarifi, was killed in the Oct. 25 incident.

"I don't see how we can have a Palestinian state in May if this sort of thing is happening. Maybe we're not ready," said Amal Krieshe, a 40-year-old women's activist who attended the student's funeral in Ramallah.

There were more than 5,000 people at the funeral, a large crowd for a demonstration that was neither anti-Israeli nor pro- Islamic. Among the hand-drawn banners carried by the protesters was one reading, "A homeland where we cannot preserve our existence, we don't deserve."

Graphic

Photo: AFP / Sign indicates a new border point in Jenin, from which the Israeli army withdrew yesterday.

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A Q&A about the creation of Palestinian state

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Byline: BILL MAXWELL

Body

Shortly after the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center, President George W. Bush indicated that he had been considering the creation of a Palestinian state. On Monday, Secretary of State Colin Powell said in a speech at the University of Louisville that the administration believes the creation of a Palestinian state might pave the way for a lasting peace in the war-torn region. "We have a vision of a region where two states - Israel and Palestine - live side by side within secure and recognized borders," Powell said.

Both Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon and Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat have publicly welcomed Powell's remarks. But, citing a history of murder, programmed hatred, military aggression and broken promises on the part of Palestinians, several Jewish organizations in Israel and the United States vehemently oppose the creation of a Palestinian state. One of the most vocal opponents is Morton Klein, president of the New York-based Zionist Organization of America. St. Petersburg Times columnist Bill Maxwell, who has traveled in the Middle East and written about it extensively, talked last week with Klein about the advisability of a Palestinian state and related issues. Following are edited excerpts:

Q: Over and over, the issues of land and settlement construction in the disputed territories seem to be at the core of the current conflict between Israelis and Palestinians. Is this view correct?

MAXWELL COL

A: The Arab war against Israel began almost 100 years ago, before there was an Israel, before there was a single Jewish community in Judea, Samaria and Gaza, before there were settlements. Six Arab nations invaded Israel in 1948, when the land was even smaller than Israel is today, when there were no settlements. The Arabs invaded Israel in 1956 and 1967, when the Arabs controlled Judea, Samaria and Gaza, East Jerusalem, the Golan and the Sinai.

So the Arab war against Israel has nothing to do with settlements and has nothing even to do with land. It has to do with the Arabs refusing to accept a non-Muslim entity with sovereignty in the Middle East. That's one of the reasons they destroyed Lebanon, which was essentially a Christian country run by Christians. They destroyed Lebanon, and they don't want Israel there because it's a Jewish country, a non-Muslim country in their midst, and that's what the problem is.

It is not land. If it were land, why, when the Arabs controlled the West Bank and Gaza, why didn't they set up a PLO state then? Why was the PLO set up in 1964, three years before Israel captured those lands in a defensive war? The PLO was set up to destroy Israel. The issue is not the West Bank. The issue's not settlements. The issue is Israel's existence itself.

A Q&A about the creation of Palestinian state

Q: Before talking about the advisability of a Palestinian state, what are some other problems that contribute to the perpetual violence?

A: One of the problems in the Arab world is a constant promotion of hatred and violence and even murder against infidels, and they say explicitly Americans, Christians and Jews. That is how they're able to get so many people willing to kill themselves in order to kill Americans or Christians or Jews because they think that this is a holy act, to kill infidels. That is taught to them in the textbooks, in the schools, sermons, speeches, newspapers, promoting this terrible cultural hatred and violence against the West.

That has to be a priority of the West, especially of America, to confront this issue and demand that the Arabs change the culture that promotes this hatred. Arab culture, under Arafat - the culture of hatred against Jews - is the same as the culture of hatred against Jews in Germany in the late 1940s. The difference now is that the Jews have an army, and the Jews have a country to defend themselves. If that would change, it would be an important step toward getting a real conciliation between the Arab-Muslim world and the Western-Christian and Jewish world.

The way (the Arab leaders) get a thousand kids into the streets to shoot Israelis and Israeli soldiers is to have the schools teach that Jews are slime, they're vermin, they're the bane of civilization, they're racist, they're evil.

Q: Forget ancient history. Should there be a Palestinian state now?

A: When Bush began this war against terrorism, he said - and quite rightly - we must end terrorist states and those who harbor terrorists. If we establish a Palestinian state, we will be creating a new terrorist state under Yasser Arafat's dictatorial regime. There've been no elections since 1996, no term elections. (The Palestinian Authority) has the worst human rights abuses imaginable.

They arrest people for political reasons. Human Rights Watch International said over half the people they arrest are tortured in prison. Dozens have been killed in prison. They abuse women, professors are arrested when they preach things that Arafat doesn't like, journalists are arrested regularly when they write things he doesn't like, newspapers are closed when they write things he doesn't like.

I think it is in America's interest to limit terrorist states, not create new ones. So, under these circumstances, where Arafat's regime will clearly be a terrorist regime promoting hatred and terror against Jews and Christians and the West, I think it would be a terrible mistake. By George Bush announcing that he has a vision for a Palestinian state, he merely said only if they recognize Israel, respect the voters and end violence - he gave those qualifications. I think it was a tactical mistake to make this statement now.

After 5,000 Americans were killed in the twin towers and the Pentagon, he has sent a message to this terrorist world: If you kill Americans, you'll change American policy. This is the first time an American president ever publicly supported a Palestinian state. You don't do that after 5,000 Americans are killed. A very dangerous message was sent.

Q: Am I to believe that hatred is a one-way street? That Jews don't hate Arabs?

A: If the Arabs did not continue murdering Israelis, almost on a daily basis, promoting hatred in their culture, Israeli Jews would not feel any enmity toward Arabs whatsoever. They would be living in peace with them. The only reason Jews have negative feelings toward Arabs is because they kill us almost every day, and they promote killing us. It's obviously a natural reaction. In Israeli textbooks, we don't call Arabs racist and bigots and haters and killers.

In fact, (Israelis) have changed their textbooks in a way to explain Arabs in a very positive way. They're trying to bring them closer together and get the peace. You don't hear any Israeli leaders promoting hatred against the Arab people, that we should kill innocent Arab citizens. That doesn't occur in the Jewish world. If they'd supported the establishment of a Palestinian-Arab state in 1948 and lived peacefully without terrorism, no Israelis would be hating Arabs. It's their own actions and culture that induces Jews to rightly feel uncomfortable about the Arab intent about Jews.

A Q&A about the creation of Palestinian state

Q: Many Jews and their supporters place all the blame for the region's crises in Israel, the West Bank and Gaza squarely on the shoulders of Arafat. Is this a fair assessment of the PLO leader's complicity? What can he do make himself legitimate in your eyes?

A: You can't have peace if Arafat refuses to arrest killers, members of **Hamas** and Islamic Jihad, and give them long prison terms. These are unequivocal terrorist groups. You can't have peace if he's glorifying killers. Arafat names streets for suicide bombers, honoring them, glorifying them. Arafat pays families of suicide bombers \$ 15,000. If you die trying to kill Israelis, you get a \$ 15,000 fee, and Saudi Arabia is one of the (countries) that funds this.

Fundamentally, Arafat's got to prevent and fight terror, he's got to recognize Israel's right to exist on his maps, and he's got to honor human rights and end anti-Israel propaganda.

Q: Everyone focuses on Arafat as being the problem. Are you concerned about who may follow him?

A: We must understand that Arafat is only part of the problem. Polls show that 73 percent of Palestinian Arabs support suicide bombings against Israelis. Seventy percent of Palestinian Arabs do not support the right of Israel to exist. The numbers are higher at universities. It goes into the 90s (percent) at the universities, which is supposedly the intellectual people or the smartest people. So the problem is the Palestinian Arab people have been taught well by Arafat's regime. If Arafat would die, many people would support someone like Abu Mazen, who wrote his Ph.D. thesis at the University of Cairo saying that the Holocaust is a myth that the Jews have created to gain sympathy in the world. You've got a Holocaust denier as the No. 2 man who's made extremely negative statements about Israel and Jews.

I'm afraid the problem's not just Arafat. If he goes, it will not improve anything because he's now created a culture where the entire culture hates Jewish people, hates Israel.

Q: Given his violent history with Arabs, why should Palestinians see Sharon as a serious peace partner?

A: Sharon has stated that Israel is willing to make painful compromises - those are his words - to get a real peace with an Palestinian Arab-regime that is serious about peace. And he says once they arrest the killers and end this incitement - he calls it incitement - he's willing to negotiate. Sharon has stopped any new communities from being built in Judaica, Samaria or Gaza.

In fact, Sharon has said something very important that people don't say: Why is it that America and the world are demanding that Israel stop building new homes in Judaica and Samaria and the disputed land, while the Arabs are building new homes at 10 times the rate of the Jews in Judaica and Samaria. And he says if we're going to stop building, Arafat should stop building and then we'll negotiate the disputed land and we'll hopefully come to some resolution.

In speech after speech, Sharon makes it clear he's willing to make painful compromises and live in peace with the Palestinian Arabs.

Graphic

PHOTO; Morton Klein

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Morality and War

Christian Science Monitor (Boston, MA)

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

Body

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Morality and War

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

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

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

Protecting the innocent

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

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

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

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

Morality and War

* proportionality - use of the least destructive force possible.

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

Principles of jihad

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

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

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

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

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

The principles of war in that tradition include:

* a purpose of self defense.

* proportionality of response.

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

* cessation war if the enemy seeks reconciliation.

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

Morality and War

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

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

Fighting the infidels

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Countering terrorism

Morality and War

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

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

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

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**BOOKS: FREELANCE BELIEVERS;
DEVOUT SCEPTICS COULD DO WORSE THAN TACKLE TWO NEW BOOKS
WHICH ILLUMINATE THE HUMAN CONDITION BY EXPLORING RELIGIOUS
CONCEPTS, SAYS PETER STANFORD**

The Independent (London)

April 9, 2000, Sunday

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Section: FEATURES; Pg. 43, 44

Length: 1587 words

Byline: Peter Stanford

Body

The Battle For God

By Karen Armstrong

HARPERCOLLINS pounds 19.99

The Changing Faces of Jesus

By Geza Vermes

ALLEN LANE pounds 18.99

The remorseless marginalisation of religion from the mainstream of our secular and technological world has created sad little grottoes in large bookshops - the religion shelves, or, more often, shelf. Tucked away somewhere at the back of the store, between the staff loo and remaindered guides by yesterday's radio gardeners, are the rows of earnest paperbacks in badly designed jackets put out by specialist religious publishing houses to preach to the converted. Mixed in with this insipid crop are dusty academic tomes on such specialist obsessions as the use of the personal pronoun in Saint Paul, and occasionally a touch of glamour is provided by a guest appearance from a "celebrity" like Jonathan Aitken, telling how they met the Lord on Sandwich beach. If George Carey is wondering why organised religion has managed to become so irrelevant to most people's lives, then it is tempting to suggest he need look no further than his local branch of Waterstone's.

However, there is help at hand. Though they will probably be hoping that their books end up displayed somewhere more glamorous than the religion section - the fashionable Mind, Body and Spirit shelves, for instance, have a certain 21st-century pizzazz - Karen Armstrong and Geza Vermes have both produced works that challenge the accepted wisdom that writing about God is the Cinderella area of publishing. The Battle for God: Fundamentalism in Judaism, Christianity and Islam and The Changing Faces of Jesus both, in their very different ways, show that clever, fascinating, worldly and witty writers can illuminate the human condition for a wide audience by exploring religious concepts.

BOOKS: FREELANCE BELIEVERS; DEVOUT SCEPTICS COULD DO WORSE THAN TACKLE TWO NEW BOOKS WHICH ILLUMINATE THE HUMAN CONDITION BY EXPLORING RELIGIOUS CONCEPTS, SAYS

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It is hard in our culture to say the word "fundamentalist" without slipping in before it, either mentally or verbally, another word - Islamic. From kidnappers in Beirut through bombers of civilian aircraft and on

to burners of books on the streets of Bradford, the impression of an omnipresent Islamic fundamentalism was scorched on to the Western consciousness in the final quarter of the 20th century. It is, needless to say, regarded as a Bad Thing, having shoved aside that nice pro-western Shah of Iran, forced women to hide their faces behind unflattering veils, and punished minor criminals according to some barbaric medieval code that sees thieves mutilated and adulterers stoned to death. In the face of such an overwhelmingly negative press, Islam and its adherents have long struggled to present another view of themselves.

After reading Karen Armstrong's *The Battle for God*, however, it will be impossible to think of fundamentalists in the same way again. First Armstrong demolishes the assumed exclusive link between Islam and fundamentalism by charting, in their technicolour awfulness, the worst excesses of Christian and Jewish fundamentalism down the ages, from the brutal campaign forcibly to convert the Jews of Spain after the triumph of Ferdinand and Isabella in 1492, through to those West Bank settlers whose prayerful aim is to derail every attempt to bring peace to the Middle East.

Then she challenges the stereotype of Islam. On the incidentals like the veil, for instance, she points out that it does not necessarily imply a return to the past. "A large number of the women who opted for Islamic dress in the universities were among the first members of their family to have advanced beyond basic literacy ... Their dress was, therefore, a 'modern' version of the clothes worn by the women in their family." And when it comes to, in Western eyes, the ultimate Islamic fundamentalist bogeyman, the Ayatollah Khomeini, Armstrong portrays him as a mainly pragmatic figure who took the revolutionary and un-Islamic step of assuming political power as part of an individual but by no means extremist spiritual philosophy known as Velayat-e Faqih.

I should make clear that Armstrong herself carries no particular torch for Islam. A former Catholic nun, she now describes herself as a "freelance monotheist" - ie, one who feels the attraction of the three great faiths, but who can also see all too plainly their drawbacks. She is not indulging in special pleading for Muslims, rather she is redressing the widespread ignorance with which they are regarded in our culture. Moreover, *The Battle for God* has a broader and deeper remit than simply putting right the mistakes of history. For there is a challenging and overarching thesis, namely that fundamentalism is a reaction to a changing world and that it is born out of the very changes that most of us are so enthusiastically promoting. So fundamentalism is not something separate from us, as most of us choose to believe, but rather the creation of our own obsession with progress.

In our own times it is the advance of science and reason that prompts fear, dislocation and a return to tried and trusted religious beliefs in people's hearts, just as in past generations it was political upheavals, the dawn of the enlightenment, the advance of industrialisation, the birth of consumerism and so on. "The desire to define doctrines, erect barriers, establish borders and segregate the faithful in a sacred enclave where the law is stringently observed springs from the terror of extinction which has made all fundamentalists, at one time or another, believe that the secularists were about to wipe them out." The challenge for those who wish to understand fundamentalism, then, is to think themselves into the mindset where the modern world with all its freedoms and possibilities becomes, not a treasure-chest of opportunity, but hell on earth.

Taking the argument on to another level - and *The Battle for God*, like her best-known work, *A History of God*, works on a whole series of different planes - Armstrong locates the growth of fundamentalism in the late 20th century in the revival of a spiritual system that had hitherto been widely declared redundant. This system allowed for two different but complementary ways of arriving at the truth - through myths that expressed something timeless and constant about the human state, and through reason which related exactly to facts and corresponded to external realities. In the past these two approaches had coexisted to enable humankind to make sense of our lives, spiritual and secular. But as the 20th century rejected myths and embraced reason, it gave rise to a fundamentalist reaction that placed great emphasis on myth. Hence the Bible-literalists of the southern United States who are

BOOKS: FREELANCE BELIEVERS; DEVOUT SCEPTICS COULD DO WORSE THAN TACKLE TWO NEW BOOKS WHICH ILLUMINATE THE HUMAN CONDITION BY EXPLORING RELIGIOUS CONCEPTS, SAYS

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convinced that the year 2000 will see an exact re-enactment of the apocalyptic scenario detailed in the Book of Revelation. If you feel excluded from the modern world, you wish its destruction by a supernatural power.

The Battle for God is a superb and towering work of popular and thought-provoking scholarship. It shares with The Changing Faces of Jesus an iconoclastic bent, encouraging readers to discard the preconceptions imposed on them by various religious institutions and immerse themselves in the social, political and human backdrop to key moments in the development of faith. Geza Vermes, the English-speaking world's leading authority on the Dead Sea Scrolls, is not the first scholar to suggest that the Christ of Christianity has little to do with the Jesus who made such a splash in first-century Palestine, but he is certainly one of the most authoritative, readable and persuasive.

Building on a lifetime's work - latterly as Professor of Jewish Studies at Oxford - Vermes attempts a new understanding of the gospels and the writings of Paul by placing them alongside other contemporary documents, notably the Dead Sea Scrolls themselves and the Mishnah and Talmud of the rabbis that date from between AD200 and 500. His aim is not to construct an alternative profile from alternative sources, but rather to use these Jewish documents to understand better the man at the heart of the gospels. For as Vermes elegantly and succinctly shows, by the end of its first century, Christianity, and especially the version promoted by Paul and John, had made up a Jesus to suit the Greek-speaking, pagan, Mediterranean world of classic civilisation where they planned that the church would thrive.

Part of this process was a matter of language. Jesus spoke in Aramaic, but has come down to us through Greek translations of what he said and did. Yet languages do not always have direct equivalents of each other's phrases. At the most basic level, the Aramaic "son of God", meaning literally a child of God and therefore not one marked out above all others, became in Greek something that implied an equal status to God himself. But mostly it was the desire of the early Christian leaders to distance themselves from the Judaism that had given birth to their church. It was a messy divorce and each side told its share of distortions and half-truths.

Easter, which we celebrate in two weeks' time, is by tradition one of the times of the year when those who have turned their backs on religion look over their shoulder to make sure they are not missing anything. To these briefly devout sceptics, can I suggest that, in addition to the rare bout of church-going, they read these two books? If it has to be a choice, then opt for the books. They might just leave something to keep you going for the rest of the year.

Peter Stanford's biography of Bronwen Astor was published last month by HarperCollins

Graphic

By the Book (1) Anti-Rushdie demonstrations in Bradford (2) A tattooed Christian on Sunset Boulevard, Hollywood (3) Hamas in Gaza (4); Baptism at a Christian rock concert, 1988

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Prime Ministers

The Gazette (Montreal, Quebec)
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Body

Here's a look at the prime ministers of the state of Israel since 1948:

David Ben-Gurion

(1948-54; 1955-63)

Israel's founder, first prime minister and first minister of defence was 20 years old in 1906 when he arrived in Palestine. He was born in Plonsk, Poland, which was then controlled by Czarist Russia. Ben-Gurion became a tireless advocate for Zionism and workers' rights. From 1921 to 1935, he was secretary of the trade-union movement Histadut and a founder of the Israel Labour party, which would lead Israel for its first three decades.

Ben-Gurion was tough and single-minded, and without his bold political savvy and clear vision, Israel might not have survived through its tenuous early months and years. Among his numerous state-building successes, he formed Israel's Defence Forces (IDF).

Ben-Gurion was prime minister from 1948 to 1963, except for two years from 1953 when he went to his beloved kibbutz, Sede Boker, deep in the Negev Desert, to rest and write. He died there in 1973 and entered Israel's political lexicon as a much-loved, greatly respected national father figure.

Moshe Sharett

(1953-55)

Born in Russia in 1894, Sharett emigrated with his family to Palestine in 1906. He was a lawyer and also studied at the London School of Economics. In 1946, he and other Zionist leaders were arrested by the British and spent four months in jail. Although relatively unknown compared with other leaders of his day, Sharett was Israel's first foreign minister and a significant player in the early days of the state. He forged ties between Israel and Western democracies and made contacts with developing nations in Africa and Asia.

Sharett's short tenure as leader was undermined by a scandal known as the Lavon affair, in which the Israel secret service simulated unrest against the British in an effort to keep the British from leaving Egypt. The retired Ben-Gurion was called back to replace Sharett in November 1955.

Although Sharett stayed on as foreign minister, he quarreled with Ben-Gurion and resigned from government a year later.

Prime Ministers

Still, he remained influential in Israeli politics until his death in 1965.

Levi Eshkol

(1963-69)

One of Israel's most dovish leaders, Eshkol was born in the Kiev district of Ukraine in 1895. After arriving in Palestine in 1914 as part of a youth organization, he worked as a common farm labourer.

After independence, Ben-Gurion appointed Eshkol his right-hand man at the defence ministry. A year later, Eshkol became head of the Land Settlement Department of the Jewish Agency. In subsequent cabinets, he was both agriculture and finance minister. Eshkol made significant contributions to Israel's economic development, but is best known as the prime minister who led Israel through the Six Day War in 1967. He died, in office, in 1969.

Golda Meir:

(1969-74)

Born in Kiev in 1898, Golda Meir was raised in Milwaukee, and moved to Palestine at 23 with her husband, Morris Myerson. She soon became involved in women's labour issues and moved quickly up the political ladder. After independence, she was Israel's first minister in Moscow, but returned a year later to become minister of labour. When she became foreign minister in 1956, she Hebraized her name to Golda Meir. She had retired from public life when Prime Minister Eshkol died, but was persuaded to become Israel's fourth prime minister by her former colleagues in the Labour party.

She led Israel through the traumatic, near-disastrous Yom Kippur War and took much of the political blame for the war. She resigned in 1974.

Yitzhak Rabin

(1974-77, 1992-95)

One of Israel's most famed military leaders, Rabin entered political life as a hard-liner who applied strategic military thinking to his role as statesman and diplomat. He was the country's first sabra (Israeli-born) prime minister, riding into office as a political novice on a wave of disappointment and anger over the Yom Kippur War.

Rabin's first term ended in a scandal over a bank account he and his wife opened in the United States during the five years he was Israel's ambassador and continued to use when they returned home (it was illegal for Israelis to have a foreign bank account unless serving abroad).

Rabin's second term, which ended in his assassination at a peace rally in 1995, was a work in progress. He was an unwilling participant in the Israeli-Palestinian peace talks initiated by his foreign minister and old nemesis, Shimon Peres.

Menachem Begin

(1977-83)

Israel's first non-socialist prime minister was born in Brest-Litovsk (later Poland) in 1913 and was nearly 30 when he arrived in Palestine as a member of the Free Polish Army during World War II. He stayed to command the extremist Jewish military force Irgun. At the outbreak of the war, he was arrested by the Russians and spent two years in concentration camps. After Israeli independence, he founded the Herut (Freedom) party and was its leader until he retired from public life in 1983.

Begin then developed a reputation as a gifted speaker and writer and political hard-liner. It surprised many when he became the first Israeli prime minister to meet officially and publicly with an Arab head of state, when Egyptian leader Anwar Sadat visited Jerusalem in November 1977. He led Israel's delegation in peace negotiations with

Prime Ministers

Egypt; he also signed the Camp David Accords in September 1978 with Sadat and U.S. President Jimmy Carter. Begin and Sadat shared that year's Nobel Peace Prize.

Although the accord brought lasting peace with Israel's major adversary, Begin made major concessions, including the removal of Jewish settlements from the Sinai. He resigned on Sept. 16, 1983, at the height of his popularity. He died in March 1992.

Yitzhak Shamir

(1983-84, 1986-92)

Shamir, born in Rozhinay, Poland, in 1915, emigrated to Palestine at 23 after finishing his law degree at Warsaw University. Shamir joined Irgun in 1937 and rose quickly through the ranks, but later split with its leadership.

He joined a breakaway faction called the Stern Gang, which launched a terror campaign against the British. He was arrested twice, but escaped both times.

Shamir, who said openly he did not trust Arabs, joined Begin's Herut party in 1970. Although he was loyal to Begin, initially he was strongly opposed to the peace agreement with Sadat's Egypt.

When Begin resigned, Shamir was the compromise candidate, but subsequent elections in 1984 and 1988 left him frustrated and having to form coalitions with Shimon Peres and the Labour party. He shared the prime minister's job with Peres in the first term. He resigned in 1992.

Shimon Peres

(1984-86, 1995-96)

Polish-born Peres lived for many years on a kibbutz and followed a familiar path into politics through the Haganah. After the War of Independence, he studied at Harvard and New York universities and procured arms for Israel in his spare time. He was first elected to the Knesset in 1959 and has been in power, or on the fringes of it, ever since. Political fate threw Peres and Yitzhak Rabin together during both of Rabin's terms in office, but the two were never friendly.

The two men shared, with PLO leader Yasser Arafat, the 1994 Nobel Peace Prize.

Peres saw his last chance for a clear election victory disappear after Rabin's assassination. Peres's seemingly unassailable lead in the polls withered when Islamic fundamentalist **Hamas** terrorists launched an assault in Israel during the election campaign to derail the peace process.

Now 74, Peres heads a peace institute dedicated to fostering economic relations between Israel, Palestinians and Arab countries. He remains convinced the peace process is the only viable option for Israel.

Benjamin Netanyahu (1996-present)

Netanyahu, born in Tel Aviv in 1949, lived in the United States as a teenager and graduated with an MBA from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He was Israel's ambassador to the United Nations from 1984-88 and became leader of the Likud party in 1993. Netanyahu is an expert on terrorism and is a director of the Jonathan Institute, which researches terrorism. It is named for his brother, who was killed leading the rescue of hijacked airline passengers during the 1976 raid on Entebbe.

Netanyahu, whose fragile government is supported by a mixed bag of parties, has stalled the peace process and become embroiled in a war of words with the Palestinians. It isn't clear whether he personally agrees with the compromises his coalition partners have forced on him or whether it conforms with his own view. He remains under constant pressure from Israel's Western allies to kick-start peace talks and finish the job started by Rabin and Peres.

Graphic

Photo: Netanyahu: faces pressure for peace talks.

Photo: Begin: won Nobel Peace Prize.

Photo: Ben-Gurion: founded state.

Photo: Golda Meir was blamed for war.

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Letters to the Editor

The Daily Telegraph (Sydney, Australia)

November 24, 2001, Saturday

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

Length: 3712 words

Body

Fresh look at old conflict

I congratulate Piers Akerman on his assessment of the Middle East conflict ("Holy city's heart beats in conflict," Daily Telegraph, November 22). How refreshing to read an opinion piece that does not follow the standard propaganda line spun by the Palestinian PR machine for years.

Akerman tells it how it is: Hamas and Islamic Jihad are killers, nothing more, while Israel has bent over backwards to placate the Palestinians but has received nothing in return but terror and violence.

Ian Fraser, Rockdale

Thank you, Piers Akerman, for the most comprehensive and objective essay on the Middle East situation I have read to date. It is a conflict that can only be clearly understood when placed in its historical context, as Piers Akerman has done.

MATP

I am proud to read that Australia had a role in establishing the only democratic country in that part of the world.

I share Akerman's concern for the future of the Palestinian Arabs. How can they ever be led to nationhood by "the grandfather of terrorism" who knows only the language of conflict and confrontation, which he uses when directing his government, police and terrorist support groups?

Leone Hersh, North Bondi

Thanks to Piers Akerman for an excellent opinion piece. It gave a fair assessment of the historical complexities of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

If Arafat wants peace, let him first change the "violently anti-Jewish content of the Palestinian media". The media is the mouthpiece of the Palestinian Authority and has created an entire generation of Arab children who are brought up to hate Jews.

Debbie Freeman,

Bellevue Hill

I never expected Piers Akerman to mention Israel's crimes in his article on the conflict in the Middle East. You could hardly expect him to be critical when the Israeli Foreign Ministry is sponsoring his tour.

Letters to the Editor

Since the beginning of the Palestinian uprising a little over a year ago, more than 600 people have been killed in conflict -- three-quarters of them Palestinian.

Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon recently admitted that 79 Palestinians had been killed in a three-week period in October and November this year when Israeli forces occupied Palestinian towns. On October 24, the Israeli army surrounded the Palestinian village of Beit Rama. Troops entered the village and killed five people. On the same day, the US Senate approved \$US2.76 billion in aid to Israel, with \$US2.04 billion earmarked as special military aid.

There are 400,000 settlers living in Israeli settlements in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip -- territories occupied illegally by Israel since 1967. The "generous offer" made to Yasser Arafat by former prime minister Ehud Barak would enshrine this illegal occupation and give the Palestinian Authority control of just 17 per cent of the West Bank and 60 per cent of Gaza. The 3.5 million Palestinians living outside of their homeland would be denied the right to return.

Unemployment in Gaza has increased from 15 per cent in 2000 to 60 per cent today as a result of Israel closing its borders to Palestine, and 80 per cent of the population lives in poverty.

Western leaders constantly talk about solving the Palestinian problem, but they have done nothing to curb the excesses of the Israeli military.

Jarvis Ryan, Annandale

How refreshing to hear the truth about Yasser Arafat.

Piers Akerman writes how Arafat, "as the grandfather of terrorism, has influence over the killers of Hamas, Islamic Jihad and Hezbollah". Specific mention is also made of the anti-Jewish nature of the Palestinian media and how incitement creates entire generations of Arab children who were brought up to hate Jews.

A particularly poignant sentence is where Akerman writes that he was sitting not 200m away from where a bomb exploded on Tuesday. He also mentions the 40 Israeli teenagers killed in two of the more serious suicide bombings this year.

This is a remarkable piece of journalism from a true supporter of peace and justice. Arafat is turning a blind eye and supporting terrorist attacks while Israel has done all it can to address the Arab world's concerns, to no avail.

Akerman's writing is journalism at its best.

Michael Podgoetsky, Bondi

You must be congratulated on publishing such a refreshing and remarkable piece of journalism. Piers Akerman is specific and accurate, he is a true supporter of peace and justice.

Congratulations, and keep the truth coming.

Bethaney Franks,

Para Hills, SA

Pier Akerman gives us a one-sided view of the events happening in the Middle East. He describes Yasser Arafat as the so-called "grandfather of terrorism" and goes further to reveal that some Israelis had been killed in bomb blasts recently.

Letters to the Editor

Mr Akerman fails to mention that 771 Palestinian children, women, sons and husbands have been murdered, as compared with 189 Israelis. So who is the grandfather of terrorism? This week, five Palestinian children on their way to school were killed by

an unexploded shell left by Israel soldiers.

Palestine is not allowed to have an army, yet America provides Israel with the latest tanks, fighter planes and weapons. At its leisure, Israel regularly occupies Palestinian land, kidnapping the city's young men who it suspects of terrorism.

Why do we turn a blind eye to all this, when if it was any other nation we would be in uproar? At least 5000 people die a month in Iraq because of sanctions set upon it by the US. Why does mankind view these lives as a number, and a Western life as a tragedy? Why do we approve the killing of Palestinians, Iraqis and Afghanistan civilians, yet scream murder and horror when a western life is killed?

An innocent civilian is an innocent civilian regardless of country, colour, race or power.

M. Kattar, Chester Hill

Quentin might be the man

When the ABC board appoints a new general manager, the successful applicant must have media experience, but of equal importance he/she must have the confidence of the staff, otherwise we will have a repetition of the Jonathan Shier debacle.

Searching for a replacement, I hope consideration is given to filling the position from within the organisation. One person who appeals to me is the vastly experienced broadcaster and host of Stateline, Quentin Dempster.

Bill Alcock,

Port Macquarie

Right on, Barry Benson (Letters, November 20). The sooner John Howard institutes a broad-reaching public inquiry (royal commission) into the deeply entrenched, left-wing bias of "our" national broadcaster, the better. We all pay for this political prejudice.

We must demand a voice in bringing about the necessary balance.

G. Hall, Chatswood

After all, it's only a game

After seeing the poor reception that our Socceroos received upon arrival in Uruguay, why don't they turn around and come home? They won the first leg 1-0, so even if they forfeit the return match they should still qualify for the World Cup.

It is only a game, but these South Americans are carrying on like terrorists.

Michael Harradine, Harbord

Spitting in people's faces, screaming profanities at them -- expletives definitely not deleted -- and subjecting Australian soccer players to moronic physical violence; what is it with these types? Nothing to do with sport, that's blindingly clear.

We don't see this lunatic behaviour directed at visiting rugby players, which transparently demonstrates why the game is the one they play in heaven.

Letters to the Editor

Up the Wallabies.

George Williams, Waverley

Forced to conform

I take issue with Stephen Power of Jannali on compulsory voting ("Poll privilege," Letters, November 23). Australia is the only significant country in the world that has compulsory voting and if it had any benefits, why are we the only country with it?

Any benefits are purely illusory. The system treats us like naughty children and makes us turn up at the polling station and fines us when we don't. So fantastic is the system that at the federal election in 1998, 421,570 eligible voters failed to vote -- more than the total voters of Tasmania. Only 30 per cent paid the \$20 fine and almost all the rest, more than 250,000, made excuses which were mostly accepted.

The system denies me the right to express an opinion on the biggest issue of all: whether politicians in general are doing a good job. Without compulsion, politicians will know that if the turnout is reduced they are not doing a good job and that to survive they will have to reform their behaviour.

Democracy is not a privilege but a hard-earned right and nowhere in any constitution in the world does it say that it is a sin to abstain. For political parties, compulsion is a nice little earner -- they receive a few dollars for everybody who votes for them. It swells their coffers and saves politicians from having to persuade people to vote.

In the last election I received only one letterbox drop inviting me to a BBQ that was held four days before I received it. Compulsion sucks.

James Fordham, Gwandalan

Nursing a grievance

I wonder where the State Government's priorities lie when it decides to give social workers a 7.5 per cent pay rise (Daily Telegraph, November 22) while nurses in NSW who are working in major trauma hospitals with critical staff shortages get nothing, even after industrial action.

Guess who will vote for the Labor Party in the next state election? Not this little black duck, that is for certain.

Jamie Matthews,

Glenmore Park

Supply sighs

One does not have to be a rocket scientist to work out why electricity supply to customers in Sydney takes so long to be restored after storms -- the answer is plain and simple:

Shortage of experienced staff in the field;

Lack of communication with customers;

Doubling and tripling of jobs by staff to staff (going around in circles) by electricity authorities (Energy Australia and the like);

Electricity staff not using commonsense to get supply restored (sticklers for the rules);

Electricity authorities forgetting that customers pay their wages.

Being a former Energy Australia linesman, I can understand why customers get the run-around, and I feel that Energy Australia could call on former employees to assist in emergencies.

Letters to the Editor

George Campbell,

Chatswood

Nose for truth

Where does it all end? Are we now going to sue sniffer dogs for performing their duty? The dogs have been trained to find drugs and

we have been informed that drugs are detrimental to society. Where is the problem here?

I have seen sniffer dogs in action and I applaud their every move. Perhaps those who protest have something to hide.

Helen Coward,

Sawyer's Gully

Resist the invaders

I am a fifth-generation Australian whose extended family has married Italian, Chinese, Greek, Dominican, Aboriginal, Maltese and Mauritian people. All of these family members, like me, are concerned for our environment, have only two or three children and most are among those 20 per cent of free-thinking Australians who have no religion and yet cherish the historical and cultural background of their forebears.

I believe this is true multiculturalism and the future for a safe, homogenous Australia.

Western Europe, Australia and the US have developed social conditions that are open to abuse by some who have fouled their own nests by unlimited breeding. Such people are without concern for the fragile ecology of our country and are prepared to illegally invade our shores to steal our way of life.

I don't believe that Australia wants, or needs, people who are exclusive, whether by religion, race or politics.

If this makes me intolerant, then so be it.

Bill Barlow, Concord West

Viewers deprived by digital push

When will the powers that be stop periodically switching television broadcasting over to digital transmission?

I would be surprised if any more than

2 per cent of the viewing public have digital television receivers, so the vast majority must have half-screen viewing foisted on them for long periods.

In panel shows, for instance, often one can hear the voice -- but alas, no face. In sports where running scores are displayed in the corner of the screen, there is insufficient data visible to assist at all.

In ordinary soapies, the sides of the rooms look curved.

It is a real pain. and to what purpose?

To force people to buy digital receivers? Surely not.

Of course, the really big loser in all of this is the paying backbone of television -- the advertiser. If the company paying for an advertisement bothered to see how much of the ad was readable during these periods, they would

Letters to the Editor

only pay half price. Quite often, the name, telephone number, address or full details of the product cannot be properly read.

As nothing has been done to stop

this practice so far, we can only guess

what type of television set the Telecommunications Minister possesses. Happy viewing.

Bill Ryan, Ocean Shores

E-talk

Transport Minister Carl Scully must think train users are stupid if he expects them to believe that the increase in passenger numbers is an acceptable reason for slowing down the proposed new timetable. The use of motor cars has increased in Sydney too, with all the attendant negative impacts, but trip times have not got longer, they have got shorter. It's called "network capacity", Minister.

Nat Buckley, Strathfield

"Jane's story" (Daily Telegraph, November 20) reveals nothing more or less than terrorism in the suburbs. Simple as that. And a legacy of Paul Whelan and Peter Ryan assuring us over the years that crime figures were down and that everything was hunky dory. Not out here it ain't. Bring in the SAS.

T. Nicolaou, Bankstown

Well, you have sunk to a new low. We do not need to read in graphic detail about the atrocious acts committed against this victim, "Jane". Children can read and should not be subjected to these brutalities. You will argue you are the champions of free speech but I suggest you are simply profiteering from others' pain. Yes, the news needs to be printed and the community needs to be informed, but we do not need to know the sordid details. That is a matter for the police and the prosecution and a court of law.

J. Towner, Winmalee

Can we be spared the outpourings of those yesterday's men, the former Australian prime ministers? There seem to be ever-increasing appearances on television and in the press of Gough Whitlam, Malcolm Fraser, Bob Hawke and Paul Keating, all of whom (except Hawke) were seen to have outlived their usefulness. Suddenly, they all seem to know what is best for us all, even though they didn't have a clue during their tenure of office.

W.T. Wright, Nambucca Heads

Word power

PUPIL/STUDENT

The Concise Oxford Dictionary, Tenth Edition, draws a distinction between a pupil ("a person who is taught by another, especially a school child) and a student ("a person studying at a university or other place of higher education"). The Oxford concedes, however, that in North America, "student" can be used to describe a school child as well. The Macquarie Dictionary also draws the pupil/student distinction -- a pupil being defined by this source as "one who is under an instructor or teacher", with a student being one who "is engaged in a course of study and instruction at a college, university, or professional or technical school". It has been said that calling a pupil a student is like calling a conscript a volunteer; but generally in Australia, student is the universal term, whatever the student's age. At least one form of pupil, however, is unlikely to be of school age -- a pupil barrister.

PRINT-THROUGH

Letters to the Editor

The unwanted transfer of sound from one part of a recording tape to another when the tape is stored on reels and successive layers are in contact with each other. A familiar phenomenon to those whose listening habits involved cassette tapes and headphones, usually late at night; the opening chords of a tune announced themselves faintly just before arriving at full volume. For the CD generation, this is ancient history.

GRASS

Noun and verb, referring to one who "grasses" to the police, i.e. is a police informer, usually for a reward. It is believed to be a contraction of "grasshopper", rhyming slang for "copper" -- policeman. Grass is also a slang term for cannabis.

HUNKY DORY

To be OK -- everything is good. For example: "If you pay your bill on time, everything will be hunky dory." One theory about its origin is that Huncho-dori was a main street in Yokohama, Japan, that was frequented by American sailors on leave. To be in Huncho-dori was to be enjoying leisure activities and having a good time. David Bowie released an album called Hunky Dory in 1971; those who listened to it on tape had to endure unwelcome print-through (q.v.).

Q.V.

The abbreviation q.v. is used to direct a reader to another part of a text for further information. It is derived from the Latin quod vide -- "which see".

Schools say thank you

Schools have asked The Daily Telegraph for a forum to thank the thousands of people who have contributed tokens as part of our Free Books for Schools program. The following are today's messages of thanks.

The staff, parents and, most importantly, students at Casino Public School offer their endless thanks for the opportunity to participate in the Free Books for Schools program. It is not often we can "get something for nothing" in this day and age. If we had more projects like this to unite and bond us as one, then we would certainly have fewer wars (definitely fewer people who felt the need to be at war, anyway).

Janelle Jeffery, teacher/librarian,

Casino Public School

The children, parents and teachers of St Patrick's Kogarah would like to thank The Daily Telegraph for its Free Books for Schools promotion. As a result of this wonderful initiative, we have been able to purchase an extensive variety of books from kindergarten through to year 6 to add to both our library and classroom collection. We would also like to thank our St Patrick's parishioners who enthusiastically supported us in bringing their tokens along to Sunday Mass. Also a big thank you to Alison Mee and the St George Illawarra first-grade rugby league team who contributed their tokens to our collection.

Jenny Crippin (library technician),

Anne Verrender (assistant principal),

St Patrick's Primary School, Kogarah

Schools can email us at news@dailytelegraph.com.au or fax us on 9288-2535.

In search

HMAS VENGEANCE 'STEAMING PARTY'

Letters to the Editor

A reunion for crew members who sailed on "SS Austurias" to UK, October 1952, will be held at Redfern RSL on Friday, December 14, 2001, at 1100 hours. Please contact Erick Bouvier on 0293495158.

WARLAND, FITZGERALD, WYATT, STRINGER families

I am trying to contact any relatives of Ernest Robert S. Warland and wife Amelia (nee Stringer). They lived at "Mafeking", 70 Kensington St, Summer Hill. Ernest died in 1940, a retired stationmaster. They had three children -- Ivy Pearl M. Taylor, Oswald E. Warland and Ruby May Butler. Amelia had a twin sister, Catherine, who married a Thomas Havelock Fitzgerald in 1880 at Tamworth, NSW. Thomas was a butcher. They had two sons -- Thomas Havelock Fitzgerald, born 1881, Tamworth, and John Bertie Fitzgerald, born at Glencoe near Glen Innes, NSW, in 1882. This is the last town that I can find them in. I would be grateful to have contact with any members of these families, as Catherine and Amelia are the only children of Mary Jane (nee Wyatt) and John Stringer's family of 12 (Tamworth) whose descendants I have been unable to locate. Contact Mrs Lesley McNee, 10 Harran St, Southport, Qld 4215, phone 0755322729.

LYNETTE ROGERS and JOHN McGRATH

I am looking for cousins Lynette Rogers (nee McGrath) and her brother John McGrath. Their parents were Dorothy Sharp (McGrath) and Thomas McGrath, both deceased. Any information for putting together family history would be appreciated. Contact Margaret Jenkins, 102 Silverdale Rd, Silverdale, NSW 2752.

ALFRED SMITH

We are researching the family of Alfred Smith, who was married to Elizabeth Tucker, Sarah Anne Green and Charlotte Bowers. They lived in the Surry Hills, Redfern, Waterloo and other inner-city areas. He was a vanman. Children were (with Elizabeth Tucker): Elizabeth, married John Sinclair in 1885, Alfred, George (my partner's grandfather). With Sarah Green: son Sydney (born 1877). With Charlotte Bowers: Clara, married to Joseph A.A. Tall (address 26 High Holborn St, Surry Hills), Percy and Albert. We would like to hear from members of this extended family to try to fill in some family gaps. Please contact Lynne Randell or Ray Smith on 96259325 or e-mail randellm@aol.com.

SIDNEY AND DORIS SMITH

I seek contact with any descendants of Sidney Walter and Doris May Smith, married November 9, 1935, in Manly, last known address 1a Pittwater Rd, Manly. They had six children -- Valerie, Kay, Douglass (sic), Sandra, Beverley and Barry W. If you have any information about the Smith family, please contact Kirsten Hamilton via e-mail summer--wind2@hotmail.com or phone 0417685322.

RAY HINES

I am trying to find information on Ray Hines, who toured New Zealand with the Australian rugby league side of 1935. He played with Western Suburbs and South Sydney but I have no record of him after 1939. Contact David Middleton, PO Box 1452, Castle Hill, NSW 2154. Phone 0411180320.

NEV and MARY TREMBLE

I am looking for these old friends, last known in the Canterbury area. I am also looking for Brian and Val Hall, last known in the Camden area. Anyone knowing their whereabouts, contact Fritz Fraser on 0246271705.

NORTH STEYNE SURF CLUB and WILLOUGHBY JUNIOR RUGBY CLUB

Members of both clubs and friends from about 1960-61, please contact Bob Parsons, who wishes to organise a "40 years on" reunion early in 2002. Phone/fax 94166328 or mobile 0419290992.

Letters to the Editor

If you have a reunion or are seeking information, send the details to In Search, Letters Editor, PO Box 2808, GPO Sydney, NSW 2001 or email us at letters@dailytelegraph.com.au. Include a contact name and phone number. Emails should not include attachments.

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Letters should be no more than 250 words, clearly typed or neatly hand written. Name and address and phone number must be supplied for verification.

Letters may be edited.

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NEWS SUMMARY

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Body

INTERNATIONAL A3-9

Clinton Goes to Pentagon And Warns Iraq of Strikes

President Clinton, speaking at the Pentagon, said he would order air strikes against Iraq unless President Saddam Hussein stopped lying about outlawed weapons and impeding international controls. The speech, which was broadcast live by television networks, was intended to rally public support for possible action. A1

Secretary General Kofi Annan of the United Nations announced that he would go to Baghdad to meet with Iraqi officials this weekend in an effort to resolve the crisis. A8

In 1995, well after the end of the gulf war, military officials in Iraq struck a deal with Russian companies to build a plant that could have been used to produce biological weapons, American officials said. A8

Jordanian Anger at Israel

Jordanians reacted angrily to an Israeli commission's report that absolved Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of responsibility in a bungled attempt in Amman to assassinate a Jordanian citizen who was a leader of the militant Islamic group Hamas. King Hussein has ordered that security cooperation between the two countries be suspended. A7

Sudan Promises Reforms

The Islamic party that has molded Sudan into a religious state is enacting a new constitution that officials maintain will allow a return to party politics and greater political freedom. But opposition leaders say it remains to be seen whether the reforms will be carried out. A3

An American Flag in Teheran

The American flag flew in Teheran without harm for the first time in two decades. A huge Stars and Stripes was among 17 flags hung from the ceiling of a sports stadium for an international wrestling competition. The event is the first time that American athletes have competed in Iran since the country's Islamic revolution in 1979. The five-member American team was cheered as members entered the stadium, bearing a flag provided by the hosts. A3

NEWS SUMMARY

Sinn Fein Threatens Suit

Sinn Fein, the political wing of the Irish Republican Army, said that it would seek an order in an Irish court to block any move to expel it from the Northern Ireland peace talks. Officials presumed the suit would contend that the legislation establishing the peace talks was approved by the British Parliament, not the Irish body, and was therefore not applicable in Ireland, where the talks moved on Monday. Both British and Irish Governments said they wanted to suspend Sinn Fein because the I.R.A. was involved in the killings of two civilians last week. A5

Yeltsin Criticizes Budget

On the eve of a parliamentary vote on this year's budget, President Boris N. Yeltsin of Russia criticized Parliament, saying that it had to learn to live within its means. The International Monetary Fund is to make a decision soon on whether to disburse the latest installment of a three-year, \$10.1 billion loan. A4

NATIONAL A10-19

McKinney's First Accuser Testifies at Court-Martial

Brenda L. Hoster, the retired sergeant major whose accusations of sexual misconduct led to the court-martial of a man who was once the Army's top enlisted soldier, testified at the court-martial. Ms. Hoster described a night two years ago when she said that Sgt. Maj. Gene C. McKinney propositioned her in a Hawaii hotel, forcibly kissed her and reminded her that he could overpower her if he chose. A12

Cattlemen Lose a Round

A Federal judge ruled that a group of Texas beef producers could not use Texas' food-defamation statute as a basis for their lawsuit against Oprah Winfrey, though the trial could continue as a standard business-disparagement case. A10

A Spokesman Wishes He Hadn't

The White House press secretary, Michael D. McCurry, said he regretted remarks he made in an interview with the Chicago Tribune about the possible explanations for a relationship between President Clinton and Monica S. Lewinsky. The grand jury heard from two witnesses who could provide information on the inner workings of the White House, Lewis C. Fox, a retired Secret Service officer, and Steve Goodin, a former Presidential assistant. A14

Dismissal of Jones Suit Sought

President Clinton's lawyers asked a Federal judge to throw out Paula Corbin Jones's sexual misconduct lawsuit. The lawyers asserted that even if Mr. Clinton did confront her with a crude sexual proposition nearly seven years ago, Ms. Jones had produced no evidence that he violated any laws. A14

Fund-Raising Indictment Ready

The Justice Department has prepared an indictment accusing a Democratic fund-raiser, Maria Hsia, with lying about her role in organizing a 1996 event at a Buddhist Temple in California attended by Vice President Al Gore, law-enforcement officials and Ms. Hsia's lawyer said. A12

Ex-Midshipman Convicted

A jury convicted Diane Zamora, a former Naval Academy midshipman, of capital murder, and a judge sentenced her to life in prison. A18

NEWS SUMMARY

Tobacco Protection Opposed

Two leading authorities on public health, C. Everett Koop, the former Surgeon General, and David A. Kessler, the former Commissioner of Food and Drugs, said that they opposed giving tobacco companies protection against lawsuits. A19

Alcohol's Link to Breast Cancer

An analysis of six long-term studies conducted among a total of more than 300,000 women has confirmed that drinking alcohol can raise a woman's risk of developing breast cancer. But the increase in risk is very small for those who consume no more than one drink a day. A16

NEW YORK/REGION B1-7

U.S. Indicts Programmer In Computer 'Bomb' Case

A computer programmer who was recently dismissed from his job at a New Jersey engineering company has been charged with planting a computer "bomb" that deleted software critical to the company's operations and caused the loss of more than \$10 million in sales and contracts, according to Federal court papers. B1

Sharpton on Sharpton

The Rev. Al Sharpton concluded his four days of testimony at the Tawana Brawley defamation trial by telling jurors that his big hair and big voice were matched by an even bigger heart. B1

Police Want Contract Revised

The city's largest police union said that it wanted to renegotiate its contract and discuss incentives to increase productivity. The announcement followed Mayor Giuliani's decision to give firefighters who responded to medical emergencies higher pay than police officers. B2

Mayor Defends Station Plan

Mayor Giuliani defended the city's decision to accept \$5 million from a business group to put a police substation near Wall Street. Community leaders in the Bronx and Queens criticized the plan, asserting that police officers should not be diverted to one of the safest parts of the city. B3

A Subway Project, and Delays

The 63d Street subway tunnel will be partly shut on Sunday for repairs that will last 15 months, transit officials said. The work will cause extra transfers and long waits for approximately 12,000 riders daily in Manhattan, Roosevelt Island and Queens. B4

NEEDIEST CASES B4

SPORTS C1-8

Talk of Tampering

George Steinbrenner said that the baseball commissioner's office was looking into possible tampering by the Arizona Diamondbacks involving the Yankees' Bernie Williams. C1

ARTS E1-10

NEWS SUMMARY

DINING F1-12

EDUCATION B8

Making the Grade

A report on grade inflation at Princeton, which the university's administration hopes will cause some soul-searching among the faculty, indicates that the "gentleman's C" is not only alive and well but appears to be evolving into the "generous B" or even an A, with little distinction between the good and the excellent.

A1

BUSINESS DAY D1-21

Indonesian Bank Chief Out

President Suharto of Indonesia dismissed the head of the country's central bank. The move was seen as an act of defiance toward President Clinton and the I.M.F. and moved the world's fourth most populous country closer to losing its \$43 billion rescue package. The move immediately resurrected the Asia economic crisis to a priority at the White House and amounted to an extraordinary gamble by Mr. Suharto that the I.M.F. would not abandon Indonesia. A1

An Unwelcome Bid Is Pressed

Computer Associates, a software company, intensified its unwelcome pursuit of Computer Sciences, a computer consulting and services company, by filing a formal tender offer to buy Computer Sciences' stock for \$108 a share in cash. D1

Limited Announces Overhaul

The Limited said it would shutter unprofitable stores in its *women's* apparel businesses, close all but one of its Henri Bendel specialty shops and spin off another subsidiary, Abercrombie & Fitch, to Limited shareholders. The plan was the biggest restructuring since the Limited went public in 1969. D1

Business Digest D1

OBITUARIES D22

Ernst Junger

The warrior-author, viewed as one of Germany's most controversial and contradictory writers, was 102. D22

Arthur Cohn

A versatile and prolific composer, conductor and author whose writings celebrated the diversity of classical music and made it accessible to a large audience, he was 87. D22

EDITORIAL A20-21

Editorials: The crux of the Iraq crisis; needless Senate secrecy; currency boards are no elixir; city in perspective.

NEWS SUMMARY

Columns: Maureen Dowd, Frank Rich.

Crossword E8

Weather A18

Public Lives B2

Graphic

Photos

Load-Date: February 18, 1998

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**SMUGGLERS 'THEY WERE TAKEN RIGHT OFF THE TANKS. THE ONLY
THING I CAN BE HAPPY ABOUT IS THAT THEY DIDN'T TAKE THE TANKS
AS WELL'**

The Toronto Star

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Byline: Sandro Contenta

Body

Arafat's officials

among suppliers

from all

sides arm

intifada

Summit uncertain, A6

'We don't manufacture guns and we don't control the borders. So
tell me, who is responsible for the gun smuggling?'

Col.-Gen. Kamel Sheikh, Ramallah police chief

'Buying a gun is a priority for Palestinians. It comes before buying a house, or marriage.'

Palestinian legislator Hussam Khader

gun runners

NABLUS, West Bank - As the Palestinian uprising rages, the market
for smuggled guns is booming.

"If I call my clients and say I've got 100 guns, they come running," said Palestinian dealer Khalil Abu Ali, adding
that there are "hundreds" of Palestinian dealers in the West Bank who have seen sales of smuggled guns increase
during the uprising.

The widespread use of guns in this uprising is in stark contrast to the 1987- 93 Palestinian intifada that focused on
mass demonstrations and rock throwing against Israeli soldiers.

SMUGGLERS 'THEY WERE TAKEN RIGHT OFF THE TANKS. THE ONLY THING I CAN BE HAPPY ABOUT IS THAT THEY DIDN'T TAKE THE TANKS AS WELL'

Some Israeli estimates put the number of illegal guns in the hands of Palestinian paramilitary groups at 70,000.

Gun smuggling into the West Bank and Gaza Strip, where Palestinian enclaves are surrounded by Israeli troops and expanding Jewish settlements, is a murky world filled with gangsters. But there are indications that members of Yasser Arafat's Palestinian Authority - and Israeli soldiers - are also involved.

Guns are smuggled over the Jordanian and Egyptian border, where gun runners sometimes burrow tunnels under the border road to avoid Israeli sniper fire. But the bulk come from Israel, and clandestine Israeli gun dealers.

"Israel manufactures guns and controls all the borders. We don't manufacture guns and we don't control the borders. So tell me, who is responsible for the gun smuggling?" said Col.-Gen. Kamel Sheikh, police chief of the Palestinian- controlled West Bank town of Ramallah.

Said Khalil Abu Ali, the main provider of smuggled guns for Palestinian militia in the West Bank area of Nablus: "All my guns come from Israel."

Israeli military officials acknowledge their siege of Palestinian enclaves in the West Bank and Gaza hasn't made a dent in the daily smuggling of guns that keeps Palestinian militias well-armed.

"They're not going to be running into a shortage of guns or ammunition" during the uprising, said a senior intelligence officer in the Israeli army.

Israeli soldiers were first to use live ammunition in this intifada, waged by Palestinians trying to end 33 years of Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza.

But Palestinian paramilitary groups from Arafat's Fatah movement wasted little time in pulling out their smuggled hardware and fighting sustained gun battles.

A kind of guerrilla war has set in, with Palestinian gunmen attacking well- armed Jewish settlers in drive-by shootings, and Israeli soldiers assassinating Palestinians they describe as ringleaders or terrorists. Not surprisingly, the death toll has climbed far faster than in the first intifada. At least 326 people have been killed in 11 weeks, most of them Palestinians. Thirty-eight Israelis have also been killed.

The Israeli army intelligence officer said many of the smuggled guns are stolen from army depots. That raises serious questions about the security of Israeli army bases.

During the uprising, four heavy machineguns mounted on Israeli tanks were stolen north of the Jordan Valley town of Jericho.

"They were taken right off the tanks. The only thing I can be happy about is that they didn't take the tanks as well," the intelligence officer said in an interview, adding the army is investigating.

Asked how such a thing could possibly happen, the officer said the thieves were probably watching the guards, "saw them go to a restaurant or whatever, and that's it."

But Ali and Palestinian militia leaders interviewed by The Star say guns from Israeli army depots are often stolen and sold to clandestine dealers by Israeli soldiers themselves.

"They steal from their own warehouses, at least 30 or 40 automatic weapons at a time," said Ali, who said he moves about 120 guns a month. (He made clear the name he gave wasn't his real one.)

Ali, a veteran gun dealer who has spent several years in an Israeli jail for smuggling, said Israeli soldiers sell the guns for money or drugs to arms dealers inside Israel, some of them Israeli Arabs, others Jews. Israeli dealers in illegal guns are found "in every major town in Israel," Ali said.

SMUGGLERS 'THEY WERE TAKEN RIGHT OFF THE TANKS. THE ONLY THING I CAN BE HAPPY ABOUT IS THAT THEY DIDN'T TAKE THE TANKS AS WELL'

The Israeli dealers, some of them part of organized crime rings, then ship the merchandise to Palestinian gun dealers such as Ali, sometimes through winding backroads that elude the Israeli siege of Palestinian enclaves.

Other cars with guns stuffed in their trunks are driven past Israeli military checkpoints by Jewish women, who are rarely suspected or stopped at Israeli army roadblocks, Ali said.

Majed El Massri, a Fatah militia leader in Nablus, said the biggest shipment of guns he bought during the uprising came from an Israeli Jewish dealer - nine M-16 automatic rifles that originated from Israeli-controlled Jerusalem and ended up in Ramallah. On Dec. 9, Massri said, he bought three M-16s and 24,000 bullets on the black market.

At Israel's Rafah army base in the coastal Gaza Strip, Dan Jacobi is perched in a watchtower 25 metres in the sky. He peers through the scope of a sniper rifle, on the lookout for Palestinian gun smugglers.

Lying flat behind his Bart gun, its long barrel anchored firmly to the floor by a tripod, Jacobi sets his sights on a narrow road that divides the Egyptian border and the Palestinian town of Rafah.

In a booth directly below him, another Israeli soldier peers through mounted binoculars that enable him to see objects four kilometres away. A song from the rock band Radiohead fills the booth: "This is what you get when you mess with us . . ."

Jacobi pulls the trigger three times, and the sound of fire cracks frightfully over the flat desert landscape.

Jacobi, 20, says he saw three men trying to smuggle guns to Rafah after meeting Egyptian police officers on the other side.

"I didn't want to kill them. I shot a metre away from their legs just to scare them."

Jacobi says one of the three smugglers managed to get across with his illegal loot.

At the start of the uprising, Palestinian militia members were mainly armed with Kalashnikovs. But as the weeks passed, M-16s - the ones the Israeli army uses - became the gun of choice.

Cheaper bullets are one reason. Bullets for Kalashnikovs cost about \$2 each on the black market, while bullets for M-16s can be had for 60 cents.

Ali, who said he deals in automatic rifles, Uzis and machineguns, buys M-16 rifles for about \$4,000 each, and sells them for \$5,500. Before the intifada, M-16s could be had for \$3,000 on the black market.

Heavy machineguns have gone up from about \$1,000 to \$8,700, Massri said. For members of Arafat's Fatah militia group, the main group fighting in the uprising, the guns are bought by the Fatah movement, the largest faction in the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Sheikh, the Palestinian police chief, believes Israel turns a blind eye to the smuggling with the goal of creating strife inside Palestinian territory once a peace deal is struck.

But Arafat's Palestinian Authority also has a hand in the smuggling, militia groups and Palestinian and Israeli officials say. The smugglers are among the high-ranking Palestinian officials who enjoy VIP 1 status provided by interim peace deals, which allows them to pass Israeli military checkpoints and border crossings without being stopped.

Palestinian officials who run guns sometimes bring them in from Jordan, and often transport them across Israel to the Gaza Strip.

"They've become millionaires doing this," said Hussam Khader, a member of the Palestinian legislature with influence - some say control - over the Fatah movement's paramilitary force in Nablus.

SMUGGLERS 'THEY WERE TAKEN RIGHT OFF THE TANKS. THE ONLY THING I CAN BE HAPPY ABOUT IS THAT THEY DIDN'T TAKE THE TANKS AS WELL'

Khader said Israeli officials know those involved in the scam. But they turn a blind eye, he charged, because these officials support a peace process that benefits Israel far more than Palestinians.

Israeli officials say illegal guns were abundant in Palestinian-ruled enclaves long before the uprising began Sept. 28.

Guns are an important part of Arab culture, and few self-respecting Palestinian families would be caught without one. The success of a wedding is often gauged by the number of guns fired into the air.

"Buying a gun is a priority for Palestinians. It comes before buying a house, or marriage. Palestinian women will sell their gold to buy guns for their husbands or sons," Khader said.

The interim peace deals, which allowed Arafat to return from exile in 1994 and set up a Palestinian Authority that runs Palestinian enclaves, saw his police forces receive 15,000 rifles and handguns, 240 heavy machineguns and 45 armoured vehicles - all with Israel's consent. These well-armed forces have largely stayed out of gun battles during the uprising. Those same peace deals call for the confiscation of illegal guns in Palestinian territories, and Israel has long accused the Palestinian Authority of not doing so.

Police chief Sheikh said the Palestinian Authority confiscated illegal guns after it was established in 1993. In the Ramallah area, where 274,000 Palestinians live, 28 guns were confiscated, Sheikh said, some of them dating back to the British Mandate period more than 50 years ago.

But since the uprising began, "tens of thousands" of members of militia groups in the Ramallah area have armed themselves, Sheikh added. He said his police officers aren't about to confiscate those while soldiers and Jewish settlers fire on Palestinians.

Ali the gun dealer also sees his role as helping Palestinians defend themselves. If a member of a militia needs a gun but can't afford one, Ali said he just gives it to him.

"Money comes after my people," he said. "I'm not only a gun dealer; I do this for patriotic reasons."

Graphic

GUN GLUT:

A boy gets a rifle at Hamas rally Friday, above. At left, a Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine backer carries a child.

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World unites in homage: Potentates, presidents bid Hussein last farewell

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Body

United in loss and grief, an extraordinary array of presidents, prime ministers and princes gathered yesterday to accompany King Hussein on his final journey, as his body was buried in a humble white shroud.

The mourners included Jordan's allies and some who remain bitter foes, including the leaders of Syria and Israel.

That turnout paid tribute in death to a king who in life, over nearly a half-century's reign, had sought to mend even the most rancorous of disputes.

"God, make him among the people who rest in paradise," an imam prayed at the graveside as the newly crowned King Abdullah, the late king's eldest son, stood cloudy-eyed but ramrod straight at the head of the funeral proceedings.

In keeping with Muslim tradition, there were no eulogies, no songs and no speeches during the male-only ceremonies, as the king's body was driven through the chilly streets of Amman yesterday and then borne on a gun carriage to his grave.

New York Times

REMARKABLE

Even without speeches, the spectacle was remarkable.

In some ways, the scene in Jordan was an eerie echo of Jan. 19, the day when Hussein returned home after six months of cancer treatment in the United States.

He had pronounced himself "fully recovered," and tens of thousands of Jordanians lined the streets and slaughtered sheep to welcome him home.

The crowds were about the same size yesterday as hundreds of thousands of people poured out their sorrow.

But instead of banners, they clutched black flags of mourning.

In a courtyard of Raghadan Palace, so many leaders -- representing 75 countries -- flocked to Jordan to pay their respects that they ended up shoulder to shoulder, dark suits alongside Arab robes.

World unites in homage: Potentates, presidents bid Hussein last farewell

RESPECT

Inside, where the late king lay in state, surrounded by four Circassian guards, they entered the room one by one to pause before his coffin -- Muslims, Christians, Jews, each according to his traditions.

The dignitaries included President Bill Clinton and three former American presidents, who dropped their heads in prayer; Yasser Arafat, the Palestinian leader, who bid farewell with a slow bow and a military salute; and Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel, at the head of a delegation that included Israel's chief rabbis.

There were surprise guests at the funeral.

President Boris Yeltsin of Russia, frail and seemingly disoriented, had left his sick bed for the occasion and President Hafez Assad of Syria, a critic of Jordan's peace with Israel, attended. He had never before attended an event where Israeli officials were present.

There was no sign that Assad's attendance marked a new approach to Middle East peace.

He seemed determined to avoid contact with the Israelis and their delegations were separated by many minutes at any events where their paths might have crossed.

Assad chose not to join the other leaders who walked behind the late king's body as it was carried from the palace to the strains of bagpipes played by Arab Legionnaires and followed by a riderless stallion.

But Assad did seem intent on making a personal peace despite his bitter political differences with Hussein over Israel.

As he stood before the coffin, he held out his palms and whispered words of prayer and then raised his hands to his face in a pious Muslim gesture of mourning.

Netanyahu said later: "We all admired him deeply."

His country fought wars with Jordan in 1948 and 1967 before making peace in 1994.

Arab Muslim tradition calls for funerals to be segregated by sex, so for most of the day, the king's widow, Queen Noor; his sister, Princess Basma; and his six daughters, by four wives, were nowhere in sight. They were seen only as the day began, at the door of the family home, wearing white head scarves of mourning.

King Abdullah, Crown Prince Hamzah and their three other brothers bade the women farewell at the family home and left for the proceedings, each wearing a dark suit and a bright red kaffiyeh.

From the streets to the palaces, the gestures were of gratitude and respect for Hussein, whose long service and commitment to peace may have made him better known than the small country he ruled for more than 46 years. Many people also clearly offered their hands in support to Abdullah, who is just 37, and may well have a difficult time stepping into his father's shoes.

Saudi Arabia, which after the Persian Gulf war in 1991, turned a cold shoulder to Jordan as punishment for its tilt toward Iraq, was represented by Crown Prince Abdullah, the country's effective leader.

"Jordan has always been dear to us and now Jordan will be dearer and dearer," the Saudi crown prince said. A statement issued by the Saudi cabinet in Riyadh said "Saudi Arabia stands by Jordan in these critical times."

DIVERSITY

For 90 minutes after the funeral, the new king and his brothers, including the new crown prince, Hamzah, stood to accept handshakes and kisses from visitors, who represented all manner of political stripes. These ranged from Prince Charles to Omar al-Bashir, the turban-clad president of Sudan, a country ostracized by the West for alleged support of terrorism.

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Not since the funeral of the slain Israeli prime minister, Yitzhak Rabin, in November 1995, has the world seen a gathering of leaders that even approached yesterday's in diversity or emotion. By almost any measure, yesterday's was more remarkable because it seemed to bridge so many divides.

The guests included both Khaled Meshal, a leader of the militant Islamic group **Hamas** who was the target of a 1997 assassination attempt in Amman, and Efraim Halevy, director of the Israeli intelligence service Mossad, the agency that carried out the bungled attack.

An Iraqi vice-president, Taha Moheiddin Maruf, was welcomed to Jordan even though his country's leader, President Saddam Hussein, lashed out last month at those he called "throne dwarves" -- a clear reference to Hussein's short stature.

Nayef Hawatmeh, leader of a radical Palestinian group that rejects peace with Israel, managed to greet and shake hands with Israel's president, Ezer Weizman, prompting immediate protests from Israeli conservatives.

The Israeli delegation itself spanned a spectrum so wide that, although united for a day in admiration of the late king, most gave the impression they would have preferred not to be in the same room. The group included Ehud Barak, the Labour leader who is Netanyahu's chief rival for prime minister in May elections; Yitzhak Mordechai, who until last month was Netanyahu's defence minister and is now another election rival; and two former prime ministers, Shimon Peres and Yitzhak Shamir, who in the world of Israeli politics occupy very different poles.

BIPARTISAN

From the United States, the delegation headed by Clinton included former presidents George Bush, Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford, who had ties of varying warmth with Hussein. It was a bipartisan tribute to the late king, whose political and financial ties to the United States began decades ago, and who, in his final years as the monarch, became a trusted ally of the United States.

Clinton was said to have exchanged greetings with a number of leaders, including Prime Minister Tony Blair of Britain, President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, and the representatives of Turkey, Kuwait and many other countries.

But the Americans kept a pointed distance from the vice-president from Iraq as well as another controversial guest - the son of the Libyan leader, Moammar Gadhafi, whose name is Saadi. He had to fly to Jordan from Tunisia because UN sanctions bar flights to and from his country.

Yeltsin, the ailing 68-year-old Russian leader, has visited the Kremlin only three times this year. His decision to travel to Jordan -- reportedly against the advice of his doctors -- left many among the delegations taken aback.

Russia, along with the United States, was among the sponsors of a Middle East peace conference in Madrid in 1991.

AT THE FUNERAL

A partial list of world leaders and others attending King Hussein's funeral

Britain: Prince Charles; Prime Minister Tony Blair.

Canada: Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy, Liberal MP Mac Harb, Reform MP Grant Hill.

Egypt: President Hosni Mubarak and wife Suzanne; Prime Minister Kamal el-Ganzouri.

Iraq: Vice-President Taha Marouf, Deputy Foreign Minister Noori Ismail al-Wayis, former ambassador to Jordan.

Israel: President Ezer Weizman and wife Ruhama; Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and wife Sarah; former prime ministers Shimon Peres and Yitzhak Shamir; Leah Rabin, widow of assassinated Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin; Foreign Minister Ariel Sharon; opposition Labour party leader Ehud Barak; former defence minister and centrist candidate Yitzhak Mordechai; head of the Mossad secret service, Efraim Halevy; Druse delegation led by

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legislator Salah Tarif and spiritual leader Sheik Muwafak Tarif; chief rabbi Yisrael Lau and a representative of families of seven teenage girls slain by a deranged Jordanian soldier in 1997. The king personally consoled the families.

Palestinian Authority: Chairman Yasser Arafat and wife Soha.

Russia: President Boris Yeltsin and his wife, Naina; Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov.

Saudi Arabia: Crown Prince Abdullah.

Syria: President Hafez Assad.

United States: President Bill Clinton and wife Hillary Rodham Clinton; former presidents Gerald Ford, Jimmy Carter and George Bush.

Graphic

Colour Photo: Kevin Lamarque, Reuters; Thousands of mourners follow pall bearers carrying the coffin of Jordan's King Hussein yesterday as the funeral procession stops at the Royal Guards Mosque for prayers. Hussein, who played a major role in Middle East politics, died after a 46-year rule. Colour Photo: Ron Edmonds, Associated Press / The king's widow, Queen Noor, with daughters Iman, left, Raiyah, second from right, and Haya. They will attend ceremonies today.

Load-Date: October 17, 2002

Change sweeps 'Arab street'

The Ottawa Citizen

November 21, 2001 Wednesday

Final EDITION

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Byline: David Warren

Body

'Optimism' is not my middle name, but in reading what I can of Arab and Muslim media and government pronouncements (i.e. the part that is in English or translation) over the past few weeks, and especially over the past few days, I have found it hard to tamp down. It is still only a vague and general impression, but I think a change may be coming, a pan-Arab change of attitude on a scale beyond what we have already seen in Russia and Pakistan, and indeed in Europe.

The Americans have led, decisively, and the world, on balance, has been inclined to follow. Governments and whole peoples who were deeply skeptical of U.S. motives and strategy are, individually and collectively, thinking again. Partly it is the shocking speed with which the situation in Afghanistan was turned around, the speed at which the Taliban has been collapsing.

And partly it is the tone struck by the Bush administration: especially by Donald Rumsfeld, but also by Colin Powell, and of course President George W. Bush himself. There has been straight talk from them, there have been no games, and little media posturing. Or, so far as there has been posturing -- in Mr. Bush's reiterations that this is a war against terrorism, as if Islam had nothing to do with it; in his convening of the iftar banquet for Muslim ambassadors on Monday -- it has been a fine posture.

The Ottawa Citizen

For he is determined not to grant the "battle of civilizations" that Osama bin Laden has declared; that is the *raison d'etre* of the Islamist madrasas. He will take the high road, and he will make it pay dividends.

With the United Nations floundering, as is its wont, over the brokering of an interim Afghan government, Mr. Powell's state department went to work. There were moments on the weekend when it appeared that the whole effort was a shambles, when it seemed that the old and hated government of Burhanuddin Rabbani would simply reinstall itself, and the lines would be drawn for yet more interminable civil wars in Afghanistan, Uzbeks versus Tadzhiks, both versus Hazars, the Shia versus the Sunni, Pashtuns versus all.

And we are not yet home free. But Mr. Powell, acting behind the scenes with force and authority, succeeded in knocking all heads together, and the conference will proceed near Berlin. He did this at a time when the UN negotiator, Lakhdar Brahimi, was throwing his hands up in despair. (This seasoned Algerian diplomat walked out of this job once before; he is almost too western to cope with the eccentric demands of Afghani tribal warlords.)

Change sweeps 'Arab street'

Mr. Powell's secret would seem to be an ability to put the whole weight of U.S. power behind his understated requests. It is the charm that brought Pakistan's military dictator, Pervez Musharraf, to an about-face. But it is not pure brinkmanship. It works because Mr. Powell is able to say, "This is what we want, and this is why we want it."

He is able to convey not only what is the U.S. interest, but what is not. The U.S. has no desire whatever to run Afghanistan, the way the Soviets tried to run it; or any other way, so long as it does not shelter international terrorists. The U.S. long-term interest in the peace of the region, and therefore in its prosperity, is reasonably transparent. There is a freedom from innuendo; the payoffs are frank and over-the-table; there are no promises the U.S. can't keep.

I am spelling this out, because there is a game going on in the U.S. media, on the right-hand side of the political spectrum. Mr. Powell is presented as the "coalition-builder," the pacifist who would sell out U.S. interests if he possibly could -- the man who persuaded George Bush the Elder not to march on Baghdad in 1991 for fear of the "Arab street." And Mr. Rumsfeld is presented as the man who gets the dirty job done. Only the latter proposition is true.

The reality is that the younger Bush is making policy now, as his father was before him; they are much different presidents. Both secretaries are now acting within a new context and within a strong team. Mr. Powell's job is to build the coalitions, without which the United States could not enforce its will; Mr. Rumsfeld has the simpler task of delivering the punches. Each has been, so far, remarkably successful, in his own distinct task. They, and the tasks, are all necessary to each other.

Mr. Powell's address Monday on the Israel/Palestine issue was unprecedented for its candour. Never before had an American statesman said aloud what he was prepared to say. He said if they want peace, both sides must stop dreaming. The Israeli settlements in the West Bank and Gaza must be on the table -- all, not some.

The very security measures by which Israel has tried to defend itself from the intifada and suicide bombers -- the humiliating checkpoints and body searches that have put poison in the hearts of a whole generation of Palestinians -- are intrinsic to the problem. If there is to be a Palestinian state, the option of "hot pursuit" must be surrendered.

But more crucially, the approach that has been taken by Yasser Arafat and the Palestinian leadership has been intrinsic to the problem. They do not, will not, grasp that if you want peace you must cease to demonize the enemy. That you cannot talk peace in English, then speak of suicide bombers as "martyrs" in Arabic. That if you want the Israeli checkpoints to come down, you must remove the reason for them, which means arresting the Palestinian terrorists yourself, and facing down the consequences. That if you want Israel to recognize the legitimacy of a Palestinian state, then Palestine must recognize the legitimacy of the Israeli state, with no ambiguity.

The Palestinian leadership, whatever it is to be, must also find common cause with Israel in defeating Hamas, Hezbollah, and all other organizations that continue to question Israel's very right to exist. There is no half-way to such a position.

I do not myself see how it is possible to create a Palestinian state, given the difficulties that must be overcome, though I am willing to believe in miracles. There is no reservoir of trust between the sides, no matter how shallow. Neither Mr. Arafat nor Ariel Sharon seems the man for the hour.

And the Palestinian people are trapped between two false hopes, both of them now fully deflated. On the one hand are the explicitly terrorist organizations, which purvey a fraudulent dream of redemption through violence. On the other is Mr. Arafat, who is as corrupt and sleazy and as uninterested in democracy as any of the autocrats who currently bless the region. What use, to the Palestinians, is a Palestinian state under a government that treats them no better than the Israelis did, and which continues to nurture a culture of grievance, because that is the only thing it knows how to do?

If there is to be a miracle it begins in Afghanistan, and most likely continues in Iraq, with the destruction of the Baathist regime of Saddam Hussein. (The reader will remember I have argued previously that a U.S. attack on the

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Iraqi regime is a question of when, not if.) Paradoxically, while it appears that peace between Israel and Palestine is a condition of U.S. operations elsewhere, the reverse is more likely true.

We must look again at that "Arab street" in the light of what has already happened in Afghanistan. Some weeks ago, I was writing about the anti-American and "anti-Zionist" demonstrations of the first Friday after the U.S. bombing began. It seemed possible, then, that this would grow with the passing weeks; but it did not.

With each successive week the number of demonstrations, and the size of them, has diminished, everywhere from Morocco to Indonesia, with the single exception of Iran. And as I said above, the anger, the stridency, the outrage, likewise seems to be abating throughout the Arab media, both official and unofficial.

And this, before that "Muslim world" had begun to look at what the U.S. attack on Afghanistan has accomplished: the destruction of a very evil regime, the restoration of traditional freedoms after a generation of warfare, a change of heart in the factions and a willingness to coalesce, the delivery of desperately needed humanitarian aid. The Afghans themselves are now telling the Muslim world what it feels like to be liberated from the likes of Mullah Omar and Osama bin Laden.

Though this must sound like a Leonard Cohen song, "democracy is coming, through a hole in the air." And while it never comes to any country in a single evening, in a single year, the possibilities for great change, for something approaching the fall of the Berlin Wall, is suddenly there, is suddenly being discussed.

I sense this in my own correspondence with various Muslim friends, this sometimes dizzying atmosphere when a taboo is breached, when a kind of fatalism is overthrown. In the words of one correspondent, "If this can happen in Afghanistan, what else can happen?" Very big changes: though impossible to predict, to control, even to measure.

And it could all end horribly, in the unexpected use of weapons of mass destruction, by some vicious tyrant under mortal threat. But what if it suddenly seemed, to so many who had never previously entertained the possibility, that the U.S. was actually on the side of the angels?

Consider this. Almost uncovered by the western media, among those demonstrations in the past two months, some of the largest have been in Iran, both in Tehran and other cities. They consisted of students and other young people protesting against the regime of the ayatollahs -- in their thousands. The demonstrations were put down brutally, but they occurred. And do you know that some of these students were waving U.S. flags? For that, more than any symbol, is what you use to stick it to the ayatollahs.

The unfolding victory in Afghanistan is changing the terms of the debate, far afield. What if, instead of "Islamist" purity, with its oppression of women, minorities, music, barbers, and kites, what the Muslims really wanted was freedom?

What if, in other words, everything we have ourselves been told by such as our faculties of Middle Eastern studies, the many politically correct, self-styled authorities on the attitudes and resentments of the Islamic world, were proved as wrong as their predictions of what would happen if the U.S. began to drop bombs on Afghanistan? The fact that these experts have been consistently wrong in all previous predictions gives reason for hope.

Again, within limits. History does not repeat itself, and the background conditions in the Middle East in no way resemble those in central and Eastern Europe before the Soviet fall; there are many autocratic power centres, not one huge totalitarian one. But we do not know what the limits are. Only, from our experience of the Berlin Wall, that when something very big happens, it tends to happen quickly.

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Jerusalem Syndrome : As the new millennium closes in, Israel readies for a holy invasion of banjo-eyed prophets, extremists and psychotics

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Body

Anyone who's travelled to the Holy Land knows that Israelis can be a grumpy lot. Ask a bus driver for directions and half the time he'll shrug and say, "What, you can't buy a map?" Try to exchange pleasantries with a grocery clerk and, frowning, she'll ignore you. It's not for nothing that native-born Israelis are called sabras, after the prickly, thick-skinned fruit. (Knowing their reputation, Israelis respond that, like the sabra, they too are soft on the inside.)

Why shouldn't they be irritable? The bus driver doesn't know if the next passenger is a **Hamas** terrorist, his shorts stuffed with dynamite, and the grocery clerk is probably about to begin her mandatory two-year army program. Both of them could well be descendants of Holocaust survivors. Tourists who complain about indifferent service typically receive an impatient glare that says, so you think you got troubles?

That's something the Jewish state might also want to ask those of us who, fearing our instabank cards won't work, are in a panic about Jan. 1, 2000. A few months ago, Israeli police were put on high alert after 60 members of an apocalyptic cult called Concerned Christians abandoned their base in Denver, Colo. Evidently the group is en route to Israel to witness, ringside, war between God and the Antichrist, which millennialists say will break out any day. It's not that Israel objects to visitors cheering for the end of the world -- a tourist dollar is a tourist dollar. But it's another thing if, as is suspected with Concerned Christians, they plan to kill themselves on the streets of Jerusalem, albeit in the hope of resurrection shortly thereafter.

This is just the beginning. Israel, a country one third the area of Nova Scotia, is expecting as many as five million visitors during the next year, double the normal figure. Though most of these will be harmless pilgrims, the country is gearing up for a tide of banjo-eyed prophets, extremists and psychotics burning with millennial fever. "We are in the process of preparing staff in our outpatient clinics to be able to detect these problems early and to treat them immediately," said Dr. Yair Bar-El, district psychiatrist for Jerusalem.

Dr. Bar-El has spent much of his career studying Jerusalem Syndrome, a disorder he was the first to formally identify. The victims are mostly Christian tourists who, upon arriving in Israel, suddenly suffer the delusion either that they are on a divine mission or they are characters from the Bible. One recent patient, a Canadian, insisted he was mighty Samson. The man was hospitalized and sent home after he tried to remove a giant stone from the Western Wall. More ambitious patients will claim to be Jesus. Among **women**, especially wistful ones, a perennial favourite is the Virgin Mary.

Dr. Bar-El has been offering workshops to Israeli security in preparation for next year's millennial celebrations. "They are very worried about the year 2000," he said. Dr. Bar-El pointed to the case of an Australian Protestant who

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some years ago sought to destroy both Jewish and Muslim holy sites in the hope of sparking war in the Middle East. "He wanted to provoke Armageddon and the resurrection of Jesus Christ." This, added Dr. Bar-El, can result in serious "diplomatic problems," which, one supposes, is the very least to expect come Armageddon.

Because some religious sites such as Bethlehem are in Palestinian territory, one good thing about the invasion of fanatical Christians is that Jews and Arabs are compelled to unite. In fact, according to Dr. Bar-El, one of the first instances of co-operation occurred two years ago when Palestinian police happened upon a man wandering the desert between Jericho and Jerusalem. The man, draped in animal skins, was babbling in English and the Palestinians phoned their Israeli counterparts for advice. "Animal skins?" said the experienced Israeli officer. "Oh, he's just another John-the-Baptist" (see Matthew 3:4).

The book of revelation belongs to the New Testament, and generally speaking Jews don't buy into all that spooky stuff about lakes of sulphur, "end time" and the tribulation. But then again, no one wants to be a wet blanket. Israel's tourism ministry, in a document outlining millennial preparations, proudly reports new pier facilities at the Sea of Galilee "so visitors can experience crossing the very waters upon which Jesus walked." One would never guess the report was written by non-believers. (Though regarding construction in Nazareth, the brochure notes that "pilgrims can now stroll down ... to Mary's Well, the alleged site of Mary's first encounter with the Archangel Gabriel" (emphasis added).

The Jews of Israel are often intrigued, even amused, by evangelical Christians. According to Christian theology, Jesus will reappear when all the world's Jews return to Israel. For this reason some of Israel's most fervent backers are gentiles. David Parsons, an official with the Christian Embassy in Jerusalem, said his organization has been working for years to rescue Jews from the former Soviet Union and bring them "home."

"We believe we're in prophetic times," said Mr. Parsons in a telephone interview, "but certain things still have to happen before he (Jesus) comes." Namely, there's the problem of stubborn Jewish families in North America, and a few other places, who are delaying paradise by refusing to sell the house and move to Zion.

Mr. Parsons, a 39-year-old native of North Carolina, describes his organization as "a voice for millions of Christians around the world who share a love and concern for Israel and the Jewish people and who understand its biblical and prophetic significance." Two weeks ago, he met with Israeli tourism officials to review arrangements for next year. Most of the discussion was about parking and hotel facilities, not Jerusalem Syndrome, which in any case Mr. Parsons thinks is overrated. "Once in a while you'll have someone who comes to Israel and is a little overwhelmed by the spiritual experience. Mostly, these are a few dozen people every year and you send them on a flight back to their families and they're perfectly fine. It wears off in a couple of days."

But the fact Israeli authorities are receiving special training betrays a certain anxiety. Among those sounding the alarm is Prof. Ronald Landes, a medieval historian at Boston University and director of that school's Centre for Millennial Studies. In a recent paper, Prof. Landes argues that if Christ fails to appear, millions of disappointed and bitter Christians will be looking for someone to blame, and that someone will be the Jews. "One of the most fundamental and enduring of Christian eschatological beliefs is that at the end of time the Jews will convert to Christianity," writes Prof. Landes. "As profound and sincere as Christian apocalyptic support for Israel may be now, at another stage of their hopes the continuance of ... Judaism will register in exactly the opposite way -- an obstacle to God's plan."

Prof. Landes is currently in Israel circulating his paper to officials and interviewing Christians who have already begun to gather on the Mount of Olives to welcome their Lord and Saviour. "They're very sweet now -- but that's my point," he said. "You're looking at this and you're saying, I only see a couple of people and they're kind of flaky, so it's no big deal. But I'm saying you've got to look for this becoming a much bigger movement than anybody anticipated. One characteristic of millennial time is that discourse which seems marginal moves to the centre." Among his recommendations is that pilgrims sign a prelanding agreement and that Israeli intelligence begin monitoring the mailings and finances of Christian apocalyptic groups.

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To be fair, it's not only Christians who have messianic visions. Some religious Jews also are awaiting 2000 with eyes trained heavenward. One Jewish group has even enlisted the help of a Protestant cattle rancher to breed a perfect red heifer, in order that the great temple in Jerusalem may be rebuilt. According to the Hebrew bible, the ashes of a red heifer, one "without spot, wherein is no blemish," are needed to purify the temple site. Problem is, the site is now a Muslim holy place, occupied by the Dome of the Rock. It is not inconceivable that messianic Jews and Christians will band together and try to destroy the Dome of the Rock to make way for the temple. The leader of the so-called Temple Institute, an American-born rabbi named Chaim Richman, while declining comment, does, however, maintain an Internet site. It allows Web wanderers to order his book, *The Mystery of the Red Heifer*, or inquire "about having Rabbi Richman speak to your group on his speaking tours."

So where does this leave ordinary Israelis? Well, grouchy. It's hard enough trying to build a western style of life in the Middle East without being accosted by westerners who, it turns out, are nuttier than anyone actually from the Middle East. Still, the millennial hoopla will translate into a \$ 3.4 billion U.S. addition to Israel's economy during the next year. And one can only hope that if Jesus or, alternatively, the Jewish messiah shows up, he doesn't miss his own party because some earnest intern has committed him to a hospital bed with the words "Jerusalem Syndrome" on the door.

Leonard Stern writes for the Weekly.

Graphic

Black & White Photo: Rula Halawani, Reuters / The Dome of the Rock mosque and the old city of Jerusalem will help attract \$ 3.4-billion in tourist traffic as the new millennium approaches.

Load-Date: January 5, 1999

*Hypocrisy, corruption and the House of Saud;
And why the West must continue to flatter this cruel, greedy and grasping
regime*

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Byline: Ann Leslie

Body

LET ME tell you about two princes of the all-powerful House of Saud.

The now unstable desert kingdom of Saudi Arabia which spawned them - as well as Bin Laden and 15 of the 19 hijackers - sits on a quarter of the world's oil reserves and is, of course, a crucial ally in our 'war against terrorism'.

The first prince - one of around 7,000 in the roughly 30,000-strong House of Saud - is young, handsome, Western-educated, and breathtakingly rich, and he invited me to a party shortly after I first arrived in the capital, Riyadh.

A mere 50 years ago, the now gleaming, skyscrapered, palace-littered city was a dusty little desert oasis, but even now, for all its display of wealth, it's hardly what you'd call a happenin' kind of party town. The threat of a public flogging for downing the odd whisky and soda tends to put a dampener on things.

I knew that the Prince was legendary among London's casinos and call-girls, and he clearly had a blithe disregard for the strictures of the state creed of Wahhabism, a harshly puritanical version of Islam. But so what? Rules are for commoners, not for royals like himself.

I declined the invitation because I, a modestly dressed, if unveiled, Western woman, had already been mildly harassed by the Muttawa'in, the religious police who - often in brutal Taliban style - enforce Saudi's dress codes and its anti-alcohol laws.

The Prince was airily dismissive of my fears. 'Oh, believe me, dear lady, these stupid savages won't dare to bother you, because you are my guest! You like whisky? Chivas Regal? Johnny Walker? Black or Red? No problem! I've ordered two bottles per person tonight!' By Western standards the party was, I gathered later, rather staid, despite 150 guests, the industrial quantities of alcohol and the unveiled women freely mixing with men who were not their relatives.

How different it would have been if the host were not royal, and adultery had been suspected among the guests. Then, a reveller or two might well have been publicly executed in Riyadh's so-called 'Chop Square' after Friday prayers.

Hypocrisy, corruption and the House of Saud ; And why the West must continue to flatter this cruel, greedy and grasping regime

But it is precisely these decadent (and deeply hypocritical) antics of billionaire princelings like my putative host that have so enraged fundamentalist groups, making the overthrow of the Saudi royal house the number one priority on Bin Laden's wish-list.

When, from his cave, he railed against corrupt, hereditary Moslem regimes, he was talking about the Saud family - whose lavish patronage enabled Bin Laden's father (an illiterate construction boss) to become one of the richest men in the world.

The money which paid for the Prince's party that night, his three palaces, his mansion in Spain and his patronage of the fleshpots of the West came, of course, from the Family's skimming of oil revenues and from massive 'commissions' on all major contracts, including arms.

According to Bin Laden and his cohorts, the Family has stolen the nation's oil, 'Allah's gift to the faithful'; its corrupt stranglehold over the faithful must therefore be destroyed.

DESPITE squandering billions on commission-rich armaments (much of it too sophisticated for Saudis themselves to operate successfully) the kingdom is still unable to defend itself, and has therefore committed the sin of inviting in the 'infidel', America. No wonder that, according to Islamist dissident sources, more than 10,000 Saudis have received terrorist training in Bin Laden's camps.

The second prince also threw a party which took place in Dhahran on the eve of the Gulf War. This time my host was the late Prince Fahd, a close relative of the King. American-educated, highly sophisticated, witty and intelligent, Prince Fahd was a racehorse enthusiast and then the proud billionaire owner of Whatcombe stables near Lambourne in Berkshire.

There was no alcohol on offer, and only a handful of women (Westerners like myself) were invited. All the many princes present wore flowing white robes and traditional headgear and nibbled at a sumptuous buffet laid out in a Bedouin 'tent', lined in silk with priceless carpets in a lush garden outside the city, far from the sound of the 'infidel' British Tornado jets screaming overhead.

I challenged Prince Fahd about Saudi abuses of human rights: the use of torture, secret courts and summary executions to crush all dissent. I also asked why independent political parties are forbidden, no churches or synagogues are allowed on Saudi soil, and why its women are so grotesquely oppressed.

I told him how exasperated I was by the fact that I, like all women in Saudi, was forbidden to drive a car - and how that very morning I had been stopped by an official from taking a lift with a male colleague on the grounds that he was not a relative, and therefore I was liable to lure him into adulterous behaviour.

The official had ordered me out of my colleague's car and shoved me into a taxi instead. But, I pointed out, the taxi driver wasn't one of my male relatives either, so where was the logic in his demand?

The thunderous expression on the official's face soon made me abandon that line of argument.

The Prince sighed, slightly exasperated by my complaints, and suavely replied: 'Oh, the taxi business seems ridiculous, I agree, but that's our local custom.

'Officially, we don't allow women to drive because we respect women, and want to protect them from having to deal with traffic; and of course to protect men from temptation and women from dishonour.' But here I am, I pointed out, at a party with you, and you are not a male relative, neither are any of those present, so why don't these 'ridiculous' rules apply here?

'Because,' said the Prince patiently, 'all of us here are educated, modern-minded people - which, despite our efforts, most of our people are not.' (Almost half of all Saudis are said to be functionally illiterate.) 'Please understand that here in Saudi Arabia we are trying to create a modern society, and a modern society must have proper democracy and full civil rights for women.

Hypocrisy, corruption and the House of Saud ; And why the West must continue to flatter this cruel, greedy and grasping regime

'In fact, I would very much like a parliamentary democracy like the British have, where it's possible for a woman even to become a leader.

But we are not ready for all that yet.

We can buy modern hospitals, modern schools, modern buildings - but we cannot buy modern minds.

'That will take at least 50 years. So we must modernise carefully and sensitively at a pace which does not upset the traditions and feelings of our people. The Shah of Iran tried to modernise too quickly - with the result that he was overthrown by Ayatollah Khomeini.

'And would you want us to do that - just so you can drive a car?' But however liberal my host was, the fact is that time is running out for the few 'careful' modernisers in the House of Saud. In the past, the Family has always been able to buy off dissatisfaction by hurling petrodollars at it.

But thanks to its profligacy the country is now bankrupt.

In the early Eighties, Saudi Arabia's per capita income was over GBP 20,000 a year (on a par with America); it has now fallen to GBP 5,000. When I spoke to Prince Fahd at the Dhahran party a decade ago, unemployment was virtually unknown: now it is 18 per cent and rising.

The decadence and corruption of the first party-giving prince disgusts most Saudis, whether fundamentalist or not, and they blame these greedy royals for the parlous state of their country today.

The cautious 'modernising' tendency of the second prince I talked to in that Bedou 'tent' inflames both the fundamentalists and the modernisers.

The fundamentalists view modernisation as 'anti-Islamic' while the second group - the rising, restive middle-class modernisers - feel modernisation is crippled by the autocratic power of the Family, on whose favours their prosperity depends.

One such businessman told me: 'If we want to be a modern society, we must have democracy and the rule of law, which we can't as long as the Sauds retain total power.' But it's the fundamentalists, not the modernisers, who really worry the Family.

To appease them, the Family let them to take over the education system: two-thirds of the school curriculum now consists of 'religious studies'. Many of those studies emphasise Salafi, an even more puritanical form of Wahabi Islam.

Thanks to the burgeoning birth rate (the average Saudi woman bears six children) half of the nation's 14million inhabitants are under 18.

Most of those leaving school or university have no qualifications other than narrowly religious ones.

Apart from joining the Muttawa religious police, graduates have little hope of meaningful employment.

No wonder such unemployed and unemployable youths are flocking to Bin Laden.

The irony is that the House of Saud created the monster which now threatens to destroy it. It was Saudi money which created the Taliban by financing the fundamentalist Madrassa religious schools in Pakistan from which they sprang.

Vast sums of Saudi cash are (according to intelligence reports) still being channelled, however unwittingly in some cases, into the Al Qaeda network.

Hypocrisy, corruption and the House of Saud ; And why the West must continue to flatter this cruel, greedy and grasping regime

Saudi petrodollars have long financed terrorist groups like **Hamas**, which recently sent a suicide bomber into a Jerusalem pizzeria to slaughter innocent Israeli **women** and children.

Saudi money, via so-called Islamic 'charitable institutions', has been bankrolling our own Moslem fundamentalists - who claim benefits from British social security, and who use their Saudi-financed mosques to urge disaffected young Moslems in Britain to mount a jihad against a free world which so foolishly shelters these maniacal rabble-rousers.

SO FRIGHTENED is the Family of the monster it has created that it has refused to allow the FBI and CIA to investigate the hijackers' backgrounds.

And despite revoking the citizenship of Bin Laden, it still refuses to freeze his financial assets.

Some experts believe that Saudi Arabia will be brought down, not by the fundamentalists, but by a long-running and venomous feud between rival factions vying for the succession within the Royal Family.

In 1995 King Fahd was struck down by a stroke which has rendered him virtually helpless, unable to speak coherently and even, it's said, sometimes unable to recognise members of his close family.

But whatever happens in Saudi Arabia, democracy, as we understand it, is not going to be the winner in this battle for power.

And for all our talk about the desirability of democracy, perhaps we should not be in a hurry to wish it on Saudi Arabia just yet.

The uncomfortable fact is that, in any free and fair vote, the fundamentalists might well win - and thereafter, as they've promised to do, abolish elections altogether.

So perhaps we must, in our own interests, continue to soothe and flatter this grasping, cruel and corrupt family.

But let's not imagine that this allegedly moderate Arab regime is wholeheartedly helping us in our fight for freedom and democracy against Bin Laden and his terrorists.

It is not doing so, will not do so and - for the sake of its survival (and perhaps ours) - dare not do so.

Graphic

THE REAL FACE OF SAUDI ARABIA: PUBLIC FLOGGINGS, SUCH AS THE ONE BEING ADMINISTERED HERE BY POLICE, ARE FREQUENT

Load-Date: October 27, 2001

**SOME PALESTINIANS FEAR THE STATEHOOD THEY SEEK / "PEOPLE
DON'T HAVE FAITH IN THE FUTURE," ONE SAID. HE CITED A DESIRE FOR
ECONOMIC SECURITY.**

The Philadelphia Inquirer

NOVEMBER 13, 1998 Friday SF EDITION

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Dateline: RAMALLAH, West Bank

Body

The personal ads speak of Palestinians' anxiety about the future.

"Girl from Bethlehem, 18, student, fair-skinned, green-eyed, seeks man from inside the green line," reads one recent advertisement, using an expression that means Israel proper as opposed to the West Bank or Gaza. In another, a man describing himself as a 26-year-old intellectual from Ramallah says he wants to marry a woman "from within the green line," and "age and religion are unimportant."

There has been a wave of such ads in Fosta, a Palestinian women's magazine. Fawzi Abdo, 32, the publisher, said that well over half the personal advertisers in his magazine are West Bank or Gaza residents looking for a way out.

Although some advertise for spouses with foreign passports, it is far more popular to request a mate with Israeli documents. A West Banker who makes such a match (usually with an Israeli Arab, though occasionally with a Jew) can apply for an Israeli identity card.

And that card offers a potential escape valve from a future that Palestinians both long for and fear: a Palestinian state.

"People don't have faith in the future of the Palestinian state," Abdo said. "They're used to thinking of the worst, and they'll figure: Better the devil you know than the devil you don't know. They're looking for economic security. If they get an Israeli identity card, they'll be able to work."

It is one of the internal contradictions for Palestinians living here. As much as they hanker for a state of their own, they are ambivalent about the practical impact. In immediate terms, they fear that statehood will cut them off from jobs and other opportunities in Israel. In the long run, they recognize that the proto-state emerging under Yasir Arafat's leadership does not live up to their dreams of a homeland.

SOME PALESTINIANS FEAR THE STATEHOOD THEY SEEK / "PEOPLE DON'T HAVE FAITH IN THE FUTURE," ONE SAID. HE CITED A DESIRE FOR ECONOMIC SECURITY.

Recent polls show that Palestinians are hardly more enthusiastic about the prospect of statehood than are Israeli Jews. The Center for Palestine Research and Studies in Nablus found in a poll last month that only 45 percent of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza supported Arafat's announced plan to unilaterally declare a state in May when a deadline for a negotiated settlement with Israel expires.

More telling, Palestinians polled gave higher marks to Israel than to Arafat's self-rule Palestinian Authority in respecting human rights. Asked to rate the level of "democracy and human rights" in Israel, 70 percent of those polled answered "good or very good," while only 27 percent answered positively about the Palestinian Authority's track record.

"The Palestinian state is the dream of every Palestinian - this is what we've been fighting for all these years - but we want a democratic state that can give people jobs, that can give people civil rights," said Said Abdul Wahed, 45, who teaches romantic poetry at Al Azhar University in Gaza. "We watch the Israelis. They can demonstrate against the government; they can speak out. This is what we want, too."

The Palestinians have been lurching toward some kind of statehood since 1994, when they were granted limited autonomy in the West Bank and Gaza under the Oslo peace accords. They have their own license plates, passports and Olympic team. The International Telecommunications Union last week granted them their own international dialing code (970, as opposed to Israel's 972), although it will not take effect immediately.

Whereas only six years ago, teenagers faced arrest if they were caught with anything resembling a Palestinian flag, nowadays the red, white, green and black flag is found in every Palestinian office.

For all the heady symbolism of potential statehood, the daily lot of Palestinian life has not improved. If anything, it has gotten worse, at least economically. Per-capita income among Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza has dropped 23 percent since the start of the Oslo process, according to the International Monetary Fund. It is not uncommon to hear quiet grumbling that life was better under the Israeli occupation, although for a Palestinian to say so publicly would be considered tantamount to treason.

One reason is that Israel's frequent closure of its borders - usually prompted by some kind of anti-Israel violence in the territories - prevents Palestinians from reaching their jobs inside Israel. Roughly 40 percent of Palestinians' personal income is earned from work in Israel. Not without reason, Palestinians fret that statehood will mean more separation from Israel, tighter border crossings, and further loss of income.

Hence, the craze for Palestinians to seek spouses living within Israel - the "blue marriages," as they are nicknamed after the color of the coveted Israeli identity card.

"It's no secret. Whoever has a blue ID card has freedom of movement and can get through the checkpoints," Israeli Interior Minister Eli Suissa said in a recent interview. He said so many Palestinians were applying for Israeli identity cards that his office had a backlog of 10,000 applications only for Jerusalem.

"What's happening is that people who live in the territories find it better and more secure [in Israel]," Suissa said. "I can understand that."

As it stands, more than 90 percent of the Palestinian population in the West Bank lives under Palestinian rule, in a scattering of disconnected land areas amounting to 27 percent of the territory. If the Wye agreement reached last month is implemented, the land total will jump to 40 percent. (The agreement does not affect the territorial division on the Gaza Strip, which is 60 percent under Palestinian rule.)

Is it enough land on which to build a viable state? Palestinian critics of the Oslo process say no, and say Arafat is effectively building a jail with token self-rule by the inmates.

"It is not that people don't want the Palestinian state as a matter of self-determination. It is our right," said Hanan Ashrawi, a former member of the Palestinian cabinet who parted ways with Arafat over the summer. "They are afraid that Israel will exploit the idea of statehood and we will be enclosed on these little reservations."

SOME PALESTINIANS FEAR THE STATEHOOD THEY SEEK / "PEOPLE DON'T HAVE FAITH IN THE FUTURE," ONE SAID. HE CITED A DESIRE FOR ECONOMIC SECURITY.

Among other prominent Palestinian intellectuals, Edward Said has compared the Palestinian self-rule areas to Bantustans in Africa.

"If the last few years have proved one thing, it is the bankruptcy of the vision proclaimed by Oslo and of the leadership that engineered the whole wretched thing," Said wrote in a recent issue of Cairo's Al-Ahram weekly. "It left huge numbers of Palestinians unrepresented, impoverished. . . . It validated the notion of what can only be called petty Palestinian nationalism, which in reality was little more than a few worn-out slogans and the survival of the old PLO leadership."

Arafat's personal approval rating in the polls is at its lowest level since 1994, according to the Center for Palestine Research and Studies.

Palestinians frequently complain that their 69-year-old leader, with his trembling lips, is too frail to go up against the pugnacious Israeli prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, in the tough negotiations. Several of his key players, Ashrawi being the most prominent, resigned this summer after Arafat broke a promise to reshuffle his cabinet and clean up the mismanagement and corruption riddling his four-year-old government.

Ashrawi blamed a guerrilla mentality left over from the years that the PLO was in exile in Tunis. "This is not a revolution anymore," she said. "This is a government. When they came back from Tunis, they had to learn how to work within a civil society. It is that transition that is not happening. If the leadership loses the support of the people, they will have to resort to undemocratic means."

The peace agreement signed Oct. 23 at Wye has only accentuated the weaknesses within the Palestinian leadership. Arafat, apparently trying to live up to a promise to crack down on terrorism, has ordered the arrest of hundreds of Islamic militants - some of them potential terrorists, but others political opponents. Journalists were even arrested when they tried to interview Sheik Ahmed Yassin, the spiritual leader of Hamas, the night the Wye pact was signed in Washington.

If further signs were needed of an ineffectual government, the tragic farce resulting from the Palestinian Authority's attempt to confiscate illegal weapons would qualify. Two Palestinian police agencies led by quarreling factions of Arafat's Fatah party ended up in a shoot-out with each other. An 18-year-old high school student, Wassim Tarifi, was killed in the Oct. 25 incident.

"I don't see how we can have a Palestinian state in May if this sort of thing is happening. Maybe we're not ready," said Amal Krieshe, 40, a women's activist who attended the youth's funeral in Ramallah.

There were more than 5,000 people at the funeral, a large crowd for a demonstration that was neither anti-Israeli nor pro-Islamic. Among the hand-drawn banners carried by the protesters was one reading: "A homeland where we cannot preserve our existence, we don't deserve."

"We feel like strangers in our own homeland," said Khalid Helo, 39, a physician who was another of the marchers. "So far, what we have seen of a Palestinian state has not lived up to our dreams."

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The News In Brief

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Body

The US

Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan defended the Fed's involvement in the bailout of a speculative hedge fund. The failure of Connecticut-based Long-Term Capital Management LP "could have potentially impaired the economies of many nations, including our own," Greenspan said in testimony prepared for the House Banking Committee. Fifteen firms agreed Sept 23 to take an equity stake in the fund, committing a total of \$ 3.6 billion.

California Gov. Pete Wilson signed a law designed to stop the media from stalking celebrities and harassing crime victims. The statute, which takes effect Jan. 1, authorizes courts to impose punitive damages against media outlets that film or record people "engaging in a personal or family activity in circumstances where they had a reasonable expectation of privacy."

President Clinton cut the nation's quota for refugees in fiscal 1999 to 78,000, down from 83,000 in fiscal 1998. That returns the quota to its fiscal 1997 level, the lowest in the past decade. The order reduces entry levels from East Asia by 5,000, from Europe by 3,000, and from Latin America by 1,000. It will allow 5,000 more refugees from Africa.

A type of thermal and sound insulation implicated in fires on other jetliners has been found in the wreckage of Swissair Flight 111, the airline confirmed. All 229 people aboard the flight were killed in a Sept. 2 crash. Swissair was told by McDonnell Douglas in October 1997 to replace the metalized Mylar insulation "at the next convenient grounding," a Swissair spokesman said. However, the plane had no major maintenance after that date. Safety officials say the insulation allows electrical fires to spread.

Long-term interest rates hit new lows, which means mortgage rates should also decline. The rate on 30-year Treasury bonds fell to 4.96 percent, the lowest level in the bond's 30-year history. Analysts said that should bring 30-year, fixed-mortgage rates from 6.75 to 6.5 percent by mid-October, taking \$ 18 a month off the payment for a \$ 100,000 mortgage. Analysts attribute rate drops to uncertainty in financial markets, which drives investors to relatively safe Treasury bonds.

The manufacturing sector slowed in September, but the downturn was softer than economists expected. The National Association of Purchasing Management said its monthly activity index held steady at 49.4 percent, the same level as in August. Economists had predicted a more severe decline because of global economic problems. The report marked the fourth straight month the index was under 50 percent, a sign of industrial contraction.

The News In Brief

Two major newspapers filed a copyright-infringement lawsuit against a Web site that posts their stories without permission. The lawsuit filed by the Los Angeles Times and The Washington Post in US court in Los Angeles accuses the Free Republic site of using hundreds of stories from the newspapers, violating their copyrights, and diverting users and potential revenue from their own Web sites. Free Republic operator Jim Robinson said the practice is protected by the First Amendment and the "fair use" doctrine of copyright law.

Steelmakers and workers accused producers in Russia, Japan, and Brazil of dumping hot-rolled steel in the US market - and asked the government to impose hefty duties on the imports. The United Steelworkers of America union joined 12 steel companies in filing what they said was the first of a number of cases designed to curb surging steel imports which are forcing US production cutbacks and layoffs.

Makah Indians were to resume whale hunting from a tribal reservation in Washington State after a hiatus of 70 years. The Makah is the only tribe whose treaty with the US specifically preserves the right to hunt whales. Nonetheless, the threat to grey whales has sparked an outcry from animal-rights groups - and some were sending ships to prevent the tribe from succeeding in its plan to kill five whales.

The World

NATO and the UN Security Council were holding special meetings to decide on strategies for addressing the latest reports of atrocities in Kosovo. London's Guardian newspaper reported the discovery of the third apparent massacre of ethnic Albanians by Serb forces within 48 hours. It also said 50 Albanian men have not been seen since Serb forces led them from Vranic, a village southwest of Kosovo's capital, Pristina. In Washington, Secretary of State Albright, Defense Secretary Cohen, and National Security Adviser Berger were to brief US senators on possible Western military intervention in Kosovo.

The grenade attack by a Palestinian against Israeli troops in the volatile West Bank city of Hebron will not halt preparations for the mid-October summit at Camp David, Md., Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu said. Fourteen Israelis and 11 Palestinians were hurt in the attack, which was blamed on the militant Hamas movement. Secretary of State Albright and special US envoy Dennis Ross are due in the Middle East Tuesday for talks to set the stage for the Camp David meeting.

One day after announcing its troops had captured a vital Tamil rebel stronghold, the government of Sri Lanka acknowledged an equally damaging defeat. It said the strategic northern city of Kilinochchi had fallen to the rebels, with "about 1,200" deaths. The rebels, fighting for an independent homeland, had held the city from 1990 to 1996 before Army troops took over control.

Final opinion polls showed the Liberal-National Party coalition and the opposition Labor Party virtually even as voters head to the polls tomorrow for Australia's general election. But analysts were predicting that even if Prime Minister John Howard led the coalition back to power, it could come at the cost of as many as 20 seats in parliament and cost him his job. Howard's continued interest in introducing a 10 percent flat tax on goods and services - a measure widely unpopular with voters - is cited as a cause of the Labor Party's resurgence.

Apparently headed for reelection when Brazilians go to the polls Sunday, President Fernando Henrique Cardoso told a final campaign rally his government is strong enough to demand that world leaders solve the spreading financial malaise that threatens national stability. Latin America's largest economy, has been battered by market slumps from New York to Tokyo and is seeking bailout help from the International Monetary Fund and Group of Seven countries. Challengers Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva and Ciro Gomes warned of recession if Cardoso is reelected.

In an apparently spontaneous incident, hundreds of angry Peruvians broke away from a protest march in Lima and smashed windows and other property at the presidential palace. They were dispersed by riot police throwing tear-gas canisters and firing into the air. At least 12 people were hurt and 20 others were arrested. The demonstration began as a show of opposition to calls for President Alberto Fujimori to seek a third term at a time when most Peruvian workers have only low-paying, part-time jobs with no benefits.

The News In Brief

Another obstacle to economic and democratic reform in Nigeria will be pulled down before the end of the year, interim President Abdulsalam Abubakar announced. He said the controversial dual-rate system of foreign exchange would be abandoned - a move likely to put the government on a better footing with lenders such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. The system allows the government to buy US dollars at one-quarter the rate paid by other Nigerians. The system has been heavily abused by the military elite.

Etceteras

"We're moving forward with possible use of force. We're entering a real critical phase."

- A senior Clinton administration official, speaking on condition of anonymity, on the likelihood that Western allies will intervene militarily in the Kosovo crisis.

Mark McGwire's record season has ensured him a place not just in baseball's record book; it also qualified him for road atlases. The US Senate has voted to rename I-70 as it passes through St. Louis County, Mo., for the Cardinals star. The idea came from Post-Dispatch columnist Bernie Miklasz, who wrote of McGwire's 70 round-trippers: "That's not a home-run total; that's an interstate." Not adopted was the writer's suggestion that a colossus of the slugger straddle the highway.

The political party of German Chancellor-elect Gerhard Schroder was delighted when his toothy grin helped win over millions of voters last weekend. But the Social Democrats (SDP) aren't at all happy that a toothpaste company also finds the Schroder grin irresistible. Full-page ads for British-made Perlweiss appeared in newspapers within 72 hours of the election, showing Schroder flashing his - well - pearly whites above the slogan, "He showed them all." But using photos of public figures for commercial purposes without permission is illegal in Germany, and the SDP insists that Perlweiss stop or face the bite of legal action.

The Day's List

Nations Where Women's Share of Pay Is Highest

A recent report from the UN Development Program indicates the share of total earned income paid to women varies widely from country to country - from more than 47 percent in Tanzania to less than 10 percent in Qatar. Using 1995 data, it lists the share for the US as 40.3 percent; for Canada, 37.96 percent. The UN report credits the following nations as having the highest percentage of total earned income going to women:

1. Tanzania 47.29%
2. Cambodia 45.17
3. Sweden 44.70
4. Latvia 43.98
5. Ghana 43.30
6. Ukraine 42.38
7. Norway 42.36

8. Burundi42.34

9. Burma (Myanmar)42.33

10. Vietnam42.03

Graphic

PHOTOS: 1) Makah Indians paddle a dugout canoe into the Pacific during an August practice. BY ELAINE THOMPSON/AP 2) Albanian women and children wait for transportation back to Vranic. BY OLEG POPOV/REUTERS MAP: Showing Nigeria. BY STAFF

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The News In Brief

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Body

The US

As the House prepared to launch a formal impeachment inquiry, Congress was straining to pass the appropriations needed to prevent a government shutdown. President Clinton signed a \$ 20.8 billion bill to fund energy, nuclear, and science programs, but it was only the second of 13 annual spending bills to be signed into law this year. With temporary funding for much of the government set to expire at midnight Friday, White House and congressional negotiators were trying to craft an alternative, catchall spending package.

Americans' economic worries may help Clinton in his struggle to avoid impeachment. A new poll conducted for The Christian Science Monitor found that most respondents say removing Clinton from office could damage the job market. Women and minorities were particularly concerned. The poll found that most of those who approved of Clinton's performance were worried about possible economic fallout if he is replaced.

Clinton signed into law a bill designed to make college more affordable. The statute cuts interest rates on federally backed student loans to the lowest levels in 17 years and raises grants to poor students to their highest levels. It also contains new grants for states to improve teacher training and allows new teachers and child-care workers who take jobs in poor school districts to write off up to \$ 5,000 in student loans.

The president vetoed an agriculture-spending bill containing a \$ 4.2 billion GOP-backed emergency farm-aid plan. White House spokesman Joe Lockhart said Clinton found the farm aid inadequate and he wants House and Senate negotiators to try to fashion a new package even though Congress plans to adjourn this weekend. The emergency-aid provision was part of a \$ 60 billion spending measure.

Visa and MasterCard are limiting choice and inhibiting competition by preventing their participating banks from offering other cards, the government alleged in an antitrust lawsuit. The nation's two biggest credit-card networks reportedly account for 75 percent of US credit-card sales. The lawsuit, filed in US court in New York, also challenges joint control of the two networks by the same group of large banks.

Major League Baseball seemed headed for a fundamental change as the House sent Clinton a bill that would partially overturn a 76-year-old Supreme Court ruling that exempted baseball from antitrust laws on grounds that it is a game and not a business. The exemption deprived players of some of the protections enjoyed by other professional athletes, and it has been blamed for baseball's many strikes.

The News In Brief

The Senate gave final approval to a measure providing \$ 97 million in military aid to Iraqi rebels trying to drive President Saddam Hussein from power. The bill, which also earmarks \$ 2 million for Radio Free Iraq, had already passed the House. It cleared the Senate on a voice vote.

The House voted to require firms doing business on the Internet to verify an adult's age before showing material "harmful to minors." Included in the measure, passed on a voice vote, was a less controversial proposal to require companies on the Internet to obtain parental consent before taking personal data from children. If passed, the bill would offer the first federal privacy protection for people using the Internet.

US copyright protections would be extended by 20 years in line with European practice under a bill approved by the Senate. Current copyright law gives authors, songwriters, and other artists exclusive rights to their work for life plus 50 years. Most European countries had offered the same protection until 1995, when the European Union extended its policy to life plus 70 years. The Senate passed the bill, now headed to the House, on a voice vote.

The World

Foreign-embassy staffs and UN refugee-agency personnel were bailing out of Kosovo and the Yugoslav capital, Belgrade, with punitive air strikes by NATO expected "in the next few days," according to Secretary of State Albright. She ordered special US envoy Richard Holbrooke back to Belgrade for more talks with Yugoslav President Milosevic. But the latter said the threat of NATO attacks "obstructs the continuation of the political process" toward a Kosovo settlement.

Albright was to brief delegates from the so-called "Contact Group" nations in London on the Kosovo crisis. One of them, Russia, opposes military intervention, but Albright said: "If force is necessary, we will not be deterred by the fact that the Russians do not agree." NATO, said US Defense Secretary Cohen, has 430 planes ready to bomb Yugoslav targets - 260 of them American.

Leaders of the militant **Hamas** movement were warned by the Palestinian Authority not to carry out attacks against Israel with agreement on a troop pullback from the West Bank apparently close. Authority President Yasser Arafat and Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu are due to meet with President Clinton in Washington Thursday to conclude a possible deal. Meanwhile, in the volatile West Bank city of Hebron, one Palestinian died and at least 20 others were wounded when Israeli troops fired rubber-coated bullets at stone-throwers protesting a week-long curfew.

The first fighting between Iranian and Taliban forces massed along the border with Afghanistan was reported. TV newscasts in Tehran said Taliban units had shot at border posts but were driven off by an Iranian counterattack. No casualties were mentioned. Taliban spokesmen denied that three weeks of tensions had escalated into battle.

Three days after his call for establishment of a national security council that would give Pakistan's military a role in setting economic, social, and political policy, Army chief Jehangir Karamat abruptly resigned. His words had stirred worry about a possible new seizure of the government by soldiers. Editorials called his resignation announcement "the honorable way to settle what appeared to be yet another messy and destabilizing" power struggle between Pakistan's civilian government and the military.

Five senior opposition leaders, encouraged that Nigeria's new military ruler is opening up the political system to democratic reform, returned from self-imposed exile. They'd fled the authoritarian rule of the late President Sani Abacha. Each said he'd participate in the process leading to new elections next year. The group did not include Nobel Literature Prize-winner Wole Soyinka, whose treason charges were dropped by Abacha's successor, but his return also was expected within days.

A landslide victory appeared likely for Azerbaijan President Haydar Aliyev in his bid to win a second five-year term Sunday. Aliyev needs a two-thirds majority to avoid a runoff against any of five challengers, but analysts said there was little doubt he'd get it. Much of his campaign was based on the \$ 40 billion in new deals he signed with foreign companies to develop Azerbaijan's Caspian Sea oil reserves.

The News In Brief

The 1998 Nobel Prize for literature was awarded to Portuguese novelist Jose Saramago - the fourth European in a row to be so honored. The selection committee praised his work for its "imagination, compassion, and irony." His best-known work, "The Stone Raft," describes a vision of Portugal and Spain, the Iberian Peninsula, breaking off from Europe and drifting out to sea.

Etceteras

" Time is all but gone." - Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, telling reporters in Brussels that NATO commanders would receive authorization 'in the next few days' for punitive air strikes against Yugoslavia.

Remember Rosie Nelson? She's the Charleston, W.Va., resident cited in this space recently who was notified twice in June that since she'd died her Social Security checks were being cut off. Each time, bureaucrats assured her the mix-up would be corrected. But guess what? Earlier this week, the US Treasury asked for her latest payment back since it had learned she was dead. Once again, the folks at the Social Security system are looking into the problem.

Despite expecting heavy demand for "Titanic" costumes this Halloween - due to the box-office success of the film - rental shops in Boston; Derry, N.H.; and Fort Lauderdale, Fla., report that it hasn't happened so far. What most trick-or-treaters have been requesting are masks of President Clinton and Monica Lewinsky - along with such items as berets and the necktie styles she gave him.

The Day's List

Cost of Going to College Outpaces Inflation Again

A new College Board survey of 3,000 institutions indicates students are paying their colleges and universities about 4 percent more this year than they did in 1997 - more than double the inflation rate. Adjusted for inflation, tuition at public four-year institutions has risen 50 percent over the past decade. During that period, inflation-adjusted family income rose only 1.5 percent. A look at the average of college expenses this year, as indicated by the survey:

Tuition and fees:

Private 4-year college\$ 14,508

Private 2-year college\$ 7,333

Public 4-year college\$ 3,243

Public 2-year college\$ 1,633

Room and board:

Private 4-year college\$ 5,765

Private 2-year college\$ 4,666

Public 4-year college\$ 4,530

Public 2-year college (not avail.)

- Associated Press

TO OUR READERS : The Christian Science Monitor will not be published Columbus Day, Monday, Oct. 12, a legal holiday in the United States.

Graphic

PHOTOS: 1) Connecticut Light & Power workers get their gear in order at an East Windsor motel prior to leaving for Puerto Rico to help utilities still recovering from hurricane Georges. BY CARLA M. CATALDI/AP 2) A convoy leaves the US Embassy compound for temporary accommodations in neighboring Hungary. BY IVAN MILUTINOVIC/REUTERS MAP: Showing Azerbaijan. BY STAFF

Load-Date: October 8, 1998

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The News In Brief

Christian Science Monitor (Boston, MA)

August 28, 1998, Friday

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Section: NEWS IN BRIEF; Pg. 2

Length: 1478 words

Byline: Compiled by Robert Kilborn and Lance Carden

Body

The US

Hurricane Bonnie slowed and lost some strength as it crept across North Carolina, but still threatened to cause major flooding. No widespread damage, injuries, or deaths were reported - and top winds had moderated to about 50 m.p.h. Nonetheless, officials said the storm could still leave up to 16 inches of rain and serious flooding in the eastern third of the state.

A new probe to determine whether an independent counsel should conduct a full investigation of Vice President Gore's campaign fund-raising calls was opened by Attorney General Janet Reno, US officials said. It was the second time Reno had authorized a 90-day Justice Department study of 45 phone calls Gore made from his office in fall 1995 and spring 1996. In December, Reno closed an earlier probe, saying evidence did not warrant an independent-counsel investigation.

A top UN weapons expert resigned over the latest impasse in Iraqi arms inspections. Scott Ritter, an American and seven-year veteran of the UN Special Commission, issued a scathing indictment of the Security Council, the US, and the UN chief for not bringing Iraq into compliance with UN resolutions. Iraq said his comments proved he was an agent for Israeli and US spy agencies.

Iraq may have used Sudan as a cover to obtain material for illegal chemical weapons outside the scrutiny of UN inspectors, the State Department said. A department spokesman said hundreds of Iraqi experts have worked in Sudan since the Persian Gulf War, some in munitions factories.

The chemical EMPTA could be used for commercial purposes such as fungicides - not just for VX nerve gas, The New York Times reported. The Times quoted a spokesman for the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons, who said he based his statement on a search of scientific papers. He noted, however, that he was not aware of products on the market that contain EMPTA. US intelligence officials have cited discovery of traces of the chemical on the property of a factory in Sudan as one reason for the US bombing of the facility.

A subsidiary of a California agricultural cooperative pleaded guilty to making illegal contributions to political campaigns for President Bush and Sen. Robert Dole, the Justice Department said. In federal court in Oakland, a subsidiary of Sun-Diamond Growers of California was fined \$ 400,000, the maximum allowed. Prosecutors said Sun-Land Products of California made \$ 16,000 in illegal donations to a 1992 Bush-Quayle primary committee and \$ 21,000 in 1993 to a Dole political-action committee.

The News In Brief

President Clinton declared parts of southwest Texas a major disaster area, freeing federal funds to help people in Val Verde County, which includes the city of Del Rio. Further downstream, Rio Grande waters flooded some businesses in Laredo, but officials said residential areas there would apparently not be flooded as they were in Del Rio.

Northwest Airlines canceled hundreds of flights scheduled for today and tomorrow as a strike by its unionized pilots drew near. Northwest said 170 of 1,700 domestic and international flights would be canceled today - along with 230 flights Saturday, the day set for a walkout by the carrier's pilots. About 25,000 passengers had been booked on the flights, most of which begin or end in the hub cities of Detroit; Minneapolis-St. Paul; and Memphis, Tenn..

New York City was wrong to deny a permit to Million Youth March organizers, a federal judge ruled. District Judge Lewis Kaplan said the denial violated free-speech provisions of the Constitution. City officials proposed two relatively remote locations for the 12-hour event, planned for Sept. 5 as a successor to the 1995 Million Man March in Washington. Organizers insisted on Harlem.

The World

Russia's Central Bank halted currency trading for a second straight day amid concerns that the value of the ruble would fall sharply again. Officials said Russia needed to save its hard currency reserves to pay for vital imports and other urgent needs. Meanwhile, a spokesman for Prime Minister Chernomyrdin acknowledged that ideas that once might have seemed "exotic" were being considered to protect the ruble - among them price controls. The Russian crisis caused a 350-point drop in the key US stock index as the Monitor went to press.

Tensions rose again in the aftermath of the US embassy bombings and retaliatory American strikes against suspected terrorist targets in Sudan and Afghanistan. Two suspects in the embassy attack in Kenya, arrived in New York after being extradited by the Nairobi government for arraignment by US officials. Meanwhile, the British government said it was withdrawing its embassy staff in Sudan and warned Britons to stay away from that country. In Pakistan, police kept hundreds of marchers from reaching the US embassy to protest the missile strikes.

Twenty-two American missionaries joined the flight of refugees out of Congo as President Laurent Kabila's troops battled rebels on the edges of the capital for a second straight day. Kinshasa remained under a dusk-to-dawn curfew, but sources said children in the city were responding to a call from Kabila to help hunt for rebel positions. In Zimbabwe, official news sources said President Mugabe was sending reinforcements to join 600 troops already supporting Kabila.

At least 21 Israelis were hurt when a bomb packed with nails exploded on a busy Tel Aviv street during morning rush hour. The impact also damaged nearby vehicles and shops. There was no immediate claim of responsibility, but the blast came one day after a senior Hamas official vowed to attack Israeli targets "any place" in retaliation for last week's US missile strikes in Sudan and Afghanistan.

With a standoff between protesters and the Cambodian government in its fourth day, Premier Hun Sen's supporters gathered signatures on a petition to amend the Constitution so he can rule without opposition support in parliament. The demonstrators were camped outside parliament in defiance of an order to move to a sports arena elsewhere in Phnom Penh. They demand that Hun Sen resign and call new elections because of fraud in the July 26 vote, which gave his People's Party a 64-to-58-seat edge in parliament. The Constitution requires a two-thirds majority to pass legislation.

Lawyers for the two Libyans charged with bombing Pan Am Flight 103 over Scotland in 1988 said their trial in The Hague likely wouldn't be held "before at least a year from now," adding that the suspects had yet to agree to leave their homeland. Libya's Foreign Ministry announced approval of the proposed trial but stopped short of agreeing to hand over the two men. The US reacted cautiously to the Libyan statement, while Britain called it inadequate.

Voters in Panama go to the polls Sunday for a referendum on whether to amend their Constitution, allowing President Ernesto Perez Balladares to seek reelection. His term ends a year from Monday. He has indicated he

The News In Brief

wants to be in power when the US hands over control of the Panama Canal on New Year's Eve of 1999 and has said: "I think I need a second term to bring to fruition many things we have set in motion." Opinion polls indicate the outcome of the referendum is uncertain.

Etceteras

" [The UN Security Council] is no longer willing and/or capable of the implementation of its own law." - US concealment expert Scott Ritter, in a letter of resignation from the special weapons-inspection mission to Iraq.

Got some money to invest? Are you open to buying utility stocks? Then you might consider some shares in the water company in Bunol, Spain, which enjoys especially brisk sales this time of year. The town has just held its annual festival, in which 100 tons of ripe tomatoes are provided, free, for revelers to hurl at each other. The whole thing lasts only an hour - mostly because it's hot there, and the sea of pulp would dry quickly if it weren't washed away by powerful hoses. In fact, there's so much that festival-goers can easily body-surf in the streets.

From London comes word of a new study on what first attracts women to men - and the answer isn't rugged masculinity. It's an honest face.

The Day's List

In Survey, Sydney Retains 'World's Best City' Award

The September issue of Travel & Leisure contains an annual ranking of "The World's Best Cities," based on a survey of the magazine's subscribers. What the new list doesn't feature is a new name in the No. 1 spot. Sydney, Australia, heads the ranking for the third straight year. Survey respondents allowed only three new cities - Vancouver, Canada; New York City; and London - to move into the top 10. The 1998 leaders with their 1997 rankings (in parentheses):

1. Sydney (1)
2. Rome(3)
3. Florence, Italy (2)
4. San Francisco (4)
5. Melbourne, Australia (5)
6. Venice, Italy (6)
7. Paris (7)
8. Vancouver, Canada (15)
9. New York (21)
10. London (13)

- PR Newswire

Graphic

PHOTOS: 1) Pilots picket outside the Minneapolis-St. Paul airport. BY JIM MONE/AP 2) Pakistani in Lahore sells posters of suspected Islamic terrorist- financier Osama bin Laden. BY MOHSIN RAZA/REUTERS 3) In fact, there's so much that festival-goers can easily body-surf in the streets. BY HEINO KALIS/REUTERS MAP: Showing Panama. BY STAFF

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The News in Brief

Christian Science Monitor (Boston, MA)

February 17, 1998, Tuesday

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Section: NEWS IN BRIEF; Pg. 2

Length: 1554 words

Byline: Compiled by Robert Kilborn and Lance Carden

Body

The US

The grand jury looking into President Clinton's ties to Monica Lewinsky may hear testimony today from retired Secret Service officer Lewis Fox. On Friday, Attorney General Janet Reno decided to allow limited questioning of Fox, if protective techniques and procedures of the Secret Service, which has responsibility for guarding the president, are not disclosed. Fox appeared Thursday at the Washington courthouse where the grand jury meets, but did not testify.

US Sen. John McCain said it's time for the president to set a deadline for Saddam Hussein to back down or face US military action. Other lawmakers said Clinton should not act without a vote of support from Congress, which is on vacation this week. McCain, an Arizona Republican and senior member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, made his suggestion on the Fox TV network.

Iraq has smuggled deadly weapons programs to sympathetic Arab states for safekeeping, along with up to 400 Scud missiles that could deliver germ or chemical agents, said Yossef Bodansky, director of the House Task Force on Terrorism and Unconventional Warfare. Iraqi Scud missiles were shipped to Sudan and Yemen after Iraq invaded Kuwait in August 1990, Bodansky reported. He also said Iraq retains production capabilities for weapons of mass destruction through joint programs in Sudan and Libya.

An arrest warrant was issued for a North Carolina man in connection with the bombing of an Alabama clinic where abortions are performed. US Attorney Doug Jones said Eric Robert Rudolph is charged with using an explosive device. His truck was reportedly spotted near the scene of the incident. An off-duty police officer was killed and a nurse critically injured in the Jan. 29 blast at the New Woman All Women Health Care center in Birmingham, Ala. Authorities also announced a \$ 100,000 reward for information leading to the bomber's arrest and conviction.

Two more churches were damaged by fires in Charlotte, N.C., where officials are looking into a series of blazes at other area churches, a fire department spokesman said. As firefighters extinguished a blaze that gutted a newly renovated fellowship hall at Moore's Chapel United Methodist Church late Saturday, a separate fire was reported about a mile away at the New Apostolic Church, officials said. Two other churches - Garden Memorial Presbyterian and Sunset Forest Baptist - were damaged by fire last week.

Clinton signed legislation to help Holocaust survivors recover assets seized by the Nazis in World War II. The Holocaust Victims Redress Act, passed by the House of Representatives last month and by the Senate in

The News in Brief

November, allows organizations that help Holocaust survivors to share up to \$ 25 million. It also provides an additional \$ 5 million for archival research to help with recovery of assets extorted or looted from Holocaust victims.

Hundreds of US soldiers may have died in a secret network of Chinese prison camps during the Korean War, formerly secret Army intelligence reports revealed. They indicate that the US knew of the prisoners and closely tracked their movements. On a visit to Beijing in January, Defense Secretary William Cohen asked top Chinese officials to open their archives and other files that might contain data on more than 8,000 US servicemen still unaccounted for from the Korean War.

Labor Secretary Alexis Herman said the US will spend \$ 25 million to help California workers whose jobs have been lost or disrupted by recent floods. It would allow such people to be hired to clean up public and private-nonprofit property damaged by flooding. The state enjoyed a brief respite from the elements Sunday, but residents in southern counties were told to prepare for more rain.

The World

Indications were growing that UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan would undertake an 11th-hour mission to Iraq aimed at averting a US-led military strike. Annan was to meet in New York with permanent Security Council members for a discussion of "bottom line conditions" for inspections of suspected Iraqi weapons sites, which British diplomats said the Baghdad government must accept in writing. Pending such a move, Annan would likely meet Iraq's foreign minister in Paris tomorrow and then fly on to Baghdad, diplomatic sources said.

Sinn Fein leaders said they would challenge moves to expel the party from negotiations on the political future of Northern Ireland. The British government formally issued an indictment of the party's guerrilla ally, the Irish Republican Army, for the murders of two pro-British Protestants in Belfast last week. Rules of the talks require the ouster of any participant whose militant elements break the cease-fire currently in effect in the province. Last month, the pro-British Ulster Democratic Party quit the negotiations before it could be expelled after admitting that gunmen it represents had killed three Catholics.

Israeli Prime Minister Netan-yahu was cleared of responsibility for the botched assassination attempt against an Islamic militant leader in Jordan last year. But a government-appointed committee sharply criticized the chief of the Mossad spy agency, Danny Yatom, saying he had not taken into account the possibility that the mission could fail. The Sept. 25 attack against Hamas political leader Khalid Mashaal caused a deep crisis in relations between Israel and Jordan.

Elections officials in India called the first day of voting "largely a peaceful exercise" despite the deaths of 14 people, most of them in the eastern state of Bihar, the country's poorest. Fifty others were reported hurt in land-mine explosions. Voting also was marred by rioting in the state of Assam. At least 50 people died in the southern city of Coimbatore over the weekend in attacks blamed on Muslim militants attempting to disrupt last-minute campaigning by Hindu fundamentalists.

Emphasis shifted to finding food and providing humanitarian aid to residents of Sierra Leone's battered capital, Freetown, as troops of the military junta surrendered to a force of West African peacekeepers. The peacekeepers occupy the city on behalf of exiled President Ahmed Tejan Kabbah, who is expected to return within a few weeks. Junta leader Johnny Koroma fled the country over the weekend and was believed heading for neighboring Liberia.

Whether Quebec has the right to secede unilaterally and declare independence from the rest of Canada was at stake as the country's Supreme Court opened hearings in Ottawa. The government of the French-speaking province planned to boycott the hearings, but was to be represented by a court-appointed lawyer. A ruling is expected in six months.

Amid rain and fog, a China Airlines jet crashed on approach to Taiwan's main airport. The plane, carrying 197 passengers and crew, went down in a residential neighborhood at the end of a flight that originated on the Indonesian island of Bali. There were no reports of survivors.

The News in Brief

The worst drought in 100 years in Papua New Guinea has been replaced by drenching rains that are equally damaging, villagers evacuating the country's highlands said. Newspapers in the capital, Port Moresby, cited reports that monsoons have caused at least two rivers to overflow, triggering landslides and washing away rebuilt vegetable fields, livestock, and vital roads.

Etceteras

"If he goes to Paris, it's 99 percent certain he'll go on to Baghdad."

- An unnamed UN source, on growing prospects that Secretary-General Kofi Annan will make an 11th-hour diplomatic attempt to end the Iraq crisis.

Elders of the Church of England just couldn't resist the temptation to tinker with the Lord's Prayer. Despite a warning from Archbishop of Canterbury George Carey not to pursue modernity for its own sake, they voted last week to delete the words "lead us not into temptation" from services beginning in 2000. Assuming a review committee and the church's general synod approve, that portion of the prayer will say instead: "save us from the time of trial." Local parishes will be - well - forgiven for continuing to recite the prayer in its traditional form.

The rail system in Germany's Schleswig-Holstein state is about to kiss half its receipts goodbye, at least for the next few weeks. As a new promotion, it's offering a "lovers' discount" beginning Friday that paying passengers may have on request. To qualify, couples must wear special stickers obtained at the ticket window and be willing to engage in a lip-lock when required by the conductors once the trip is under way.

The Day's List

San Francisco Is Now the Priciest Housing Market

With a median single-family home resale value of \$ 304,600, the city by the Golden Gate has pushed Honolulu out of first place as the most expensive of 134 metropolitan areas surveyed by the National Association of Realtors. Honolulu had held that distinction since 1989. The least expensive: Waterloo, Iowa., at \$ 64,200. The priciest region is the West, where the median is \$ 163,100. Nationally, it is \$ 124,800, the realtors group says. The 10 most expensive markets and their respective median prices:

1. San Francisco\$ 304,600
2. Honolulu300,000
3. Orange County, Calif.237,400
4. Bergen, N.J.202,100
5. Boston195,900
6. Newark, N.J.192,300
7. San Diego, Calif.189,000
8. Los Angeles177,800

9. New York 177,700

10. Middlesex, N.J. 177,400

- Associated Press

Graphic

PHOTOS: 1) Arizona Diamondbacks pitcher Andy Benes (stretching in foreground) talks with manager Buck Showalter during the new team's first official day of workouts for pitchers and catchers in Tucson. BY JEFF TOPPING/REUTERS 2) A boy carries a pail of vegetables through a burned-out neighborhood in the capital. BY JEAN-MARC BOUJU/AP MAP: Showing Papua New Guinea. BY STAFF

Load-Date: February 16, 1998

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Israel deserves continuing aid from Washington

St. Petersburg Times (Florida)

December 19, 2001, Wednesday, 0 South Pinellas Edition

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Section: EDITORIAL; LETTERS; Pg. 17A; LETTER

Length: 1896 words

Body

Re: U.S. should reconsider aid to Israel.

I was quite disturbed by Bill Maxwell's column. It was not based on fact and was just reiterating what the Palestinians are always saying, blaming Israel for all of their ills and for all of the terrorism in the Middle East. This is just untrue.

LETTERS

The fact is that Israel was created in 1948 by a mandate of the United Nations. At the same time, another state was mandated for the Palestinian people. This mandate was accepted by the international community except for the Arab states. Israel chose to proclaim a state, and the Palestinian people chose to join with the other Arab nations and attack Israel with the goal of destroying it. Many of those Palestinians living in the new state of Israel chose to leave and join in the fight against Israel with the promises of the Arab states that the Palestinians could return to their land when the Arabs destroyed Israel. Israel was not destroyed. The Arab states continue to have that as their goal and will not be satisfied until Israel is no more. The Arab states such as Jordan, Egypt, Lebanon, Iraq and Saudi Arabia did nothing to absorb these displaced Arabs into their countries. These states purposely left these displaced Arabs in dirty refugee camps. These other Arab states have done nothing in 50 years to try to help these displaced persons except teach them to hate Israel and become martyrs to kill Israeli civilian men, women and children. Jordan is made up of mostly Palestinian people. Why couldn't they have tried to absorb their "brother Palestinians"?

Israel, on the other hand, has accepted Jews who were driven out of the Arab states and integrated them into their society. All Israel has done is try to exist under difficult circumstances. Israel is the only democracy in the Middle East. Israel is the only real friend the United States has in the Middle East. Naturally, the United States should continue to support Israel. It is in our best interests to do so.

Anita Saphier, Tampa

Something must stop the madness

Thanks to Bill Maxwell for his very courageous column U.S. should reconsider aid to Israel. The St. Petersburg Times is to be congratulated as well. Something has to be done immediately to stop the madness that is dragging every American citizen and even the world deeper and deeper into a bottomless pit. Obviously, something is wrong in Washington, as our elected officials, from both parties, speak out of both sides of their mouths, professing to be for peace while continually funding the illegal and brutal occupation with billions of our tax dollars for years.

Dr. and Mrs. James Rogers, Oldsmar

Israel deserves continuing aid from Washington

A destabilizing option

Re: U.S. should reconsider aid to Israel, by Bill Maxwell, Dec. 16.

While America should expect Israel, or any other nation, to adhere to human rights standards as a requisite for foreign aid, withholding monetary and military aid to Israel would destabilize the Middle East and jeopardize our interests there. America should not sacrifice moral authority for the sake of national interest. But unfortunately, global politics is a convoluting labyrinth.

Yasser Arafat is an Al Fatah terrorist who has managed to legitimize his usurpation of Palestinian leadership. Asking Israel to trust Arafat is like asking the black citizens of Alabama in 1964 to trust Gov. George C. Wallace to desegregate Alabama and end discrimination through his own benevolence.

American civil rights reform came not by the threat of violence but through public protests and journalistic interest in exposing discrimination against black Americans and educating other moral Americans to those facts. America did not tolerate terrorism against its civilians then any more than Israel does today. If black Americans had embraced violence the way that Yasser Arafat and his advocates have, it would have annulled the righteousness of the civil rights movement in the eyes of most Americans and would probably have arrested the progress catalyzed by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and others.

Palestinians deserve inclusion and suffrage in the Israeli culture and government, but Arafat refuses anything less than the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. Although a small purchase of land from any one of the surrounding sympathetic Arab nations would provide the Palestinians a state, this would not extirpate the Jewish presence, which I suspect is what prevents peace.

However, if you believe that such an offer of relocation for the sake of peace is absurd and believe that the Palestinians are entitled to live in their ancestral homeland, why don't you tell that to the remaining American Indians whose culture is now a vaudeville caricature?

Marty D. Ison, Largo

It is unreasonable to blame Israel

All Jewish people should be incensed by Bill Maxwell's column U.S. should reconsider aid to Israel. He is again fomenting more anti-Semitism with his diatribe against Israel. Why doesn't he ever say anything about the Arab countries not giving some land to their own people, the Palestinians? Or that the Palestinian mandate still wants to get rid of Israel so they can have all of that cultivated land. Have the Jews been "chosen" to shoulder all the vindictiveness in the world?

It seems most of Maxwell's columns touch upon Israel and what it's doing to the Palestinians. Is that fair? Arab terrorists are guilty of injuring Americans, bombing embassies and blowing up buildings. Yet Israel is responsible for everything that happens in the Middle East. That should be beyond anyone's intelligent reasoning.

Judith M. Stevens, Clearwater

Supporters of Israel should be proud

Re: U.S. should reconsider aid to Israel.

Bill Maxwell writes: "We, as Americans, should be ashamed of ourselves for being partners in a state policy that forces an entire population to exist as a diaspora - a stateless people scattered about as if they are nothing."

The Jews are the original people of the Diaspora, and using that word to describe the Palestinian people who refuse all compromise toward establishment of their own state is a terrible injustice. There is no such Israeli policy as Maxwell purports.

Israel deserves continuing aid from Washington

Maxwell states as "raw truth" that Barak once replied to a reporter that if he were born a Palestinian, he would have become a terrorist - as if that justifies suicide bomber missions and the killing of innocent civilians in Israel.

Maxwell states that Israel dispossessed a people. It is not true. Most Palestinians left at the behest of their own leaders with the promise that they would soon return when the Jews were pushed into the sea. Maxwell's next statement is that Israel attempted to govern the Palestinians by "occupying their land." The land was divided by a U.N. resolution the Arabs would not accept, and the entire Arab region declared war on the new state.

His next false statement is that Israel forces the Palestinians to subsist in refugee camps. No other Arab nation will accept Palestinian immigrants. Why? The Gaza Strip has been governed by Palestinians for years, and the refugee camps remain, despite massive outside aid, including Israeli aid. Arafat has not built an infrastructure. It is in the best interest of the Arab nations to continue refugee camps lest they have to seriously deal with the problem they have created and maintained for 50 years. The Israelis have a right to close their own borders and block the roadways, just as the United States did on Sept. 11 to prevent more attackers from entering our country.

Israel offered the most comprehensive peace plan ever. Maxwell has not addressed that, because there is no logical or sane reason to have refused the principles of Oslo, Camp David, Wye and the Mitchell Agreement. Arafat has had seven years to close down Hamas and Islamic Jihad and to change the rhetoric within the Palestinian Authority, seven years to build jobs and universities and hospitals, seven years during which time he has been two-faced toward the West and the United States.

The St. Petersburg Times and Bill Maxwell ought to be ashamed. President Bush and all those who stand against terror and doublespeak ought to stand proud for supporting Israel.

Susan Segal, Palm Harbor

Thanks for Maxwell's view

Re: U.S. should reconsider aid to Israel.

Thanks to Bill Maxwell for a point of view many of us hold but which seems difficult for the American media to present.

J.A. Thompson, Largo

Israel has paid price for support

Our president has said repeatedly, "You are with us, or you are with the terrorists." For 53 years, Israel, the only democracy in the Middle East has been with us. For 53 years, the Palestinians and Arafat have been with the terrorists. Were it not for Israel taking out Iraq's nuclear capability in the '80s, Desert Storm would have been met with atomic weapons. Does anyone believe that Saddam Hussein would have failed to use them if he had them? After all, he used poison gas on his own people.

In addition, Israel has paid a price in blood for withholding its defenses in order to maintain U.S. control of shaky alliances with their (and, if truth be told, ultimately our) enemies.

If we would not negotiate with the Taliban, why should we negotiate with the suicide bombers of the West Bank and Gaza? If Israel is with us, we must be with them.

Maynard J. Hirshon, Seminole

Scientific facts will bring peace

I understand how difficult it is to write a story that pleases everybody. I'm referring to the Dec. 16 letters to the editor, attacking or praising the story Children of Abraham (Dec. 9).

Israel deserves continuing aid from Washington

Though there are two sides to every story in the Israeli/Palestinian conflict, there is only one reason this insanity continues year in and year out: We are not teaching the children facts. A recent survey among the Palestinians discloses that 80 percent of the population supports suicide bombers. How on earth can peace prevail when 80 percent of one side wants to kill 100 percent of the other side? These poor, misinformed, misguided young men actually believe they are on a mission from God when they do these acts of terrorism. They are taught from birth by their religious leaders that to wage jihad against those of another faith ensures their place in heaven.

Think about it: What if these same children are taught from birth that life is important above all else, that they have but one life, then they are dead forever? That there are no young virgins waiting in heaven for them; that **females** are not playthings, but fellow human beings to be respected and loved.

The solution to have peace is so simple. The world media must have the courage to print the truth; our world leaders must have the courage to speak the truth. Children must be taught scientific facts. The truth may be a bitter pill to swallow for those who want to continue the very profitable system of conflict that prevails, but if we are to solve the problem of ignorance, that bitter pill must be swallowed.

Harold Teague, Madeira Beach

Share your opinions

We invite readers to write to us. Letters for publication should be addressed to Letters to the Editor, P.O. Box 1121, St. Petersburg, FL 33731.

They can be sent by e-mail to letters@sptimes.com or by fax to 893-8675.

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

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

Graphic

CARTOON, DON ADDIS; As Osama bin Laden sits in a cave, a mouse (accompanied by a spider and fly) tell him, "Would you mind moving out? Us other cave-dwellers have our reputations to think about."

Load-Date: December 19, 2001

U.S. policies are not to blame for terrorist attacks

St. Petersburg Times (Florida)

October 24, 2001, Wednesday, 0 South Pinellas Edition

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Section: EDITORIAL; LETTERS; Pg. 19A; LETTER

Length: 1951 words

Body

The destruction of denial, letter, Oct. 20.

Before you fall for the anti-Semitic and isolationist rhetoric spewing from so-called "serious students" of Middle East history, please take the time to learn all the facts. The letter writer, in a classic case of blaming the victim, believes that American policy led to the recent terrorist attacks on the United States.

Exactly which policies is she referring to? Perhaps she is referring to Operation Desert Storm in which we sent troops to liberate Kuwait from the Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein. Or perchance she is referring to how we helped the Afghans in their fight against the Soviets in the 1980s. Could she be referring to the numerous and extensive attempts to broker peace between Israel and the Palestinians over the last eight years? Maybe she is referring to America's fight against Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and his attempt to annihilate Muslim ethnic Albanians. Possibly she thinks it is our policy of sending millions of dollars of humanitarian aid to the region year after year.

LETTERS

The letter writer also attempts to connect the acts of Sept. 11 and the Palestinian cause. These recent attacks have nothing to do with our policy toward the Palestinians. There wasn't a single Palestinian on board those hijacked aircraft.

The fact is that Osama bin Laden and his terrorist network attacked us because of our continued military presence in Saudi Arabia. We are not in Saudi Arabia as an occupying force; on the contrary, the Saudi government welcomes us. Osama bin Laden has only recently used the Palestinian issue in a thinly veiled attempt to derail the unified Arab support for our war on terrorism.

Middle Eastern terrorism has its roots and strength in the crippling poverty and sense of hopelessness prevalent in the region. We are not the cause of these terrorist acts; they are the works of evil, desperate men who pervert religion to justify their acts. Let us place the blame on the perpetrator, and not on the victim.

Craig Berger, Tampa

Support for Israel must not falter

Re: The destruction of denial, letter, Oct. 20.

U.S. policies are not to blame for terrorist attacks

The letter writer asserts that New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani's refusal of \$ 10-million dollars from a Saudi prince was unwarranted. I vehemently disagree with her assessment that the mayor was wrong and the United States should change its policies in the Middle East regarding Palestine.

Yasser Arafat, the leader of the Palestinians, was a former terrorist who continues to encourage and support terrorism against Israel and, yes, against Americans. The day our World Trade Center was attacked by terrorism, the women and children in Palestine were celebrating and dancing in the streets.

The Saudi prince was derelict in his statements regarding U.S. policies. The Saudis encouraged and welcomed the United States during the Gulf War to protect them from Iraq. How soon the prince forgets. To blame the United States for the terrorist attacks is wrong. To recognize and support a country that harbors and encourages terrorism goes against everything that America stands for.

Our support for Israel must not falter. It is the one bastion of democracy in a sea of turmoil.

Phyllis Shaw, Inverness

No explanation needed

The United States doesn't owe anyone an explanation for why New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani refused the \$ 10-million dollars from the Arab prince. Your letter writer (The destruction of denial) said nothing about the thousands of acres the Arab world has that would hold all of the Palestinians and is not being offered to them by their own brethren.

All these insinuations about what the United States has done to the Middle East are no justification for what happened in New York City. What did the United States do in the Middle East? It sanctioned the only democratic country there, Israel. Does anyone think that had the United States acted differently all would be hunky-dory? That is wishful thinking.

We are not a perfect country, but we do know on which side our bread is buttered, and that's on the side of democracy - wherever it is, even in the Middle East. All this talk about history and what the United States did in the Middle East is hogwash.

Judith M. Stevens, Clearwater

Money talks

In a recent letter, The destruction of denial, the writer explained that in the Middle East our arrogant pro-Israel policy is a major reason for the bitter enmity of the Arab world toward the United States.

To speculate on the reason for our policy, I suggest that our Congress, by inviting political campaign contributions, would favor any well financed lobby such as Israel must have. I'm surprised the Arabs can't outbid the Israelis.

James Wilkins, St. Petersburg

In need of new visions

Re: The destruction of denial, letter.

Any suggestion that the United States should "re-examine its policies in the Middle East" elicits a knee-jerk rejection by too many Americans, particularly by political leaders addicted to seeking voter approval and the money that helps them seek election or re-election.

To re-examine two of those policies that seem central to our current situation quickly exposes the ancient dilemma of an unstoppable force meeting an immovable obstacle.

U.S. policies are not to blame for terrorist attacks

In present circumstances, there is a tendency to reduce this to the seemingly intractable conflict between Israelis and Arabs. But that is an oversimplification. The real intractability is between two contradictory self-interest issues in American politics: the generalized public interest in the economy's demands for oil from the Persian Gulf states and the much more individualized needs posed by both the electoral imperative of maximizing voter support for candidates seeking public office and the humanitarian impulse to provide secure living space for a much-abused ethnic/religious minority.

The multibillionaire Saudi Arabian prince whose offer of \$ 10-million dollars to New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani was so insultingly rejected has now been disabused of his apparently naive belief that U.S. politicians are pragmatists devoted to realistic, dispassionately honest efforts to solve problems and address needs. Your thoughtful letter writer went the prince a few degrees better, by calling not only for Middle East policies to be re-examined but asserting bluntly that those policies must be "changed."

Until either the unstoppable force or the immovable obstacle is removed or their realities sharply altered, policy change is unlikely if not impossible. The United States has now followed the tradition of nation-states of substituting the violence of war for the tiresome, tedious and potentially embarrassing task of re-examining policies rooted in commonly erroneous "conventional wisdom." To do so would run the risk of finding errors - our errors - in practices that are a major part of the problem.

Until we can remove the immediate threat of terrorism, hopefully and possibly by military action against the Taliban and Osama bin Laden, it is vain to hope for any thoughtful re-examination of past and current policies - a re-examination that might, just might, lead to directing some of our vast resources, ingenuity and knowledge to developing an alternative to Middle East oil.

We certainly should not abandon our humanitarian impulses. We might even elaborate them to include many other abused, impoverished and dispossessed peoples of the world. In short, we are in need of new visions in U.S. foreign policy, conscious of the biblical warning that where there is no vision, the people perish.

Joe Connor, Redington Shores

Which side are you on?

Re: Pat Oliphant's disturbing cartoon showing Ariel Sharon as diapered baby, Oct. 18.

Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon is absolutely on target in calling President Bush's statement about forming a Palestinian state appeasement. The Palestinians are as much terrorists as the Taliban.

President Bush emphatically pronounced: "Either you're with us or you are with the terrorists." Which is it for Pat Oliphant and the Times? I'm beginning to wonder.

Roberta Golding, Tampa

Beware of zealots on both sides

I want to register my growing disgust with the recent actions of Ariel Sharon's government. If Israeli Prime Minister Sharon is truly an America's friend, we won't need any more enemies. I am proud of our nation's past support for the Israeli people, but we must expect much more from the government of a close ally that largely owes its continued existence to our nation's unflagging support.

Clearly, our past support of Israel's actions has angered many in the Middle East, not just extremists, but political moderates vital to the prospect of a real Mideast peace. We now face huge investments of young American lives and billions of American tax dollars as a result of the actions of Sharon's faction within the Israeli political system, which has demonstrated its total inability to effectively negotiate in good faith with the Palestinian leadership.

Like most zealots, Sharon and his political allies, apparently do not believe peace can be achieved with their enemies. They don't respect their political opponents, and therefore it is no surprise that they are unable to

U.S. policies are not to blame for terrorist attacks

negotiate with adversaries they don't respect. If Yasser Arafat's faction is to be held responsible for every terrorist act of Hamas within Israel, should we then charge Sharon's faction with the 1995 assassination of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin by ultra-conservatives?

Our nation cannot allow the 20 percent of Israeli people who make up the nation's extreme conservative faction to permanently battle with the 20 percent of the Palestinians who hold extremist views toward Israel and its people. It is not a practical strategy for Israel, or the Palestinians, and it is not practical for our nation and the rest of the world.

We must defend ourselves against the treachery of Sept. 11, but we must also inform the Israeli people that our nation and its leaders expect a moderate political agenda from the Israeli government, if America is to continue its support of Israel.

We must oppose all forms of political zealotry, or we are effectively allowing the relatively small number of zealots on both sides of the Palestinian question to dictate the global agenda, and in so doing destabilize the entire world.

J.J. Spatafora, St. Pete Beach

Negotiation is futile

Re: Israel needs to employ a short war and a high wall, by George Will, Aug. 19.

Perhaps now the civilized world recognizes that terrorists and terrorist organizations will not participate in a "peace" process. It is an oxymoron to describe a terrorist as a participant in peace.

The recent murder of Israeli Tourism Minister Rehavam Zeevi is only another example of how a "short war / high wall" will change the paradigm in the Mideast. It has taken 53 years for Israel to arrive at a point recognizing that diplomacy and negotiation could not be successful with terrorists. Long enough! It must defend its people and its nation.

Yasser Arafat also recognizes this truth, which is why he has again appealed for international intervention and meetings in the U.N. Security Council. History has shown that each time his murderous policies and organizations push Israel to react forcefully, Arafat looks for help and protection.

Build the wall, forcefully remove those who terrorize and those who abet their terrorism, and close the gate.

Richard Block, Tampa

Share your opinions

Letters for publication should be addressed to Letters to the Editor, P.O. Box 1121, St. Petersburg, FL 33731. They can be sent by e-mail to letters@sptimes.com or by fax to (727) 893-8675.

They should be brief and must include the writer's name, address and phone number.

Letters may be edited for clarity, taste and length.

Graphic

CARTOON, DON ADDIS; a farmer, holding clippers, stands near a tree

Load-Date: October 24, 2001

U.S. policies are not to blame for terrorist attacks

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DEATH OF A KING: THE OVERVIEW;
Jordan's Hussein Laid to Rest as World Leaders Mourn

The New York Times

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Byline: By DOUGLAS JEHL

By DOUGLAS JEHL

Dateline: AMMAN, Jordan, Feb. 8

Body

United in loss and grief, an extraordinary array of presidents, prime ministers and princes gathered here today to accompany King Hussein on his final journey, as his body was buried in a humble white shroud.

The mourners included Jordan's allies and enemies and some who remain one another's bitter foes, including the leaders of Syria and Israel. That turnout paid tribute in death to a King who in life, during nearly a half-century's reign, sought to mend even the most rancorous of disputes.

"God make him among the people who rest in Paradise," an imam prayed at the graveside as Hussein's eldest son, the newly crowned King Abdullah, stood cloudy-eyed but ramrod straight.

In keeping with Muslim tradition, there were no eulogies, no songs and no speeches during the funeral ceremonies. The King's body was driven through the chilly streets of Amman today and then was borne on a military carriage to the grave. But even with few words, the spectacle was nonetheless remarkable.

In some ways the scene was an eerie echo of Jan. 19, the day King Hussein returned to Jordan after six months of cancer treatment in the United States. He pronounced himself "fully recovered" then, and Jordanians lined the streets and slaughtered sheep to welcome him home.

Today the crowds were about the same size -- hundreds of thousands of people. But this time they were pouring out their sorrow, and instead of banners they clutched black flags of mourning. Those who succeeded in surging through police lines to chase after the motorcade could hope not to touch a King, but his coffin.

In the courtyard of Raghadan Palace, so many leaders -- representing 75 countries -- came to pay respects that they ended up shoulder to shoulder, dark suits abutting Arab robes.

Inside, where the King lay in state surrounded by four Circassian guards, the leaders entered the room one by one to pause before his coffin -- Muslims, Christians, and Jews, each according to his traditions.

DEATH OF A KING: THE OVERVIEW; Jordan 's Hussein Laid to Rest as World Leaders Mourn

The dignitaries included President Clinton and three former American Presidents, who inclined their heads in prayer; Yasir Arafat, the Palestinian leader, who bade farewell with a slow bow and a military salute, and Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel, whose delegation included a top Israeli rabbi.

There were surprise guests -- President Boris N. Yeltsin of Russia, frail and seemingly disoriented, having left his own sickbed for the occasion, and President Hafez al-Assad of Syria, a critic of Jordan's peace with Israel who had never before attended an event at which Israeli officials were present.

There was no sign today that Mr. Assad's attendance marked a new approach to Middle East peace negotiations. He seemed determined to avoid contact with the Israelis, and even chose not to join the others who followed in a foot procession as King Hussein's body was carried from the palace to the strains of bagpipes played by Arab Legionnaires and followed by a riderless stallion.

But even as so many others bade farewell to the King, Mr. Assad did seem intent on making a personal peace. As he stood before the coffin, he held out his palms and whispered words of prayer, and then raised his hands to his face in a pious Muslim gesture of mourning.

Mr. Netanyahu said later, "We all admired him deeply." The Prime Minister's country fought wars with Jordan in 1948 and 1967 before making peace in 1994.

Arab Muslim tradition calls for funerals to be segregated by sex. So for most of the day the King's widow, Queen Noor; his sister, Princess Basma, and his six daughters, by four wives, were nowhere in sight. They were seen only as the day began, at the door of the family home, Beb al Salam, wearing white headscarves of mourning.

King Abdullah, accompanied by Crown Prince Hamzah and his three other brothers, bade the women farewell and left for the proceedings, each wearing a dark suit and a bright red checked kaffiyeh.

From the streets to the palaces, the gestures were of gratitude and respect for King Hussein, whose long service and commitment to peace may have made him better known than the small country he ruled for more than 46 years. Many people also offered their hands in support to King Abdullah, who is just 37 and may well have a difficult time stepping into his father's shoes.

Saudi Arabia, which after the Persian Gulf war in 1991 turned a cold shoulder to Jordan as punishment for its tilt toward Iraq, was represented by Crown Prince Abdullah, who is effectively the country's leader because of King Fahd's ill health.

The Saudi Prince suggested that future ties would be warmer. "Jordan has always been dear to us," he said, "and now Jordan will be dearer and dearer."

For 90 minutes after the funeral, the new King and his brothers, including Jordan's new Crown Prince, Hamzah, stood to accept handshakes and kisses from visitors who represented all manner of political stripes.

They ranged from Prince Charles, the buttoned-down heir to the British throne, to Omar Hassan al-Bashir, the turban-clad President of Sudan, a country ostracized by the West for supporting groups regarded as terrorist and the target last summer of an American cruise missile attack.

Not since the funeral of the slain Israeli Prime Minister, Yitzhak Rabin, in November 1995 has the world seen a gathering of leaders that approached today's, either in diversity or emotion.

The guests included Khaled Meshal, a leader of the militant Islamic group Hamas who was the target of an assassination attempt in Amman in 1997, and Efraim Halevy, director of the Israeli intelligence service Mossad, the agency that carried out the bungled attack.

An Iraqi Vice President, Taha Mohieddin Maruf, was welcomed to Jordan even though his country's leader, President Saddam Hussein, lashed out last month at those he called "throne dwarfs" -- interpreted here as a reference to King Hussein's short stature.

DEATH OF A KING: THE OVERVIEW; Jordan 's Hussein Laid to Rest as World Leaders Mourn

The Israeli delegation spanned a spectrum so wide that though its members were united for a day in admiration of King Hussein, most gave the impression that they would have preferred not to be in the same room.

The group included Ehud Barak, the Labor Party leader, who is Mr. Netanyahu's chief rival for Prime Minister in elections that are to take place in May; Yitzhak Mordechai, who until last month was Mr. Netanyahu's Defense Minister and is now another election rival, and two former Prime Ministers, Shimon Peres and Yitzhak Shamir, who in the world of Israeli politics occupy different poles.

From the United States, the delegation headed by Mr. Clinton included former Presidents George Bush, Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford -- a group that had ties of varying warmth with King Hussein. It was a bipartisan tribute to the King, whose political and financial ties to the United States began decades ago and who in his final years became a trusted ally of the United States.

Mr. Clinton was said by aides to have exchanged greetings with a number of leaders, including Mr. Assad, Prime Minister Tony Blair of Britain, President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt and the representatives of Turkey, Kuwait and many other countries.

But the Americans kept a pointed distance from the Iraqi Vice President, as well as another guest -- Seif el-Islam, the son of the Libyan leader, Muammar al-Qaddafi. He had to fly to Jordan from Tunisia because United Nations sanctions bar flights to and from his country.

Mr. Yeltsin, the ailing 68-year-old Russian leader, has visited the Kremlin only three times since this year began. His decision to travel to Jordan, reportedly against the advice of his doctors, left many among the delegations taken aback.

Russia, along with the United States, was among the sponsors of a Middle East peace conference in Madrid in 1991, a fact that Mr. Yeltsin may have hoped to impress again on other world leaders.

But Mr. Yeltsin could barely take a step without someone holding his arm, and at one point he seemed not to know where he was. He left the palace after paying his respects and did not stay for the funeral itself.

If the scene on the street was sometimes frenzied, the one inside the palace grounds was elegant in its simplicity. From the palace, the scene of the last respects, the King's body was carried 300 yards to the royal mosque for prayers.

Afterward, the body was moved to a place among the Hashemite family graves adjoining the tombs of the King's grandfather, King Abdullah, and father, King Talal.

The body had already been washed in accord with Islamic practice, scented with musk and wrapped in the white shroud. It was removed from the coffin and slowly lowered into the ground.

The new King Abdullah stood in silent tribute to his father for three minutes before flagstones were lowered over the grave, the Last Post was sounded and Bedouin guards fired a 15-gun salute.

<http://www.nytimes.com>

Graphic

Photos: Pallbearers carried the coffin of King Hussein from Raghadan Palace, where it had lain in state, to the royal mosque yesterday. (Reuters); President Clinton, President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, President Ali Abdullah Saleh of Yemen and Yasir Arafat side by side at the funeral. Dozens of leaders attended the services, and hundreds of

DEATH OF A KING: THE OVERVIEW; Jordan 's Hussein Laid to Rest as World Leaders Mourn

thousands of grieving Jordanians poured into the streets of Amman, the capital, to pay homage. (Agence France-Presse)(pg. A1); As the huge funeral procession proceeded through the chilly streets of Jordan's capital from Bab al Salam Palace to King Hussein's burial site at Raghadan Palace yesterday, the King's horse, Aabir, followed the coffin. It carried the ceremonial backward-facing boots of a fallen leader. In deference to the King, who died of non-Hodgkins lymphoma on Sunday, the horse will never be ridden again. (Reuters); Jordanian officers carried the coffin of King Hussein through the Raghadan Palace compound in Amman yesterday during the funeral procession. (Agence France-Presse)(pg. A10)

Map of Amman showing route of yesterday's funeral procession. (pg. A10)

Load-Date: February 9, 1999

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**HONORING HUSSEIN;
'WE ALL ADMIRER HIM DEEPLY'**

Pittsburgh Post-Gazette (Pennsylvania)

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Body

United in loss and grief, an extraordinary array of presidents, prime ministers and princes gathered yesterday to accompany King Hussein on his final journey, as his body was buried in a humble white shroud.

The mourners included Jordan's allies and some who remain bitter foes, including the leaders of Syria and Israel. That turnout paid tribute in death to a king who in life, over nearly a half-century's reign, had sought to mend even the most rancorous of disputes.

"God, make him among the people who rest in paradise," an imam prayed at the graveside, as the newly crowned King Abdullah, the late king's eldest son, stood cloudy-eyed but ramrod straight, at the head of the funeral proceedings.

In keeping with Muslim tradition, there were no eulogies, no songs and no speeches during the male-only ceremonies, as the king's body was driven through the chilly streets of Amman yesterday and then was borne on a gun carriage to his grave. But even without speeches, the spectacle was nonetheless remarkable.

In some ways, the scene in Jordan was an eerie echo of Jan. 19, the day when Hussein returned to Jordan after six months of cancer treatment in the United States. He had pronounced himself "fully recovered," and tens of thousands of Jordanians lined the streets and slaughtered sheep to welcome him home.

Yesterday, the crowds were about the same size - hundreds of thousands of people pouring out their sorrow. But instead of banners, they clutched black flags of mourning. Those who succeeded in surging through police lines to chase after the motorcade could hope not to touch a king, but only his coffin. In a courtyard of Raghdan Palace, so many leaders - representing 75 countries - flocked to Jordan to pay their respects that they ended up shoulder-to-shoulder, dark suits abutting Arab robes.

Inside, where the late king lay in state, surrounded by four Circassian guards, they entered the room one by one to pause before his coffin - Muslims, Christians, Jews, each according to his traditions. The dignitaries included President Clinton and three former American presidents, who bowed their heads in prayer; Yasser Arafat, the Palestinian leader, who bid farewell with a slow bow and a military salute; and Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel, at the head of a delegation that included Israel's chief rabbis.

HONORING HUSSEIN; 'WE ALL ADMIRER HIM DEEPLY'

There were surprise guests at the funeral: President Boris Yeltsin of Russia, frail and seemingly disoriented, having left his own sickbed for the occasion; and President Hafez Assad of Syria, a critic of Jordan's peace with Israel, who had never before attended an event at which Israeli officials were present.

There was no sign yesterday that Assad's attendance marked a new approach to Middle East peace. He seemed determined to avoid contact with the Israelis, and their delegations were separated by many minutes at any events at which their paths might have crossed. Assad chose not to join the other leaders who followed in a foot procession as the late king's body was carried from the palace, to the strains of bagpipes played by Arab Legionnaires, and followed by a riderless stallion.

But even as so many others bade farewell to the late king, Assad did seem intent on making a personal peace despite his bitter political differences with Hussein over Israel. As he stood before the coffin, he held out his palms and whispered words of prayer and then raised his hands to his face, in a pious Muslim gesture of mourning.

Netanyahu said later: "We all admired [King Hussein] deeply." His country fought wars with Jordan in 1948 and 1967 before making peace in 1994.

Islamic tradition calls for funerals to be segregated by sex, so for most of the day, the king's widow, Queen Noor; his sister, Princess Basma; and his six daughters, by four wives, were nowhere in sight. They were seen only as the day began, at the door of the family home, Beib al-Salam, wearing white head scarves of mourning.

King Abdullah, Crown Prince Hamzah and their three other brothers bade the women farewell at the family home and left for the proceedings, each wearing a dark suit and a bright red kaffiyeh.

From the streets to the palaces, the gestures yesterday were of gratitude and respect for Hussein, whose long service and commitment to peace may have made him better known than the small country he ruled for more than 46 years. Many people also clearly offered their hands in support to Abdullah, who is just 37, and may well have a difficult time stepping into his father's shoes.

Saudi Arabia, which, after the Persian Gulf War in 1991, turned a cold shoulder to Jordan as punishment for its tilt toward Iraq, was represented yesterday by Crown Prince Abdullah, the country's effective leader.

"Jordan has always been dear to us, and now Jordan will be dearer and dearer," the Saudi crown prince said.

A statement issued by the Saudi Cabinet in Riyadh asserted that "Saudi Arabia stands by Jordan in these critical times."

For 90 minutes after the funeral, the new king and his brothers, including the new crown prince, Hamzah, stood to accept handshakes and kisses from visitors, who represented all manner of political stripes. These ranged from Prince Charles, the buttoned-down heir to the British throne, to Omar al-Bashir, the turban-clad president of Sudan, a country ostracized by the West for its alleged support of terrorism and the target last summer of an American cruise missile attack.

Not since the funeral of the slain Israeli prime minister, Yitzhak Rabin, in November 1995, has the world seen a gathering of leaders that even approached yesterday's, either in diversity or emotion. And by almost any measure, yesterday's was more remarkable, because it seemed to bridge so many divides.

The guests included both Khaled Meshal, a leader of the militant Islamic group Hamas who was the target of a 1997 assassination attempt in Amman, and Efraim Halevy, director of the Israeli intelligence service Mossad, the agency that carried out the bungled attack.

An Iraqi vice president, Taha Moheiddin Maruf, was welcomed to Jordan, even though his country's leader, President Saddam Hussein, lashed out last month at those he called "throne dwarves" - a clear reference to Hussein's short stature.

HONORING HUSSEIN; 'WE ALL ADMIRER HIM DEEPLY'

Nayef Hawatmeh, the leader of a radical Palestinian group that rejects peace with Israel, managed to greet and shake hands with Israel's president, Ezer Weizman, prompting immediate protests from Israeli conservatives.

Indeed, the Israeli delegation itself spanned a spectrum so wide that, though united for a day in admiration of the late king, most gave the impression that they would have preferred not to be in the same room. The group included Ehud Barak, the Labor leader, who is Netanyahu's chief rival for prime minister in elections that are to take place in May; Yitzhak Mordechai, who until last month was Netanyahu's defense minister and is now another election rival; and two former prime ministers, Shimon Peres and Yitzhak Shamir, who in the world of Israeli politics occupy very different poles.

From the United States, the delegation headed by Clinton included the former Presidents George Bush, Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford, who had ties of varying warmth with Hussein. It was a bipartisan tribute to the late king, whose political and financial ties to the United States began decades ago, and who, in his final years as the monarch, became a trusted ally of the United States.

Clinton was said to have exchanged greetings with a number of leaders, including Assad; Prime Minister Tony Blair of Britain; President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt; and the representatives of Turkey, Kuwait and many other countries.

But the Americans kept a pointed distance from the vice president from Iraq as well as another controversial guest - the son of the Libyan leader, Moammar Gadhafi, whose name is Saadi. He had to fly to Jordan from Tunisia because U.N. sanctions bar flights to and from his country.

Yeltsin, the ailing 68-year-old Russian leader, has visited the Kremlin only three times this year. His decision to travel to Jordan - reportedly against the advice of his doctors - left many among the delegations taken aback.

Russia, along with the United States, was among the co-sponsors of a Middle East peace conference in Madrid in 1991, a fact that Yeltsin may have hoped to impress again on other world leaders. But Yeltsin could barely take a step without someone holding his arm, and at one point, he seemed not to know where he was. He left the palace after paying his respects and did not stay for the funeral itself.

If the scene on the street was some times frenzied, the one inside the palace grounds was elegant in its simplicity. From the palace, the scene of the last respects, the king's body was carried to the royal mosque, about 300 yards away, for funeral prayers.

Afterward, the body was moved again, to the Hashemite family gravesite, and a site adjoining the tombs that house the late king's grandfather, King Abdullah, and his father, King Talal.

The body had already been washed in accord with Islamic practice, scented with musk and wrapped in the white shroud. It was removed from the casket and slowly lowered into the ground.

Abdullah stood in silent tribute to his father for three minutes before flagstones were lowered over the grave, the Last Post was sounded, and Bedouin guards fired a 15-gun salute.

KING HUSSEIN, 1935-1999

Graphic

PHOTO (2), PHOTO: Doug Mills/Associated Press: Jordanian officials in military; dress carry the casket of King Hussein to the Royal Guards Mosque at the; Raghdan Palace in Amman yesterday.; PHOTO: Ruth Fremson/Associated Press: A Jordanian mother hugs her son; yesterday as King Hussein's funeral procession passes. In a final homage to; the monarch, the flag-draped coffin, was borne through the streets of Amman,; Jordan, while hundreds of thousands wept and pelts the motorcade with; flowers.

HONORING HUSSEIN; 'WE ALL ADMIRER HIM DEEPLY'

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Don't turn news into propaganda for terrorists

St. Petersburg Times (Florida)

June 06, 2001, Wednesday, 0 South Pinellas Edition

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Section: EDITORIAL; LETTERS; Pg. 13A; LETTER

Length: 1904 words

Body

Re: Suicide bomber kills 16 Israelis, June 2.

The coverage of the despicable Palestinian suicide bombing by the Times demonstrates the ultimate lack of both responsibility and sensitivity. Instead of informing the readers of the fact that 16 teenagers (the number of dead Israelis has since risen to 20), mostly girls, were blown up, the Times turned the story into a propaganda piece for the Palestinians.

The Times ignored illustrations of Israeli victims; instead it had the chutzpah (gall) to feature a picture of the funeral of Faisal Hussein, a senior Palestine Liberation Organization official, who died of a heart attack. The story, together with a large photo, was accompanied by another story, Palestinians use funeral to lay claim to Jerusalem. Ironically, Hussein was a relatively moderate PLO official.

WLETTERS

Overlooked by the Times was the fact that Yasser Arafat and his Jihad and **Hamas** supporters have no intention of any peace settlement. It is their intention to destroy Israel and to establish another rogue state in the image of Saddam Hussein's Iraq. Such an outcome is certainly not in the interest of the United States. As President Bush proclaimed, "There is no justification for senseless attacks against innocent civilians."

The Times owes it to its readers to report the obscene acts without distorting them into propaganda statements for Palestinian terrorists.

Norman N. Gross, president, Promoting Responsibility in Middle East Reporting; chairperson, Greater Florida B'nai B'rith Anti-Hate Committee, Palm Harbor

Israeli losses deserved better coverage

American citizens must view the crisis in the Middle East through the eyes of the media, and unfortunately, as your paper reported on June 2, this perspective is frequently biased. While attempting to report the latest horrific tragedy from this area, the St. Petersburg Times abused its power and influence by placing an editorial comment, rather than the actual news, on its front page.

Pictured with the headline on the June 1 suicide bombing in Tel Aviv, which claimed the lives of numerous innocent Israeli teenagers, is a Palestinian flag-draped coffin being carried through the streets. Rather than memorialize the children who were blown to pieces by a maniacal zealot, the Times chose to focus its readers' attention on a picture of the funeral of a Palestinian leader who died of natural causes.

Don't turn news into propaganda for terrorists

This crucial fact can only be gleaned from reading the story on 6A; it is deceptively missing from the dramatic picture's caption. The Times chose to give more sympathetic coverage to the funeral procession than to that of the families who lost their youngsters in this cowardly act of violence.

All victims of the Palestinian-Israeli fighting deserve equal media coverage, but dismissive and minimal coverage of Israeli losses is not in keeping with responsible journalism. Hopefully, area readers will decide that the Times' lack of fair play, balance and, at times, accuracy deserves serious public protest.

Jay H. Epstein, Pinellas Park

Bruce A. Epstein, Pinellas Park

Seeing rightly on the Mideast

Re: Middle East conflict.

Good people don't send their little children into danger to be killed as martyrs or human shields. They don't recruit others for suicide bombing missions or fire mortars and automatic weapons to kill innocent civilians. Or drag kids into caves and horribly dismember them. Or throw stones down at worshipers praying. Good people don't call for "Days of Rage."

Good and moral leaders don't release murderers from prisons to terrorize another people. Or allow millions to languish in refugee camps for decades to corruptly increase their own largesse. They don't have conniption fits and stomp off when given the opportunity to have a nation, with most wants and needs answered for, and financial assistance to build a prosperous, modern life for their people, because they insist on taking away the most holy place in the world from the people who regained it after two millennia. They don't spew out a new twist on an old spiel: The "Jews killed Jesus so Muslims and Christians must band together and kill 'em all." And a good, moral, religious leader, loved and respected by the world, won't be lectured about that without making a loud, ringing rebuttal.

Jews everywhere agonize about the degradation of Palestinians, and their families and futures in the refugee camps. Jews agonize that the Arab leaders are unwilling over all these years to help them. Israelis, first in line in humanitarian and rescue efforts around the globe, have shown most recently at Camp David that they are willing to sacrifice, share and gamble on much for peace, stability and a future alongside a great people who should be like brothers.

The Bush administration is proving unprepared, weak and willing to assume the bogus "moral equivalence" angle on the Arab-Israeli conflict, where everyone is Mr. Good Guy with a legitimate gripe. They are not projecting American values, which express an understanding of what is right and wrong, and a courage to act upon it with strength and conviction. When America's allies are so clearly right and the other side clearly acts to destroy them, this administration must not shrink from its responsibility, unless it cannot see through its Rose Garden glasses who is good and who is evil.

David M. Green, Palm Harbor

Thanks to the Bush brothers

I would like to say "thank you" to the Bush brothers for the great job they are both doing. Politicians always seem to be promising us the world to get elected. In the past, I can't ever remember a politician who has done anything for me or to help me.

A few months ago Jeb Bush did away with the motorcycle helmet law. Can anyone remember the last time a law was passed or done away with to actually give us more freedom? Every day some lawyer, judge or politician is chipping away at the way we live, taking away the little things so that they can protect us from ourselves.

Don't turn news into propaganda for terrorists

President Bush has promised us a tax cut. Not only will taxes be cut in the future, but I will get a small rebate check. It's not a lot of money, but anything helps. He kept his promise. He didn't lie. It will be in my hand and not in some budget being used as a statistic. Once again, I say, "Thank you and keep up the good work."

Mark S. Lischalk, Holiday

Looking forward to tax rebate

Re: Spending rebates won't be too taxing, May 31.

I was amazed at the number of people who stated that a rebate of their own money from the government means nothing to them.

Like other letter writers, I suggest they send it back, not even open it. The government will find a way to spend it for sure.

We will be waiting for the check and will use it as we see fit. No matter how much it is, it is our money. Thank you, President Bush, for returning it.

Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Miller, St. Petersburg

Why leave out the needy?

Re: Spending rebates won't be too taxing, May 31.

Why do people only paying taxes now get President Bush's tax rebate? The surplus wasn't built up by just those people paying taxes now. It was built up over the years by people paying taxes. Some of those people in 2001 are 100 percent disabled and cannot work. Low-income people don't get a big enough disability check.

If the retired police officer in Hudson - or anyone else - doesn't want his check, send it to me. I'll use it to buy food and pay the electric bill.

Grace H. Goodman, Clearwater

More needless spending

I was one of the many taxpayers who was happy to hear of the recent federal tax rebates as reported by your newspaper. Every little bit helps, and I am glad to see the American people get something back from a government that many of us view as out of control with regard to spending.

Much to my chagrin, I later read in the Times an article stating that these millions of taxpayers who will be receiving rebates will be notified by mail as to "how much and when" they will receive said rebates. Are there some among us who are unaware of their marital or head-of-household status? The amounts were explicitly explained in the numerous previous articles and newscasts, as well as an approximate time frame for the mailing of checks. Granted, some of the taxpayers may not read the newspaper, or listen to the radio, or watch TV news. But does this justify wasting money to send all of us a letter saying "the check's in the mail"? It seems to me that if I'm going to receive a letter like this the government could put my check in the same envelope.

If 95-million taxpayers are involved, I expect both mailings could cost the government (read: us) an estimated \$ 95-million.

Sadly it seems that even when our government does something we the people can all (or mostly all) agree on, the powers that be cannot help but do something foolish to offset that act.

Congress, I'll take the money, but save the extra stamp and stationary.

Brian M Bermel, New Port Richey

Don't turn news into propaganda for terrorists

Don't blame Reagan tax cuts for deficits

Re: In Texas, Bush tax cuts have left the future looking less than bountiful, by Molly Ivins, May 30.

The foundation of Molly Ivins' hand wringing is the notion that tax cuts produce economic disasters. Her comment, "Ronald Reagan gave us a nice, shiny new tax cut in '81, and it only cost us \$ 2-trillion in debt" implies that revenues fell. This notion has been repeated so many times in the media that it now goes unchallenged. However, Reagan's lowering of the highest marginal tax rates from 78 percent to 31 percent produced huge increases in tax revenues that can be verified in any almanac:

Year Tax revenue in billions

1980 \$ 517

1985 \$ 734

1990 \$ 1,031

So what caused the giant deficits? Unprecedented increases in spending as appropriated by Tip O'Neill's House of Representatives in the 1980s. The current move to lower top marginal rates from 39 percent to 36 percent, effective in 2006, should not cause losses in tax revenues, based on history.

Mark Techler, Belleair

Show the flag to remember D-Day

On this D-Day anniversary, let us pause for a few moments in sober reflection over the peril our gallant and valiant servicemen, along with their British comrades in arms, were about to encounter as they sailed across the English Channel aboard the mightiest armada in history - this with the ultimate objective: to liberate Europe from Nazi tyranny.

I think that the least we could do to commemorate this illustrious event of our life - and also to relish its significance - is to display our flag today. No matter the size, even if it's a small flag, affix it to your mailbox post merely to show your gratitude and respect to the real heroes.

I don't think I will ever forget the joyous feeling that had engulfed all on the small island of Malta, where I was born, just after we heard the news about the "big" invasion on the BBC and the many spontaneous thanksgiving services specially held in paying tribute to the fearless allied servicemen and women. The Maltese were truly indebted to the Allied armed forces, because while the invasion was making progress, the first British convoy in months had made it through unescorted, except for minesweepers, with much needed victuals.

J. Mallis, Seminole

Share your opinions

Letters for publication should be addressed to Letters to the Editor, P.O. Box 1121, St. Petersburg, FL 33731. They can be sent by e-mail to letters@sptimes.com or by fax to (727) 893-8675.

They should be brief and must include the writer's name, address and phone number.

Graphic

Don't turn news into propaganda for terrorists

CARTOON, DON ADDIS; A teacher teaching "A sense of history 101" says, "Okay, Jason, which would you say was the greater event - Pearl Harbor or D-day, the sixth of June?" Jason responds, "Pearl Harbor had much better special effects!"

Load-Date: June 6, 2001

End of Document

Or Else; Caution: This Weapon May Backfire - Correction Appended

The New York Times
December 30, 2001 Sunday
Late Edition - Final

Correction Appended

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Byline: By SERGE SCHMEMANN

Dateline: UNITED NATIONS

Body

ISRAEL and India have long suffered horrific terror attacks. But when they were struck again in recent weeks, they had a new precedent to follow, set by no less than the world's most powerful nation, as they considered how to respond. Following America's lead, and anticipating American support, each issued an ultimatum to the leaders of the land from which the Islamic militants came: crush the terrorists, or else.

It is unlikely that President Bush anticipated anything like this when he went before Congress on Sept. 20 and issued his ultimatum to the rulers of the land from which Osama bin Laden and Al Qaeda had directed the attack on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. "The Taliban must act and act immediately," he declared then. "They will hand over the terrorists, or they will share in their fate."

It was a classic ultimatum, allowing the adversary to decide whether there would be war. If the Taliban handed over the evil-doers -- admittedly a remote possibility by then -- Washington would accomplish its goals without a fight. If the Taliban refused, the onus for the subsequent bloodletting would lie on its shoulders.

In this form, the ultimatum has long been a central ritual in the foreplay to war. The Islamic warrior Qutaibah, it is written, was required by an Islamic judge to withdraw from Samarkand in 717 A.D. because he had not served an ultimatum to the city before entering it. Both great wars of the last century were preceded by ultimatums -- Austria-Hungary to Serbia in 1914 and the French and British to Hitler in September 1939. So was the gulf war and the bombing of Serbia over Kosovo. On the opposite side of the ledger, what might have been the biggest blowout of them all, an American-Soviet nuclear exchange over the Soviet missiles in Cuba, was averted when Nikita Khrushchev backed down in the face of an American ultimatum in 1962.

Throughout history, there has been only one prerequisite for a good ultimatum -- carry a stick big enough to be convincing, and be prepared to use it.

But now President Bush has taken the ultimatum to another level. "From this day forward," he said before the Congress, "any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime." The message of the moment was clear. The American-led campaign against global terrorism would not stop with Afghanistan; it would continue against any country that knowingly harbored evil-doers.

Or Else Caution: This Weapon May Backfire

The trouble with that approach is that in the absence of a universally accepted definition of terrorism, this second ultimatum implied a new, broad and potentially risky principle. A lot of countries brand their enemies "terrorists," including a host of dictatorships badgered by expatriate opponents or independence movements. But until now they did not necessarily regard the existence of these foes as grounds for action against the leaders of the countries where they lived.

"I think we would have been wiser if we had defined more precisely the enemy we're waging war against," said Zbigniew Brzezinski, who was national security adviser under Jimmy Carter. "By declaring war against an undifferentiated, undefined and fundamentally vague phenomenon like global terrorism, or terrorism with global reach, we in a sense opened the gates to a lot of countries to leap into this exercise on our backs. They are all declaring whoever their enemy is to be a terrorist, and then claiming moral justification for doing whatever they decide to do."

ONE indication that the American ultimatum might invite unwelcome interpretations was the alacrity with which dubious regimes flocked to endorse it. Among early respondents to a United Nations Security Council resolution requiring all U.N. members to report on measures against terrorism were Syria and Myanmar (Burma), both ranked among the 10 least democratic countries by the human rights group Freedom House. The Burmese junta declare that it, too, "has been subject to terrorism in the past," but reassured the United Nations that it has taken "strong measures" to prevent more.

From Syria, which has long been prominent on the State Department's list of sponsors of terror, came the assurance that "Syria has always condemned terrorism in all its forms." That, however, was preceded by the reminder that Syria, like most other Arab countries, distinguishes between terrorism and "legitimate struggle against foreign occupation" -- in other words, anything the Palestinians do against Israel. Along the same lines, Russia's clownish xenophobe, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, has switched of late from lambasting America to treating it as an ally, probably because Washington now supplies justification for action against Chechnya and other Islamic thorns to Russia's south.

"We are essentially playing with a world of very different cases, and to reduce it all to a model we've created is very dangerous," said Stanley Hoffman, professor of international relations at Harvard. "For every country that sees itself as a victim of terrorism, it is now natural to use this extravagant ultimatum."

That is not to say that Israel or India, both of them mature democracies that have been battered badly by terrorism, acted with overt cynicism, or without justification. Yet in both situations, Washington's declaration of zero tolerance for terrorism offered encouragement to the governments to react with less restraint than in the past, at least in part on the calculation that the United States would now supply whatever clout they lacked to back up their threat.

In Israel, where the United States has always in the past urged restraint in the wake of suicide attacks, Washington now found no choice but to tell Israel it was free to take whatever measures it saw fit. That, in turn, freed the right-wing government of Prime Minister Ariel Sharon to do what he had long wanted to do, declaring Mr. Arafat unfit to negotiate with unless he eliminated Hamas. The form of the ultimatum was certain to make Mr. Arafat even more reluctant to take the requisite steps, and further shriveled any leverage the Americans had as a mediator in the conflict. The new American envoy to the Middle East, Anthony C. Zinni, was withdrawn, with no indication that officials in Washington had any more ideas up their sleeve.

In India, the government's response to a suicide attack on the Parliament on Dec. 13, in which seven Indians died, was to demand that Pakistan crack down on two Islamic organizations that act openly in Pakistan and Kashmir. That, in the context of Pakistan's current cooperation with the United States in Afghanistan, was effectively a demand that the United States put pressure on its partner. The ultimatum was accompanied by a steady military buildup on the Pakistani-Indian border.

Seeking to defuse the crisis, Washington added the two groups in question to the State Department's swelling list of terrorist organizations, and the Pakistani government strongly condemned them. But in the new climate, that was not enough for India. As Stephen Philip Cohen, an expert on the armies of the region, put it late last week: "The

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Indians are playing chicken. They're counting on the United States to jerk the steering wheel so the Pakistanis do swerve out of the path of an onrushing Indian vehicle."

The ultimatum left the Americans again stuck between a principle and an imperative. The United States needed Pakistan's president, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, if it stood any chance of catching Al Qaeda's chieftains. But supporting the American operation was already a political risk for him, and taking action against domestic Islamic organizations under Indian or American pressure would be downright dangerous.

"The ultimatum against the Taliban was a good ultimatum," said Morton H. Halperin, director of policy planning in the Clinton administration and now a senior fellow at the Council for Foreign Relations. "The problem is that it's now being copied by other countries, which are making ultimatums which cannot be yielded to without losing power, and therefore runs the risk of unending conflict. What the Indians are trying to do, what Israel is doing, is to persuade Bush that their situation is no different from ours. How can we ask the Israelis or the Indians now to exercise restraint?

"That is the real danger here, that we feel obliged to give them a green light."

There is also a danger, some argue, in Americans preventing others from doing what Americans claim a right to do. "Our response has to be heavily influenced by steps we were right to take," said Michael Mandelbaum of the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies. "Israel and India are right to do something about terrorism. We have said we're waging a war against terrorism, and both countries are responding to terrorism."

Yet the critical attribute of a successful ultimatum is that all its consequences be anticipated. If it goes wrong, history will judge it only a foolish gamble. Or, as in the case of the ultimatum delivered in 1914, something much worse.

<http://www.nytimes.com>

Correction

An article last Sunday about the use of ultimatums by India and Israel against governments in places where terrorists are harbored misspelled the name of a Harvard professor of international relations, who said it was dangerous for other nations to use a technique created by the United States as a global model. He is Stanley Hoffmann, not Hoffman.

The list of 2001 champions in this section last Sunday misstated listed winners in auto racing and rowing, and omitted a champion in women's golf. Corrected entries appear below:

AUTO RACING

Formula One -- Michael Schumacher (not Mika Hakkinen)

Cart FedEx Series -- Gil de Ferran (not Helio Castroneves)

Nascar Grand National -- Kevin Harvick (not Jeff Green)

Nascar Craftsman Trucks -- Jack Sprague (not Ted Musgrave)

N.H.R.A. Funny Car -- John Force (not Del Worsham)

N.H.R.A. Pro Stock -- Warren Johnson (not Bruce Allen)

N.H.R.A. Pro Stock Truck -- Bob Panella Jr. (not Mike Coughlin)

World of Outlaws Sprint Cars -- Danny Lasoski (not Andy Hillenburg)

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GOLF

Women

British Women's Open -- Se Ri Pak

ROWING

Men's World Championships

Eight with coxswain -- Romania (not Austria)

Women's World Championships

Eight with coxswain -- Australia (not Austria)

I.R.A. Regatta

Men's lightweight varsity eight -- Harvard (not Yale)

Correction-Date: January 6, 2002

Graphic

Photo (Sam Yeh/Agence France-Presse)Photos: The Arizona Diamondbacks celebrating their World Series victory against the Yankees. (Barton Silverman/The New York Times); The Daytona 500 winner, Michael Waltrip; Manager George Tsamis, left, and General Manager Larry Hall of the Northern League New Jersey Jackals; Lisa Leslie, right, after leading the Los Angeles Sparks to the W.N.B.A. title. (Photographs by Jamie Squire/Getty Images Waltrip ; Association Press Leslie); Beach volleyball's Queen of the Beach, Lisa Arce and King of the Beach, Kevin Wong, left. BMX rider Ryan Nyquist, right. (Getty Images Arce and Wong ; Courtesy Gravity Games Nyquist); Body builders Ronnie Coleman, above right, and Jose Carlos Santos, below right. (Reuters Coleman ; International Federation of Body Builders Santos); The Cat of the Year, Wishes Lyric, above. (Chanan)(pg. 7); The cliff diver Orlando Duque, left. Doug Swingley, right, after winning the Iditarod Trail Sled Dog Race. (Courtesy World High Diving Federation Duque ;Al Grillo Swingley); The fencers Ivan Lee, below left, and Iris Zimmermann, top left. The U.S. Open Champion Bruce Fleisher, above left. Gymnast Sean Townsend, above right. Breeders Crown winners Bunny Lake, top right, and Cameron Hall, below right. (Lisa Slater Lee and Zimmermann ; Associated Press (Fleisher);Agence France Presse Townsend ;Clive Cohen/New Media Images Bunnny Lake and Cameron Hall); Joe Sakic, above. In-line skater Blake Dennis, right. (Photographs by Associated Press Sakic ; Courtesy of Gravity Games Dennis)(pg. 8); U.S. Open judo competitors: top from left, Sayaka Matsumoto, Christine Carrera, Donna Robertson, Fiona Robertson; bottom, Luke Preston, Reno Reser, Dave Ellis, Aaron Cohen. (Lou DiGesare/Real Judo Magazine); Catherine Ndereba, left, won the marathon in Chicago; Tesfaye Jifar, above, the New York City marathon winner. (Agence France-Presse, left; Michelle V. Agins/The New York Times); The motocross freestyle champion, Travis Pastrana, left. The Sydney Swifts, right, after winning the Australian Netball title. (Courtesy Gravity Games Pastrana ; Courtesy Netball Australia Swifts)(pg. 9); The skysurfer Keith Snyder and the camera flyer Jason Peters, above. The skateboarder Rune Glifberg, far left. Chad Eyerly, right, after winning the stock division of the 64th Annual Soap Box Derby in Akron, Ohio. (Craig Amrine Snyder ;Courttesy of Gravity Games Glifberg ; Associated Press Eyerly); Street luge's Rat Sult, above. New Year grand Sumo Champion Musashimaru, right. (Courtesy of Gravity Games Sult ;Shizo Kambayashi Musashimaru); The surfing champion C.J. Hobgood, above. Masahiro Tanikawa, right, winning a National yo-yo championship. (Pierre Tostee Hobgood ;Gregory Cohen Tanikawa)(pg. 10)

Or Else Caution: This Weapon May Backfire

Load-Date: December 31, 2001

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**In praise of Islam: If you're like most Westerners, you've got Islam all wrong.
In many ways, the Muslim world is more advanced than the West**

The Gazette (Montreal, Quebec)

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Body

Westerners tend to think of Islamic societies as backward-looking, oppressed by religion and inhumanely governed, comparing them to their own enlightened, secular democracies.

But measurement of the cultural distance between the West and Islam is a complex undertaking. The distance is narrower than many Westerners assume.

Islam is not just a religion, and certainly not just a fundamentalist political movement. It is a civilization, and a way of life that varies from one Muslim country to another but is animated by a common spirit far more humane than most Westerners realize.

Nor do those in the West always recognize how their own societies have failed to live up to their liberal mythology.

Moreover, aspects of Islamic culture that Westerners regard as medieval may have prevailed in their own culture until fairly recently. In many cases, Islamic societies may be only a few decades behind socially and technologically advanced Western ones.

In the end, the question is what path leads to the highest quality of life for the average citizen, while avoiding the worst abuses.

Consider that Westerners regard Muslim societies as unenlightened when it comes to the status of women - and it is true that the gender question is still troublesome in Muslim countries. Islamic rules on sexual modesty have often resulted in excessive segregation of the sexes in public places, sometimes bringing about the marginalization of women in public affairs.

And yet British women were granted the right to own property independent of their husbands only in 1870, while Muslim women have always had that right. While in many Western cultures daughters could not inherit anything if there were sons in the family, Islamic law has always allocated shares from every inheritance to both daughters and sons.

The historical distance between the West and Islam in the treatment of women may be a matter of decades rather than centuries.

In praise of Islam: If you're like most Westerners, you've got Islam all wrong. In many ways, the Muslim world is more advanced than the West

Recall that in almost all Western countries except for New Zealand, women did not gain the right to vote until the 20th century. Great Britain extended the vote to women in two stages, in 1918 and 1928. The United States enfranchised them by constitutional amendment in 1920.

France followed as recently as 1944. Switzerland did not permit women to vote in national elections until 1971 - decades after Muslim women in Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq and Pakistan had been casting ballots.

Furthermore, the United States, the largest and most influential Western nation, has never had a female president.

In contrast, two of the most populous Muslim countries, Pakistan and Bangladesh, have had woman prime ministers. Benazir Bhutto headed two governments in Pakistan. Khaleda Zia and Hasina Wajed served consecutively in Bangladesh. Turkey has had Prime Minister Tansu Ciller.

Muslim countries are ahead in female empowerment, though still behind in female liberation.

Westerners consider many problems or flaws of the Muslim world to be products of Islam and pride their societies and their governments on their purported secularism.

The United States has had separation of church and state under the constitution for more than 200 years, but American politics is hardly completely secular.

Only once has the electorate chosen a non-Protestant president - and the Roman Catholic John F. Kennedy won by such a narrow margin, amid such allegations of electoral fraud, that we will never know for sure whether a majority of Americans actually voted for him.

Jews have distinguished themselves in many fields, but they have so far avoided competing for the White House, and there is still a fear of unleashing the demon of anti-Semitism among Christian fundamentalists.

There are now more Muslims - an estimated 6 million - than Jews in the United States. Yet anti-Muslim feeling and the success of appeals to Christian sentiment among voters make it extremely unlikely that Americans will elect a Muslim head of state any time soon.

When first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton entertained Muslim leaders at the White House last year to mark a special Islamic festival, a Wall Street Journal article actually cited that as evidence that friends of Hamas had penetrated the White House.

In western Europe, too, there are now millions of Muslims, but history is still awaiting the appointment of the first to a cabinet position in Britain, France or Germany.

Islam, on the other hand, has tried to protect minority religions through ecumenicalism throughout its history. Jews and Christians had special status as People of the Book - a fraternity of monotheists. Other religious minorities were later also accorded the status of protected minorities (dhimmis).

Jewish scholars rose to high positions in Muslim Spain. During the Ottoman Empire, Christians sometimes attained high political office: Suleiman I (1520-1566) had Christian ministers in his government, as did Selim III (1789-1807).

The Moghul Empire integrated Hindus and Muslims into a consolidated Indian state. Emperor Akbar (1556-1605) carried farthest the Moghul policy of bringing Hindus into the government.

In the 1990s, Iraq has had a Chaldean Christian deputy prime minister, Tariq Aziz.

In the 20th century, Islam has not often proved fertile ground for democracy and its virtues. On the other hand, Islamic culture has not been hospitable to Nazism, fascism or communism, unlike Christian culture (as in Germany, Italy and Russia), Buddhist culture (Japan before and during World War II, Pol Pot's Cambodia, Vietnam and North Korea) or Confucian culture (Mao's China).

In praise of Islam: If you're like most Westerners, you've got Islam all wrong. In many ways, the Muslim world is more advanced than the West

The Muslim world has never given rise to systematic fascism and its organized brutalities.

Hafiz al-Assad's Syria and Saddam Hussein's Iraq have been guilty of large-scale violence, but fascism also requires an ideology of repression that has been absent in the two countries.

Apart from the dubious case of Albania, communism has never independently taken hold in a Muslim culture.

There are no Muslim equivalents of Nazi extermination camps, nor Muslim conquests by genocide on the scale perpetrated by Europeans in the Americas and Australia, nor Muslim equivalents of Stalinist terror, Pol Pot's killing fields or the starvation and uprooting of tens of millions in the name of Five Year Plans.

Nor are there Muslim versions of apartheid such as that once approved by the South African Dutch Reformed Church, or of the ferocious racism of Japan before 1945 or of the racist culture of the Old South in the United States with its lynchings and brutalization of black people.

Islam has never spawned an Inquisition in which the burning of heretics at the stake was sanctioned.

Cultures that had condemned human beings to burn and celebrated as they died in the flames, even hundreds of years before, were more likely to tolerate the herding of a whole people of another faith into gas chambers.

Islam has been a shield against such excesses of evil. In fact, Islam brings to the calculus of universal justice some protection from the abyss of human depravity.

Saddam Hussein's use of poison gas against Kurdish villages in Iraq in 1988 is more clearly comparable to Nazi behaviour. But even Saddam's action was the use of an illegitimate weapon in a civil war rather than a planned program to destroy the Kurdish people. It was an evil incident rather than a program of genocide.

Many people feel that U. S. president Harry S Truman's dropping of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki was also an evil episode.

Amid Western claims that Islamic "fundamentalism" feeds terrorism, one powerful paradox of the 20th century is often overlooked. While Islam may generate more political violence, Western culture generates more street violence. Islam does indeed produce a disproportionate share of mujahideen, but Western culture produces a disproportionate share of muggers.

The largest Muslim city in Africa is Cairo. The largest Westernized city is Johannesburg. Cairo is much more populous than Johannesburg, but street violence is only a fraction of what it is in the South African city.

In terms of quality of life, is the average citizen better off under the excesses of the Islamic state or the excesses of the liberal state, where political tension may be low but social violence has reached crisis proportions?

Tehran, the capital of the Islamic Republic of Iran, is a city of 10 million. Families with small children picnic in public parks at 11 p.m. or midnight. Residents of the capital and other cities stroll late at night, seemingly unafraid of mugging, rape or murder.

This is a society that has known large-scale political violence in war and revolution, but one in which petty interpersonal violence is much rarer than in Washington or New York.

Iranians are more subject to their government than Americans, but they are less at risk from the degradations of their fellow citizens.

Nor is dictatorial government the explanation for the safe streets of Tehran - otherwise, Lagos would be as peaceful as the Iranian capital. The Iranian solution is mainly in the moral sphere.

In praise of Islam: If you're like most Westerners, you've got Islam all wrong. In many ways, the Muslim world is more advanced than the West

Of all the value systems in the world, Islam has been the most resistant to the leading destructive forces of the 20th century - including AIDS. Lower levels of prostitution and of hard drug use in conservative Muslim cultures compared with other cultures have, so far, contributed to lower-than-average HIV infection rates.

Western liberal democracy has enabled societies to enjoy openness, government accountability, popular participation and high economic productivity. But Western pluralism has also been a breeding ground for racism, fascism, exploitation and genocide.

If history is to end in arrival at the ultimate political order, it will require more than the West's message on how to maximize the best in human nature.

Humankind must also consult Islam about how to check the worst in human nature - from alcoholism to racism, materialism to Nazism, drug addiction to Marxism as the opiate of the intellectuals.

One must distinguish between democratic principles and humane principles. In some humane principles - including stabilizing the family, security from social violence, and the relatively non-racial nature of religious institutions - the Muslim world may well be ahead of the West.

Graphic

Photo: BURHAN OZBILICI, AP / Then-prime ministers Benazir Bhutto of Pakistan and Tansu Ciller of Turkey meet in Ankara for a summit in December 1993.

Load-Date: January 19, 1998

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Interference from the government is not needed

St. Petersburg Times (Florida)

November 19, 2001, Monday, 0 South Pinellas Edition

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Body

A reading of the Times on Nov. 16 just made me shudder. There were several items contributing to overall effect. But just to name two, there was the item about the state's concern over a young boy's weight, and Howard Troxler's column about the St. Petersburg human rights ordinance.

I am a parent. I was once a landlord. As president and principal stockholder of a small corporation, I was an employer. I did not ever want or need any government interference in any of those positions.

My children's mother and I decided what they would eat, and we took care of their health without any assistance or interference from the state. As a landlord, I decided to whom I would lease my valuable property. If any levels of government wanted to relieve me of that responsibility, I would have been willing to sell to them. In my company I had the final say as to who I would have working in my plant, and who would drive my company trucks into our customer's plants. I took particular interest in our sales force. These people were, in many instances, the only direct contact our customers had with our company. How they represented our company was of the utmost concern.

LETTERS

There is one factor that has seemingly never been understood by liberal activists. That is the fact that a small business cannot afford the luxury of hiring anyone who cannot be fired, or at least not without a lot of grief and expense.

F. Darrell Thomas, Trinity

Weight case takes meddling too far

Re: Boy's weight of state concern, Nov. 16.

I am appalled and angered by the Department of Children and Families. It has nothing better to do than make a family attend numerous court hearings over their son being overweight? Obviously he isn't being starved, and he looks a lot like his father, a large, burly man. The Bibian family has already been to court three times over the same weight issue, and the judge found no basis for a finding of abuse or neglect.

Not a day goes by that I don't pick up the newspaper and read of child abuse in some fashion or another. This is going over the line. Putting that child on a diet will not only invade his privacy, but it will surely add a deep amount of stress, and lost self-esteem. Kudos to the Bibian family for standing up for their rights.

Julie Holmes, St. Petersburg

Interference from the government is not needed

GOP voters seem easily discouraged

Re: Other lost votes to investigate, letter.

Among all those letters on Nov. 14 from people writing about your paper's reporting on the results of the presidential vote recount, this was one that relieved my distress over some of the opinions:

The letter writer said that "Democrats are dumber than Republicans." I suspect that he didn't realize that his next statement disproved this when he said that the media-sponsored recount of Florida ballots "conveniently" did not mention the votes that "were lost in 12 predominantly Republican Panhandle counties due to the networks calling Florida for Al Whatshisname while the polls were still open."

Now, my mamma told me that people who would let somebody else talk them out of doing something they wanted to do, like going to vote for a president on Election Day, was either "weak-minded" or "just plain dumb." But, then, my mamma was a fairly "strong-minded" person.

Anyway, I had a good laugh at the guy contradicting himself, and wondered if old Benjamin Franklin and James Madison were right in worrying whether we really would be wise enough, in the long run, to govern ourselves. Here's hoping . . .

Nadine Duke, Oldsmar

Why smear Al-Arian?

Re: Behind Al-Arian's facade, editorial, Nov. 1.

Your editorial concerning Dr. Sami Al-Arian's activities was clearly contradictory to much of what your paper has been reporting for more than six years. It's clear that the editorial writer is a pro-Israeli propagandist. He totally ignored many facts that were reported by his own paper as well as by previous editorials in order to satisfy his blind hatred of Dr. Al-Arian and obviously of any person seeking the end of the brutal Israeli occupation.

First of all, let's agree that a federal judge has examined all these reports, which are now being resurrected as if they have just been discovered. These so-called new discoveries were presented last year to U.S. Judge R. Kevin McHugh in a hearing that spanned more than two weeks. What were his conclusions? He said: "Although there were allegations that the ICP Islamic Committee for Palestine and WISE World and Islam Studies Enterprise were 'fronts' for Palestinian political causes, there is no evidence before the court that demonstrates that either organization was a front for the PIJ Palestinian Islamic Jihad. To the contrary, there is evidence in the record to support the conclusion that WISE was a reputable and scholarly research center and the ICP was highly regarded." He also rejected all the fundraising allegations. These are the facts. When are you going to get over it?

The editorial blasted WISE as a research institution. WISE published more than 4,000 pages over five years (1990-95). Neither the editorial nor anyone else since 1995 ever referenced a single statement attributed to WISE or its publications that calls for the use of violence or solicit funds in any way, shape or form. William Reece Smith Jr. reached the same conclusions after his focused investigation. The contempt of the editorial writer to Smith's conclusions speaks volumes about his bias.

The writer states that Dr. Al-Arian courted the media and it has backfired. It's another misstatement that is not based on facts but on a mission to slander an outspoken and brave man. It's well known that the media have been after the University of South Florida teacher for many years and that the FOX producers lied about the purpose of their interview with him on the talk show The O'Reilly Factor.

Finally, the question that must be answered is why does the St. Petersburg Times editorial page want to smear the Palestinian professor now, in these difficult and tragic times, and on whose behalf is it doing it? The answer is obvious. It's a blatant attempt to silence any one who dares to question Israel's occupation of Palestinian land and people. That's the facade that is now being unveiled. What a shameful act for a paper that was once great.

Interference from the government is not needed

Abe Cater, chairman, public relations committee,

Florida Tampa Bay Muslim Community, Tampa

The bin Ladins of Israel

The barbaric tactics of terror practiced by the Palestinian Arabs has not abated despite the world campaign against terrorism. In recent weeks there have been at least two incidents where Palestinian Arabs have gunned down and murdered innocent women and children. These shooting incidents do not draw the same response in the media as suicide bombings. However, to the Israelis and the Arabs they have the same affect: murder of the innocent and the terrorizing of the population of Israel.

One has to wonder why the terrorists in Israel are using guns and not bombs. That raises a suspicion with me that suicide bombs don't play well on television or in the newspaper these days.

For every attack aimed at innocent civilians in Israel, we must still cry out against the terrorists. Whether by bomb or gun, it is the same evil. Until there is an absolute cease fire, there can be no hope for peace in the Middle East.

Yasser Arafat and his followers, whether they are Fatah, Islamic Jihad or Hamas, young or old, are not fit partners for peace. Until they stop attacking innocent men women and children, they are the bin Ladins of Israel.

Bruce A. Epstein, Pinellas Park

Close terrorists' gun-show access

In the last few months the Florida Coalition to Stop Gun Violence, has investigated private sales at several gun shows, and the results are frightening.

We investigated private sales at Lakeland, Ocala, Fort Myers and at Jacksonville. At any one of these shows we could have bought numbers of assault rifles and handguns for cash, no questions asked and with no background check. Among the four shows we could have amassed an arsenal, and we could have been prohibited buyers.

Prohibited buyers are felons, mental patients, domestic violence abusers, straw purchasers, underage buyers, those with outstanding warrants for their arrest and a new much more dangerous prohibited buyer: terrorists and their supporters.

What is so startling about this is that federally licensed sellers have to call the Florida Department of Law Enforcement to obtain a background on their buyers before they can complete their sale, but right next to them someone is selling from an unlicensed table his so-called private collection for cash and with no background checks!

These sales are completely legal under current federal, state and county law. Law enforcement has no statutory basis for challenging these sales, and they routinely ignore this activity.

Is there any way this dangerous activity can be stopped but which will allow law-abiding citizens to buy all the guns they want at these shows? Yes, there are two ways.

In 1998, voters passed a state constitutional revision giving each county commission the authority to stop unregulated sales at their county gun shows by passing an ordinance that states no gun sales will take place on property that the public has access to unless the sale is conducted by, or facilitated by, a federally licensed gun dealer. In two counties that have passed this ordinance, Hillsborough and Pinellas, we observed no private sales. Everyone buying had to pass a background check. No exceptions.

This ordinance works very well, however, only about a dozen of our 67 counties have enacted it.

A far better solution is by passing statewide legislation. Bills were introduced in the House and Senate in 2001, but the legislative leadership refused to allow either to be heard.

Interference from the government is not needed

Our only hope now is that when the Legislature meets in January 2002 it will be forced, by public opinion, to allow these bills a full hearing.

With tightened security everywhere in Florida, and with every law enforcement agency doing double and even triple shifts to prevent terrorist attacks in the state, how can it be that anybody, now including terrorists, can walk into Florida gun shows and walk out with an arsenal, no questions asked?

Arthur C. Hayhoe, executive director, Florida Coalition

to Stop Gun Violence, Zephyrhills

Be realistic about risks

Re: Flights are a danger to festival, letter, Nov. 15.

I don't know about you, but I am outraged that the city of Tampa would allow Tampa International Airport to allow airplanes to overfly the Howard Frankland Bridge during morning and evening rush hour. These huge planes are flying very low (as allowed by FAA regulations) during departure and approach to landing over thousands of folks trying to get to work. Just think how many people would be killed or injured if one of these planes were to fall out of the sky.

The point I'm trying to make is that we all take risks every day. Just because we don't like or understand something is no reason to ban an activity. As any pilot will tell you, the most dangerous part of flying is driving to and from the airport. If you had to pass the strict standards of training and medical fitness to obtain a driver's license as pilots do to obtain a Private Pilot Certificate, we probably would loose only about half the people on the roads.

So, the next time you wish to trample on someone's right to fly - be it for pleasure, business, or as in the case of airlines, to transport people, your mail and cargo - remember, maybe next time it will be your favorite hobby, or way of making a living that someone won't like and try to stop. Think about it.

Phil Du Bois, St. Petersburg

Share your opinions

Letters for publication should be addressed to Letters to the Editor, P.O. Box 1121, St. Petersburg, FL 33731. They can be sent by e-mail to letters@sptimes.com or by fax to (727) 893-8675.

They should be brief and must include the writer's name, address and phone number.

Letters may be edited for clarity, taste and length.

Graphic

BLACK AND WHITE CARTOON, DON ADDIS; A member of the "AIRPORT SECURITY" behind an empty counter looks over at the crowded "AIRPORT INSECURITY" counter.

Load-Date: November 19, 2001

A NATION CHALLENGED: ISLAM; Moderate Muslims Fear Their Message Is Being Ignored

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Byline: By DOUGLAS JEHL

Dateline: CAIRO, Oct. 20

Body

Since the September attacks, Al Azhar the revered mosque, the distinguished university, the leading voice of the Sunni Muslim establishment -- has renewed with accustomed grace the roles it has played in the world of Islam for more than 1,000 years.

It has sought to advise Muslims around the world that those who kill in the name of Islam are nothing more than heretics. It has sought to guide, to reassure Westerners against any clash of civilizations.

But throughout an Islamic world full of anger and despair, political rulers and those like Al Azhar who support them have perhaps never been so unpopular. So despite the mosque's best efforts, the banners raised last week at the mosque to protest the American airstrikes expressed a very different voice: "Jihad is the solution!"

This is Islam as the language of dissent, and over the past quarter century, its words have become increasingly loud. In places like Egypt, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, frustrated people -- choked by booms in population, disoriented by the uneasy mix of imported American culture and old traditions, blocked by failing economies and squelched by curbs on political expression -- have found a single vehicle to express their rage: political Islam.

Until 30 years ago, in the Middle East, South Asia and Africa, the language of politics was cast in terms of nationalism or the demands of the cold war. Now it is tinged almost everywhere with slogans like "Islam is the answer."

If there is one constant amid the many faces of this religion, experts say, it is that Islam is growing as a force. Sometimes financed by Saudi oil, Islam is the dominant vehicle for the hospitals and charitable foundations that increasingly fill voids left by secular governments.

In recent decades new Islamic republics have emerged in Sudan, Iran and Afghanistan. Islamists have been elected to parliament, served in cabinets or held high office in countries from Algeria to Jordan to Pakistan to Malaysia and Indonesia.

A NATION CHALLENGED: ISLAM Moderate Muslims Fear Their Message Is Being Ignored

None of these countries is a true democracy, and while Islamists cast themselves as pluralizers in authoritarian states, few go so far as to advocate a Western-style democracy. The traditions of Islam emphasize submission to religious law, leading many scholars to question whether Islam is even compatible with democracy.

The United States has allied itself with many Arab governments that have no interest in democracy, among them Saudi Arabia. At the same time, the United States is widely seen in the globalized, post-cold-war world as the voice and exporter of the message that democracy, free markets and technology are the answer for everybody.

Both these facets of American policy -- what is perceived as hypocrisy in backing autocratic Arab states, and the democracy-fits-all message -- have caused unease or anger among Muslims.

So, too, have American support for Israel and for sanctions on Iraq, and the presence of American troops in Saudi Arabia, home to Islam's two holiest sites, Mecca and Medina. As a result, the message of the accused terrorist Osama bin Laden has gained a broad resonance.

The attempt to control and if possible reverse this growing antagonism is clearly one of the major diplomatic challenges facing the Bush administration. The elimination of Mr. bin Laden's network has given America an immediate military focus, but the sentiments among Muslims who have helped that network grow present a far deeper problem.

Islam is a faith of many faces: from its stern Wahhabi visage in Saudi Arabia to the more flexible versions that prevail in Egypt or Indonesia, where clerics have long scoffed at rigid rules like the Saudis' ban on women's driving, and have argued that Islam is eternally adaptable to modern life.

Islam's 1.3 billion followers include Shiites, the minority sect that is dominant in Iran, and Sunnis, the majority in Egypt, Saudi Arabia and most other Islamic countries. There are also the mostly secular, as in Syria, whose government has crushed a religious challenge to its authority, and the militant, exhorted by extremist clerics in places like Lebanon, Gaza and now Afghanistan. Some extremists have condoned the Sept. 11 attacks and routinely use religion to justify violence in the name of a holy struggle, or jihad.

The category of militants is growing. It is a development that saddens men like Sheik Fawzi al-Zafzaf, an Islamic scholar who has spent 40 years at Al Azhar. He acknowledges that its authority has been cast in doubt in some quarters by Al Azhar's very ties to an Egyptian government that also needs the center's support.

"They call us the clerics of the authorities," Sheik Zafzaf said with clear regret, speaking of Muslims who have taken more militant voices as their religious guides.

It is a conundrum not only for Egypt, but perhaps for all of the Islamic world.

Since the time of Muhammad (A.D. 570-632), the teachings of Islam have always linked political rules with spiritual rules, so governments like Egypt's need the mantle of institutions like Al Azhar as a seal of legitimacy.

But the more that governments like Egypt's harness themselves to mainstream clerics, the more those unhappy with their leaders have disdained the clerics as well.

"Our role is to correct the misperceptions," Sheik Zafzaf said of Al Azhar, whose leader, or grand imam, is appointed to a lifetime term by Egypt's president, a partnership that is spelled out in the Constitution. But, he said, "if people do not listen to our views, that is not our fault."

Outside the mosque, beneath its soaring minarets, a young graduate student at Al Azhar was among those quick to identify himself as one who no longer pays much heed to the official message or its messenger.

"I accept that it is un-Islamic to kill civilians," said the student, Muhammad al-Kordy, 25, echoing the message that the grand imam, Sheik Muhammad Sayed al-Tantawi, has articulated in nearly every speech since Sept. 11. "But Sheik Tantawi is a puppet."

A NATION CHALLENGED: ISLAM Moderate Muslims Fear Their Message Is Being Ignored

Anger at the perceived "puppets" -- Arab governments unready to stand up to Israel, pliant to American demands, unable to give their young populations a sense of opportunity -- grows continually.

Opposition movements and radical extremist organizations have sought to destabilize Muslim countries and attacked government officials and institutions in the West. Chief among them has been Al Qaeda, the network led by Mr. bin Laden.

In the years after the Iranian revolution in 1979, it was Shiite Islam that was widely regarded in the West as a particularly dangerous force. Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini derided what he called "American Islam," and efforts were made to export violence and establish Islamic states.

But as John L. Esposito, a scholar at Georgetown University, wrote earlier this year, the Iranian revolution is showing signs of exhaustion.

Today the louder voices of religious-inspired opposition to the status quo are those of Sunni Muslims like those of the anti-Israeli group ***Hamas*** and the violence embraced by Sunnis like Mr. bin Laden. "The fruits of decades of investment in Sunni militancy now stand ready to take over where Iran is leaving off," Dr. Esposito wrote.

The investment seems to have come largely from Saudi Arabia, which financed the American-backed mujahedeen, or holy warriors, in their fight against Soviet forces in Afghanistan in the 1980's and later -- until Sept. 11 -- embraced the Taliban.

That flow of funds from Saudi Arabia and other Persian Gulf states has come not only from public coffers, but in millions of dollars of private money as well, which was contributed to charities and other groups that serve as another way to promote a specific vision of Islam.

In Pakistan in particular, they helped to establish the madrassas, schools that inculcated vast numbers of young people in the stern, unforgiving Wahhabi strain of Islam, which has taken root in its harshest form among the Taliban. This strain is also found Central Asia, where Russia and some new nations confront radicals inspired by Islam.

All over the Islamic world, charities have helped to win both admiration and obligation for particular Islamic views.

From its base in Beirut's southern suburbs, the Iranian-backed Lebanese resistance group Hezbollah, which is Shiite Muslim in orientation, is also the country's largest nongovernmental organization. It schools young men like Ali Isa, 19, cares for them in its clinics and -- not least -- preaches to them in its mosques.

"My loyalty is to Hezbollah and Sheik Fadlallah," Mr. Isa, an auto mechanic with a closely trimmed black beard, said recently. "Lebanon does nothing for me."

He was referring to Muhammad Hussein Fadlallah, Hezbollah's spiritual adviser, a gentle-looking and extraordinarily popular 62-year-old cleric who remains on American lists of suspected terrorists for his links to Hezbollah's more radical past.

Mr. Isa said he agreed with Sheik Fadlallah that the attacks on the United States were wrong. But he also said he agreed that if Mr. bin Laden is caught, he should be tried in a Muslim court rather than by "a court of infidels," and he took exception when asked if he recognized that not all Muslims shared that view.

"Who else besides Fadlallah has any business telling us what Muslims should believe?" he asked.

In its most extreme forms, of course, militant Islam has thrived most where state power is least, in places like Afghanistan, Lebanon and Sudan, and so it is not surprising that stronger states like Egypt would use what power they can to promote religious moderation.

Across the Islamic world, this is most often done in the form of partnership between religious and secular authorities, like the one between Al Azhar and the government of President Hosni Mubarak.

A NATION CHALLENGED: ISLAM Moderate Muslims Fear Their Message Is Being Ignored

With financing from the government, Al Azhar, for example, not only educates Muslims from more than 50 countries, giving it a global reach, but is the dominant voice in shaping the sermons delivered in Egypt's mosques, most of which are controlled by the government as a barrier to dissent.

In conversations at the graceful Al Azhar structure known as the House of the Sheik, clerics sitting behind Arabic-style windows and elegant carvings have cast themselves again and again as the guides to a gentle Islam.

Wearing clerical robes and a red fez-like hat wrapped in a white turban, and bearing a callus on his forehead that marks a man of prayerful piety, Sheik Zafzaf recalled how quickly Al Azhar sprang to action on the Friday after Sept. 11.

"We circulated the guidance to clerics around the world, in Egypt and abroad, in relaying the message of condemnation for these terrorist attacks, because God prohibited the killing of civilians," he said. "We are holding daily contacts with our clerics via the embassies abroad and our offices in Egypt, spreading the word to all the imams to denounce the terrorist attacks."

But other recent rulings by Al Azhar's grand imam had a more mixed tone. He has ruled that organ transplants are permitted in Islam, to the satisfaction of Egyptian modernizers, but he has also insisted that Al Azhar be given the last word on what books are published in Egypt, to guard against those that are un-Islamic.

During Egypt's own internal war in the mid-1990's on the Islamic militants who were trying to overthrow the government, Al Azhar was uniformly critical of the bombings, assassinations and other attacks against the government. Among Egyptian militants, within the outlawed Muslim Brotherhood (the main arm of political dissent) and even among young Al Azhar scholars like Mr. Kordy, the rulings now bring little respect.

"I don't believe anything he says," Mr. Kordy said of Al Azhar's grand imam, whose pronouncements are supposed to articulate religious law.

It is a conflict of which clerics like Sheik Zafzaf, who is 52 years old and began his studies at Al Azhar when he was just 12, have become painfully aware.

"Al Azhar is the only institution in the world that has learned the moderate Islam and taught it in a moderate way without fanaticism, and without abiding by the teachings of a school that promotes rigidity or violence," he said.

Referring to Sept. 11, he added: "It breaks my heart that a Muslim in the name of Islam would commit such crimes, when Islam has nothing to do with it."

<http://www.nytimes.com>

Graphic

Photos: Anti-American demonstrators outside Al Azhar mosque in Cairo protesting the retaliatory attacks on Afghanistan. (Associated Press); The mosque at Al Azhar, Cairo. Scholars there condemn terrorists who kill in the name of Islam as heretics, but despair threatens that message. (Mohamed el-Dakhakhny for The New York Times)(pg. B4)

Load-Date: October 21, 2001

LIFE-AND-DEATH STAKES IN THE WAR ON TERROR; ATTACK ON TERRORISM; All eyes are on Afghanistan as the country of 27 million is caught in the line of fire of yesterday's U.S.-led air attacks as well as in the iron grip of hardline Taliban rulers and a famine-and-war-ravaged past. Here's what major western, Middle Eastern and South Asian countries have to win and lose in the gathering military, political and humanitarian storm settling over the region.

Hamilton Spectator (Ontario, Canada)

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Byline: Peter Van Harten

Body

Looking at the Middle East and Central Asia -- whether in spy satellite photos or graphics on newspaper and magazines pages -- the area might appear to be nothing more than a war gamer's board or computer screen simulation prepared for play.

Before yesterday's U.S.-led attacks on Afghanistan, war ships were in position in the Persian Gulf and Arabian Ocean. Fighter planes and bombers were at the ready on bases in Saudi Arabia, Oman and Diego Garcia Island in the Indian Ocean.

In history books, the previous duelling between Great Britain, Russia and other powers in the regions during the 18th and 19th century was known as "the Great Game."

Even with yesterday's attacks, expect to see more gamesmanship both on the military and diplomatic fields, as the United States continues to forge and call upon a coalition of nations to attack terrorists responsible for the death of nearly 7,000 people on Sept. 11.

The Hamilton Spectator

Historian and Middle East expert James Reilly at the University of Toronto says seeing those key players and nations engage in alliance-making, back-and-forth diplomacy, threats of further attacks and promises of more aid may give the appearance of a war game.

But, he adds, "it's not a game and the people on the ground are scared to death of what's about to happen."

Reilly has lived in the Mideast and travelled through the regions.

And the cities and peoples that he has visited are what's on his mind.

LIFE-AND-DEATH STAKES IN THE WAR ON TERROR; ATTACK ON TERRORISM; All eyes are on Afghanistan as the country of 27 million is caught in the line of fire of yeste....

At the borders of Pakistan, Iran and Tajikistan, more than a million refugees were trying to flee Afghanistan, its repressive Taliban regime, and the U.S.-led attacks. Reilly says the ordinary people of the regions are the ones who will pay if the war on terrorists goes awry, gives rise to blood-lust tensions, destabilized governments, new hatreds, new extremist regimes, broken truces, and more years of strife and deprivation.

"The outcome may be a great tragedy," he says.

UNITED STATES

The United States, the post-Cold War superpower that now dominates the globe, has amassed its military forces of carriers, battleships, fighter planes and troops into the area. And it is set to send more for what is seen by senior U.S. officials as a long, protracted war on terrorist sites and supporters.

More than 28,000 troops, airmen and sailors, 300 warplanes and dozens of ships were stretched from the Persian Gulf to the Indian Ocean. U.S. strikes were made possible yesterday with the support in the Mideast and South Asia of past, and sometimes reluctant, allies that were brought onside with threats, promises of aid, and the easing of sanctions and restrictions.

When the initial shock and fury over the Sept. 11 attacks on U.S. soil abated, the Americans slowly developed a retaliation plan that would not create new foes and upset relationships with nations still uneasy over massive U.S. presence in the region during the 1991 Gulf War.

That war, waged by the current U.S. president's father, left no doubt about the manpower, high-tech firepower and resolve that Americans are able and willing to bring down on foes.

U.S. President George W. Bush, Secretary of State Colin Powell, British Prime Minister Tony Blair and varied diplomats have met with heads of state and worked to convince countries to provide intelligence on terrorists and their operating bases, and to provide support or forces to go after the terrorists. The U.S. went as far as paying its arrears to the UN to curry favour.

Yesterday, the diplomacy and military plans converged as volleys of U.S. and British missiles swooped down through the cloudless nighttime skies of Kabul, Afghanistan in the first response to the attacks of Sept. 11.

AFGHANISTAN

All eyes are on Afghanistan. Even before yesterday's U.S.-led attacks, the nation was already war-ravaged after 22 years of battling Soviet occupiers and civil strife in which its infrastructure was virtually destroyed. Almost 27 million Afghans, many of them facing famine, are those most likely to pay the heaviest burden. They risk not only the estimated 10 million landmines planted in their soil but also now the U.S.-led attacks in their region, although the U.S. was also planning to drop food and medical supplies for them inside Afghanistan.

The extremist Taliban rulers are credited with bringing law and order to Afghanistan after the civil chaos that followed the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan and the collapse of the Afghan communist regime. But the Taliban has come under widespread criticism for its repressive iron rule -- especially directed at women -- and for harbouring and refusing to turn over terrorist suspect Osama bin Laden and his al-Qaeda network of terrorists.

The estimated 40,000 Taliban fighters with their limited weapons are seen as no match for the U.S. forces and equipment. But Taliban soldiers are aided by the treacherous mountain bases where they can hide and ambush ground troops. The Afghans' terrain and their history of defeating past invaders make them dangerous opponents.

It is estimated, however, the Taliban have no more than 650 tanks, troop carriers and fighting vehicles. Their bombers and fighter planes can be counted on two hands.

LIFE-AND-DEATH STAKES IN THE WAR ON TERROR; ATTACK ON TERRORISM; All eyes are on Afghanistan as the country of 27 million is caught in the line of fire of yeste....

A mere 5 to 10 per cent of Afghanistan is under the control of the Northern Alliance rebel forces of 10,000 to 15,000 men still fighting the Taliban. They are key, however, to providing intelligence and support for the western commando forces sent into Afghanistan.

PAKISTAN

Pakistan is a nuclear power whose citizens show strong support for the Taliban. It has been both a key to the U.S. retaliation plan and a nation that teeters on the edge of disaster

The only country to still recognize the Taliban regime, Pakistan is torn by a 97 per cent Muslim population with strong, vocal pockets of religious extremists.

Pakistan's ruler, General Pervez Mushharraf, and his government see no choice but to co-operate and are already being rewarded by the U.S. with financial aid and the lifting of economic restrictions.

Pakistan is struggling with the affects of caring for two million Afghan refugees already inside its border and thousands more are being held at the frontiers with its neighbour.

IRAQ

Like the Taliban, Iraq's Saddam Hussein holds a repressive grip on a country in which 23 million people are still suffering the effects of post-war sanctions and destruction after the U.S.-lead Gulf War of 1991.

Like Osama bin Laden, Hussein was at one time supported by the United States -- in his case to check the growing power of Islamic extremists, rather than fight the Soviets. And some intelligence sources also blame him for the attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon.

Despite Hussein's gloating over the Sept. 11 attacks, cooler heads in Washington are urging U.S. President George W. Bush to hold back from finishing the job his father started against Iraq in the Gulf War.

ISRAEL and PALESTINE

A truce in the Middle East flashpoint of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is essential if the uneasy U.S. coalition in the Arab world is to hold.

The Bush administration believes quelling violence in Israel and the West Bank and Gaza Strip is paramount to a united offensive.

Some Arab leaders want the war against terrorism linked to a peaceful settlement in the longstanding Israeli-Palestinian dispute.

Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres will be pushed to the fore and hawkish Prime Minister Ariel Sharon will likely have to take a back seat as diplomatic efforts involving Palestinian President Yasser Arafat take place.

Arab states worry that a wide-scale war on terrorism going well beyond Osama bin Laden and including attacks on Hezbollah, **Hamas**, Islamic Jihad and other extremist groups will ignite tensions with Lebanon, Jordan and other lands in the region. Any overt participation by Israel in U.S.-led actions in the Middle East is sure to provoke a hostile reaction in the Arab world.

RUSSIA

Russia, haunted by the debacle of its losses and retreat from Afghanistan, is co-operating with the United States.

Financially-ruined and trying to counter growing Islamic militancy in the former republics on its borders, the country stands to benefit with increased aid and muted criticism of its brutal war in Chechnya, which Russian President Vladimir Putin has described as his own war on terrorism.

LIFE-AND-DEATH STAKES IN THE WAR ON TERROR; ATTACK ON TERRORISM; All eyes are on Afghanistan as the country of 27 million is caught in the line of fire of yeste....

There's even talk of the need for NATO doors to be opened for Russian membership in the future as Putin cosies up to U.S. But some observers wonder whether Russia is ready to risk the U.S. becoming a power of influence in its own back yard.

FORMER SOVIET STATES

Three former Russian republics -- Uzbekistan Tajikistan and Turkmenistan -- border on Afghanistan. Their airfields play a pivotal role as jumping-off points for assaults on terrorist bases.

The border states are influenced by Russia and have given, or are likely to give, reluctant or tacit approval for use of bases and air space.

There are reports that more than 1,000 U.S. special airborne troops have been deployed in Tajikistan and Uzbekistan in preparation for a ground operation after yesterday's air strike. Commando units are already reportedly active in Afghanistan

The three countries -- seemingly strange bedfellows with the U.S. -- have majority Muslim populations and active radical Islamic opposition groups, which threaten their own shaky governments.

CHINA

Even China is battling Islamic separatists in its frontier Xinjiang province and has formed a co-operative pact with neighbour states in the area to counter breakaway groups. Although pledging to help the U.S. in the fight against terrorism, it has not outlined specific details.

SAUDI ARABIA

Saudi Arabia is home to Islam's two holiest sites as well as strategic oil resources, making it a key Arab player in the events.

Saudi Arabia's autocratic ruling family is allied with the U.S., and the country was the staging ground for troops in the Gulf War.

Osama bin Laden's war chest of millions was inherited from his Saudi family and he has continued to draw financial support and followers among extremists who are opposed to the wealthy rulers in the region.

EGYPT

Although reluctant to be involved, Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak will likely be drawn into supporting the U.S. Egypt has had subdued terrorist groups active in the country in past years, but worries the U.S.-led attack will reignite internal protests.

IRAN

Iran has closed its borders to refugees from neighbouring Afghanistan.

Despite previous denunciations of U.S. actions against the Islamic world, Iran's initial response to the terrorist attacks was one of sympathy and condolences without reservation.

It's hoped the current crisis might lead to a rapprochement between Iran and the U.S., but more recent and hostile reactions in past days have dampened that view.

Iran, with a population of 66 million Muslims, is at odds with the Taliban and is in an intriguing position as its moderate government and Muslim leaders -- defending their own Islamic revolution -- resolve how to respond to the Sept. 11 attacks and the U.S.-led attack on Afghanistan.

LIFE-AND-DEATH STAKES IN THE WAR ON TERROR; ATTACK ON TERRORISM; All eyes are on Afghanistan as the country of 27 million is caught in the line of fire of yeste....

SYRIA

Syria, along with Iran, has been named by the United States as a sponsor of terrorism. But like other Muslim countries threatened by radical Islamic militants, it may have to soften its anti-U.S. stance and co-operate as it did in the Gulf War.

CANADA

Canada boasts of its peacekeeping reputation and a former Nobel-Peace-prize-winning prime minister who helped resolve the Suez Crisis. But with its bottom-of-the-barrel military strength, Canada role has been marginal.

The ever-cautious Prime Minister Jean Chretien was chastised by many Canadians for foot-dragging over the terrorist attacks in the U.S., but yesterday pledged military support. He said other action is being taken on the humanitarian, diplomatic, financial, legislative and domestic security fronts

GREAT BRITAIN

Great Britain and Prime Minister Tony Blair have been described by George W. Bush as the Americans' "staunch friend" and ally in the U.S. retaliatory action against terrorists yesterday.

Britain's elite special forces have already reportedly been in a fire fight with Taliban fighters in Afghanistan in recent days.

History books record Britain's disastrous campaigns -- like that of Soviet occupiers -- to control the Afghans during the U.K.'s colonial powerhouse days in Central Asia.

With its past record of intelligence-gathering and a strong military ally in the Gulf War, Britain is once standing shoulder to shoulder with the U.S.

Like Britain, Germany and France have suffered at the hands of terrorists and their leaders have pledged support.

Compiled by Peter Van Harten and Spectator library staff from wire services and various reference sources.

Graphic

Photo:

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Vigilantes take up arms, vow to expel 'Muslim filth'

USA TODAY

September 4, 2001, Tuesday,

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Length: 2024 words

Byline: Jack Kelley

Dateline: HEBRON, West Bank

Body

HEBRON, West Bank -- After a quick prayer, Avi Shapiro and 12 other Jewish settlers put on their religious skullcaps, grabbed their semiautomatic rifles and headed toward Highway 60.

There, they pushed boulders, stretched barbed wire and set tires afire to form a barricade that, they said, would stop even the biggest of Palestinian taxis. Then they waited for a vehicle to arrive.

As they crouched in a ditch beside the road, Shapiro, the leader of the group, gave the settlers orders: Surround any taxi, "open fire" and kill as many of the "blood-sucking Arab" passengers as possible.

"We are doing what (Israeli Prime Minister Ariel) Sharon promised but has failed to do: drive these sons of Arab whores from the Land of Israel," said Shapiro, 42, who moved here with his wife and four children 3 years ago from Brooklyn. "If he won't get rid of the Muslim filth, then we will."

Claiming they have been abandoned by Israel's government and determined to rid the West Bank of Arabs, vigilante Jewish settlers are shooting and beating Palestinians, stealing and destroying their property and poisoning and diverting their water supplies, Israeli and Palestinian officials say.

Though Jewish extremists have lashed out before -- most notoriously in 1994 when a U.S. settler, Baruch Goldstein, gunned down 29 Arabs in a nearby mosque -- never before have they struck with such frequency, Israeli officials say. And nowhere has the violence been as intense as in this disputed city, believed to be the burial place of the Biblical prophet Abraham.

Nearly 450 right-wing Jews, all of whom are armed and claim a Biblical right to the land, live here among 120,000 Palestinians. Many, like Shapiro and his colleagues, are ready to strike at any time.

Israeli and U.S. officials have warned Sharon that if the violence against Palestinian civilians increases, it could enflame already high emotions and lead the entire region into war.

"It only takes a spark to light a very big fire here," says Yossi Sarid, a left-wing Israeli opposition leader. "This is a city that is cursed."

'A time bomb'

Vigilantes take up arms, vow to expel 'Muslim filth'

Since the start of the latest surge of violence in Israel a year ago this month, at least 119 Palestinians have been killed by Israeli civilians in the West Bank and Gaza, according to B'Tselem, an Israeli human rights group that has been critical of both sides. Hundreds have been hospitalized, it says.

During the same time, at least 30 settlers have been killed by Palestinian gunmen.

In July, Jewish vigilantes killed three Palestinians, including a 3-month-old boy, in Nablus. The State Department condemned the attack as a "barbaric act" of "unconscionable vigilantism." No one has been charged in the attack.

"These people are a time bomb," says Hanna Nasser, Palestinian mayor of the West Bank city of Bethlehem. "No one is safe."

The almost daily attacks have been condemned by nearly all Israelis, including most settlers. Politicians, who fear the extremists will spoil Israel's attempt to portray itself as the victim rather than the aggressor in this conflict, have been the most vocal.

"These Jewish terrorists are criminals," Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres says. "They've gone too far."

Yet, the attacks are expected to increase, Israeli officials say. A group of Jewish vigilantes who possess bomb-making materials has formed in Hebron, the officials say.

The group, which claimed responsibility for three recent Palestinian deaths, has been distributing fliers in the West Bank that read: "Revenge is holy. It should be up to the government to do it, but unfortunately, the government does not care about the murder of Jews. There are people whose patience has run out."

Security officials also say they fear that the extremists are widening their targets to include Israeli police and soldiers sent to protect the settlers, as well as Western diplomats and European peace monitors. All have recently been attacked. The settlers accuse them of not doing enough to protect them or of favoring the Palestinians.

On Aug. 21, 85 European Community monitors who had patrolled Hebron since 1994 withdrew after complaining of weeks of verbal and physical abuse by the settlers. "Every day, we were kicked, dragged and beaten by the settlers," says Karl-Henrik Sjursen of Norway, chief of the observer mission. "They made life impossible for us."

Shots at a taxi

On a recent Sunday, Shapiro and the 12 other extremists spotted their first target: a white Palestinian taxi that had turned the corner and begun to rumble toward them. From a hill 50 yards away, the Jewish men could be seen removing the safety locks from the weapons. Their wives were grabbing extra ammunition clips. Their children, all of them younger than 12, were picking up rocks.

But the Palestinian driver, upon seeing the settlers, brought his Mercedes stretch taxi to a sudden stop 50 yards from the checkpoint. He quickly turned the car around. Cursing aloud, Shapiro ordered the men to open fire. The shooting lasted for 10 seconds.

At least two bullets hit the car. One shattered its back window. Several women wearing white Islamic headscarves could be heard screaming and seen ducking. It wasn't known whether anyone was injured.

"We'll keep this up until we eliminate all the Muslim filth," Shapiro said before the confrontation. "We have to: It's our Jewish duty."

'God's land given to us'

Analysts such as Elisha Efrat of Tel Aviv University estimate that 10% of the 177,000 settlers in the West Bank and Gaza are extremists, people who are willing to die before giving up their land.

Many of them live behind 25-foot tall stone fences and bulletproof windows in Hebron. The 450 settlers here, and the 7,000 others who live down the road in Israeli-controlled territory, see themselves as the guardians of Hebron,

Vigilantes take up arms, vow to expel 'Muslim filth'

which is considered Judaism's second holiest city after Jerusalem. All are protected by several thousand Israeli soldiers and police.

"This is God's land given to us, the Israeli people," says settler Ariel Fischer, 38, citing Biblical passages that support Israel's claim of the land. Like most of the extremists, he's Israeli-born. "If you don't wear a yarmulke (skullcap), get out."

Hebron is also home to 120,000 Palestinians, many of whom live in the hilltop area of Abu Sneineh.

For centuries, Arabs and Jews coexisted peacefully in Hebron. Then a riot in 1929 resulted in the deaths of more than 60 Jews. The British, who governed what was then Palestine, resettled the remaining Jews elsewhere.

In 1967, after Israel captured the West Bank of the Jordan River, some Jews returned. But those who came were the most ideologically extreme of Israelis. Backed by government policies that encouraged them to move into the West Bank, the Israelis claimed a Biblical right to the city and demanded that the Arabs leave.

Then in 1997, the Israeli army, which had controlled Hebron since the war 30 years ago, withdrew from 80% of the city and ceded control to the Palestinian Authority.

The remaining 20% was left for the settlers.

That was a recipe for disaster, settlers say. Almost daily since last September, there have been shots fired into their settlement by Palestinian snipers. In response, Israel put 30,000 Palestinians, whose homes surround the settlement, under a 24-hour curfew. It prohibits them from leaving their homes, even to go to a doctor or attend school, and jails them if they do. Twice a week, the curfew is lifted for a few hours to allow the residents to shop. The rest of the time, they are in their homes.

Last week, hundreds of Israeli troops, backed by dozens of tanks and bulldozers, swept into Hebron for several hours to destroy buildings they say had been used by Palestinian snipers. Settlers want Israel to reestablish control of the area by permanently reoccupying all of Hebron. Until that happens, settlers say, they're forced to take "pre-emptive actions" to stop the Palestinian gunfire.

"People here are extremely upset," says David Wilder, a spokesman for Jewish settlers here. "We're upset by the daily shooting, killings and harassment by Palestinians. People feel abandoned (by Israel's government) and so some people are going to take up guns." Says another settler spokesman Noam Federman, "If we don't take up guns, we'll be ducks in a shooting range."

But Israeli officials say the settlers often provoke the violence. Unlike the Palestinians, the settlers are free to leave their homes at will. They regularly attack Palestinian shops while the Palestinians, who are forced to stay indoors because of the curfew, can only watch, according to human rights groups.

Ahmad Abu Neni, 55, is blind and a Palestinian. His small kiosk of cleaning supplies has been ransacked three times since last September by settlers, human rights officials say. He also has been beaten in the back with a brick and punched repeatedly, they add.

Neni says Israeli soldiers tried to break up one of the attacks by firing a concussion grenade at the attackers, only to set his clothes on fire. He suffered third-degree burns. His shop now closed, he survives on handouts of food and money. "If I had money and could see, I would leave," Neni says. "It's just a matter of time before they beat me again."

Nearby, Nafez Bani Jaber, 45, was burying all 123 of his sheep. He says they were poisoned last week after 10 Jewish extremists chased him off his fields. Israeli police say they have found needles dipped in poison that they believe the settlers used on the sheep. Police say poison also was dumped down a nearby well that Palestinians use.

"First they poisoned the sheep. Next will be the children," Jaber says. "These are war crimes."

Vigilantes take up arms, vow to expel 'Muslim filth'

Often, the violence directed at the Palestinians is aimed at their Muslim faith. Settlers have spray painted graffiti reading "Mohammed is a homosexual," referring to the Islamic prophet, and painted Jewish Stars of David on the walls of the local Arab market. They also have surrounded Muslim women and tried to rip off their Islamic headscarves and body veils, human rights groups say.

Samar Abdul-Shafti, 36, a Palestinian mother of two, was photographed last month trying to escape several settlers who were beating her as they tried to remove her headscarf. It has happened two other times since then, she says, revealing bruises on her arms, legs and forehead.

"The Jews are trying to do to us what was done to them during the Holocaust," Shafti says. "They must not be allowed to drive us from our homes. Someone must help."

'Ashamed to be a Jew'

Palestinian police say they don't have the means to defend the Arab residents.

Israeli soldiers seem unwilling or unable to help. Noam Tivon, Israeli Defense Forces brigade commander for Hebron, says his soldiers are in Hebron to protect the settlers, not the Palestinians. Tivon says his soldiers and police officers often are ambushed by settlers whom he calls "hooligans."

The settlers accuse the police of failing to stop the Arab violence.

"They throw rocks at us, curse at us and vandalize our police cars," says Israeli policeman Shahar Mahsomi, 25. He suffered a concussion in March after a settler struck him on the head with a rock. Another settler tried to stab two police officers in the same scuffle. "I never thought I'd be fighting Jews," Mahsomi says.

The situation is just as dangerous at the nearby settlements of Kiryat Arba and Givat Harsina where nearly 7,000 settlers, many of whom are hard-liners, regularly attack neighboring Palestinians.

"I can't believe we are risking our lives to defend these fanatics," says Sgt. Avi Alamm, 28, as he watches a settler boy, dressed as the late Goldstein, walked by with an Israeli flag. Goldstein, who gunned down the 29 Muslims, is revered among some settlers as a prophet. They encourage their children to dress like him on occasion. "The people make me ashamed to be a Jew," Alamm says.

Now, many Israelis are calling on the government to dismantle extremist settlements such as the one here.

"The Jewish settlement in Hebron is a major nuisance, and the lawless behavior by Jews there in recent days leads to one conclusion," the Israeli newspaper *Ha'aretz* recently editorialized. "Hebron must be evacuated."

Correction

On April 22, a team of journalists finished a review of former USA TODAY reporter Jack Kelley's work and concluded that at least 20 of his stories contained fabrications and that he also lifted at least 100 passages, without attribution, from other publications. This story was among those cited in reports that were published on March 19, 2004 and April 22, 2004. The investigation could find no evidence that the alleged Jewish extremist Avi Shapiro, quoted in the story, exists. Nor could it find evidence that the alleged incident where upon the extremists fired upon a Palestinian taxi happened, as described by Kelley in the time frame referenced in his story. Israeli authorities have no record of an Avi Shapiro who fits the description Kelley offered. Israeli, Hebron and Palestinian authorities have no record of the alleged incident.

Correction-Date: July 23, 2004

Graphic

Vigilantes take up arms, vow to expel 'Muslim filth'

GRAPHIC, B/W, USA TODAY (MAP); PHOTO, Color, Nasser Shyoukhi, AP; PHOTO, B/W, Brian Hendler, AP; Hatred in the market: Samar Abdul-Shafti, 36, a Palestinian mother of two, was kicked by an Israeli boy as an Israeli girl tried to rip off her Islamic headscarf last month in the divided West Bank city of Hebron.<>Targets: Israeli police protect Palestinians from Jews who attacked them in Jerusalem on Aug. 9 after a Palestinian suicide bomber from the militant group **Hamas** killed 15 other people in a pizzeria.

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End of Document

10,000 KILLED IN TERROR OUTRAGE

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Byline: BY TOBY MOORE IN NEW YORK AND GABRIEL MILLAND IN LONDON

Body

TEN thousand people were feared dead last night as America and the world reeled from the worst terrorist onslaught in history.

Two passenger jets hijacked by fanatical suicide teams slammed into New York's twin towers of the World Trade Center as they filled with 50,000 office workers and tourists from around the world just before 9am local time (2pm BST).

Ninety minutes after the first plane hit New York, America's capital Washington was next to be devastated as a United Airlines Boeing 767 jet was crashed into the Pentagon, the centre of the country's defence, causing extraordinary damage and loss of life.

It then became evident that a fourth plane had been hijacked over western Pennsylvania, near Pittsburgh. The plane, believed to be a United Airlines Boeing 757 heading for the presidential retreat at Camp David in Maryland, was forced down.

It was only 18 minutes after a packed passenger jet hit one tower that millions of TV viewers across the world watched in horror as the second tower was struck by another hijacked plane.

Within an hour the two most powerful symbols of US economic might, each a quarter of a mile and 110 storeys high, had toppled on to the New York streets, leaving two blackened and blazing stumps - the most famous skyline in the world changed for ever.

Emergency services said more than 10,000 are feared dead in New York alone and tens of thousands injured. Hundreds of police officers and firefighters helping to evacuate those trapped inside lost their lives as the towers collapsed. New York mayor Rudy Giuliani said the death toll would not be known until later today but would be "more than any of us can bear".

The attacks brought the nation to a standstill on a day - September 11, 2001 - that will live in infamy. And it put the US on a war footing. There were scenes of horrific carnage in New York, as those trapped in the wreckage of the World Trade Center tried to escape.

Last night, the US government linked the intricately-planned attacks with terrorist mastermind Osama Bin Laden.

Jet fighters were scrambled as frantic rumours swept America that more hijacked planes were in the air.

10,000 KILLED IN TERROR OUTRAGE

President George W. Bush pledged that his country would hit back swiftly and with all its might.

World leaders, including Tony Blair, lined up to pass on their gravest sympathies and offer what assistance they could. The terror started just before nine o'clock in the morning local time, when an American Airlines 767 jet with 92 people on board hit the Center's north tower.

Then the second American Airlines 757 ploughed into the south tower.

The cloud of debris from the towers swamped lower Manhattan in thick smoke, which remained hanging in a pall over what had been the thriving commercial heart of America, but which was left resembling a war zone.

Last night it was revealed that a women locked in the toilet of one of the doomed planes had given the most dramatic account of the passengers' terror seconds before it crashed.

Barbara Olson, a CNN commentator whose husband Ted is America's highest-ranking lawyer and one of the President's closest aides, frantically called from her mobile phone on the United Airlines 767 which plunged into the Pentagon.

She revealed how the terrorists were armed with nothing more than knives and box-cutters.

A spokesman for her family said: "She called and said she was locked in the toilet and the plane had been hijacked. She said they had boxcutters and knives. They had rounded up the passengers at the back of the plane.

"She referred to them as more than one. There was nothing she could do. She said to her husband, 'What do I do?' " The call ended seconds before the crash itself. Her husband was said to be distraught at her death. The spokesman said she had not even been due to fly on the flight.

"She flew a day early to make sure she could be at Ted's birthday, " he said.

President Bush faced growing calls for revenge. Republicans and Democrats rallied around the flag in the hours after the attacks, softening criticism of America's spies for failing to prevent the attacks.

Middle East terrorist groups are thought to have organised the attacks, which have left America shocked and stunned. Lower Manhattan, the centre of the country's commerce now resembles an earthquake zone.

Early speculation about the source of the attack has centred on Saudi-born guerrilla leader Osama Bin Laden.

American Airlines confirmed that it had lost two planes, both on their way to Los Angeles.

Flight 11 from Boston with 81 passengers and 11 crew aboard was the first plane directed into the north tower of the Center, hitting at about 8.45 in the morning.

Flight 77, a Boeing 757 from Washington Dulles airport to Los Angeles with 58 passengers and six crew, is believed to have been the one which crashed into the Pentagon.

United Airlines lost two planes. Flight 93 airliner, headed from Newark, New Jersey, to San Francisco, crashed near Somerset, Pennsylvania. Police said there were no survivors. United confirmed the crash of Flight 175 from Boston to Los Angeles with 56 passengers and seven crew aboard.

Television reporters in a country unused to terrorist attacks on their soil, struggled to convey the enormity of what was happening, many breaking down in tears as cameras filmed both the towers collapse before 10 am.

President Bush, who had been in Florida, was evacuated to an air force base in Louisiana. All living former presidents, Bush senior, Ford, Clinton and Carter, were also taken to secret secure locations. Last night Bush was back in Washington.

10,000 KILLED IN TERROR OUTRAGE

Senior political leaders and both houses of Congress on Capitol Hill were evacuated into bunkers. The First Family was taken to an undisclosed location outside of the city.

Thousands of New Yorkers in lower Manhattan, stranded and scared, were forced to walk in a mass exodus across the city's bridges. Tourist boats were commandeered to carry people off the island.

The first American Airlines jet, originally bound for Los Angeles, was hijacked after it took off from Boston airport. It hit the north tower World Trade Center tower at 8.45 in the morning. Eighteen minutes later, the other plane hit the neighbouring tower about threequarters of the way up its height.

Less than half an hour after that, the first-hit building fell. Barely 10 minutes later the next building also fell in the midst of efforts to evacuate both. Many emergency service personnel are among the dead.

Eyewitnesses saw office workers flinging themselves out of windows, with no hope of survival, just to escape flames before both structures collapsed.

By 11 am local time, (4pm BST) four of the eight jets thought hijacked were still unaccounted for, believed to be heading for further targets in the country as air force jets scrambled across the country to intercept them.

Every single flight in the country was grounded. International flights were diverted to Canada. Servicemen were recalled from leave across the nation. But it was in New York where the brunt of the disaster was felt. "People were crying hysterically, everyone was trying to get to a phone to find out whether their loved ones were in the area and whether they were OK, " said one Wall Street worker.

But the phone network across America's Eastern seaboard collapsed, unable to cope with the sheer volume of calls from people around the globe desperate to discover if their loved ones had been caught up in the carnage.

Hospitals in the city were overwhelmed with patients as a massive cloud billowed into the blue skies over Manhattan, a place where the city skyline had been dramatically and permanently altered.

"Hundreds of people are burned from head to toe, " said Dr. Steven Stern at St. Vincent's Hospital in the Greenwich Village neighbourhood of lower Manhattan. The whole of lower Manhattan was coated in half an inch of dust.

John Ferguson, who worked less than 30 yards from the south World Trade Center tower, watched the buildings fall. He was forced to flee the second and said: "I saw at least eight people throwing themselves off the south tower just to escape the flames. It was awful, to see them tumbling down. They were just jumping, jumping."

The city has been left traumatised, unable to grasp the magnitude of what had happened. In New York, more than 10,000 rescue personnel rushed to the scene and lower Manhattan was evacuated.

The reverberations were felt around the world. Nato sent home all non-essential personnel from its HQ in Brussels. Three Palestinian groups - **Hamas**, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine and Islamic Jihad - denied responsibility for the attacks, but blamed US policies in the Middle East.

Senator Chuck Hagel, a Nebraska Republican, called the attacks, "this generation's Pearl Harbor". The European Union External Relations Commissioner said the attacks constituted "an act of war by madmen".

"This is total war, I think this is a wake-up call for America. This is a war, a real war, " said Alabama Republican Sen. Richard Shelby, another senior political figure.

The attacks, the worst on the US mainland in modern history, plunged the country into chaos and panic, paralysing communications, forcing the evacuation of key buildings, closing markets, schools and even theme parks.

The attacks brought normal life across the United States to a standstill, turning the major cities of the nation into eerie ghost towns.

10,000 KILLED IN TERROR OUTRAGE

Sirens screamed as terrified people rushed through the streets seeking safety. An Arab journalist with access to Bin Laden told Reuters in London that the renegade Saudi had warned three weeks ago of an "unprecedented attack" on U.S.

interests.

Washington has offered a GBP 3.5million reward for his capture. George Tenet, director of the CIA, said this week the tall, thin Saudi was the most immediate and serious threat to US security.

Beside the embassy bombings, American officials link Bin Laden to last year's bombing of a US Navy ship in Yemen and with foiled plots in the United States and Jordan at the turn of the millennium.

"Since 1998, Bin Laden has declared all US citizens legitimate targets of attack, " he said. The previous worst act of terrorism in the United States was the 1995 bombing of the federal building in Oklahoma City in which 168 people died.

Timothy McVeigh was executed for that attack earlier this year. A previous bombing of the World Trade Center in 1993 resulted in six deaths and hundreds of injuries.

The pilots of the four hijacked aircraft were probably murdered before their planes were diverted on their devastating suicide missions, terrorism experts speculated.

They said at least 30 highly-trained renegades would have been involved in the extraordinarily well synchronised series of deadly attacks.

As experts pieced together their audacious operation, it was clear that no pilot would have steered their plane into a building packed with people.

Instead, it is possible they were shot dead in the cockpit and their seats taken by terrorists with at least a rudimentary ability to manoeuvre the jets into their devastating suicide flight paths.

Hours after the terrorist attacks were carried out, President Bush appeared to be putting America on a war footing as he landed at the home of the Strategic Air Command at Offutt Air Force Base in Nebraska.

White House spokesman Ari Fleisher earlier said that first lady Laura Bush and presidential daughters Barbara and Jenna Bush had been taken to secure locations.

Key landmarks like the White House, the fire-damaged Pentagon, the Sears Tower in Chicago, the CIA building in Washington and the Walt Disney theme parks on both coasts were all evacuated and closed until further notice. Rescuers last night faced the nightmare task of searching for survivors amid fears of further buildings collapsing in the wake of the devastating terror attacks.

Thousands of survivors poured off the Brooklyn Bridge, covered in dust and debris, wearing respiratory masks handed out by police and fire officers. Police and firefighters were seen gasping for air as they emerged from the sealed-off area. At least three explosions were heard, thought to be from ruptured gas pipes.

Army Humvees - giant Jeep-type vehicles used in the Gulf War - sped through the streets on their way to the scene of the New York attack.

Throughout the area, rescue workers and police officers wore surgical masks to protect them from the dust.

Police, some of them with semiautomatic rifles and dogs, guarded federal and state buildings and prevented anyone from entering.

At the city's hospitals, hundreds of shocked residents and office workers lined the streets outside to give blood, after hospital workers yelled on the streets: "Blood donations! Blood donations!"

10,000 KILLED IN TERROR OUTRAGE

Meanwhile, a British rescue team was last night on stand-by to travel to America to help in the search for survivors in the wake of the terrorist attacks.

The International Rescue Corps (IRC), based in Grangemouth, Scotland, which has been called on to help at disaster areas around the world, offered its services to the Government shortly after the atrocities.

EXPRESS REPORTING TEAM: Anthony Mitchell, Toby Moore, Dennis Rice, Laura Benjamin, Gabriel Milland, Edward Black, Padraic Flanagan, Sarah O'Grady, Gareth Crickmer, John Ingham, John Twomey, Rachel Baird, Jane Young, Maurice Mcleod, Mark Blacklock, Patrick O'Flynn, Kirsty Walker, Laurel Ives, Dennis Eisenberg, Paul Gilbride, Alison Little, Louise Branson, Annette Witheridge, Noel Young, Mike Theodoulou, Zoe Nauman, Martin Stote, Timur Moon

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Israel's Y2K Problem - Correction Appended

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Jeffrey Goldberg is a contributing writer for the magazine. His last article was about racial profiling.

By Jeffrey Goldberg; Jeffrey Goldberg is a contributing writer for the magazine. His last article was about racial profiling.

Body

Yehuda Etzion, rebel, settler, archterrorist of the Jewish underground, thin like Jesus and hostage to the fever-dream of imminent redemption, parks his car by a rocky switchback on the western slope of the Mount of Olives. He leads me up the incline, to the chalk-colored ground where he comes to pray and to look to the west upon what one day, he believes, will be his. Just below is the Garden of Gethsemane, where Jesus was betrayed and arrested. Just to the north is Mount Scopus, where the prophet Jeremiah watched the Babylonians burn Jerusalem. Immediately behind us is a house of modern prophecy, home to American evangelical Christians who have come on one-way tickets to the Promised Land. They are here to watch the Parousia, the Second Coming of Christ, and they are here to encourage the Jews to rebuild their Temple, the Throne of David on which the Christ will sit.

On the other side of the ridge, the eastern slope of the mountain drops off into the Judean desert, the caldron of prophecy and hallucination. Even here, on the western slope, the sun beats down on us like a spotlight. We look out before us, to the walled Old City and, at its heart, the 35-acre man-made platform -- the Temple Mount to Jews; the Haram al-Sharif, or noble sanctuary, to Muslims -- that is the single-most-explosive piece of real estate on the planet. And we look at the building that dominates the platform -- the 1,300-year-old Dome of the Rock.

"You've got to admit, it's beautiful," I say.

"How do you mean?"

"Beautiful. It's an esthetically beautiful building."

"Esthetic?" he asks. "Esthetically beautiful? I don't see it."

The Dome of the Rock, a shrine that in beauty is equivalent to the Taj Mahal, sits in front of him, shining like a close star on a black night, and Yehuda Etzion doesn't see the beauty. Doesn't, he professes, really even see the building -- the stone and glazed tile and the endless gold sheet.

Israel 's Y2K Problem

"It's not beautiful at all?"

"Look, maybe it's beautiful. But my father told me once that there are very many nice women in the world, beautiful women, but you have only one wife. This building is not my woman. It's my enemy's woman. So I don't see it."

"What do you see in front of you?"

"I see the place where the Temple will stand," he says in the matter-of-fact manner ordinary people might say. "Tomorrow, the sun will rise in the east."

The First Temple, King Solomon's, stood where the Dome of the Rock now stands, presumably on the rock itself -- the rock where Abraham is said to have offered his son Isaac for sacrifice and the rock from which Mohammed is said to have ascended to heaven. Herod's Second Temple stood on the Mount, too, until the Romans destroyed it in 70 A.D. Since that moment, Jews have wept for the Temple. For Yehuda Etzion, there is no weeping. Weeping is for cowards. "Belief without action is meaningless," he says.

Fifteen years ago, when he was a leader of the Jewish underground on the West Bank, he and his followers made violent mayhem, planting bombs under the cars of Arab mayors and attacking innocent Palestinians on the streets. He also plotted to blow up the Dome of the Rock, an attack that, had it been carried through, would have brought cataclysm to Israel.

Etzion, who spent 6 of the last 15 years in jail for his role in the underground, doesn't regret the plot, just its details. "The idea was right, but the order was wrong." First, he says, "we should have made the Jewish people want to meet God. Most of them don't want to yet. Only when this happens can we remove the Dome."

By force?

"There are things that people have to do by force. We cannot sit and read books and hope the Temple is rebuilt. We have to rebuild it ourselves."

Millions could die, I say.

"The Arabs will yell and scream," he says. "I don't think this will lead to nuclear war, but remember what Ben-Gurion said when he was ready to declare independence for Israel. They came to him and said, 'The Arabs will invade if we declare independence.' And he answered, 'Then let them invade.'"

Etzion pauses, then says, "We shouldn't fear our desire."

I wait by the car while he prays mincha, the afternoon service, which, like the morning and evening services, contains a plea to God to rebuild the Temple, speedily, in our day. When he finishes, we drive through the Arab village on top of the Mount, back to West Jerusalem. He is late for a meeting of descendants of the priests who led the Temple sacrificial service and hope to again. As we drive, a Palestinian in a Renault sees Etzion, the knitted kippah of the settler movement affixed to his head, and cuts us off, gesturing obscenely.

"Animals," Etzion says.

"What?"

"The Arabs. They're animals."

We sit in silence. I am tempted to quote to him the words of the great poet Yehuda Amichai, who wrote that the industry of Jerusalem is faith and prayer and, as in any industrial city, the air can be difficult to breathe. But I don't. Instead, I think of the words I heard a few days before in the Sabra slum of Gaza City, in the living room of an Islamic fanatic, Sheik Ahmed Yassin, the leader of the Hamas suicide bombers. I asked the quadriplegic sheik what would happen if a Jew tried to destroy the Dome of the Rock.

"This," the sheik says, without adornment, "would be the end of Israel."

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Jerusalem is different from any other city in conflict for one simple reason: half the world -- Christian, Muslim and Jew -- believes that the Divine Presence will be making His next appearance here. Tradition holds that, at the end of days, the Jewish Messiah will reign from the Temple Mount; so will the Christ and so will the Mahdi, the Muslim Messiah.

I've come to Jerusalem in order to ask two questions. The first is this: How do the secular negotiators -- the Palestinians and Israelis who are turning their attention now to the fate of Jerusalem -- how do they negotiate around the colliding eschatologies of monotheism? And the second question, the one with more immediate, secular, import: In the coming year -- the millennial year, during which some Christians hope Christ will return -- will someone attempt to destroy the Dome of the Rock or the nearby Al Aksa mosque in order to end the peace process or to bring about the End of Days, or both?

"Every day in Jerusalem that ends peacefully is a miracle," says Carmi Gillon, the former chief of the Shabak, the Israeli general security service. "I am afraid of what could happen on the Temple Mount." The Israeli Government, highly secretive about its security planning for the millennium, is said to be spending more than \$10 million to upgrade security around the Mount, and the F.B.I. has set up a system for the Israelis that tracks American millennialist cults and religious extremists.

Even short of violence on the Temple Mount, Jerusalem could be the place where the peace process falls apart. Viewed one way, the issue of Jerusalem should be among the least insoluble in the Middle East peace process. Unlike such issues as borders and water and refugees and settlements, there is no real security component to the negotiations over Jerusalem; its meaning is only symbolic. But according to Gershom Gorenberg, a leading expert on the Temple Mount who is writing a book on millennial eschatology, it is precisely because the issue of Jerusalem lacks substantive and -- dare it be said -- rational meaning that negotiations over its fate could be so terribly dangerous and difficult. "In the Middle East," Gorenberg says, "the symbolic is what is most real."

Publicly, Israel's new Prime Minister, Ehud Barak, is promising a framework for a final deal by early next year, but the Government minister advising him on Jerusalem, Chaim Ramon, told me that he can't yet imagine how Jews and Arabs are going to open the conversation about Jerusalem. He says he is sure the two sides won't be able to reach a final agreement on Jerusalem in the foreseeable future.

"I think we will have an agreement to continue to agree to disagree on Jerusalem," he told me. "We can work on municipal issues, the day-to-day living issues, but we don't have the trust yet to make business on issues of sovereignty." He suggested that Jerusalem won't be discussed until every other issue of contention is resolved.

For answers to my questions, or at least for some grounding in the geographical impossibility of the place, I called on a friend, an Orthodox rabbi named Micah Halpern, a man of obvious religious certitude who nevertheless understands, even respects, the beliefs of the two monotheistic religions that have roots in his. In a city in which entirely too many people believe that their neighbors are, as a matter of cold theological certainty, bound for hellfire or its equivalent, his tolerance is unusual.

Halpern, like most Orthodox Jews, honors the tradition that forbids Jews to set foot atop the platform. Somewhere up there is the spot where the Holy of Holies stood -- the enclosure that held the Ark of the Covenant and in which the high priest would utter the Tetragrammaton, the ineffable name of God, each Yom Kippur. For a believing Jew to mistakenly set foot on that spot is sacrilege. The rabbinical ruling that forbids ascent to the Mount plays a political, as well as theological, role in the life of Israel, because it serves to keep Muslims and Jews separated. The Muslims have always had autonomy atop the Mount, and those Jews who want to break the rabbinical edict can visit the Mount in the guise of tourists. But the Muslims, with the aid of Jewish police officers, forbid Jews to pray atop the platform and have expelled them when they've tried.

Halpern and I walked the Old City together on a Friday, and even if we had wanted to simply tour the Mount, we couldn't. On Fridays, the Mount is closed to the infidel, so the chance to tread holy soil isn't available. Instead, Halpern, baseball cap covering his kippah, talked his way past the Muslims guarding the cemetery outside the eastern wall of the Mount and walked me to the front of the Golden Gate.

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The Golden Gate is sealed shut; tradition has it that the Muslims, knowing that both Judaism and Christianity say the Messiah will enter Jerusalem through this gate, closed it up and planted a cemetery before it. "It's the check-countercheck of Jerusalem," Halpern said. "Christians build a church with a great dome" -- the Church of the Holy Sepulcher -- the Muslims build a shrine with an even greater Dome."

He had brought me to this spot to illustrate a simple point: most everything important in the history of monotheism has happened here, in this one claustrophobic patch of land. "Up above us, maybe 100 yards away, is the spot where Solomon built his Temple," he said. "Two hundred yards to the south is where Jesus overturned the tables of the money-changers. Exactly opposite us is the Western Wall. It was the only exposed piece of Herod's Temple for hundreds of years."

It is obvious to me why the three monotheistic religions all want a piece of the Mount: controlling the Mount means controlling the past. But not only that, Halpern argues. This is the place, all three religions hold, where the world as we know it will end and where the world as we only can imagine it -- the age of the Messiah -- will begin.

"This is why it is all so difficult," Halpern said. "The fight for Jerusalem isn't just about controlling the history of the past as a way to justify the present. It's about controlling the history of the future."

Put aside for now the simple fact that few Jews believe that their eternal capital -- founded as such 1,500 years before Mohammed made his first appearance in the Hejaz -- should become an Arab capital, and put aside the simple fact that Muslims are theologically incapable of ceding their claim to a city that has been holy to them for the past 1,300 years. Jews and Arabs could fight to the end of time about the past, but the potential for truly apocalyptic violence -- this is a gift from the future.

The potential has grown greater now that factions within the Jewish Third Temple movement have built a theologically improbable alliance with evangelical Christians, who have come to believe that the Second Coming of Jesus -- already accelerated by the return of the Jews to Israel -- will be given even more momentum if the Jews build the Third Temple. In "Ready to Rebuild: The Imminent Plan to Rebuild the Last Days Temple," the prophecy popularizers Randall Price and Thomas Ice write, "The more prepared Israel becomes to rebuild the Temple, the closer the day dawns when believers in Jesus the Messiah will be taken home in the rapture of Christ's church."

If they build it, He will come.

These two movements, which want the Temple rebuilt for the most different of reasons, share a fear of the peace process, and they are both watching with trepidation as Ehud Barak and Yasir Arafat set themselves on a course to settle the fate of Jerusalem in the next year. This is a wildly ambitious goal, almost certain to go unmet, but the proposed end-date set -- the year 2000 -- is freighted with messianic angst, which cannot help making an unstable situation worse.

Carmi Gillon, the former Shabak chief, told me, "The year 2000 doesn't mean anything for Jewish extremists, but it does for Christians, and there's the potential for individual Christians to get very agitated by it."

The Temple Mount has been attacked before: in 1969, a deranged Australian Christian set fire to a corner of the Al Aksa mosque; in 1982, a similarly disturbed Israeli soldier fired into the Dome of the Rock, killing two Palestinian guards. In 1984 -- the same year Yehuda Etzion's plot to destroy the Dome of the Rock was uncovered -- another plot to destroy the Dome was foiled, this one hatched by a group of cabalistic Jews who lived in a cave outside Jerusalem. Two years ago, the police uncovered a cell of Jewish extremists who were plotting to throw a pig's head into the Al Aksa mosque.

But is it simply Y2K hyperbole to think that the Muslim holy places are in special danger in the coming months?

"No, unfortunately," Gillon said. "But from the Jewish perspective, they would be in danger anytime the future of Jerusalem is being decided. It makes the whole situation worse that this is happening at the millennium, but the Jewish extremists would be energized to act anytime the peace process moved forward. And the problem is not just

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that we're moving to final status talks on Jerusalem. Extremists who want to stop the peace process because they don't want to give up the Jewish settlements know that the best way to end everything is to attack the mosques."

But is it technically possible? After all, the security services are aware of the threat, and, in any case, it is not terribly easy to knock down enormous stone mosques.

"You can take a bazooka or an R.P.G. and go to the Mount of Olives and fire on the Dome," Gillon said. "This would be enough to end the peace process."

And there's no way to prevent that?

"We can be 95 percent successful fighting the bus bombers. People will die, and that's terrible, but 95 percent is good. But there's no 95 percent with the Dome of the Rock. It has to be 100 percent, and 100 percent is impossible."

Gillon knows this better than anyone. He was in charge of the Shabak when Yigal Amir killed Yitzhak Rabin. "Security isn't foolproof, I'm sorry to say. This is going to be a mission impossible. There are too many crazies in Jerusalem."

But who defines crazy in a crazy city? Every third person in Jerusalem is talking directly to God, which is no big deal, except that God seems to be talking back, with vehemence.

Early one morning on the Temple Mount, I met an amiable young sheik from Jenin, a town in the northern West Bank. The sheik, named Imad Herzallah, tried to convert me to Islam. I declined, and he told me, in the most gentle and earnest way, that he was worried after my soul. "There is only one path to God," he said. I asked him a question: why did Allah allow the Jews to return and rebuild their homeland if God has forsaken them? It is essentially the same question the Catholic Church was forced to confront when Israel came back into existence after 2,000 years in exile.

The sheik pulled at his beard, thought for a moment and then said: "This is all written in the Koran. The Koran says that Allah will allow all the Jews to return to Palestine. I know this to be Allah's plan from Allah himself: He will bring all the Jews to one place and kill them."

Then he invited me to dinner with his family.

So how do you define insanity here?

"Jerusalem will do it to you," Ernest Mauck tells me, later that same day. We are sitting in a dissolute hostel near the Jaffa Gate that is his home in Jerusalem. "God is right here in Jerusalem. If something's happening, it's happening here."

And here is the reason he knows this: "I am Elijah the Tishbite, the Prophet of Israel."

Each Passover, Jews set out an extra cup of wine at the seder table for Elijah, hoping he will return to earth -- presaging the Messiah. But I never expected Elijah to look like this. This prophet is wearing a stained red T-shirt and sandals, and his beard is flecked with hummus. Mauck, who was raised a Christian, suffers from Jerusalem Syndrome, the mental disorder that causes a small number of Christian and Jewish pilgrims to this city to believe that they are figures from the Bible. Some arrive already laboring under delusions -- David Koresh, for instance, came to Jerusalem already believing himself to be a prophet, but he left as God.

Quite a few sufferers engage in elaborate purification rituals; they wrap themselves in white hotel sheets, and some even preach on the streets of Jerusalem. This past summer, in addition to Elijah, I also met Jesus Christ, or more to the point, a wife beater from Oregon who woke up one morning, realized he was the Son of God, stopped beating his wife and made his way to Israel. And when I visited Yair Bar-El, the director of Jerusalem's municipal psychiatric hospital who first diagnosed Jerusalem Syndrome, he told me that he'd also once had Samson for a patient.

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"He was a young Canadian Jew, a very strong man, a weightlifter, and a very clear paranoid schizophrenic," Bar-El recalled. "One day, he decided he is Samson the Strong and that he must come to Jerusalem and move a stone that is in the Western Wall. So he tries to move the stone, and there is fighting and yelling, and the police brought him here."

Samson underwent treatment, but escaped after being angered by a psychiatry resident. "One young doctor pointed out to him that if he were Samson, why would he come to Jerusalem and not to Gaza" -- where the original Samson pulled down upon himself the Temple of the Philistines. "Samson became very upset and destroyed a window and escaped. This is why it is better to be nonreligious if you are treating these people. I am an atheist, and for this reason, I am better able to respect different religious beliefs."

Most of the tourists and pilgrims who end up in Bar-El's hospital have pre-existing mental conditions. But what happens if the police really do bring in Michael the Archangel or the Messiah himself; after all, a Jewish tradition holds that the Messiah will come among us in the form of a beggar.

"The Jesus question," Bar-El answered. "If this hospital existed 2,000 years ago, the police would have taken Jesus here after he attacked the money-changers."

Or what about the ones today who have no pre-existing condition, who show no signs of psychosis, but are members of groups acting out their religious beliefs? Early this year, Israel expelled members of a Denver-based cult, the Concerned Christians, whose leader, Monte Kim Miller, threatened to create violence on the streets of the Old City in order to bring about the End of Days.

Elijah the Tishbite, though not as obvious an agitator as Monte Kim Miller, has promised to bring drought and doom to Israel unless it puts a halt to the peace process. This could be dismissed as the ravings of a lunatic, except for one thing: Elijah has a Web following and a theory that plays directly into the eschatological fantasies of evangelical Christians and mystically oriented Jewish nationalists.

"This is the word of Elijah," he tells me over a cup of Nescafe. "Water is pouring forth from the Rock! God is preparing to destroy the Muslims on His mountain!" He pulls out a Bible. "Here, here," he says, stabbing a dirty finger at a page of Ezekiel's prophecies. "I saw a spring of water issuing towards the east from under the threshold of the Temple; for the Temple faced east. The water was running down along the south side, to the right of the altar.' It's happening! A sign!"

Evangelical Christians, interpreting the prophet Ezekiel, believe that a flood of water from the Foundation Stone could signal the beginning of the end. Talk of such water is a preoccupation among some evangelicals, who interpret such a sign as proof that God is trying to erode the foundation of the Dome of the Rock. These Christians take their Bible literally: when the Prince of Peace -- Jesus to Christians -- arrives, he will come to Jerusalem to sit on the Throne of David. The Dome of the Rock does not qualify as the Throne of David, so Muslims are viewed as usurpers.

Over the past three months, in five different encounters on three continents with Jewish mystics and Christian end-timers, I was asked if I saw the water springing from the Rock. Broadly defined, Jerusalem syndrome is an infectious disease.

I found signs of infection as far away as Casselberry, Fla., at a schismatic Baptist church whose congregants, like hundreds of thousands of other evangelical Christians, are growing impatient to see the Temple rebuilt. "Lord, we are confident that one day we will see literally thousands of Israelis climbing the Temple Mount to worship their Lord, and that's going to be a revolutionary day," the pastor of the Fellowship Church, Ken Garrison, told his congregants at a special prayer meeting I attended in August. "Everything's going to be different from that day forward."

Garrison's guest that night was Gershon Salomon, the leader of the Temple Mount Faithful, a most immoderate Israeli group dedicated to the rebuilding of the Jewish Temple. I had first met Salomon in Jerusalem on the fast of Tisha B'Av, the day that commemorates the destruction of the First and Second Temples. He and his band of

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followers were marching through the Old City, trying to get onto the Mount; since 1990, when his group provoked riots that left 17 Palestinians dead up top, the Israeli police have refused to let him near the platform. "The mountain is within reach," Salomon told me. "God is waiting for us to move the mosques and rebuild. The Jews may not be ready, but the Christians are."

In Casselberry, I saw Salomon work the Christian congregants into a flag-waving -- Israeli flag waving -- frenzy. After, as the congregants lined up to give Salomon checks and even their jewelry to pay for rebuilding the Temple, I asked him, "Do you think these people believe that God will remove the Dome of the Rock, or that man must remove it?"

He smiled beatifically.

"They know that God will make this miracle happen."

By the hand of man?

"Only God knows."

Why are they so concerned about water springing from the Rock?

"They're looking for signs."

I ask him how he would feel if someone blew up the Dome of the Rock.

"The question is, Why did they build their mosque on our holy mountain, anyway? Who gave them permission? God didn't."

Would you be saddened if the destruction of the Dome of the Rock led to war?

"I don't think it will come to that. The Muslims know in their heart that this belongs to us."

"But what if it did lead to war?"

Salomon smiled. "The Temple will be a reality. God has promised it."

But what about war?

"O.K.," he said impatiently, "so we'll have a war."

In the back of the crowded hall, a man yelled, "Thirty-five hundred dollars! Thirty-five hundred dollars so far for the Third Temple!"

In most cities of the world, delusional men create sidewalk hazards; in Jerusalem, delusional men possess the power to bring on World War III.

Gershon Salomon and his ilk pose a problem for the Israeli authorities: they can't be expelled from the country because they are citizens. They are watched carefully, and their meetings are presumably riddled with Shabak agents -- most of the Third Temple activists I met with asked me if I was working for the Shabak, as if Shabak agents would admit this under questioning.

But when the Israeli police can rid themselves of a millennial troublemaker, they will: in August, they shepherded the prophet Elijah to the airport and out of the country, after he suggested he would carry his ministry to the Temple Mount.

The Israeli Government is divided on the issue of millennial threats to the Temple Mount: Barak's Tourism Ministry is doing everything it can to encourage Christian pilgrims to come, even though there are severe doubts about

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whether Jerusalem's hotels can accommodate the hoped-for millions. On the other hand, Barak's security services, after years of playing down threats to the Mount, are waiting with great anxiety for the flood of pilgrims.

Here's one thing the Barak Government has not yet taken into account as it prepares for final-status negotiations: the Arabs already know about the secret, Bermuda Triangle-based Jewish plot to kidnap Muslim children and hold them in secret chambers under the Temple Mount.

It's all there in print, in the book "Warning: The False Messiah is Invading the World from the Bermuda Triangle." It is written by the Egyptian anti-Semitic pamphleteer Muhammad Isa Da'ud, and I bought my copy just inside the Damascus Gate in the Old City of Jerusalem, the gate through which pass thousands of Muslims each week on their way to Friday prayers at the Al Aksa mosque. David Cook, a scholar with Boston University's Center for Millennial Studies, says Da'ud's book is heavily influenced by the anti-Semitic forgery "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion." In his book, Da'ud reports that the dajjal -- a figure very similar to the Christian conception of the Antichrist -- lives in Florida, where he orchestrates a Jewish conspiracy to literally undermine Islam by digging tunnels under the Dome of the Rock. Cook says this allegation seems to have helped to fuel the 1996 riots that followed the decision by Benjamin Netanyahu to open a tunnel to tourists that runs alongside the Mount.

The opening of the tunnel -- a tunnel that nowhere runs under the Dome of the Rock or the Al Aksa mosque -- was immediately interpreted as a mortal threat to Islam. As Sheik Yassin, the Hamas leader, explained to me, Palestinian Muslims believe that Judaism's ultimate goal is the conquering of the Mount.

The Jews, the sheik also said, are "without morals or humanity," so they are capable of anything. (I didn't know it at the time, but on the same day we spoke in Gaza, one of Sheik Yassin's followers was murdering two Jewish hikers near Megiddo, the biblical Armageddon.) He went on to say, "We believe that the dajjal will come after the Jews attempt to begin to rebuild Solomon's Temple. The dajjal will come from the east and have 70,000 Iranian Jews as followers. In Islam, we believe that Jews want to remove the Al Aksa mosque. This is the climax of all that the Jews want to do. They have maps with the Dome of the Rock missing and over it a picture of the Temple of Suleiman," or Solomon.

The Jews will fail, Yassin continued, when the "promised one, the Mahdi" -- the Muslim Messiah -- will return to earth to fight the dajjal. They will have a war in Lydda, what the Jews call Lod" -- the town near Tel Aviv that is home to Ben-Gurion Airport. "The Mahdi will defeat the dajjal in Lydda."

(I can say for sure that he is right about two things: the Jews call Lydda Lod, and the Temple Institute in the Old City, which was established by far-right-wing rabbis to educate Jews about the centrality of the Temple in Jewish life and to build the necessary implements for worship in the Temple, sells oversize aerial photographs of the Temple Mount, with the Dome of the Rock airbrushed out and the Temple drawn in its place.)

The advancement of eschatological fantasy -- and the demonization of the enemy -- is a hallmark of religious fundamentalism: it is the way fundamentalists bring coherence to the chaos-filled lives of their followers. But I did not quite expect to hear the rhetoric of Hamas come from a Muslim religious leader appointed by Yasir Arafat's Palestinian Authority, the Mufti of Jerusalem, Ekrima Sabri. After all, Arafat has taken public positions in favor of peace and reconciliation and has made no mention -- at least in English -- of the Mahdi's role in destroying the Jews.

"If the Jews want peace, they will stay away from Al Aksa," Sabri told me when I met with him in his office near the Temple Mount. "This is a decree from God. The Haram al-Sharif belongs to the Muslim. But we know the Jew is planning on destroying the Haram. The Jew will get the Christian to do his work for him. This is the way of the Jews. This is the way Satan manifests himself. The majority of the Jews want to destroy the mosque. They are preparing this as we speak."

The Mufti, and the men who run the Wakf, the Muslim trust that controls the Temple Mount, are so fearful of Jewish intent -- and so sure that God is sorely displeased with the Jews -- that they even deny the obvious, the legitimacy of Jewish historical ties to the Mount.

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The chief of the Wakf, Adnan Husseini, told me that the Temple "probably stood somewhere to the south." When I asked the spiritual leader of the mosque, Sheik Mohammed Hussein, why Jews pray at the Western Wall if it isn't, in fact, the retaining wall of the Temple, he said: "I don't know. Some people pray to the moon. Some people pray to Jupiter. I don't know why the Jews pray there."

This attitude is codified in the booklet handed to every tourist to the Temple Mount: "Some believe Al Aksa was the site of the Temple of Solomon, peace be upon him, destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar in 586 B.C., or the site of the Second Temple, completely destroyed by the Romans in 70 A.D., although no documented historical or archeological evidence exists to support this."

There is no archeological proof that Solomon's Temple stood atop the Mount, but it is absurd to say that Herod's Temple did not stand there, the equivalent of stating that the Parthenon is not the Parthenon.

"Even if it is true that this was the site of the Temple," Husseini says, conceding very little, "how could the Jews come back after so many years and say, Give it back?"

The site is Muslim, he says: Mohammed's revelations are the final revelations of God; Islam, as Sheik Yassin told me -- and as officials of the Wakf repeated -- corrected the "internal contradictions of Judaism and Christianity."

Here is one of the more interesting paradoxes of the conflict over the Temple Mount: most Jews, contrary to Muslim belief, don't want it back. Most Israelis want the Old City of Jerusalem to remain in Jewish hands, but the status quo over the past 32 years -- Muslim autonomy in the mosques and a ban on Jewish prayer atop the platform -- has had the support of every Israeli Government since 1967.

In practice, the Middle East expert Robert Satloff says, Muslim autonomy on the Mount is the one constant in Israeli-Palestinian relations. "This is a red line every Israeli Government has honored," he told me. "And it's very difficult to imagine any Israeli Government thinking it's interest would be served by changing the status quo."

In one sense, Muslims are taking Judaism more literally than most Jews take it. The Temple is central to the religious history of Judaism -- about one-third of the 613 commandments of Judaism delineated by Maimonides concern worship in the Temple; Jews pray for the rebuilding of the Temple every day, and on the Sabbath, religious Jews, and not just the Orthodox, sing a song called "Yibbane haMikdash" ("We Will Rebuild the Temple").

But all this is not supposed to be taken as a statement of immediate intent. Its meaning is metaphorical -- the Temple as the symbol of spiritual elevation. Which is why most Jews, Israeli and American, are comfortable with the status quo on the Temple Mount, and which is why Gershon Salomon visits churches when he visits America: the synagogues won't have him.

Many religious thinkers even hold that the demise of the Temple turned out to be a positive experience for the Jewish people.

"The destruction of the Temple was an advancement for religion," says Rabbi Ismar Schorsch, chancellor of the Conservative Movement's Jewish Theological Seminary in New York. When the Temple was destroyed, the Jewish cult of animal sacrifice was destroyed with it. In its place "came verbal prayer," Schorsch says, "which gave birth to the synagogue, which gave birth to the church and to the mosque. Verbal prayer is what made Judaism portable and invulnerable. Now they could live anywhere. They didn't need the Temple."

Even rabbis who take the Bible as literal truth say that the rebuilding of the Temple is a burden God has reserved for himself. In a sermon entitled "We Shall Not Climb Up the Mountain," Shlomo Aviner, the rabbi of the Ateret Cohanim yeshiva in the Old City, a yeshiva created to train Jews in the rites of the Temple, warned against human intercession in divine planning.

The Temple activists -- Yehuda Etzion, Gershon Solomon and the like -- are far outside the mainstream of Judaism, and far outside the political mainstream. Many of the men who sit together in a newly formed organization called the Temple Treasury are ex-terrorists. One American-born extremist, Yoel Lerner, keeps in his office a portrait of

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Baruch Goldstein, the murderer of 29 Palestinians in Hebron several years ago, under which is written, "The Holy Dr. Goldstein."

Some of the Temple activists are not nearly so bloody-minded. Chaim Richman, a rabbi attached to the Temple Institute, told me he believes the Temple must be built in peace. "Maybe what will happen," he said, "is that the Arabs will come down from the mountain and say: 'Please, take it. We couldn't do it right. Do us a favor and build the Temple.'" He told me this as we walked up on the Mount, accompanied by Israeli police officers. "Remember, Rabbi, no praying," one police officer told him before letting him on the Mount. As we walked, Palestinians stared angrily at him, one man yelling at him in colloquial Hebrew, "Shame on you, you piece of garbage!"

Richman became annoyed when I suggested that, though I doubted he would himself try to launch an attack on the Dome of the Rock, the educational programs of the Temple Institute, which stress the importance of the Mount, could inspire fanatics to take the idea of a restored Temple to its logical conclusion.

"I'm not going to stop lecturing about the holy Temple because there's a few crazy people around," he told me. "We're trying to create a feeling that there will be a redemption, not that someone should go and blow up the mosque."

It is not Chaim Richman who will blow up the mosque, or probably for that matter, Yehuda Etzion, who told me he is "retired" from terrorism. One senior Israeli security official, who talked to me only on the condition that I not use his name, said it is the unknowns -- the unstable Baptist in Texas, the young man in the yeshiva who has been quietly absorbing the propaganda of the Temple movement -- who will make the violence.

After all, he said, Yigal Amir was once an anonymous yeshiva student, too.

Middle-eastern extremists, like Yigal Amir and like the **Hamas** suicide bombers, traditionally make their moves when political compromise is in the air. "The Jewish underground 20 years ago" -- Yehuda Etzion's terrorists -- was formed to stop the Camp David process, to keep the Sinai in Israeli hands," Carmi Gillon says.

So here's a measure of cold comfort: violence on the Mount may not be imminent, because few people expect a final deal on Jerusalem any time soon.

Right now, the two sides have staked out positions so far apart as to seem unbridgeable. The Barak Government says that Jerusalem is not divisible: the city's Arab neighborhoods will remain under Israeli control, and the Old City, home to the Temple Mount, will most certainly stay Israeli. Palestinian negotiators, on the other hand, state publicly that every inch of land captured by Israel in the 1967 war must be returned to Arab control. These are opening positions; they will undoubtedly change, but neither side is interested in letting the other know just how far it will go in order to reach a final settlement. When I asked Chaim Ramon, Barak's adviser on Jerusalem, whether he could envision the creation of a safe corridor that would run from Palestinian areas to the Temple Mount, he said, "I'm not going to negotiate that with you."

But peace plans by the dozen have been floated, of course. It is a testament to the difficulties of reaching a settlement, and a testament to a city of myths and legends, that the most-talked-about idea for peace is built on a fiction. The idea is known as the Beilin-Abu Mazen Plan, after Yossi Beilin, the current Israeli Justice Minister and Shimon Peres protege, and Abu Mazen, a top Palestinian negotiator.

The fiction is this: Instead of dividing Jerusalem, Israel and the Palestinians would agree to double the city's size by including surrounding Arab villages in an expanded municipality. Only then would this new Jerusalem be divided up. Palestinians would get their capital in Jerusalem, as they demand, except the capital would, in fact, be located in the Arab village of Abu Dis, just outside the present-day borders of Jerusalem. The Beilin-Abu Mazen Plan also envisions the sort of safe corridor I asked Ramon about, and it assumes complete Palestinian control of the platform of the Temple Mount. The plan has its merits -- Abu Dis is actually closer to the Temple Mount, the heart of the matter, than is the Knesset, the Israeli Parliament, which is located in West Jerusalem. And the plan would make permanent Muslim jurisdiction over the mosques of the Temple Mount, perhaps even granting the Palestinians a kind of extraterritorial control over the site. Many Israelis find parts of the Abu Dis idea acceptable,

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since few of them could find Abu Dis on a map. The only problem: Palestinians are treating it as a practical joke, and Abu Mazen himself is said to deny authorship. "It's the secret, Beilin-Abu Mazen nonplan for Jerusalem," Ramon says sardonically.

Ziad Abu Ziad, a member of the Palestinian Legislative Council, says: "What we need right now is a type of creativity that doesn't exist. The Israelis can't have all of Jerusalem, and the Palestinians can't have all of Jerusalem. We have to find a way to share."

When I met with Faisal Hussein, the senior Palestinian in charge of Jerusalem affairs, I asked him a question about coexistence. Could he envision, I asked, a day in which the Muslims acceded to Jewish demands to at least be allowed to pray on the Temple Mount? Such a compromise on the part of Muslims could serve to temper Israeli fears about Palestinian control of Arab neighborhoods in Jerusalem, for instance.

But Hussein laughed.

"Do you have a wife?" he asked.

"Yes."

"Do you have a problem if you saw her with me here?"

"Doing what?" I asked.

"Having an interview."

"No."

"But what if you had information that I want her? Would you take the same position?" he asked.

I gave him the answer he wanted.

"Here is what I say about the Haram al-Sharif. People go in, tourists, take pictures of the Dome. This is no problem. But why do the Jews talk about this 'sharing.' Why do they want to share my wife?"

"A Jewish person," I say, "looks at the Temple Mount and says: 'That's my wife. You took my wife.'"

"First of all, I am a Palestinian. I am a descendant of the Jebusites, the ones who came before King David. This was one of the most important Jebusite cities in the area."

Huh?

"Yes, it's true. We are the descendants of the Jebusites."

I decided not to slip farther down this slope; after all, there's no arguing with a Jebusite.

Thankfully, Hussein decided to change the subject.

"Let me ask you, What keeps Jews together? The idea of Jerusalem," he said. "In Latin America, Russia, America, it's Jerusalem. It's the same way with Palestinians. Jerusalem is our heart. It is what keeps us together."

So how do two people share a single heart?

"There must be two sovereignties in Jerusalem, maybe overlapping," Hussein said. "That's the only way to bring about true peace."

I ask him to give me his red lines: the minimum he would take in order to make peace.

Israel 's Y2K Problem

"There's no negotiating here," he said. "You're not going to get that answer. But I will tell you that the only hope is for the Israelis to give up their dreams, and for the Palestinians to give up their dreams. It is the only way we will free ourselves from our nightmares."

This is not something I told my friend Micah Halpern as we stood outside the Golden Gate, but I regularly go up to the platform of the Temple Mount and into the mosques and even into the cave under the Rock itself. I try to remember to wear canvas shoes, but I go up there anyway. There's a certain power to the place, and a great deal of mystery: I imagine the feeling is similar to that felt by a Muslim in Mecca or a Christian in Bethlehem. The exact spot of the Holy of Holies is unknown; there's an entire body of popular literature just trying to place it, and I've read most of it. It's a matter of yards, where the Holy of Holies stood -- some scholars place it to the north of the Dome of the Rock, some to the south. These theories have been adopted by Third Temple advocates, Christian and Jewish, who argue that a legitimate Temple could be built without knocking down the Muslim holy places. It is one of the sillier ideas ever proposed. But dreams of the Temple Mount don't die easily.

On my last day in Jerusalem, I went up there again, to meet Khari Dajani, a Wakf official. I had asked him about these rumors of water springing from the Rock, a rumor that could set off an incident that could set off a war. "It is just crazy -- crazy -- what they're saying about the water. There's no water."

And there wasn't, of course. We walked across the upper platform to the Dome. I went inside and down the staircase that leads to the cave below the Rock itself. The Rock is bedrock, and below the cave, credible archeologists say, is more bedrock. But rumors about what lies beneath the foundation stone persist: the Ark of the Covenant itself, some rabbis and evangelicals believe, is buried somewhere under the Mount. No archeologist I spoke with believes this, but no matter: the mystery of the mountain -- what was and what could be -- is too tempting for some to leave alone.

This is what the vision of a rebuilt Temple is about: temptation.

"The Temple is within human reach," Ismar Schorsch, the chancellor of the Jewish Theological Seminary, said. "That's the danger. They're almost there. They can feel it. They're standing at the foot of the Mount. If you believe that God isn't going to abandon you, then you're not intimidated by a billion Muslims."

It's easy for a person of faith to wait for the Messiah in New York or London or Nairobi. You don't have to walk the streets He will walk and you don't have to pass by His house. Jerusalem is different. In Jerusalem, the Via Dolorosa is a street address. Here, the promise of the Messianic Age is palpable. Even the secular feel it. As I was leaving his office, Faisal Husseini said, "It will all be O.K. in the end, when Moshiah comes." He laughed -- Moshiah is Hebrew for Mahdi. "Then we'll all pray together."

It is a joke, but in Jerusalem, waiting for the arrival of the Messiah sometimes seems like a viable political option.

<http://www.nytimes.com>

Correction

Because of a production error, the cover article in The Times Magazine on Sunday, about threats to the peace process caused by the claims of different religions on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem at millennium's end, omitted a passage from a paragraph in which an Israeli official speculated about who might instigate violence on the Dome of the Rock, the mosque atop the Mount. The paragraph, which began at the end of page 65, should have read:

"It is not Chaim Richman who will blow up the mosque, or probably for that matter, Yehuda Etzion, who told me he is retired from terrorism. One senior Israeli security official, who talked to me only on the condition that I not use his name, said it is the unknowns -- the unstable Baptist in Texas, the young man in the yeshiva who has been quietly absorbing the propaganda of the Temple movement -- who will make the violence."

A picture caption with the table of contents in that issue misspelled the surname of the rabbi pictured on the cover. He is Chaim Richman, not Richmond.

Correction-Date: October 7, 1999, Thursday

Graphic

Photos: Yehuda Etzion at prayer on the Mount of Olives. "There are things that people have to do by force," he says. "We cannot sit and read books and hope the Temple is rebuilt. We have to rebuild it ourselves."; Sheik Ahmed Yassin, in the wheelchair, at his home in Gaza. Jews are "without morals or humanity," he says, and are capable of anything -- by which he means attacking the Dome of the Rock. (Tim Zielenbach/Contact, Gueorgui Pinkhassov/Magnum, for The New York Times.); Gershon Salomon at home in Jerusalem. "O.K.," he says, "so we'll have a war."; Ekrima Sabri, Mufti of Jerusalem, at home. "This is a decree from God," he says. "The Haram al-Sharif belongs to the Muslim." (Gueorgui Pinkhassov/Magnum, for The New York Times)

Load-Date: October 3, 1999

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Obituary: Hafez al-Assad: Feared and respected leader who raised Syria's profile but was ultimately unable to contain Israel

The Guardian (London)

June 12, 2000

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Section: Guardian Leader Pages, Pg. 20

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Byline: Patrick Seale

Body

President Hafez al- Assad, master of Syria since 1979, was a towering figure of Arab politics, respected and feared in his own country and throughout the Middle East. His death, at the age of 69, marks the end of an era in the region.

His achievements were threefold: he gave Syria years of much-needed, if somewhat repressive, stability; he turned his relatively small country, once the victim of other people's intrigues, into a major regional player whose views could no longer be ignored; and, with patience and dogged consistency, he fought to prevent Israel from imposing its will on the Arab world.

In the end, he came to terms with the fact of Israel's existence, and was persuaded to open negotiations for a permanent peace settlement. But his dream of containing the Jewish state within its pre-1967 borders, and of checking the spread of its regional influence by means of an Arab-Israeli balance of power, was not realised. To that extent, he died a disappointed man.

Assad's long rule was all the more remarkable in that he was not born a Sunni Muslim, the sect that has for centuries been the dominant orthodox mainstream of Islam, and from which Syria's rulers have traditionally been drawn. His family were Alawites, a heterodox outgrowth of Shi'ism, itself something of an opposition in Islam for the past 1,000 years.

In Syria, the Alawites were a small, down-trodden community, which, to escape persecution, had taken refuge in the mountains of the north-west. It was there, in Qurdaha - then a squalid village, but now greatly expanded and beautified as befits the leader's birthplace - that Assad was born.

His inheritance was bitter. To be born an Alawite in a country where sect and family count for much was to suffer from a built-in minority complex - which, to his credit, he always strove to surmount. To be born a poor country boy meant that he grew up resenting the privileged and arrogant land-owning families that made up Syria's ruling class - before they were routed by Assad's own Baathist revolution.

Politics was his life-long interest. As a schoolboy, he joined the pan-Arab socialist Baath party, and rose to be a student leader. He wanted to become a doctor, but his parents could not pay the fees, so he went to the military academy. He volunteered for the air force and passed out top of his class. He was sent on flying courses to the Soviet Union and to Egypt, and it was in Cairo, with an admiring eye on Gamal Abdul Nasser, the great Arab leader

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of his day, that he became a conspirator, plotting with a small group of fellow officers, like himself from minority backgrounds, to overthrow the Syrian government, a task accomplished in 1963.

In the next seven years, Assad clawed his way up the ladder until he emerged as sole leader in 1970 - a position he retained through wars, diplomatic crises, internal and external challenges and unrelenting stress. His revolution turned Syria's social and political structures upside down. The country boys triumphed, and none more so than the Alawites who, although no more than 12% of the population, came to occupy plum positions in every sector of life.

Externally, the main landmarks of Assad's life had to do with the struggle against Israel. As a young and inexperienced defence minister in the 1967 war, he presided over the loss of the Golan Heights. In 1970, he sent tanks into Jordan to help the Palestinians against King Hussein, but had to beat a humiliating retreat when Israel threatened to intervene. In 1973, he secretly planned the October war with Egypt's Anwar al- Sadat, but Israel turned the tables on them both, and by defeating Egypt took it out of the Arab military equation.

When the hardline Menachem Begin came to power in Israel in 1977, Assad faced a militant Likud determined to create a "greater Israel". To absorb the occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza free from Arab challenge, Begin and his rugged defence minister, Ariel Sharon, conceived the daring plan of bringing Lebanon into Israel's orbit. In 1982, they invaded Lebanon and besieged Beirut, with the aim of booting out both the PLO and the Syrians, and installing a Maronite vassal ready to do their bidding.

Israel's brutal gambit posed a deadly threat to Assad. A Lebanon under Israeli control would have reduced Syria to insignificance. Rallying his allies, he fought back. Israel's troops were harried by guerrillas and took heavy casualties. Israel's adventure turned into a debacle and a dispirited Begin gave up the struggle. The US-brokered Israel-Lebanon treaty, which was to have consecrated Israel's influence over its neighbour, was torn up. From Syria's point of view, it was Assad's finest hour.

Throughout all these battles, he had an ally of sorts in the Soviet Union. Their longstanding relationship was founded on Soviet arms transfers, economic aid for Syria's major infrastructural projects, and political support in the common cause of reducing western and Israeli influence.

However, the Arab defeat in the six-day war caused strains in the relationship. After 1967 - and again after 1973 - it became obvious that, while the Soviets were prepared to re-arm their Arab proteges, they were reluctant to give them the means to recover their lost territories by force, still less to defeat Israel in all-out war. Moscow was anxious to avoid a confrontation with the United States.

These hesitations - which contrasted with Washington's full-blooded support for Israel - infected Arab relations with Moscow, and it was at least partly for this reason that Assad never entered fully into the Soviet orbit. He insisted on retaining a large measure of freedom; he wanted arms and credit, but also autonomy. As a result, there were limits to what he could expect from Moscow - but it also meant that once the Soviet empire collapsed, he was not swept away like other leaders, in Eastern Europe and elsewhere, who had been more closely bound to Moscow.

When Gorbachev emerged, anxious to befriend the west, Assad was quick to grasp that a major prop of his world was gone. With great pragmatism, he corrected his aim and, by 1987, was busy making overtures to Washington. There is little doubt, however, that the end of the cold war - and the loss of Soviet support - were serious blows to his strategy of holding Israel in check.

The late 1980s and early 1990s were not easy years for Assad since they brought profound and, as seen from Damascus, unwelcome changes to the international and regional environment. The destruction of Iraq in the Gulf war further weakened Syria's strategic position.

When Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait on August 2 1990, Assad recognised at once that Iraq's aggression was a serious threat to Syria's interests - as it was to those of every other major player in the region. All realised that the combination of Iraq and Kuwait would dominate the whole Middle East system. Assad had long detested Saddam, a

Obituary: Hafez al-Assad: Feared and respected leader who raised Syria 's profile but was ultimately unable to contain Israel

sentiment that was fully reciprocated. He sensed that if Saddam got away with his seizure of Kuwait, Syria would be his next target.

So Assad joined the American-led coalition and sent troops to help defend Saudi Arabia. But he did not welcome the Gulf war. As an Arab patriot, he deplored the destruction of Iraq, the depletion of Arab financial assets, the ever-greater influence of the US in the region, and the corresponding loss of Arab independence. Moreover, the Gulf war robbed the Arabs of any residual ability to challenge the Israel military. Israel's position became unassailable; it dominated the region.

Such was the impetus for the new phase of Middle East peace-making launched, under American auspices, in Madrid in October 1991. Assad accepted President Bush's invitation to take part in bilateral talks with Israel, but it was not what he had hoped for.

He had long argued that peace with Israel was not worth having unless it was comprehensive, involving an Israeli retreat on all fronts. He was opposed to separate deals, which he felt divided the Arab camp. So it was with great hesitation that he fell in with the Madrid formula of separate tracks, which was to Israel's advantage.

Assad was soon to suffer further setbacks. In September 1993, Israel reached a secret accord with Yasser Arafat's PLO, which put an end to the intifada in the occupied territories - without giving the Palestinians any substantial gains. Assad denounced the agreement, but declared he would not to fight it. A year later, a further blow fell when, in October 1994 and to Assad's dismay, Jordan concluded a peace treaty with Israel.

These agreements effectively brought the Palestinians and Jordan into Israel's sphere of influence - a development which Assad had struggled for years to prevent. With American encouragement, other Arab states - Morocco, Tunisia, Oman and Qatar among them - then developed ties of differing degrees of warmth and formality with Israel, further contributing to Assad's discomfiture. On January 21 1994, his eldest son, Basil, was killed in a car accident, adding a personal tragedy to his political problems.

Assad sought to strengthen his regional position by tightening his grip on Lebanon, by fostering his strategic relationship with Iran, and by keeping alive his Gulf war alliance with Saudi Arabia and Egypt. He was anxious, too, to keep open his lines to Washington, whose predom-inant role in the peace process he could not dispute.

But to Assad's great disappointment, the Clinton administration was to prove one of the most pro-Israeli in American history. Ending all pretence at even-handedness, it retreated from a strict land-for-peace interpretation of UN Security Council Resolution 242, once the keystone of US peace efforts, denounced Hizballah and Hamas as "terrorist" organisations - rather than recognising them to be legitimate national resistance movements to Israeli occupation - and refused to remove Syria itself from the state department list of states allegedly sponsoring terrorism. At the UN, the Americans protected Israel from international censure over human rights abuses, settlement building in the occupied territories and the confiscation of Arab land in and around East Jerusalem.

Faced with tremendous American and Israeli pressure, Assad's only course was to stand firm on principle. As a result, Syria's peace negotiations with Israel made slow progress. He offered Israel "full peace for full withdrawal", making clear that a normalisation of relations could take place only once Israel had committed itself to a full withdrawal from the Golan and southern Lebanon. He insisted that any security arrangements agreed for the Golan should be "balanced and symmetrical" rather than weighted in Israel's favour. Israel was not used to an Arab leader putting up such stiff resistance to its wishes.

Even his enemies conceded that, in his crisis-ridden career, Assad displayed two principal traits. The first was an exceptional degree of political foresight; cerebral and reserved, he plotted his moves with great deliberation. The second was a foxy and stubborn fighting instinct when driven to the wall, as he was by the Muslim Brothers at Hama in 1982 or by the Israelis in Lebanon a year later. On both occasions, he proved he could fight as dirty as anyone.

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Although he started out as a soldier, Assad rarely wore uniform or harangued the crowd from a balcony. He seemed to shrink from human contact, spending long hours at his desk and living a dull, exemplary life with his wife and children. Money, women or luxuries seemed to have no hold on him. Power was his drug.

The source of his authority over his security chiefs, military commanders and party bosses seemed to lie in his superior intelligence. His favourite instrument of government was the telephone. With visitors, however, he could exercise considerable charm, and those who knew him intimately reported that he had a sardonic sense of humour and was often shaken by gusts of silent laughter.

Hafez al-Assad, politician, born October 6 1930; died June 10 2000

Load-Date: June 13, 2000

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'Our world is upside down': Earlier this month Egyptian-born novelist Ahdaf Soueif travelled to Israel and the occupied territories for the first time. Here she concludes her remarkable account of the journey

The Guardian (London)

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Byline: Ahdaf Soueif

Body

Thursday

For three nights now I have stayed up writing past 2am and yet I have not recorded all I have heard and seen. I have not even really thought about all I have heard and seen - that will come later. For now the present facts are all I can manage.

We start early for Ramallah and a couple of minutes from my hotel I see two Israeli flags fixed to the flat roof of a house. Next to them four boys in civilian clothes nurse machine guns. My driver, Abu Karim, says these are four houses that have recently been taken from their Arab residents.

Out of Jerusalem, major roads are being built to connect up with the settlements. The roadworks are guarded by Israeli Army trucks.

The road north to Ramallah - the road that the Palestinians may use - will lead us through the town of Bira and the news is that Bira was shelled last night. Soon we see the concrete blocks, the waiting cars, the soldiers and we swerve off to the right and drive through dirt roads. Abu Karim points to a rectangular crater in the middle of the road the size of a grave. The army, he says, do this just to make life more difficult. A bone-jolting 20 minutes later we rejoin the main road about one kilometre up from where we had left it.

An hour and a half later (and a distance equivalent to, say, Chelsea to Kingston) we are sitting in Rita Haniyya's living-room listening to her and her friend Layla Qasim. The women, one Christian, the other Muslim, are founders of the National Union of Palestinian Women (NUPW) and worked hard to establish the Centre for the Support of the Family in Ramallah, a day-centre where children were taught music and encouraged to draw: "The children are not allowed to see maps of Palestine or learn their own history," they tell me. Eighteen months ago the Israelis closed the centre down for "inspiring sedition".

"Sedition!" snorts Layla Qasim. "We were trying to help the mothers give their children a 'normal' childhood. You know what the children sing? They sing: 'Papa bought me a trifle/A machine-gun and a rifle'.

"We were struggling to get them to sing normal children's songs. But normal children's songs have nothing to do with the reality of their lives.

'Our world is upside down': Earlier this month Egyptian -born novelist Ahdaf Soueif travelled to Israel and the occupied territories for the first time. Here sh....

"When the children said 'The Jews came and took my cousin/Mixed our rice with the flour and the sugar', we would say don't say the Jews, it's the Israelis, the Zionists. We were battling with the ethics of language."

"The media in Britain," I say, "ask why mothers allow their children to go out and throw stones at the army."

"Allow?" says Rita Haniyya, "You should see the quantities of Valium we've dispensed to women in the camps simply to help them cope with their lives: when their children go out to play they're playing under the guns of the army observation post above them - these people have been living under 'temporary emergency' conditions for 33 years, and some since 1948. They don't go looking for the army, the army is right on their doorstep."

"There isn't a child," says Layla, "who doesn't have a father or a brother banished or jailed or killed. When the soldiers come in and beat up a father - the kids see it - all they've got is one room. They see their father being beaten. What do you think it does to them? They ask us if people in the whole world live like this. What can we tell them? A three year old comes in and tells me: 'The Jews came and beat my father and his tummy fell out onto the floor but we got him to hospital and they're going to mend him.'"

The names come thick and fast, Jihad Badr who was bringing up his kid sisters and brothers after their mother died of cancer, who survived an operation for a brain tumour but was killed in the al-Aqsa demonstrations; Hania, 13, who was shot in the leg, bundled into an army car and hit repeatedly on the same leg: "I didn't scream," they tell me she said, "not because I was feeling brave, just because I was afraid they'd kill me." The Hammouri twins, 19, shot on the same day. And on and on.

The NUPW now trains women in first aid and civil defence, it organises vaccinations, it gives counselling and advises on home economics (this includes boycotting Israeli and American products). It is funded entirely by donations from its more well-off members - many of them abroad. There are 2m Palestinians in Israel and the occupied territories, 5m in the diaspora.

"We've compromised," Rita Haniyya says, "they have West Jerusalem, the Carmel, Yafa and Haifa and so on. They have Israel. But they want everything, it's their nature. They attack us - physically - in three ways: through the army, the settlers, and the Mustaribs (agents who pretend to be Arab)."

The Mustaribs, she says, mingle with the people during demonstrations: "They choose a child, grab him, throw their keffiyehs over their faces (so they can mingle again without being identified) whip out their yarmulkes and a gun and rush with the child over to an army car."

"You know the worst of it is," they say, "that they keep you guessing. You never know if a road is to be open or closed. When they're going to shut off your water or turn off your electricity. Whether they're going to permit a burial. Whether they're going to give you a permit to travel. You can never ever plan. They create conditions to keep you spinning."

At Oslo, Israel agreed to hand over some major Arab towns to the Palestinian Authority. Israel, however, retained all the areas surrounding the towns, so that to get from one to another the Palestinians had to carry permits which were checked at Israeli checkpoints. With the intifada the Israeli army simply encircled the towns, preventing the residents from leaving or entering. Critics of Oslo at the time said this was a blueprint for disaster. No one understands why the Palestinian Authority agreed to it. Some say they simply didn't have maps. It is at the soldiers encircling their towns that the youths and children of the intifada throw stones.

There are some good Israelis, Rita says, people of conscience. "Look at what Amira Hass writes in Ha'aretz. And Uri Avnery. But they're marginalised."

Are you in touch with them?

"Not any more. We realised they would go so far and no further. The best of them balks at the right of return for the refugees. Even Leah Rabin wanted East Jerusalem. At the beginning of the intifadah when they got in touch we said you've been talking to us for years, now it's time for you to talk to your government."

'Our world is upside down': Earlier this month Egyptian -born novelist Ahdaf Soueif travelled to Israel and the occupied territories for the first time. Here sh....

Back in Jerusalem I break my fast at a small cafe outside al-Zahra Gate. On the street outside is the army car and the soldiers. At the table behind me three elderly men are extolling the days of Gamal Abdul Naser and the idea of pan-Arabism. They end up singing popular Egyptian songs of the 60s: "Ya Gamal/Beloved of millions" and "We said we'd build and now we've built/the Hi-i-gh Dam". The owner, recognising my Egyptian dialect, gives me a tamarind juice and pudding on the house. He asks if I'm OK at my hotel. His family would have been glad to take me in but they're in al-Khalil (Hebron). He used to commute, it's only half an hour, but now with the closures he can only manage to sneak in to see them once a week.

A silent candle-lit demonstration outside the New Gate of the old city. Sixty candles flickered in the hands of 60 Palestinian women just outside the Gate. Opposite them, on the other side of the road 15 Israeli women dressed in black held 15 candles.

Friday

This is the first Friday of Ramadan and Barak, in a move designed to "achieve quiet during the month of Ramadan", has repealed the ban on men under 45 praying at the al-Aqsa mosque.

Israeli mounted police, armed and dressed in riot gear, guard the gates of the old city as though we were armed and dangerous football hooligans. We pass through al-Zahra Gate in single file between two rows of soldiers with machine guns. Each man has to stop and show his identity papers. The women, if they keep their heads bowed and their eyes on the ground, are left alone. At Bab Hutta, the actual gate to al-Haram al-Sharif, there are more soldiers with guns. Inside, the men head for al-Aqsa, the women for that choice jewel, the Dome of the Rock. Because the Israeli amnesty does not extend to the people of the West Bank, there are maybe 20,000-25,000 people here today instead of the 500,000 you would normally expect.

At the Dome I squeeze in through Bab al-Janna (the Gate of Paradise). In straight lines, shoulder-to-shoulder, we pray then sit to listen to the sermon. The Imam preaches patience, steadfastness and opposition. He reminds us of the Prophet's saying that there are those who fast and gain nothing except hunger; to fast is to renounce falsehood, hypocrisy and all bad deeds. He lists the crimes of the Israeli military occupation against the people. He lists the demands of the people: an end to the occupation, the implementation of UN resolution 242 and the return to the borders of June 4 1967, an independent and sovereign Palestinian state in the West Bank, Gaza and east Jerusalem, the release of Palestinian prisoners from Israeli jails, the right of return to the homeland of all Palestinian refugees. He repeats God's promise that the righteous shall prevail, then he prays for al-Aqsa itself. Again and again he implores God to protect it from the plots being woven against it, again and again the women's voices from the Dome and the men's voices from al-Aqsa rise: Amen.

The al-Aqsa, where the men pray, is close to Bab el-Magharba (the Gate of the Moroccans) which is close to the Wailing Wall. As prayers end, groups of young men and boys start gathering there. But there the army and police are solidly waiting and everyone knows that if one stone hits that wall someone will be shot. But the shabab (youth) are in the grip of fervour and a man who some say is a "Fatah element" starts yelling Hamas slogans and, playing Pied Piper, leads them away from the certain danger of Bab el-Magharba and through the terraces of al-Haram to the relative safety of Bab el-Sabbat. There they stop. Outside the gateway is a police station that they had set fire to a while back. The administrators of the mosque rush to place wooden barriers between the shabab and the small army of soldiers and police taking up positions outside with guns aimed. The shabab chant of the Prophet's victory against the Jews at Khaybar in the 7th century, some of them rush back into the Haram and try to break down the iron door leading to the stairs of the minaret. It will not break. One young man climbs a wall and tries to open a higher door into the minaret. On the walls of the terraces hundreds of women and older men stand and watch. The atmosphere is almost one of carnival. Maybe a thousand shabab are facing the soldiers, but the gate is narrow so it's not too hard for the elders to hold them back. On the steps just opposite the gate, the steps leading up to the top of the city wall, the photographers stand with their cameras, helmets and bullet-proof vests. Something happens outside and the shabab scatter for a moment then regroup. A woman in an embroidered bedouin dress pushes forward into their midst, yelling along with them and a man tries to hold her back: "They might shoot you!"

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"Let them shoot me. Am I worth more than any of these youngsters?"

A woman in horn-rimmed spectacles waves her arms at the soldiers from the wall where she's standing: "Get out!" she shouts, "Get out! You've strangled us, may God strangle you."

One young man is ordering his little brother to go home. "Let me stay," the kid begs. "Just for a few minutes. Let me stay." It takes a cuff on the side of the head to send him home. A couple of smallish stones are pitched across the wall. "Bet that landed on our car," a very well-dressed, slim young man says to his companion. A well-built youth picks up a large rock and throws it to the ground to smash it. It doesn't smash and he picks it up again. As he raises it a mosque caretaker runs up and takes it from him, quietly, without a word. He places it carefully under a tree and the young man walks away. An argument is breaking out on the side: "They shouldn't make trouble," a tall, fair man shouts. "The Israelis will close it down. Let people pray."

A bystander laughs: "You've been praying for 50 years. What good has it done you?"

A diminutive sheikh in a very trim costume and brand-new red cleric's hat is marching measuredly up and down beside the yelling demonstrators with a megaphone: "Your presence here incites them. Disperse. Disperse."

No one pays any attention to him except one man who says to his neighbour: "He does this every Friday."

There are women and girls sitting chatting under the trees. Eventually the shabab start to drift away. It has taken two hours but this time, here, the Palestinians have no martyrs.

Saturday Noon, Ramallah

The great hall of Our Lady of the Gospels independent school in Ramallah is filling up with students. Hundreds of girls and boys crowd into the seats talking and laughing. On the stage the principal, Mrs Samira, and the guest speaker, Dr Mustafa Barghouti are setting up the overhead projector. Dr Barghouti is one of the triumvirate heading the People's Party of Palestine, and - more importantly - he has been organising all the medical aid work for the intifada.

This talk is part of the independent schools of Ramallah's joint initiative to "document the truth and demand our legitimate rights before the world". This group of kids is in economic band A, their parents can afford to educate them privately, can stop them going to the barricades. Their hair is glossy, their teeth are good. As Mrs Samira lists the names of the participating schools they cheer and stamp and she outlaws whistling.

They all want to know how they can contribute. They ask why the Authority has not declared Oslo dead? Why it arrests members of Hamas? What is the Authority doing to protect civilians from the attacks of the settlers? Why does the Authority continue to try to coordinate security with the Israelis? They want a programme to support the thousands of workers who've lost their jobs inside Israel. They want the leadership to pull together and an end to the factions. They want to talk to the world. They want independence and they want to know what they can do.

Dr Barghouti tells them they can join the NGO across the road. They can be trained in first aid and primary care, in crisis management. They can do media work, monitor the net, respond to articles . . . They crowd around to put their names down before they rush off to be picked up by parents at 2.30pm sharp.

3pm, Ramallah

Another Barghouti (it's a massive family), Marwan Barghouti, is mostly on the move. He is 41, the chief executive officer of Fatah. Since the intifada he's been on the streets with the shabab and he has formed the People's Watch, groups in each village that try to defend the villagers against the settlers. Everybody says he is targeted by the Israelis (Ma'ariv called him one of the "triangle of terror: Arafat, Barghouti and Raggoub, head of Palestinian intelligence"). Some say he's targeted by the Palestinian Authority - for being too popular. In his office, against a huge poster of al-Aqsa, he repeats that the intifada and negotiations do not preclude each other; that the intifada is the only way the people have of projecting their own voice, their own will into the negotiations. He points at a poster

'Our world is upside down': Earlier this month Egyptian -born novelist Ahdaf Soueif travelled to Israel and the occupied territories for the first time. Here sh....

of Muhammad al-Durra and says: "We need to get away from the image of the Palestinian as a victim. This is a better poster," pointing at a poster of a child confronting a tank.

I say: "That kid was killed two days later."

He says: "Yes."

I wonder whether there is space to get out of the "victim" frying-pan without falling into the "fanatical Islamic terrorist" fire. The margin is terribly narrow. Then a man sitting with us - clearly an old friend - says: "But I hear Qassam (Barghouti's 16-year-old son) is down at the barricades. Why don't you stop him?" Barghouti waves the question away. The man insists: "You have to stop him." And for a moment the militia leader looks helpless: "I can't," he says. "How can I?"

3.45pm

Abu Karim is getting restless. He wants to be home in Jerusalem before sunset, but I have asked to see the barricades and now we examine them. An area of desolation at the edge of the town - which means 10 minutes from the center. After sunset this will turn into a battleground. Concrete blocks, stones, burn marks, some shattered glass. Two Israeli army cars on the other side of the concrete. A woman appears from nowhere. Fortyish, poor, dressed in black, she is an Egyptian who has married a Palestinian and lived here for 25 years. Umm Basim, I have heard of her, heard that she lost her eldest son in the previous intifada and that she is in the thick of the action at the barricades every night.

Is it because of your son, I ask, that you come here?

"No. I have four more, and they are with me here. I come because this situation has to end. We can't live like this."

I ask if I may take her photo. She hesitates: "It won't appear in any Egyptian newspapers? I wouldn't want my mother to know what I'm doing. She'd worry." As I take the photo she turns to the man who brought us here: "I've seen Qassam here. Tell his father to keep him away."

Sunday 10.30am

Psagot. ("Bascot," the students at Bir Zeit University had said, "biscuits. Think American cookies.")

Psagot is a settlement built 10 years ago on a hilltop just outside Rammalah and Birah. The Palestinians say it was built by the government (like other settlements) on land expropriated from Birah. They say it was positioned strategically to halt the natural expansion of the town and to control the Arab population. They say the settlers are armed and the army itself can move into the settlement at very short notice. For the past two months Birah and Ramallah have been shelled every night from Psagot.

My calls to the Yesha council have paid off and they have sent me here to meet Chaim Bloch.

A western journalist connects me to a taxi driver who will go to a settlement (but charges triple), and from the start the journey is unlike any other I've made here. Smooth, wide roads, speeding cars, no roadblocks. And Psagot, like almost every settlement, on the top of a hill like a look-out, like the spooky small town of Edward Scissorhands. Barak's proposed budget for the coming year would spend Dollars 300m on settlements.

Chaim Bloch is courteously waiting for us outside his house. He is dressed in a suit with a buttoned-up shirt and no tie. He has a longish light-brown beard and speaks softly and carefully. His father, a textile engineer, was offered a job in Israel 31 years ago and within two weeks the family had moved over from Baltimore. I work out that Mr Bloch is 39. I had thought him older.

In Israel, if you choose to do religious studies you are exempt from military service. For the young men who want to do both special yeshivas exist. There are 30 of them round the country. Bloch is a graduate of one and, until

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recently, he had always taught at another. Now he teaches Jewish law as it relates to monetary management as a kind of "continuing education" course. He has been in Psagot nine years.

Why Psagot?

"Because this is the land of Judea and Samaria. It is here that the Israeli destiny is to be decided."

The people across the valley, in Ramallah and Birah say this land was expropriated from them. How do you feel about that?

"The government of Israel never takes land without paying for it. The Arabs tried to bring a court case against us and in the end they begged us to allow them to drop it because they were going to be ruined."

There are UN resolutions stating that the West Bank and Gaza are illegally occupied.

"Israel is a law-abiding nation but there can be differences in the interpretation of the law. What we are doing here is not against international law." Then, without pause: "Even if I was 100% sure that international law was against me it would not change my views. Just because international law says something does not make it so."

But if not the law, what is your reference?

"God promised us this land. The state of Israel was here 2,000 years ago and God promised this land to our forefathers 37,000 years ago. There was never a state of Palestine here."

The one thought that I have is that I am not afraid any more, not even uneasy. I feel nothing. I am conducting an interview.

Well, I say, there was never Syria or Lebanon or Jordan or Iraq. As states. It was all part of the Ottoman empire and was carved up by the British and the French.

"This is the land promised to us by God."

OK. You say this land is yours because you were here 2,000 years ago. Across the valley there is a man who says this land is his because he has been here for 2,000 years. If - just for a moment - you put yourself in his position . . .

"I do not put myself in his position. You do that for a friend, on a personal matter. This is a question of nations. And my business is to look after the interests of the Jewish nation."

So you have no individual moral responsibility in this matter?

"No."

Well, from your point of view, what should the Palestinians do?

"They can go on living here. No-one will throw them out. But they have to understand that they are living in a Jewish state. If they do not like that there are many places where they can go."

But if they live here, in a Jewish state, they don't have the same rights as the Jews.

"Yes. It is a Jewish state and they live as a minority." Believe me, 90% of Palestinians admire us and want to live in the state of Israel."

I know that a poll among young Palestinians found that they admired Israeli democracy as it was applied to the Jews. But it is not applied to the Arabs.

"Ninety per cent of Palestinians would be happy to live in the state of Israel. I know this."

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You know that 90% of Palestinians would be happy to live as second-class citizens forever?

"This is what my Palestinian friends tell me."

You have Palestinian friends?

"Yes."

Forgive me but - who are they?

Silence.

I don't want to know their names, just - where did you meet them, for example?

"One is a mechanic. He had to fix something for my car. And the other - he knows him."

"Could I just ask you how life on the settlement works - economically?"

"How do you mean?"

Well, I've heard that settlements get government help.

"Barak's government has cut back on most of what we got from Netanyahu. We get hardly anything."

(My companion Judy Blanc ascertains that the house he lives in was bought for a fifth of the market value. For a settler to travel to and from his or her settlement the government provides an armoured bus and two army car escorts. Water, the main resource under government control, is divided between the Arab population and the Israeli settler: each settler is allocated 1,450 cubic meters of water per year. Each Palestinian is allowed to use 83 cubic meters. Electricity is regularly shut down in the Palestinian towns while the settlements are lit up.)

Mr Bloch, you have Israel. If you do not allow the Palestinians their own state in the West Bank this conflict will never end.

"Not everything has to be solved now."

You are happy that your children should inherit this conflict?

"Happy?" His voice rises, but only slightly. "My sister was on the bus that they blew up. The woman sitting next to her was killed. Children had to have their limbs amputated. I am not happy."

But you believe your children should inherit this situation?

"Those children on the bus - I pray that God will never ask me to pay such a terrible price. But if He does, I shall pay it."

As we drive away from Psagot I feel empty. I look at my notes and realise that I have no impression of what the living room we had been in looked like - except that it was bare and functional and sunny - and looked out on Ramallah. The taxi driver (even with Dollars 100 in his pocket) is speeding and angry and has an argument with a speeding young Israeli. Through the window I hear: "Kess ikhtak!" (Your sister's c**)

Is that the same in Hebrew? I ask.

No, that was Arabic, Judy says.

"I see a terrible fire," Mme Haniyya had said to me, "a terrible fire coming to swallow us all, Israelis and Palestinians - unless the Palestinian people are freed from their bondage."

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1.30pm

On the way back to the bridge I see that the army has dug a brand-new trench between the road and the town of Ariha (Jericho).

After

Exhaustion hits me the minute I get to London. This conflict has been part of my life all my life. But seeing it there, on the ground, is different.

What can I do except bear witness?

I am angrier than before I went. And more incredulous that what is happening in Palestine - every day - to men, women and children, should be allowed by the world to continue.

The choices are in the hands of Israel. They can hand over the West Bank, Gaza and east Jerusalem and live within their borders as a nation among nations. There are no choices for the people of Palestine.

Ilan Halevi, a Jew who fought with the PLO, says it's a question of macho image: "Israel does not want to be seen as 'the fat boy of the Middle East'."

Others say Israel does not want to be a "nation among nations". It wants the beleaguered, plucky image - and the moral indulgence and trillions of dollars worth of aid that goes with it. If that is so then the Israeli government has joined others of the region who are not working in the interests of their own people.

Awad Awad (two of whose photos were in the Guardian on Saturday) says the Israelis have declared they will not renew the licences of any Palestinian photographers working with the international media.

What will you do?

"Just carry on taking photographs. I'm a photographer."

I have seen women pushing their sons behind them, shoving them to run away, screaming at the soldiers: "Get out of our faces. Stop baiting the kids."

I have heard a man say: "I have four sons and no work. I cannot feed them. Let them go out and die if it will help our country; if it will end this state of things."

I have seen children calmly watch yet another shooting, another funeral. And when I have wept they've said: "She's new to this."

I have listened to everybody predict that the leadership would do a deal. "But if they don't bring us independence and the right of return the streets will catch fire."

Palestinian weddings are celebrated over coffee, but when a young man is killed his mother is held up over his grave. "Trill out your zaghrouda (ululation), mother," his friends say, the shabab who might die tomorrow. A mother says to me: "Our joy-cries now only ring out in the face of death. Our world is upside down."

Some names in this piece have been changed.

Ahdaf Soueif will be reading at Visions of Palestine at the Royal Geographic Society at 7pm on February 14. For further information call Chris Doyle on 020 7373 8414

Load-Date: December 19, 2000

'Our world is upside down': Earlier this month Egyptian -born novelist Ahdaf Soueif travelled to Israel and the occupied territories for the first time. Here sh....

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Travel: Eyeball to eyeball along the Gaza strip; Penny Young decided to get off the beaten track, taking her bikepast the watchtowers and concrete walls. She found herself eating, breathing and living politics

The Independent (London)

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Byline: Penny Young

Body

I CYCLE up underneath the watchtowers and into the shadow of a high protective blank concrete wall. The young soldier in charge sneeringly asks to see my passport, indicating with a nod to a subordinate to turn up the cassette of Western pop music which is playing on a shelf behind him. "Where are you going?" he asks in broken English over the noise.

I think it's fairly obvious where I'm going. There's only one way in for foreigners and this is it, the checkpoint at the Erez crossing into the Gaza strip. "To Gaza", I reply as nicely as I can.

I get my stamp on the separate piece of paper inside my passport which the Israelis obligingly give you when you enter their bit of the unholy land and wheel the bicycle over the smashed pavements, through the labyrinth of crash barriers and shark-like gates with iron teeth towards the Palestinian soldiers. One asks to see my paperwork. He smiles with pleasure as he hands it back. "Welcome to Gaza," he says.

Formalities over, I cycle down the road towards Gaza City, through the orange groves and the scattered sprawls of half-made concrete buildings, trying not to crash into the crazy taxis, clapped out old cars and little donkeys, horses, carts and lorries all jostling for space on that narrow ribbon of tarmac which heads south for 30 miles through the Gaza strip and out at the other end into Egypt.

As I cycle closer to Gaza City itself, I can feel myself breathing in, that feeling of being squeezed reinforced as I pedal up a hill and see the city lying sprawled out as far as the bird can fly. The road disappears underneath a pile of rubble and bulldozers and we're all diverted into a small back street to sit in a hooting line of smelly traffic inching its way through the concrete chaos of Gaza City. I weave the bicycle in and out, minding the pot holes, heading towards the sea and the hotel area.

Yes, there is a hotel area in Gaza. One of them, the Marna Hotel is a private villa in a quiet residential back street, with a little library, grand piano, parrot and beautiful pieces of Oriental furniture. It remained open even during the intifada. But I choose the newer light and airy Amal Hotel in El Mina, the old port area, because at \$ 20 (pounds 12.50) a night with breakfast, it's the cheapest in town and they're so pleased I've come with the bicycle which is tucked away in an empty room downstairs.

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I'm given a comfortable room with a balcony, opposite a bathroom where the bath water bubbles back up through the drain in the floor but is kept spotlessly clean. In fact the whole hotel is kept clean and ready for guests even though I'm alone for most of my stay, apart from the occasional European health worker, Taiwanese businessman, stray American student from Cairo, Israeli Arab who's possessed by a demon and has come to Gaza to get rid of it - and two young French boys.

The French boys, like the American, are soon taken under the wing of new-found Palestinian friends. Off go the wide-eyed foreigners to be fed with delicious home cooking - lucky them - and taken to play billiards in the ubiquitous sports clubs (males only). The French boys show me the plastic bullets they've been given by their new friends as holiday souvenirs and tell me, horror-struck, about the bullet hole scars they were shown by nearly everyone at the club.

I make do with Mohammed who gleefully describes what fun it was to throw stones at the Israelis as they stumbled in panic through the narrow alleyways of the refugee camps trying to control thousands of hostile Palestinians during the intifada. It had even been worth the two-year spell in prison when he'd been chained up by his wrists - he rubs them thoughtfully at the memory - for much of the time.

It's estimated that around 80 per cent of Palestinians have psychological problems of one kind or another. After just a few days in the strip, I have seen two vicious looking street fights, both involving crowds of men, and two car crashes (I myself never feel unsafe on the streets and am treated like a piece of china throughout). Soon I too feel as if I am in need of the services of Gaza's famous community mental health programme. It comes to a head, literally, when I'm asked by one smiling woman how I'm finding Gaza. I burst into tears. It's the pressure. You eat, sleep, breathe and live politics in Gaza. Most of the million or so Palestinians are from refugee families who lost their homes and land in 1948. Although the strip gained a kind of autonomy in 1994, Israel keeps a suffocating control on all movement in and out. The Palestinians burn with a sense of injustice and fury that the rest of the world seems to have forgotten about them.

"Hi," says the street trader who went to university in the Gulf and the waiter at La Mirage who warns of Israeli informers wherever you look. "Hi. Welcome to Gaza. What do you think of Yasser Arafat? Why do the British want to bomb the Iraqi people? Did you love Diana too?"

My days are spent listening to people telling me that living in Gaza is like being in prison - and then exploring for light relief the few historic remnants which have survived occupation and destruction over the last 3,000 years or so.

There's the Great Mosque which used to be a 12th century Crusader church. Then there's the pillar supposedly from a third century synagogue, but here I'm thrown out almost as soon as I go in. "Come back when it's not prayer time," they say. I slink off, pushing past the money changers, to explore the small vaulted gold souk instead.

Nearby tucked away in the bazaar is the Hamam al-Samarra, a working Turkish bath. I stumble across it during the few hours a week it's open for women and creep down the narrow stone steps into the steamy stone and marble underground chambers.

Gaza's enthusiastic Director of Antiquities, Dr Moain Zadek, takes me to see the sites of the two most recent archaeological finds in the Gaza strip. The first is a sandy area near the Erez checkpoint. He scrapes away some of the sand to reveal the coloured tiles of a mosaic floor from a Byzantine church. "It covers 400 square metres and is the best preserved in all the Palestinian areas. The question is how to preserve it from development."

Next stop is the Beach Refugee Camp. We stand amid the rubbish on top of a huge pile of sand projecting over the sea. "This is Alexander the Great's port," says Dr Zadek - before adding that the Palestinian Authority had jailed him for nine days for trying to protect it. His plans had conflicted with the plans of wealthy property speculators.

My favourite shop is the PLO flag shop, festooned with giant posters of Yasser Arafat and Saddam Hussein. You can buy Yasser Arafat tie pins and cufflinks, Father Christmases that snow when you turn them upside down and

Travel: Eyeball to eyeball along the Gaza strip; Penny Young decided to get off the beaten track, taking her bikepast the watchtowers and concrete walls. She fo....

models of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem with flashing lights. Sadly the shop has run out of inflatable head and shoulder sized Yasser Arafats.

It's pleasant cycling along the fine sand beaches and through the orchards of almond trees in the south of the strip where you can visit Gaza International Airport, brand new but kept under wraps until Israel allows it to open. Less pleasant is having to cycle past the Israeli positions on the main road, guns poking from the tops of sandbagged fortifications guarding Israeli settlements. Alone, I fear I look like a suicide bomber. Palestinians are only allowed to drive past if there are at least two of them.

I'm dying for a gin and tonic but there's no alcohol sold in the Gaza strip. Hamas banned it when they burned out all the cinemas in the late 1980s. Still, there are plenty of felafel stores to choose from, spicy chick-pea balls sizzled in oil, popped hot into pitta bread and then topped up with a selection of pickles coloured a lurid red, yellow and green, mainly variations on a cabbage theme.

There's a long way to go before Gaza is a regular stop on the tourist map. It cannot provide the packaged "desert experience" or "religious experience" that you'll get in Israel. But what it will give you is eyeball- to-eyeball experience.

gaza fact file

FLIGHTS:

You can find bargains to Tel Aviv or Eilat. I flew with Britannia Airways on a two-week ticket from Luton to Eilat for pounds 110. I junked my return and bought a single back from Tel Aviv for \$ 220 (pounds 137). Faresavers (01476 592095) were quoting fares from about pounds 120. The cheapest way to get to Gaza from Eilat is to take a bus through Beer Sheba and Ashqelon, get out at the Yad Mordechai junction and walk or hitch the five miles down the road to the Erez checkpoint. If coming from Tel Aviv, take a bus heading to Beer Sheba via Ashqelon and do the same. Or find a share-taxi from Tel Aviv for about \$ 20 (pounds 12.50)

HOTELS IN GAZA CITY:

Windmill Hotel: 2 United Nations Avenue, Remal, Gaza City. Tel: 072 7 826241. Fax: 972 7 869284. The best hotel in town. This is where the diplomats and ambassadors now stay. Rooms from \$ 80 (pounds 50).

Palestine Hotel: Sea front, Gaza City. Tel: 972 7 823355. Fax: 972 7 860056. Yasser Arafat stayed here when he arrived on 1 July 1994. Most expensive telephone calls per minute. Rooms \$ 100 (pounds 63); suite, \$ 95 (pounds 60) full board, \$ 65 (pounds 40) double, \$ 55 (pounds 34) single.

Marna House: A private villa in a quiet residential street away from the sea. Tel 972 7 823322. Fax: 972 7 822624. This is the usual choice of journalists and visiting academics. Rooms \$ 70 (pounds 44); double \$ 60 (pounds 37) single.

Amal Hotel: Omar Al Mokhtar St. Tel: 972 7 861832. Fax: 972 7 841317. Cheapest and friendliest hotel. Rooms from \$ 20 (pounds 12.50).

If you want to stay in the south of the strip, a hotel has opened in Khan Yunis in the extraordinary Hope City complex run by Yasser Arafat's brother, Dr Fathi Arafat. It is a giant community centre catering for the disabled and the able-bodied - who Dr Fathi says are all disabled in some way too. Rooms from \$ 40 (pounds 25). (Nobody uses addresses in the Gaza strip. Everybody knows everybody and where everything is).

VISAS:

Most nationalities, including the British, do not need a visa to visit Israel. You can ask the Israelis not to stamp your passport on arrival at Ben Gurion airport. They will give you a separate card to keep which will be stamped on

Travel: Eyeball to eyeball along the Gaza strip; Penny Young decided to get off the beaten track, taking her bikepast the watchtowers and concrete walls. She fo....

entering Israel and Gaza and on leaving Israel. Be prepared for long questioning when you come to leave the country if you have visited the Palestinians.

BOOKS:

The 'Lonely Planet Guide to Israel' includes a section on the Palestinian Territories. The best book on the history and politics of Gaza is the very readable 'Life at the Crossroads' by Gerald Butt. You can pick up a copy at the Marna House Hotel in Gaza City for \$ 15 (pounds 9.30). Real Middle East enthusiasts would be advised to drop in to the Al Hoda bookshop in Charing Cross Road.

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TATTERSALLS BREEZE-UP: AUCTION GAINING IN IMPORTANCE SETS ITSELF SOME STERN TARGETS

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Body

LAST year's Tattersalls Breeze-Up Sale produced records for aggregate, average and median. The 100,000gns mark was broken for the first time by a 125,000gns Sadler's Wells filly. And 20 of the 154 lots reported as sold made at least 50,000gns.

There is no guarantee that such figures will be toppled, especially in the current climate. But trade at Doncaster's breeze-up auctions showed that buyers from most corners of Europe are keen to invest, and at this point virtually all countries in Europe are accessible to horses from Britain in some way.

In addition, the 2001 catalogue on paper is the best assembled for a breeze-up sale in Europe. Certainly there are quite a number of lots well capable of getting near-or beyond-six figures if they have the conformation and action to match their pedigrees. Of the 220 lots in the catalogue, 21 are siblings to stakes winners, 11 are out of stakes winners and an additional four can claim both distinctions. They make up 16.4 per cent of the catalogue. Many of the most fashionable sires in Europe and North America are represented.

The sale does not quite have the strength in depth-or the material for exalted prices-of Fasig-Tipton Florida in February (average \$ 215,962, around pounds 155,000), Barretts California in March (average \$ 195,218, around pounds 140,000) or Keeneland in April. But it is moving upwards, as the statistics on page 20 illustrate.

What it needs now is an outstanding graduate. There have been some very good ones, headed last year by German two-year-old Group 2 winner Tagshira, and a host of very smart performers including the last two winners of the Lincoln. But a real top-notch would take this sale to a higher plane.

In common with most breeze-up auctions, this sale is heavily biased towards colts. Of the 220 lots, 163 (74.1%) are male and just 57 (25.9%) are ***female***.

Naturally, the focus is to a large extent on horses who are expected to race in the next few months. But Tattersalls does not have the same emphasis on precocious sorts as Doncaster. Even so, siblings to, or offspring of, smart two-year-olds are likely to be popular, and there are quite a few chances to pick up such an individual.

For example, lot 66 is an Irish River brother to last year's dual Listed winner Atmospheric, and the dam was also a US stakes winner. Lot 152 is a Fraam brother to Pattern-placed Dayglow Dancer, who made a successful reappearance at Doncaster last month. Lot 80 is a Desert King half-brother to last year's Listed-placed Esyoueffcee out of a half-sister to top-class miler All At Sea. Lot 205 is a Revoque half -brother to Group 3-placed Lucayan

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Chief. And lot 44 is a Charnwood Forest brother to a Japanese two-year-old winner from a tough and successful family.

Stepping back a few years, there are several other siblings to good two-year-olds. The Groom Is Red (by Runaway Groom), winner of the 1998 Grade 1 Champagne Stakes, shares his dam with a colt by champion Canadian

three-year-old Peaks And Valleys. This is the family of Blushing Groom, from whose male line The Groom Is Red and lot 197 also spring.

OTHERS with the pedigree to make two-year-olds are lot 151, a Revoque half-brother to high-class 1992 juvenile Canaska Star; lot 212, an Indian Ridge half-sister to Tarwiya, who was a Group 3 winner and second in the Moyglare Stud Stakes; lot 213, a Primo Dominie half-sister to Pattern-placed pair Power Lake and Lake Pleasant; and lot 160, a Vettori half-sister to 1999 Flying Childers Stakes third Magic Of Love.

Some dams who were very smart at two are represented, notably Group 1-placed Inishdalla and Run To Jenny. Inishdalla, whose dam and grand-dam were also high class, has a filly by Royal Academy (184), while Run To Jenny—who was also third in the Irish 1,000 Guineas—has a **Hamas** colt (130). Nervous Baba, who won the Grade 2 Adirondack Stakes and was third in the Grade 1 Spinaway Stakes at two, has a filly by Deerhound, best known as the sire of US champion two-year-old filly Countess Diana (70). Nervous Baba has bred two smart colts to Deerhound's sire Danzig.

The fast Snipe Hall, who was a Listed winner at two and is a half-sister to the dam of Son Pardo and Atrah, has a Royal Applause colt bred to be both speedy and precocious (203). The same can be said of lot 17, a

Red Ransom filly who is the first foal of Molecomb Stakes third Baize.

Red Ransom, and several of the other sires mentioned above, are among many US stallions with offspring in this sale. In fact, 52 lots—or 23.6 per cent of the sale—were conceived in the US, and most of them were purchased at American yearling sales.

One of the major vendors here over the past few years has been US outfit Kirkwood Stables, which has eight lots in the catalogue, all by sires of European interest and most from families with European links. For example, Kirkwood's colt by Spinning World (145) is out of Spenderella, a winner in France and a sister or half-sister to three very smart performers, and its colt by Silver Hawk (167) is closely related to smart Bahamian Sunshine out of a half-sister to Caracolero and to the dam of Secreto and Istabraque. A Benny The Dip filly (183) is out of a sister to Mujadil and half-sister to Fruits Of Love, and she is joined by a Miswaki filly (144). And there are colts by Rumpold's sire Mister Baileys (123) and Royal Academy (196); the latter is a half-brother to Grade 2 scorer Southern Rhythm.

Irish-based Bansha House, Knockanglass, Maddenstown Lodge, Mocklershill and Suirview Stables, plus Milltown Stud, are among others with more than one US-conceived lot in their consignments. In Britain, Malcolm Bastard, the Oaks Farm Stables of Mark Dwyer, and Trickle-down Stud have a significant US presence in their teams.

AMERICAN-BASED sires with at least three lots in the sale are Diesis, Distant View, Royal Academy and Sandpit. The last-named was bred in Brazil and was third in the Dubai World Cup on dirt on his only foray from the American continent, but, as a top-class turf performer by St Leger runner-up Baynour out of a French-bred mare, it is no surprise some of his progeny have made it across the Atlantic. Among them are lot 170, a half-brother to good performers in Italy and Brazil, and lot 149, a filly whose dam won five times in Britain and is out of smart Rocket Alert.

Also with Brazilian connections is lot 34, a Gulch colt whose US-bred dam won a Group 2 race in Brazil even though she is a sister to Italian Group 2 winner Lonely Bird.

TATTERSALLS BREEZE-UP: AUCTION GAINING IN IMPORTANCE SETS ITSELF SOME STERN TARGETS

Diesis, besides the filly mentioned above, has a son of Listed winner Cask from a fast family (16). And Distant View's team features a half-brother to eight winners, including an US stakes scorer (101), and a filly who shares her grand -dam with Pouliches heroine Ta Rib (42).

Kingmambo (31) and Thunder Gulch (27), both at the height of their popularity, have colts from decent US families. French Deputy, making a name for himself with stakes winners in Japan and Britain (Freefourracing) besides his native US, has a colt out of a half-sister to the dam of top-class two-year-old Pharaoh's Delight (58). Rahy has a colt out of a half-sister to promising US sire Belong To Me (32).

Known Fact's two colts, lots 154 and 172, are half-brothers to US stakes winners, and the latter is also a half-brother to Derby Italiano runner-up Pier Damiani out of a daughter of influential Sparkalark. Irish River contributes a colt (155) out of a half-sister to Arkadian Hero from the exceptional US family of Hennessy, himself represented in the sale. And Cryptoclearance is sire of a half-brother to Tarator (Prix Hubert de Chaudenay-Gr2), lot 14.

Mt Livermore's filly is a grand-daughter of highly influential Fabuleux Jane and is thus bred along similar lines to Arazi and Noverre (69). She has broodmare potential, as does lot 148, a Red Ransom filly out of a Listed-placed half-sister to Shady Heights.

Closer to home, other fillies with high-class pedigrees include lot 156, a Grand Lodge sister to a winner out of a daughter of Plencia, dam of Pawneese and third dam of Peintre Celebre, and lot 157, a Danehill filly out of a half -sister to Arcangues and to the dam of Cape Verdi. Spectrum's team of five includes a filly whose third dam is fine mare Le Melody (159), while Entrepreneur is sire of a filly out of a half-sister to Prix de l'Abbaye winner Kistena from the aforementioned family of Fruits Of Love (186). Among Mark Of Esteem's second crop is a daughter of high-class Blessed Event, whose good son Sacramento is from the same Shirley Heights sire line.

Perhaps most eye- catching, however, is the sole lot in the sale by Sadler's Wells, sire of the filly who set the Tattersalls Breeze-Up record of 125,000gns last spring. This year's lot 189 is out of an unraced half-sister to three Pattern winners by Sadler's Wells, led by In The Wings, and this is also the family of Infamy and High-Rise. This one went through the Tattersalls ring for 'just' 33,000gns last October.

Several other lots are particularly closely related to good winners. Lot 199 is a Selkirk brother to dual Listed winner and Nassau Stakes runner-up Entice. Lot 37 is a half-brother by Desert Style to Group 2 King's Stand Stakes winner Mitcham, who is from the same sire line. Lot 200, from the first crop of Danehill's son Desert King, shares his dam with Danehill's smart son Risk Material. The same sire is responsible for a June-foaled colt (137) out of Tea House, whose Danehill daughter Danish won the Grade 1 Queen Elizabeth II Challenge Cup. Tea House has produced two other smart performers by Danzig stallions, and she is also dam of high-class hurdler and chaser Sybillin.

SEVERAL other lots are siblings to smart jumpers. Wolfhound has a grand -daughter of dual Oaks winner Fair Salinia, but this filly's several smart siblings include the hurdler Nomadic (5). There are half-brothers to Triumph Hurdle winner Duke Of Monmouth (the aforementioned 27, by Thunder Gulch) and Supreme Novices' Hurdle winner Indefence (56, by Woodborough), and a Danehill half-brother to Group 3 winner Ready To Dance and to the dam of good chaser Torduff Express (168).

These are from decent Flat families, as is lot 57, a Singspiel half-brother to a Listed-placed winner out of a half-sister to Scenic and to the dam of Endless Summer, with Where You Lead as third dam. Lot 136, a Be My Guest colt, is from the same family.

Alhaarth has a half-brother to German Group 2 winner Princess Nana (74) and a colt bred on similar lines to Brief Truce (121). And fellow first-season sires Danehill Dancer and Entrepreneur have respectively a son of dual Grade 1 scorer Ack's Secret (102), and the first (filly) foal of a very close relative of recent Grade 3 winner Make No Mistake (68).

Lot 8, conceived when his sire Opening Verse was in the US, is a half-brother to a smart filly out of a French Listed winner from a strong European family. Top French sire Linamix has a grandson of six-time Grade 1 winner Bold 'N

TATTERSALLS BREEZE-UP: AUCTION GAINING IN IMPORTANCE SETS ITSELF SOME STERN TARGETS

Determined (185). A half-brother to Oaks d'Italia second Attitre represents Hector Protector (188). And lot 39, a colt by Polish Precedent, is the first foal of Listed-placed Charlotte Corday and shares his grand-dam-Nassau winner Dancing Rocks-with Superstar Leo.

Zafonic's pair comprises a half-brother to the dam of Miletrian out of a sister to Shirley Heights (131) and a son of smart Dangerous Diva (164). Finally, Spectrum's sons include the first foal of a winning sister to Group 1 winner Grape Tree Road from a prolific stakes-producing family (45) and a grandson of Sally Brown (52).

FACTFILE

Location: Park Paddocks, Newmarket, April 18-19

Schedule: For both days, breezing starts at 9.30am on Rowley Mile and selling starts at 5.45pm

Instigated: 1989

Record price: 125,000gns in 2000 for a Sadler's Wells-Anima filly

High-class graduates: 2000 sale: Tagshira (Maurice Lacroix Trophy-Gr2: 40,000gns from Bansha House Stables to Pro-Am), Field Spurt (Momiji S-Listed: 30,000gns from Jamie Railton to Koichiro Hayata), Inzar's Best (Kronimus-Rennen -Listed: 22,000gns from Knockgraffon Stables to Pro-Am). Also Shamrock City (Fairway Stakes-Listed), Nimello, John Ferneley (both Lincoln Handicap), Zanay (Winter Derby-Listed), Cauchemer de Chat (Copa d'Oro Di Milano-Listed)

Useful websites: tattersalls.com jamierailton.com banshahousestables.com colinhuggan.com

UPDATES

1, 2, 103, 104 sold non-VAT. 197 sold with 25% VAT. 102 qualified for owners' premiums in France

7 Half-brother Caboto winner twice, pounds 10,625, placed x4.

10 Half-brother Focused Attraction winner of 2 races,

pounds 9,099, and placed x3.

19 Under 2nd dam, Septette winner, pounds 4,554.

48 Grand-dam Indian Queen dam of 3 winners inc. Pride

Of India (4g Ezzoud), winner twice.

68 Under 2nd dam, Make No Mistake won Grade 3 Bougainvillea Handicap, Hialeah.

109 Half-brother Diamond Max winner of 3 races, pounds 10,460,

and placed x4.

116 Grand-dam Arminda dam of 6 winners inc. Marshall

Bond.

152 Brother Dayglow Dancer winner of 2 races, pounds 30,667.

157 Half-brother Ambitious winner and placed, both starts.

158 Half-brother Spinetail Rufous placed x3.

190 Half-brother Ivan Douglas winner of 6 races, pounds 33,277,

TATTERSALLS BREEZE-UP: AUCTION GAINING IN IMPORTANCE SETS ITSELF SOME STERN TARGETS

placed 11 times.

218 Eligible for Goffs pounds 100,000 Challenge Stakes.

Graphic

Atmospheric, shown winning last year's Listed Woodcote Stakes, is a full -brother to lot 66

Load-Date: April 12, 2001

End of Document

**Fundamentalists without a common cause;
HAZY OUTLINES OF AN ISLAMIST INTERNATIONAL**

Guardian Weekly

October 25, 1998

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Section: Supplement; LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE; Pg. 2

Length: 2011 words

Byline: BY OLIVIER ROY; Olivier Roy is director of research at the Centre nationale de la recherche scientifique, Paris, Translated by Barry Smerin

Highlight: On the fringe of the United Nations General Assembly, representatives of the United States and Russia have been meeting those of Afghanistan's six neighbours to discuss the crisis caused by the Taliban offensive, and the massacres of Iranian diplomats and Afghan Shi'ites in Mazar-i-Sharif. With Iranian troops massing on the border, joint manoeuvres by the Russians and Tajiks, and the rumoured deployment of Russian soldiers in Uzbekistan, a regional war looms.

Body

THE West first felt the blast of Islamist radicalism in 1983, when hundreds of French paratroopers and US marines died in the Beirut barracks bombing. Iran raged against America, the "Great Satan". Meanwhile the Soviet Union, Ronald Reagan's "evil empire", was raining bombs on Muslim Afghanistan, with the apparent connivance of radical Islamists. Washington conceived a plan to make Moscow pay the maximum price for its occupation of Afghanistan while turning Islamic radicalism against the communists and, as a spin-off, against the Iranian Shia. The idea was to encourage a specifically Sunni radicalism aiming at full application of the *sharia* but avoiding any hint of Islamic "revolution". This suited Saudi Arabia perfectly, since it was anxious to strengthen its Islamic credentials in opposition to Iran. As for the Pakistani intelligence services, they had (and still have) the wider aim of playing the Sunni Islamist card to gain control of Afghanistan and achieve a breakthrough in Central Asia n1.

The operation was mounted jointly by the CIA, the director of the Saudi Intelligence Department, Prince Turki bin Feisal (who is still in office), and Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence Directorate (ISI). However, only the Pakistanis were prepared to put men on the ground. The CIA had got its fingers badly burnt in Vietnam and Laos, and the Saudis were used to paying others to do any work, from national defence to driving their expensive limousines. So the job was given to the Arab Muslim Brothers and the Pakistani Islamist Party, Jamaat-i Islami, from which General Zia ul Haq, Pakistan's head of state from 1977-88, drew many of his advisers.

Starting in late 1984, thousands of the Middle East's most militant Islamist activists made their way to Afghanistan. Their recruitment was coordinated by Osama bin Laden, a rich Saudi Arabian. In Peshawar they were taken in hand by the Mektub ul Khedamat, an office led by Abdallah Azzam, a Jordanian Muslim Brother of Palestinian origin who was assassinated in September 1989 in mysterious circumstances. Most of these volunteers, subsequently known as "Afghans", were members of opposition groups from all over the Middle East. The only non-dissidents among them were the Sudanese, who had been very active in Islamic welfare organisations. None of them, of course, were Shi'ites n2. Most were sent to the Hezb-i-Islami camps of Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, but some were assigned to local commanders such as Jellaluddin Haqqani, today a staunch supporter of the Taliban.

Fundamentalists without a common cause; HAZY OUTLINES OF AN ISLAMIST INTERNATIONAL

The situation changed radically with the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan (February 1989), the Gulf war (1990-91) and the fall of the Soviet Union (1991). The "Afghans" ceased to be of any use to Washington. Turning against the United States, they accused it of waging war on the Muslim world. Pakistan abandoned its protege Hekmatyar, who had incurred the wrath of Saudi Arabia by supporting Saddam Hussein. In August 1994 it switched its support to the Taliban, who were just as Islamist but more conservative. Washington indulged the Taliban from 1994-96 n3, but the situation changed once again when they gave refuge to Bin Laden, got involved in poppy cultivation and stepped up the repression of women. The State Department, in the person of Madeleine Albright, clearly distanced itself from them in the autumn of 1997.

But the camps that had been set up in Afghan tribal areas to train anti-Soviet mujahedin were never closed down. The international networks have continued to recruit for one jihad after another: an Islamic state in Afghanistan, Yemen up to 1994, Kashmir, Bosnia, and now the US itself. A two-way traffic developed. While hunted militants took refuge in the camps, the fighters trained there returned to their home countries and are now to be found in all the most militant movements. These movements, of course, have histories of their own and are not simply creations of the "Afghans". A possible exception is Algeria, where the founding leaders of the GIA (Armed Islamic Group), Tayyeb al-Afghani (killed in November 1992), Jaffar al-Afghani (killed in March 1994) and Sherif Gousmi (killed in September 1994), were all Afghan returnees. They were also to be found in the Islamic Salvation Front (FSI) with figures such as Said Mekhloufi, Kamareddin Kherbane and Abdallah Anas (real name Boudjema Bunnua, who arrived in Afghanistan in 1984 and married Abdallah Azzam's daughter).

On the Egyptian front, Muhammad al-Islambuli, brother of President Anwar Sadat's assassin, has been living in Afghanistan for 10 years or so. Fuad Qassim and Ahmad Taha, the leaders of the Egyptian Islamist group Gamaat Islamiyya, are both former "Afghans", as is Ayman al-Zawahiri, leader of the Egyptian Jihad, who co-signs Bin Laden's communiqués. The Kashmiri movement Harakat al Ansar has its training camp in the Afghan province of Khost. This camp was the main target of the American bombing raid on August 21.

Nevertheless many Afghan returnees have difficulty in finding a place in current struggles. Uprooted, they tend to gravitate between Peshawar and, surprisingly, New Jersey, the latest Muslim "ghetto". Investigation of the explosion that almost destroyed New York's World Trade Centre in February 1993 led to a strange band of activists. The main suspect, the Egyptian Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman, had spent time in Peshawar, and both his sons fought in Afghanistan, where they are still to be found on the side of the Taliban. The sheikh, who is known to have approved the assassination of President Sadat, is one of the founders of the radical Egyptian Islamist movement Gamaat Islamiyya. Despite this, he was given a visa by the American consulate in Khartoum in May 1990 and got a green card on arrival in New Jersey. The other suspects, Ramzi Yousef, a Pakistani brought up in Kuwait, Muhammad Salameh and Ahmad Ajaj (both Palestinians) had also spent time in the Afghan camps.

Most of the attacks on Western interests can be traced to a network of radical Sunni movements based in the Pakistan-Afghanistan borderlands. What is striking about these new movements, of which the Taliban are the prototype, is the contrast between their political radicalism and their ideological conservatism. It is this which distinguishes them from large Islamist movements such as Khomeinism. The mudslinging of the Western media should not blind us to the fact that the Taliban arouse a sympathetic response in a sector of Muslim public opinion n4. Their sole point of reference is the *sharia*, and their outlook is uncompromisingly conservative and profoundly Sunni in character. The social content of the Islamic revolution is foreign to them.

Against this background, Bin Laden does not appear as the "mastermind" behind radical Islamist movements throughout the world. He should rather be seen as a trainer of militants who subsequently choose their own fields of action or mount spectacular symbolic operations within the framework of his organisation Al Qaida. These militants are connected by networks of personal relations and supported, in Pakistan, by a group of parties that have been in existence for a long time and include the traditionalist, conservative Jamiat Ulema-i Islami, which, like the Afghan Taliban, follows the teachings of the Deoband School n5, and the Islamist movement Jamaat-i-Islami. Both of these organisations have sprouted more violent splinter groups.

In the first case, the Sipah-i-Saheban (Army of the Companions of the Prophet), whose mission is war against the Shi'ites. In the second case, the Dawat-ul-Irshad, set up in 1987, which is very active in Kashmir. Private

madrasas, such as the one in Akora Khattak, near Peshawar, which is run by Pakistani Senator Sami ul Haq (a member of Jamiat Ulema-i-Islami), have sent thousands of students to Afghanistan to join the ranks of the Taliban.

While the new movements brandish the traditional banner of "anti-imperialism", the American flag is now being burnt in the name of the *sharia*. What is "radical" about these movements is their choice of violence and their visceral hatred of "Crusaders", Jews and Shi'ites, a hatred fed by all the frustrations of the past 10 years (notably the Gulf war and Washington's indulgence of Binyamin Netanyahu). The tone is exemplified by Bin Laden and Al-Zawahiri's announcement, earlier this year, of the creation of a World Islamic Front for Jihad against Jews and Crusaders.

The Shi'ites are regarded as heretics n6. The exacerbation of inter-communal strife in Pakistan and the blockade of Shi'ite areas by the Taliban in Afghanistan are symptomatic. This is a considerable setback for Iran, which posed throughout the 1980s as the leader of a world Islamic revolution transcending the Sunni-Shia divide. The murder of Iranian diplomats by the Taliban and the assassination of Iranian cadets and diplomats in Pakistan last winter show that Iran is now as much of target as America. Tehran did not join the Arab League in protesting against the American bomb attacks on Afghanistan and Sudan, and is now on the verge of war with the Taliban.

The new situation is also a setback for the US and Saudi Arabia. The Saudi model of alliance between conservative Islamic fundamentalism and the West has failed. The problem for Washington is that it has no alternative political strategy *vis-a-vis* the Muslim world. On the Saudi side, the double talk of Prince Turki, a convinced pro-American who has always supported the radical Sunni movements and was still with the Taliban in the spring of this year, is reaching its limits n7. Riyadh is spending large sums of money to fund Islamist networks that actually feel nothing but contempt for the emirs and their petrodollars and think the Islamic State of Saudi Arabia would be even more Islamic without the Saud dynasty.

In Pakistan, however, the radical Sunni movements enjoy solid support within the state apparatus. They are an integral part of the country's regional strategy of guerrilla warfare in Kashmir, control of Afghanistan, and Islamic agitation in Central Asia. The question for the Americans is whether Pakistan itself has become a rogue state, and a nuclear one to boot. It would appear that the US was fighting the wrong enemy in 1995 when it introduced sanctions against Iran through the D'Amato bill, just as Tehran was ceasing to be involved in anti-Western violence. Given the weakness of the Executive and the incompetence of Congress in matters of foreign policy, the US is drifting like a ship without a captain, loosing Tomahawk cruise missiles at random n8.

The Sunni fundamentalist movements are capable of spectacular attacks and portray themselves as the vanguard of struggle against the US. But in fact they are largely disconnected from the real strategic issues of the Muslim world (except in Pakistan and Afghanistan). Their distinctive feature is their internationalism and lack of territorial base. Their activists wander from jihad to jihad, generally on the fringes of the Middle East (Afghanistan, Kashmir, Bosnia). They are indifferent to their own nationalities.

They are thus disconnected not only from existing states (especially Iran), but also from the large Islamist movements, which have disowned their offspring. The whole of the FIS, for example, including the tendency led by Anas, has condemned the GIA. The large Islamist movements, such as the Muslim Brotherhood, the FIS, Refah in Turkey and Hamas in Palestine, place their struggles in a national framework and claim full recognition as protagonists in the political process. This approach, which is shared by Iran, might appropriately be described as Islamic nationalism. It is a far cry from the imaginary *umma* which Bin Laden and his associates invoke. These are more like the urban guerrillas of Sunni fundamentalism which, without a genuine political project, recruit on the social and geographical fringes of the Middle East, where tensions are exacerbated by the political deadlock n9.

Load-Date: November 3, 1998

The year in pictures

The Times (London)

December 28, 2001, Friday

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Section: Features

Length: 2637 words

Body

JANUARY

January 4 Harold Shipman, a GP, is convicted of the murder of 15 people. He is believed to be responsible for up to 265 deaths.

8 The High Court rules that the Bulger killers, Jon Venables and Robert Thompson, should receive new identities on release.

14 Earthquake in El Salvador. At least 381 people are killed, with a further 360 people missing.

20 George W. Bush is sworn in as the 43rd President of the United States of America.

24 Peter Mandelson resigns from the Cabinet after he is implicated in the Hinduja brothers passport affair.

26 India's biggest earthquake for half a century, reaching 7.9 on the Richter scale, strikes in Gujarat. Twenty thousand people are feared dead.

'It felt like an enforced six-hour stopover at a second-rate German airport' Martin Amis on the Dome

'The BBC is hideously white' Greg Dyke Director-General 'But nothing is that funny' George Melly Jazz entertainer, after peering closely at Mick Jagger, who had told him that his wrinkles were the result of laughter, not age

'I think the Church of England is finished, dead. I think it will be disestablished and probably join forces with the free churches and the Methodists' Terry Waite

FEBRUARY

February 6 Roy Whiting is charged with the murder of Sarah Payne, a schoolgirl whose body was found in a shallow grave near Pulborough, Sussex, in July 2000.

9 The body of Lucie Blackman, the missing British bar hostess, is found in a cave on a Japanese beach.

16 The US and Britain launch air raids against military targets in Baghdad.

21 The first case of foot-and-mouth disease for 20 years is discovered. All exports of meat and dairy products from the UK are banned.

25 Liverpool win the Worthington Cup, beating Birmingham City 5-4.

The year in pictures

28 The Selby rail crash. A GNER express train travelling from Newcastle to London hits a Land Rover which had crashed on to a railway line. The train leaves the tracks and hits a freight train travelling in the opposite direction. Ten people are confirmed dead, and 76 people are injured. 'I'm so happy to see my friends, but at the same time I don't really feel like a party tonight' Ellen MacArthur's first words after finishing the Vendee Globe yacht race

'If the race were to start again tomorrow, I would bet your bottom dollar I'd be there on the starting line' Ellen MacArthur the day she came home

'By 2600 the world population would be standing shoulder to shoulder and the electricity consumed would make the Earth glow red-hot' Professor Stephen Hawking on what will happen if the population continues to increase at its present rate

MARCH

March 4 France confirms the discovery of its first case of foot-and-mouth, found in sheep imported from the UK.

5 Two people are killed and 13 people are injured in a high school shooting in San Diego.

5 The collapse of a bridge kills 76 people on the River Douro in Portugal.

17 England beats Sri Lanka in Colombo to take the Test series 2-1.

29 Princess Margaret suffers her third stroke.

31 The body of Stuart Lubbock is found in the swimming pool of Michael Barrymore, TV host.

'British people are ignorant of good food' Raymond Blanc Chef

'A good fishfinger butty is hard to beat' Jamie Oliver Chef

'It's like cracking the common cold' Tony Blair on the foot-and-mouth epidemic

APRIL

April 1 A US spy plane collides with a Chinese fighter aircraft and is forced to land on an island in the South China Sea, where the crew are arrested by officials.

2 The general election is postponed in the wake of the foot-and-mouth outbreak.

6 A Japanese millionaire, Joji Obara, is charged with the murder of Lucie Blackman.

7 Red Marauder wins the Grand National. Only four of the 40 runners complete the course.

7 The full transcript of the conversation between News of the World journalists and Sophie, Countess of Wessex, is published, containing criticisms of various members of the Royal Family and the Cabinet.

28 The world's first space tourist, Dennis Tito, goes into space. 'Visitors will realise Fawlty Towers was really a documentary' Lonely Planet Travel Guide on British hotels'

With his death goes the truth. I don't know that he'd ever talk about it, but I'm not for getting rid of the evidence' Kathy Wilburn who lost two grandchildren in the Oklahoma City bomb, on why Timothy McVeigh should not be executed on May 16

'We will win this fight as long as farmers do not intentionally infect their cattle, which we know they are doing' Unnamed army officer on the foot-and mouth outbreak

MAY

The year in pictures

May 6 Ronnie Biggs, the great train robber, returns to Britain from Brazil and is arrested.

24 Twenty five Israeli wedding guests die in Jerusalem after the floor collapses on the third floor of a building during a wedding reception.

25 A second session of the TV show Big Brother begins as ten new contestants enter the house.

30 The perjury trial of Lord Archer of Weston-super-Mare begins.

12 Liverpool win the FA Cup, beating Arsenal 2-1.

16 Liverpool win the Uefa Cup final 5-4 against Alaves.

'What's a poor girl to do when she's against globalisation and needs a new frock?' Lisa Johnston May Day protestor

'My last wish is to walk into a Margate pub and buy a pint of bitter' Ronnie Biggs

'I can set John Prescott up with a trainer and i will guarantee he will become British champion within five fights' Frank Malone Co-Manager of Lennix Lewis 'How not to do my make-up' Bianca Jagger when asked what she learnt from Andy Warhol

JUNE

June 8 Labour wins the general election with a majority of 167.

8 William Hague resigns as leader of the Conservative Party.

8 A reshuffle of the Cabinet is announced.

11 Timothy McVeigh, the Oklahoma bomber, is executed.

26 Four male youths are charged with the murder of Damilola Taylor in South London.

30 Coach drivers commence their strike in Spain, leaving thousands of holidaymakers stranded.

30 The British Lions win the opening Test against Australia in Brisbane, 29 13.

'What were you doing on September 9, 1986? Could it be possible that you were having dinner with me here - will you do that?' Words alleged by the prosecution to have been spoken by Lord Archer to persuade a friend to give him an alibi

'There was an accidental burst of fire from an automatic weapon' Nepalese royal family source on the Crown Prince's shooting of his father, mother and six relatives

'I put my hands up, saying, "There is no trouble here." Then an officer lifted his riot shield and smashed it in my face' Shahid Malik, a member of the Government's race relations watchdog, beaten and arrested trying to prevent a confrontation between Asians and police in Burnley, Lancashire

JULY

July 2 The trial of Slobodan Milosevic, former President of Yugoslavia, begins. He announces in court that he does not recognise the International War Crimes Tribunal and appoints no defence lawyers for himself.

2 Barry George is found guilty of the murder of Jill Dando, the BBC journalist who was shot dead on her doorstep in London, and is sentenced to life imprisonment.

The year in pictures

9 Goran Ivanisevic is the first wild card entry to win the Wimbledon tennis title, beating Pat Rafter 6-3, 3-6, 6-3, 2-6, 9-7.

15 A manhunt starts in the Northern Territory in Australia after Peter Falconio, 28, a British tourist, goes missing. It is feared that he has been shot dead but his girlfriend, Joanne Lees, escapes their attacker.

19 Lord Archer is sentenced to four years' imprisonment for bribing and forging his way to winning a Pounds 500,000 libel victory over the Daily Star newspaper.

20 Anti-capitalist protestor Carlos Giuliani is shot dead by police at the G8 Summit in Genoa.

'Probably the most comprehensive and difficult agreement in human history' New Zealand representative on adoption of the Kyoto protocol to tackle global warming'

I don't care now if I never win a match in my life again. This is it' Goran Ivanisevic after winning the Wimbledon men's final

'If you put the patient at the heart of medicine then Bristol would never have happened' Dr Stephen Bolsin who raised the alarm about baby deaths at Bristol Royal Infirmary

AUGUST August 2 A car bomb injures seven people in Ealing Broadway, West London. The Real IRA claim responsibility.

6 Jonathan Edwards wins the triple jump at the World Athletics Championships in Edmonton with a leap of 17.92 metres.

9 A **Hamas** suicide bomber kills 15 people at Sbarro restaurant in Jerusalem. More than 100 people are injured.

10 Neil and Christine Hamilton are arrested with one other man when rape allegations are made by a woman, who alleges that the three met her via an Internet chat room and then attacked her when they agreed to meet in Ilford, Essex.

16 Paul Burrell, former butler to Diana, Princess of Wales, is charged with three counts of theft after he was found with items taken from Kensington Palace.

28 Allegations against the Hamiltons by Nadine Milroy-Sloane are dropped.

'Nonsense on stilts' Christine Hamilton on the sexual assault allegations against her and her husband

'The most stupid, ill-educated and nasty woman can rubbish the nicest, kindest and most intelligent man and no one protests' Doris Lessing Novelist, on sexism by **women**

'All I wanted was to get out of Baltimore' Larry Adler Harmonica player, who died on August 7, on why he learnt to play the mouth organ

SEPTEMBER

September 1 England beat Germany 5-1 in a World Cup qualifier match in Munich.

11 The world's biggest terrorist attack: at 8.45am a hijacked American Airlines Boeing 767 crashes into the northern tower of the World Trade Centre in New York. Eighteen minutes later, a second plane, United Airlines flight 175, crashes into the southern tower. Both towers later collapse. A third plane, a Boeing 757, crashes into the Pentagon building, and a fourth crashes near Pittsburgh. Some 3,000 people are killed.

13 Iain Duncan Smith is elected leader of the Conservative Party.

15 Osama bin Laden is identified as the main suspect responsible for the World Trade Centre attack.

The year in pictures

18 Israeli troops are withdrawn from Palestinian-controlled areas after calls for an Arab-Israeli ceasefire.

26 A camera crew from Prince Edward's production company, Ardent, is found spying on Prince William as he begins his first term at St Andrews University.

'I'm traumatised for life. Someone needs to take responsibility for this. This was somebody's father, this was somebody's sister, somebody's mother. We should have seen this coming. I'm disgusted' Clemant Lewin who saw people jumping from as high as the 80th floors of the twin towers, including a man and a woman holding hands as they fell

'Today we must firmly declare that the Cold War is over. The world is at a new stage' Vladimir Putin, President of Russia, on the new world order

OCTOBER

October 4 A Russian passenger aircraft is hit by a ground-to-air missile and explodes, killing 77 people.

4 Michael Stone is found guilty in a second trial of murdering Lin and Megan Russell, who were bludgeoned to death on a country lane near Chillenden, Kent, in July 1996.

7 The US and UK air forces attack the Afghan cities of Kabul, Kandahar and Jalalabad to put pressure on the Afghan Government to hand over Osama bin Laden.

5 Robert Stevens, a British-born journalist, dies in Florida after being infected with anthrax. It is the first recorded case of pulmonary anthrax in the US since 1975.

17 The Israeli Minister for Tourism is assassinated.

25 Tracey Wright is convicted of the murder of Lauren Wright, aged 6, her stepdaughter, and is jailed for 15 years.

'It's now a very good day to get out anything we want to bury. Councillors' expenses, anyone?' Jo Moore, adviser to Stephen Byers, Secretary of State for Transport, Local Government and the Regions, in a memo sent an hour after the attacks on the World Trade Centre'

We have now witnessed an event in which the IRA has put a quantity of arms completely beyond use' General John de Chastelain confirming evidence of the start of arms decommissioning in Northern Ireland

'Londistan' Sobriquet given to the British capital by French Intelligence because so many suspected members of al-Qaeda, Osama bin Laden's organisation in Afghanistan, visit it

'The Americans must know there are thousands of young people who are as keen about death as Americans are about life' Sulaiman Abu Ghaith Spokesman for al Qaeda

'All my life I've sneered at the old farts who said the world is going to the dogs and at last I have realised, my God, they are right' Jan Morris Travel writer

'If you can't rely on the Swiss, who can you rely on?' Richard Sutton A passenger stranded when Swissair collapsed

NOVEMBER

November 11 British planespotters are arrested in Greece on spying charges.

12 An Airbus explodes over the Queens district of New York. All 260 passengers are killed and six others are reported missing on the ground.

13 Kabul falls to the Northern Alliance after the Taleban flee.

The year in pictures

18 The world premiere of the film Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone takes place in London.

21 Former pop star Jonathan King is convicted of sex offences against schoolboys.

25 American scientists announce that they have cloned a human embryo.

23 Francisco Montez is charged in France with the murder of a British schoolgirl, Caroline Dickinson, in Brittany in 1996.

29 Former Beatle George Harrison dies of cancer aged 58.

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The Times (London)

December 28, 2001, Friday

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Richard Cannon has been with The Times for three years. Most memorable assignment? "Climbing several cranes to photograph the London skyline." The result was the first double-page colour picture in the paper.

Chris Harris has been on the staff for 14 years. Most memorable assignment? "The release of Nelson Mandela, because of the man he is."

Richard Pohle has worked for the paper for three years. Most memorable assignment? "With the Taleban in Afghanistan, in South Africa for the anniversary of the Battle of Rorke's Drift and covering the Balkan conflict."

Paul Rogers has been with the paper since 1998. Most memorable assignment? "Being among the first journalists to be taken by the Taleban into Kandahar during the US bombings."

Simon Walker has been on the staff for seven years. Most memorable assignment? "Covering the South African elections in 1994 and being blown up and seriously injured."

The year in pictures

Peter Nicholls has been a staff photographer for six years. Most memorable assignment. "The shoot-out in Macedonia (page 6) and being in Kabul." You can buy 12 x 8 prints in colour or b/w of any of the pictures published in this section, priced Pounds 15 each, inc p&p. Please ring 020 7782 1457 to receive an order form. Please allow 14 days for delivery.

Correction

In para 9 of January: Although this quote was taken from a Daily Mail interview published on January 12, 2001, Terry Waite, in an unpublished letter, says he actually said "as I have known it" after "the Church of England".

Load-Date: November 26, 2002

End of Document

Letters to the Editor

The Daily Telegraph (Sydney, Australia)

October 20, 2001, Saturday

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Section: FEATURES; Pg. 20

Length: 2564 words

Body

Mere boys in a man's job

The tears again welled in my eyes when I heard that some of our servicemen/women aboard HMAS Sydney are as young as 17. My heart and prayers go out to all our Defence Force members and their families, but especially to the youngsters among them.

I joined the navy as a junior recruit and was sent to Vietnam (the first of three trips) at the ripe old age of 16 years and eight months. Apart from many medical problems, I still wake up screaming sometimes. There is the on-going battle with the beaureaucrats over my entitlements, but that's another story.

MATP

The United Nations recommends that the age for people to be sent into combat should not be less than 25 years of age. (Naturally, best not to go at all.)

I was never offered counselling at any time upon my return/s from Vietnam. The appropriate services must make appropriate care and counselling for those not physically wounded, as well as for those who are, available as soon as possible upon their return from this operation.

Get the systems in place now.

Peter S. Black, Bellevue Hill

A leading Hamas figure is killed in his home and his death is reported as a "targeted killing". In retaliation, Israel's Tourism Minister is killed and the terms "assassination" and "terrorism" are used to report his killing.

Civilians are killed in New York and Washington in "unspeakable acts of terrorism". In retaliation, civilians are killed in bombing raids on Afghanistan and they are simply referred to as "collateral damage".

Politicians, media reporters, fellow citizens, please stop and think. No matter what nat-

ionality, creed or political persuasion, there is only one race on Earth -- the human race. Each and every life is precious and surely deserves equal amounts of respect, concern and treatment.

Trish Burt, Leichhardt

Ian Barrett (Letters, October 15) is fearful of a resurgence of religious fundamentalism in America after the terrorist attacks.

Letters to the Editor

A fundamentalist, by definition, is someone who adheres to the five fundamental tenets of the Christian faith, as adopted by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the US in 1910. These are the miracles of Christ, the virgin birth, the atonement of Christ, the bodily resurrection of Christ and the divine inspiration of Scripture. So true fundamentalists follow the teachings of Christ, mainly unconditional love, forgiveness, honesty and so on. There is no room for violence or hatred.

Far from being something to fear, a return to fundamentalism is America's only hope in these dark days. The US was once a great Christian nation but has slid into moral decay;

I have no doubt that God used September 11 as a wake-up call to America.

Owen Carless, Ambarvale

Richly deserved

I am a leukemia patient in RPAH and I support the nurses' pay claim and strike wholeheartedly ("Nurses push pay deal cash with rallies," Daily Telegraph, October 19).

The nurses are clearly trying to reverse the current shortfall of 1800 full-time positions and to improve the quality of patient care.

With inflexible working hours, shift work, overtime and high demands on their professional and personal skills, nurses certainly deserve a pay rise.

In addition, a pay rise can help to retain nurses and to entice others back into the profession.

The vicious cycle of too few nurses working under unacceptable pressures and finally leaving the profession, creating even more pressure for those remaining, must be broken and reversed. A pay rise is the way to do this.

Hannah Middleton,

Camperdown

Good nurses are worth their weight in gold. Unfortunately we, as a society, reward them with platitudes and fool's gold. There is something wrong with a system that pays high-

ly trained and responsible people comparable wages with unskilled workers.

Gone are the Florence Nightingale days when dedication, self-sacrifice and service ruled. Commitment, conscientiousness and loyalty no longer pay the rent. Like it or not, we now live in a materialistic era where in other circles, words such as bonuses, commission, fringe benefits, over-award payments and perks are the norm.

But nurses are not the only ones affected. Other government service industries are in the same boat. Constantly we read of teacher shortages. And highly experienced police are exiting the service in droves in pursuit of more lucrative pickings elsewhere.

While the Government talks up the importance of nurses, it can't afford to give way to their demands. It knows that any ground they gain will put pressure on it from other service areas for a similar flow-on. But this may be the price we have to pay to maintain quality.

We have to ask ourselves: do we want highly trained and skilled nurses, or are we prepared to cobble together whatever we can in the short term to cover shortages? Are we prepared to add substance to the rhetoric about nursing?

Jim Stamell, Sylvania

Too much detail

Letters to the Editor

Experienced police officers who attended a horrific murder scene on March 1 are still undergoing counselling ("Horror that was too much for senior officers," Daily Telegraph, October 19).

Those police officers, and family members, are going through a horrendous time and my thoughts are with them. As this murder was so horrendous, why was it necessary for you to report all the details in your newspaper, which is a forum open to all members of the public?

Police and other emergency services personnel attend these scenes as part of their duties, and most of us are affected by what we see for a long time. Why then was it necessary to publish the details of this murder for people who are not exposed to this sort of thing to read?

There is enough tragedy and sadness in the world today without journalists and newspapers going to such lengths.

Lisa Everitt, Castle Hill

Let's hear it for real tea

Discerning shoppers -- and those who suffer from arthritic knees or gammy legs -- will have noticed that packeted tea has all but disappeared from supermarket shelves: true, those with good eyesight and flexible joints may still come across the odd packet lying forlornly in a cramped and semi-dark section of some hard-to-reach bottom shelf; indeed, teabags have been allowed to usurp the ample space once belonging to real tea.

Will the Australian tea-drinking public let itself be pushed, albeit reluctantly, by value-adding foreign multinationals into a nationwide adoption of teabags? Or will it stand up and "gag the bag"?

Henk Verhoeven,

Beacon Hill

MPs just want to have fun

I normally enjoy Dino Scatena's Opinion pieces, but his latest offering ("Preening pollied out of tune with reality," Daily Telegraph, October 19) is an over-reaction.

So what if the Treasurer indulges in a light-hearted moment? This election campaign needed it. It didn't strike me as a premeditated election ploy, more so as a radio stunt. If the man wants to sing ABBA songs or dance the macarena (both have had him put on the spot, and not his own choice), that's his prerogative.

The public enjoys seeing politicians going to sports matches, singing bad karaoke, dancing on prime-time TV. All of these remind us that buried deep inside every politician is a normal person who wants to have some fun just like the rest of us.

While I hear a moral outcry that these people run our country, and that there

is a responsibility behind it to main-

tain dignity, I think it's important that even the pollied remind us that we all need to have a laugh at our own expense sometimes.

Matt Leyshon, Sutherland

I wonder if political parties in the current election debate realise the vast number of votes they could pick up by reducing the tax burden on genuine self-funded retirees.

By genuine, I mean the people who, during their working lives, have saved where possible to ensure that they have

Letters to the Editor

a supporting income during their retirement.

I have achieved this goal -- I do not have free car registration, I do not have reduced local government rates, and I do not have reduced telephone charges. I am in effect not a burden on the taxpayers of Australia.

So why is it that after a 50-year working life, during which I saved to ensure a modest income for retirement, I am now asked to pay the Federal Government 28 per cent tax on my income?

Surely one of the main political parties should see a voter advantage in giving a little leeway to what must be hundreds of thousands of self-funded retiree voters. Or should I spend a few thousand of my hard-earned capital and join the \$10-a-month pensioners and get all my freebies?

Wake up, John Howard and Kim Beazley, and see where the votes you need could come from.

Ron Hill, Erina

Neale Vaughan (Letters, October 19) claims that the states are receiving four times as much funding from the Commonwealth because of the GST. This is quite untrue.

Total Commonwealth allocations to the states are about what they would have been under the old tax system. The GST was part of a package that abolished some taxes and reduced others. If we consider both federal and state governments, there would have been more to spend on public services if we had stuck with the previous tax structure.

Despite this, Labor is still flirting with GST rollback.

If it confines GST exemptions to caravan-park residents, charities and low-income people, this may be reasonable. But if exemptions are given to everybody, we will have again given away valuable revenue that could have been used to cut hospital waiting times, increase nurse-to-patient and teacher-

to-student ratios, and ensure that people without employment receive a proper income.

Roger Parker, Casula

Prime Minister John Howard's warning that we are No 4 on Osama bin Laden's hit list seems to be a case of his confusing his ambitions with our significance on the world stage.

It's also quite appalling behaviour in light of our already overstated exposure to terrorist attacks and confirms that there is not much that Mr Howard would not do to get re-elected.

Paul Stratos, Nicholls, ACT

As one of the "dumb rich" that Labor referred to in your article headed "Private education debate raises fees" (Daily Telegraph, October 18), apparently Labor believes that all students attending university under the full-fee-paying scheme barely passed their HSC and in turn were saved by the money of their Potts Point parents.

I am neither dumb (the HSC cut-off for my course was 96; I gained 93.6) nor rich (I work full-time in addition to undertaking full-time studies at university in order to pay the enormous fees), but I am angered by Labor's obvious disregard for those who do not abuse the system.

An attempt to score points should not be made at the expense of voters, particularly when the claim is ignorant and unnecessarily destructive.

I would remind Kim Beazley that while the issue may be insignificant to him, for the 2650 other Australian full-fee-paying students who have now been offered a second opportunity to take their chosen course it is an enormous deal.

Letters to the Editor

Perhaps Mr Beazley should also acknowledge that the extra \$8000 a year a full-fee student provides to the system is therefore increasingly necessary.

I only ask that Labor checks the facts before making such deluded statements.

Sarah Hickey, Pennant Hills

The Labor Party constantly snipes in derogatory and, it must be said, jealous and sneering attacks on the private-school system.

It is well documented that any number of ALP politicians have chosen to send their offspring to just such evil-ridden institutions.

If private schools are such degraded places of education, the ALP obviously is two-faced in its politics. More accurately, it practises the politics of envy.

Jim Watson, Winston Hills

In response to Kevin McCready (Letters, October 18), why would Natasha Stott Despoja debate Bob Brown?

Bob Brown is a single member of parliament and not the leader of a group of MPs in the federal parliament, while Natasha Stott Despoja is the leader of the third party in the parliament.

If he gets to debate her, every independent and single-issue senator will be lining up to do it.

Amy Bauder, Narara

E-talk

With all the turmoil, death and destruction in the world around us today, I find the youth of Sydney still caring and understanding. On Saturday, October 13, my 10-year-old son and I were at a McDonald's in the CBD when my handbag was taken. I would like to thank the two young teenage girls and Nathan who offered me their mobile phones to use. They sat and comforted my son. Thanks also to the elderly gentleman who offered me \$5 to get home and to the lovely lady from the country whose kind words of comfort and offer of money will not be forgotten. To all of you, my heartfelt thanks for your concern and understanding.

Sheila Enright, Seven Hills

I have seen Jonathan Shier's 15 seconds of infamy. He won't resign, so he must be sacked. If we can afford to pay for his retirement in the manner to which he has become accustomed, we can afford to fund the ABC properly. That means enough to go digital. Funding must come with no ties that bind

or strangle. The Tweedles Dum and Dee (aka

Liberal and Labor) want to go on taking turns at stacking the board. That's no way to run Our ABC -- that's what gave us Mr Shier. We must have oversight from a standing committee. The disaster that was Jonathan Shier must never be allowed to happen again.

Bill Fisher, North Plympton

In search

JACK HILTON and others

I am seeking information on the whereabouts of four friends who migrated from the UK in 1967. They arrived in Sydney about March 22, 1967, on the TS Flavia. Their names are Jack Hilton and Peter Collinson from Scunthorpe

Letters to the Editor

and Graham Bloomfield and Colin Payne from Birmingham, last known address Perth, WA, in 1968. Please call 0297719303.

Rod McDonald, Padstow

CHARLES and THOMAS EGAN

I am looking for descendants of my ancestors and their families, with a view to writing a family history. Charles Francis Egan married Elinor Donnellan on September 7, 1874; they settled in Inverell, NSW. Thomas Joseph Egan married Bridget Murray on June 1, 1871, in Ballarat, Victoria. They moved to Western Australia in 1900. Replies to John Braun, 366 Shellharbor Rd, Barrack Heights, NSW 2528.

GRACE JANE NEWMAN

Information sought on Grace Newman, daughter of Jane Beston (nee Worthington), born Bridgewater, Victoria, January 13, 1912. Living in Wollongong in 1973. Grace's last address was 2 Parkside Ave, Wollongong. Contact 0262541277 or e-mail jwilko@cyberone.com.au.

NICHOLLS FAMILY

I am compiling a history of the Nicholls family in Australia, from the arrival in Sydney in 1849 of James Nicholls and his wife, Ann Hart (Waters) Nicholls, until 2001. If your name is spelled as above, your help is vital. Call 0246213723 or write to Guye Nicholls, PO Box 3077R, Rosemeadow, NSW 2560.

If you have a reunion or are seeking information, send the details to In Search, Letters Editor, PO Box 2808, GPO Sydney, NSW 2001 or email us at letters@dailytelegraph.com.au. Include a contact name and phone number. Emails should not include attachments.

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Load-Date: October 19, 2001

Linked and dangerous: Terror Inc

Sunday Times (London)

September 23, 2001, Sunday

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Section: Features

Length: 2712 words

Byline: Nick Fielding

Body

Rebel groups became more powerful as they found ways to support each other

'Terrorists attack American targets more often than those of any other country. America's pre-eminent role in the world guarantees that this will continue to be the case and the threat of attacks creating massive casualties is growing.'

Those prophetic words from the National Commission on Terrorism, published only weeks before the devastating attacks on New York and the Pentagon, underline the fact that America's intelligence community at least was clearly aware of the possibility of an attack by fundamentalist terrorists on its most treasured institutions.

So why had they underestimated so terribly the deadly efficacy and scope of the Islamic fundamentalist terrorist groups?

Terrorism is nothing new but the end of the cold war and the dissolution of the Soviet bloc removed at a stroke many of the traditional enemies of the western democracies; communist-backed or sympathising terrorists such as the Red Brigades or Carlos the Jackal had nowhere to hide.

Nationalist terror groups such as Eta in Spain or the IRA in the United Kingdom persisted. But according to US State Department figures, the total number of terrorist attacks worldwide has been decreasing steadily since 1981. Of the 200 attacks aimed at Americans or American institutions last year, the vast majority -172 -occurred in Latin America (most were bombings of North American businesses).

There were only two attacks on American interests in the Middle East, four in Asia, six in Africa and seven in western Europe. The number of terrorist attacks on America itself was negligible.

However, the attacks, although small in number, have been growing in deadliness and intensity. First there was the 1983 attack on the US embassy and later the US marine barracks in Lebanon which killed 241 soldiers. Then followed attacks on the World Trade Center in 1993, on a US air base in Saudi Arabia in 1996, on American embassies in Dar es Salaam and Nairobi in 1998 and the attempted sinking of the USS Cole in Aden harbour in October last year. Other plots were foiled.

The reason for these increasingly regular and violent attacks was Islamic fundamentalist terrorism. These extreme groups (condemned by most peaceful Muslims) want to force America out of the Middle East and drive Israel into the sea. But where did they come from and how are they linked?

Linked and dangerous: Terror Inc

It was the overthrow of the shah of Iran by a radical Muslim movement in 1979 that set fundamentalist Islam on a collision course with America. The new government led by Ayatollah Khomeini determined to humiliate the "Great Satan", as they dubbed America; one of its first actions was to seize dozens of hostages in the American embassy in Tehran and hold them captive for almost a year.

In neighbouring Afghanistan the Russians invaded in support of a discredited pro-Soviet regime. As the war progressed and the CIA and MI6 poured in guns to humiliate their old Soviet foe, the principal benefactors were a growing band of Islamic fundamentalists.

To these two events can be traced many of the developments which have given us what we now call Islamic terrorism. In the 1980s Iran began to support liberation struggles across the world, sanctioning attacks on its opponents and issuing fatwas. Iran encouraged the formation of the Shi'ite Hezbollah in Lebanon, a group dedicated to attacking Israel and specialising in suicide attacks.

Iran was isolated by the West but continued to play an active and incendiary role in Middle Eastern politics while its agents killed opponents in Europe. But it was events in Afghanistan which internationalised the threat from Islamic terrorists. Willing recruits arrived to take part in the struggle, which they saw as a holy war or jihad, against the Soviet Union. An estimated 18,000 young men from the Arab diaspora turned up in Afghanistan to fight: Saudis, Egyptians and Algerians formed the greatest number. But they came from all over the world, including Chechnya, Lebanon, Sudan and the Philippines. These "Arab Afghans", as they became known, continued to flock to Afghanistan after the Russians withdrew in 1989. Then the Gulf war in 1991 polarised their attitudes to America.

Osama Bin Laden, the Saudi who became a hero when he fought against the Russians with the mujaheddin, was affronted by the presence of American troops on what he saw as the holy soil of Saudi Arabia. His wealth and charisma won his organisation Al-Qaeda a large following. While never seeking to control or limit the actions of his followers, he encouraged unstinting opposition to the United States, particularly to its presence in Saudi Arabia. The well armed and well trained fundamentalists now had a new enemy. They also had a new ideology. Somewhere between the austere Islam of the Wahhabis of Saudi Arabia and the equally ascetic form of Islam taught throughout the madrasahs (Koran schools) which proliferated in Afghanistan and Pakistan emerged an invigorated and brutally fundamental form of Islam.

This new form of Islam told its followers to ignore the "Kufr" (ungodly) states of the West, extolled the virtues of jihad and urged them to follow an ultra-strict way of life. Martyrdom in the cause of Islam guaranteed a place in heaven and enjoyment of the carnal pleasures of beautiful virgins. Women were restricted to the role of chattels and all forms of entertainment were forbidden. The word of the Koran was all that mattered. Above all there was to be no compromise with the decadent West, only its replacement with an Islamic state.

This, then, is the creed -but how do these fundamentalist groups interlink? What unites them is their vision of an Islamic future; unsurprisingly, the different groups meet in war zones where they can fight for the Islamic cause. War zones such as Kashmir, where Arabs in their thousands fight for Pakistan against India, became fundamentalist hotbeds.

Other fundamentalist fighters made their way to Bosnia or Chechnya where they developed fearsome reputations for their bloodlust and willingness to die for their cause. Chechen websites are full of accounts of Arabs who have died fighting the Russians. From Chechnya the Islamic warriors have spread throughout many former Soviet states, including Georgia, Daghestan, Azerbaijan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan's Ferghana Valley.

Others returned to their homes in the Philippines where, as the Abu Sayyaf group, they soon became notorious for kidnapping westerners. And, of course, hundreds of fighters returned to the Middle East where their arrival has had a devastating effect on domestic politics. In Egypt the Islamic Group and the Al-Jihad organisation have targeted western tourists: in November 1997 the Islamic Group killed 58 tourists at Luxor.

Other members of Al-Jihad and the Islamic Group, including several of Bin Laden's henchmen, remain at liberty. Some, including the blind cleric Umar Abd al-Rahman, who is now in an American prison, were involved in the 1993

Linked and dangerous: Terror Inc

bombing of the World Trade Center. Thousands of his supporters are incarcerated in Egyptian prisons. In Algeria, the Armed Islamic Group has carried out a campaign of bloody massacres, sometimes wiping out entire villages.

These groups and many more subscribe to the world outlook of the Al-Qaeda group, which also acts as a clearing house for planning outrages.

It is this loose structure, with militants from many different countries acting independently but ultimately united in a common outlook, which has been the secret of Al-Qaeda's success. Already it is beginning to emerge that Imad Mugnyiah, the Hezbollah founder from Lebanon, and Ayman al-Zawahri, an Egyptian who is one of Bin Laden's closest lieutenants within Al-Qaeda, although he is part of the Egyptian Islamic Jihad, may have played a central role in planning the American attacks.

Zawahri, for instance, appeared in a recent video alongside Bin Laden threatening retaliation against the United States for the detention of Rahman. Their violent acts often cause these men to be barred from returning to their own countries. But many move easily around the world using false documentation and a wide network of supporters which often communicates through radical mosques.

Many militants have passed through London which, because of our asylum rules, continues to be a gathering point for Muslim and Arab radicals. Traditionally the United Kingdom has taken a comparatively soft line on such people. London harbours dozens of terrorists who live openly despite having convictions or being sought by police in their own countries.

Yasser al-Siri, for example, who supplied key documents to the fundamentalists who killed Ahmed Shah Masood, the Afghan opposition leader, last week, lives openly in London despite being wanted for murder in Egypt.

The networks supporting these different fundamentalist groups are strong enough to sustain them anywhere in the world. As the American investigation has shown, many terrorists have been living for years in the West. People who knew those accused of bombing the World Trade Center have remarked on how normal and unassuming they were. They know how to operate undercover and have made few mistakes.

The brotherhood created by battling together in Chechnya, Bosnia, Kashmir or Afghanistan has forged strong bonds and informal networks impervious to penetration by intelligence agents. The alliances that exist between networks such as Al-Qaeda or Egyptian Islamic Jihad are those between old comrades-in-arms, people who fought together, often in the most terrible conditions.

At one time Bin Laden could be reached by satellite telephone, but now all contact is through trusted messengers. Having lived either under war conditions in Afghanistan or as international fugitives, the militants are not easy to track, changing their identity, appearance, even nationality, to throw investigators off the trail.

Central to all such terrorists, however, are the mosques. They are the bases for recruitment, particularly in the poorer rural areas in the Arab world. Often the only form of education available is religious and depends largely on the character of the local priest. For idealistic youth, the adventure of military training and a martyr's death is a powerful draw, particularly when the alternative is life as a farmer.

While some are recruited young and within their own societies, others are recruited in the mosques and student Islamic societies of the West. Clever, idealistic young men who take their religious studies seriously seem to see in the fundamentalist vision of the world a "pure" form of Islam. Many of them regard the dynastic regimes in the Gulf as corrupt. Hundreds are believed to have been recruited in Britain: many first made contact with Al-Qaeda through organisations such as Al-Muhajiroun, which makes no secret of its recruitment activities.

Once they have given a basic level of commitment and are well versed in the particular form of Islam promoted by Al-Qaeda, these young recruits are given contact details of supporters abroad who will guide them to Bin Laden's training camps, taking them across international borders.

Held together by belief and armed service, buoyed by a conviction in the justness of their cause and careless of their own lives, these terrorists form a deadly threat. The West has a fight on its hands.

THE TERRORIST GROUPS AND HOW THEY INTERLINK

1 AL-QAEDA (The base)

Founded in late 1980s by Osama Bin Laden to organise Arabs who had fought in Afghanistan. Helped to finance, recruit and transport Sunni Islamic extremists Aims: To spread Islamic fundamentalism and destroy US interests in the Middle East December 1992: Claimed to have carried out three bombings against US troops in Yemen 1993: Claimed to have shot down US helicopters in Somalia.

1995: Attempted to organise mid-air bombing of 12 separate US airliners February 1998: Issued statement calling on all Muslims to kill US citizens and their allies August 1998: Conducted bombings of US embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam, killing 301 people and injuring more than 5,000 others Supporters: Probably has several thousand members, but acts as a focal point for many other organisations. Many supporters based in Afghanistan.

2 ARMED ISLAMIC GROUP (GIA)

Founded in 1992 after the Algerian government voided elections in which the Islamic Salvation Front won a clear victory Aims: To overthrow secular Algerian government December 1994: Hijacked an Air France flight to Algiers.

1999: Several members convicted of a bombing campaign in France Has conducted campaign of massacres (main tactics are throat-slitting and car bombs), killing many thousands of Algerian civilians and more than 100 foreigners Supporters: GIA probably has around 1,000 members. Algerian government has accused Iran and Sudan of supporting the organisation.

3 AL GAMA'A AL-ISLAMIYYA (Islamic Group)

Founded in late 1970s. Egypt's largest militant group Aims: To overthrow the Egyptian government and replace it with an Islamic state June 1995: Claimed responsibility for attempt to assassinate President Mubarak November 1997: Killed 58 tourists at Luxor March 1999: Issued a ceasefire, later rescinded by spiritual leader Umar Abd al-Rahman, who is in a US prison after taking part in the 1993 World Trade Center bombing Supporters: At its peak probably had several thousand members, but many are now in prison or abroad A former member of the organisation, Rifa'i Taha Musa-a, signed the Bin Laden fatwa calling for attacks on US citizens.

4 HAMAS (Islamic Resistance Movement)

Founded in 1987 from Palestinian branch of the Muslim Brotherhood. Loose structure with some members working in social organisations or fundraising, others working secretly August 1999: Offices in Amman, Jordan, closed and leaders arrested. Attacks include suicide bombings on Israeli targets Supporters: Thousands of supporters in West Bank and Gaza Strip. Receives funding from Palestinian expatriates, Iran, supporters in Saudi Arabia and other moderate Arab states.

5 HAKKAT UL-MUJAHEDDIN

Previously known as Harakat al-Ansar Based in Pakistan with members active mainly in Kashmir. Now led by Farooq Kashmiri, but previous leader, Fazlur Rehman Khalil, signed the Bin Laden fatwa calling for attacks on US December 1999: Supporters hijacked Air India jet, forcing Indian government to release three of its militants arrested for kidnapping British tourists Supporters: Several thousand in Kashmir, Pakistan. Has access to mortars, machineguns, rockets and explosives. Receives financial support from Saudi Arabia and from Pakistanis and Kashmiris.

6 HEZBOLLAH (Party of God)

Also known as Islamic Jihad, Revolutionary Justice Organisation. Founded by radical Shia muslims in Lebanon Aims: destruction of Israel October 1983: Involved in suicide truck bombing of US embassy in Beirut Also responsible for kidnapping westerners, including Terry Waite and John McCarthy 1992: Attacked the Israeli

Linked and dangerous: Terror Inc

embassy in Argentina, killing 29 people Supporters: Thousands of supporters in the Bekaa Valley, southern Lebanon and Beirut.

Allied with Iran.

7 ISLAMIC MOVEMENT OF UZBEKISTAN

Based mainly in the Ferghana Valley, eastern Uzbekistan. Strongly opposed to the secular regime of President Islom Karimov February 1999: Believed to be responsible for five car bombs in Tashkent 1999 and 2000: Several incidents of hostage-taking, including four American mountaineers Supporters: Several thousand fighters based in camps in Afghanistan and Tajikistan.

8 AL-JIHAD

Also known as Islamic Jihad Founded in late 1970s and now very close to Bin Laden Aims: To overthrow Egyptian state and form Islamic government. 1981: Assassination of President Anwar Sadat of Egypt 1995: Responsible for Egyptian embassy bomb in Islamabad, Pakistan Supporters: Several hundred members, many now in prison. Egypt claims it is supported by Bin Laden.

9 ABU SAYYAF GROUP

Based in southern Philippines. The smallest and most radical of Islamic separatist groups.

Many members trained in Afghanistan.

Engaged in bombings, assassinations, kidnappings to promote independent Islamic state Supporters: Believed to have about 200 core fighters, with another 2,000 supporters.

Supported by the Middle East.

Graphic

War on terrorism; Terror in America

Load-Date: September 24, 2001

Extremists' hatred of U.S. has varied roots

USA TODAY

September 19, 2001, Wednesday,

FINAL EDITION

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Section: NEWS;; COVER STORY

Length: 2641 words

Byline: Ellen Hale and Vivienne Walt

Body

On the West Bank last week, some Palestinians danced in the streets upon hearing that Islamic terrorists had attacked the World Trade Center and the Pentagon and that thousands of Americans likely died.

In Pakistan this week, thousands have demonstrated. They've burned American flags, raised clenched fists and held aloft banners telling the world what they think of the USA. One, written in English, asked a stunning question:

"Americans, think! Why does the whole world hate you?"

As Americans brace for war and try to come to grips with terrorist attacks that not only may have claimed more than 5,000 lives but also a way of life, many are struggling to understand what could have provoked such anti-American virulence. Why, many Americans want to know, do "they" hate us?

"Americans take all this very personally, and they look upon this as an attack that had no foundation," says Richard Falk, professor of international law at Princeton University. "America is the most admired and most loved country in the world, but it is also the most hated."

The hatred isn't universal, of course, and most Muslims abhor violence and condemn the attacks. "Muslims follow a religion of peace, mercy and forgiveness that should not be associated with acts of violence against the innocent," the Council on American-Islamic Relations notes on its Web site (www.cair-net.org). The extremists who appear to be behind the attacks take a strict view of their religion that doesn't allow tolerance of Western values or other religions.

But beyond that, say scholars and other experts, the reason hatred, resentment or deep dislike exists in one degree or another among many Muslims in the Arab world, lies in a complicated web of U.S. policy, repressive foreign regimes, poverty, religious fundamentalism and, even, American naivete. There's resentment over U.S. economic, military and political power. There's disgust from many in the male-dominated Muslim world over the strong role women play in America and the "suggestive" way they dress. Then add on top of all that the way U.S. culture dominates the world, often steamrolling religious and cultural institutions that have existed for thousands of years, and there is fertile ground for anti-American fervor to take root.

"Part of the fury is that the United States is the sole remaining superpower, and we are the magnet for hatred," says Jessica Stern, a terrorism researcher at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government, in Cambridge, Mass. "People feel deprived. They feel that their lives have not gone the way they should. We are a convenient symbol of the 'other.' "

Extremists' hatred of U.S. has varied roots

To be sure, Muslims in the Middle East aren't the only ones expressing hatred, outrage or concern over American values and policies. At recent summits of world leaders, there have been violent protests aimed at U.S. and Western policies on the environment, trade and foreign aid. Pope John Paul II has spoken out about the inequities of U.S.-style capitalism.

And it's also true that the leaders of most Muslim countries have condemned last week's attacks and that most of the 1 billion Muslims in the world today believe those responsible are zealots who have a misguided view of their religion's tenets that they use to justify terrorism.

The Koran, many Islamic scholars say, forbids needless violence. They point to this passage as allowing only self-defense: "Fight in the cause of Allah those who fight you, but do not transgress limits; for Allah loves not transgressors."

"You fight back. You go as far as it takes to stop the aggression but you do not go beyond that," writes Imam Yahya Hendi, Muslim chaplain at Georgetown University, on the multid denominational Web site www.beliefnet.com.

Suspected mastermind Osama bin Laden and the terrorist network he allegedly bankrolls do not represent the majority of Muslims, experts say. Few Muslims agree with bin Laden that terrorism is an appropriate tool for battling Western culture and politics.

"The Koran does not in any fashion promote violence. Actually, in the Koran, you find the opposite. It is very clear. God made lives sacred, and no one has the right to take them," Imam Hendi says. "Muslims deplore this kind of violence, and we do not want this to happen again to America, our nation."

Pakistan symbolizes the complicated crosscurrents in the Muslim world. President Pervez Musharraf, a Western-educated general who wants foreign investment for his poor nation, has condemned the terrorist attacks and vowed to support the United States. But knowing such support could push his nation into war with the ruling Taliban in Afghanistan (which has given bin Laden safe haven) and knowing that many in his Muslim country harbor strong dislike for the USA, he has tried to steer a middle course.

Pakistani diplomats spent the past 2 days in Afghanistan trying to convince the Taliban to avoid war by giving up bin Laden.

But while there are Muslim leaders such as Musharraf or President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt who have offered assistance to the USA, there are clear issues, many related to U.S. foreign policies considered by Muslim countries to be insensitive, unfair and heavy-handed. These issues have fueled resentment of the United States and led to anger, rage and resentment in many Islamic countries.

Asks Sheik Abdullah Shami, leader of the militant Muslim group, Islamic Jihad, in Gaza: "Is America too stupid to understand that these attacks are coming upon it because we, as Muslims, resent the way it conducts business? I pity its naivete."

Among the issues that have stirred resentment among many in the Muslim world and hatred among some:

- * Israel and the Palestinians. Despite many attempts to be a mediator, the United States still is perceived by Muslims to have unfairly provided years of unstinting support for Israel, causing widespread grievances through the Muslim world, even in countries far from the Mideast. The collapse of peace talks last year and the election of conservative Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon earlier this year have fed the agitation.

"There is a real disaffection from the United States because of its policies in Israel," says Terence Taylor, Washington director of the London-based think tank International Institute of Strategic Studies. "This won't be put right in the next few weeks."

- * U.S. troops in Saudi Arabia. Placed there just before the Gulf War with Saudi Arabia's blessing to protect that nation and to serve as a staging point for taking back Kuwait, the troops have never left. The U.S. Air Force has about 5,000 personnel in the country. Their presence enrages some Muslims, who regard the country as holy

Extremists' hatred of U.S. has varied roots

ground because it is the birthplace of Islam, and has given bin Laden a crucial rallying cry. "For bin Laden, it has been the critical thing," Taylor says.

Bin Laden left Saudi Arabia in 1991, having assailed the country's rulers for the U.S. presence and for being insufficiently Islamic.

* U.S. economic sanctions against Iraq, Libya, Afghanistan and Iran. Such sanctions, aimed at states the United States says have sponsored or harbored terrorists, have centered almost entirely on Muslim countries. For Americans, there is a tendency to paint all Muslims with the same broad brush, experts say, but to Muslims, these countries are different -- and in some cases even enemies. "To the average Muslim in the street, it appears the U.S. is targeting them," says Said Aburish, author of several books on the Middle East. Aburish lives in Nice, France.

* U.S. support of repressive Middle East regimes and feudal monarchies. For fear of alienating strategic allies, the United States often ignores human rights abuses in countries such as Saudi Arabia, some say.

* U.S. military tactics. The long-distance missile strikes on Iraq, in particular, have caused resentment. "President Bush calls . . . attacks on the United States cowardly, but from the Mideast viewpoint surgical long distance bombing is cowardly," says Mary Kaldor of the London School of Economics. To many Iraqis, the death of civilians and the destruction of the country's infrastructure, from bombing during the 1991 Gulf War and attacks since then -- as well as from economic sanctions by Western countries -- constitute terrorism.

"It's not just that Muslims are offended. They are humiliated by American policy," Falk says.

Nourishing these grievances are extremist, fundamentalist groups such as bin Laden's. They play off the growing disparity between wealthy and poor nations. They preach messages of hell and damnation for the encroaching popular culture of the freewheeling West. To bin Laden and others like him, the teachings in Islam's holy Koran permit a holy war, or jihad, aimed at ridding the world of non-Islamic influences. Anti-Americanism becomes a tool for strengthening their power, experts say.

Bin Laden and leaders of such groups point to the way Americans live as reason enough for hating the USA. In Afghanistan, under a strict interpretation of the Koran, women must reveal nothing of their faces in public, not even their eyes. Drinking alcohol is forbidden. Girls aren't educated. It is a man's world. The USA, where sex is used to sell everything from shampoo to cigarettes, is portrayed as a land of evil.

"America is seen as this very glittery place, and it's easy to portray it as a kind of Sodom and Gomorrah," Falk says. "It's a very powerful mobilizing message."

And one that plays well to a generation of Muslims growing up with few civil rights or comforts and yet aware of the free sexuality and material wealth of the West. Frustrated by inept or repressive leadership in their own countries and facing a hopeless future, many buy into anti-American sentiment, and some buy into the extremist groups themselves.

"The level of wealth (elsewhere) is so much more visible in poor countries now, through television, movies," says Yahia Said, a lecturer on globalization at the London School of Economics. An Iraqi, he lost a friend in the bombing of the World Trade Center. "There is this profound sense of being left out. These are people who don't have a hope of ever getting out of this poverty, and so they are willing to do something desperate."

Says Falk: "What we're now witnessing is the terrible maturing, the terrible extremity of this resentment by these people who have been unable to realize their goals for decades, who feel entrapped and who are hunting for a way to inflict pain on their perceived enemies."

Ellen Hale reported from London, Vivienne Walt from Paris. Contributing: Jack Kelley in Islamabad, Pakistan; Tom Vanden Brook in Washington

Extremists' hatred of U.S. has varied roots

America's terrorist enemies have bases worldwide

The State Department, in its annual report on global terrorism released in April, identified several extremists groups that may have had reasons to stage attacks in the USA. Among them:

al-Qa'eda

Location: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Bosnia, Canada, Chechnya, Ecuador, Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Jordan, Kenya, Kosovo, Lebanon, Libya, Malaysia, Mauritania, Pakistan, Philippines, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Tajikistan, Tanzania, Tunisia, Uganda, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Uzbekistan, Yemen.

Background: Led by Osama bin Laden. In February 1998, bin Laden said it was the duty of all Muslims to kill U.S. citizens and their allies. He was indicted in the bombings of U.S. embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, in August 1998. He has ties to Sunni extremists and has an estimated \$ 300 million inheritance that he uses to finance terrorist activity.

Numbers: Several thousand.

Goal: Eject non-Muslims from Muslim countries and overthrow U.S.-allied regimes in the Arab world.

Abu Sayyaf group

Location: Philippines, Malaysia.

Background: Responsible for attacks in the southern Philippines. Some members fought and trained in Afghanistan. May receive support from Islamic groups in Middle East and South Asia.

Numbers: Estimated 200, but could be as many as 2,000.

Goal: Independent Islamic state in the southern Philippines.

Armed Islamic Group

Location: Algeria

Background: Began violent activities in 1992 after Algiers voided the electoral victory of the country's largest Islamic opposition party. The Algerian government has accused Iran and Sudan of supporting the group.

Numbers: Several hundred to several thousand.

Goal: Make Algeria an Islamic state.

Al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya

Location: Egypt

Background: Leader Omar Abdel-Rahman is in jail in the USA for the 1993 bombing of New York's World Trade Center. The Egyptian government says Osama bin Laden, Afghan militants and Iran might be providing support.

Numbers: Believed have fallen from a peak of several thousand.

Goal: To overthrow the Egyptian government and create an Islamic state.

Hamas

Location: Israel and the occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza.

Extremists' hatred of U.S. has varied roots

Background: Responsible for many suicide bombings in Israel. Receives financial support from Saudi Arabian sympathizers, Iran, moderate Arab countries and Palestinian expatriates.

Numbers: Unknown number of hard-core supporters. Tens of thousands of sympathizers.

Goal: Replace Israel with an Islamic Palestinian state.

Harakat ul-Mujahidin

Location: Pakistan, disputed region of Kashmir, Afghanistan.

Background: Former leader Fazlur Rehman Khalil signed Osama bin Laden's fatwa (religious decree) against the United States. Believed to be responsible for the hijacking of an Indian aircraft in December 2000. Operates training camps in eastern Afghanistan. Financial support unknown.

Numbers: Several thousand.

Goal: Ending India's control of disputed region of Kashmir.

Hezbollah (Islamic Jihad)

Location: Lebanon

Background: Suspected involvement in bombings of the U.S. Embassy and U.S. Marine barracks in Beirut in 1983. Close association with Iran. Has cells in North and South America, Asia, Africa and Europe.

Numbers: Several hundred.

Goal: Increase its political power in Lebanon and opposing the Middle East peace process.

Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan

Location: Afghanistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan.

Background: Coalition of Islamic militants from Central Asian states opposed to Uzbekistan's secular regime. Took four U.S. citizens who were mountain climbing hostage in August 2000. Support from Central Asian and South Asian Islamic extremist groups.

Numbers: In the thousands.

Goal: Establishment of an Islamic state in Uzbekistan.

Al-Jihad

Location: Egypt. Network in Afghanistan, Lebanon, Pakistan, Sudan, Yemen, United Kingdom.

Background: Established in the late 1970s. Responsible for the assassination of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat in 1981. Close partner of bin Laden.

Numbers: Unknown.

Goal: Overthrow of the Egyptian government.

Mujahedin-e Khalq Organization (National Liberation Army of Iran)

Location: Iraq

Background: Anti-Western dissidents who supported the takeover of the U.S. Embassy in Tehran in 1979.

Extremists' hatred of U.S. has varied roots

Numbers: Several thousand.

Goal: Overthrow of Iran's government.

Palestine Liberation Front

Location: Iraq.

Background: Responsible for the attack on the Achille Lauro cruise ship in 1985. Libya provided support in the past. Support now comes from Iraq.

Numbers: Unknown.

Goal: Independent Palestinian state.

Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine

Location: Syria, Lebanon, Israel and the occupied territories.

Background: Responsible for numerous international terrorist attacks in the 1970s and attacks against Israel and moderate Arab states since.

Numbers: About 800

Goal: Independent Palestinian state.

Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine -- General Command

Location: Syria, Lebanon.

Background: Opposed to Yasser Arafat and the Palestine Liberation Organization. Close ties to Syria. Responsible for attacks on Israel.

Numbers: Several hundred.

Goal: Independent Palestinian state.

Sources: State Department's Patterns of Global Terrorism -- 2000; Research by Joan Murphy, USA TODAY

Graphic

PHOTO, Color, Zia Mazhar, AP; In Karachi, Pakistan: Students chant slogans during a rally in support of Osama bin Laden. One holds a poster of the fugitive financier, whom President Bush calls the prime suspect" in last week's attacks.

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2001: THE YEAR IN PICTURES

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Byline: Peter Stanford

Body

The dominant memory of this year is conflict and destruction, but there have been joyful moments, too. Some of these images are already burned on to our retinas, some are a surprising take on a familiar subject. There to document the last 12 months were some of the world's best photographers. This is our selection of potent images from an extraordinary year.

Belfast, Northern Ireland, 5 September

In the ebb and flow of the Northern Ireland peace process, the spectacle of five-year-old schoolgirls from Holy Cross Catholic Primary School, their hair tied back in red ribbons and Barbie lunch boxes in their hands, walking the gauntlet of jeers, missiles and even a blast bomb from their Protestant neighbours, beggared belief. Yet for 12 weeks the protest continued until a deal was finally brokered by David Trimble, Northern Ireland's First Minister, promising additional government support for local Protestants in the Glenbryn area. The cost of policing the children's walk to school during the siege came to pounds 3m. On the resumption of normal service on 27 November, one mother, Tracy McLaughlin, said it was like "walking through the valley of the dead".

Allahabad, India 24 January

In what organisers claimed to be the biggest gathering of people for a single purpose in history, an estimated 15 million Hindu pilgrims assembled at the high point of the six-week Kumbh Mela religious festival to wash away their sins in the sacred waters of the River Ganges. The event takes place once every 12 years at the spot where Hindus believe four drops of the nectar of immortality were spilt during a fight between gods and demons. A rare alignment of stars and planets gave this year's Kumbh a particular significance, but the worldwide interest it generated caused problems. Western TV crews were accused by Hindus of going for titillating shots of naked bathers. And when an earthquake struck the western state of Gujarat during the Kumbh, causing 10,000 deaths, one seismologist blamed it on the crowds hundreds of miles away in Allahabad. "When you get millions of people standing in one small place, unpredictable things are likely to happen," he said. Bradford, West Yorkshire 7 July

Police and Asian youths clash on Abbey Street in Bradford during a summer of tension in Britain's northern towns. Violent confrontations also took place on the streets of Oldham and Burnley where British National Party activists stoked the fires of racial hatred and made record gains in local and national elections. An official report, published in December, blamed weak community leadership, segregation and national Government for the troubles. It said that black and white communities led separate lives and that, as a nation, we "tiptoe" round the issue of race. Questions were also raised about the desirability of faith schools.

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Genoa, Italy 20 July

A 23-year-old history student, Carlo Giuliani, lies dead in the street (background) during protests at the G8 Summit. He had been one of more than 30,000 demonstrators giving voice to their opposition to global capitalism as the leaders of the world's industrialised powers met in the Ducal Palace. As he attacked a police Land Rover with a fire extinguisher, Giuliani was shot by an armed officer. The 20,000 riot police deployed outside in a pounds 145m security operation reacted with brutal raids on hostels where protestors were staying. One Briton, 33-year-old Mark Covell, suffered a collapsed lung and broken ribs after, he said, policemen had treated him "like a football". The host of the next G8 Summit, Canada's Prime Minister Jean Chretien, promised to tone down the luxury lavished on the world leaders.

Jerusalem, Israel 6 April

Israeli border police arrest a terrified young Palestinian protestor in the Old City when clashes follow Friday prayers. Seven years after they signed the Oslo Peace Agreement with the Palestinians, the Israeli government effectively tore it up after a cycle of tit-for-tat violence with Hamas suicide bombers which were met with Israeli incursions into Palestinian territory. Over 200 Israelis and many more Palestinians died as the Prime Minister, Ariel Sharon, elected in February on a hard-line ticket, attacked Yasser Arafat for his failure to arrest terrorists in the areas under his control, and finally announced that he would have no further dealings with him. Old Trafford, Manchester 6 October

David Beckham celebrates his extra-time free kick which levelled the score against Greece and sent England to the 2002 World Cup finals in Japan and South Korea. Having come back a pariah from the last World Cup after his sending off in England's crucial match with Argentina, Beckham had effected a remarkable transformation in his image. Once a subject of ridicule because of his squeaky voice and his penchant for skirts, Beckham was now a national hero. But football, as Big Ron is fond of saying, is a game of two halves and within weeks of his triumph against Greece, Beckham was out of the Manchester United side and had been passed over as both World and European Footballer of the Year, losing out in the latter category to the square-jawed boy-next-door, Michael Owen of Liverpool.

Wimbledon, south London 9 July

Goran Ivanisevic had to be given a wild card by the Wimbledon authorities to take part in this year's tournament, so poor had his form been in the run-up. The 29-year-old Croat repaid their generosity by knocking out home-grown hero, Tim Henman, in a rain-delayed semi-final before beating Australia's Pat Rafter in the final to bring the event to a fairy-tale finish. Three times a beaten finalist, Ivanisevic later returned home to Split to a pop star's welcome, spontaneously stripping off in front of his fans and throwing them his clothes. Some, however, raised an eyebrow when he revealed that he had banned his girlfriend, the 25-year-old model, Tatjana Dragovic, for attending his matches because, according to the champion, "women bring bad luck".

The Solent, South Coast 15 February

The French press acclaimed her the greatest Englishwoman since Jane Austen - and later in the year she came second to David Beckham in the BBC's Sports Personality of the Year - but throughout her meteoric rise to international stardom 24-year-old Ellen MacArthur from Whatstandwell in Derbyshire remained resolutely unfazed by all the attention she was receiving. Few will remember that the Frenchman, Michel Desjoyeaux, won the 2001 Vendee Globe 25,000-mile solo yacht race. It was MacArthur, in second place, who made the headlines. The gallant runner-up, who had bought her first dinghy by saving up her school dinner money for three years, recorded her voyage on camera and her tears, as she struggled to repair her yacht Kingfisher, melted even landlubber hearts.

New York, USA 11 September

The defining images of the year; a video camera catches the second plane going into the South Tower of the World Trade Centre. A co-ordinated terrorist outrage by Osama bin Laden's al-Qa'ida network was estimated to have

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taken more than 3,000 lives in New York and Washington, and prompted the West and its Allies around the globe to launch an all-out war on terror which brought about the fall of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. Twenty minutes after a hijacked aircraft hit the North Tower, another, in full view of millions of television viewers, smashed into its twin, causing a second massive explosion. Within just over an hour, both towers had collapsed, taking with them the office workers trapped inside and the firefighters trying to save them. The world had never seen images like these before, except in the movies.

Belgrade, Yugoslavia 29 June

The former Yugoslav leader, Slobodan Milosevic, leaves Belgrade for the United Nations War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague, where he stands indicted on charges of crimes against humanity in Kosovo, Bosnia and Croatia. Milosevic refuses to recognise the authority of the court, but the case against him is proceeding despite his silence. Since his fall from power in October 2000, he had been vulnerable to Western demands that he face justice and his departure caused few tears to be shed by the new government in Belgrade. There were small protests by the rump of his supporters but his detention in Scheveningen Prison quickly helped release billions of dollars in American and EU aid to Yugoslavia.

Kathmandu, Nepal 2 June

The King and Queen of Nepal, along with their younger son and daughter, are cremated the day after they had been shot dead, along with five other royals, by their elder son, Crown Prince Dipendra. The Eton-educated heir to the feudal throne ran amok with a machine gun in the Narayanhiti Palace after taking a cocktail of hashish and Famous Grouse whisky. He then turned the gun on himself. Dipendra had been upset by his parents' refusal to allow him to marry 27-year-old Devyani Rana (because her great grandmother had been a court mistress). The throne passed to the dead king's brother, Gyanendra. Following the funeral there was rioting, some orchestrated by Maoist guerrillas opposed to the monarchy. After official mourning ended, a Brahmin priest dressed in the late king's robes rode out of the country on an elephant into symbolic exile as an act of cleansing.

Washington DC, US 19 November

Not content with being spared the oven on Thanksgiving Day, Liberty the turkey takes liberties with US President George W Bush on the White House lawn. In contrast to his reluctance as governor of Texas to commute death sentences on human inmates in his prisons, the President was more than happy to be the star guest at an annual "turkey pardoning event", organised by representatives of the turkey industry. Lucky Liberty will serve out a life sentence in the cosy surroundings of a farm in Virginia. Selby, Yorkshire 28 February

Ten rail passengers lost their lives when 37-year-old Gary Hart fell asleep at the wheel of his Land Rover and crashed off the M62, down an embankment and on to the East Coast main-line railway. An express train hit the car, was derailed and then collided with a goods train. Hart had denied falling asleep to police and told them that he was a "hunter-gatherer" who lived a "1,000mph lifestyle" and could go without sleep for 36 hours. The Selby crash was one tragic aspect of a disastrous year for Britain's railways, with record fines handed out to operating companies for the late-running of services and Railtrack going into administration.

Lewes Crown Court, Sussex 6 December

This picture of Roy Whiting, 42, taken through the window of a police van during his trial for the kidnapping and murder of eight-year-old Sarah Payne, will go down among the icons of evil in modern times. Whiting was found guilty by the jury and sentenced to life. With a previous conviction for abducting and assaulting a child, Whiting and his case raised once again the debate about the allegedly lenient treatment of child sex abusers in this country. Sarah's parents want a law which would make the whereabouts of all convicted offenders available to local people, but the authorities fear that such a move would drive offenders underground and encourage vigilantes.

Lockerbie, Scotland 3 March

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Some six million animals, including this cow at Netherplace Farm, were culled during the year because of the foot-and-mouth outbreak that began in February and paralysed much of the British countryside thereafter. It even caused the general election to be postponed after Prime Minister Tony Blair took personal charge of the battle to beat the disease. The Government throughout insisted that only mass slaughter - of 4.8 million sheep and 750,000 cattle - could contain the disease, though by December Margaret Beckett, the minister responsible, was telling an EU conference in Brussels that in future a policy of vaccination might be considered. One forgotten group of victims of the outbreak were sheepdogs. Animal shelters, especially in the worst-hit areas like Cumbria and Devon, reported that they were taking in record numbers of Border collies, abandoned by farmers who could no longer afford to keep them.

The election trail May-June

The only blow that landed on the Government during the election campaign was delivered not by the Tory leader, William Hague, whose efforts at baby-kissing (below) managed to increase his party's haul of seats by just one, but came courtesy of the Deputy Prime Minister John Prescott (above). On the way in to a rally in Rhyl, north Wales, Mr Prescott was hit by an egg thrown by Craig Evans, a farmer from Denbigh. He reacted with his left fist but ended up on the floor. Tony Blair refused to condemn his deputy - "John is John" he remarked - but later Prescott had egg on his face again when his Cabinet brief was much reduced. Police softened the blow by deciding against pressing charges against Mr Prescott.

Downing Street, London 8 June

Tony Blair, with baby son Leo, returns to office for a second term after another landslide election victory. There was little of the triumphalism of his first New Labour victory, however, with post-election parties either cancelled or scaled down on Blair's instructions. Instead of 1997's joyous chant that "Things Can Only Get Better", Blair promised greater investment and real improvements in public services by the time of the next election when voters could judge him on delivery. This time round they gave him the benefit of the doubt, though with turn-out at 60 per cent - the lowest since 1918 - many were apparently turning their backs on Westminster politics. Barcelona, Spain 9 June, New York, USA 6 September

Her record-breaking Drowned World tour showed that 43-year-old Madonna Ciccone (right) has lost none of her appeal, but the bad back she reportedly suffered after playing a bronco-riding cowgirl as part of her stage show suggested that the material girl is having to dig deeper and deeper to see off the vogue for young pretenders like Britney Spears (far right). The 20-year-old appeared at the MTV Video Music Awards with her trademark mix of doe-eyed ingenue and midriff-baring sexpot, plus a snake and a tiger to the outrage of animal activists. Her claims to live chastely with boyfriend Justin Timberlake of boy band NSync in their new Hollywood Hills home were dismissed by many as verging on the ridiculous.

Cannes, France 9 May

Nicole Kidman arrives alone at the premiere of Moulin Rouge, which opened the 54th Cannes Film Festival. Though her performance won her plaudits and talk of an Oscar nomination, it was the end of her marriage to Tom Cruise that made more headlines. Kidman's victim status was heightened when she suffered a miscarriage, but her pointed digs, at his height for instance, have shown a steelier side, and Hollywood predicts that she may soon tower over Cruise at the box office too.

It was a bad year for ... (clockwise from top left) In June, 14 years after his pounds 500,000 libel victory over the Daily Star, Jeffrey Archer was back in court, facing charges of perjury and perverting the course of justice. He lost. In March, Judith and Alan Kilshaw went to court to try and retrieve the US twins they'd paid to adopt - and lost, while TV personality Vanessa Feltz lost it (big time) during her stint on Celebrity Big Brother. And, in October, Michael Jackson lost his King of Pop title when his first album in six years failed to deliver either good songs or sales. Belgrade, Yugoslavia 29 June

The former Yugoslav leader, Slobodan Milosevic, leaves Belgrade for the United Nations War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague, where he stands indicted on charges of crimes against humanity in Kosovo, Bosnia and Croatia.

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A DAY IN GAZA

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Body

GAZA CITY, 8 a.m. - To get to the beachfront street where Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat lives and works, you have to know somebody or be somebody.

We are mere journalists - not dignitaries or top officials of the Palestinian National Authority - but we do know somebody. Or rather, our driver knows somebody: the young guard at the checkpoint. He waves us through.

We enter a stretch that defies the popular image of Gaza: that of a wretchedly poor and crowded place, the squalid breeding ground of terrorists bent on driving Israel into the sea.

GAZA

In fact, the Mediterranean looks quite inviting here - huge breakers crashing onto a broad brown beach - and the road is lined with hotels and high-rise apartments that would not seem too out of place in South Florida. In better times, you could imagine row upon row of tourists contentedly baking in the Mideast sun.

But now the beach is deserted and most of the hotel rooms and luxury apartments are empty. In the mid '90s, wealthy Palestinians from around the world sunk millions into construction projects in Gaza in hopes of a peace that never came. Now an apartment that cost \$ 100,000 can be had for \$ 50,000.

The headquarters of the Palestinian National Authority, or PNA, is an expansive, tiled-roof compound landscaped with hibiscus and bougainvillea. The homes of some government ministers are large and lavish.

"There were rumors about buildings that cost \$ 3-million," says our guide, Bassam. "The ministers were not known as rich people. While they were being built, people put slogans on the wall, 'This is the price of selling Palestinian blood.' "

All we can see of Arafat's place is an ordinary-looking concrete garage. Nor is the house itself very impressive, we are told. Since the latest round of violence between Israelis and Palestinians began 14 months ago, Arafat's wife and 6-year-old daughter have been staying in Paris. Arafat, so devoted to the cause of Palestinian statehood that he didn't marry until he was 60, seems largely indifferent to material things.

"The president," Bassam says, "lives a simple life."

ON THE ROAD, 9:15 a.m. - As we barrel along the two-lane coastal highway, we talk a little about the history of Gaza. Before 1948, just 90,000 people lived on this flat strip of sand and orange groves 25 miles long and 6 miles wide.

A DAY IN GAZA

After Israel declared its independence in '48, hundreds of thousands of Arabs left the new Jewish state either by choice or because they were forced out, depending on who's telling the story. Most Arabs in the northern areas of Israel went to the West Bank, then controlled by Jordan; other Arabs came here to the Gaza Strip, next to Egypt.

Bassam's grandfather moved to Gaza from a village near Tel Aviv. Every so often, the old man returned to Israel to see his farm, which had been taken over by Israelis and eventually became part of Ben Gurion International Airport.

"It really depressed him," Bassam says. "My father finally told him, 'I'm not going to let you go back, it makes you too sad.' "

RAFAH BORDER CROSSING, 10 a.m. - They are Muslim women, but they are not the voiceless, faceless, beaten-down women of the Taliban. They are the loud, aggressive, angry traders of the Gaza Strip.

"Son of a b--," they shout at the Palestinian border guards. "F-- you."

When it was easier to cross the border between Egypt and Gaza, these women could make a lot of money buying cigarettes for \$ 1 a carton duty free on the Egyptian side and selling them for \$ 2.50 on the Gaza side. But now it's almost impossible to get across, and they don't like it.

During the 1967 Mideast war, Israel captured Gaza and the adjoining Sinai Peninsula from Egypt. Israel kept Gaza as a buffer, but in 1979 agreed to return the Sinai to Egypt in exchange for full diplomatic relations between the two countries. As part of the peace treaty, Israel also agreed to keep the border between Egypt and Gaza open 24 hours a day.

But since the new wave of violence began last year, Palestinians have fired at Israeli soldiers near this crossing, Israel says. As a result, the Israeli-controlled border is now closed about half the time for security reasons, and the traders have to wait days to get into Egypt, if they ever do.

So they take their wrath out on the guards on the Gaza side, even though they too are Palestinians.

"May you die," a 55-year-old woman yells at one.

As the morning goes by, tempers grow increasingly short. To shouts and jeers from the crowd, guards drag a teenager out of one of the yellow taxis that shuttle Palestinians to the Israeli checkpoint. The boy doesn't have the proper ID, and the Israelis will send him back. The Palestinian guards also pull an older man out of a taxi, and they nearly come to blows.

From their observation post, the Israelis can see that the situation is getting out of control. They send word to their Palestinian cohorts: Clean up your act or nobody crosses.

Then, in a case of divine intervention, comes a familiar sound: the Muslim call to prayer.

The women traders stop shouting; the men begin to pray. For 10 minutes at least, all is quiet at the Egyptian-Gaza border.

GAZA INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT, Noon - According to the electronic display board, Flight 3701 from Gaza to Amman is on time at 5 p.m. Of course, it hasn't left at all since Feb. 13.

That's the day the Israelis shut down Gaza's new \$ 250-million airport to all commercial traffic, citing security concerns. Now the only things allowed to fly out of here are Arafat's helicopter and small private jet.

Palestinians were ecstatic about the 1998 opening of the airport, which provided Gaza's only outlet to the world besides the crossings at Rafah and at Erez, on the Israel-Gaza border. The project had an international flavor - a Moroccan architect designed the terminal, the Japanese government paid for the south wing, and President Clinton attended the formal opening.

A DAY IN GAZA

At its peak, the airport had 18 flights a day and employed 1,000 workers. Now, the only people here are a few security guards and the deputy airport manager, Abu Hassan.

How does it feel to work in an airport where very little ever takes to the air?

"It's like somebody died," he says. And goes back to watching an Arab soap opera on television.

RAFAH, 12:45 p.m. - We roll into Rafah, the city from which the Rafah Crossing gets its name, and drive through areas that look ever-more wrecked and deserted. Finally we come to a neighborhood near the Egyptian border where the only signs of life are a few boys on bicycles.

Mohammad Dem, 13, takes us to the four-story building where his family lives and where his father, who owns a grocery store, kept his stock in a large ground-floor room.

About midnight on Oct. 23, Mohammad and his brothers and sisters were asleep when Israeli tanks shelled the store room, starting a fire that quickly spread into the living quarters. The Israelis also fired dozens of bullets into the building, shattering windows and heavy steel and wooden doors. They even shot at the fire truck.

Today, what's left of the inventory is a sodden, blackened, ankle-deep mess: All that is recognizable are some fused lollipops and melted cans. Amazingly, no one was hurt, but Mohammad's father estimates damage and losses at more than \$ 100,000.

The Israelis "are shooting all the time but they never set fire to anything before," Hassam Dem says. "They did this on purpose - they know that this was only for the storage of goods. They want to destroy this area and destroy the economy of (Gaza)."

Israel controls the narrow strip that separates the Dems' neighborhood in Rafah from Egyptian homes right across the border. Israeli authorities had no specifics on the Oct. 23 incident, but say Palestinians in the area frequently target Israeli soldiers.

A few minutes later, we find some Palestinian boys who admit they have done just that. Why?

"Because the Israelis were planning to destroy more houses," says Bela Abu Taha, who is 15 but looks 10.

"We do it every day. We throw stones, we throw cocktail bombs. We get close until it's one meter between them and us. We hide behind concrete walls. This is the only thing that separates us from them. If I don't have cocktail bombs with me, I'll go make them."

Abu Taha says he and his friends pool their money to buy kerosene from a nearby store, telling the clerk that their mothers need it for cooking or heating. For 50 Israeli shekels - \$ 12.50 - they can buy enough kerosene to make 100 molotov cocktails using Coke or fruit juice bottles.

Abu Taha lives with his parents, eight brothers and four sisters in the Rafah refugee camp, one of several camps established for Palestinians who left Israel in 1948. Still inhabited and ever-more crowded, the camps are said to be prime recruiting areas for Hamas and other Palestinian terrorist groups. We ask Abu Taha if he knows what a shaheed or a martyr is, and he quickly answers:

"Someone who sacrifices his soul for his homeland."

Does he want to be one? "No."

Abu Taha says he already has been shot three times in clashes with Israeli soldiers - twice in the legs, once in the shoulder. He expects to be killed but says he doesn't worry about the prospect.

"It's my homeland, I'm not afraid of dying. God will be with us."

And if he survives the current intifada, what does he see as his future?

A DAY IN GAZA

"I see myself as an adult with a Kalashnikov in my hand."

ON THE ROAD - As we leave Rafah, I ask our guide if he agrees with Israelis that some Palestinian acts have seemed especially bloodthirsty. I mention the incident last year when Palestinians killed two men that Israel said were army reservists who had simply lost their way in the West Bank. One of the killers was photographed with blood dripping from his hands and a big smile on his face.

Don't things like that make you cringe? I asked Bassam. His reply is angry.

"Why should I believe that these were two reservists? Why shouldn't I believe there are secret Israeli forces working 24 hours a day that have killed more than 80 Palestinians? Why should I blindly accept what the Israelis say?"

"This is a war and I want to see the two sides of the war. I do not accept condemning one Palestinian act as if it occurred in a desert. Why don't Palestinians have the right to get mad at what has been done to them?"

KHAN YOUNIS REFUGEE CAMP, 3 p.m. - The notion is almost laughable - Israeli soldiers hoisted high into the air on a construction crane so they can shoot at Palestinians.

But what happened here Nov. 18 is by no means funny.

Haijra Abu Lonz says Israelis perched in the bucket of a crane fired missiles at her house and two dozen other Palestinian homes, killing one man and injuring another. Now all that's left of her upstairs bedrooms are a charred copy of the Koran, some badly singed family photos and the shredded remains of the family's clothes and bedding.

"It's winter," she says, "and I don't know how to manage."

As a result of the 1993 Oslo peace talks, Israel turned much of Gaza over to Palestinian control. But about 7,000 Jews still live here, in settlements that are heavily guarded by Israeli troops and separated by barbed wire and barricades from Gaza's 1.2-million Palestinian residents.

This refugee camp is the only place in Gaza that is on higher ground than the Jewish settlements. Israel says that Palestinians frequently fire down from here on Jews in the Gush Katif settlement, most recently last Sunday when three Israelis were slightly injured.

To gain a height advantage, Palestinians charge, the Israelis erected the crane. That way, Israeli soldiers are in a better position to attack Palestinians and eventually drive them from the area altogether.

"That's b--s--," Lt. Col. Olivier Rafovitch, spokesman for the Israel Defense Force, says later. "Maybe they think that but they're wrong." He says the crane is there only for a construction project.

Violence in Gaza is so frequent that it's almost impossible to tell anymore who was the original aggressor and who is retaliating. But a French organization that is surveying conditions in Gaza says the Israeli settlements are to blame for much of the tension.

"A very powerful country with a very powerful army cannot keep occupying another country and keep them in a state of complete deprivation," says Claude Leostic of France Palestine Solidarity.

"The material destruction (of homes) is something terrible but the desperation of the people due to the deprivation of rights is also terrible."

ON THE ROAD, 4:15 p.m. - Darkness is falling, and our guide and driver are in a hurry to get home. This is the holy month of Ramadan - when Muslims are forbidden to eat or drink between dawn and sundown - and it will soon be time to break the fast with the huge meal called iftar.

But no one is going anywhere - at least not the Palestinians.

A DAY IN GAZA

When it comes to moving around in Gaza, the 7,000 Jewish settlers take priority over the 1.2-million Palestinian residents. Israeli soldiers frequently block traffic while settlers cross a Palestinian road to get to one of the roads built solely for the use of Israelis.

The idea is to prevent Palestinians from attacking Jewish settlers in their vehicles - a not uncommon occurrence - but one result is to cause monumental traffic jams on the two main roads used by Palestinian motorists.

Thus we are sitting in a stalled line of traffic nearly a mile long, waiting while a few Israeli cars and military vehicles pass. A driver stuck in the opposite lane rolls down his window and tells us he has been waiting two hours.

Tonight, the Jewish settlers will be home in time for dinner. But iftar will be late for hundreds of Palestinians in the Gaza Strip.

Susan Taylor Martin can be reached at susan@sptimes.com

POST SCRIPT:

Four days after we left Gaza's Khan Yunis refugee camp five Palestinian boys - two brothers and their cousins - were killed there on the way to school when one of them apparently stepped on or kicked an Israeli tank shell Thursday. Palestinian authorities blamed Israel for leaving undetonated shells near civilian areas. The Israeli Foreign Ministry said that an investigation is under way and that Israel shared the families' grief.

Residents of the Gaza Strip wait at the Rafah border crossing to enter Egypt. Under a previous agreement with Israel, the crossing is supposed to be open 24 hours a day; in reality, it's open for about six hours a day.

The Gaza International Airport, which has been closed since February, is maintained by a few employees who wonder if they will ever have any work to do. Israel cited security concerns in the shutdown. While this employee is not praying, the rug in the terminal is sometimes used as a prayer rug.

Mohmmond Zooronb, who has been taken to the Rafah border crossing in Gaza for four days in a row without being able to cross, sleeps in his mother's arms as she tries again to get into Egypt.

Boys at ToFah refugee camp search a car for lead left by bullets. They collect shrapnel, used shell casings and any bullet remains.

These two buildings at ToFah refugee camp in the Gaza Strip are on the front line facing frequent Israeli gun and mortar fire. Other buildings and homes that used to stand between them and a Jewish settlement have been leveled by Israeli attacks.

A tearful Arafat Abu Lonz, 13, watches as his mother explains how an Israeli attack destroyed much of their home at the Khan Younis camp. He looks through a hole made by an Israeli shell.

A Palestinian policeman stands watch over the body of a fellow officer, Madhat Abu Dalal, who was killed after Israeli soldiers said he wandered too close to a Jewish settlement.

Graphic

PHOTO, JAMIE FRANCIS (8); MAP, DON MORRIS; Residents of the Gaza Strip wait at the Rafah border crossing to enter Egypt.; An employee at the Gaza International Airport uses the rug in the terminal as a prayer rug.; A Palestinian taxi driver argues with a Palestinian border guard checking passports of the passengers inside trying to get to Egypt.; Mohmmond Zooronb sleeps in his mother's arms as she tries again to get into Egypt.; Boys at ToFah refugee camp search a car for lead left by bullets.

A DAY IN GAZA

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Jihad University; Education of a Holy Warrior

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Body

How America - which supported the jihad against the Soviets - came to be the No. 1 enemy of radical Islamists is the vexing question now facing U.S. and Muslim leaders

About two hours east of the Khyber Pass, in the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan, alongside the Grand Trunk Road, sits a school called the Haqqania madrasa. This school is, in fact, a jihad factory.

A madrasa is a Muslim religious seminary, and Haqqania is one of the bigger madrasas in Pakistan. This does not make it unique in the country. There are one million students studying in the country's 10,000 or so madrasas, and militant Islam is at the core of most of these schools.

New York Times Service

But Haqqania is notable because it has graduated more leaders of the Taliban, Afghanistan's ruling faction, than any other school in the world, including those in Afghanistan.

The Taliban is today known for its harsh interpretation of Islamic law, its cruelty toward women and its kindness to terrorists -- the most notable one being Osama bin Laden, the 44-year-old Saudi exile whom the U.S. government believes was behind the 1998 bombings of the American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania.

The Taliban also seems to harbour a deep belief in the notion of a never-ending jihad. Jihad means not only "holy war" but also constant "struggle." The struggle is both within the soul of a person to be more righteous, and without in the sense of a military struggle against those who subjugate Muslims.

This makes the Haqqania madrasa a focus of intense interest in such capitals as Washington, Moscow, New Delhi and Jerusalem, where the experts are trying to understand just what it is the Taliban and its sympathizers want.

Most Haqqania students come from Pakistan itself, which also worries officials in those four capitals. Pakistan's Islamists are becoming more and more radicalized -- "Talibanized," some call it -- thanks in part to madrasas like Haqqania.

And this week, in light of U.S. pressure on Pakistan's leaders to deal with Afghanistan and the resulting street protests by militant Pakistanis against the U.S., that country is showing early signs of coming apart at the seams.

Pakistan also happens to be in possession of nuclear weapons. In Pentagon exercises, American war-gamers have mapped out a scenario in which Taliban-like extremists gain control of Pakistan's atomic arsenal during a violent

break-up of the country. Many jihad leaders say they believe nuclear weapons should become part of the arsenal of jihad. It turns out that many of the Haqqania students, under careful tutelage, now believe it, too.

It is for all these reasons that on a hazy morning in March, I presented myself at the office of the chancellor of the madrasa, a mullah named Samiul Haq, in order to enroll myself in his school.

My goal was simple: I wanted to see from the inside just what this jihad factory was producing. The chancellor is a friend and supporter of bin Laden, and he has granted an honorary degree -- the first and only in his school's history -- to Mullah Omar, the Taliban leader.

The school enrolls more than 2,800 students. Tuition, room and board are free. The students are, in the main, drawn from the poor, and the madrasa raises its funds from wealthy Pakistanis, as well as from devout and politically minded Muslims in the countries of the Persian Gulf. The students range in age from 8 and 9 to 30, sometimes to 35.

In a typical class, the teachers sit on the floor with the boys, reading to them in Arabic, and the boys repeat what the teachers say. This can go on between four and eight hours each day. What westerners would think of as high-school-age and college-age students are enrolled in an eight-year course of study that focuses on interpretation of the Koran and of the Hadith, the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad.

Very few of the students at the Haqqania madrasa study anything but Islamic subjects. There are no world history courses, or math courses, or computer rooms or science labs at the madrasa. This makes it a kind of jihad university.

The Haqqania chancellor, Samiul Haq, is a religious leader and politician who today leads a faction of the Jamiat-Ulema-Islami (JUI), a radical Islamic party seeking to impose Shariah, or Islamic law, in Pakistan. The maulana, it is said, would like to see Pakistan become more like the Afghanistan of his Taliban disciples.

Haq is in his mid-60s. He has two wives and eight children, he told me. And he seemed, a very happy man. He dispensed with small talk almost immediately in order to let me know that I should feel at home.

"The problem," he told me, through an interpreter, "is not between us Muslims and Christians."

I knew where this was going, but stayed silent.

"The only enemy Islam and Christianity have is the Jews," he said. "It was the Jews who crucified Christ, you know. The Jews are using America to fight Islam."

"I'm Jewish," I told him. There was a moment's pause.

"Well, you are most welcome here," he said. And so I was. The maulana made me an offer: I could spend as much time as I wanted at the madrasa, go wherever I wanted, talk to anybody I chose, even study the Koran with him. He had a point he wanted to make, of course: His madrasa might be Taliban U., but it was not a training camp for terrorists.

Strictly speaking, Haq was right: I never saw a weapon at the Haqqania madrasa. The closest guns could be found across the Grand Trunk Road, at the Khyber Pass Armaments Co., a gun store that sells shotguns for \$40 and AK-47s for \$70.

On the other hand, when the Taliban was faring badly not long ago in battle against the Northern Alliance -- the holdout foe of the Taliban in Afghanistan's seemingly endless civil war -- Haq closed down his school and sent the students to the front. (He would not tell me how many never came back from the front.)

Classrooms were full when I visited Haqqania. There were no TVs, no radios that I could see. The students woke up before dawn, to pray in the madrasa's mosque. The dormitories were threadbare. The students at the madrasa almost never see women. There were no female teachers, no female workers, no female presence whatsoever at

the madrasa. There is no such thing as parents' day, or family day, when mothers and fathers and sisters and brothers come to visit.

The youngest students interested me particularly. They had not yet been armoured in the hard-casing of jihadist ideology, and yet they seemed to incorporate the politics of the madrasa into their play.

Two 11-year-old boys, both Afghan refugees who came to the school from Peshawar in Pakistan, would follow me around wherever I went. They wore pots on their heads, and their version of hide-and-seek was to jump out from behind a tree or some other hiding place, scream "Osama!" and pretend to shoot me.

For the two young refugees, the madrasa is a palace. They are blessed to be here, where they get food every single day, compared to a refugee camp. No one else -- certainly not the government of Pakistan -- would provide them with an education, room and board.

During the school day, I would make a special point of auditing classes in which the Hadith was studied, because so much of Islamic thought is found in the Hadith, and also because the Hadith has traditionally been understood to be a text open to interpretation, argument and rigorous intellectual inquiry.

But such is not the case at the Haqqania madrasa.

Even in the high-level classes I attended, the pattern was generally the same: A teacher, generally a white-bearded mullah, would read straight from a text, and the students would listen. There was no back and forth.

After a time, I began to be asked questions during classes. One day, in a class devoted to passages in the Hadith concerning zakat, or charity, I was asked my views about Osama bin Laden. Why did America have it in for him?

I began by saying that bin Laden's program violates a basic tenet of Islam, which holds that even in a jihad the lives of innocent people must be spared. A jihad is a war against combatants, not women and children.

I read to them an appropriate saying of the Prophet Muhammad (I came armed with the Hadith): "It is narrated by Ibn Umar that a woman was found killed in one of these battles, so the Messenger of Allah, may peace be upon him, forbade the killing of women and children."

They did not like the idea of me quoting the Prophet to them, and they began chanting, "Osama, Osama, Osama." When they calmed down, they took turns defending bin Laden. "Osama bin Laden is a great Muslim," a student named Wali said. "The West is afraid of strong Muslims, so they made him their enemy."

Since the students had turned this day's class into a political seminar of sorts, I decided to ask a question of my own. I brought up the subject of Pakistan's nuclear bomb. I asked the students if they thought it would be permissible, by the law of Islam, to use a nuclear bomb during the prosecution of a jihad.

"All things come from Allah," one student said. "The atomic bomb comes from Allah, so it should be used." I then asked: Who wants to see Osama bin Laden armed with nuclear weapons? Every hand in the room shot up. The students laughed and some applauded.

But, I said, innocent people would inevitably die if the bomb was used. Even if the West, or Russia, is subjugating Muslims, does that give bin Laden and his supporters the right to kill innocent people?

"Osama has never killed anybody innocent," answered one student, whose name was Ghazi.

"What if you were shown proof that he did?"

"The Americans say they have proof, but they don't give it to the Taliban."

I then presented a hypothetical scenario. "What if," I asked, "you were shown a video in which Osama bin Laden was actually seen murdering a woman. What then?"

There was a pause. A student named Fazlur Razaq stood up: "The Americans have all the tricks of the media. They can put Osama's head on the body of someone else, and make it seem like he's killing when he's not doing it."

I then took from my notebook my secret weapon: the 1998 fatwa issued by bin Laden's organization -- the International Islamic Front for Jihad Against Jews and Crusaders -- concerning the presence of American troops in Saudi Arabia.

I read them a passage, the English translation of which reads as follows: "The ruling to kill the Americans and their allies -- civilians and military -- is an individual duty for every Muslim who can do it in any country in which it is possible to do it, in order to liberate the Al Aksa Mosque and the holy mosque from their grip, and in order for their armies to move out of all the lands of Islam, defeated and unable to threaten any Muslim."

Here it is, I said, in black and white: Bin Laden is calling for the death of all Americans, civilian and military.

"Osama didn't write that," one student yelled, and the others cheered. "That's a forgery of the Americans."

I asked one final question: What would you do if you learned that the CIA had captured bin Laden and was taking him to America to stand trial? A student who gave his name as Muhammad stood up: "We would sacrifice our lives for Osama. We would kill Americans." What kind of Americans? "All Americans."

As I left the mosque, Muhammad and a group of his friends approached me. "We'd like you to embrace Islam," he said. "We love you. We want you to have Islam."

Among the young men I spoke with after the Osama colloquy, one -- a bright and personable student from a village near Kabul, Afghanistan -- told me his name was Sayid. I asked him how his parents felt to have him at the madrasa, knowing that there is a chance he would choose to be a mujahed -- against the Northern Alliance, or perhaps against India, in Kashmir.

"They support the jihad," he said.

"How would they feel if you were killed?"

"They would be very happy," he said. "They would be so proud. Any father would want his son to die as shaheed," or martyr.

If you fought against the Northern Alliance, you would be killing Muslims, I said. "They're Muslims, but they're crazy," Sayid replied.

A couple of days later, I was due in Islamabad, the capital, for a birthday party, and it was quite a party. A big cake, lots of speeches, lots of dignitaries, including General Pervez Musharraf, the head of Pakistan's government. Written in lemon frosting across the length of the cake were the words, "Second Anniversary Celebrations of Youm-e-Takbeer."

Youm-e-Takbeer can be translated as "the day of God's greatness," and in Pakistan it refers to May 28, 1998, the day Pakistan first exploded a nuclear bomb. The birthday party, under the auspices of Pakistan's military leader, was a birthday party for the bomb.

"We bow our heads to Allah almighty for restoring greatness to Pakistan on May 28, 1998," proclaimed the science minister of Pakistan, Atta-ur-Rahman, at the outset of the official program.

A couple of days after the party, I went to Rawalpindi, next door to Islamabad, because I'd been given the chance to talk with Musharraf. We met one morning at Army House, the residence of the Pakistani army's chief of staff.

During our conversation, I asked Musharraf if the West should worry that fundamentalist Muslims, in or out of the army, might get hold of Pakistan's nuclear weapons.

"Absolutely implausible," Musharaff said. "There is no question of that happening. There is no question of nuclear material falling into the hands of irresponsible people at all."

I made mention of the religious overtones of the Youm-e-Takbeer celebration, particularly the science minister's remarks, adding that westerners are discomfited by the belief that God is the founder of Pakistan's nuclear weapons program.

"Yes, we do use the term 'Allah's will,'" Musharaff said. "We do consider God to be the supreme sovereign, and we do consider ourselves to be his representatives on Earth. We, being his representatives on Earth, whatever has to be done is according to the teaching of Allah. But when we say 'the will of God,' that doesn't mean we aren't using our brains, that we are trigger-happy fundamentalists."

Musharraf is not thought of as an Islamic fundamentalist. He is known to have progressive views on the rights of women, for example. And yet he can sound very much like an Islamic fundamentalist at times.

For Samiul Haq, the world is divided into two separate and mutually hostile domains: the dar-al-harb and the dar-al-Islam. The dar-al-harb is the "abode of war." The dar-al-Islam is the "abode of peace."

In the 1980s, the Soviet Union epitomized, for fundamentalist-minded Muslims, the abode of war. Today, it is the United States that symbolizes the dar-al-harb. How this came to pass, how America, which supported -- created, some would say -- the jihad movement against the Soviets, came to become the No. 1 enemy of fundamentalist Islamists is one of the more vexing questions facing American policy makers and the leaders of a dozen Muslim countries today.

One school of thought, Samiul Haq's school, says it's the Americans' fault: American imperialism and the export of U.S. social mores are to blame.

The other school of thought holds that Islam, by its very nature, is in permanent competition with other civilizations. This is the theory expounded by the Harvard political scientist Samuel Huntington who coined the term "Islam's bloody borders" -- a reference to the fact that wherever Islam rubs up against other civilizations -- Jewish, Christian, Hindu -- wars seem to break out.

Men like Samiul Haq deride this view, and yet, in their black-and-white world, Islam stands alone against the world's infidels: Christians (or "Crusaders," in the fundamentalist parlance) to be sure, but Jews and Hindus especially. In Haq's view, the West is implacably hostile to the message of Islam, and so the need to prepare for jihad is never-ending.

In my conversations with Haq, and with mullahs across Pakistan and Afghanistan, I kept getting this answer: "Jihad against the oppressor of Muslims is an absolute duty. Islam is a religion that defends itself."

Jihad against those who are seen to subjugate Muslims has assumed a place of permanent, even overriding, importance in the way these mullahs look at the world. This was surprising to me because not even the leaders of Hamas in the Gaza Strip, or sympathizers of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt articulated the jihad in this way.

I asked Haq if this is what he is teaching his thousands of students. "My students are taught Islam. This isn't a military school."

Haq's secret was not that the Haqqania madrasa is a training camp for terrorists. The secret is embodied in the two 11-year-olds cocking their fingers at me, and in the taunts of the students in the mosque who raised their hands for Osama bin Laden, and in the hundreds of thousands of young men at madrasas across Pakistan, Afghanistan and India. These are poor and impressionable boys kept entirely ignorant of the world and, for that matter, largely ignorant of all but one interpretation of Islam.

They are the perfect jihad machines.

Graphic

Photo: Erik De Castro, Reuters; Anti-U.S. protesters demonstrate in Peshawar, Pakistan after the ruling Taliban in Afghanistan announced it cannot expel suspected terrorist Osama bin Laden.; Photo: Bindo Arora, Reuters; Muslim Indian boys stand outside their madrasa, or Islamic school, in Bahraich. Such schools make New Delhi nervous about possible sympathies for Pakistan-backed agents fighting for control in northern Kashmir.; Photo: K.M. Chaudary, the Associated Press; Religious leaders Fazaul Rehman, left, and Samiul Haq, head of the Haqqania school that trains many Taliban leaders, met in Lahore, Pakistan to discuss U.S. calls to hand over terrorism suspect Osama bin Laden.

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Inside Jihad University: the Education of a Holy Warrior

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Pakistan also happens to be in possession of nuclear weapons. In Pentagon exercises, American war-gamers have mapped out a scenario in which Taliban-like extremists gain control of Pakistan's atomic arsenal during a violent

Inside Jihad University: the Education of a Holy Warrior

break-up of the country. Many jihad leaders say they believe nuclear weapons should become part of the arsenal of jihad. It turns out that many of the Haqqania students, under careful tutelage, now believe it, too.

It is for all these reasons that on a hazy morning in March, I presented myself at the office of the chancellor of the madrasa, a mullah named Samiul Haq, in order to enroll myself in his school.

My goal was simple: I wanted to see from the inside just what this jihad factory was producing. The chancellor is a friend and supporter of bin Laden, and he has granted an honorary degree -- the first and only in his school's history -- to Mullah Omar, the Taliban leader .

The school enrolls more than 2,800 students. Tuition, room and board are free. The students are, in the main, drawn from the poor, and the madrasa raises its funds from wealthy Pakistanis, as well as from devout and politically minded Muslims in the countries of the Persian Gulf. The students range in age from 8 and 9 to 30, sometimes to 35.

In a typical class, the teachers sit on the floor with the boys, reading to them in Arabic, and the boys repeat what the teachers say. This can go on between four and eight hours each day. What westerners would think of as high-school-age and college-age students are enrolled in an eight-year course of study that focuses on interpretation of the Koran and of the Hadith, the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad.

Very few of the students at the Haqqania madrasa study anything but Islamic subjects. There are no world history courses, or math courses, or computer rooms or science labs at the madrasa. This makes it a kind of jihad university.

The Haqqania chancellor, Samiul Haq, is a religious leader and politician who today leads a faction of the Jamiat-Ulema-Islami (JUI), a radical Islamic party seeking to impose Shariah, or Islamic law, in Pakistan. The maulana, it is said, would like to see Pakistan become more like the Afghanistan of his Taliban disciples.

Haq is in his mid-60s. He has two wives and eight children, he told me. And he seemed, a very happy man. He dispensed with small talk almost immediately in order to let me know that I should feel at home.

"The problem," he told me, through an interpreter, "is not between us Muslims and Christians."

I knew where this was going, but stayed silent.

"The only enemy Islam and Christianity have is the Jews," he said. "It was the Jews who crucified Christ, you know. The Jews are using America to fight Islam."

"I'm Jewish," I told him. There was a moment's pause.

"Well, you are most welcome here," he said. And so I was. The maulana made me an offer: I could spend as much time as I wanted at the madrasa, go wherever I wanted, talk to anybody I chose, even study the Koran with him. He had a point he wanted to make, of course: His madrasa might be Taliban U., but it was not a training camp for terrorists.

Strictly speaking, Haq was right: I never saw a weapon at the Haqqania madrasa. The closest guns could be found across the Grand Trunk Road, at the Khyber Pass Armaments Co., a gun store that sells shotguns for \$40 and AK-47s for \$70.

On the other hand, when the Taliban was faring badly not long ago in battle against the Northern Alliance -- the holdout foe of the Taliban in Afghanistan's seemingly endless civil war -- Haq closed down his school and sent the students to the front. (He would not tell me how many never came back from the front.)

Classrooms were full when I visited Haqqania. There were no TVs, no radios that I could see. The students woke up before dawn, to pray in the madrasa's mosque. The dormitories were threadbare. The students at the madrasa almost never see women. There were no female teachers, no female workers, no female presence whatsoever at

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the madrasa. There is no such thing as parents' day, or family day, when mothers and fathers and sisters and brothers come to visit.

The youngest students interested me particularly. They had not yet been armoured in the hard-casing of jihadist ideology, and yet they seemed to incorporate the politics of the madrasa into their play.

Two 11-year-old boys, both Afghan refugees who came to the school from Peshawar in Pakistan, would follow me around wherever I went. They wore pots on their heads, and their version of hide-and-seek was to jump out from behind a tree or some other hiding place, scream "Osama!" and pretend to shoot me.

For the two young refugees, the madrasa is a palace. They are blessed to be here, where they get food every single day, compared to a refugee camp. No one else -- certainly not the government of Pakistan -- would provide them with an education, room and board.

During the school day, I would make a special point of auditing classes in which the Hadith was studied, because so much of Islamic thought is found in the Hadith, and also because the Hadith has traditionally been understood to be a text open to interpretation, argument and rigorous intellectual inquiry.

But such is not the case at the Haqqania madrasa.

Even in the high-level classes I attended, the pattern was generally the same: A teacher, generally a white-bearded mullah, would read straight from a text, and the students would listen. There was no back and forth.

After a time, I began to be asked questions during classes. One day, in a class devoted to passages in the Hadith concerning zakat, or charity, I was asked my views about Osama bin Laden. Why did America have it in for him?

I began by saying that bin Laden's program violates a basic tenet of Islam, which holds that even in a jihad the lives of innocent people must be spared. A jihad is a war against combatants, not women and children.

I read to them an appropriate saying of the Prophet Muhammad (I came armed with the Hadith): "It is narrated by Ibn Umar that a woman was found killed in one of these battles, so the Messenger of Allah, may peace be upon him, forbade the killing of women and children."

They did not like the idea of me quoting the Prophet to them, and they began chanting, "Osama, Osama, Osama." When they calmed down, they took turns defending bin Laden. "Osama bin Laden is a great Muslim," a student named Wali said. "The West is afraid of strong Muslims, so they made him their enemy."

Since the students had turned this day's class into a political seminar of sorts, I decided to ask a question of my own. I brought up the subject of Pakistan's nuclear bomb. I asked the students if they thought it would be permissible, by the law of Islam, to use a nuclear bomb during the prosecution of a jihad.

"All things come from Allah," one student said. "The atomic bomb comes from Allah, so it should be used." I then asked: Who wants to see Osama bin Laden armed with nuclear weapons? Every hand in the room shot up. The students laughed and some applauded.

But, I said, innocent people would inevitably die if the bomb was used. Even if the West, or Russia, is subjugating Muslims, does that give bin Laden and his supporters the right to kill innocent people?

"Osama has never killed anybody innocent," answered one student, whose name was Ghazi.

"What if you were shown proof that he did?"

"The Americans say they have proof, but they don't give it to the Taliban."

I then presented a hypothetical scenario. "What if," I asked, "you were shown a video in which Osama bin Laden was actually seen murdering a woman. What then?"

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There was a pause. A student named Fazlur Razaq stood up: "The Americans have all the tricks of the media. They can put Osama's head on the body of someone else, and make it seem like he's killing when he's not doing it."

I then took from my notebook my secret weapon: the 1998 fatwa issued by bin Laden's organization -- the International Islamic Front for Jihad Against Jews and Crusaders -- concerning the presence of American troops in Saudi Arabia.

I read them a passage, the English translation of which reads as follows: "The ruling to kill the Americans and their allies -- civilians and military -- is an individual duty for every Muslim who can do it in any country in which it is possible to do it, in order to liberate the Al Aksa Mosque and the holy mosque from their grip, and in order for their armies to move out of all the lands of Islam, defeated and unable to threaten any Muslim."

Here it is, I said, in black and white: Bin Laden is calling for the death of all Americans, civilian and military.

"Osama didn't write that," one student yelled, and the others cheered. "That's a forgery of the Americans."

I asked one final question: What would you do if you learned that the CIA had captured bin Laden and was taking him to America to stand trial? A student who gave his name as Muhammad stood up: "We would sacrifice our lives for Osama. We would kill Americans." What kind of Americans? "All Americans."

As I left the mosque, Muhammad and a group of his friends approached me. "We'd like you to embrace Islam," he said. "We love you. We want you to have Islam."

Among the young men I spoke with after the Osama colloquy, one -- a bright and personable student from a village near Kabul, Afghanistan -- told me his name was Sayid. I asked him how his parents felt to have him at the madrasa, knowing that there is a chance he would choose to be a mujahed -- against the Northern Alliance, or perhaps against India, in Kashmir.

"They support the jihad," he said.

"How would they feel if you were killed?"

"They would be very happy," he said. "They would be so proud. Any father would want his son to die as shaheed," or martyr.

If you fought against the Northern Alliance, you would be killing Muslims, I said. "They're Muslims, but they're crazy," Sayid replied.

A couple of days later, I was due in Islamabad, the capital, for a birthday party, and it was quite a party. A big cake, lots of speeches, lots of dignitaries, including General Pervez Musharraf, the head of Pakistan's government. Written in lemon frosting across the length of the cake were the words, "Second Anniversary Celebrations of Youm-e-Takbeer."

Youm-e-Takbeer can be translated as "the day of God's greatness," and in Pakistan it refers to May 28, 1998, the day Pakistan first exploded a nuclear bomb. The birthday party, under the auspices of Pakistan's military leader, was a birthday party for the bomb.

"We bow our heads to Allah almighty for restoring greatness to Pakistan on May 28, 1998," proclaimed the science minister of Pakistan, Atta-ur-Rahman, at the outset of the official program.

A couple of days after the party, I went to Rawalpindi, next door to Islamabad, because I'd been given the chance to talk with Musharraf. We met one morning at Army House, the residence of the Pakistani army's chief of staff.

During our conversation, I asked Musharraf if the West should worry that fundamentalist Muslims, in or out of the army, might get hold of Pakistan's nuclear weapons.

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"Absolutely implausible," Musharaff said. "There is no question of that happening. There is no question of nuclear material falling into the hands of irresponsible people at all."

I made mention of the religious overtones of the Youm-e-Takbeer celebration, particularly the science minister's remarks, adding that westerners are discomfited by the belief that God is the founder of Pakistan's nuclear weapons program.

"Yes, we do use the term 'Allah's will,'" Musharaff said. "We do consider God to be the supreme sovereign, and we do consider ourselves to be his representatives on Earth. We, being his representatives on Earth, whatever has to be done is according to the teaching of Allah. But when we say 'the will of God,' that doesn't mean we aren't using our brains, that we are trigger-happy fundamentalists."

Musharraf is not thought of as an Islamic fundamentalist. He is known to have progressive views on the rights of women, for example. And yet he can sound very much like an Islamic fundamentalist at times.

For Samiul Haq, the world is divided into two separate and mutually hostile domains: the dar-al-harb and the dar-al-Islam. The dar-al-harb is the "abode of war." The dar-al-Islam is the "abode of peace."

In the 1980s, the Soviet Union epitomized, for fundamentalist-minded Muslims, the abode of war. Today, it is the United States that symbolizes the dar-al-harb. How this came to pass, how America, which supported -- created, some would say -- the jihad movement against the Soviets, came to become the No. 1 enemy of fundamentalist Islamists is one of the more vexing questions facing American policy makers and the leaders of a dozen Muslim countries today.

One school of thought, Samiul Haq's school, says it's the Americans' fault: American imperialism and the export of U.S. social mores are to blame.

The other school of thought holds that Islam, by its very nature, is in permanent competition with other civilizations. This is the theory expounded by the Harvard political scientist Samuel Huntington who coined the term "Islam's bloody borders" -- a reference to the fact that wherever Islam rubs up against other civilizations -- Jewish, Christian, Hindu -- wars seem to break out.

Men like Samiul Haq deride this view, and yet, in their black-and-white world, Islam stands alone against the world's infidels: Christians (or "Crusaders," in the fundamentalist parlance) to be sure, but Jews and Hindus especially. In Haq's view, the West is implacably hostile to the message of Islam, and so the need to prepare for jihad is never-ending.

In my conversations with Haq, and with mullahs across Pakistan and Afghanistan, I kept getting this answer: "Jihad against the oppressor of Muslims is an absolute duty. Islam is a religion that defends itself."

Jihad against those who are seen to subjugate Muslims has assumed a place of permanent, even overriding, importance in the way these mullahs look at the world. This was surprising to me because not even the leaders of Hamas in the Gaza Strip, or sympathizers of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt articulated the jihad in this way.

I asked Haq if this is what he is teaching his thousands of students. "My students are taught Islam. This isn't a military school."

Haq's secret was not that the Haqqania madrasa is a training camp for terrorists. The secret is embodied in the two 11-year-olds cocking their fingers at me, and in the taunts of the students in the mosque who raised their hands for Osama bin Laden, and in the hundreds of thousands of young men at madrasas across Pakistan, Afghanistan and India. These are poor and impressionable boys kept entirely ignorant of the world and, for that matter, largely ignorant of all but one interpretation of Islam.

They are the perfect jihad machines.

Graphic

Photo: Erik De Castro, Reuters; Anti-U.S. protesters demonstrate in Peshawar, Pakistan yesterday after the ruling Taliban in Afghanistan announced it cannot expel suspected terrorist Osama bin Laden.; Photo: Bindo Arora, Reuters; Muslim Indian boys stand outside their madrasa, or Islamic school, in Bahraich. Such schools make New Delhi nervous about possible sympathies for Pakistan-backed agents fighting for control in northern Kashmir.; Photo: K.M. Chaudary, the Associated Press; Religious leaders Fazaul Rehman, left, and Samiul Haq, head of the Haqqania school that trains many Taliban leaders, met in Lahore, Pakistan this week to discuss U.S. calls to hand over terrorism suspect Osama bin Laden.

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'I ran and never wanted to return': Ian MacLeod reported from behind the lines during the Oka crisis in 1990, where 'the sounds and smells were at times strange, often ominous.' Ten years later, he returns to consider the legacy of that summer of violence.

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Body

THE PINES, Kanesatake - This Mohawk forest high on the hill above the town of Oka, Que., has always confused my senses: Majestic white pines, hemlock and birch rooted in sandy soil that is soft and comforting. Police, soldiers and camouflaged figures. Violence. Death.

I reported on the Oka crisis from here in the summer of 1990. Indian Summer. Serenity and chaos. Beauty and bloodshed. War by scrum, someone noted.

It was a very strange place.

I find myself once again, Onen' To: Kon. Under the pines.

To the east is the infamous Oka Golf Club and the Pine Hill Cemetery where the Mohawks of Kanesatake have buried their dead for generations.

To the west is the spot where, 10 years ago today, Surete du Quebec Cpl. Marcel Lemay was killed during a 23-second shootout between police and natives.

To the south, just across the two-lane Highway 344, is the Kanesatake alcohol and drug treatment centre, where I was among the small group of journalists who joined 53 Mohawk men, women and children as they made their final, month-long stand against hundreds of infantrymen.

And high above it all, perched atop a towering pine -- a potent symbol in Mohawk culture known as The Tree of Peace -- is the defiant red flag of the Mohawk Warrior Society.

To the Mohawks, that dawn police raid was an unprovoked attack on their peaceful protest to protect this territory they hold so dear from being bulldozed into a new back nine for the municipal golf course. For the next 78 days, the Mohawk nationalists believed they were simply defending themselves.

But many politicians and non-natives saw it as the start of an armed rebellion, an insurrection by criminals, thugs and terrorists who had hijacked an entire Mohawk community. More than 3,500 troops, including three infantry battalions, were ordered in.

'I ran and never wanted to return': Ian MacLeod reported from behind the lines during the Oka crisis in 1990, where 'the sounds and smells were at times strange....

When I think back to those days the images are vivid. Barricades. Bunkers. AK-47s and Howitzers. Demolished police cars. Lasagna. Mad Jap. Spudwrench. Eagle feathers. Razor wire. Beatings. Fire hoses. Army search lights. Machine guns. Tanks. Helicopters. Fighter jets.

What's not so clear to me is the lasting legacy of Oka.

Political leaders quickly realized they had to deal seriously with native concerns and, for a time, aboriginal issues and culture found a new national prominence.

The Warriors' threat of violence encouraged other native groups to use similar tactics to demand change. And in that sense, the Warriors won a psychological victory.

But some people attribute more significance to Oka than it should bear.

The reality, a decade later, is that the Mohawks of Kanesatake still don't own this land. And despite the cries of "Remember Oka!" shouted by native protesters ever since, Canada's "aboriginal question" remains unresolved.

We in the media hunted around this forest that summer for villains and heroes, winners and losers to tell the story. But there really were none. There were a lot of rather ordinary people who found themselves in a remarkable and tense situation.

And the pine grove of Kanesatake, I have also learned, is not a forest. It is a jungle, a place tangled in centuries-old conflicts and hatreds between natives and non-natives, Mohawk traditionalists, band councils, police, governments and religions.

In the summer of 1990, this place was crawling with all sorts of creatures. Warriors. Van Doos. Clan mothers. The military's Leopards, Grizzlies and Cougars. Turtle, bear and wolf people.

The sounds and smells were at times strange, often ominous. The rhythmic pounding of native drums -- the heartbeat of Mother Earth. War whoops. The heavy breathing of army helicopters prowling low in the night sky. The crackle of walkie-talkies. Mohawk children playing. "Fix Bayonets!" "Lock and Load!" Sweetgrass. Burning tobacco. Diesel fuel. Pine needles.

At night around the Mohawk barricades and ceremonial fire, I was told of The Creator. The Great Law of Peace. The Two Row Wampum Treaty. The Hodinsannee, the people of the traditional Longhouse. Grandmother moon. The Indian Act. Residential schools. Bad medicine.

I was told the Mohawk nation, once the strongest and most powerful of the Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy, would not be pushed off any more of its shrinking ancestral land base.

They wanted political independence, too. Territory and sovereignty are inseparable. One is meaningless without the other.

And I understood that the Quebec and federal governments would never agree to such a thing, especially at the point of a gun. Especially with a young police officer -- father of three -- dead.

What was never talked about behind the barricades was how the Warriors, mostly from Kahnawake on Montreal's South Shore and Akwesasne near Cornwall, financed their para-military movement by smuggling cigarettes and booze between Ontario, Quebec and New York State.

On television, I watched the the ugly scenes at Chateaugay and Kahnawake, where Warriors had closed the Mercier Bridge and where a convey of cars carrying Mohawk women, children and elders was pelted by a rock-throwing mob of non- natives at a place called Whisky Trench.

And I sat under these trees and watched summer turn to autumn.

'I ran and never wanted to return': Ian MacLeod reported from behind the lines during the Oka crisis in 1990, where 'the sounds and smells were at times strange....

I experienced the Canadian military's relentless use of psychological warfare, including sleep and food deprivation. I witnessed what military commanders call the "rational use of violence" -- the calculated manipulation of verbal and physical intimidations and, at least once, the threat of imminent attack -- to get the enemy to back down. It was a very fine, dangerous line.

I listened to the military broadcast propaganda to the nation about how the Warriors were armed with enough landmines, anti-tank weapons, armour-piercing machine guns and explosives to take down Saddam Hussein's Republican Guard.

The Warriors of Kanesatake had plenty of small arms and ammunition but, from what I could see, little else. The army, it seems, was preparing Canadians for potential bloodshed, trying to justify the use of force to shield itself from blame if there was a bloodbath.

I cursed as the military's electronic-jamming experts, day by day, reduced the area in which reporters' cellphones could reach the outside world to tell the story. I finally stood in the woods one night with a dead cellphone, deactivated by a Quebec court order quietly obtained by the Surete on the flimsiest of legal grounds.

I walked out from behind the Mohawk barricades on Sept. 26, 1990, tired and numb.

I stood in the middle of Highway 344 watching the fleeing Mohawk men, women and children fight it out with soldiers and rifle butts and bayonets. Fourteen-year-old Waneek Horn- Miller, a Mohawk girl from Ottawa, was stabbed in the chest and collapsed on the pavement clutching her bloodstained baby sister, Genyetahawi.

Two burly privates and a sergeant, members of the Royal 22nd Regiment from CFB Gagetown, New Brunswick, corralled me. They spoke no English. I spoke no French. I waved my press pass. They waved their rifles.

An army public affairs major from National Defence Headquarters ran over. He ordered them to let me go. They repeatedly refused. Finally, without taking his eyes off the flustered sergeant, he told me to "Just go. Now! Go!"

I ran and never wanted to return.

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On Saturday, the Mohawks held a traditional powwow here to mark the 10th anniversary of the crisis. I spotted Ellen Gabriel, now in her early 40s. She was in The Pines when the police tear gas and shooting started that morning. She went on to become the Mohawks' chief spokeswoman and one of several Mohawk peace negotiators that summer.

She became famous across Canada for her eloquent, soft-spoken manner and deep Mohawk nationalism. Her nickname was Turtle. She now works as an illustrator and visual artist at Kanesatake's Mohawk Resource Centre.

"To go from being faceless, to having people recognize you, that's hard, it's really difficult," she says. "I live in a very small community and so there are problems with that. It's not been the best ride I've had."

She talks about the healing that is still going on here. Despite outward appearances, the Mohawks of Kanesatake were not unified in the summer of 1990.

There were problems too, she explains, with Kanesatake youths later mimicking the Warrior bravado and machismo they saw that summer. "They would put on Warrior jackets and pretend they were Warriors but they would be criminals."

She's upset by the lingering impression that Mohawks are a violent people.

"If we were violent people there wouldn't be any Europeans that would have survived coming here. We would have killed you all right away."

'I ran and never wanted to return': Ian MacLeod reported from behind the lines during the Oka crisis in 1990, where 'the sounds and smells were at times strange....

And she is sad and angry with what she sees happening to the Mohawk territory and culture here.

"The more our people become assimilated, the more they adopt those Western mentalities and philosophies and think that, 'Well yeah, maybe we should exploit the land and get as much money out of it as we can.' The (Kanesatake) band council has condoned the raping of the land. But if you exploit that land, what's left for future generations? How long will money last?"

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Oka's most famous face is not here -- Lasagna, the tough-guy Warrior who swaggered around in his battle fatigues and taunted the Van Doos. He personified the Oka crisis and became an enduring symbol of native resistance.

Ronald Cross died in November of apparent heart failure. He was 41.

One of the last times I saw him was in 1992 in the Great Hall of the National Gallery, standing nervously among the well-heeled Ottawa crowd. He was sipping a 7-Up and holding an official invitation to a new exhibition of native art. It was the ultimate social refinement of that long, hot, dirty summer.

He was later sentenced to 52 months in prison after being convicted of 20 charges stemming from the standoff. He later returned to Kahnawake and worked as a steelworker.

Robert "Mad Jap" Skidders, the small, wiry Akwesasne Warrior who commanded the men behind the barricades at the treatment centre, died in 1996 at age 59.

Mad Jap was one of the fiercest defenders of the Mohawk cause but he never carried a gun. His mouth, loaded with invective, was all he needed. On several occasions, he ordered his men not to retaliate against perceived and real army threats.

"Do not lock and load," he would yell. "Do not allow these bastards to provoke you! You are better than that."

Loran Thompson, an influential Akwesasne Mohawk spiritual leader credited with inspiring much of the resistance at Oka, is serving a 27-month term in a U.S. federal penitentiary in Pennsylvania for smuggling.

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On Sept. 1, 1990, Alain Tremblay, a tall, lean 29-year-old army major, led C Company of the Van Doos' 2nd Battalion on to Highway 344 and seized the main Warrior barricade that had blocked the road for 53 days.

Over the next 25 days, he came to symbolize the army's cool, methodical approach to handling the Warriors, who had retreated into the treatment centre compound high on a cliff above the Ottawa River and the Lake of Two Mountains.

Today, Lt.-Col. Tremblay is executive assistant to the deputy chief of defence staff Lt.-Gen. Ray Heneault.

"The army was there as a last resort," says Lt.-Col. Tremblay.

"There was certainly no pride taken by the army in having to conduct such an operation. But nevertheless, we behaved ourselves and, at the end, managed to achieve the mandate given to us by the government without a regrettable incident, per se.

"There were incidents along the way, but nevertheless nobody lost their lives up there and the crisis was, on the surface, resolved.

"From a leadership point of view it was quite a good experience for me. You rarely have the occasion, especially in the time that we're talking about, we didn't have the Bosnia background under our belt."

'I ran and never wanted to return': Ian MacLeod reported from behind the lines during the Oka crisis in 1990, where 'the sounds and smells were at times strange....

The army, he says, has no plans to mark this year's anniversary of the crisis.

"The Canadian Forces are not pushing the issue because there's no real pride to take from something like that, especially done in your country. "

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Pte. Patrick Cloutier, 21, won the admiration of many Canadians when he stood none-to-nose with a masked Warrior and didn't blink. He was later promoted to master corporal.

In 1991, he spent 45 days in a military prison after he admitted to occasional cocaine use. A year later, the demoted soldier was discharged from the army after being convicted of leaving the scene of an accident and causing bodily harm while driving under the influence of alcohol.

In 1995, he was starring in a low-budget porn flick, Quebec Sexy Girls 2: The Confrontation. The Canadian Press reported that Mr. Cloutier's scene was staged with a scantily dressed actress playing the role of an aboriginal woman who attempts to distract Mr. Cloutier from his soldierly duties.

"Listen, I never wanted to be king of the army," Mr. Cloutier told a reporter at the time. "After Oka, I was totally exploited by the media and it never gave me anything at all. So I said I might as well get something out of a picture for a change."

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Manhattan lawyer Stanley Cohen has been a long-time legal and political adviser to the Warriors of Akwesasne and served the same role behind the barricades during the treatment centre siege. He was called Takos -- the cat.

His clients now include Musa Abu Marzook, the political leader of the Islamic fundamentalist group Hamas. Mr. Cohen is a Jew.

Oka, he says, "was a major victory and remains a major victory. Canada was slowly but surely moving, taking, encroaching and flexing its muscles directly in Kanesatake and Kahnawake and indirectly in Akwesasne, and they got brought to a dramatic and sudden halt.

"And while I'm not going to sit here a decade later and say things are dramatically improved for the better, vis-a-vis the struggle of the Mohawk people, I think to the degree that it served as a wake-up call for Canada, they are far better along and further ahead than they would have been but for the resistance at Oka.

"It really was less about the land. I think while it served as a flashpoint, the tripwire that galvanized the struggle at the time, there were bigger issues. You were in a period and a time and a place where Canada in general and Quebec in particular just was completely indifferent to the legitimate aspirations and rights and independence of the Mohawk nation and was preparing to steamroll them in a host of other ways.

"It empowered Indian people all over Canada to say, 'You know, armed struggle and armed resistance, while it's not something you look forward to or you welcome, but as an independent nation that has an obligation to defend itself and its future, there comes a time when that can happen and when it's necessary.' And it was necessary."

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Waneek Horn-Miller, now 24, is co-captain of Canada's women's water polo team that will compete in the Summer Olympics in September. Her mother, Khan-Tineta Horn, was a prominent native activist in the 1960s and '70s. Ms. Horn and her two daughters, including Genyetahawi, then 4, left Ottawa and arrived behind the barricades at Kanesatake late that July.

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"It was a watershed in aboriginal and Canadian government relations, " says Ms. Horn. "Aboriginal people have always resisted this theft of our land but they were never able to actually, finally, say, 'This is it, we're not going to take it anymore.'"

Ms. Horn now works at an Akwesasne casino as a blackjack dealer and is preparing to travel to the Games in Sydney, Australia, to cheer on her daughter.

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Three weeks ago, the Kanesatake band council signed a tentative agreement with the federal government to give it control over an "interim land base" of about 1,200 hectares here, purchased by the government over the last 75 years.

If finalized, the deal would also give the Kanesatake council the power to establish bylaws and zoning rules and for the "harmonization" of Kanesatake laws and Municipality of Oka bylaws.

Mohawk traditionalists aren't impressed. They see the band council system as a puppet of the federal government and its hated Indian Act.

A community vote to ratify or reject the offer is expected this fall.

Graphic

CP Color Photo: John Kenney, The Montreal Gazette / A Mohawk Warrior stands atop a barricade on Highway 344 at the start of the Oka crisis in 1990. Ten years later, many Mohawks are sad and angry with what they see happening to their territory and culture. ; Color Photo: Paul Latour, The Ottawa Citizen / Reporter Ian MacLeod, centre, and lawyer Stanley Cohen, right, behind the barricades.

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