

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

Job Number: 223358485

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1. [Literature Can Look Terror in the Eye and Measure Its Human Consequences](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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2. [Letters to the Editor](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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3. [PRECOCITY AT PREMIUM; DONCASTER TWO-YEAR-OLD BREEZE-UP SALE PREVIEW](#)

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Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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4. [U.S. vows revenge: 10 armed men arrested at two New York airports: reports](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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8. [*Flight From the Taliban*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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9. [*100 DAYS*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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11. [*Islam's new bastion*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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12. [*DEATH OF A KING; Cautious King Took Risks In Straddling Two Worlds*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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15. [*Playing War*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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18. [HAMAS RENEWS THREAT TO AVENGE BOMBMAKER](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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19. [INSIDE](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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20. [Israelis hit Gaza from air](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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21. [Israelis hit Gaza from air](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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News

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22. [Market bomb kills four](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

Content Type
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23. [TERROR BLAST KILLS FOUR](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

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24. [SUICIDE BOMBER KILLS THREE](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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25. [LETTERS TO THE EDITOR](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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26. [Terrorist groups recruit in our cities](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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27. [MOURNERS CALL FOR REVENGE ON ISRAEL](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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28. [Israel 's Majority Politics](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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29. [World News Briefs: Israel Gives Terrorist Four Life Sentences](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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30. [AMERICAS & MIDDLE EAST: Suicide bomb attack kills three Israelis](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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31. [Israel refuses to relax occupation of West Bank towns: Four weeks on, quick snatch operations and assassinations have replaced big incursions, reports Harvey Morris:](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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32. [No Headline In Original](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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33. [WORLD IN BRIEF](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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34. [No Headline In Original](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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35. [No Headline In Original](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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36. [Shoppers hurt as bombs explode](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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37. [Pizza parlour bomb confirms Israel fears: Yesterday's attack in the centre of Jerusalem should have surprised nobody as Islamist militant groups have been promising retaliation for the assassination of terrorist suspects](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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38. [No Headline In Original](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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39. [Israeli ministers call for inquiry BOYS' DEATHS:](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

Content Type
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40. [No Headline In Original](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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41. [Clinton's final bid for peace - New US talks to find solution to Middle East killings](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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42. [*Killing threatens Mideast ceasefire*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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43. [*Boy Dies At Funeral As Crisis Deepens - Israel Hit By Third Bomb In Two Days*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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44. [*No Headline In Original*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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45. [*No Headline In Original*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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46. [*Israeli raid on town kills nine Palestinians NIGHT ASSAULT:*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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47. [No Headline In Original](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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48. [Closures in West Bank and Gaza 'hurting Israel ' UNSCO REPORT:](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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49. [No Headline In Original](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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50. [Anger grows in Israel as death toll mounts: The latest bombings have led to calls for a tough response as frustration over finding a peaceful solution increases, says Avi Machlis](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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51. [MIDDLE EAST & AFRICA: Gaza's residents dig in as Israel tightens noose: Life in the region since the outbreak of the intifada has been a struggle for the most basic needs. Roula Khalaf reports:](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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52. [No Headline In Original](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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53. [No Headline In Original](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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54. [No Headline In Original](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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55. [ISRAEL GIVES TERRORIST FOUR LIFE SENTENCES](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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56. [Driver rams car into 11 Israeli soldiers](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Literature Can Look Terror in the Eye and Measure Its Human Consequences

The Chronicle of Higher Education

December 21, 2001

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Section: THE CHRONICLE REVIEW; Pg. 11

Length: 3624 words

Byline: MARGARET SCANLAN

Body

In the wake of September 11, college professors struggling with their own shock and horror found themselves trying to explain the terrorist attacks to students -- some of whom were in grade school when the last President Bush sent U.S. troops to the Persian Gulf -- whose youth and vulnerability were suddenly and poignantly visible. Our own institutions also challenged us, as the president of my own university, Myles Brand, put it, "to retain a sense of purpose, to counter the terrorists' aims by holding firm to our principles and values."

No easy task, this, when you are coping with your own paralysis and are wondering if your subject is still worth teaching. When Carolyn Foster Segal apologizes to a student for showing Scorsese's *The Age of Innocence* and agrees that "I hate the story, too" (as she recounted in *The Chronicle*), she speaks for many others. Can students who have just seen buildings in Manhattan containing upward of 25,000 people explode and burn on live television imagine the psychic anguish of a rich New Yorker, unhappily married, in 1876? Should they? Foster Segal is tempted to renounce irony along with Edith Wharton, as she searches for a "literature that not only acknowledges longing and loss but that offers solace."

Much as I sympathize with Foster Segal, my own response was somewhat different, for I had recently published a book about the strange fascination terrorists and acts of terrorism have exercised over the imaginations of writers from Dostoyevsky and Henry James to DeLillo and Doris Lessing. Somewhere in the numbness of the first few days after September 11, when Tom Brokaw was still on the air 10 hours a day, I started wondering where I had gotten terrorism wrong. Every line I had written about the "construction" of the terrorist threat, with its accompanying suggestion that repressive states have exaggerated it to justify their own violence, loomed up in 24-point type. Yet as the guilt of the never-endangered scholar fades, with its ignoble self-importance, I recall that my own interest in terrorism began during the Vietnam War. Then, as now, the question of how or whether literature helps us face a catastrophic history was urgent.

Such questions scarcely occurred to me when I entered the University of Michigan as a graduate student in the fall of 1965. What was then still called the New Criticism was the official dogma. Its conservative assumptions about the superiority of art to the messes of the actual world would soon help discredit it. But the New Criticism was also strangely democratic, assuming, like the Protestant Reformers, that a sufficiently attentive intelligence, left alone with a text, paying enough attention to its language and structure, could understand what it meant. That one lacked an expensive private education in, say, classical languages or philology was no barrier. And, certainly, I benefited from that assumption.

As a graduate of a rural high school in Iowa, with a bachelor's degree from Iowa's least prestigious state university, my way paid by the Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation, I, like the GI's of the previous generation,

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was part of a new scholarship class with the potential to revolutionize the university. It did not, however, feel like that. The graduate English department still retained its Anglophile masculine folkways; and I was as bewildered by the afternoon sherry hour as by the expectation of self-assured argument in the seminar room.

On I went, reading the formalist's Henry James and W.B. Yeats and James Joyce and Joseph Conrad, content with the noble truth that poetry makes nothing happen. Flaubert, said Virginia Woolf, does not ask us to write checks for the benefit of distressed provincial housewives; that was proof enough for my professors of the artistic merits of *Madame Bovary*.

American bombing of Vietnam began shortly before I started graduate school, in March 1965. During my time in Ann Arbor and, later, in Iowa City teaching at the University of Iowa, I was observing, and to some extent participating in, a revolutionary cycle that the great 19th-century and fin de siècle novelists had written about: the evolution of nonviolent peace marches into protests marked by an increasingly militant rhetoric and then, eventually, by arson and the occasional murder. And although we were only partly aware of it at the time, the FBI's strategy, with its surveillance, informers, and even agents provocateurs, might have come directly from Dostoyevsky or Conrad.

What is harder to document is the sense of living through the collapse of a fundamental distinction that had allowed intellectual life to function: the belief that the aesthetic -- part of a private life of the mind -- was naturally aloof from politics and violence.

In the summer of 1966, while I was teaching at the University of Iowa, I gave a D in a British poetry survey to a student from my tiny hometown. He had touched me by observing in one ill-written paper that Wordsworth's Michael seemed too kind for a father, and I was sorry, afterward, to hear that an accumulation of such grades had caused him to lose his student draft deferment. Some two years later, on his 21st birthday, he stepped on a land mine in Vietnam and was instantly killed. It would be melodramatic to speculate about whether a B would have delayed his draft notice just long enough to keep him from stumbling across that particular mine. But that D, at the time an exercise of independent academic judgment, had entered some monstrous machinery and contributed to a young man's death. Becoming, however unwittingly, an adjunct of the military draft makes you crave something stronger than the complacent assurance that poetry makes nothing happen.

My classroom would never again feel like a privileged space set apart from the actual world. But by 1970, the more basic question was whether I would ever be able to speak of "my classroom" again.

The massive expansion of graduate education that government and foundation money had financed after Sputnik was one cause of the sudden collapse of what had been, as recently as 1968, a booming market for new assistant professors of literature. Women like me, who should have been content to teach in the public schools, as their mothers had done before their marriages took them out of the job market forever, were another part of the problem. So, too, was the student draft deferment, which kept a whole generation of unhappy male graduate students locked in American universities. And so, too, was the public image of students and professors that four years of campus protest had created. If the public in time grew tired of the war, it was equally weary of us. Neither the alumni of the small private colleges nor the legislators who set budgets for state universities could be persuaded to spend more money on institutions that had turned their children into drug-and-sex-crazed hippies.

As a married woman with a baby, I found myself unemployable. In those last days before affirmative action, I sent out exactly 100 job applications and received only rejections. By August 1971, even the least promising men from my graduate department had jobs -- not the jobs they had dreamed of, but jobs all the same. But, marooned in the small Minnesota town where my husband taught at a Catholic women's college, I had become the provincial housewife whose plight art may notice but not remedy.

As a graduate student grading papers, I may have identified with authority, then felt guilty about it. But in my basementapartment, with its brown couch and perpetual scent of diaper-pail disinfectant, I was far outside the academic institutions that keep the study of literature going; in a place where one must find one's own reasons for caring about literature.

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And so I did. The local libraries were small, but brimming over with postwar British novels. I began reading Doris Lessing, Muriel Spark, Iris Murdoch, Margaret Drabble; the Angry Young Men; the war novels of Evelyn Waugh and Anthony Powell. Those realistic novels, with their talk of rationing and class resentments, of scholarship boys only half-assimilated into their Oxford colleges, of a postwar life in which one was never really hungry but always hungry for something, real coffee or chocolate or eggs, spoke to my own dreariness.

Yet, when I turned back to the great 19th and early-20th-century writers -- to Dostoyevsky and Flaubert, to James and Conrad -- I realized that they, too, had lived in revolutionary times. The struggles of 1848, and the explosions of terrorism that began in Russia in the late 1860s, spreading to London with the Fenian bombings of 1885 and to Paris with the anarchist bombings of 1896-97, were so many proofs that the most domestic of lives could end in political violence. Flaubert's account of the repressive June days of 1850 or Henry James's meditations on his *fin de siècle* tour of bomb-scarred France evoked a history that obliterated landscape and, as Flaubert said, "drove men of sense mad for the rest of their lives."

Did writers in fact have anything to say to the terribly poor people for whom the revolutionaries offered hope? Did they have any alternative to complicity with the economic and social arrangements that made poverty inevitable? Were they themselves practicing some kind of violence? And even if they were not, would they or their work survive? Would ordinary people who could buy some yellow journalist's illustrated account of the latest dynamiting in Vienna have the attention span to read *Madame Bovary*, let alone *The Ambassadors*? The formalist's renunciation of history for the purer world of art became, in the face of such questions, an admission of radical doubt, a sense of limitation, perhaps failure.

Between 1871 and 1914, Dostoyevsky, James, and Conrad all wrote novels in which writers consorted with revolutionaries. All three authors saw writers and intellectuals as potential victims of revolution. In *Demons*, Dostoyevsky argued that intellectuals naively adulate the men of violence who, when they have the opportunity, will be as ready to kill them as to burn their books. In *The Princess Casamassima*, James undermined the romantic model of revolution, in which strong-willed individuals pit themselves against authority, suggesting that in the end, both writer and terrorist fail. In *Under Western Eyes*, Conrad was intrigued by the ease with which police states and terrorist cells recruit writers. The terrorist, like the writer, is a remnant of the romantic notion that human beings can assert their will against the collective.

Dostoyevsky, James, and Conrad put pressure on the common-sense distinction between writers and terrorists, stories and violence, without entirely seeing them as indistinguishable. Their novels anticipate many of the questions about representing violence that late-20th-century theorists have pressed -- the alliance between storytelling and power, the tendency of art to convert violence into an enthralling spectacle, and even, in the case of Conrad's Peter Mikulin, the way that the distortions of the victim's narrative become a best seller. They invite us to see in insurgent terrorism the violence of intellectuals -- to explore the romantic idea of the individual rebelling against the state, or against powerful social conventions. The more extreme romantics -- Shelley, Byron, Hugo, Lamartine -- believed that they really could transform society, bringing to life the better world they imagined in their texts. For the authors of those first terrorist novels, such an optimistic view of the artist's power and insight was no longer credible.

After the Great War, with notable exceptions such as Malraux's *La Condition humaine*, terrorist novels and incidents had declined; in fact, in 1933, Jacob Hardman declared in *The Encyclopedia of Social Sciences* that terrorism had become "outmoded as a revolutionary method." Hardman was not arguing that political terror and violence had ended in 1933, of all years, but that the labor movement had learned that sustained strikes were more effective than sporadic violence.

Much more recently, in *Terrorism in Context* (edited by Martha Crenshaw, Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), the historian Martin A. Miller argues that the increasing numbers of socialists elected to British and Continental parliaments in the 1920s suggest that many old revolutionaries found they could work within the increasingly democratic postwar regimes. However, he notes, both Communist and Fascist governments might be seen as extensions of older terrorist movements whose leaders, once in power, introduced state terrorism on an

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unprecedented scale. By 1939, a massive world war between well-armed states once more swallowed up any thought of small insurgent movements' threatening large governments.

But in the early 1970s, insurgent terrorism reappeared, for reasons that are still not entirely clear, using sophisticated modern technology. Skyjackings began in earnest, and radical groups around the world seized hostages and triggered car bombs. Television, even more useful to terrorists than mass-circulation newspapers, became the primary medium for the terrorist story and intensified the anxieties generated by terrorist acts.

It was only three years from the world's first live global television broadcast -- the moon landing of 1969 -- to the first global terrorist broadcast. In the summer of 1972, some 800 million viewers around the world tuned in to the Olympics but saw instead a daylong hostage drama that ended with Black September's killing 11 Israeli athletes just off camera.

As terrorists grew more savvy about television, they threatened to take control away from broadcasters. A German television journalist noted that during the Baader-Meinhof organization's kidnapping of Peter Lorenz in 1975, "We lost control of the medium. We shifted shows to meet their timetable. They demanded that our cameras be in a position to record each of the prisoners ... and our ... coverage had to include prepared statements of their demands."

Not surprisingly, many serious novelists of terrorism of the last two decades are intrigued by the nature of the television medium. In an interview, Don DeLillo, for example, mused that television coverage of terrorism and other news was superseding the novel, becoming itself a form of fiction. As a character in *Mao II* puts it, "Beckett was the last writer to shape the way we think and see. After him, the major work involves midair explosions."

While some terrorist novels emphasize the role of the state or the electronic media in constructing terrorism, others emphasize the affinities between men in small rooms -- as DeLillo styles them -- the ones who write novels and those who plot terror. Along with the older romantic notion of the writer as revolutionary comes a sense of writing as liberation from political or emotional repression, and for this reason the terrorist in these novels often becomes the writer's doppelgänger. As a Lebanese intellectual tells DeLillo's novelist Bill Gray, "It's the novelist who understands the secret life, the rage that underlies all obscurity and neglect. You're half murderers, most of you." In J.M. Coetzee's *The Master of Petersburg*, an encounter with son Pavel's murderer, the terrorist Nechaev, persuades the fictional Dostoyevsky that he himself is guilty of terror for having plundered Pavel's life for novelistic material, and will plunder him as mercilessly again in death.

For Doris Lessing and Mary McCarthy, the guilt that accompanied belated recognition of the horrors of the Gulag or the re-education camp produced a conviction that writers and intellectuals are particularly susceptible to the totalitarian propaganda of left-wing regimes, which they had come to doubt. To both, the militant splinter groups of the late 1960s and early '70s -- the Black Panthers, the Weathermen, the Red Army Faction -- suggested that even the most admirable causes, civil rights and peace, could degenerate into useless violence. The skyjacking and bombings of the 1970s and '80s, which are the immediate subjects of McCarthy's *Cannibals and Missionaries* and Lessing's *The Good Terrorist*, prompt a searching look at the failures of utopian politics earlier in the century. McCarthy and Lessing present terrorist acts as intractable events, almost natural disasters.

A more experimental strain of literary thrillers argues, as does the anthropologist Mick Taussig, that terrorism is itself a "phantasmagoric ... construction of the state." Friedrich Dürrenmatt's novella in 24 sentences, *The Assignment, or, On the Observing of the Observer of the Observers*, traces a terrorist plot conceived in a government office and suggests the difficulties of sorting out victims and perpetrators.

Philip Roth's *Operation Shylock: A Confession* provides a rich historical context for exploring the way one government uses such threats. While not questioning the real suffering of victims like Leon Klinghoffer, Roth notes how the Israeli government makes use of terrorism when it raises money in the United States, finding in that example how an even more intractable reality, the Holocaust, can be fictionalized, even translated into the idiom of marketing.

Literature Can Look Terror in the Eye and Measure Its Human Consequences

In a more apocalyptic vein, Robert Stone's *Damascus Gate* introduces an Israel where a bureaucrat plots with right-wing Israelis to bomb the Temple Mount while Mossad provides covert assistance to Hamas. In Stone's novel, terrorist acts continue and people die, but an insurgent terrorism that opposes the state has ceased to exist.

Though writers of terrorist fiction criticize terrorist plots and how the state and media manipulate them, they are pessimistic about the fate of literature. Novels, they suggest, do not necessarily liberate us. The documentary impulse rests on a fantasy of surveillance, whether in realistic novels or psychiatric case histories, that Derrida found as fundamentally repressive as did Foucault and his disciples. And even those literary thrillers that continue within the conventions of realism also suggest the great difficulty of discovering the actual origins and motivations of terrorist acts, which today usually come to us on television or via the Internet.

Going beyond Stone's cynicism about the links between terrorists and the state, Antoine Volodine, in *Lisbonne dernière marge*, spells out the philosophical basis for pessimism about novelists and terrorists. In this dystopian story about a killer from a group modeled on the Red Army Faction who yearns to publish a novel, writer and terrorist merge. Writers work in underground cells and are hunted by the police. Both terrorists and writers, we understand, are relics of the Western humanistic self, a casualty of postmodernism. Their guilt is less deplorable than their futility. In a world where anonymous networks, camouflaged by the state, wield an influence so vast as to implicate all of us, a critique of power is impossible. The revolutionary impulse, which has underlain our literature and our politics for two centuries, has, at last, disappeared.

Do these most recent writers speak to the events of September 11? Certainly not, if we demand that they be more prescient about terrorist tactics than the CIA and the FBI. But yes, if what we look for is an attentive reading of our own time. Readers of *Damascus Gate* who trace the affiliations of Osama bin Laden to our own country's intelligence activities during the Soviet-Afghan war will find themselves in a familiar moral landscape. Contemporary terrorism is often anonymous; we are not entirely sure whether the Swissair jet that crashed into Peggy's Cove fell victim to mechanical failure, some North Atlantic equivalent of the Bermuda Triangle, or a catastrophic politics. Osama bin Laden rejoices that Allah and a "group of vanguard Muslims" have struck America, and his spokesmen warn us to avoid tall buildings and jet travel; but he still refuses to claim direct responsibility for the terror attacks in the United States. Anthrax sent through the mail kills, but the letters accompanying it are unsigned and make no political arguments. The Pakistani journalist Hamid Mir, hired by bin Laden to write his biography, reports that they quarreled over its title. Osama bin Laden's choice, which Mir rejected, was *I Am Not a Terrorist*. Doubtless the alternative that bin Laden had in mind was *Holy Warrior*, but a novelist like Antoine Volodine suggests a bleaker interpretation, that even those who trigger the most destructive events do not imagine that they control their outcomes.

As for solace, our novels have little to offer. Conrad, so eloquent on so many occasions, remarks almost offhandedly in *Under Western Eyes*, in a paragraph about the "bombs and gallows" of Czarist Russia, that "the anguish of irreparable loss is familiar to us all. There is no life so lonely as to be safe against that experience." But what these novels offer instead is also crucial: a confirmation that literature speaks to the major issues of our time, looks terror in the eye, measures its human consequences, rejects the simplicities of public rhetoric, and refuses to be consoled. To "cast a cold eye" on a world that is never what we wish for is one accomplishment of the novel. When we have time to reflect on the courage it takes to face even the most domestic truths -- about our marriages, for example -- we may even find time for that perennially lost illusion, *The Age of Innocence*.

Margaret Scanlan is chair of the English department at Indiana University at South Bend and the author of *Plotting Terror: Novelists and Terrorists in Contemporary Fiction*, published this year by the University Press of Virginia.

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Letters to the Editor

The Daily Telegraph (Sydney, Australia)

November 9, 2001, Friday

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Section: FEATURES; Pg. 30

Length: 3474 words

Body

Poles apart on drugs

How can people say that there is little difference between the two major political parties? Are they so dulled that all is a blur? There is a great difference between them.

Take drugs, for instance. No, don't take drugs. But please consider this. John Howard's policies on drugs have been very successful. An enormous quantity of illegal drugs has been seized since 1997 and overdose deaths have fallen dramatically.

The Liberals have spent

\$2 billion on law enforcement, education and treatment, whereas Labor plans to fund schemes that will keep people on drugs.

MATP

Kim Beazley has said that he will not prevent any state or territory from conducting heroin trials.

Tom Stukel, Parramatta

By linking the boat people with terrorism, immigration and religion, the Coalition has definitely played the race card in the election debate.

The political rhetoric is strong. "They will not set foot here." But why has the Coalition not mentioned tracking down the 60,000 visa overstayers from England, Ireland and America roaming Australia illegally?

"We cannot guarantee that these people have no terrorist links." Why have they not said that there is also no guarantee that supporters of the IRA, Tamil Tigers, Hamas, Aryan Nation, Black Fist, the KKK and other terror organisations have not entered our country as visitors or otherwise?

I would say it is because refugee-bashing is worth about 500,000 conservative votes that will flow back to the Coalition.

Information has been deliberately left out to give the impression that illegal immigration is dominated by one particular race group; one that has been unfortunately linked with global events. The Coalition seems quite happy to manipulate racial stereotypes, fear, the hysterical media and prejudice for political gain.

Mark Singham,

Letters to the Editor

Kambah, ACT

Voters supporting "choice" and support for independent education in Saturday's poll have little choice in their politics. The reality is that whether there is a Liberal or Labor government, the Senate runs the risk of being under minority control.

However, both the Democrats and the Greens are ideologically opposed to independent schooling.

The Greens' policy indicates they will render religious schools illegal, and the Democrats want to take all funding from the Category 1, 2 and 3 independent schools. These are the goals the minor parties will pursue in doing Senate deals with any government.

If you support independent schooling and parental choice in school education, steer clear of the minor parties in the Senate poll

Bill Nash, Glenhaven

Kim Beazley is awfully good at telling us, ad nauseam, what he will fix; not so good at telling us how he will fix it. This has been his trademark for some years, so I fail to see what will change if he is elected.

Most of his "policies" are centred on a three- or four-year plan, so we won't see their effects for some time. I suppose that this way, if things

go down the tubes during the first couple of years, he can say: "Well, just wait another 18 months -- I told you I'd have it all together in time for the next election."

Eileen Wornos, Rydalmere

When the then federal Labor government sold the Commonwealth Bank and Qantas, there was uproar from the Liberal Opposition (probably well founded).

Now the Liberal Government has claimed extraordinary financial management by reducing the deficit inherited from the previous Labor government by \$60 billion.

I note in a recent copy of The Daily Telegraph that the Government has sold Australian assets worth \$55 billion, including almost half of Telstra. The sale of Sydney Airport is also in it sights.

Good financial management? I think not. Just a downright un-Australian fire sale of our most precious assets.

What next? The Sydney Harbour Bridge? The Opera House?

David Simpson, Surry Hills

I cannot understand how the opinion polls can show that the election race is so close. John Howard should be miles ahead of Kim Beazley.

The economy is in good shape and the Federal Government has done a good job regarding refugees and the fight against terrorism. Sure, the GST has been a challenge, although we are slowly adjusting. But there are too many other things at stake.

My main concern now is the "new age" push that may sound nice but is in danger of unravelling our families. Once the family is destroyed, the country follows. I love this country and I am scared of what will happen eventually to Australia if Kim Beazley gets in. So, on November 10, think and be careful.

Nigel Ginn, Molong

When you go to vote on Saturday, remember John Howard for the man he truly is.

Letters to the Editor

The man who said there would never, ever be a GST, who taught us the difference between "promises" and "core promises", who promised pensioners \$1000 and then sent them a cheque for \$1 or nothing at all.

He has spent hundreds of millions of dollars turning away refugees when all intelligent people know that he won't follow through after the election, his policies have greatly widened the gap between the rich and the poor and led to the bankruptcy of thousands of small businesses and many large corporations.

He is the man who has allowed the Australian dollar to drop to record lows and then tells us how great it is.

Let us all remember the man and ask ourselves the question: "Do we really need another three years of this?"

Peter Aubrey, Nth Curl Curl

I have been bemused by claims that price rises are a direct result of the GST, even on products not subject to it. Do people really believe that prices would have remained static without it?

At least it is subject to parliamentary review, not only by both federal houses but also by all state governments, unlike the sales tax which it replaced and which was subject to change without consultation.

Many political advertisements and some letters published are not only a spurious slur on the Federal Government, but show an insulting and alarming lack of confidence in the integrity of state governments -- most of which are controlled by the ALP.

W.L. Emery, Epping

Looking on the positive side, I have only come up with one possible benefit of John Howard's re-election -- a slimmer new edition of the Macquarie Dictionary and the resultant savings in paper and print.

After all, according to Mr Howard's view, a future Australia will have no need or use for such concepts as: caring; community; compassion; egal-

itarian; equality; fairness; human rights; justice (as in social); public (as in education, health and indeed service); reconciliation; respect; society; sorry and unity.

Let us think carefully of all we could lose before we vote.

Lesley Garret-Jones, Thirroul

Hope falls victim to fear

Malcolm Fraser has been brave and decent enough to not merely distance himself from the current Government but to speak out and condemn many of its policies.

John Howard may have been a good accountant but he has been unable to bring any sense of unity or vision or heart to issues such as reconciliation and asylum seekers.

History is likely to judge his Government as poll-driven, divisive and overly obsessed with the beloved bottom line.

Hope, tolerance and harmony within our diverse country seem to have been sacrificed to fear and xenophobia. Are these John Howard's true colours or is it a desperate attempt to win the votes of disenfranchised Australians?

Kris Martin, Mapleton, Qld

Laughable idea of balance

Congratulations to The Daily Telegraph editor for his courtesy in publishing a letter yesterday from the editor of the Sydney Morning Herald, Robert Whitehead.

Letters to the Editor

Before Mr Whitehead gives The Daily Telegraph's peerless columnist, Piers Akerman, a lecture on "balanced" coverage of the NRMA, let me inform your readers and remind Mr Whitehead that:

* The NRMA has written over 30 letters or e-mails of complaint and correction to the Herald over the Herald's incorrect and frequently biased reporting of NRMA events. Neither Mr Whitehead nor his predecessor has had the courtesy to publish any of these letters or corrections. His paper's view of a "balanced" coverage of the NRMA is laughable.

* In that regard, because the Sun-Herald refused to publish corrective advertisements, the CEO of NRMA, Mr Rob Carter, has been forced to communicate directly to all 2million NRMA members informing them of the Herald's campaign of "numerous inaccurate, derisive, spiteful and partisan Articles concerning the NRMA". Mr Whitehead has not published details of that statement in the Herald.

* In a speech in the NSW Parliament this week, Mr Barry O'Farrell, Deputy Leader of the Liberal party, condemned the Fairfax Press for its role in assisting the dissident Motorists Action Group "to destabilise and create chaos" in the NRMA. Apart from a brief, sarcastic and self-serving reference in a business column, Mr Whitehead did not report this speech -- let alone its substance.

* Mr Whitehead's journalists seem to have aligned themselves almost exclusively to the cause of what Mr O'Farrell calls "the indulgent and destructive antics" of MAG. Mr Whitehead should examine his own paper's coverage for "sanctimonious and hypocritical rantings" before he

seeks to attack Mr Akerman.

Congratulations to The Daily Telegraph for its accurate, open and balanced coverage of the NRMA. It certainly provides a contrast with the Herald's "standards".

Nicholas Whitlam

President NRMA

Roads no privilege

As one of the sheep "bleating" about toll roads (Daily Telegraph, November 8), I think it is wrong to say that roads are a privilege. Given the money that state and federal governments make from motor vehicles, there is no reason why any motorist should have to pay a single cent for the right to use any road.

Premier Bob Carr and Transport Minister Carl Scully have found a way to pay someone else (with our money) to do their job for them.

One tragic outcome of the Lane Cove problem is that nothing will be resolved. The current gridlock caused by traffic lights will be replaced by a gridlock caused by the toll-booths. At least with traffic lights, some sort of traffic flow is achieved at intervals.

Underlying all this, of course, is that roads are

no good unless there is a strong public transport infrastructure to support them. Unfortunately, we don't have this, we have Carl Scully.

Peter Lawson, Elizabeth Bay

I rely on two forms of transport (bus and train) each day to get to and from school at De la Salle College, Ashfield.

My problem is the unreliability of my bus service, the 412. The train is no problem as I catch it to and from Petersham each day but the 412 is a different matter. On most mornings the 412 is running late and when that happens, I miss the train -- and because of that I'm late for school and we know what happens then.

Letters to the Editor

Christopher Wood,

Marrickville

Shocked in Spanish

I find it hard to believe that the Howard Government has both feet on the ground when it comes to its understanding of multiculturalism in Australia.

As a voter in Tony Abbott's electorate,

I was shocked to receive a personally addressed letter, written entirely in Spanish. Was this an attempt at vote wooing meant to compensate for the

lack of compassionate policies towards immigration?

I have a Spanish surname, I was born in Australia, I have spent all my life in Australia and my parents have been in this country for 37 years after migrating from the Philippines.

Needless to say, my family are proud Australians, and are equally as proud of the culture they have brought with them that forms an integral part of Australian society today.

We may be "migrants" but we do know that cheap publicity stunts are no substitute for policies.

Hasta la vista, Mr Abbott.

Mary Garcia, Manly

Immigration Minister Philip Ruddock says there is a right way and a wrong way for refugees to enter Australia. If such common crassness had existed in 1939 and bureaucrats and residents in neighbouring nations had forcibly turned back the Jewish people fleeing Hitler's evil regime, those bureaucrats and residents would have been no better than the tyrants from whom the refugees fled.

How horrible it must be to flee tyranny. How unimaginably worse to be met with cold-hearted ruthlessness in the country that offers freedom and safety.

Barry Newton, Mt Colah

E-talk

Dropping bombs on innocent men, women and children in Afghanistan is not waging war against terrorism but perpetrating terrorism. History will judge these acts as harshly as it will judge using planes as missiles of destruction against the American World Trade Centre and the Pentagon on September 11.

Meryl Tobin, The Gurdies, Vic

Does Kim Beazley think we are all stupid with his GST scare campaign? Is he saying John Howard has done a deal with all the Labor premiers to increase the rate of GST and impose it on food items? That is the only way it will happen. In any event, the Democrats certainly won't allow any such changes through the Senate.

John Shailer, East Lindfield

I don't recall voting for a preferential voting system. If I vote for a party, that's where my vote should stay, not to be passed on to a party I did not vote for. Add up the true votes and then, and only then, should the most popular party be elected. Let democracy rule.

Rhondi Gartenfeld, Picnic Point

Letters to the Editor

Next Sunday is Remembrance Day. It is a day for reflection on true heroes, Australians of various conflicts. Some of us will remember them for their deeds and bravery, some for the fact that they were simply there, helping in the defence of Australia. Sunday also happens to be the day after the federal election. Some of us will remember the promises made by Kim Beazley and John Howard, for that is what they were destined to become, memories.

Russ Grigg, Lorne

Saving the entire St Marys ADI site from housing development is still a vote-winner in the marginal western Sydney seats of Lindsay and Macquarie. The Coalition recently said it would save the Heritage-listed section. Lindsay ALP candidate David Bradbury said the ALP would do the same. But development on the non-Heritage half would introduce cats, dogs, foxes, vehicles and pollution to slowly kill off and render extinct this last vestige of Cumberland woodland. Come on, politicians, save the entire site. Set up a regional park showcasing kangaroos, emus and myriad birds and reptiles -- a terrific boon for tourism so close to Sydney. Those preferences from the Save The ADI Site Party and the Greens might just get you into Canberra, and you would achieve something long-term and worthwhile for us all.

Helen Burnie, Windsor

Exchange

QHow and why did the American accent originate, given that the founding fathers (the Pilgrims) of the east coast were English?

Brian J. Corcoran, Sydney

The way the Americans speak English today is much closer to the way the people from whom the founding fathers came spoke English than the way it is spoken in England itself. Language is a living thing that is forever in a process of change -- in the way we use it, write it and even speak it. Because the Pilgrim Fathers established a small colony far away from Mother England, language there tended not to evolve, whereas changes occurred in England. For example, in old nursery rhymes, there are words that no longer sound the same to our ears because the way we pronounce them has changed.

Joan Baker, Sydney

Of course, the first Americans were British. They named Boston after the Boston town in Lincolnshire, England. The accent was probably invented by individuals who resented continuing to sound British.

Dorothy Streeter, Cabramatta

QHow did the tennis scoring system of 15.30.40 come to be used? Why not 1.2.3?

K.B. Smith, Wauchope

To clear up the mystery of "love" in tennis, I quote from the 1991 NTC's Dictionary of Word Origins: "The derivation here is not the same as 'duck' in cricket, which comes from the 'duck's egg' or round zero ... it in fact comes from the expression 'play for love', i.e. play for nothing ... (as in a 'labour of love', which is done without any financial reward)."

Kevin Phillips, North Entrance

QUESTIONS

In the English language there are three words that end with the letters "gry". They are angry, hungry and the third one, which eludes me completely. Can anyone help? Also, is there any other word in the language besides "dreamt" that ends in the letters "mt"?

D. Rice, Tumut

Letters to the Editor

What is the origin of the phrase, "They got off scot free"?

T. Brown, Lake Heights

* Is there a question to which you've always wanted to know the answer? Or can you answer a question? Send questions or answers to Exchange, Letters Editor, PO Box 2808, GPO Sydney NSW 2001 or email letters@dailytelegraph.com.au. A selection will be published but we are not able to enter into individual correspondence.

In search

DONOR CONCEPTION SUPPORT GROUP

The Donor Conception Support Group of Australia would like to invite people conceived using donor sperm to a screening of a video entitled Are You My Father? This video features Rebecca, a 24-year-old adult conceived by donor insemination. The video was shown on national TV in New Zealand two months ago. Rebecca lives in Sydney and is a keen member of the DCSG. People will have the chance to speak to her and others after the video is shown on November 10, 2001, from 1.30pm to 5pm at the NSW Commission for Children and Young People, Level 2, 407 Elizabeth St, Surry Hills. Ring 0297241366 or e-mail dcsq@optushome.com.au.

JOHN GORDON

If anyone knows the whereabouts of John Gordon, please contact Trish Tagg (Hoskins) and Peter Noble on 0247517181 or petepan1@bigpond.com.

COLINA MASTERTON

I am trying to find my half-sister, Colina or Colleena Masterton, daughter of George Masterton. I last saw her in Sydney in about 1957 and she was probably about 12 years old then. Write to Stephen Masterton at 44 Goodwin St, Lyneham, ACT 2602 or phone 0262570830.

MISSING FRIENDS

My wife and I have recently moved to Australia to live permanently. I was in the Royal Navy during World War II and spent the last two years in the Pacific, where I met many kind Australians who showered us with hospitality whenever we were in port. I have kept in touch with many of these people. After the war I was working in London for a company called Tubewrights and met two Australian girls who were working for the same company as "temps". They spent one Christmas with us while we were living at Sydenham, south-east London. Neither my wife nor I can remember their names, only that they were living in Newcastle at the time. It would be nice if we could make contact again. Contact Iris and Norman Watson, 2/130 Marine Pde, Kingscliff, NSW 2487. Phone: 0266744637.

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.

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.

Thanks to The Daily Telegraph for giving us the opportunity to update our library books. We were fortunate enough and really excited to collect 7500 tokens. We will have 58 new books to add to our library. We are grateful for the opportunity to participate in such a worthwhile promotion. Upon receipt of our final order, we plan to display all our books in a special part of the library to show the children just what they have achieved, and to invite parents up to the school too, as they were involved as well. Once again, many thanks.

Letters to the Editor

Margaret Mathers, school assistant,

Ermington West Public School

Thank you to The Daily Telegraph, Telstra BigPond and HarperCollins for sponsoring Free Books for Schools. All at Christ the King Bass Hill made a wonderful effort and we really appreciated the contribution of our parishioners in collecting tokens. Our school has 212 children and we have collected a total of 9200 tokens and are now selecting the remainder of our free books. Tokens are still coming in. Thank you to all families, friends, parishioners and workmates who helped us achieve such a great effort and add to our library collection. This promotion has added to the great spirit of community already present in our school.

Robyn Thomas, teacher/librarian,

Christ the King School, Bass Hill

Schools can email us at news@dailytelegraph.com.au or fax us on 92882535.

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Letters should be no more than 250 words, clearly typed or neatly hand written. Name and address and phone number must be supplied for verification.

Letters may be edited.

Load-Date: November 8, 2001

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PRECOCITY AT PREMIUM;
DONCASTER TWO-YEAR-OLD BREEZE-UP SALE PREVIEW

Sporting Life

March 20, 1998, Friday

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Byline: Andrew Caulfield

Body

LAST YEAR'S Breeders' Cup victories by Skip Away and Favorite Trick provided a reminder of the quality of performer to be found at American breeze-up sales, and the British sales can also be a valuable source of winners, albeit at a less spectacular level.

The catalogue for next week's Doncaster Bloodstock sale points out that the 1995, 1996 and 1997 sales produced 491 runners, of whom 233 won a total of 450 races. One of those winners was Almushtarak, a 13,000gns purchase who last year became a Group winner on the racecourse where he had been breezed as a juvenile.

This year's sale will see 250 two-year-olds come under the hammer between Thursday, March 26, and Saturday, March 28. All the two-year-olds will be breezed twice over three furlongs of Doncaster's hurdle course, beginning on March 25.

This year's collection will be bidding to better last year's record turnover of 1,783,200gns, which produced an average of 9,239gns. Much will depend on whether the strength of the pound - and the financial problems in the Far East - deter any of the foreign buyers who have played a major part in this sale's success.

Here, Andrew Caulfield, The Sporting Life's breeding expert, casts his eye over some of the juveniles on offer:

ARAGON (1c): An Aragon colt who sold here for 7,600gns last year went on to win twice in Italy. Lot 6 is bred for speed, with mares by Bay Express and Blue Cashmere as his first two dams.

ARCHWAY (1c, 1f): Now resident in Australia, this fast half-brother to Dr Devious is represented by two inexpensive yearling buys.

Newcastle Lodge Stud's colt, Lot 223, is a half-brother to the successful miler Quietly Impressive and the filly, Lot 125, comes from one of the Aga Khan's families.

ARDKINGGLASS (2c): Although he has been sold to Tunisia, Ardkinglass caught the eye with four winners among his first seven runners last year. Consequently, his second crop yearlings were quite popular, a good example being Lot 159, a 10,000gns buy. This colt's dam won at two and so did two of his half-sisters.

Lot 31, a 4,500gns buy, is the first foal of a Bluebird mare and is therefore inbred to Northern Dancer through Danzig and Storm Bird.

PRECOCITY AT PREMIUM; DONCASTER TWO-YEAR-OLD BREEZE-UP SALE PREVIEW

ASCOT KNIGHT (1f): This Canadian-based son of Danzig has sired Influential, a top American turf horse, and the very successful fillies Pennyhill Park, Hey Hazel and Plenty Of Sugar. The filly on offer here, Lot 126, is out of a very well -connected daughter of Raise A Native.

BALLA COVE (2c): IR11,000gns was the yearling price of Lot 145, a colt whose dam, a consistent winner producer, is a sister to Steel Heart, as well as being closely related to the dam of King Of Kings. Tally Ho Stud's colt, Lot 25, was a IR3,200gns buy.

BALLAD ROCK (1c): From the last crop by the sire of Chief Singer and Rock City comes Lot 142, a IR2,000gns buy whose dam is a winning half- sister to the dam of those speedy fillies Bayleaf and Baize.

BE MY GUEST (2c): This former champion sire was 21 when these youngsters were conceived, but that didn't stop other members of this crop fetching IR350,000gns and 200,000gns as yearlings.

Lot 9, a 4,200gns yearling, is out of a winning half-sister to the very useful Sonic Boy, while Lot 216 (who is inbred 2 x 3 to Northern Dancer) is a half -brother to the useful Gentle Step.

BEVELED (3c): This reliable winner-getter should do well with Lots 160, a IR5,200gns yearling out of a two-year-old winner; 161, an 8,000gns buy whose dam is a three-parts-sister to the very fast Glen Kate; and 215, a son of that smart mare Shapina, winner of the Fred Darling Stakes.

BIEN BIEN (1c): This top American turf horse achieved some substantial prices with his first-crop yearlings. Lynn Lodge Stud's colt, Lot 28, is another very well-connected individual, as a half-brother to the speedy Welsh Note and to Hidden Trick, an American Grade Two winner.

BLUEBIRD (1c): Lot 34, a IR8,000gns yearling buy by Malcolm Bastard, is out of a daughter of Troy.

CASE LAW (3c, 1f): Law Library, an earner of pounds 50,000 last year, quickly established what Case Law is capable of. The second-crop colts representing him here are Lots 19, a IR4,200gns buy who, like Definite Article, is inbred to Lorenzaccio; 73, a IR7,000gns yearling who is a three-parts- brother to a good winner in Turkey; and 83, a IR3,200gns buy which is a three-parts-brother to a winner.

The filly, Lot 136, is out of a daughter of Alzao.

CASTEDDU (1g): Casteddu graduated from this sale to develop into a Group winner. Here he is represented by Lot 63, a 6,200gns yearling from the successful family responsible for Governor General.

CATRAIL (1f): IR5,500gns was the yearling price of Lot 98, which is remarkably cheap for a filly whose third dam is Regal Gleam, the champion American filly who ranked as the second dam of Caerleon.

CHILIBANG (1c): Lot 181 has the attraction of being a half-brother to Demolition Jo and Always Alight, earners jointly of pounds 46,000 last year.

CLANTIME (4c): Can Clantime repeat the type of success which has seen his sons sell for up to 70,000gns at this sale? The most likely candidate is Mocklershill Stables' colt, Lot 150, a 10,000gns yearling from the famous Jojo family.

Lot 93, a IR3,500gns purchase, is a half-brother to a two-year-old winner, while Lots 101 and 113 were bought for 2,000gns and 4,500gns respectively.

COLLEGE CHAPEL (4c, 3f): There is every reason to think that this first- crop team by College Chapel is going to prove very popular.

Lot 233 was knocked down for IR17,500gns as a yearling and is out of a two -year-old winner by Try My Best.

Suir View Stables' colts are Lot 124, an 8,000gns son of a prolific winner- producer, and Lot 174, a 10,000gns buy.

PRECOCITY AT PREMIUM; DONCASTER TWO-YEAR-OLD BREEZE-UP SALE PREVIEW

Also well worth a look is Lot 59, a IR9,000gns half-brother to a couple of two -year-old winners.

Lot 110, a filly bought for IR11,500gns, is out of a sister to the very useful Cheviot Amble. The remaining fillies are Lot 77, whose dam is a half-sister to Sharp N' Early, the Gimcrack winner, and Lot 200.

COMMON GROUNDS (3c): Four sons of Common Grounds sold for up to 28,000gns here last year and two of them went on to win in Italy.

One of the early lots well worth inspection is Lot 5. This 7,000gns colt is a brother to two winners, including the talented Hear The Music. Lot 11 is inbred 4 x 3 to Northern Dancer, while Lot 84, a IR7,000gns buy, is the second foal of a speedy Standaan mare.

COSMONAUT (2c, 1g): Cosmonaut never raced, but he could hardly be better bred, as a son of Mr Prospector and the excellent Sonic Lady. His team here includes Lot 32, a 5,600gns gelding who is the first foal of a half- sister to Polytain, winner of the Prix du Jockey-Club. Later comes Lot 61, a half-brother to two overseas winners out of a winning Petorius mare.

CYRANO DE BERGERAC (1c, 1f): Cyrano De Bergerac could be due for an above -average year, thanks to the book of mares he attracted after Millkom's successes in 1994. Millkom is out of a granddaughter of Mummy's Pet, and so are Lots 81 and 169, who respectively cost 6,000gns and 5,000gns.

DANCING DISSIDENT (1c, 1f): Bansha House Stables' filly, Lot 78, is a sister to a two-year-old winner in Italy and is bred to be speedy.

DILUM (1c): Doninga Stud must have high hopes of Lot 41, a 14,000gns yearling. This colt is a half-brother to two juvenile winners and his dam, a dual juvenile winner, is a granddaughter of dual Oaks winner Juliette Marny.

DISTANT RELATIVE (3c): 17 winners from 37 runners was the proud record of Distant Relative last year, and this top miler is poised for another rewarding time in 1998, thanks to a sizeable crop of two-year-olds.

The ones on offer here are Lots 75, an 8,200gns yearling who descends from the top two-year-old Cry Of Truth; 112, a half-brother to that excellent jumper Dancing Paddy who cost 5,600gns; and 168, a 4,200gns yearling from the outstanding Pelting family.

DISTINCTLY NORTH (4c, 1f): Several of these were popular yearlings, good examples being Lots 224, an IR11,000gns buy inbred 3 x 3 to Northern Dancer; 175, a IR7,000gns purchase who comes from the same family as Miss Demure and Royal Shyness; and 221, a IR6,200gns filly out of a two-year- old winner.

Lot 201 is bred to be speedy, his dam Tricky being a sister to Jester and Tricky Note.

DOLPHIN STREET (1c): Everyone will be keen to take a look at Lot 33, as this colt cost Malcolm Bastard 23,000gns. The youngster's second dam is the classic -winning Dumka, which means that his dam is a half-sister to Doyoun, Dalsaan, Dolpour and Dafayna.

ELBIO (1f): Lot 104, a IR6,500gns yearling, is a half-sister to seven winners, several of them above average on the Flat or over jumps.

ELMAAMUL (1f): Fulling Mill Stud's filly, Lot 241, is a half-sister to Media Express, a winner at up to a mile, and comes from a good family.

EMARATI (1c, 1f): Manor Grange Stud consigns both these youngsters, including Lot 196, a grandson of Diadem Stakes winner Sovereign Rose.

EZZOUD (1f): This top middle-distance horse should do well with Lot 155, a IR10,000gns half-sister to the smart French horse Bashaayeash. This is also the family of Tarascon.

PRECOCITY AT PREMIUM; DONCASTER TWO-YEAR-OLD BREEZE-UP SALE PREVIEW

FAYRUZ (5c, 2f): The members of this team sold as yearlings for between IR1,000gns and 9,000gns, the highest-priced being Lots 103, Egerton Stud's half-brother to a successful Fairy King filly, and 82, Colnpen's 7,600gns colt out of a winning half-sister to Sandalay.

Lot 1, a 6,200gns yearling, is the first foal of a Mtoto mare, while Portlester Stud's filly, Lot 157, was a IR6,200gns purchase.

Lismacue Stables' colt, Lot 188, is a half-brother to several talented performers and cost IR5,000gns.

FIRST TRUMP (1c, 2f): It is reasonable to expect these members of First Trump's first crop to make two-year-olds. Lot 43 is a daughter of a two-year-old winner by Midyan; Lot 144, a 5,500gns colt, is a half-brother to the successful juvenile Abergele; and Lot 237, a 4,000gns buy, is out of a winning daughter of Night Shift.

FOREST WIND (5c, 1g, 2f): The large first crop by this winner of the Mill Reef Stakes is well represented here. His team should get off to a bright start with Lots 2, a 9,800gns gelding from the family of Common Grounds and Luso, and 23, a 12,000gns colt out of a half-sister to Rakaposhi King.

Kilminfoyle House Stud consigns Lots 39 and 138, the former being a IR7,000gns colt out of a well-bred Kahyasi mare.

IR6,200gns was the yearling price of Lot 100, the first foal of a fair six-furlong winner.

Musley Bank's colt, Lot 152, is a half-brother to Key Largo, a winner on his juvenile debut in 1996.

FORMIDABLE (1c): Lot 194 was knocked down for 10,000gns at the St Leger Sales. He is a half-brother to several winners and his second dam is a sister to Brigadier Gerard.

FORZANDO (2c): Last year's Forzando colt made 22,000gns, and this year's pair also have reasonable prospects. Lynn Lodge Stud's colt, Lot 133, cost 7,200gns, and Bansha House Stables' colt, Lot 186, is the first foal of Sheppard's Cross, a well-bred triple seven-furlong winner by Soviet Star.

GEIGER COUNTER (1c): This extremely well-bred son of Mr Prospector has been siring some important winners in Australia.

17,000gns was the yearling price of Lot 173, a brother to the all-weather winner Diamond Drill.

GRAND LODGE (1f): IR9,200gns was the yearling price of the filly from the first crop by this very tough performer. She's a half-sister to six winners, including a German Listed winner.

GREAT COMMOTION (2c): Deadly Dudley and Lend A Hand have highlighted what a shame it is that Great Commotion has fertility problems. He could be ably represented here by Lot 24, a IR24,000gns colt out of a winner-producing Riverman mare, and Lot 231, a IR9,600gns grandson of a French Listed winner.

HAMAS (1f): Italian buyers could well be interested in Lot 154, as **Hamas** had three good first-crop winners in Italy last year. This filly cost 4,000gns.

IMPERIAL FRONTIER (1c): Portlester Stud's IR7,200gns colt is a half-brother to two overseas juvenile winners.

IMP SOCIETY (1c, 1f): Youngsters by Imp Society made 24,000gns and 18,000gns here a year ago. He should also be ably represented by Lot 116, a IR9,000gns colt from Musley Bank Stud.

KEEN (1c): This brother to Kris enjoyed Group success in Japan and the US last year and he has a useful prospect here as Lot 69. This 15,500gns yearling is a half-brother to an Italian Listed winner.

KING'S SIGNET (2c, 1g): King's Signet's five first-crop juvenile winners all scored over sprint distances and speed should also be the forte of Lot 177, a 6,000gns yearling out of Bunty Boo's half-sister Klairover, and Lot 50, a 4,200gns gelding out of the speedy Bella Seville.

PRECOCITY AT PREMIUM; DONCASTER TWO-YEAR-OLD BREEZE-UP SALE PREVIEW

More stoutly bred is Lot 79, a 5,000gns colt out of a well-connected Shirley Heights mare.

KOMAIITE (2c): Both of these youngsters are out of winner-producing mares. Egerton Stud's colt, Lot 227, cost 4,000gns and Lot 85 comes from Cross Farm, a vendor with six previous winners to its credit at these sales.

LAHIB (1c, 1f): With La-Faah leading the way, Lahib had a respectable crop of two-year-olds last year. He could do well with Lot 60, an IR20,000gns yearling which is a brother to an Irish juvenile winner. The youngster's dam is a winning half-sister to Montekin and Mazaad.

The filly, Lot 158, cost IR6,000gns and comes from the excellent Mesopotamia family.

LION CAVERN (1c): Suir View Stables' colt, Lot 149, comes from the female line responsible for Musical Bliss and Defensive Play.

LUGANA BEACH (2c, 1f): This fast horse has an admirable strike-rate with his two-year-old runners, and he has a likely sort on offer as Lot 45, a colt which cost Jimmy FitzGerald 10,500gns.

The other colt, Lot 94, cost 5,500gns and comes from a lengthy line of winning mares.

The filly, Lot 8, is a non-thoroughbred but her dam has already produced Poets Cove, winner of the Molecomb Stakes.

LYCIUS (1f): Lot 171 is the second foal of a very well-bred Ela-Mana- Mou mare whose first foal won at two.

MAC'S IMP (5c): An all-male team represents the last full crop by this very fast two-year-old. Among the colts are Lots 14, a 5,300gns son of the reliable winner-producer Ethel Knight, 17, bought for 4,800gns, and 179, a 4,600gns brother to a winner abroad.

Lot 88 is the first foal of a sister to that admirable colt Nominator.

MAGICAL STRIKE (1c): Lot 192 is a half-brother to Imperial Talent, a colt who went on to win nearly pounds 40,000 in Singapore after being bought for 17,000gns here in 1996.

MAGICAL WONDER (1c): The dam of Lot 96 has already produced a dual winner to another grandson of Northern Dancer.

MAGIC RING (1c, 2f): With Merlin's Ring and Crazee Mental among his first runners, Magic Ring made an excellent start last year. He is likely to do very well here, too, as his three representatives were popular yearlings. Lot 37, a 12,000gns buy, is a half-brother to the prolific winner Double Gold.

The fillies are Lot 42, a 9,000gns half-sister to several winning sprinters, including Love Returned, and Lot 130, a 7,500gns half-sister to a juvenile winner.

MERDON MELODY (1c): Lot 207 must fill the eye, as he cost 9,000gns as a yearling. He is a half-brother to Walk In The Park, a fairly useful sprinter.

MON TRESOR (1c, 1f): The colt, Lot 62, is a 4,000gns buy out of a two-year-old winner.

MOST WELCOME (1c, 1f): This reliable stallion is doing well at the moment with the American-based Prize Giving. Lot 229, an 11,500gns yearling, is a half-sister to the speedy Swynford Dream, while Lot 187 is a son of a half-sister to Sky Ship, a very smart juvenile.

MUHARIB (1g): Lot 4's brother made 5,200gns here last year before winning in Italy.

MUJADIL (2c, 1f): This fast son of Storm Bird has quickly earned himself a reputation for dependability and he should make his mark with Lot 146. A half-brother to Regiment, he cost the equivalent of over 17,000gns at Deauville.

PRECOCITY AT PREMIUM; DONCASTER TWO-YEAR-OLD BREEZE-UP SALE PREVIEW

The other colt, Lot 70, cost IR6,000gns.

MUJTAHID (1c): Lot 176 cost IR10,000gns and is out of a winner-producing Sharpen Up mare.

MUKADDAMAH (1c): Lot 184, an IR7,000gns yearling, is a half-brother to a prolific winner in Italy.

MYSTIKO (1c): Lot 239 is a half-brother to that tough sprinter Scissor Ridge.

NAMAQUALAND (2c): From the first crop of this well-bred horse come Lot 234, whose dam is a winning half-sister to The Quiet Bidder, a very smart sprinter, and Lot 189, the first foal of a winning daughter of El Gran Senor.

NASHWAN (1c): Although he was very cheaply bought, this colt, Lot 147, is out of a mare who cost 1.6 million dollars as a yearling. His second dam, the champion sprinter Gold Beauty, bred Dayjur.

NEVER SO BOLD (1c): 7,000gns was the yearling price of Lot 102.

NUCLEON (1c): This much-travelled son of Mr Prospector is represented by Lot 148, a half-brother to a couple of successful performers.

PARIS HOUSE (2c): Paris House made a pleasing start last year, with Parisian Lady, Maduka and Salamanca showing fairly useful form. Lot 97 is a half -brother to a juvenile winner and Lot 167, a IR4,600gns yearling, comes from the same family as the top-class Priolo.

PERSIAN BOLD (1f): Lot 211, an 8,000gns yearling, has two-year-old winners as her first two dams.

PERUGINO (5c, 5f): The first yearlings by this three-parts-brother to Fairy King and Sadler's Wells sold for up to IR180,000gns, but several members of Perugino's large team here were bought for less than 5,000gns.

An exception is Lot 249, who was knocked down for 57,000gns at Tattersalls' October Sales. This colt's dam, Missish, has enjoyed a fruitful relationship with Presidium, notably producing Andreyev and Moscow Road.

Lot 64, a 10,500gns yearling, is out of a prolific winner in Italy and comes from the same family as Topanoora.

Lot 217 is a grandson of Ionian Raja, a classic-placed filly in France, while Lot 222 is a grand-daughter of Busaca, winner of the Yorkshire Oaks.

Musley Bank Stud's colt, Lot 240, is a half-brother to the useful General Sikorski, while Mocklershill Stables' filly, Lot 131, comes from the excellent family responsible for the top fillies Kartajana and Caerlina.

PETARDIA (3c, 8f): Thanks to the Group wins of Halmahera and Name Of Love, Petardia has already shown he can sire something out of the ordinary. Those Group wins came after many of Petardia's second crop yearlings had been sold, so there should be profits in store for some of the vendors here.

Pollardstown Stud is selling two of the higher-priced lots in Lots 57 and 108. The former, a IR14,000gns buy, is a half-brother to Sharp Try, a big earner in the US, and the latter, a filly, was an IR8,000gns purchase.

Lot 53 is a half-brother to the five-time juvenile winner Wild Honour, while Lot 210, a 7,500gns purchase, is a colt out of a winning, well-bred Lear Fan mare.

One of Tally Ho Stud's fillies, Lot 26, comes from a family renowned for producing smart juveniles, and another, Lot 164, is inbred 3 x 2 to Mummy's Pet. Also inbred to Mummy's Pet is Lot 236, another filly from a good **female** line.

PETONG (3c): Two of these were quite popular as yearlings, with Lot 52 costing 8,500gns and Lot 153 7,000gns.

The other, Lot 7, is a brother to a prolific juvenile winner in Turkey last year.

PRECOCITY AT PREMIUM; DONCASTER TWO-YEAR-OLD BREEZE-UP SALE PREVIEW

PETORIUS (1f): IR5,000gns was the yearling price of Lot 87, a half-sister to a talented two-year-old called Snappy Dresser.

PIPS PRIDE (1c, 1f): Lot 65, a IR6,200gns yearling, is a half-brother to numerous winners, including a winner of the Irish Cambridgeshire.

The filly, Lot 16, is the first foal of a winning half-sister to those admirable mares Mistinguett and Sinntara.

POLAR FALCON (2c, 2f): A Polar Falcon colt made 36,000gns at last year's Tattersalls Breeze-Up, and there should also be plenty of interest in these youngsters.

For example, the fillies cost 12,000gns (Lot 122) and 6,000gns (Lot 139). The former is a half-sister to two juvenile winners, including the 1997 scorer Goodwood Cavalier, and the latter is out of a winning sister to the Hong Kong champion River Verdon.

The colts are Lot 15, the 6,500gns first foal of a winning Darshaan mare, and Lot 76, an 8,000gns brother to the versatile Polar Prospect.

POLISH PATRIOT (2c, 1f): There is plenty to like about some of these. For example, Lot 66 is a half-sister to Soweto, a very useful performer in California, and Lot 151 is a filly out of a half-sister to To-Agori- Mou.

Lot 235 was a IR6,000gns yearling.

POSEN (1c): I'm Supposin's sire relies on Lot 38, a 4,000gns yearling inbred 3 x 4 to Northern Dancer.

PRESIDIUM (2c, 1g): Presidium colts made 14,500gns and 12,000gns here last year. This time his representatives include Lot 140, a colt whose family produced the top-class Selkirk to Presidium's half-brother, Kris, and Lot 198, a half-brother to Grate Times, a winning juvenile.

PRINCE SABO (1f): Lot 123 is a sister to a winning two-year-old, her dam being a well-bred winner by Private Account.

PROJECT MANAJER (1c): Lot 185, an IR6,000gns yearling, is the first foal of a Thatching mare.

PURSUIT OF LOVE (2c): Lot 13, a 6,000gns yearling, is a grandson of the speedy Heart 'N' Soul, while Lot 205, an 8,000gns buy, is a half-brother to several winners, including Strategic Ploy.

RAINBOWS FOR LIFE (2c): Rainbows For Life has done well in France with No Lies and Ask Me Why, two sons from his first crop. More sons represent him here, including Lot 35, a IR7,000gns half-brother to two juvenile winners.

RAMBO DANCER (1c): Lot 178 cost 9,200gns and is a half-brother to Vice Presidential, a first-time-out winner last year.

RED SUNSET (1c, 2f): The most expensive of these, at IR4,500gns, was Lot 219, a half-sister to a middle-distance winner.

REPRIMAND (1f): Lot 230, a 4,500gns yearling, has the attraction of coming from the excellent Pelting family which produced Central Park, Quws and Monaassib to win Group races last year.

RISK ME (1c, 1g): The gelding, Lot 165, cost IR7,800gns and his dam is a half -sister to the dam of Turtle Island. The colt, Lot 204, is a grandson of a two -year-old Group winner.

RIVER FALLS (4c, 1f): Lot 213 is a half-brother to a fair juvenile winner and could make a two-year-old despite his late- May birthdate. So could Lot 46, the first foal of an Irish six- furlong winner.

Lot 134 was a IR6,800gns yearling, so must look the part.

PRECOCITY AT PREMIUM; DONCASTER TWO-YEAR-OLD BREEZE-UP SALE PREVIEW

ROBELLINO (2f): Robellino should reap the rewards of an excellent 1997. Lot 44, a 16,000gns yearling, is the first foal of a winning mare and Lot 220 is out of a winner-producing Caerleon mare.

ROCK HOPPER (1c): Lot 195 was knocked down for 8,500gns as a yearling and is a half-brother to Qualitair Aviator and Comtec's Legend.

ROI DANZIG (1g): Lot 67, a 4,500gns yearling, is bred on the same lines as Mint Crisp, a Group Three winner in France, and comes from the same family as Crown Of Light and Alboostan.

RUDIMENTARY (1c): There is plenty to like about Lot 135. This 15,000gns yearling is a brother to a winner and his dam is closely related to the dams of Spectrum and Erin Bird.

SALSE (1c): The sire of top two-year-old Lemon Souffle is represented by Lot 55 was a IR15,000gns yearling. His dam is a winner-producing Bustino mare.

SCENIC (1c, 1f): Lot 54 is the second foal of a half-sister to those successful performers Knock Knock and Rohita.

SECOND SET (1c): This high-class miler made a promising start last year and is represented by Lot 12, a IR10,000gns yearling.

SHADEED (1f): Lot 111's third dam is the high-class Sybil's Niece, dam of the champion sire Great Nephew and ancestress of numerous top winners.

SHALFORD (2c, 3f): This collection sold for between 4,400gns and 9,500gns as yearlings, the top price coming via Lot 51, a colt who is the first foal of an Alzao mare.

The price for Lot 106 was 6,800gns, her dam being a two-year-old winner by Cyrano De Bergerac, and Lot 89 cost IR6,200gns.

SOVIET LAD (1c): IR4,800gns was the yearling price of Lot 47.

SUPERPOWER (1c, 1g): The colt, Lot 172, cost 15,000gns as a yearling and his dam's first three foals are all winners.

TAUFAN (1c): Lot 80 is one of the last offspring of Taufan, sire of Tagula and Captain Horatius. Both of the colt's first two dams are by very fast horses.

TERIMON (1c): The 9,200gns yearling price of Lot 208 suggests he is well worth a look. His dam won at up to seven furlongs.

THATCHING (1c): 9,200gns was also the yearling price of Lot 128, whose second dam is Arosa, a very successful broodmare.

THEN AGAIN (1c): Lot 114, an 8,400gns yearling, is a half-brother to Saunders Wren, a dual five-furlong winner.

THOWRA (1c): Lot 21, a 2,100gns yearling, is out of a Darshaan mare from a top German family.

TIMELESS TIMES (5c, 2f): There is reason to expect several of these to win as two-year-olds. For example, Lot 18 has a February birthdate and was bought for 7,000gns; Lot 95, a 4,500gns yearling, is a half-brother to the multiple winner Hannah's Usher; and Lot 218, a filly, is out of a half-sister to Gipsy Fiddler which won twice at two.

Another filly, Lot 156, is a half-sister to the successful Tessajoe.

TIROL (2c, 1f): Tirol had a very good time with his 1997 juveniles, which included Tarascon and Mountain Song. Here his team includes Lot 190, a IR7,500gns colt out of a talented Ballad Rock mare.

PRECOCITY AT PREMIUM; DONCASTER TWO-YEAR-OLD BREEZE-UP SALE PREVIEW

TRAGIC ROLE (1c, 1f): Mocklershill Stables offers both of these. The colt, Lot 225, was bought for 8,500gns and is closely related to Louis' Queen, a Listed winner in Italy and Belgium, and he is followed by Lot 226, a filly from the same family.

TURTLE ISLAND (1f): From the first crop by this admirable racehorse comes Lot 127, a half-sister to Bradawn Breever which cost IR7,500gns as a yearling.

UNBLEST (2c): Lot 191, a IR7,000gns yearling, comes from a good French family, while Lot 193 comes from a family which produced the Flying Childers Stakes winner Imperial Bailiwick to another member of the Lyphard male line.

UP AND AT'EM (2c, 4f): Both the colts by this first-crop sire were popular yearlings, with Lot 166 cost-ing 10,000gns and Lot 247 IR9,000gns.

Among the fillies are Lot 170, a half-sister to several juvenile winners which cost IR5,500gns, and Lot 242, a IR5,400gns buy.

Oak Lodge Stud's filly, Lot 90, is a half-sister to two Italian winners, their dam being a half-sister to the dam of the very fast Don't Worry Me.

WOLFHOUND (1c): 5,500gns was paid for Lot 132, a half-brother to Doyce, winner of the Chester Cup, and the very useful jumper Current Express.

WOODS OF WINDSOR (2c, 1f): Two of these are first foals from good female lines. Lot 92 is out of a Last Tycoon mare from the celebrated Thong family and Lot 107, a filly, is out of a dual two-year-old winner from the family of Foveros, a top racehorse and sire in South Africa.

POSEN (1c): I'm Supposin's sire relies on Lot 38, a 4,000gns yearling inbred 3 x 4 to Northern Dancer.

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SUPERPOWER (1c, 1g): The colt, Lot 172, cost 15,000gns as a yearling and his dam's first three foals are all winners.

TAUFAN (1c): Lot 80 is one of the last offspring of Taufan, sire of Tagula and Captain Horatius. Both of the colt's first two dams are by very fast horses.

TERIMON (1c): The 9,200gns yearling price of Lot 208 suggests he is well worth a look. His dam won at up to seven furlongs.

THATCHING (1c): 9,200gns was also the yearling price of Lot 128, whose second dam is Arosa, a very successful broodmare.

THEN AGAIN (1c): Lot 114, an 8,400gns yearling, is a half-brother to Saunders Wren, a dual five-furlong winner.

THOWRA (1c): Lot 21, a 2,100gns yearling, is out of a Darshaan mare from a top German family.

TIMELESS TIMES (5c, 2f): There is reason to expect several of these to win as two-year-olds. For example, Lot 18 has a February birthdate and was bought for 7,000gns; Lot 95, a 4,500gns yearling, is a half-brother to the multiple winner Hannah's Usher; and Lot 218, a filly, is out of a half-sister to Gipsy Fiddler which won twice at two.

Another filly, Lot 156, is a half-sister to the successful Tessajoe.

PRECOCITY AT PREMIUM; DONCASTER TWO-YEAR-OLD BREEZE-UP SALE PREVIEW

TIROL (2c, 1f): Tirol had a very good time with his 1997 juveniles, which included Tarascon and Mountain Song. Here his team includes Lot 190, a IR7,500gns colt out of a talented Ballad Rock mare.

TRAGIC ROLE (1c, 1f): Mocklershill Stables offers both of these. The colt, Lot 225, was bought for 8,500gns and is closely related to Louis' Queen, a Listed winner in Italy and Belgium, and he is followed by Lot 226, a filly from the same family.

TURTLE ISLAND (1f): From the first crop by this admirable racehorse comes Lot 127, a half-sister to Bradawn Breever which cost IR7,500gns as a yearling.

UNBLEST (2c): Lot 191, a IR7,000gns yearling, comes from a good French family, while Lot 193 comes from a family which produced the Flying Childers Stakes winner Imperial Bailiwick to another member of the Lyphard male line.

UP AND AT'EM (2c, 4f): Both the colts by this first-crop sire were popular yearlings, with Lot 166 cost-ing 10,000gns and Lot 247 IR9,000gns.

Among the fillies are Lot 170, a half-sister to several juvenile winners which cost IR5,500gns, and Lot 242, a IR5,400gns buy.

Oak Lodge Stud's filly, Lot 90, is a half-sister to two Italian winners, their dam being a half-sister to the dam of the very fast Don't Worry Me.

WOLFHOUND (1c): 5,500gns was paid for Lot 132, a half-brother to Doyce, winner of the Chester Cup, and the very useful jumper Current Express.

WOODS OF WINDSOR (2c, 1f): Two of these are first foals from good female lines. Lot 92 is out of a Last Tycoon mare from the celebrated Thong family and Lot 107, a filly, is out of a dual two-year-old winner from the family of Foveros, a top racehorse and sire in South Africa.

Load-Date: March 20, 1998

U.S. vows revenge: 10 armed men arrested at two New York airports: reports

The Ottawa Citizen

September 14, 2001 Friday

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Body

- U.S. names bin Laden as prime suspect
- Bush calls on allies to prepare for war
- International day of mourning today

A trembling U.S. President George W. Bush choked back tears yesterday as he called on his stricken nation -- and appealed again to allies around the world -- to prepare for "the first war of the 21st century."

On the second full day following Tuesday's catastrophic terror attacks on the United States, time appeared to have run out on the search for survivors at the collapsed World Trade Center in New York and the still-smouldering Pentagon in Washington.

But the search for clues into who devised and directed the deadly hijack-and-crash plot, now believed to have killed at least 5,000 people, is pointing investigators toward the man suspected from the very beginning of masterminding it all: Afghanistan-based Islamic terrorist Osama bin Laden.

For the first time since the tragedy struck three days ago, U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell confirmed that the key suspect is Mr. bin Laden, the Saudi-born leader of a Muslim extremist group blamed for many previous acts of terrorism, including attacks on U.S. embassies in Africa and a U.S. Navy warship in the Persian Gulf.

The Ottawa Citizen; with files from Citizen Writers and, Wire Services

"We will go after that group, that network and those that have harboured, supported and aided that network, to rip that network up," Mr. Powell said, becoming the first Bush administration official to publicly state that Mr. bin Laden is now seen as Enemy No. 1.

"When we are through with that network, we will continue with a global assault against terrorism in general."

But just hours after the Bush administration talked about retaliation for Tuesday's attack, there were startling reports that the United States might still be under threat. ABC News reported last night that the FBI had arrested 10 people -- armed with knives and fake pilot identification -- at two New York airports.

The airports had been briefly opened yesterday but were later shut down because of unspecified "FBI activity."

U.S. vows revenge: 10 armed men arrested at two New York airports: reports

When, where and how the U.S. and its allies, including Canada, might retaliate against those responsible for Tuesday's attack is already a subject of rampant speculation, even before any culprit has been definitively identified. The American government has made it clear that blame for the attack will be shared equally by those involved in planning and executing the hijackings and any country that has harboured the perpetrators. U.S. officials warned that retaliation would involve the use of air, sea and land forces over a lengthy period of time.

For years, Mr. bin Laden has been given refuge by Afghanistan's ruling Taliban regime -- the leaders of which are themselves widely loathed in the West for their zealous discrimination against women and all non-Muslims in their attempt to construct a puritanically Islamic state.

Mr. Bush, whose emotional address to Americans seemed to fully bring home the staggering dimensions of Tuesday's tragedy, proclaimed today a national day of mourning and remembrance and said he would attend a prayer service in Washington with members of Congress. But the president's show of grief was momentary as he noted the "quiet anger" that has enveloped the country and again vowed retribution for its sorrow.

"My resolve is steady and strong about winning this war that has been declared on America," Mr. Bush said. "It's a new kind of war ... This government will adjust and this government will call other governments to join us."

The sentiments voiced by Mr. Bush over the past few days appeared to be resonating with ordinary Americans. Yesterday in Manhattan, on a wall covered in dust from the collapsed World Trade Center, someone had written: "RESCUE, RECOVER, REVENGE."

Around the world there were touching displays of support for the United States. In Britain, during an unprecedented ceremony ordered by Queen Elizabeth, the band in the Changing of the Guard ceremony at Buckingham Palace played the U.S. national anthem.

In Ottawa, Prime Minister Jean Chretien asked Canadians to join today in the day of mourning for the thousands of American victims of the attacks, as well as the estimated 60 to 100 Canadians who are feared dead at the World Trade Center and two others who were passengers on the doomed airliners.

The federal government will stage a noon ceremony on Parliament Hill at which both Mr. Chretien and American ambassador Paul Cellucci will speak. Three minutes of silence will be observed and choirs will sing both national anthems. Members of the public are invited to attend the ceremony, the first time the grounds around the Parliament Buildings will have been re-opened to the public since Tuesday.

"This will show the solidarity that we feel towards our American friends and the families of the Canadian victims," Mr. Chretien said. "We want to fortify their courage in the face of this terrible situation. We join all civilized nations in pledging our complete support in the days to come and our full co-operation in bringing those who have committed this awful crime to justice." Flag stores across Canada were also emptied of the Stars and Stripes as Canadians sought to show their solidarity with a wounded neighbour.

But there were also disturbing signs that other emotions have been stirred by the unprecedented attacks in New York and Washington.

An Ottawa Muslim family woke up yesterday to find the words "Go Home" sprayed on their front window.

"My wife is scared. I have three young kids aged six, five and seven months, and when you have young kids something like this worries you," said Muhammed Ahmed, who moved to Canada from the United States three years ago. His original homeland is Pakistan. "There is no doubt this is related to what is happening in the United States. People are generalizing."

While reports of some verbal and physical attacks on Muslims have surfaced in several North American cities, including Montreal and Calgary, area Muslim leaders say Ottawa has been calm. They've received reports of obscene or threatening phone calls, but this is the first they've heard of anyone's home being vandalized in the city. They hope it is not a sign of things to come.

U.S. vows revenge: 10 armed men arrested at two New York airports: reports

U.S. investigators in Tuesday's terror attacks said yesterday a total of 18 hijackers commandeered the four planes and flew them on the suicide missions. There were five terrorists each on two planes and four on the other two.

The hijackers were supported by as many as 50 people in a network on the ground, investigators believe.

At the third crash site in rural Pennsylvania, a flight data recorder was recovered from the one hijacked jet -- United Flight 93 from Newark to San Francisco -- that failed to reach a populated target, possibly because of a passenger rebellion against their captors. That black box was sent to Washington for analysis, but the search is still on for the cockpit voice recorder, which is expected to be more valuable to investigators trying to track down further suspects linked to the attacks.

There were conflicting reports last night about arrests at New York airports. In addition to ABC's report about 10 arrests, the Associated Press reported that a man carrying false pilot's identification was arrested at John F. Kennedy International.

The man attempted to get past security with the false identification and was stopped, police commissioner Bernard Kerik said. He did not identify the man.

In addition, he said five or six people, some of them Arab nationals, had been detained at city airports for questioning by the FBI and the Joint Terrorist Task Force.

Fox News television reported men were taken into custody at all three New York area airports, including Newark International Airport in New Jersey.

Fox said three men were arrested at New York's LaGuardia Airport, and that several men, who were on an Immigration and Naturalization Services list, were taken off a Saudi Arabian airliner at Newark Airport.

There were also reports last night that the body of a suspected hijacker and a **female** flight attendant with her hands tied behind her back were discovered in plane wreckage at the World Trade Center.

Rescue crews were said to have found the cockpit of one of the two airliners that slammed into the financial centre's twin towers. Inside, reportedly, was the body of a man not wearing a pilot's uniform and a woman whose hands were tied with wire. Police would not confirm the bodies had been found.

CNN was also reporting that it has obtained a transcript of another recording of the Pennsylvania plane's final moments. In a partial transcript of chatter from the plane, recorded by air traffic controllers, someone was heard in the cockpit yelling, "Get out of here." After sounds of scuffling, someone again shouts, "Get out of here."

Next to be heard is a different voice, apparently in broken English, saying: "There is a bomb on board. This is the captain speaking. Remain in your seat. There is a bomb on board. Stay quiet. We are meeting with their demands. We are returning to the airport."

The FBI said it was pursuing "thousands and thousands" of leads as it wove a spider's web of evidence to justify a potential military attack on the perpetrators. Investigators painstakingly sought to piece together evidence on the ground.

Searchers also received a signal from the black box of the plane that crashed at the Pentagon, but cannot retrieve the instrument until they can enter the collapsed area of the building where the airplane's fuselage rests.

At the sites of devastation in New York and Washington, workers continued to comb through rubble as the chances of finding anyone else alive diminished to almost nil. Hope for miracles was momentarily and perhaps cruelly fuelled when a report emerged yesterday afternoon that five buried firefighters had been rescued. The report was later discounted as false, but not before First Lady Laura Bush, during a live television interview, said it appeared that families' prayers were being answered.

U.S. vows revenge: 10 armed men arrested at two New York airports: reports

But Arthur DeBianco, an operations engineer who has worked at the trade centre for 19 years and who barely escaped from the crumbling building, and Marlene Cruz, a carpenter who also escaped from the crumbling centre, told the Citizen there are tunnel structures beneath the buildings that could have protected people from the crush of concrete and steel.

"If there was anybody there (in the tunnels) they are still alive," said Ms. Cruz.

In New York, only a handful of survivors had been found after 70 hours of digging, fewer than 100 bodies had been recovered and more than 4,700 people were considered missing. At the Pentagon, where nearly 200 people are believed to have perished, rescue efforts were officially reclassified as a corpse-recovery operation.

In New York, forecasts of thunderstorms and high winds threatened to hamper the night's rescue efforts, further testing the mettle of workers, many working 24-hour shifts in grim conditions.

The news came on a day when New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani said 4,763 people were reported missing in the twisted metal and pulverized concrete rubble. "It could turn out we recover fewer than that; it could be more," he said. "We don't know the answer."

Mr. Bush and his wife, Laura, are scheduled to visit the devastated city today.

Yesterday in Washington, Mr. Bush told injured Pentagon workers that every American was praying for them as they fought for their lives.

"They described the horror of the incident and the moment. They talked about escaping through fire, crawling through debris," Mr. Bush said. "It was clear that they were fighting for their survival then. They're still fighting for their survival."

Pentagon officials expect the toll in the Pentagon attack to reach 190 dead, including an unidentified three-star general.

Mr. Bush and his wife spent some 45 minutes in the Washington Hospital Centre where nine of the 11 patients are in critical condition. Most had severe burns and some were on ventilators.

But their fighting spirit seemed to lift Bush's own mood. He later talked of "coming together and whipping terrorism, hunting it down, finding it and holding them accountable."

In an emotional outburst, Mr. Bush said: "These people can't stand freedom, they hate our values. They hate what America stands for."

But he said America would not be cowed. "This country will not relent until we have saved ourselves and others from the terrible tragedy that came upon America."

As preparation for its military response, the White House says it is considering calling up thousands of reserves.

Last night, there were reports of unusual movement at a Turkish air base available to the U.S. for military action. And the U.S. has reportedly sought permission from Pakistan for passage through its air space.

In the wake of Tuesday's attacks, Pakistan is emerging as a pivotal player in the new global struggle that Mr. Bush is vowing to wage against international terrorism.

After Mr. Powell identified Mr. bin Laden as a prime suspect in the attacks, he specifically sought the support of Pakistan, Afghanistan's eastern neighbor, for America's next moves.

Continued on page A5

Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf condemned the attacks and promised "unstinted cooperation" with the U.S. investigation. "The world must unite to fight terrorism," he said.

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But Pakistan is one of only three countries that recognize the Taliban regime. And with the United States vowing military retaliation, not only against the perpetrators but also their state patrons, Mr. Musharraf faces a momentous decision, Pakistani political analysts and security experts said Thursday.

"You can make a decisive break and wipe off this guilt by association with the Taliban, and by implication, Osama bin Laden," said Rifaat Hussain, chairman of the department of defence and strategic studies at Quaid-I-Azam University in Islamabad, Pakistan.

"Frankly, this is a huge opportunity for Pakistan to position itself with the international community and be seen as being on the right side of history rather than the wrong side of history."

Late Thursday, Vice-President Dick Cheney was moved to Camp David as a response to this week's terrorist strikes.

"This is a purely precautionary measure," White House press secretary Juleanna Glover said. "It is an indication, though, that there's been a change in the way things are going to be run after Tuesday's terrorist attacks. From a security standpoint, this is not business as usual."

Nor was it a normal day on Capitol Hill, where lawmakers were temporarily evacuated during the middle of a Senate vote and as House members were receiving a briefing from FBI and CIA officials about the terror attacks.

Congressmen were told that bomb sniffing dogs had picked up a suspicious scent inside the marble-domed Capitol, which bookends Pennsylvania Avenue with the White House.

In a further sign of the tense atmosphere that exists in Washington, the Lincoln Memorial and Jefferson Memorial were closed after being re-opened earlier in the day.

The Federal Aviation Authority gave the green light for airports across the country to open amid heightened security measures after an unprecedented two-day closing.

Among the strict measures in place: All planes will be searched before passengers board. No knives or sharp instruments will be allowed in hand luggage. There will be no curbside check-ins. Only passengers will be allowed near the boarding gate and air marshalls will patrol the corridors.

U.S. stock markets are set to open Monday, following Thursday's cautious trading in the bond market and the commodities markets, including the Chicago Board of Trade and Chicago Mercantile Exchange.

In sports-crazy America, professional and major college sports came to a halt in the wake of the barbaric attacks.

The NFL said America needed time to grieve and reflect on this week's "horrific acts of terrorism."

In New York, Mr. Giuliani said that 97 bodies have been found and of those, 46 have been identified. Parts of 70 other bodies also have been located. "I really don't like to talk about it in this way, but that's the reality of it," Mr. Giuliani said.

The official count of people missing in the 220,000-tonne pile of twisted steel, glass and concrete that used to be New York's tallest structures include 92 people on board American Airlines Flight 11, which struck the trade centre's north tower and United Airlines Flight 175, carrying 65 people, which plowed into the south tower.

The remainder of the missing have been compiled from family members and businesses inside the trade centre complex, Giuliani said.

On a typical day, 50,000 people worked at the center.

Also still missing are more than 300 New York firefighters, who rushed into the burning buildings, while thousands of panicked workers were streaming out. Most of the firefighters are presumed dead after both towers completely collapsed within an hour of the terrorist attack.

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Presumed immediately killed when the towers fell were some of the fire department's top brass, including New York Fire Department Chief Pete Ganci and Deputy Fire Commissioner William Feehan, a 40-year veteran.

Special Operations Chief Ray Downey, who led a team of New York firefighters who helped rescue operations in the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing and the Fire Department's chaplain, Rev. Michael Judge, are also believed dead.

The city was gripped Thursday by a continuing fear as bomb threats forced the evacuation of New York's landmark Chrysler Building, now the city's second tallest skyscraper, La Guardia airport and CNN's headquarters near Penn Station.

"It's just panic, more copycat panic," said Port Authority Police Capt. Chris Acerbo, who ordered a temporary evacuation of the headquarters of the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, which oversees the area's airports, bridges and tunnels, after a bomb threat.

There are genuine concerns about the smoke that has billowed over much of Manhattan Island, with reports that dangerous asbestos particles may be aloft. Mr. Giuliani said health department tests showed the danger was minimal.

The city set up a centre on the East Side where family members descended with photos of loved ones. They stood with tears streaming down their faces while providing details to officials that might help in the identification process as more bodies are found.

New York media mogul Donald Trump made an appearance on West Street late yesterday afternoon, giving high-fives to police officers and volunteers on their way to the World Trade Center site.

"I have a lot of men working down here," Mr. Trump told the Citizen after his brief stint near the front lines. "I want to make sure they're OK."

Mr. Trump, who owns more than 20 buildings in Manhattan, said his employees were cleaning and digging out, but would not specify where they were working. He also would not say how many people on the clean-up patrol are on his payroll. The closest Trump property to the World Trade Center is the 72-floor 40 Wall Street.

Meanwhile, senior government officials in Canada said yesterday there is no evidence of a Canadian connection to Tuesday's attacks.

"There is no indication at this moment that those perpetrators came from Canada," Mr. Chretien told reporters.

His insistence that no Canadian link has arisen was underscored by security chiefs, who stressed that Canadian investigators were working with their counterparts around the globe in probing all possible leads in the tragedy.

Recent reports have indicated Canada, along with Britain and the Bahamas, have been used as entry points into the U.S. by terrorists.

"Although there have been indications that there might be Canadian links, there is no evidence at this time that there are any Canadian links whatsoever," said Ward Elcock, director of the Canadian Security Intelligence Service. "We've certainly been looking into any allegation or any information that we receive, but I can't comment any further than that."

The terrorist organization headed by Mr. bin Laden has cells identified or suspected in 34 countries or territories -- including Canada -- and represents "a global threat" to the U.S., according to documents released yesterday.

"In building this network, bin Laden has assembled a coalition of disparate radical Islamic groups of varying nationalities to work toward common goals -- the expulsion of non-Muslim control or influence from Muslim-inhabited lands," said the report.

The Congressional Research Service report was dated Monday, the day before the terrorist attacks.

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The assertion that Mr. bin Laden's Al-Qaeda organization has links in dozens of countries is significant, given Mr. Powell's promise to carry out a global war on terrorism.

The report, written by Middle East specialist Kenneth Katzman, said Mr. bin Laden is estimated to have \$300 million in personal financial assets, with which he funds a network of 3,000 Islamic militants.

The organization presents a "global threat to U.S. citizens and national security interests," the report said.

It also said Al-Qaeda cells have been identified or suspected in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Yemen, Jordan, Egypt, Libya, Lebanon, Algeria, Tunisia, Mauritania, Sudan, Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Chechnya, Somalia, Eritrea, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Ethiopia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Uruguay, Ecuador, Bosnia, Kosovo, Albania, the United Kingdom, Canada and the U.S. itself.

The report lists 19 Near-Eastern terrorist organizations, and ranks Al-Qaeda as the only one with an "extremely high" terrorist activity level. Only two were ranked "very high": the Palestinian Islamic Jihad and Hamas, also a Palestinian organization.

Graphic

Colour Photo: Kevin Lamarque, Reuters ; U.S. President, George W. Bush's eyes well up with tears yesterday at the White, House. 'I'm a loving guy and I'm also someone, however, who has a, job to do and I intend to do it.'; Colour Photo: Andrew Vaughan, The, Canadian Press ; Rachel Uchitel makes an emotional plea as she, searches for her fiance James Andrew O'Grady outside Bellevue, Hospital Center in Manhattan yesterday. Mr. O'Grady was working on, the 104th floor of tower 2 of the World Trade Center that was, destroyed in the terrorist attack on Tuesday.; Photo: Beth A., Keiser, The Associated Press ; Rescue workers remove debris from the, rubble of the World Trade Center towers yesterday in New York. The, search for survivors and the recovery of the victims continues since, Tuesday's terrorist attack.; Photo: Brian Snyder, Reuters ; United, Airlines worker Alyson Robichaud is comforted by American Eagle, pilot Chuck O'Hare at an interfaith prayer vigil at Boston's City, Hall Plaza yesterday.; Photo: John Labriola, The Associated Press ;, Firefighter Mike Kehoe, from Staten Island, assists in the, evacuation effort in a stairwell of Tower One. These pictures were, shot by John Labriola who had an office on the 71st floor of the, building and are the first photos from inside the tower, thus far., Mr. Labriola escaped without injury. Fellow firefighter Bobby, Annunziato said Mr. Kehoe escaped before the towers collapsed.;, Photo: John Labriola, The Associated Press ; Ash covers gravestones, in Trinity Church.; Photo: John Labriola, The Associated Press ;, Pedestrians walk through the ash covered street, below. Both shots, were taken before the towers collapsed.; Photo: John Labriola, The, Associated Press ; Firefighter from Fire Patrol 2 in Manhattan, Sgt., John Sheehan, left, from New Jersey stands guard as occupants, evacuate Tower One. Sgt. Sheehan was treated for smoke inhalation, and released.; Photo: John Labriola, The Associated Press ; A man, talks on a cellular telephone as he walks with other evacuees down a, staircase in Tower One.; Photo: John Labriola, The Associated Press, ; Water flows down the stairsteps as people evacuate Tower One

Load-Date: September 14, 2001

THE HISTORIC COTSWOLDS

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Body

NOT many vicars can have been hanged from their own church tower, but that was the fate of Henry Joyce of St Mary's, Chipping Norton, in 1549.

Unfortunately, when he led a revolt against the replacement of the Latin Mass by the English Prayer Book, it became a riot and he was executed for his pains.

At 650ft above sea-level, the small town on the edge of the Cotswolds is the highest in Oxfordshire.

Its many fine stone buildings include the 16th century Guildhall and the classical town hall of 1842 - plus Ronnie Barker's shop, The Emporium.

From the Town Hall, we descended Market Street and turned left down Church Street, passing steeply-gabled almshouses of 1640 - curiously, there are eight in the row, but nine chimneys.

The Norman church was enlarged in the 14th century and is one of only three in England with a hexagonal porch.

We turned along the edge of the churchyard and took a path signed for Over Norton.

After skirting a meadow to the B4026, we turned right and climbed to a stone -pillared gateway. A path runs through the Over Norton House grounds.

Staying near a stream, it crosses a ladder-stile and rises through bushes to a cross-path. Down to the left, the way bridges the stream and climbs to a gate.

Ahead is a small green at Over Norton, with an ornamental fountain of 1864 nearby.

Along the street to the right we found St James's Chapel - converted from a cottage, which had previously served as a rather cramped school.

We returned past the green and climbed a lane to our right.

Enjoying broad Cotswold views, we reached a junction and dropped to Choicehill Farm, opposite which a path was signed. It descended a cornfield, crossed a track and continued through a barleyfield.

At the bottom, it bore left beside a stream, turned right over a bridge and went ahead to a corner-gate, from which we followed a track to Salford and took the street downhill to our right.

THE HISTORIC COTSWOLDS

At the bottom, the Village Hall stands near the White Horse, and to the right, beyond the older part of the village, is the towered church.

Though rebuilt in 1854, it retains many ancient features including a 12th century north door, above which a carved tympanum incorporates a Maltese Cross.

Returning past the Village Hall and entering the yard of Village Farm, we climbed a track to a marker-post.

A path rose left of a hedge to a corner-stile and ran through a barleyfield to a stile into bushes. The edge of an old rape field led down to a track, with a stile to the right, from which we dropped between bushes and crossed a surfaced way.

Beyond a stone bridge in the next meadow, we climbed ahead to a gate and passed through a children's playing field to reach the A44 at Chipping Norton, just below the town centre.

GEOFF ALLEN

OS Maps - Landranger 164; Pathfinder 1068.

Length of ramble - 5.5 miles.

Distance from Birmingham - 44 miles.

Parking - free car parks, Chipping Norton.

Buses to Chipping Norton - Stagecoach X50 Stratford-Oxford (some through buses from Birmingham). Busline 01788-535555.

Refreshments - inns at Chipping Norton and Salford; cafes at Chipping Norton.

Opening the gates

WARM WELCOME: Irene Johnson relaxes at No 34

IT'S Good Neighbours day tomorrow when the good folk of Hospital Road in Hammerwich, Burntwood, open their gardens to help good causes.

There are four smashing gardens, all next door to each other, all very very different with roses and shrubs, cottage flowers and fuchsias.

They range from traditional back plots to Chelsea-style "garden rooms" plus the Good Life couple who have gone at it breakneck to make a garden in 12 months.

There will be cream teas, a plant stall, book stall and a gardeners' question time.

It's all in aid of Contact International Christian Fellowship, which does good work in many parts of the world. One concern is the plight of Moscow's homeless people and at No 34 Hospital Road, ambulance driver Terry Smith can tell about the thrills and spills of driving a bus from Finland to Moscow taking meals on wheels to the Russian capital.

But Terry prefers to talk about his Chelsea-style garden, with a brand new feature, the courtyard kitchen garden.

Within a new wall with mini stained-glass panels Terry has created a home for shade plants and beside the hostas even the tall spikes of houseplant *sansevieria fasciata* look well against the warm old bricks.

Beautiful

THE HISTORIC COTSWOLDS

The back garden has a curving lawn with an arbour and a wealth of beautiful perennial cottage garden flowers - none looking prettier in a corner than the yellow loosestrife (*lysimachia punctata*).

Dusty Miller (*lychnis coronaria*) looks good in this garden and I always love to see the rounded deep red flowers looking just like pinks above slender silvery stalks.

Terry's Victorian farm cottage has an old pig pen at the top of the garden and it's been converted to a wisteria covered barbecue area and beyond is a real touch of Chelsea - a secret garden with twin pools, a stepover bridge and another arbour.

In this garden you will also meet Irene Johnson, from Dudley, a fulime carer looking after Evelyn and they will be manning the cake stall, plus cream teas.

At No 40 Syd Bailey, who spent years in Birmingham's fruit market, and his wife, Nancy, a flower arranger, have a garden announced by fuchsias and tall Alexander roses at the front and an array of unusual clipped shrubs at the rear.

These shrubs run the length of Syd's brilliant lawn and range from hebes to the glittering shiny small leaves of *pittosporum tenuifolium*, loved by flower arrangers because cut stems hold their freshness and form for so long.

Syd has his row of saved runner bean seed, lots of tomatoes in the greenhouse and a superb lawn-side collection of fab miniature roses from Gregorys who were top mini rose specialists in their day.

Relaxing

At No 38 Chris and Angela Tucker will be relaxing serving cream teas after a hectic few months turning an overgrown back garden into a delightful lawned garden with pool, geraniums and roses.

Bernard and Doris were out at No 36, but I looked over the wall to view a fine flower garden.

The Hospital Road gardens at Burntwood, off the A5 past Charringtons and Hammerwich Hospital, are open from 2pm-6pm with free parking in the field across the road.

Kevin Yates, head of Lichfield parks and gardens, will be one of the experts at the Question Time.

PETER PASHLEY

overmatterThis was a rampant weed many years ago but I welcome the sight of its bold yellow spires of bloom.

It's not seen so much these days, more's the pity because it's easy to control.

The creeping rhizomes make it ideal for any moist area where colour is wanted.

But I love best the masses of tiny deep maroon flowers in late winter which fill the area with this New Zealand *pittosporum*'s sweet pervasive scent.

MISERABLE SUMMER IS BEARING FRUIT

MY new double row of a dozen Royal Sovereign strawberries never looked like meeting a bowl of cream in miserable June.

However, lots of runners are being produced and, as you know, these runners produce three or four tiny strawberry plantlets at intervals along the runner.

I choose the two most vigorous plantlets on each runner and push a three-inch plastic pot into the soil beneath the little plant.

The pot is filled with soil and the plantlet is pushed in and firmed.

THE HISTORIC COTSWOLDS

These little plants root readily and as soon as you see new leaves emerging it's time to separate the rooted plant from the parent by cutting the runner with a sharp knife.

By the middle of August the little strawberry plants are ready for planting in a new double row - and while the fruits have been poor and spasmodic in their first season the new plantlets are tripling my investment.

The autumn fruit catalogues are arriving and the first to whet my appetite is Marshalls. Their autumn garden catalogue offers "the largest blackberries in the world" - an exclusive variety called Black Bute.

Marshalls say the fruits are up to two inches long and an inch across, weighing almost half an ounce each. It fruits in July with slender canes needing the support of a trellis or wall.

If you are interested contact Marshalls at Wisbech, Cambs, PE13 2RF, (phone 01945 466711).

PETER PASHLEY

Time for the basket cases

NOW that the World Cup's almost played out, and we've forgiven David Beckham (well, some of us anyway) how about a change of sport?

The intensity and pace of basketball makes the sport a natural choice for conversion into a video game, and Nintendo have pulled out all the stops to make Kobe Bryant in NBA Courtside (N64, pounds 44.99) a winner.

Thanks to the NBA licence, all 29 teams are featured, along with their players from last season.

And we're not just talking names.

Nintendo have even grafted their faces onto the game characters.

You and up to three other players can participate in single games or an NBA season.

The rules can be customised, taking the difficulty level from schoolyard to All Star and, because there are so many options and moves available, the control method takes time to learn, but once you're there, Kobe Bryant plays well.

Graphically, there is only so much you can do to make basketball court look interesting, but some nice touches like reflections on the waxed surface highlight the care that has gone into putting the game together.

The myriad of camera options let you play from every conceivable angle with a variable zoom and, although the players look great in close-up, don't expect to win with a single player filling the screen.

The sound effects are faultless.

Trainers squeak as the players turn and pivot, while the ball sounds like, well, a bouncing basketball.

The adoring crowd sound streets ahead of the competition.

Background noise in sports games usually sounds like it's being played on a badly tuned AM radio, but in Kobe Bryant you can almost pick out individual conversations.

The alimportant commentary is a let down, though, even if it does come courtesy of the Seattle Sonics announcer Vic Orlando.

Hardly a household name in the UK, but probably more appropriate than Des Lynham.

Nintendo have put together a slickly presented fun game.

For basketball with bells on, look nowhere else.

THE HISTORIC COTSWOLDS

(If you don't like basketball, why are you still reading?)

Like its Nintendo counterpart, Total NBA 98 (Playstation, pounds 39.99) - the official NBA licensed game for PSX - features all the teams and all of last year's players.

As you would expect, you can play single games or NBA seasons with one or two players.

Total NBA lacks the graphic flare of Kobe Bryant, but it's not fair to compare games for different consoles in that department.

The players lack definition but move well, and the court looks realistic enough.

The Playstation game does win on instant playability.

You can choose your own teams and tinker with the rules, or just leap into the action in arcade mode.

The players move well on the court and a simple control layout keeps you on top of the game.

The sound is bang on - shut your eyes and you could be watching it live on Channel Four at three in the morning.

The commentary is intelligent, by basketball standards, but as with most sports games you'll be reaching for the off switch soon enough.

Total NBA 98 is good fun, and where it lacks in polish there's bags of gameplay.

Micro Machines has, at last, a pretender to its position as the wacky racer of first choice on the Playstation.

Circuit Breakers (Playstation, pounds 39.99) takes the concept, adds a third dimension to the tracks, litters the courses with weapons and challenges you to stop playing.

Choose from the eight cars available and head onto one of the four courses open to you at the start.

Keep winning and more courses become available.

There are 32 in the game in all, each with their own traps and attributes.

Egypt, for example, is a dustbowl littered with ramps and fires.

Ramps are fun, but fires blow you up.

That's where realism ends and insanity begins.

While you tear around the tracks, you can pick up anything from oilslicks to shrinkers, handy for squeezing through the frequent tight gaps.

Gameplay is frenetic, but difficult.

Because the races are so short, one crash is usually enough to kiss goodbye to victory, unless you find a secret shortcut.

Contact with other cars slows you dramatically, but with time, you learn to use it to your advantage.

In case you hadn't realised, this isn't Gran Turismo.

The cars handle like dodgems and you won't need to get a racing licence.

The graphics are excellent, with welrawn tracks, cute cars and good camera angles.

THE HISTORIC COTSWOLDS

The sound effects are average with standard engine revving and tinny tyre screeching, but the dancy soundtrack makes up for it.

Circuit Breakers has a limited life as a one-player game, but if you race with up to three human competitors you'll not switch off.

Micro Machines manages to hold its crown, but only because it's pounds 20 cheaper.

Circuit Breakers is technically better and definitely worth a look.

n CLOWNING AROUND: The circus is at Pype Hayes Park

MEMBERSHIP COUPON- STANDARD SIZE PLS

SUGAR PUFFS COMPETITION, WITH 2 COLOUR PRINTS

IF you've seen the Honey Monster on TV lately, you'll know he's the coolest dude in town - a street-wise rapper in sharp suit, gold chains and wrap-around shades. Well, you can win some of the fashion action too, in today's Chipper competition.

We are giving away 30 special Sugar Puffs prize packages, each containing a wicked pair of Honey Monster's wrap-around shades, a T-shirt, a pack of the monster's favourite cereal, Sugar Puffs and a fantastic limited edition bright and furry Sugar Puffs sack!

To be in with a chance of winning one of these cool prizes, just tell us the name of Honey Monster's favourite cereal.

Write your answer on a postcard or back of a sealed envelope and send, with your name, age, address, telephone number and Chipper number, to: CHIPPER HONEY MONSTER COMPETITION, PO BOX 30, BIRMINGHAM B4 6BA.

The winners will be the senders of the first 30 correct entries drawn after the closing date of Thursday, July 16, who will each win a prize as outlined above.

The usual Mail children's competition rules apply.

Honey Monster Tip: Watch out for special packs of Sugar Puffs if you want to get your hands on the Monster Hits CDs, featuring Louise, N-Tyce, Peter Andre and Eternal.

Win Sugar Puffs summer gear

n LOOKING GOOD: Our cool prizes

Each comes in a unique furry cover and is available at just pounds 4.99, plus 3 CD tokens.

PONTINS WINNER PONTINS WINNER

THE winner of our recent Chipper Nivea Sun competition to paint a seaside picture is 10-year-old Katy Evans, from Quinton, Birmingham.

Katy wins a weekend family break for her family at a Pontin's UK Holiday Centre. Everyone else who sent in an entry will receive a Nivea Sun T-shirt and a certificate from the sponsors.

So well done, Katy, hope you enjoy your holiday!

ROLL up! Roll Up! The circus is in town!

THE HISTORIC COTSWOLDS

World-famous Billy Smart's Big Top circus, featuring a host of international acts, has opened in Birmingham for a three-week run.

It's the circus' first visit to Birmingham for 28 years and is causing a lot of excitement.

The two-hour extravaganza opened yesterday and runs until July 26 at Pype Hayes Park.

In keeping with concerns for animal welfare it is completely free of animal acts - but is still great to watch!

Billy Smarts has installed a centrally-heated, 1,400-seater brand new Big Top, without interior poles to restrict views of the ring.

There's also a matching foyer tent, a special buggy park for prams and pushchairs, ramp access for the disabled and rest rooms.

Some of the acts starring at Pype Hayes include award-winning Russian clowns Yuri and Leon Lisenko, the action gymnasts Casablanca Troupe from Morocco, Dutch comedians The Fernandos and Sarychev, the sensational flying trapeze artists from Russia who perform without a safety net.

Seat prices start at pounds 7. Call 0121 313 0770 for ticket details.

The return of Billy's big top

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WHERE do prehistoric monsters do their shopping?

At dinostores!

How do chickens dance?

Chick to chick!

Where did the sheep go for a holiday?

The Baa-hamas!

Where did the rest of the sheep go?

Ewe York!

What happens if ducks fly upside down?

They quack up!

Why are horses sensible animals?

They are kept very stable!

Hi, and welcome to another weekly round up of all the latest pop gossip from Birmingham's No 1 BRMB.

THE HISTORIC COTSWOLDS

Congratulations to new pop sensation BILLIE who, as we predicted, swept to No 1 last week with her brand new single 'Because We Want To'. The 15-year-old celebrated at a 911 album launch in London on Monday night and amazed party goers with her bubbly antics! She's promised to come back to Birmingham and guest on the Evening Show again soon.

Meanwhile top girl group ALL SAINTS are getting "wicked" for charity. I can exclusively reveal that the foursome have signed up to cut a track for the compilation album "Wicked **Women**", due to be released later this year. Other artists involved include popsters KYLIE MINOGUE, GINA G and KENICKIE.

Gorgeous Aussie pop babe NATALIE IMBRUGLIA never seems to be out of the news at the moment. The ex-Neighbours star revealed this week that she has no plans to wed wild rocket Lenny Kravitz as she's too busy concentrating on her incredibly successful solo career.

It's not only the girls who are in the news this week. Car fanatic ABS of top boy band FIVE has splashed out on a brand new silver Renault Megane, so he and his new girlfriend, Hollyoaks actress, GINA PATRICK can cruise the highways together - wonder what music they'll be listening to!

One of the most requested songs on the weekday jukebox is the awesome "A Design for Life" by the MANIC STREET PREACHERS, and the big news this week is that the guys are back on the road in September. They have a brand new single out in August and a new album due out later in the year.

That's about all for now. There's just time to tell you of my Tune of the Week - it's the brand new song by ULTRA NATE called 'Kind of Medicine'. It's out on Monday and I'm sure to be playing it every night on BRMB between 7 pm and 10pm.

Bubbly Billie knows how to party

Load-Date: July 14, 1998

End of Document

Hunting down the terrorists

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Body

A GROUP EFFORT - 'If you're in law enforcement, you're involved in this, no matter where in the world you are, no matter what nationality. This goes beyond national borders, and this takes priority over everything else. For now, this is all that matters.'

The 19 hijackers at the centre of last week's attack on America are ghosts today, literally and figuratively, but that hasn't stopped a global posse of 10,000 American agents from moving heaven and earth to create a picture of the men who changed our way of life.

Backing up the American agents are tens of thousands of law enforcement officers around the world, ranging from small-town sheriffs to Interpol and international terrorism experts.

Torstar News Service

"If you're in law enforcement, you're involved in this, no matter where in the world you are, no matter what nationality," said a U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation agent in Chicago yesterday. "This goes beyond national borders, and this takes priority over everything else.

"For now, this is all that matters."

The web they've cast has so far turned up more than 50,000 leads and nearly 250 suspects, potential associates of the suspects and possible witnesses.

Among the new developments:

* The 19 hijackers, and many of their alleged accomplices, spent months criss-crossing the United States by air, car and rail, scouting out -- investigators now believe -- the soft underbelly of commercial air travel. Their travels took them to California, Arizona, Texas, Illinois, Virginia and, of course, Florida and the American northeast, where many were based.

Some were actually captured on airport surveillance cameras during the spring and summer as they practised for the attack, taking the same flights they would eventually hijack to become familiar with airport and flight crew routines.

* In the mangled wreckage of the World Trade Center, investigators recovered what they are hailing as a "major find" -- a passport belonging to one of the suspected hijackers.

Hunting down the terrorists

* Deep in a Pennsylvania pit that is strewn with the remains of United Airlines Flight 93, searchers have recovered the cockpit voice recorder, containing audible signals and a voice speaking a foreign language.

* Some 50 people in all -- both hijackers and the people associated with them -- took flight lessons, mostly in Florida.

* A tight focus on the money trail left by the hijackers has uncovered new links around the globe, including France, where seven were arrested yesterday in connection with alleged plans to attack American interests in France, Germany and the Middle East.

* Authorities are investigating an underground banking system commonly used in south Asia and east Africa known as "hawala," or "in trust" in Hindi, India's national language.

Money is deposited with a broker in one place and intended recipients get a code or token that lets them collect the same amount somewhere else, usually from a small merchant belonging to the same clan. The actual cash never leaves the country.

Terrorist cells also are engaging increasingly in lucrative petty crimes such as credit card fraud and identity theft to finance their operations, experts say.

* U.S. Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld said this week there is evidence that the terrorist network founded and bankrolled by Saudi exile Osama bin Laden -- who has a personal worth exceeding \$300 million -- has now spread to 50 or 60 countries, including Canada and the United States. His al-Qaida organization has links to at least 19 world terror organizations and has the highest rating of activity, ahead of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad and **Hamas** movements.

* A suicide note from Mohamed Atta, 33, has been found in his bag, which he pointedly left in Boston's Logan Airport Sept. 11 as he boarded American Airlines Flight 11, which investigators believe he later flew into the North Tower of the World Trade Center.

The letter, which some reports say was written in 1996, said he planned to kill himself so he could go to heaven as a martyr.

American investigators continue to say Atta may have gone to Canada with one or more accomplices just before the attack. They may then have driven a rental car onto a ferry going from Nova Scotia to Bar Harbour, Maine, where they spent the night before boarding the doomed flights.

* Solid links have been uncovered to a terrorist support network that spans the world. And that has helped to forge a worldwide coalition with some unlikely partners. Even Yemen, hardly a traditional American ally, is co-operating and has arrested more than a dozen suspects.

* Initial American reports that the 19 hijackers had a Canadian connection appeared to be borne out earlier this week when police in the Chicago suburb of Burbank arrested -- at gunpoint -- convenience store clerk Nabil Al-Marabh, who used two Parkdale addresses in Toronto as his place of residence in the past six years.

* A German state official said his country may be home to as many as 100 terrorist "sleepers," Islamic extremists who trained in Afghanistan but live normal lives until activated for an attack. Germany yesterday issued several new arrest warrants in connection with the American investigation.

* Moroccan authorities expelled one of the founding members of Algeria's banned Islamic Salvation Front after they learned he served as a volunteer who fought with Afghan rebels fighting against Soviet troops in the 1980s.

* In France, the mother of Zacarias Moussouai, a French-Moroccan man held since before the Sept. 11 attacks and currently detained in New York, told the French magazine L'Express that her son was "brainwashed" by Islamic terrorists.

Hunting down the terrorists

While the FBI has backed off recent assertions that it has positively identified all 19 hijackers -- the agency now admits that several of the hijackers may have been operating under assumed names -- it remains confident most of the IDs will stand up to scrutiny.

"We now know who some of the people are," said one high-level FBI source in Washington, but conceded: "We don't know near enough about them.

"There are other individuals out there," the source added, "and you'd think we'd be able to catch them. But you don't know what kind of safe houses they have, if they have them. Who is providing them logistical support?

"You need time to put together where these guys have been, and who they have associated with," the source said. "These guys are very mobile, as evident in the number of houses they've had. They are not easy to track at all."

Investigators have also rounded up evidence that the devastating Sept. 11 attack against America wasn't meant to end with the kamikaze attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon in Washington.

Senator Bob Graham, chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, has said the hijackings were intended to be the first in a series of attacks over several days, suggesting other members of the network remain at large -- and perhaps still capable of action.

"There has been credible evidence gathered since (Sept. 11) that (the) attacks were not designed to be a one-day event," Graham told the Orlando Sentinel. "There were other acts of terrorism in the United States and elsewhere that were part of this plan."

The attacks would have been random -- and completely unpredictable, Graham added. "Not necessarily hijacking another airliner, but maybe putting a chemical into a city's water system, or blowing up a bridge in a major urban centre."

* Acting on information obtained from potential accomplices of the 19 hijackers, American authorities quickly alerted municipal water systems to guard against sabotage.

They also warned fire and police departments across the United States to guard against the theft of their emergency vehicles, which -- it was feared -- could be loaded with bombs and driven to a target.

* Investigators now believe other would-be hijackers, who formed their own self-contained cells as members of bin Laden's al-Qaeda, were set to hijack other flights. But they were foiled when North American airline traffic was grounded in the wake of the attacks on New York City and Washington.

Fundamentalist Rule - In five years, the Taliban government has put Afghanistan on the world Muslim map with a bold experiment in 'pure' fundamentalist rule. While strict Islamic law means severe restrictions enforced by religious police, there are schools, hospitals and jobs. But food is in short supply and war looms.

Karim has never known anything but a world of war.

At age two, he watched the Soviet Union's occupation force retreat from Kabul after a decade-long guerrilla war. When he was four, his family fled their mud-brick house as shelling from two rival Afghan militia, fighting for control of the capital, reduced their neighbourhood to rubble.

When he was eight, Karim's family breathed a sigh of relief, as religious reformers known as the Taliban ("Seekers") toppled the bickering factions that had formed an Afghan government and brought peace to a majority of the country.

In five years, the Taliban has put Afghanistan on the map of the Muslim world as a bold experiment in "pure" fundamentalist rule. It also has become an international pariah for its ties to terrorist groups, harsh treatment of **women**, and other policies. But Afghans -- like the world at large -- are still coming to terms with all that this experiment means to them.

Hunting down the terrorists

Until last week, Karim's 13-year-old world seemed finally to be getting better rather than worse. He had begun taking classes at the training centre run by Afghan Streetworking Children in New Approach, or ASCHIANA. The nonprofit group's acronym means "nest" in Persian.

He receives two meals a day, is learning to read and write, and is acquiring future job skills as a landscape painter.

But with America preparing for retaliatory action against the accused Saudi-born terrorist leader Osama bin Laden and the Taliban government that gives him asylum, Karim's life has once again taken a turn for the worse.

"Due to 20 years of war, the sources of income for people and the socio-economic fabric of the country have been damaged severely," says Muhammad Naizmand, spokesman for Afghan Red Crescent, a branch of the International Federation of the Red Cross/Red Crescent in Kabul.

Now, with more than a quarter of Afghanistan's 25 million population entirely dependent on aid agencies for food and other assistance, the social fabric that holds Karim's world together is close to unraveling. Most of the foreign aid agencies and UN relief workers who ran food and assistance programs have withdrawn, and the UN's World Food Program estimates that there are now only two weeks of food stocks left in the country.

It's a situation that has Afghans -- both inside and outside Afghanistan -- reassessing the Taliban legacy, and wondering where it will lead them.

"The biggest achievement of the Taliban is they have brought sharia (Islamic law) to Afghanistan," says Abdul Qudus, an ethnic Afghan and religious scholar who runs a madrassah, or religious school, for young Afghans in the Jalozai refugee camp near Peshawar, Pakistan. "They have made a very good peace, they have collected weapons from the people, they stopped poppy cultivation (a source of opium), they stopped foreign interference -- and especially religious conversions of our Muslims -- and they started electricity in Afghanistan. That is their legacy."

Nasir, a taxi driver in Kabul, takes a dimmer view, and one shared by many Persian-speaking citizens of Kabul, toward the Pushtu-speaking Taliban rulers. (Afghanistan has two official languages, Pushtu and Persian, and various ethnic groups. These include majority Pashtuns, as well as Tajiks, Hazaras, Uzbeks, and Turkmen.)

"These people don't have any home, any food, any income," Nasir says, gesturing at a group of widows and their children begging in a busy Kabul market. Like most Afghans interviewed, Nasir asked that his name be altered to protect his identity.

"With the Taliban, the first thing they build is a mosque and a madrassah," he says. "We need mullahs, but we also need other things too: engineers, doctors, teachers."

When Karim saw his first Taliban soldiers, driving in on Toyota pickup trucks on Sept. 26, 1996, there was little to indicate the public mood might turn against them. The Taliban, unlike the fractious mujahedeen rebels who ousted the Soviets, was able to unify a majority of the country under one regime and bring a level of peace that didn't exist here for almost 20 years.

In Kabul, and the five other Afghan metropolises under Taliban control, this newfound peace allowed Karim and his family to rebuild their home. Around the country, Afghans returned by the thousands, restoring a semblance of the lives they led in the 1970s, before the troubles began. Hundreds of foreign-aid groups began setting up food-for-work programs; establishing medical clinics, bakeries, and schools; and beginning the long, dangerous task of clearing millions of landmines and tons of unexploded ordnance.

Today, the Taliban claim to control up to 90 per cent of Afghanistan, but this figure must be tempered somewhat by the fact that Taliban forces still face fighting in 17 out of 32 Afghan provinces. As recently as yesterday, fighters from Afghanistan's Northern Alliance -- the main Taliban foe -- launched a helicopter attack on Kabul, destroying two civilian airliners and detonating tons of ordnance at an ammunition dump.

Even so, in those areas where the Taliban is in control, Afghans say they feel safer than in previous years.

Hunting down the terrorists

"When the Taliban came in, the fighting stopped," says Ubaidullah, head of a food-for-work program that is rebuilding homes in a destroyed section of Kabul. "Now, it is OK, there is no fighting, no thieves, no rapists. There is also no work and no money, therefore there are a lot of poor people." As fellow workers gather, he pauses. "We have a lot of feelings about the Taliban that I can't tell you."

But more than anything, the Taliban aimed at remaking Afghanistan into a nation that adhered to its interpretation of the pure Islamic society envisioned by the prophet Muhammad. Part of this came from the utter disappointment many of these young Taliban felt as they watched the mujahedeen turn from liberators into bickering warlords, creating an anarchic state where robbery, rape, and extortion became the rule rather than the exception.

"If you look at the constituency of the Taliban, they are mostly the lower rungs of society, those who have little trust in where the world is going," says a Western diplomat in New Delhi with extensive experience in Islamic societies of the Middle East. "So when the Taliban come in, they say, 'You have no food? We'll build a bakery. No mosque? We'll go build one. No school? We'll build one, and we'll even give your son free education in the Koran."

"When the son comes home, fed and in new clothes, the first thing he tells his mother is, 'Mother, I have done bad things to you. I should honor you. I wish you to forgive me'," the diplomat adds. "What mother is not going to be ecstatic about that?"

Even so, the arrival of Islamic law has been greeted with mixed reaction among Afghans. Some in rural areas say their daily lives have not changed much, since they had followed sharia for decades, even centuries. But in urban areas, many Afghans resent the strict rules that govern all aspects of their daily lives.

Consider the following list of edicts issued by Taliban religious scholars in Kabul in December 1996:

"To prevent music... In shops, hotels, vehicles, and rickshaws, cassettes and music are prohibited."

"To prevent beard-shaving and its cutting. After one and a half months, if anyone (is) observed who has shaved and or cut his beard, they should be arrested and imprisoned until their beard is bushy."

"To prevent kite-flying."

"To prevent idolatry. In vehicles, shops, hotels, rooms, and any other place, pictures (and) portraits should be abolished."

"To prevent washing cloth by young ladies along the water streams in the city. Violator ladies should be picked up with respectful Islamic manner, taken to their houses, and their husbands severely punished."

Though the list was long, the Taliban vigorously enforced these new rules through their religious police. The Ministry for the Promotion of Virtue and Prevention of Vice now patrols every major city of Afghanistan, armed with whips and automatic rifles. Though Karim says the police largely leave him alone, and sometimes even give him alms, other Afghans say the religious police perform their tasks with zeal, checking cars for cassette tapes, monitoring beard lengths, and maintaining social order in a sometimes brutal fashion.

"If you look at the kind of people who are Taliban, they are very poorly educated, and they stick to the word of the Koran, with no attempt at interpretation," says Frederic Grare, director of the Centre for Human Sciences in New Delhi. "The rule of the Taliban is ruthless, very primitive, and cruel. But nevertheless, there is rule," Grare adds. "When Kabul fell in the hands of (recently assassinated mujahedeen commander) Ahmad Shah Masood, where was the rule then? Now, you at least have some predictability."

From the Western perspective, the Taliban's most impressive accomplishment is in the area of drug control. Until last year, Afghanistan accounted for nearly three-quarters of the world's supply of opium, with much of the addictive drug reaching Europe, America, and beyond. Even though the Taliban's interpretation of sharia, or Islamic law, specifically bans addiction, nearly 500,000 Afghan farmers earned up to \$100 million a year from the drought-resistant crop. Local Taliban governments took a 10 per cent cut from a zakat, or farm tax.

Hunting down the terrorists

For years, Taliban officials told Western drug-control officials they couldn't stop poppy cultivation because of the hardship it would impose on farmers, particularly during a now-three year drought. But this year, Taliban supreme leader Mullah Mohammad Omar banned opium outright. To the West's surprise, adherence has been total within Taliban-ruled areas -- and without a penny of foreign aid. The UN Drug Control Program suspended assistance two years ago.

"It's really quite remarkable," says Bernard Frahi, director of the UN Drug Control Program in Islamabad, speaking last March, when UN teams of monitors confirmed that the Taliban poppy ban was total. "If this had happened in Colombia, where the U.S. spends billions reducing drug cultivation by maybe 5 per cent, this would have gotten the Nobel Prize. But because it's the Taliban, there's a different reaction."

Only three nations: Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates have granted official recognition to the Taliban government.

Most Western democratic nations object to the Taliban's authoritarian rule, and its often brutal suppression of free expression and human rights, especially restrictions on women. But Western diplomats say the main obstacle for Western recognition is the Taliban's alleged patronage of militant groups within its own borders.

"This has become a breeding ground for radical Islam," says the Western diplomat.

The U.S. and the West bear some responsibility for creating this breeding ground in the 1980s and early '90s, as the U.S. encouraged zealous Muslim leaders to recruit Muslims worldwide to come to training camps in Pakistan and Afghanistan to overturn the Soviet invasion. Once the Soviets left, Western nations lost interest in the region and distanced themselves from the mujahedeen -- Afghans, North Africans, Arabs, and even Southeast Asians -- who fought in Afghanistan.

More than a dozen of these training camps are still in operation. Some are thought to be funded by bin Laden. Authorities believe they trained the perpetrators of numerous attacks, from from Khobar, Tanzania, and Kenya to Yemen, New York, and Washington. A major part of their ideology is the overthrow of America, and of less-than-pure Islamic governments in places like Saudi Arabia and Egypt.

"They're winning the battle of the minds of the people, and we're losing it ... because we don't speak Arabic and we don't understand Muslim culture," adds the diplomat. And with little credibility or leverage in the region, there is little the U.S. and its allies can do to influence Afghanistan, outside of the use of military force.

Now, more than a week after UN relief officials and foreign aid workers have withdrawn from Afghanistan, Afghans like Karim, who depend on aid programs for food and work, are having to rely on other means, primarily their families.

Already, thousands of Afghans are reported leaving their homes, both out of fear of U.S. bombing attacks and in search of a stable source of food.

Like some six million Afghans, Karim and his family spend their daily lives fending off starvation. Nearly one million urban Afghans and four million rural Afghans are almost entirely dependent on food relief.

While more than 400,000 Afghan civilians have lost their lives in the 1990s alone, the humanitarian crisis has had a particularly hard effect on Afghan children, who make up nearly half the nation's population -- 10.3 million of a total 25 million Afghans here.

Nearly a quarter of all infants die by the age of five, mostly from malnutrition. Only 12 out of 20 school-age boys, and one out of 20 school-age girls, go to school.

Karim's family is so poor that he and his four brothers must leave the house by 5:30 a.m. and start the day's work: picking through trash and roadside filth in search of wood, metal, and bits of paper to sell to scrap dealers. His father is unable to work; his mother earns some money washing clothes and baking bread for neighbours.

Hunting down the terrorists

On a good day, Karim earns about 30 cents, enough to buy five pieces of bread. His first meal of the day -- a glass of milk and a hunk of bread -- comes at 9 a.m. at the training centre run by ASCHIANA.

Karim gets two meals a day through ASCHIANA. At noon he rushes out to the local bazaar for two hours to scavenge for wood and metal.

"It's dangerous, because there are lots of places in Kabul where there are mines," says Karim. "There are some mines beside the rivers and in the destroyed areas. We learn what the mines look like, and how to avoid them."

Karim has never been to school, but after a year at ASCHIANA, he can now read and write. He has even read the Koran once, and the lessons from that holiest of books in Islam give him hope, he says.

But his favourite pastime, by far, is painting. "I'm learning to be an artist," says Karim, smiling. "I have one wish: to be a good teacher, so that I can teach others to be good painters."

At the end of the day, Karim walks home with his friends. He's supposed to be gathering scrap metal, but on this day he and his classmates stop at the playground in Sharinow Park. They take turns pushing a rickety merry-go-round, which tips and sways and sends some of the boys flying into the dust as it gathers speed.

For 10 minutes, Karim's world is like that of any child in the world, a world of play.

Graphic

Photo: Zahid Hussein, Reuters; Afghan children await their fate at Pakistan border. Pakistan said it expected to set up a new camp to handle a flood of refugees if the United States attacks Afghanistan -- despite a policy of officially not accepting new refugees.; Photo: Associated Press File Photo; Two men, identified by authorities as suspected hijackers Mohamed Atta, right, and Abdulaziz Alomari pass through airport security Sept. 11 at Portland International Jetport on their way to Boston and American Airlines Flight 11 which they crashed into the World Trade Center. Atta left a suicide note in a bag in Boston.; Photo: The Associated Press; Three men arrested after FBI agents raided a house in Detroit appeared in federal court yesterday. From left in this artist's drawing are Karim Koubriti, Ahmed Hannan and Farouk Ali-Haimoud. The three are charged with identity fraud, fraud and misuse of visas, passports and other documents, and conspiracy to commit those crimes.; Photo: Nabil Al-Marabh, 34, who is in custody, reportedly had lived in Toronto.; Photo: Ayub Ali Kahn, 51, was detained Sept. 12 after travelling without legal ID.; Photo: Mohammed Azmath, 47, was detained with Ali Khan in Fort Worth, Tex.

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Family ties;The Bin Ladens

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Body

THERE isn't a doubt in the mind of Arabella Warburton. "The bin Laden family are thoroughly good people," she says. "They've castigated Osama bin Laden. They've distanced themselves from him and they've issued statements condemning the attacks on America. It's just unfair to cast doubt on them. It's guilt by association."

In the recesses of the Middle East where extremes meet, dismay at the loss of innocent lives was tempered with happier emotions ranging from quiet satisfaction to open celebration.

The Great Satan had been made to suffer. Wall-to-wall satellite coverage of the stricken burning towers provided easy confirmation that the world's only superpower was vulnerable to the strikes of the righteous; that it might be possible to eliminate its evil monopoly of power, influence and greed. Fearing that any outburst of enthusiasm might damage them in Washington's eyes Arab leaders from Yasser Arafat to Egypt's Hosni Mubarak clamped down on any dancing in the streets but the censorship did not extend to what went on inside people's minds. Half a century ago the American-Jewish writer Ben Hecht infamously said that every time a British soldier fell victim to a Jewish terrorist in the last days of the British mandate in Palestine, he took "a little holiday in his heart" In the past few days some Arabs, not all of them fundamentalists or terrorists, have indulged in a long vacation.

It was not a widespread feeling and it was expressed by a small minority but throughout the Middle East and within the Islamic world in general it was fired by a brooding dislike of the US and all its works. Much of it is caused by poverty and dispossession, not least in the teeming Palestinian refugee camps, and the mood of those caught up in the web of suffering is heightened by a belief that a US-led conspiracy is the reason for all their misfortunes. The dilution of Islamic religious and cultural values is another reason for the widespread anti-American feeling: the downgrading of Islamic religious law, ignorance about the teachings of the Koran and the break-up of the Islamic community with its concept of inclusiveness, all of which have encouraged the extremists. When Palestinians drove through Gaza waving flags and firing off Kalashnikovs they were expressing a rumbling belief that the US had it coming to them and that the use of airliners as missiles was a suitable payback for years of western repression and a long history of betrayal by the great powers.

Their joy had nothing to do with the huge loss of life in Washington and New York City - Islam deplores unnecessary killing, especially of the innocent, and outside the extremists suicide is not regarded as a virtuous act - but it has everything to do with the fact that the US had been discomfited as mayhem came to the streets of Manhattan. On one level their schadenfreude was fuelled by ideological and religious differences, an abhorrence of Coca-Cola culture, contempt for the half-witted pornography which clogs the internet and disdain for the greed-is-good outlook which seems to them to characterise so much of American life to the exclusion of simpler values. On another related level, many Arabs in the Middle East cannot understand the unstinting support which is granted to

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Israel and which allows ordinary Palestinians to be gunned down without a smidgen of international protest. In their judgment, by backing Israel's policy of colonisation in Palestinian territory, the US has engaged in a hostile act which fully justifies the antagonism and the violence.

Both reasons combine to provide a focus for the burning sense of injustice which underpins any discussion about the US amongst hardline Muslims in the Middle East. All around them can be found examples of interference and the recent history of the region provides ample fuel to stoke those embers. Israel came into being in May 1948 largely as a result of Washington's prompting - President Truman's administration exerted tremendous pressure on Britain to end its UN mandate in Palestine and in so doing half a million Palestinians were expelled from their homes as the new state was born. Ever since that violent birth the country has enjoyed favoured client-state status, giving the impression that US and Israeli interests march hand-in-glove and that Israel is little more than the 51st state. Throughout the years of confrontation with the neighbouring Arab states, including three major wars, and the peace process which tried to end it, the US has stood accused of favouring Zionist interests while ignoring the claims of Islam. And allied to this has been the not unfounded suspicion that the Jewish lobby within the US has been an important source of votes for successive presidents.

"The link between Israel and American Jewry is vital to both sides," argues David A. Harris, Executive Director of the American Jewish Committee. "This link, however, cannot simply be taken for granted. If it begins to fray, it could have catastrophic consequences. Israel is absolutely indispensable to the Jewish identity of American Jews. Israel makes American Jews stand taller. Israel's miraculous rebirth, sheer survival and remarkable development should be sources of immense pride to Jews everywhere."

As with most injustices, real and imagined, the grounds for the argument are easily proved but the problem itself is less easily solved. Weapons and military muscle are the most obvious point of connection. In 1962, fearing that the Soviet Union was gaining a strategic advantage in the Middle East by supplying Egypt with strategic bombers President John F. Kennedy agreed to sell Hawk anti-aircraft missiles to Israel, thereby overturning the State Department's objections that Israel was strong enough to defend itself. The sale began a trend which culminated in the supply of Patriot missiles at the time of the 1991 Gulf War, a move which was instrumental in dissuading Israel from taking unilateral action against Baghdad after it had been attacked by Scud missiles.

The benefits of that special relationship became apparent in the Yom Kippur War of 1973, a conflict which could have been lost but for US intervention. After a week of heavy fighting and setbacks Israel was running out of supplies and ammunition and facing the possibility that the Soviet Union might intervene with airborne forces to save the surrounded Egyptian Third Army on the east bank of the Suez Canal. Anguished calls for help were answered on October 24 when President Richard Nixon put the US on a heightened state of war readiness - DefCon 3, the same level ordered by President George W Bush last week - and ordered two carrier task forces into the eastern Mediterranean. Two days later Moscow backed down, Israel was saved and just as importantly it did not carry out a veiled threat to use nuclear weapons.

"For Israel, the special relationship with the United States has been of fundamental importance," claims Professor Robert J Lieber of Washington's Georgetown University. "During the height of the Cold War this worked to counterbalance what could otherwise have been dangerously strong intervention from the Soviet Union."

Finance was also part of the equation. In the last 25 years Israel has received over \$ 50 billion in US aid and during President Ronald Reagan's tenure at the White House a free trade treaty was signed, a move which opened up the entire US market so that by 1995 the volume of trade was worth \$ 11 billion. To put that piece of diplomacy into perspective the treaty was agreed long before similar agreements were reached with neighbouring Mexico and Canada. The wellspring of sympathy shown by post-war presidents also cemented the relationship: asked by the Soviet leader Aleksei Kosygin why the US supported three million Israelis when there were 80 million Arabs, President Lyndon B. Johnson replied, "Because it is right." Only George Bush senior (who positively disliked his opposite number Yitzhak Shamir) and Dwight D. Eisenhower were considered to be lukewarm to Israeli aspirations while President Jimmy Carter had a passionate emotional attachment which sprang from his reading of the bible.

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One result of that empathy was the Camp David agreement of September 1978 which brokered a courageous deal with Egypt but Carter always insisted that in wanting to intervene in the Middle East to create peace he saw the scriptures as less of a religious text and more of a living history: "The bible stories are woven into my childhood memories as the gallant struggle of modern Jews to be free of prosecution is also woven into our souls . . . I consider this homeland for the Jews to be compatible with the teaching of the bible, hence ordained by God. These moral and religious beliefs made my commitment to the security of Israel unshakable."

Carter's role in bringing together the age-old enemies Israel and Egypt began a lengthy involvement in the peace process which stretched into the next two decades and which resulted in the Oslo peace accords of 1993. As the talks progressed the US was seen, rightly so, as the only powerbroker which could effect an agreement and so it proved. With Washington's support the land for peace deal came into being and with it a belief that Israeli and Palestinian interests could be harmonised. As it turned out most of the optimism of that heady period was illusion and the high hopes quickly ran into the sands, mainly as a result of Israeli concerns about the security of the homeland. With the election last year of the hardline Ariel Sharon a new clash became inevitable and when it came Palestinians started being killed in droves as civilians faced Israeli armour on the streets. All this violence was laid at America's feet and the images of Israeli brutality only seemed to confirm the view held by many Arabs - that by refusing to condemn these actions the US was colluding in them. Even when Israeli tanks rumbled into Jericho and Jenin last week, bringing the Palestinian death toll in the current intifada to 573 the attack received little attention from a world still focussed on events in downtown Manhattan. Arafat protested as best he could but his voice was ignored and to rub in salt Sharon told the US Secretary of State Colin Powell that the Palestinian leader was no better than Osama bin Laden and his "coalition of terror".

That failure to bring Israel to heel has also put strains on Washington's relationship with Arab states which remain nominally friendly and have been partners in the peace process. Neighbouring Jordan has strong historical ties with the US and Britain but it also possesses a large Palestinian population whose patience is being tested by events on the other side of the River Jordan. The new leader, King Abdullah II has shown himself to be a deft performer in balancing his Israeli links with opinion in the rest of the Arab world but at this crucial juncture he dare not enter into too close a relationship with the US. The same holds true for Egypt where Mubarak has had to contend with his own battle against hostile Islamic fundamentalist groups and has enemies in the wider Arab world. Both men have expressed their revulsion for the attacks on New York and Washington but their loyalty would be stretched if the US makes a retaliatory strike which produces large numbers of Arab casualties.

Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states are in similar positions, being oil-rich and therefore in a strategic partnership with the west. Their interests are bound up with, and protected by, that relationship but they, too, have to keep it at arm's length. Opponents of the regimes have lambasted the failure to put pressure on the US over its perceived bias towards Israel and the criticism could grow shriller. Their governments know that there will be further strains in the coming weeks as they face calls for support from Bush and growing demands from their own people to ignore them. With nothing to lose, as he is still a pariah as far as Washington and London are concerned, Iraq's Saddam Hussein applauded the attacks but across his eastern border the dilemma facing many Arabs was expressed by Iran's reformist leader Mohammad Khatemi. For years, under the rule of the extremist ayatollahs, Iran was the focus of the bulk of anti-American sentiment in the Middle East but under the new regime there has been a softening in the approach with words of comfort being sent from Tehran to Washington but the generosity would never survive any attack on a fellow Islamic country.

Underpinning that unease is the wider belief that the west and the US in particular must bear a responsibility for much of the violence which has disfigured the Middle East in recent years - the bloody Israeli war against Lebanon in 1982, the Gulf War against Iraq in 1991 and the the sanctions regime and the bombing campaign which followed it. As has become all too painfully clear, that policy is not only failing to achieve anything but it has led to incredible hardship for thousands of ordinary Iraqi people while Saddam and his henchmen remain relatively unscathed. The absence of medical care, the lack of funds and equipment to restore the infrastructure and the indifference to local suffering have combined to create conditions which younger Iraqis will neither forget nor forgive. There is also a growing belief in the Arab world that the sanctions are not even-handed and are being imposed simply to bring down a rogue regime by whatever methods come to hand. As for the routine bombing of targets in the air-exclusion

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zones in northern and southern Iraq these are rarely reported even though the attacks produce casualties, not all of them military.

For many Arabs there seems to be one rule for them and another for the west and its ally Israel. In 1988 a US Aegis class destroyer, the USS Vincennes, mistook an Iranian airliner for an attacking warplane and shot it down, killing 290 passengers and crew but the incident was only the cause of "deep regret" and no US commander was punished. This was in stark contrast to an Israeli attack on the intelligence-gathering ship USS Liberty in 1967: although 34 sailors were killed the incident was hushed up and forgotten in order to protect Israeli interests at the time. That feeling of exclusion extends to the way events are reported and the past is remembered. In the aftermath of last week's attacks other "Islamic atrocities" were recalled - the destruction of the three western airliners at Dawson Field in Jordan in 1970 and the execution of a US naval diver during the hijacking of a TWA airliner 15 years later - but no one resurrected the attack by Jewish terrorists on the King David Hotel in June 1946 which killed 91 and injured many more. As for the subsequent hanging of three British sergeants in an orange grove by way of retaliation for the execution of Jewish terrorists, that is remembered not at all.

Not that the US has not suffered itself at the hands of Arab terrorism and, of course, in the past few weeks dozens of Israelis have fallen victim to Palestinian suicide bombers. In recent years the US has had three of its ambassadors murdered, 49 people were killed when the embassy in Beirut was car-bombed in 1983, an atrocity which was overshadowed by the killing of 24 marines in the same city a few months later, in December 1988 a Pan Am airliner was blown up over Lockerbie and 270 lost their lives and in 1996 19 marines were blown up in their barracks at Khubar Towers in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia. All were by-products of US involvement in the region - the support for Israel, the attacks on Iraq, the naval and military presence in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf - yet far from appeasing the hatred, the attacks and the retaliation only served to inspire the extremists.

Small wonder that so many younger Arabs in the Middle East are attracted to the groups which exist on the verges of the world of Islam and throw in their lot with terrorist organisations such as Hamas, Hezbollah and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, all of which are prepared to use violence as a means of achieving their aim of winning a Palestinian homeland. When they see the failure of the peace process and the inability of their leaders to gain any ground in the discussions with Israel they turn their thoughts to other means of confrontation, with predictable results. The suicide bomber might be a terrible manifestation of their frustration but at least he gains headlines and takes the battle to the heart and soul of the perceived enemy, Israel. At a time when Arafat and his cohorts from the once revered Palestine Liberation Organisation had completed the familiar transition from terrorists to statesmen a growing army of young and disillusioned Arabs see nothing terribly wrong with joining the alliance of fellow Palestinians who want to avenge their plight through the use of more violent methods.

And yet, it would be a dangerous folly to suppose that all Arabs in the Middle East operate under an unconditional hatred of the US or nurse violence in their hearts. The words "Islamic fundamentalist terrorist" are not the same combination as "pepper and salt" or "oil and vinegar" and there is a danger that in demonising the world of Islam or making wild and vengeful calls for retaliation the west will only reinforce the cycle of mistrust which creates the conditions for violence. One simple fact remains true: to react to any atrocity by abandoning the self-control imposed by the democratic state is to give comfort and a cause to the terrorist.

Warburton, the private secretary of former Tory Prime Minister John Major, needs to be confident about this. Her boss is, after all, the European chairman of the Carlyle Group, an international merchant bank that took nearly (pounds) 1.5 million directly from the bin Laden family. Not everyone shares her confidence, however. Intelligence sources say they are in the dark about the exact nature of the relationship between bin Laden and his huge extended family, which includes more than 50 brothers and sisters of him alone from the four wives of Osama's father.

The vast majority of the bin Ladens have truly disowned Osama, as the family have continually told the world since 1994. But there is proof that a few rogue members are still in contact with Osama and may hold dangerously similar political beliefs. The lingering fear is whether or not this means Osama still has some sort of financial link to the family or even, through them, access to the corridors of power in Saudi Arabia and beyond.

Family ties;The Bin Ladens

This isn't a family with just one aberrant son. If you look below the surface, Osama is not the only member of the family with links to terrorism. One of Osama's brothers was involved in an attack in Saudi Arabia, another helped Osama flee the country when he was under effective house arrest, and a brother -in-law has been linked by the CIA to the attack last year on the USS Cole in Yemen by Osama's terror group, al-Qaeda ("the base").

While the family say publicly that they have no contact with Osama, that is not quite the case. Certainly, the world's most wanted man is still close to some of his relatives. He phoned his stepmother, Al-Khalifa bin Laden, two days before the terrorist attacks on America to tell her "something big" was about to happen. Osama and his stepmother, who raised him after the death of his natural mother, had been planning a meeting in the Middle East somewhere, say wire-tappers with the US National Security Agency, who listened in on the call. Bin Laden told her they would be unable to meet and she wouldn't hear from him for a while.

Following the phone call, which Al-Khalifa received while on holiday in Damascus - the suspected venue of her proposed meeting with Osama - she and her family party were interviewed by police and intelligence officers on their return to Saudi Arabia on September 12, a day after the attacks. According to security sources, most of the rest of the family, who are scattered across America and Europe, also returned to Saudi Arabia after the attacks, for fear of reprisal.

There are also reports that Osama's step-mother and other family members attended the marriage of his son in Kandahar in Afghanistan earlier this year.

The bin Laden family is one of the richest and most influential clans on earth. They tap into a worldwide network of wealth and power, which in turn connects bin Laden to some of the most heavyweight figures of influence on the globe.

United States officials believe that at least two of the more junior members of the family have maintained contact with Osama. Two brothers-in-law - Mohammed Jamal Khalifa and Saad al-Sharif - are alleged to have financial connections to al-Qaeda. Khalifa, who is based in Saudi Arabia, is suspected by US intelligence of using a charity called the International Islamic Relief Organisation to finance Islamic terrorists in the Philippines. These terror groups are also connected to al-Qaeda. Vincent Cannistraro, the former CIA chief of counter-terrorism, said Khalifa may also have funded the Islamic Army of Aden, which claimed responsibility for the bombing of the USS Cole. Khalifa was detained briefly in the US in 1994 after immigration officials discovered that he had been sentenced to death in Jordan in absentia for "conspiracy to carry out terrorist acts".

One of bin Laden's brothers, Mahrous - who was once arrested over his connections to armed Islamists in Saudi Arabia - is currently manager of the Saudi Binladin Group, the family's multibillion-dollar business, at its branch in Medina.

After studying in England in the 1970s, Mahrous struck up a friendship with members of the Muslim Brothers, a Syrian Islamic fundamentalist organisation then in exile in Saudi Arabia. Members of this organisation used bin Laden company trucks to get weapons into the city of Mecca in 1979 when at least 500 dissidents invaded and seized the Grand Mosque. The organisation justified the attack by saying the Saudi regime had lost its legitimacy through "corruption, ostentation and mindless imitation of the West".

All the men who took part in the attack were later beheaded in the squares of four Saudi cities but Mahrous was freed from prison after a period of detention. Saudi intelligence later said that the bin Ladens were the only people in possession of full maps of Mecca. It is believed that the bin Ladens' close relationship with the Saudi royal family saved Mahrous.

The bin Laden dynasty was founded by Osama's father, Mohammed. He emigrated to Saudi Arabia from Yemen early in the 20th century and cosied up to King Abdul Aziz by doing a bargain-basement construction job on a royal palace. He later pulled off a series of contracts that would cement the family's position as one of the most powerful clans on the Arabian peninsula - the exclusive rights to renovate the holy sites in Mecca and Medina.

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This established an industrial, financial and political empire that today stretches around the globe. Mohammed even became minister of public works for a time. With their father's position consolidated in Saudi, his children began to create an international network of power-players for themselves. The bin Laden boys were sent to study in Egypt's prestigious Victoria College in Alexandria, where their schoolmates included Prince Hussein, who later became king of Jordan, the actor Omar Sharif, and the Khashoggi brothers, whose family were infamous for arms dealing.

Osama's brother, Salem bin Laden, took over as head of the family after his father's death in a plane crash in 1968. He was one of Saudi ruler King Fahd's closest friends until he also died in a plane crash in Texas in 1988. Salem was educated at Millfield boarding school in Somerset and he acquired US properties in Florida and New England. A number of family members live in Boston.

The bin Ladens also cannily befriended the Saudi king's sons and helped them get their first start in the business world - a surefire way of keeping the clan right at the heart of Saudi power for future generations.

Since the death of Salem, the command of the business empire has rested with his eldest son, Bakr. He and 13 of Salem's brothers - including Mahrous - make up the board of the Binladin Group. Salem's other son, Ali, who studied in Paris, at one time held discussions with French weapons companies about strengthening links to the Saudi defence ministry.

Most of the bin Laden sons were educated at private schools in England and expensive universities in Britain and America, but Osama stayed to study in the Middle East. He did, however, flirt with a Western lifestyle for a short while in the late 1970s when compatriots remember him drinking and fighting over women in the then decadent Lebanese capital, Beirut.

By the 1980s, the Binladin Group was representing foreign companies in Saudi Arabia, ranging from Audi and Porsche to the UK's Hunting Surveys Ltd. In London, the Binladin Group took over Evered Holdings but most of its international activities were routed through the Geneva offices of the Saudi Investment Company (SICO), which was set up in May 1980.

The Saudi Investment Company is chaired by Beatrice Dufour, of Iranian origin and sister-in-law of one of the bin Laden brothers, Yeslam. In 1983, her co-chairman, Baudoin Dunant, represented Swiss banker Francois Genoud, who had helped finance Arab extremists in Algeria and was on trial for participation in international terrorism.

The board of directors included members of the Shakarshi family, linked to a money-laundering scandal and drug-trafficking in Zurich. A member of the Shakarshi family was also a director of the SICO office in London. There have been allegations that the Zurich company was a CIA front used to finance Afghan resistance - in which bin Laden was a prime mover - during the Soviet occupation of the country. Yeslam bin Laden continues to maintain relations with the Shakarshis.

The bin Laden family - and Yeslam in particular - have long-standing links to Al Bilad, a London-Geneva company used as part of the negotiations over the Anglo-Saudi Al Yamama arms-for-oil agreement, which was worth (pounds) 21.5 billion. Present at the negotiations was the now disgraced former Tory minister Jonathan Aitken, sent by John Major to represent the UK. Major claims he has no connection to the bin Laden family, despite his links to them through his job as European chairman of the Carlyle Group. Mark Thatcher was also involved in the Al Yamama deal.

Major is not the only significant world leader to be dragged into this mess. The Carlyle Group also counts former US President George Bush senior among its team. The former president even met the bin Laden family in Jidda in November 1998.

Current President George W Bush is also tangentially linked to Osama. Bush's lifelong friend James Bath acted as a representative in Texas for Osama's older brother, Salem, between 1976 and 1988. Bath bought real estate for the family, including Houston Gulf Airport.

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Other companies and organisations connected to the Binladin Group family business include General Electric - the most valuable US company - and Citigroup, the biggest US bank, as well as Motorola, Quaker, Nortel, Unilever, Cadbury Schweppes and the investment bank ABN Amro. Judicial Watch, the Washington DC legal watchdog, said any company dealing with the Binladin Group was "disloyal to the US". The UK mobile phone group, Multitone, suspended business with the Binladin Group immediately after the September 11 attacks.

Then there are the academic institutions linked to the family. Dale Eickelman is the current bin Laden visiting fellow at Oxford University's Centre for Islamic Studies, which is financed to the tune of \$ 150,000 ((pounds) 100,000) by Osama's family. Harvard University has fellowships endowed by the family worth \$ 2m ((pounds) 1.35m), and Tufts University in America received \$ 300,000 ((pounds) 200,000) from the bin Ladens.

The irony of the bin Laden network is hard to miss. A few years ago, when Saudi Arabia was in fear of attacks on its soil by al-Qaeda, signs outside Prince Sultan Air Base, where US service personnel are stationed, read: "Security upgrades by Binladin Group". The same signs were in Aden last year when FBI agents arrived to investigate the bombing of the USS Cole. The bin Ladens, it seems, are on both sides of the terrorist war. He blows things up and his family rebuild them.

Sitting in his office at Boston University, Professor Adil Najam - one of the world's best authorities on bin Laden and his relatives - came up with a rather neat little aphorism to explain the strange relationship between the world's most wanted man and his "unfortunate" family.

"The bin Ladens," he said, "must look at Osama with the same horror and disbelief that a Rockefeller would see one of their own errant sons if he became a communist."

It is a well-turned phrase but it doesn't tell the whole story. After all, the Rockefellers - despite being the capitalist dream made flesh - have long been plagued with allegations that they sent funds to Russia's Bolsheviks to protect their own interests, which came primarily in the shape of barrels of crude oil. As one former intelligence source said: "Who the hell knows what goes on inside families?"

Graphic

Osama bin Laden is still in contact with some members of his Saudi family;Osama's brother Salem bin Laden with a baby by his first wife in 1975 Photograph: Corbis

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Flight From the Taliban

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Body

Dr Mohammed Shafiq had already been warned. When the Taliban took control of the Laghman province in the east of Afghanistan, he had been reprimanded - at the point of a Kalashnikov - for talking to his unmarried nurse. But that was minor. Now he was in serious trouble, in an interview room in a Taliban prison. A soldier demanded to know his connections to Hizbi-Islami, an opposition party, then grabbed him by the hair and smashed his head off the table.

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The benefits of that special relationship became apparent in the Yom Kippur War of 1973, a conflict which could have been lost but for US intervention. After a week of heavy fighting and setbacks Israel was running out of supplies and ammunition and facing the possibility that the Soviet Union might intervene with airborne forces to save the surrounded Egyptian Third Army on the east bank of the Suez Canal. Anguished calls for help were answered on October 24 when President Richard Nixon put the US on a heightened state of war readiness - DefCon 3, the same level ordered by President George W Bush last week - and ordered two carrier task forces into the eastern Mediterranean. Two days later Moscow backed down, Israel was saved and just as importantly it did not carry out a veiled threat to use nuclear weapons.

"For Israel, the special relationship with the United States has been of fundamental importance," claims Professor Robert J Lieber of Washington's Georgetown University. "During the height of the Cold War this worked to counterbalance what could otherwise have been dangerously strong intervention from the Soviet Union."

Finance was also part of the equation. In the last 25 years Israel has received over \$ 50 billion in US aid and during President Ronald Reagan's tenure at the White House a free trade treaty was signed, a move which opened up the entire US market so that by 1995 the volume of trade was worth \$ 11 billion. To put that piece of diplomacy into perspective the treaty was agreed long before similar agreements were reached with neighbouring Mexico and Canada. The wellspring of sympathy shown by post-war presidents also cemented the relationship: asked by the Soviet leader Aleksei Kosygin why the US supported three million Israelis when there were 80 million Arabs, President Lyndon B. Johnson replied, "Because it is right." Only George Bush senior (who positively disliked his opposite number Yitzhak Shamir) and Dwight D. Eisenhower were considered to be lukewarm to Israeli aspirations while President Jimmy Carter had a passionate emotional attachment which sprang from his reading of the bible.

Flight From the Taliban

One result of that empathy was the Camp David agreement of September 1978 which brokered a courageous deal with Egypt but Carter always insisted that in wanting to intervene in the Middle East to create peace he saw the scriptures as less of a religious text and more of a living history: "The bible stories are woven into my childhood memories as the gallant struggle of modern Jews to be free of prosecution is also woven into our souls . . . I consider this homeland for the Jews to be compatible with the teaching of the bible, hence ordained by God. These moral and religious beliefs made my commitment to the security of Israel unshakable."

Carter's role in bringing together the age-old enemies Israel and Egypt began a lengthy involvement in the peace process which stretched into the next two decades and which resulted in the Oslo peace accords of 1993. As the talks progressed the US was seen, rightly so, as the only powerbroker which could effect an agreement and so it proved. With Washington's support the land for peace deal came into being and with it a belief that Israeli and Palestinian interests could be harmonised. As it turned out most of the optimism of that heady period was illusion and the high hopes quickly ran into the sands, mainly as a result of Israeli concerns about the security of the homeland. With the election last year of the hardline Ariel Sharon a new clash became inevitable and when it came Palestinians started being killed in droves as civilians faced Israeli armour on the streets. All this violence was laid at America's feet and the images of Israeli brutality only seemed to confirm the view held by many Arabs - that by refusing to condemn these actions the US was colluding in them. Even when Israeli tanks rumbled into Jericho and Jenin last week, bringing the Palestinian death toll in the current intifada to 573 the attack received little attention from a world still focussed on events in downtown Manhattan. Arafat protested as best he could but his voice was ignored and to rub in salt Sharon told the US Secretary of State Colin Powell that the Palestinian leader was no better than Osama bin Laden and his "coalition of terror".

That failure to bring Israel to heel has also put strains on Washington's relationship with Arab states which remain nominally friendly and have been partners in the peace process. Neighbouring Jordan has strong historical ties with the US and Britain but it also possesses a large Palestinian population whose patience is being tested by events on the other side of the River Jordan. The new leader, King Abdullah II has shown himself to be a deft performer in balancing his Israeli links with opinion in the rest of the Arab world but at this crucial juncture he dare not enter into too close a relationship with the US. The same holds true for Egypt where Mubarak has had to contend with his own battle against hostile Islamic fundamentalist groups and has enemies in the wider Arab world. Both men have expressed their revulsion for the attacks on New York and Washington but their loyalty would be stretched if the US makes a retaliatory strike which produces large numbers of Arab casualties.

Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states are in similar positions, being oil-rich and therefore in a strategic partnership with the west. Their interests are bound up with, and protected by, that relationship but they, too, have to keep it at arm's length. Opponents of the regimes have lambasted the failure to put pressure on the US over its perceived bias towards Israel and the criticism could grow shriller. Their governments know that there will be further strains in the coming weeks as they face calls for support from Bush and growing demands from their own people to ignore them. With nothing to lose, as he is still a pariah as far as Washington and London are concerned, Iraq's Saddam Hussein applauded the attacks but across his eastern border the dilemma facing many Arabs was expressed by Iran's reformist leader Mohammad Khatemi. For years, under the rule of the extremist ayatollahs, Iran was the focus of the bulk of anti-American sentiment in the Middle East but under the new regime there has been a softening in the approach with words of comfort being sent from Tehran to Washington but the generosity would never survive any attack on a fellow Islamic country.

Underpinning that unease is the wider belief that the west and the US in particular must bear a responsibility for much of the violence which has disfigured the Middle East in recent years - the bloody Israeli war against Lebanon in 1982, the Gulf War against Iraq in 1991 and the the sanctions regime and the bombing campaign which followed it. As has become all too painfully clear, that policy is not only failing to achieve anything but it has led to incredible hardship for thousands of ordinary Iraqi people while Saddam and his henchmen remain relatively unscathed. The absence of medical care, the lack of funds and equipment to restore the infrastructure and the indifference to local suffering have combined to create conditions which younger Iraqis will neither forget nor forgive. There is also a growing belief in the Arab world that the sanctions are not even-handed and are being imposed simply to bring down a rogue regime by whatever methods come to hand. As for the routine bombing of targets in the air-exclusion

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zones in northern and southern Iraq these are rarely reported even though the attacks produce casualties, not all of them military.

For many Arabs there seems to be one rule for them and another for the west and its ally Israel. In 1988 a US Aegis class destroyer, the USS Vincennes, mistook an Iranian airliner for an attacking warplane and shot it down, killing 290 passengers and crew but the incident was only the cause of "deep regret" and no US commander was punished. This was in stark contrast to an Israeli attack on the intelligence-gathering ship USS Liberty in 1967: although 34 sailors were killed the incident was hushed up and forgotten in order to protect Israeli interests at the time. That feeling of exclusion extends to the way events are reported and the past is remembered. In the aftermath of last week's attacks other "Islamic atrocities" were recalled - the destruction of the three western airliners at Dawson Field in Jordan in 1970 and the execution of a US naval diver during the hijacking of a TWA airliner 15 years later - but no one resurrected the attack by Jewish terrorists on the King David Hotel in June 1946 which killed 91 and injured many more. As for the subsequent hanging of three British sergeants in an orange grove by way of retaliation for the execution of Jewish terrorists, that is remembered not at all.

Not that the US has not suffered itself at the hands of Arab terrorism and, of course, in the past few weeks dozens of Israelis have fallen victim to Palestinian suicide bombers. In recent years the US has had three of its ambassadors murdered, 49 people were killed when the embassy in Beirut was car-bombed in 1983, an atrocity which was overshadowed by the killing of 24 marines in the same city a few months later, in December 1988 a Pan Am airliner was blown up over Lockerbie and 270 lost their lives and in 1996 19 marines were blown up in their barracks at Khubar Towers in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia. All were by-products of US involvement in the region - the support for Israel, the attacks on Iraq, the naval and military presence in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf - yet far from appeasing the hatred, the attacks and the retaliation only served to inspire the extremists.

Small wonder that so many younger Arabs in the Middle East are attracted to the groups which exist on the verges of the world of Islam and throw in their lot with terrorist organisations such as Hamas, Hezbollah and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, all of which are prepared to use violence as a means of achieving their aim of winning a Palestinian homeland. When they see the failure of the peace process and the inability of their leaders to gain any ground in the discussions with Israel they turn their thoughts to other means of confrontation, with predictable results. The suicide bomber might be a terrible manifestation of their frustration but at least he gains headlines and takes the battle to the heart and soul of the perceived enemy, Israel. At a time when Arafat and his cohorts from the once revered Palestine Liberation Organisation had completed the familiar transition from terrorists to statesmen a growing army of young and disillusioned Arabs see nothing terribly wrong with joining the alliance of fellow Palestinians who want to avenge their plight through the use of more violent methods.

And yet, it would be a dangerous folly to suppose that all Arabs in the Middle East operate under an unconditional hatred of the US or nurse violence in their hearts. The words "Islamic fundamentalist terrorist" are not the same combination as "pepper and salt" or "oil and vinegar" and there is a danger that in demonising the world of Islam or making wild and vengeful calls for retaliation the west will only reinforce the cycle of mistrust which creates the conditions for violence. One simple fact remains true: to react to any atrocity by abandoning the self-control imposed by the democratic state is to give comfort and a cause to the terrorist.

"He struck me like that, I don't know how many times," the doctor explains, polite but passionate as he talks about his homeland. "Soon after the first blow I was unconscious. When I came to, my nose was broken and my forehead split open."

Shafiq has lived through Afghanistan's nightmare, having fled from the Taliban in darkness and in fear of his life two years ago. Now living in Glasgow, he has been granted asylum and, at 31, has started anew.

As he looks back over 23 years of turmoil, amid both cold war and civil war, he can only pray that things will get better for his country. While the terrorist attacks on America have left a dark threat hanging over Afghanistan, maybe things cannot get any worse. Perhaps, just perhaps, if things work out, he could go back and start his new life there instead, he says.

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"When I grew up, Afghanistan was a very nice country, peaceful and tranquil," he explains. "It was a monarchy, under the reign of King Zahid Shah. I can just remember when he was overthrown."

Shah was replaced in a bloodless coup in 1973, after a drought and economic crisis, and a new republic was set up with Shah's cousin, former prime minister Daoud Khan, declaring himself president. Under the king, Afghanistan had mainly flourished, with major advances in women's rights. Khan's regime continued much of this progress.

"For five years, the country developed. We built bridges, roads, factories. Education expanded and conditions were getting better day by day. There was co -education for girls and boys. There was no place for the religious men," Shafiq remembers.

Educated and from a well-off family, as a youngster Shafiq would spend the winter in the rural village where his family lived and then go to the capital, Kabul, for the summer to continue his studies. It was cooler there and his father would go there seeking recruits for the police force.

He remembers the busy streets and the mild evenings. He remembers the gardens outside the city. Now Kabul is a bombed-out relic, shell-torn and broken. "Nothing remains in the city now. It is a ruin," he says.

Everything changed when the communists seized power in 1978. Khan was assassinated and his close family massacred by Marxists backed by the USSR.

"They bombed Daoud's villa at night," remembers Shafiq. "I was eight years old. The communists didn't care about the people and their traditions and so the people rose against them. Many parties sprang up to take advantage of the situation, including Islamic parties of exiles in Pakistan and Iran.

"Other people from the Middle East came to fight against the Russians. Osama bin Laden was among them. There were many people and the Western countries and the Arab world supported those organisations and gave them ammunition and missiles."

As the communist regime met resistance from guerrilla groups and the mujahidin, Russia came to its aid. Shafiq remembers the day.

"It was the first day of the conflict. I was playing volleyball with friends. Further along the playing grounds were other children, just running around. In the distance, a tank fired a shell. It landed 20 yards away from me, killing three of the children.

"After that, every day there was conflict, fighting, shells. Then there were the mines. I saw a boy I knew die in a mine blast. I saw his pieces. He was in bits. We don't want that situation again."

The war struck even closer to home. As the young Shafiq watched from the window of his family home, a Russian helicopter hovered over the village, firing its guns at targets on the hillside. He could see two people huddled under shawls, crouching but unable to get to shelter.

"Volleyball was the most popular sport in the district and my cousin was the best player. He was out walking with his brother-in-law and they were both killed. My cousin was hit in the head and the heart. They carried back the bodies and told us he was dead. He was 22."

A decade of bitter war was followed by subsequent years of civil war. Shafiq trained as a doctor at Kabul University and returned to work in a hospital in his home province. As the mujahidin guerrillas fought on, various leaders came and went and, in the background, a new force was born.

The Taliban militia, formed by religious students, seized Kabul in 1996. With the Russians gone, ordinary Afghans expected a return to calm.

"People thought, 'The Taliban, they are sent by the UN. Peace will come to our country because they are nice people,'" explains Shafiq. "But we didn't know the Taliban. No-one knew. Then they revealed their face."

Flight From the Taliban

As the Taliban enforced their fundamentalist version of Islamic law on the country, torture and punishment became commonplace. Education was no longer valued, only religious scholarship. Women were repressed and a Talib - the word means "student" - was installed in every office and institution.

But it wasn't until the Taliban marched into his hospital that Shafiq realised how badly ordinary Afghans had been betrayed. His working relationship with his nurse ended that day. Under the Taliban, women are only allowed to associate with men if they are close relatives - fathers, brothers, husbands.

"She was banned, and so were all the female staff in the hospital," says Shafiq. "They were my colleagues, but the Talib had a Kalashnikov in his hand and I said, 'OK, sorry.'"

"We are Muslim too, but there is no place in Islam for the things they do. Under the rule of the Taliban, there are no jobs for women, no place for educated people, no place for doctors."

Soon Shafiq's profession was to separate him from his family - from his mother, father and three brothers, and from his wife and three children. He knew a commander in the rebel Hizbi-Islami, and some of the party's personnel. They were his patients. It was this that landed him in jail.

"I was in jail for two days in terrible conditions after they beat me. I was released, but only because local people came and told them, 'Let him go, he is a doctor, a good man'."

The incident was a second and final warning. Shafiq knew he must comply or face even worse retribution. But he was in an impossible ethical position.

"Two months later there was an outbreak of typhoid, and I treated these people. They were fighting against the Taliban, but it was my moral duty to treat them. They were my patients."

Still anguished, he stresses the point: "I was the doctor responsible for that area. I had to treat them. But I was spotted by a Taliban spy. A friend warned me, 'They will kill you. Don't go to your house tonight. This is the only chance for you to go.'"

That night, as Shafiq sheltered at a friend's house, his mother was visited by the Taliban. "They said, 'Where is the doctor? We need help.' But she wasn't deceived."

There was no time even for farewells with his wife and children, Shafiq says, his face betraying little emotion. But his insistent explanations reveal his constant suffering since he fled across the border to Pakistan. "No-one would leave their house and family if they were not in a desperate situation, in danger of their life," he says. "I had already been warned, but I did not leave my country. I was beaten, but I did not leave my country. But when I realised they would kill me, I knew I had to go."

That was in 1999. Since then Shafiq has been granted asylum in the UK. He lives in Glasgow, where he has been working as a waiter - his refugee status means he is legally unable to use his medical qualification in Britain.

In the growing international crisis, he is just one of many such Afghan refugees. All are terrified of the prospect of further conflict in their homeland.

This week Shafiq will embark on a journey which fills him with trepidation. His family have crossed into Pakistan for a reunion which he has awaited for two years. He aims to meet them there, but fears his nationality may count against him if the situation worsens. "I have to see my family," he says. "But time is very short."

As for talk of war, he makes an impassioned plea for calm from the West. "We have begged for years for America or the UN to intervene, but after the communists were defeated they were not interested," he says.

"We said, 'You armed these people, now arm us.' Nobody wants the Taliban but the people of Afghanistan are unarmed, they can't fight them. No-one can say the ordinary people of Afghanistan are involved in terrorism."

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"Osama bin Laden is not from Afghanistan. The Taliban are his friends but they are not involved in terrorism." Of course, he says, the culprit for last week's attacks on the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon must be brought to justice. "But if bin Laden did this, then for one person they could kill thousands who have already suffered 23 years of civil war.

"If they fire rockets from far away, the Taliban will retreat to mountains and caves, but the missiles will kill farmers and people doing ordinary jobs. We are victims of terrorism, suffering for 23 years."

Yet while there is fear and despair at the seemingly inevitable conflict, Shafiq also harbours hope. He is enthusiastic about reports that suggest the US may be planning to oust the Taliban and bring back the exiled King Zahid Shah, currently living in Rome.

"The Taliban are not as strong as they say. Ordinary people will join with the Americans and give help if they send ground troops.

"If the exiled king came back, I would go back to Afghanistan and start my life again. There would be no terrorism and no refugee crisis - we would not be here. We would go back to our own country. I think this may happen. The Americans won't be happy to bomb ordinary people."

Mohammed Shafiq's name has been changed at his request

Graphic

Western arms that helped the Afghans fight communism did not extend to fighting the Taliban Photograph: Uimonen Ilkka/Sygma

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100 DAYS

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Body

The day began innocently at water fountains and coffee pots, with conjecture about Michael Jordan's return to pro basketball and the latest buzz on Calif. Rep. Gary Condit.

In New York, the 56th General Assembly of the United Nations was about to convene.

Kofi Annan, the secretary general, hadn't yet left home. But he had issued a message in advance to set the tone for the day, which was to include the ringing of the Peace Bell.

"Let us dare to imagine a world free of conflict and violence," he concluded.

It was Sept. 11, the U.N.'s International Day of Peace.

A day of the unimaginable. At airports in Boston; Newark, N.J.; and suburban Washington, groups of young men boarded cross-country airliners, settled into their seats and began counting minutes.

A world away, a ragged army of Afghan guerrilla soldiers, who called themselves the Northern Alliance, mourned its leader. Ahmed Shah Massoud, an enemy of the Taliban and an enemy of Osama bin Laden, was mortally wounded Sept. 9 by a suicide bomber posing as a journalist.

That was how it began. The U.N. Peace Bell would not ring, not for three days. And by then, the world was ringing with talk of war.

A hundred days have passed since, an kaleidoscope of emotions, pictures and words.

DAY 1

TUESDAY, SEPT. 11: A passenger jet from Boston, American Airlines Flight 11, swoops from a pale blue sky and bulldozes into the north tower of New York's World Trade Center at 8:45 a.m. A second plane, United Airlines Flight 175, also from Boston, banks and slams into the south tower 18 minutes later.

Jet fuel explodes into fireballs, melting steel.

The south tower lasts 62 minutes; the north tower, 103 minutes. Both plummet into the streets below, spewing massive clouds of dust and debris through lower Manhattan. People gasp or moan or scream, and run.

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Nearly an hour after the first crash, American Airlines Flight 77 from Washington's Dulles International Airport slams into the Pentagon, triggering evacuations throughout the capital city.

America screeches to a halt. Airports shut down, along with bridges and tunnels. Planes still flying are ordered to land. President Bush cuts short a visit with schoolchildren in Sarasota and announces that the country had suffered an "apparent terrorist attack."

Just after 10 a.m., a fourth airliner, United Airlines Flight 93 from Newark, crashes into a field in Somerset County, Pa., southeast of Pittsburgh. Days later, stories would emerge of a heroic attempt to wrest the plane from hijackers. Federal authorities suspect it was headed for Camp David, Md., the White House or the U.S. Capitol.

New York postpones its primary elections. Financial markets close. Mayor Rudolph Giuliani finds a new role as the strong voice of calm and compassion in a city under siege.

"More than any of us can bear," he says, when asked how many have died. Some estimates range as high as 10,000.

By afternoon, news reporters are uttering a familiar name: Osama bin Laden, a millionaire Saudi fugitive blamed for past acts against American targets.

Palestinian groups deny responsibility, as does the al-Qaida group headed by bin Laden.

Muslims in the United States condemn the attacks, and the nation turns to prayer.

The Emmy Awards show is postponed. Kmart suspends gun and ammunition sales. Theme parks and shopping malls shut down. The country mourns. The world seems dazed.

Before nightfall, Bush returns to the Oval Office to address the country. "Today, our nation saw evil, the very worst of human nature, and we responded with the best of America."

DAY 2

WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 12: After FBI agents descend on Boston's Logan International Airport, U.S. authorities identify 18 hijackers, a number later increased to 19. Investigators cast a worldwide net for accomplices.

The FBI serves search warrants on major Internet service providers.

One U.S. official tells reporters another hijacking might have been thwarted by increased security at New York's John F. Kennedy and LaGuardia airports. At least eight people are arrested, including four challenged at one of the airports Sept. 11.

In Hamburg, Germany, police search four apartments looking for information about two of the alleged hijackers, Mohamed Atta and Marwan al-Shehhi, who were students at the Technical University Hamburg-Harburg.

Jittery travelers flock to trains, buses and rental cars. Blood donors line up by the thousands.

Gov. Jeb Bush worries the attacks could hurt the state's economy, which stands on the brink of recession.

Muslims in Florida and elsewhere report threats, harassment and vandalism.

And in New York, the last survivor to be found in the mountains of debris, a woman, is pulled from beneath a collapsed walkway.

DAY 3

100 DAYS

THURSDAY, SEPT. 13: As Tropical Storm Gabrielle sidles up to Florida from the south, airlines slowly resume flights at Tampa International Airport and others across the country. But few passengers are aboard, and the air carriers project losses of \$10 billion.

In Tampa, Neiman Marcus cancels a gala at its new International Plaza store, set to open Friday, and the mall limits its grand opening to a simple ceremony.

Police arrest a man taken off a plane at New York's Kennedy airport after he allegedly flashes a fake pilot's ID. FBI agents search a Jersey City, New Jersey, apartment after detaining two people in Texas.

A Spring Hill hospital suspends a physician after an alleged anti-American comment.

Tampa gun dealers report a 30 percent jump in sales. Most college football games are canceled for the weekend. Television networks postpone fall season premiers and revise weekend movie runs. NASCAR postpones the Winston Cup race, set for Sunday.

Hillsborough firefighter Brian Muldowney joins the search for his brother, a New York firefighter, and the University of South Florida's robotics team arrives in lower Manhattan, at the spot now known as ground zero.

DAY 4

FRIDAY, SEPT. 14: Investigators tie three of the suspected hijackers - Ziad Samir Jarrah, Marwan al-Shehhi and Mohamed Atta - to South Florida, where they are believed to have taken flight lessons.

Tampa's International Plaza debuts to the public on a somber, soggy Friday, as Gabrielle dumps 8 inches of rain on the Bay area.

A band of Florida executives stranded in Chicago starts home by taxi. Reports emerge of e-mail scams purporting to be raising money for victims' families.

Military recruiters notice an increase in applicants. And the USS Cole is relaunched a day earlier than planned, 11 months after a terrorist attack blamed on bin Laden killed 17 while the ship was at port in Yemen.

DAY 5

SATURDAY, SEPT. 15: Continental airlines announces plans to lay off 12,000 workers and reduce flights by 20 percent. American, United and other carriers soon take similar steps.

A Disney cruise ship is evacuated after dogs trained to sniff out explosives find suspicious luggage.

Five people die in Port Isabel, Texas, when barges smash into a bridge, collapsing a 160-foot section of the span.

Track great Michael Johnson runs the final race of his career in Yokohama, Japan.

Vandals target a store in Hudson owned by an Indian man, Silta Amin.

The Central Florida Arms Show, the largest in the Southeast, draws a crowd stocking up on ammunition - while Cease Fire Tampa Bay reports a 56 percent drop in gun buybacks.

DAY 6

SUNDAY, SEPT. 16: Bin Laden denies any role in the attacks.

"The U.S. government has consistently blamed me for being behind every occasion its enemies attack it," he says in a statement released to Arabic television.

100 DAYS

"I would like to assure the world that I did not plan the recent attacks, which seems to have been planned by people for personal reasons."

Churches throughout the Bay area fill with parishioners uniting in prayers, songs and offerings in honor of attack victims.

The FBI searches a Delray Beach apartment where suspected hijacker Saeed Alghamdi lived, amid indications that two other suspected hijackers also had spent time there.

Attorney General John Ashcroft and FBI Director Robert Mueller meet with congressional leaders to discuss giving federal investigators broader powers. The Bush administration says it is re-examining intelligence rules to better fight terrorism.

Smaller disasters are lost in the larger flood of news, including word that eight members of the University of Wyoming's cross-country team have been killed in a head-on collision.

DAY 7

MONDAY, SEPT. 17: U.S. financial markets open for the first time since the terrorist attacks.

President Bush declares prime suspect bin Laden, "Wanted - dead or alive."

Ashcroft expresses concern that more terrorist assaults might be planned against the country.

"Frankly, I think we need to be careful, and we need to understand that there is a risk," he tells CNN's Larry King.

DAY 8

TUESDAY, SEPT. 18: Reports are surfacing about Zacarias Moussaoui, arrested three weeks before the attacks on an alleged passport violation.

Two weeks before, the reports say, FBI agents were at a flight school in the Midwest asking questions. Moussaoui had paid \$8,000 in cash for flying lessons - but wasn't interested in learning about take off or landing procedures.

Filipino investigators say they warned the FBI six years ago of a terrorist plot to hijack commercial planes and slam them into the Pentagon, CIA headquarters and other buildings.

Arista Records re-releases Whitney Houston's 1991 version of "The Star-Spangled Banner," recorded during Super Bowl XXV at Tampa Stadium.

DAY 9

WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 19: The government releases photographs of the suspected hijackers, and Attorney General Ashcroft speculates that the terrorists must have received support from other governments.

Alabama Republican Sen. Richard Shelby calls the attacks "a massive failure" on the part of the U.S. intelligence community.

Schools nationwide report record turnouts for the 12th annual "See You At The Pole" event, in which students gather at the school flagpole to pray before class.

The Pentagon coins the phrase "Operation Infinite Justice" to describe the deployment of aircraft to areas surrounding the Persian Gulf, Indian Ocean, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan.

Bay area firefighters raise money in a boot drive for their fallen comrades.

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Anticipating revenue declines, Tampa International Airport scales back construction projects.

DAY 10

THURSDAY, SEPT. 20: Pennsylvania Gov. Thomas Ridge is appointed director of the new Office of Homeland Security.

Federal agents arrest an alleged associate of bin Laden, Nabil Al-Marabh, 34, outside Chicago.

The FBI begins enlisting the aid of banks to follow the money trail in the attacks while trying to resolve whether the hijackers used as aliases the names of people still alive.

MacDill's 6th Air Mobility Wing is ordered to ready itself for deployment to support U.S. military action in the Middle East.

The Federal Aviation Administration eases a ban on some private aircraft flights.

In St. Petersburg, a Middle Eastern family moves after receiving a postcard death threat.

DAY 11

FRIDAY, SEPT. 21: Investigators begin focusing on Abdulaziz Alomari - one of the men on the jet that hit the World Trade Center's north tower - as a key player in the Sept. 11 attacks.

Northwest Airlines announces it will cut 10,000 jobs.

The war on terror goes Hollywood. Movie makers begin juggling release plans and plotlines because of the attacks.

Entertainers including U2, Celine Dion and Mariah Carey stage "America: A Tribute to Heroes," a telethon that raises \$150 million for victims and families. Actors Jack Nicholson and Tom Cruise work the phone bank.

DAY 12

SATURDAY, SEPT. 22: President Bush signs a \$15 billion aid package for the nation's airlines.

Eight lower Manhattan buildings reopen, and New York's Mayor Giuliani calls for a return to normalcy.

In his weekly radio address, President Bush predicts an economic turnaround.

College football games resume.

A doll wearing a turban is hung from a billboard in Hudson, with a sign around its neck reading, "Honk for death of bin Laden."

DAY 13

SUNDAY, SEPT. 23: President Bush returns the U.S. flag to full staff at Camp David.

The Federal Aviation Administration grounds crop-dusters for the second time since the attacks.

Thousands attend a prayer service at New York's Yankee Stadium.

Nearly 2,000 attend a candlelight vigil at St. Mark the Evangelist Roman Catholic Church in New Tampa.

Pro football games resume with added security and patriotic pregame ceremonies.

DAY 14

100 DAYS

MONDAY, SEPT. 24: Bin Laden calls on followers to fight against "the new Jewish and Christian crusade."

Russian President Vladimir Putin voices support for U.S. antiterrorist operations in Afghanistan.

President Bush freezes the assets of 27 people and organizations in an effort to "drain the lifeblood" of terrorist groups.

Members of the Florida Air National Guard's 290th Communication Squadron, based at MacDill, prepare to travel overseas.

A union representing 60,000 commercial pilots says it will ask Congress to allow pilots to carry firearms in the cockpit.

Children getting ready for Halloween make a rush on firefighter and police costumes.

DAY 15

TUESDAY, SEPT. 25: The Pentagon calls some 2,000 more reservists to active duty, bringing the call-up total to 12,243.

The last standing section of the World Trade Center's south tower is brought down. Officials say it might be used in a memorial.

Saudi Arabia cuts ties with the Taliban government and accuses it of defaming Islam by harboring terrorists.

A crowd of 9,000 fills the Ice Palace in Tampa for "An American Anthem," a patriotic program featuring music and prayers.

The Bay Area Pistol Range in Tampa starts using targets emblazoned with bin Laden's face.

DAY 16

WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 26: Delta Air Lines says it will cut 13,000 jobs, bringing the number of layoffs in the airline industry to more than 100,000.

Thousands of Afghans storm the abandoned U.S. Embassy in Kabul, burning an effigy of President Bush.

University of South Florida researchers receive \$6.3 million in federal money to help defend the state against bioterrorism.

Another 600 reservists are called up, including members of an Air Force special operations force from Niceville.

DAY 17

THURSDAY, SEPT. 27: President Bush authorizes the Air Force to shoot down commercial airliners that threaten Americans.

Four thousand National Guard troops prepare to patrol the nation's airports.

Jobless claims nationwide soar to a nine-year high.

DAY 18

FRIDAY, SEPT. 28: Officials say it will take a year and cost \$7 billion to clear away the World Trade Center's remains.

100 DAYS

A handful of U.S. commandos and CIA agents land in are in Afghanistan to scout Taliban positions and search for bin Laden, U.S. officials say.

USF Professor Sami Al-Arian is put on paid leave after his appearance on a television program the Fox News program "The O'Reilly Factor" draws a rash of threatening e-mail and telephone calls.

The state says Florida tourism has lost \$20 million a day since the attacks; Walt Disney World and other theme parks struggle to regain their footing.

Dealers say more women are buying guns since the attacks.

DAY 19

SATURDAY, SEPT. 29: The CIA says it has secretly been sending teams to Afghanistan for the past three years to capture or kill bin Laden.

The Empire State Building's observation deck reopens.

Gov. Bush says the state budget might require more than \$1 billion in cuts, while nearly 80 percent of Florida's aviation-related companies say they will lay off workers.

DAY 20

SUNDAY, SEPT. 30: Attorney General Ashcroft cites a "clear and present danger" of more terrorist attacks if the United States retaliates for Sept. 11.

Saudi Arabia refuses to allow U.S. troops to use bases on its soil to launch attacks on Arabs or Muslims.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service temporarily freezes immigration applications.

Otis Vincent Tolbert of Brandon, a victim of killed in the attack on the Pentagon, is remembered in during a memorial service at Bell Shoals Baptist Church.

An 8-year-old boy from Coral Sunset Elementary in Boca Raton is told he can't run a Sept. 11 relief fundraiser from his school because only fundraisers that benefit students are allowed.

Robbers steal 25 American flags from a store in Largo.

DAY 21

MONDAY, OCT. 1: President Bush freezes \$6 million in 50 bank accounts allegedly linked to terrorists.

Djamel Beghal, an Islamic militant suspected of trying to organize attacks against U.S. interests in France, is extradited from the United Arab Emirates to France.

A fourth U.S. aircraft carrier, the USS Kitty Hawk, is deployed to the Arabian Sea.

Luis Martinez-Flores and Kenys Galicia of Virginia are arrested on charges of helping suspected hijackers obtain false identification documents.

In Tampa, Ellen Arena works on a quilt-making project to raise money for victims of the attacks.

DAY 22

TUESDAY, OCT. 2: New York's Weill Cornell Burn Center releases its first World Trade Center burn victim, Manu Dhingra.

100 DAYS

In a rare show of bipartisanship, the Senate approves a \$345 billion defense measure 99-0.

U.S. officials say they aborted weekend military strikes against the Taliban and terrorists in Afghanistan when allies Saudi Arabia, Oman and Uzbekistan expressed reservations.

NATO Secretary General George Robertson says the United States has provided clear and compelling evidence of bin Laden's involvement.

The Hillsborough County School Board approves the names Liberty Middle and Freedom High for two schools under construction in New Tampa.

Stores report dwindling stocks of books about terrorism.

Day 23

WEDNESDAY, OCT. 3: President Bush and congressional leaders agree to assemble a new antirecession package containing as much as \$75 billion in tax cuts and emergency spending.

Health and Human Services Secretary Tommy Thompson testifies at a Senate hearing that the United States is not prepared for bioterrorism.

DAY 24

THURSDAY, OCT. 4: Reagan Washington National Airport is the last to reopen after the attacks.

President Bush announces \$3 billion in emergency aid for U.S. workers laid off since Sept. 11, and \$320 million in humanitarian aid for Afghanistan.

Pakistan becomes the first significant Muslim ally to declare acceptance of the U.S. case that bin Laden was to blame for the attacks.

The FBI releases new details and videotapes of suspected hijackers Mohamed Atta and Abdulaziz Alomari to help generate more investigative leads.

DAY 25

FRIDAY, OCT. 5: Bob Stevens, 63, a photo editor for the supermarket tabloid The Sun in Boca Raton, dies from inhalation anthrax.

Transportation Secretary Norman Mineta orders airlines to strengthen cockpit doors within 30 days.

The Florida National Guard begins its first day on duty at Tampa International Airport, which reports an 11 percent decline in air traffic since Sept. 11.

Uzbekistan says the United States can base troops on its soil.

The Pentagon says 1,000 troops from the 10th Mountain Division will be deployed.

Lotfi Raissi, 27, is denied bail by a British court. The Algerian pilot accused of training some of the suicide hijackers is wanted in the United States.

Plant City's Strawberry Airfest is canceled because of flight restrictions.

DAY 26

100 DAYS

SATURDAY, OCT. 6: More than 50 health and law enforcement officials fan out across Palm Beach County to retrace the steps of anthrax victim Stevens.

Major air carriers cut fares up to 50 percent to encourage travelers to fly again.

President Bush warns the Taliban that time is running out. It offers to release eight foreign aid workers if the United States stops threatening military action.

U.S. and British intelligence officials identify Mohammed Atef, one of bin Laden's closest aides, as a key planner of the Sept. 11 attacks.

Investigators implicate suspected hijacker Khalid Almhidhar in the August 1998 bombings of U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, as well as the October 2000 attack on the USS Cole in Yemen.

DAY 27

SUNDAY, OCT. 7: America strikes back.

The United States and Britain pound Afghanistan and its Taliban regime with volleys of cruise missiles and waves of bombs. President Bush tells the nation in a 1 p.m. speech from the White House.

U.S. Air Force C-17 cargo planes begin dropping food and medical supplies inside Afghanistan to aid displaced Afghan civilians.

Bin Laden says in a videotape, "There is America, full of fear from its north to its south, from its west to its east. Thank God for that."

Amid tightened security at Raymond James Stadium, the Tampa Bay Buccaneers defeat the Green Bay Packers, 14-10.

The Emmy Awards telecast is again called off.

DAY 28

MONDAY, OCT. 8: A second anthrax case is reported at American Media Inc., The Sun's parent company in Boca Raton.

Tom Ridge is sworn in as director of the Office of Homeland Security.

Ashcroft encourages Americans to have a "heightened sense of awareness."

A second round of airstrikes takes place in Afghanistan. Thousands protest in Pakistan.

The Florida Highway Patrol orders its troopers to begin looking closely at trucks and drivers carrying hazardous materials.

DAY 29

TUESDAY, OCT. 9: The anthrax that killed Stevens is traced to a strain harvested at an Iowa facility in the 1950s.

The United States claims air supremacy over Afghanistan.

Florida's seaports ask for National Guard security details. The Port of Tampa gets help from local law enforcement.

Authorities confirm the Oct. 1 arrests of two Middle Eastern men seen videotaping near the Tampa Port Authority building.

100 DAYS

Gov. Bush says he might call special sessions of the Legislature to address the budget deficit and terrorism.

DAY 30

WEDNESDAY, OCT. 10: Stocks rally to near pre-Sept. 11 levels.

The White House releases a "most wanted" list of 22 suspected terrorists, including bin Laden and Ayman al-Zawahri of the Egyptian Islamic Jihad. "We list their names; we publicize their pictures; we rob them of their secrecy," President Bush says.

A third American Media employee tests positive for anthrax, and the Bay area is beset by anthrax scares.

Prosecutors say they have no evidence linking the outbreak to Sept. 11.

Pakistan allows the United States to use its airfields, and U.S. warplanes slam Taliban and al-Qaida forces with 5,000-pound bombs.

Air Force Master Sgt. Evander Andrews dies in a forklift accident in Qatar, the first U.S. casualty of Operation Enduring Freedom.

DAY 31

THURSDAY, OCT. 11: President Bush attends a somber ceremony at the Pentagon to mark one month since the Sept. 11 attacks, and workers at the World Trade Center site pause to remember the dead.

In his first prime-time news conference, Bush offers to end the bombing in Afghanistan if the Taliban will surrender bin Laden.

The FBI warns of additional terrorist attacks.

DAY 32

FRIDAY, OCT. 12: NBC says a female aide to anchor Tom Brokaw has anthrax.

The Bush administration adds 39 names to the list of individuals and organizations whose assets in the United States are frozen for suspected ties to terrorist groups.

The American Red Cross says it intends to spend only \$111 million of \$543 million in contributions on Sept. 11 victims, provoking an outpouring of criticism from donors.

DAY 33

SATURDAY, OCT. 13: A U.S. bomb misses its target in Kabul and slams into a residential area a mile away.

Bioterrorism worries escalate when five more American Media employees show signs of anthrax antibodies, and a second NBC employee develops symptoms of the disease.

Delta Air Lines cancels a nonstop flight from New York to Amsterdam, Netherlands, after two men described as Middle Easterners buy one-way tickets and two others inquire about doing so.

DAY 34

SUNDAY, OCT. 14: Attorney General Ashcroft says it's "unlikely" that all the Sept. 11 conspirators have been apprehended.

100 DAYS

In a moment reminiscent of the United States' more innocent days, Disney character Winnie-the-Pooh celebrates his 75th birthday.

DAY 35

MONDAY, OCT. 15: An aide to Senate Majority Leader Tom Daschle opens a letter, releasing a cloud of anthrax spores into the Hart Senate Office Building.

ABC News announces that the 7-month-old son of an employee has tested positive for skin anthrax.

New York's Mayor Giuliani is knighted by Queen Elizabeth II for his "outstanding help and support to ... British families in New York."

The Taliban's leadership begins to splinter with the defection of foreign minister Wakil Ahmed Muttawakil.

The Holland Tunnel, which connects Jersey City, N.J., to lower Manhattan, is fully open for the first time in 35 days.

DAY 36

TUESDAY, OCT. 16: Minutes before American Airlines Flight 11 hit the World Trade Center, a voice says: "Nobody move, please; we are going back to the airport. Don't try to make any stupid moves," a transcript from the cockpit recorder shows.

Investigators say they have found no link between the anthrax cases and organized terrorism.

Since Sept. 11, screeners at Tampa International Airport have seized 8,626 items from carry-on bags, ranging from handcuffs to knitting needles.

DAY 37

WEDNESDAY, OCT. 17: In response to anthrax fears, the U.S. House of Representatives shuts down for five days for anthrax testing. The Senate stays open with minimal staffing.

German authorities arrest a man boarding a plane to Iran. In his baggage they find a "holy war" manual, camouflage clothing, a chemical weapons protection suit and materials to produce an explosive detonator.

Israel Tourism Minister Rehavam Zeevi is assassinated in East Jerusalem.

The Polk County Commission votes to display the Ten Commandments in the county's administration building.

DAY 38

THURSDAY, OCT. 18: Four al-Qaida terrorists convicted in the 1998 bombing of U.S. embassies in Africa are sentenced to life in prison.

Vice President Dick Cheney visits rescue workers at ground zero.

A Port Charlotte nurse is charged with using a hoax weapon of mass destruction after spreading a powdery substance around her boss's office.

DAY 39

FRIDAY, OCT. 19: British police say they are investigating more than 20 terrorism suspects at the request of the FBI.

100 DAYS

After a white powder is found on two Northwest Airlines flights, the carrier pulls artificial sweeteners and powdered coffee creamer from its airplanes.

A suitcase full of plastic explosive is found at a Philadelphia bus station.

DAY 40

SATURDAY, OCT. 20: Federal officials say they have detained 830 people in the investigation of the Sept. 11 attacks - but have no evidence that anyone in custody is a conspirator.

Anthrax spores turn up for the first time on the U.S. House of Representatives side of the Capitol complex.

Firefighters dance in the aisles and taunt bin Laden on stage as Paul McCartney, David Bowie and Billy Joel headline a televised "Concert for New York" at Madison Square Garden. The concert raises at least \$30 million.

News reports show that only four of Hillsborough County's 14 hospitals have the bare minimum of equipment necessary to deal with a mass casualty disaster.

Bay area schools face potential teacher and employee shortages because of the U.S. military reserve call-up.

DAY 41

SUNDAY, OCT. 21: In the first concerted strike in support of the Northern Alliance, U.S. warplanes pound Taliban front lines.

A crowd of 46,000 gathers in Washington for a concert featuring Michael Jackson and 'N Sync. Proceeds will go to victims of the terrorist attacks.

Gas prices have fallen an average of 9 cents a gallon in two weeks as travel fears slow demand.

DAY 42

MONDAY, OCT. 22: Officials report two Washington postal workers have died from anthrax and two more are hospitalized.

In St. Petersburg, a Dixie Hollins High School teacher is told she can't use a likeness of bin Laden as a bull's-eye in a physics project that involves dropping eggs. The principal reverses the decision after a public outcry.

DAY 43

TUESDAY, OCT. 23: Traces of anthrax are found at a White House mail sorting facility, and three more postal workers are hospitalized.

Members of Congress seek temporary office space while anthrax testing continues at the Capitol.

Walt Disney World asks its staff to cut hours by 20 percent to save money.

A toll-taker on the Suncoast Parkway near State Road 52 reports getting a possibly tainted dollar bill from a carload of "Arabic-looking men."

DAY 44

WEDNESDAY, OCT. 24: The U.S. House votes to give the federal government broader law enforcement powers to fight terrorism.

100 DAYS

The U.S. Postal Service tells Americans to treat their mail as a "threat." Meanwhile, three more postal workers are hospitalized with anthrax in Maryland.

Opposition leaders in Afghanistan begin planning a post-Taliban government.

DAY 45

THURSDAY, OCT. 25: Attorney General Ashcroft pledges to unleash broad surveillance and searches on suspected terrorists.

Federal health authorities publish guidelines for anthrax treatment.

The Florida Senate approves a rule allowing committees to meet and vote on security issues in private.

The parents of missing government intern Chandra Levy say the search continues out of the public eye.

Naples Jaycees are staging a mock execution of bin Laden at their haunted house.

DAY 46

FRIDAY, OCT. 26: The U.S. Supreme Court, the CIA's mail operations and a Washington post office close in response to the anthrax threat.

The Taliban catch and execute exiled Afghan rebel leader Abdul Haq.

U.S. warplanes accidentally bomb Red Cross buildings in Afghanistan.

The head of the American Red Cross resigns amid allegations that terrorism victims will get less than half of the \$543 million raised.

President Bush signs a sweeping antiterrorism bill into law. The law gives police and intelligence agencies broad powers to fight terrorism.

DAY 47

SATURDAY, OCT. 27: The Bush administration says it is studying the idea of using military tribunals to try suspected terrorists.

In Britain, defense chief Adm. Michael Boyce suggests the war in Afghanistan might continue for up to four years.

A security crackdown doesn't scare away Guavaween revelers. A participant dressed as Uncle Sam carries a fake bin Laden head on a stick.

DAY 48

SUNDAY, OCT. 28: Federal health authorities confirm an eighth case of inhalation anthrax, a **female** New Jersey postal worker.

The New York Times says the nearly 1,000 people held in the Sept. 11 attacks include people who made congratulatory telephone calls minutes after the disasters.

U.S. warplanes extend the bombing campaign to far north-central Afghanistan.

The theme park industry says it will cost tens of millions of dollars in added security, higher insurance premiums, extra advertising and discounts to lure back visitors.

100 DAYS

DAY 49

MONDAY, OCT. 29: The FBI issues a vague warning that terrorists might be planning to strike the United States. This is the second alert in October.

U.S. astronaut Frank Culbertson, orbiting Earth in the International Space Station, says he could see the smoke from the World Trade Center fires from space the day of the attacks.

Zephyrhills firefighter Tim Stromsnes is investigated for allegedly making a terrorist threat after he played an anthrax "practical joke" on a co-worker.

DAY 50

TUESDAY, OCT. 30: Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld announces that U.S. special forces have been on the ground in Afghanistan for several days.

Game 3 of the World Series between the New York Yankees and the Arizona Diamondbacks at Yankee Stadium in the Bronx is sold out.

The number of gun applications in Florida has jumped by 50 percent since Sept. 11.

DAY 51

WEDNESDAY, OCT. 31: The Taliban offers to negotiate if the United States provides proof of bin Laden's guilt.

Inhalation anthrax kills a fourth person, 61-year-old Kathy T. Nguyen of New York, a hospital stockroom worker.

Attorney General Ashcroft asks the State Department to prevent members and supporters of 46 terrorist organizations from entering the United States.

Gold and silver worth \$200 million, belonging to the Bank of Nova Scotia, is recovered beneath 4 World Trade Center.

DAY 52

THURSDAY, NOV. 1: Western and Arab news organizations report receiving a letter from bin Laden asking Pakistan's Muslims to defend Islam against "a Christian crusade."

The House of Representatives rejects the Senate's aviation security bill, saying the federal government should not be responsible for luggage screening.

Gov. Bush offers to send Florida National Guard troops to the Port of Tampa as well as the state's two nuclear power plants.

DAY 53

FRIDAY, NOV. 2: New York firefighters protesting cuts in the number of rescue workers at ground zero clash with police.

President Bush says he will not halt the bombing in Afghanistan during the Islamic holy month of Ramadan.

The Bush administration adds the anti-Israeli organizations **Hamas** and Hezbollah to a list of groups under financial sanctions.

More than 1,000 people are on hand to unfurl the world's largest American flag at the Florida State Fairgrounds.

100 DAYS

To help doctors distinguish between anthrax and the flu, federal health officials announce that anthrax patients do not get runny noses.

DAY 54

SATURDAY, NOV. 3: Chicago authorities arrest Subash Gurung, 27, a native of Nepal, after he tried to board a flight with nine knives, a can of Mace and a stun gun. The question and release him.

The Pentagon confirms that an unmanned Predator spy plane crashed in Afghanistan because of severe weather.

Concerned that bin Laden might plunder it, the United States offers to help Pakistan secure its nuclear stockpile.

American forces rescue an ill special operations serviceman from northern Afghanistan after a failed attempt Nov. 2 injured four others.

In Tampa, more than 200 health care professionals attend a seminar, "Bioterrorism for the Medical Practitioner."

DAY 55

SUNDAY, NOV. 4: The CIA acknowledges it lost a counterterrorist office when 7 World Trade Center was destroyed.

The Arizona Diamondbacks defeat the New York Yankees to take the World Series. The winning hit comes from Tampa native Luis Gonzalez.

Twice postponed, the 53rd annual Emmy Awards finally air.

Hurricane Michelle pummels Cuba and swipes the Florida Keys.

The New York City Marathon takes off in a field of red, white and blue. Runners are told not to accept cups of water from spectators.

DAY 56

MONDAY, NOV. 5: The Pentagon confirms use in Afghanistan of BLU-82s, the biggest conventional bomb in the Air Force arsenal, intended as much for psychological impact as explosive power.

A report documents a surge in prescriptions for antianxiety drugs since Sept. 11.

The government releases copies of pamphlets dropped on Afghanistan showing the Taliban's Mullah Mohammed Omar in cross hairs.

Authorities rearrest Subash Gurung, but later say there's no indication of terrorist activity.

DAY 57

TUESDAY, NOV. 6: Michael Bloomberg, a multimillionaire who has never held office, is elected mayor of New York.

Northern Alliance officials claim to have captured three districts near the strategic city of Mazar-e Sharif.

President Bush threatens to veto bipartisan efforts to increase spending on homeland security measures.

Cuba says Hurricane Michelle killed at least five people, flooded crops and destroyed at least 2,000 homes.

DAY 58

100 DAYS

WEDNESDAY, NOV. 7: The Bush administration freezes the assets of 62 organizations and individuals suspected of supporting bin Laden.

DAY 59

THURSDAY, NOV. 8: In Miami, the federal government appeals the release of former University of South Florida Professor Mazen Al-Najjar, held in detention for 31/2 years on secret evidence.

Federal officials report they have blocked about \$971,000 from a suspected terrorist financial network.

"Let's roll," President Bush says, urging Americans to return to normal lives.

Rates for 30-year mortgages drop to 6.45 percent, a survey finds.

DAY 60

FRIDAY, NOV. 9: The State Department says it will slow the process for granting visas to young men from Arab and Muslim nations in an effort to prevent terrorist attacks.

Northern Alliance forces take Mazar-e Sharif.

Czech Prime Minister Milos Zeman tells CNN that hijacker Mohamed Atta contacted an Iraqi agent to discuss a terror attack on the Radio Free Europe building in Prague.

In the anthrax investigation, the FBI uses case studies and analyses to create a profile of the person behind the attacks - likely an opportunistic, antisocial man with some scientific expertise, unconnected to bin Laden.

DAY 61

SATURDAY, NOV. 10: A stern President Bush addresses the U.N. General Assembly, declaring, "The time for sympathy has now passed, the time for action has now arrived."

Pakistan's Dawn newspaper says bin Laden threatened to use nuclear and chemical weapons in response to U.S. attacks. Pakistan's president assures the United Nations that his country's nuclear arsenal is in "safe hands."

More than 1,000 people visit the Islamic Society of Tampa Bay's mosque on Sligh Avenue to learn more about Islam.

DAY 62

SUNDAY, NOV. 11: In a Veterans Day tribute two months after the attacks, President Bush tours the rubble of the World Trade Center. "Evil ones have roused a mighty nation, a mighty land," he says. "And for however long it takes, I am determined that we will prevail."

DAY 63

MONDAY, NOV. 12: An American Airlines jet plunges into a neighborhood in Queens, N.Y., minutes after takeoff, killing 265 people - all 260 on the plane and five on the ground. Witnesses say the plane seemed to disintegrate. The government investigates the crash as an accident but initially does not rule out terrorism.

In Afghanistan, Taliban military forces flee the capital city of Kabul. Northern Alliance forces, crowded on pickup trucks, roll in behind them.

DAY 64

100 DAYS

TUESDAY, NOV. 13: Liberated residents of Kabul play music, shave beards and tell women they no longer have to wear the burqa, a heavy head-to-toe veil with a mesh opening over the eyes. Under Taliban rule, such behavior was illegal.

Attorney General Ashcroft orders law enforcement officials to question more than 5,000 young men of Middle Eastern descent who entered the United States in recent years.

President Bush signs an order providing for military tribunals for suspected terrorists.

Tests show the Tampa International Airport postal service site is anthrax-free.

DAY 65

WEDNESDAY, NOV. 14: Two U.S. missionaries and six relief workers are rescued from a Taliban prison.

Stung by criticism, the American Red Cross agrees to use all Liberty Fund money, \$543 million, for attack victims.

DAY 66

THURSDAY, NOV. 15: Rescued American aid workers Dayna Curry and Heather Mercer reunite with their parents in Pakistan.

The FBI says a man being sought by German authorities, Ramzi bin al-Shibh, is the intended 20th hijacker. He reportedly tried to enter the United States unsuccessfully several times with the help of Mohamed Atta.

Lawmakers agree to replace private contractors with federal employees at airports nationally within one year.

United Airlines says it will arm pilots with stun guns.

Gary Condit is subpoenaed in the disappearance of Chandra Levy.

DAY 67

FRIDAY, NOV. 16: Atlanta airport authorities evacuate 10,000 people and delay hundreds of flights after a man charges past security guards. Michael S. Lasseter escapes federal charges. He says he charged past security because he was late for a flight to a Georgia Bulldogs football game.

Reports surface that former Egyptian police officer Mohammed Atef, a bin Laden lieutenant and the accused mastermind of the 1998 U.S. Embassy bombings in Africa, is believed killed in a U.S. airstrike.

Samir Ati Mohamed is charged in a plot to blow up Los Angeles International Airport.

DAY 68

SATURDAY, NOV. 17: Burhanuddin Rabbani, the ousted president of Afghanistan and a Northern Alliance political leader, returns to Kabul.

After a decade of violence, Serbs and Albanians vote peacefully in elections for a new Kosovo provincial assembly.

Laura Bush delivers the weekly White House radio address, marking the first time a first lady has given the address without the president's participation.

DAY 69

100 DAYS

SUNDAY, NOV. 18: The Leonid meteor display dazzles sky watchers as the Earth passes through streams of cosmic dust left by an orbiting comet.

The Northern Alliance accedes to U.S. pressure and agrees to attend a meeting of Afghan opposition groups to plan a post-Taliban government.

The Taliban offers to surrender Kunduz if foreign nationals loyal to bin Laden are allowed to live.

In London, 15,000 people demonstrate against the war.

A poll reports that a majority of Americans would take a smallpox vaccination if it were available.

Florida farmers worry that tighter immigration control could create a shortage of migrant workers.

DAY 70

MONDAY, NOV. 19: Four foreign journalists are kidnapped and shot dead between the Afghan towns of Jalalabad and Kabul.

President Bush signs the aviation security law, giving the federal government responsibility for screening baggage and passengers.

The United States begins broadcasting a radio message in Afghanistan that puts a \$25 million bounty on bin Laden.

The government accuses Iraq and five other countries of pursuing germ warfare programs.

Bush spares the life of Liberty, a 55-pound turkey, as the nation prepares to celebrate Thanksgiving.

DAY 71

TUESDAY, NOV. 20: President Bush cancels holiday White House tours, citing the threat of terrorist attacks.

The official toll of dead and missing at the World Trade Center continues to fall as duplications and other errors are removed from the list. The number is now less than 3,900.

Ottillie Lundgren, 94, of Connecticut, who rarely leaves her home, is diagnosed with inhalation anthrax.

Highway officials predict Thanksgiving traffic jams as travelers avoid airlines and hit the road instead.

DAY 72

WEDNESDAY, NOV. 21: Lundgren becomes the fifth person to die from inhalation anthrax since Sept. 11.

Some police chiefs balk at Attorney General Ashcroft's request for help questioning thousands of Middle Eastern men, saying they are concerned about racial profiling.

A top Taliban official vows that his soldiers will fight to the death to defend Kandahar.

In response to Sept. 11, employers start rewriting company policies about issues such as background checks, military leave and flag displays.

DAY 73

THURSDAY, NOV. 22: The Macy's Thanksgiving Day Parade in New York, as well as others across the country, go on as planned despite terrorism fears.

Requests for concealed-weapon permits soar nationwide, authorities say.

100 DAYS

U.S. warplanes work through a target list of cave complexes, hitting them with guided missiles and large bombs.

Fighting continues near Kunduz, despite Northern Alliance assertions the Taliban have agreed to surrender the city.

DAY 74

FRIDAY, NOV. 23: A conservative nonprofit group says it has assembled a list of 117 anti-American statements made on college campuses since Sept. 11.

After seven weeks, military officials say, the war in Afghanistan hasn't produced a single U.S. casualty from enemy fire.

Spain says it will not extradite eight terrorism suspects to the United States unless the administration agrees to try them in civilian courts and not military tribunals.

DAY 75

SATURDAY, NOV. 24: Hundreds of Taliban fighters surrender at Kunduz.

In Tampa, Palestinian researcher Mazen Al-Najjar is rearrested after a federal appeals court upholds efforts to deport him for immigration violations.

A "Saturday Night Live" sketch parodying Defense Secretary Rumsfeld focuses on inane reporter questions. Cast members say it's tough to make fun of a guy who's doing well and sticking to his guns.

DAY 76

SUNDAY, NOV. 25: Hundreds of Marines land at a makeshift airfield near Kandahar to step up the hunt for bin Laden.

Taliban prisoners of war revolt against Northern Alliance captors at Qala Jangi, near Mazar-e Sharif.

DAY 77

MONDAY, NOV. 26: Taliban prisoners continue to fight in an uprising at the Qala Jangi prison near Mazar-e Sharif. A CIA officer is reported to be among the dead.

Hours after establishing a base in Afghanistan, Marines help direct airstrikes on a Taliban convoy.

Authorities send letters to each of the nearly 300,000 Middle Eastern nationals living in the Detroit area, inviting them to make an appointment to be interviewed by the Justice Department.

Officials say an American flag that flew at ground zero in New York will accompany U.S. troops in Afghanistan.

DAY 78

TUESDAY, NOV. 27: Transportation Secretary Mineta says airports likely will miss the deadline set for screening of all passenger baggage.

A suspicious package found in a man's luggage sparks the evacuation of half the main terminal at Tampa International Airport. Nothing deadly is found.

U.S. forces report finding sites throughout Afghanistan where Taliban or al-Qaida forces researched weapons of mass destruction.

100 DAYS

Home sales nationwide increase 5.5 percent from a year ago, real estate experts say.

DAY 79

WEDNESDAY, NOV. 28: U.S. officials confirm the death of CIA officer Johnny "Mike" Spann in the Taliban POW uprising at Qala Jangi. The uprising is declared over.

The Transportation Department now says it will meet the deadline for baggage screening at U.S. airports.

Construction of three security checkpoints at the Port of Tampa is postponed because a state transportation agency denied funding.

DAY 80

THURSDAY, NOV. 29: President Bush endorses a plan to reward immigrants with special status if they provide useful information about suspected terrorists.

Clayton Lee Waagner is named as a suspect in a rash of anthrax hoax letters sent to abortion clinics.

The Northern Alliance encircles the last Taliban stronghold of Kandahar and prepares to lay siege to the city.

Tampa announces a hiring freeze as the Sept. 11 attacks fuel a nationwide recession.

The world mourns the death of George Harrison, the youngest Beatle, at 58.

DAY 81

FRIDAY, NOV. 30: Investigators find traces of anthrax on a letter mailed to a home in Connecticut a half-mile from the home of Ottilie Lundgren, who died of the disease.

Environmental workers fumigate the Hart Senate Office Building with chlorine dioxide to kill anthrax.

Negotiations for a new government in Afghanistan stall.

New York firefighters are invited to lead Gasparilla's 97th Parade of Pirates.

Helped by good Thanksgiving Day crowds, Walt Disney World, Universal Studios and Sea World say they will begin hiring.

DAY 82

SATURDAY, DEC. 1.: U.S. B-52s pound Taliban positions near Kandahar.

Four U.S. Army Special Forces soldiers receive the Purple Heart for wounds received during the Qala Jangi prison uprising near Mazar-e Sharif.

Palestinian suicide bombers strike in downtown Jerusalem, killing 12 Israelis and wounding 170.

Charities set up for victims of the Sept. 11 attacks say many families could get as much as \$1 million.

DAY 83

SUNDAY, DEC. 2: U.S. warplanes target caves near Tora Bora, a suspected al-Qaida hideout.

Attorney General Ashcroft says religious and political groups suspected of terrorism may be monitored by government agents.

100 DAYS

Two more suicide bombers set off nail-packed bombs in Jerusalem, killing 25 and wounding 200.

DAY 84

MONDAY, DEC. 3: For the third time since Sept. 11, Americans are put on alert for terrorist attacks. Officials cite credible but unspecific threats.

American John Walker Lindh tells U.S. officials he fought for the Taliban for months before he surrendered to Northern Alliance forces.

The mysterious invention nicknamed "It" or "Ginger" is unveiled by inventor Dean Kamen. It turns out to be a battery-powered scooter.

DAY 85

TUESDAY, DEC. 4: Hundreds of tribesmen head for the mountains in eastern Afghanistan to hunt down Taliban forces and bin Laden.

President Bush shuts down the offices of the Holy Land Foundation, a suspected Hamas supporter.

Charles Frank Burlingame III, pilot of the plane that crashed into the Pentagon and a Navy reservist, is denied a military burial at Arlington National Cemetery because he wasn't yet 60 years old.

The Olympic flame arrives in Atlanta during a two-month, 46-state journey to Salt Lake City for the Winter Games.

DAY 86

WEDNESDAY, DEC. 5: After weeks of preparation, investigators open an anthrax-contaminated letter sent to Vermont Sen. Patrick Leahy.

Clayton Lee Waagner, wanted in connection with the mailing of hundreds of anthrax hoax letters to U.S. abortion clinics, is arrested in Cincinnati.

Lt. Col. Martha McSally sues the Defense Department for requiring her to wear Muslim clothing when she leaves her Air Force base in Saudi Arabia.

Florida flying schools claim business is off at least 50 percent.

Space shuttle Endeavour is the first to launch since Sept. 11. Because of increased security, only a select few people are allowed to watch the launch.

DAY 87

THURSDAY, DEC. 6: Attorney General Ashcroft blasts critics who say Bush administration policies are trampling on civil liberties, saying such questions only help terrorists.

The State Department says it has put 39 groups, charities and companies on a "terrorist exclusion list," giving authorities the power to deport members or deny them visas.

A suicidal factory employee guns down a co-worker and wounds six others in Goshen, Ind.

Evangelist Billy Graham is made an honorary knight of the British Empire during a ceremony in Washington.

DAY 88

100 DAYS

FRIDAY, DEC. 7: Taliban soldiers flee Kandahar, but the whereabouts of their leader, Mullah Mohammed Omar, remains unknown.

Army officials reverse themselves and will allow Charles Burlingame III his own plot in Arlington National Cemetery.

The terrorist attacks lend poignancy to ceremonies marking the 60th anniversary of Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor.

DAY 89

SATURDAY, DEC. 8: The Pentagon says it has a videotape linking bin Laden to the World Trade Center attacks.

Marines acknowledge that John Walker Lindh, the American citizen discovered fighting with the Taliban, is in custody at the Marines' Camp Rhino outpost near Kandahar.

A new mural for the Baker County courtroom in MacClenny meant to depict 6,000 years of north Florida history fuels dissent with images of the Ku Klux Klan and the Confederate battle flag.

DAY 90

SUNDAY, DEC. 9: Army Gen. Tommy Franks, commander of the war in Afghanistan, meets with the Tampa Bay Buccaneers after their win against the Detroit Lions. He tells them to "never quit."

DAY 91

MONDAY, DEC. 10: CIA officer Johnny "Mike" Spann, the only American killed by the enemy in Afghanistan, is buried at Arlington National Cemetery.

As America and its allies battle the Taliban, the United Nations and its secretary-general, Kofi Annan, receive the Nobel Peace Prize.

A government study shows Persian Gulf War veterans are twice as likely as other soldiers to contract amyotrophic lateral sclerosis, better known as Lou Gehrig's disease.

DAY 92

TUESDAY, DEC. 11: A federal grand jury indicts Zacarias Moussaoui on six counts of plotting with bin Laden and al-Qada to attack the United States.

Two Pakistani nuclear scientists are reported to have discussed nuclear, chemical and biological weapons with bin Laden.

Health officials say smallpox - not anthrax - is bioterrorism's deadliest threat.

Nearly 70 employees at Salt Lake City's airport are accused of fabricating their backgrounds to get jobs and security passes.

DAY 93

WEDNESDAY, DEC. 12: Four crewmen aboard a B-1 bomber are rescued from the Indian Ocean after their plane goes down. Officials blame "multiple malfunctions."

Pilot Charles Burlingame III is buried at Arlington National Cemetery.

Denver Nuggets coach Dan Issel is suspended for four games after yelling profanity and an ethnic slur at a fan.

100 DAYS

DAY 94

THURSDAY, DEC. 13: The Pentagon releases a videotape of bin Laden gloating about the Sept. 11 attacks and saying he knew about them beforehand. The tape prompts furious reactions worldwide.

Authorities say they believe U.S. forces have bin Laden surrounded in one of the sprawling caves in Tora Bora. "We're trying to find him," Defense Secretary Rumsfeld says, "and when we find him, we will announce it."

Congress approves a \$343.3 billion defense bill, while Rumsfeld delays a new round of base closings until 2005.

The Israeli Cabinet cuts ties to Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat, declaring him "irrelevant."

DAY 95

FRIDAY, DEC. 14: Authorities say bin Laden's height - he is about 61/2 feet tall - will make it easier to identify him. Military experts doubt he will be captured alive.

Even after fumigation with deadly chlorine dioxide gas, anthrax spores remain in the Hart Senate Office Building.

And facing a rising crescendo of questions from reporters over bin Laden's whereabouts, White House spokesman Ari Fleischer says, "There's no telling how long any one operation bringing bin Laden to justice will last."

DAY 96

SATURDAY, DEC. 15: U.S. forces say they might have overheard and recorded bin Laden communicating orders by radio in Tora Bora in the past week.

The Observer, a London newspaper, claims it found an al-Qaida notebook detailing plans for a bomb attack on London's financial district.

Health officials will recommend about 3,000 people exposed to anthrax - including Capitol Hill employees and Washington postal workers - be offered an experimental vaccine as a precaution.

Educators force 7,500 students nationwide to retake their SATs because the originals apparently were quarantined with other pieces of mail for anthrax contamination in New Jersey.

DAY 97

SUNDAY, DEC. 16: After overrunning the labyrinth of caves near Tora Bora, Afghan commanders say, "This is the last day of al-Qaida in Afghanistan." At least 200 foreigners loyal to al-Qaida are dead, but bin Laden is nowhere to be found.

Defense Secretary Rumsfeld visits Bagram, Afghanistan; he is the highest-ranking American official to do so since the war began.

Three U.S. Marines are wounded when one of them steps on a land mine at the Kandahar airport. One loses a foot and part of his leg.

Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat says Israel has "declared war" on the Palestinians, and calls for a cease-fire to end nearly 15 months of conflict.

DAY 98

MONDAY, DEC. 17: Speculation mounts that bin Laden has fled Afghanistan.

100 DAYS

Eighteen al-Qaida fighters captured in the fall of Tora Bora are paraded past reporters. Reportedly they begged not to be turned over to Americans.

An intelligence officer in the new Afghan regime says Mohammed Omar, the mullah who led the Taliban to its downfall, may be holed up with hundreds of fighters in south-central Afghanistan.

The American flag is raised over the U.S. Embassy in Kabul for the first time since 1989.

White House press secretary Ari Fleischer says the evidence on the anthrax sent to Sens. Tom Daschle and Patrick Leahy is increasingly "looking like it was a domestic source."

The National Park Service says Liberty Island - home of the Statue of Liberty - will reopen to visitors Dec. 20, although the statue itself will remain closed at least until after New Year's.

The Tampa Sports Authority decides against using security wands to screen patrons at Raymond James Stadium, saying it would be a logistical nightmare.

DAY 99

TUESDAY, DEC. 18: Afghan tribal fighters withdraw artillery from around Tora Bora, signaling the worst of the fighting there is over. One soldier said, "Al-Qaida is finished. I am now going to go home."

U.S. commandos are still in the area looking for bin Laden, but an Afghan tribal leader says they also might pull back soon.

Defense Secretary Rumsfeld tells NATO allies that their cities could be terrorism's next targets.

Firefights are reported in Yemen between the army and suspected members of al-Qaida.

The airlines and tourism industry widen an aggressive price-cutting campaign designed to get people to travel again.

DAY 100

WEDNESDAY, DEC. 19: As the sun rises on the 100th day of digging at what was once the World Trade Center, the air is still tinged with the haze and bitter smell from a fire continuing to burn deep in the rubble.

The sounds of the cleanup reverberate in the damp morning air - the rumble of trucks, the growl of cranes, the occasional crash of a beam or the shout of a worker.

The latest official death toll stands at 3,233 - exactly 3,000 in New York, 189 at the Pentagon, and 44 from the crash of United Flight 93 in Pennsylvania.

The New York figure includes more than 1,977 for whom death certificates have been issued but whose bodies haven't been found, and another 494 listed as missing. Among these is Dennis Chen, a young father of two who worked in 4 World Trade Center.

"I really don't know if my brother is dead," his sister, Sumay Chen of Wyckoff, N.J., tells a reporter. "I'm still hoping he's in a coma or has amnesia. Maybe his name got crossed up."

"Until they call me and say, 'We found his wallet,' or 'We found him ... ' " she continues, her voice trailing off.

For many, it will be like this always.

(CHART) (C) Each square below represents one of the 3,233 reported victims of the September 11 attacks.

100 DAYS

The brown squares in the graphic signify the 44 passengers and crew members aboard United Airlines Flight 93, which crashed near Shanksville, Pa.

The green squares signify the 189 victims outside Washington, where American Airlines Flight 77 struck the Pentagon; 64 of those victims were aboard the plane, and 125 were on the ground.

The dark blue squares signify the 529 confirmed dead in New York, where American Airlines Flight 11 and United Flight 175 were flown into the World Trade Center towers, causing both 110-story structures to collapse; Flight 11 was carrying 92 passengers and crew, and Flight 175 was carrying 65.

The dark gray squares signify an additional 1,977 death certificates issued without a body, at the request of the victims' families.

The light gray squares signify the 494 individuals listed as missing.

Figures are the most up-to-date available, as of Dec. 18.

(See microfilm for complete chart.)

Tribune graphic by GREG WILLIAMS.

Notes

100 DAYS

Graphic

PHOTO 25 (7C) CHART (C)

Phot from The Associated Press

INITIAL SHOCK: Megan Elise McFarlane, center, and other students in Iowa City, Iowa, react to television coverage Sept. 11 of the terrorist attacks on the United States.

ON THE COVER: Above, a plane approaches the south tower of the World Trade Center as the north tower burns. Ninety minutes later, a key part of the New York skyline would be a memory. Below, a section of the Pentagon collapsed after it, too, was hit by a fuel-laden jetliner.

Photo from The Associated Press

WORD OF MOUTH: President Bush's chief of staff, Andy Card, whispers the news to the president Sept. 11 that the twin towers had been hit by aircraft. Bush was reading to second-graders at Sarasota's Emma E. Booker Elementary.

Photo from The Associated Press

UNTHINKABLE DESTRUCTION: The south tower of New York's World Trade Center begins to collapse shortly after 10 a.m. Sept. 11. Initial fears were that more than 10,000 people died, including hundreds of firefighters, police officers and other rescue workers who ran into the towers when most people ran away.

Photo from The Associated Press

A BREAK IN THE PENTAGON: The symbolic home of the U.S. military burns after its outer ring was breached by a plane. The building's southwest wedge recently had been renovated, and the changes are credited with saving lives. About 26,000 people work in the complex across the Potomac River from Washington.

Photo from The Associated Press

100 DAYS

SCARRED FIELD: One day after United Airlines Flight 93 crashed into a field near Shanksville, Pa., investigators search for clues. In final phone calls to family and friends, some of the 44 people onboard described a plan to stop the hijackers. The heroic passengers are credited with

preventing more death and destruction.

Photo from The Associated Press

PRAYERS FOR THE DEAD: Lena Beck, foreground, joins in a candlelight vigil Sept. 12 at McKenzie Park in Panama City, Fla. After false rumors circulated about Tampa Muslims celebrating the terrorist attacks, USF students held two vigils.

Photo from The Associated Press

SOLIDARITY: President Bush embraces firefighter Bob Beckwith during his Sept. 14 visit to ground zero. When workers shouted that they could not hear Bush's encouraging words, he replied: "I can hear you. The rest of the world hears you. And the people who knocked down these buildings will hear all of us soon!"

Photo from The Associated Press

(C) TEARS FOR BROTHERS: Ventura County, Calif., Fire Department Capt. Mark Acevedo salutes fallen rescue personnel during a Sept. 18 memorial in Ventura.

Photo from The Associated Press

(C) SECOND WAVE OF TERROR: FBI agents work outside the American Media Inc. building in Boca Raton on Oct. 9, four days after a photo editor died from inhalation anthrax. The building was closed and searched for the deadly spores.

Photo from The Associated Press

(C) SEARCH BEYOND ORDINARY SCALE: Workers continue to dig Sept. 24 through the pile of rubble where the twin towers once stood. For many, the search is a quest to bring home the bodies of the thousands of fathers, mothers, sons and daughters who lost their lives in the collapse.

Photo from The Associated Press

(C) REMNANTS OF EVERYDAY LIFE: A shoe, covered in the dust that permeates the World Trade Center site, is among the personal items investigators are poring over almost six weeks after Sept. 11. As truckloads of rubble are removed from ground zero, they are taken to the Fresh Kills Landfill on

Staten Island, N.Y.

Photo from The Associated Press

(C) HARVESTING RELIEF: Afghans gather food packets dropped Oct. 13 by U.S. planes in a field near Khwaja-Bahauddin in northern Afghanistan. Food drops began the same day as the bombing campaign.

Photo from The Associated Press

(C) MORE LIVES, ANOTHER PLANE LOST: Fire scorches the Rockaway neighborhood of Queens, N.Y., where American Airlines Flight 587 plunged to the ground minutes after takeoff on Nov. 12. All 260 onboard the flight from Kennedy International Airport to the Dominican Republic died, as did five people on the ground.

Photo from The Associated Press

RIOT'S END: Bodies of Taliban members litter the yard of the Qala Jangi prison near Mazar-e Sharif, Afghanistan, on Nov. 28. A bloody revolt there lasted days.

Photo from The Associated Press

WHITE HOUSE WELCOME: Aid workers and former Taliban prisoners Heather Mercer, right, and Dayna Curry were greeted Nov. 26 by President Bush.

100 DAYS

Photo from The Associated Press

LEGEND LOST: The Beatles' star on the Hollywood Walk of Fame became a place to remember George Harrison, the youngest Beatle, who died Nov. 29. The guitarist and writer of "Here Comes the Sun," and "My Sweet Lord," was 58.

Photo from The Associated Press

AMERICAN FIRE POWER: Mark Rohe and Kathy Lucio load an air-to-air missile on a warplane making bombing runs Dec. 11 from the USS Theodore Roosevelt to the Tora Bora region of Afghanistan, where it is believed bin Laden is hiding.

Photo from The Associated Press

FIGHTING FOR THE ENEMY: John Walker Lindh, a 20-year-old Californian, is found among the Taliban who survived the prison riot near Mazar-e Sharif.

Photo from The Associated Press

INDICTED: Zacarias Moussaoui is the first person charged in the attacks.

Knight-Ridder/Tribune

SUPPORT FOR BIN LADEN: A protester in Quetta, Pakistan, on Dec. 7 shouts that he wants to "tear Americans to pieces" during an anti-American rally.

Photo from The Associated Press

ESCALATING VIOLENCE: Palestinian boys throw stones Dec. 15 at an Israeli tank in Beit Hanoun, Gaza Strip. The enemies continue to exchange fire and words.

Photo from The Associated Press

HOMECOMING: A Marine honor guard carries two flags that formerly flew over the mission from the U.S. Embassy in Kabul, which reopened Dec. 17.

CAUGHT ON TAPE: In a videotape released Dec. 13, Osama bin Laden brags about the success of the Sept. 11 attacks during a dinner with a Saudi sheik.

Photo from hereisnewyork.org, donated by ANDREW HAAGEN

(C) COLLAGE OF HOPE AND MEMORIES: New Yorkers hung posters in Union Square while searching for the lost. As days passed, the wall became a memorial, splashed with candle wax.

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'Why do they hate us?'

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Body

"Why do they hate us?" asked President Bush in his speech to Congress last Thursday night. It is a question that has ached in America's heart for the past two weeks. Why did those 19 men choose to wreck the icons of US military and economic power?

Most Arabs and Muslims knew the answer, even before they considered who was responsible. Retired Pakistani Air Commodore Sajad Haider - a friend of the US - understood why. Radical Egyptian-born cleric and US enemy Abu Hamza al-Masri understood. And Jimmy Nur Zamzamy, a devout Muslim and advertising executive in Indonesia, understood.

They all understood that this assault was more precisely targeted than an attack on "civilization." First and foremost, it was an attack on America.

In the United States, military planners are deciding how to exact retribution. To many people in the Middle East and beyond, where US policy has bred widespread anti-Americanism, the carnage of Sept. 11 was retribution.

And voices across the Muslim world are warning that if America doesn't wage its war on terrorism in a way that the Muslim world considers just, America risks creating even greater animosity.

Mr. Haider is a hero of Pakistan's 1965 war against India, and a sworn friend of America. But he and his neighbors in one of Islamabad's toniest districts are clear about why their warm feelings toward the US are not widely shared in Pakistan.

In his dim office in a north London mosque, Abu Hamza al-Masri sympathizes with the goals of Osama bin Laden, fingered by US officials as the prime suspect behind the Sept. 11 attacks. Abu Hamza has himself directed terrorist operations abroad, according to the British police, although for lack of evidence, they have never brought him to trial.

'Why do they hate us?'

Mr. Zamzamy, a 30-something advertising executive in Jakarta, knew what was behind the attack, too. Trying to give his ads some zip and still stay within the bounds of his Muslim faith, he is keenly aware of the tensions between Islam and American-style global capitalism.

The 19 men - who US officials say hijacked four American passenger jets and flew them on suicide missions that left more than 7,000 people dead or missing - were all from the Middle East. Most of the hijackers have been identified as Muslims. Washington has accused Islamic fundamentalist renegade Osama bin Laden of masterminding the plot.

The vast majority of Muslims in the Middle East were as shocked and horrified as any American by what they saw happening on their TV screens. And they are frightened of being lumped together in the popular American imagination with the perpetrators of the attack.

But from Jakarta to Cairo, Muslims and Arabs say that on reflection, they are not surprised by it. And they do not share Mr. Bush's view that the perpetrators did what they did because "they hate our freedoms."

Rather, they say, a mood of resentment toward America and its behavior around the world has become so commonplace in their countries that it was bound to breed hostility, and even hatred.

And the buttons that Mr. bin Laden pushes in his statements and interviews - the injustice done to the Palestinians, the cruelty of continued sanctions against Iraq, the presence of US troops in Saudi Arabia, the repressive and corrupt nature of US-backed Gulf governments - win a good deal of popular sympathy.

The resentment of the US has spread through societies demoralized by their recent history. In few of the world's 50 or so Muslim countries have governments offered their citizens either prosperity or democracy. Arab nations have lost three wars against their arch-foe - and America's closest ally - Israel. A sense of failure and injustice is rising in the throats of millions.

Three weeks ago, a leading Arabic newspaper, Al-Hayat, published a poem on its front page. A long lament about the plight of the Arabs, addressed to a dead Syrian poet, it ended:

"Children are dying, but no one makes a move.

Houses are demolished, but no one makes a move.

Holy places are desecrated, but no one makes a move...

I am fed up with life in the world of mortals.

Find me a hole near you. For a life of dignity is in those holes."

'Why do they hate us?'

It sounds as if it could have been written by a desperate and hopeless man, driven by frustration to seek death, perhaps martyrdom. A young Palestinian refugee planning a suicide bomb attack, maybe. In fact, it was written by the Saudi Arabian ambassador to London, a member of one of the wealthiest and most influential families in the kingdom that is Washington's closest Arab ally.

Against the background of that humiliated mood, America's unchallenged military, economic, and cultural might be seen as an affront even if its policies in the Middle East were neutral. And nobody voices that view.

From one end of the region to the other, the perception is that Israel can get away with murder - literally - and that Washington will turn a blind eye. Clearly, the US and Israel have compelling reasons for their actions. But little that US diplomats have done in recent years to broker a peace deal between Israel and the Palestinians has persuaded Arabs that the US is a fair-minded and equitable judge of Middle Eastern affairs.

Over the past year, Arab TV stations have broadcast countless pictures of Israeli soldiers shooting at Palestinian youths, Israeli tanks plowing into Palestinian homes, Israeli helicopters rocketing Palestinian streets. And they know that the US sends more than \$ 3 billion a year in military and economic aid to Israel.

"You see this every day, and what do you feel?" asks Rafiq Hariri, the portly prime minister of Lebanon, who is not an excitable man. "It hurts me a lot. But for hundreds of thousands of Arabs and Muslims, it drives them crazy. They feel humiliated."

Resentment rises, a radical is born

Ask Sheikh Abdul Majeed Atta why Palestinians may not like the United States, and he does not immediately answer. Instead, he pads barefoot across the red swirls of his living room carpet and reaches for three framed photographs on the floor beside a couch.

The black-and-white prints show dusty, rock-strewn hills dotted with tiny tents and cinderblock houses: the early days of Duheisheh refugee camp, south of Bethlehem in the West Bank. It was where Mr. Atta was born, and where his family has lived for more than half a century.

Atta's family village was destroyed in the struggle between Palestinian Arabs and Jews after Britain divided Palestine between them in 1948. For 10 years his family of 13 lived in a tent. The year Atta was born, the United Nations gave them a one-room house.

It doesn't matter to Atta that the United States was not directly involved in "the catastrophe," as Palestinians refer to the events of 1948. Washington averted its eyes when it could have helped, he says, and since then has been firmly on Israel's side.

Heavysset, solid, with a neatly trimmed full beard, Atta is the preacher at a nearby mosque. He looks the part of the community leader, always meticulously turned out in crisp shirts and pressed trousers, gold-rimmed reading glasses tucked into a pocket.

'Why do they hate us?'

In the past year of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, Atta has joined Hamas, the radical group responsible for recently sending most of the suicide bombers into Israeli towns. Frustration at watching the rising Palestinian death toll at the hands of the Israeli army played a large part in his decision, he says.

His resentment at Israel, though, dates back to his infancy, and the stories he heard of his village, Ras Abu Amar, which he never knew. That village is still alive for him, just as millions of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and throughout the Middle East cherish photos, house keys, and deeds to homes that no longer exist or which have housed Israelis for generations.

Today he lives in his own house in Duheisheh, a sprawling tangle of densely packed concrete buildings that crowd snaking, narrow alleys. But he still dreams of the home he never knew, and recalls who took it from him, and remembers who they rely on for their strength.

What happened on Sept. 11 "was an awful thing, a tragedy, and since we live a continuous tragedy, we felt like this touched us," he adds. "But when we see something like this in Israel or the US, we feel a contradiction. We see it's a tragedy, but we remember that these are the people behind our tragedy."

"Even small children know that Israel is nothing without America," says Atta. "And here America means F-16, M-16, Apache helicopters, the tools Israelis use to kill us and destroy our homes."

Superpower swagger

Such weapons are very much the visible face of American policy in the Middle East, where military might has held the balance of power for 50 years. Thousands of US soldiers stationed in the Gulf, and billions of US dollars each year in military aid to Israel, Egypt, and other allies, have shored up Washington's interests in the strategically crucial, oil-rich region.

That military presence and power looks like swagger to some in the Muslim world, even far from the flashpoints. "Now America is ready with its airplanes to bomb this poor nation [Afghanistan], and most people in Indonesia don't like arrogance," says Imam Budi Prasodjo, an Indonesian sociologist and talk-show host.

"You are a superpower, you are a military superpower, and you can do whatever you want. People don't like that, and this is dangerous," he adds.

"America should spread its culture, rather than weapons or tanks," adds Mohammed el-Sayed Said, deputy director of Cairo's influential Al Ahram think tank. "They need to act like any respectable commander or leader of an army. They can't just project an image of contempt for those they wish to lead."

Ten years ago, at the head of a broad coalition of Western and Arab countries, the United States used its superpower status to kick the Iraqi army out of Kuwait. Since then, however, Washington has found itself alone - save for loyal ally Britain - in its determination to keep bombing Iraq, and to keep imposing strict economic sanctions that the United Nations says are partly responsible for the deaths of half a million Iraqi children.

'Why do they hate us?'

Those deaths, and those bombs (which US and British planes drop regularly, but without fanfare), are felt keenly among fellow Arabs. And Saniya Ghussein knows all about bombs.

A daughter dies, and parents wait for us apology

In the middle of the night of April 16, 1986, the deafening sound of anti-aircraft guns woke Saniya Ghussein with a sudden start. "My God," she thought, "there's a war being fought above my house."

She slipped out of bed and ran into the bedroom where her husband Bassem and their 7-year-old daughter Kinda had fallen asleep earlier in the evening. "Bassem, the Americans are here," she said urgently. "It looks like they're going to hit us."

She checked on her other daughter, Raafat. She had been suffering from her annual bout of hay fever, and the 18-year-old art student was in the television room next to the humidifier so she could breathe easier.

Raafat was still sleeping, completely oblivious of all the commotion going on around her, due to the medication she had taken earlier. There was little Saniya felt she could do. She climbed back into bed and pulled the sheets tight around her.

Bassem lay awake on the bed, listening to the appalling noise in the night sky above.

A Palestinian-born Lebanese national, Bassem had worked in Libya as an engineer for Occidental, the American oil giant, for 20 years, helping exploit the country's massive oil reserves. He and his family lived in the upmarket Ben Ashour neighborhood of Tripoli, the Libyan capital, on the ground floor of a two-story apartment block.

Bassem never heard the explosion. Instead, he watched in astonishment as the window frame suddenly flew into the room, and the roof collapsed on top of him and his daughter.

Kinda was screaming in the darkness near him. Bassem tried to move, but was pinned by the rubble. He groped in the blackness for Kinda. "Don't worry," he said, squeezing his daughter's hand. "Daddy's here, don't cry, it will be okay."

The blast had knocked Saniya unconscious. She woke to hear Bassem calling from the next room and Kinda screaming. She stumbled in the darkness, barefoot across the rubble and glass shards, choking on the fumes from the missile blast, as she called her daughter's name "Raafat! Raafat!" for several minutes. But there was no response, and Saniya knew with a terrible certainty that her daughter was dead.

"Bassem," she cried. "Raafat has gone."

Pinned beneath the rubble, Bassem heard his wife's words, and he felt a deep sense of anger and resentment well up inside him. His life and that of his family had been shattered, and nothing would ever be the same again.

'Why do they hate us?'

It took them eight hours to dig Raafat out from under the ruins of the house. "Our pain and agony, which I cannot describe, started at that moment," Saniya says.

Raafat was one of an estimated 55 victims of an air raid mounted by US warplanes against a series of targets in Tripoli and another Libyan city, Benghazi.

The attacks were in retaliation for the bombing of a disco in Berlin, Germany, 10 days earlier in which 200 people were injured, 63 of them US soldiers; one soldier and one civilian were killed. The Reagan administration blamed Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi.

Bassem and Saniya Ghussein are not natural anti-Americans. Bassem studied in the US before going to work for Esso and then Occidental. He sent Raafat to an American Catholic school, and on family trips to the US, Saniya would take Raafat to Disney World in Florida. "We did all the typical American things," she says.

But since that terrible night 16 years ago, neither Bassem nor Saniya have stepped foot in America. They returned to Beirut in 1994 when Bassem retired.

In 1989, the Libyan government enlisted the help of Ramsey Clark, an attorney general during the Carter administration, to file a lawsuit against President Ronald Reagan and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher for the civilian deaths during the air raids. "When Clark came to collect our documents and evidence, I asked him if he thought we had a case," Bassem recalls. "He said 'Oh, definitely. This was murder.' "

But US district court judge Thomas Penfield Jackson disagreed. He dismissed the suit, and fined Clark for presenting a "frivolous" case that "offered no hope whatsoever of success."

Twelve years later, the court's decision still rankles with Bassem. "I will only return to America when I know someone will listen to me and say: 'yes, it was our fault your daughter died, and I am sorry.' So long as they think my daughter's death is 'frivolous,' I won't go back," Bassem says.

The Ghusseins have no sympathy for religious extremism and thoroughly condemn the Sept. 11 suicide bombings in New York and Washington. Yet they both maintain that the devastating attack was a result of America's "arrogant" policies in the Middle East and elsewhere. "We wish the American people could see what their governments are doing in the rest of the world," Saniya says.

A feeling of betrayal among friends

On the other side of Asia, in Pakistan, Air Commodore Haider would sympathize with the Ghusseins' wish. He has always been a friend of the United States, and not just because he enjoyed the 10 years he spent in Washington as his country's military attache. Like most other members of the ruling elite in Pakistan, in the armed forces, in business, and in the political parties, he sees America as a natural ally.

'Why do they hate us?'

But not a reliable one.

The prevailing mood in Pakistan of anger and suspicion toward the United States springs from a deeply rooted perception that the US has been a fickle friend, Haider says, and not just to Pakistan, but to other nations in the Muslim world.

If there was a moment of betrayal for Haider, it was the 1965 war between India and Pakistan, largely over the future of Kashmir. As Indian tanks advanced on the Pakistani metropolis of Lahore, Haider was head of a squadron of F-86 Sabre jets sent to destroy them. India's Soviet allies helped with money, arms, and diplomatic support. But at a crucial moment, Pakistan's ally, the US, refused to send more weapons. As it turned out, Pakistan was able to defeat the Indian attack on Lahore and elsewhere without US help. Haider's squadron decimated the column of Indian tanks that had reached to within six miles of Lahore. But the lesson lingered: America cannot be trusted.

"There is a feeling of being betrayed, it's a feeling of being let down, and you can only be let down by somebody you care for," says Haider, out for an evening stroll in a tony Islamabad neighborhood.

"They said you will be the bulwark of America and of the free world against Communism. But then they dropped a friend for no good reason."

Today, Haider sees a "convergence of interests" between the United States and Pakistan in the fight against terrorism. But he says that President Bush will need to watch his language when he talks about the Muslim world. "When Bush talked of a Crusade ... it was not a slip of the tongue. It was a mindset. When they talk of terrorism, the only thing they have in mind is Islam."

Ultimately, Haider does see a way for America and Muslim nations to become lasting friends, but only if the US begins to give as much weight to the interests of Muslim nations as it does to Israel.

"When you deny justice to people, which you have been doing for several decades in Palestine, and they are intelligent, sensitive people, they are going to find something to do," warns Haider. "They might take shelter in Islam, in fatalism, and some will come to despise you."

An Egyptian 'inspired' to joining Afghan fighters

Sheikh Abu Hamza al-Masri, the radical Muslim cleric who runs a mosque in a shabby district of north London, has certainly come to despise America.

Abu Hamza says he used to admire the West when he was a young man - so much so that he dropped out of university in his native Alexandria, Egypt, to study in Britain. And he clearly had nothing against the British government when he took a job as a civil engineer at Sandhurst, the British equivalent of West Point, after he graduated.

'Why do they hate us?'

But as he immersed himself more and more in religious studies, and came into contact with more and more Arab mujahideen, who had travelled from the mountains of Afghanistan to England for medical treatment, he began to change his outlook.

"When you see how happy they are, how anxious to just have a new limb so they can run again and fight again, not thinking of retiring, their main ambition is to get killed in the cause of God ... you see another dimension in the verses of the Koran," says Abu Hamza.

Inspired by their example, he took his family to Afghanistan in 1990, to work there as a civil engineer, building roads, tunnels, and "anything I could do." And he also fought with the mujahideen against Afghan President Mohammad Najibullah (seen as a Russian stand-in supported by the Soviets), until he blew both his hands off and lost the sight in his left eye, in a mine explosion.

What transformed him and his comrades-in-arms from anti-Soviet to anti-American militants, he says, was the way Washington abandoned them at the end of the war in Afghanistan, and sought to disarm and disperse them.

"It was when the Americans took the knife out of the Russians and stabbed it in our back, it's as simple as that," says Abu Hamza. "It was a natural turn, not a theoretical one.

"In the meantime, they were bombarding Iraq and occupying the [Arabian] peninsula," he says, referring to the US troops stationed in Saudi Arabia after the Gulf War, "and then with the witch-hunt against the mujahideen, all of it came together, that was a full-scale war, it was very clear."

Abu Hamza would rather see Islamic militants fight corrupt or secular Arab governments before they take on America (indeed, the Yemeni government has sought his extradition from Britain for plotting to overthrow the government in Sana). But he is in no doubt that the American government brought the events of Sept. 11 on its own head.

"The Americans wanted to fight the Russians with Muslim blood, and they could only justify that by triggering the word 'jihad,' " he argues. "Unfortunately for everybody except the Muslims, when that button is pushed, it does not come back that easy. It only keeps going on and on until the Muslim empire swallows every empire existing."

Can he understand the motivation behind the assault on New York and Washington? "The motivation is everywhere," he says, with the current US administration. "When a president stands up before the planet and says an American comes first, he is only preaching hatred. When a president stands up and says we don't honor our missile treaty with the Russians, he is only preaching arrogance. When he refuses to condemn what's happening in Palestine, he is only preaching tyranny.

"American foreign policy has invited everybody, actually, to try to humiliate America, and to give it a bloody nose," he adds.

In Jakarta, countering American culture without violence

'Why do they hate us?'

You wouldn't catch Rizky "Jimmy" Nur Zamzamy justifying violence that way, though he professes just as deep an attachment to Islam as Abu Hamza.

Mr. Zamzamy, a rangy young Indonesian advertising executive in a pink shirt, is sitting in a Western-style cafe in Jakarta, his cellphone at the ready, and his fried chicken growing cold as he explains how he tries to be a good Muslim by right action, not fighting.

That, he feels, is the best way of countering what he sees as the corrupting influence of American culture and morals on traditional Indonesian ways of life in the largest Muslim country in the world.

Until a few years ago, Zamzamy led a regular secular life, hanging out in bars and dating women. Then he met a Muslim teacher who became his spiritual guide. Now he follows Islamic teachings and donates most of his \$ 1,300 monthly salary to his "guru" to be spent on building mosques and helping the poor.

He says he has made sure that none of the money goes to extremist groups that use violence in the name of Islam, such as the Laskar Jihad group, locked in bloody battle with Christians in the Maluku region of Indonesia.

Two years ago, in line with his growing religious beliefs, he quit the advertising agency he had worked for and set up his own company along Islamic lines: He won't take banks or alcoholic-beverage producers as clients, for example, and he does no business on Friday, the Muslim holy day.

But he is relaxed about those who don't share his beliefs: He does not insist that his wife wear a headscarf, for example, and he is not uncomfortable sitting alongside the rich young Jakartans in the cafe who are flirting and drinking. They must make their own choices, he says.

And though he does not like the sexual overtones of American pop culture, he knows that "you can't hide from American culture." By living his life according to Islamic precepts, he says, "I am fighting America in my own way. But I don't agree with violence."

Ambivalence about America

All over the Muslim world, young people like Zamzamy are juggling their sense of Islamic identity with the trappings of a globalized, secular society.

In a classroom of Al Khair University, set in a concrete office park in Islamabad, Nabil Ahmed, a business student, and his classmates are fuming over their president's betrayal of the Pakistani people by pledging to support what they fear will turn into a crusade against Muslims.

Ahmed and his friends are well-dressed, middle-class boys, and represent neither the old-money security of Pakistan's elite nor dirt-poor peasants who make up the bulk of Pakistan's angry conservative masses. They are the silent majority of Pakistan, with their feet firmly planted in both the East and the West. On weekdays, they listen to Whitney Houston and Michael Bolton, wear Dockers and Van Heusen shirts. On weekends, many switch to traditional salwar kameez outfits and go with their fathers to the mosque to pray.

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They have much to gain from a Western style of life, and most have plans to move to the United States for a few years to make some money before returning home to Pakistan. Yet despite their attraction to the West, they are wary of it too.

"Most of us here like it both ways, we like American fashion, American music, American movies, but in the end, we are Muslims," says Ahmed. "The Holy Prophet said that all Muslims are like one body, and if one part of the body gets injured, then all parts feel that pain. If one Muslim is injured by non-Muslims in Afghanistan, it is the duty of all Muslims of the world to help him."

Like his friends, Ahmed feels that America has double standards toward its friends and enemies. America attacks Iraq if it invades Kuwait, but allows Israel to bulldoze Palestinian homes in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. It ostracizes a Muslim nation like Sudan for oppressing its Christian minority, but allows Russia to bomb its Muslim minority into submission in Chechnya.

And while the US supported many "freedom fighter" movements in the past few decades, including the contra movement in Nicaragua, America labels Pakistan and Afghanistan as terrorist states because they support militant Muslim groups fighting in the Indian state of Kashmir and elsewhere.

"There is only one way for America to be a friend of Islam," says Ahmed. "And that is if they consider our lives to be as precious as their own. "If Americans are concerned about the 6,500 deaths in the World Trade Center, let them talk also about the deaths in Kashmir, in Palestine, in Chechnya, in Bosnia. It is this double standard that creates hatred."

Ahmed's ambivalence about America - his desire to live and work there, his admiration for its values, but his anger at its behavior around the world - is broadly shared across the Muslim world and Arab world.

"I think they hate us because of what we do, and it seems to contradict who we say we are," says Bruce Lawrence, a professor of religion at Duke University, referring to people in the Middle East. "The major issue that our policy seems to contradict our own basic values."

That seems clear enough to Muslims who sympathize with the Palestinians, and who say that Washington should force Israel to abide by United Nations resolutions to withdraw from the occupied territories. "The Americans say September 11th was an attack on civilization," says Mr Hariri, the Lebanese prime minister. "But what does civilized society mean if not a society that lives according to the law?"

It also seems clear to citizens of monarchical states in the Gulf, where elections are unknown and women's rights severely restricted. "Since the Cold War ended, America has talked about promoting democracy," says John Esposito, head of the Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding at Georgetown University in Washington. "But we don't do anything about it in repressive regimes in the Middle East, so you can understand widespread anti-Americanism there."

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At the same time, the state-run media - which is all the media there is across much of the Middle East - often fan the flames of anti-American and anti-Israel sentiment because that helps focus citizens' minds on something other than their own government's shortcomings.

In Sana, the Yemeni capital, where queues of visa-seekers line up daily outside the US embassy, the ambivalence about America is clear. "When you go there, you really love the United States," says Murad al-Murayri, a US-trained physicist. "You are treated like a human being, much better than in your own country. But when you go back home, you find the US applies justice and fairness to its own people, but not abroad. In this era of globalization, that cannot stand."

Nor has the mood that has gripped Washington over the past two weeks done much to reassure skeptics, says Francois Burgat, a French social scientist in Yemen.

"When Bush says 'crusade', or that he wants bin Laden 'dead or alive', that is a fatwa (religious edict) without any judicial review", he cautions. "It denies all the principles that America is supposed to be."

A fatwa is something Amirul Haq, a Pakistani shopkeeper whose son died two years in a jihad in Kashmir, understands better than judicial review. "When I heard that my son died, I was satisfied," he says.

It's a sentiment shared by Azad Khan, too. On a hot Sunday afternoon in Mardan, Pakistan, Mr. Khan and his family have laid out a feast in a small guesthouse next to the local mosque. They are celebrating because they have just heard that Mr. Khan's 20-year-old son, Saeed, has been killed in a gun battle with Indian troops in the part of Jammu and Kashmir state that is under Indian control. With his death, Saeed has become another shahid, a martyr and heroic defender of the Muslims against the enemies of Islam. According to the Koran, shahideen are not actually dead; they are still alive, they just can't be seen. And through acts of bravery, a shahid guarantees that his whole family will go to heaven.

"It is not a thing to be mourned. We are happy," says Khan, sitting down to a meal of chicken and mutton, rice and bread, along with leaders of the group with which Saeed had fought. "I told him to take part in jihad [holy war] because he is the son of a Muslim," Khan says. "And just as we fight in Kashmir, if we need to fight against the United States in Afghanistan we are ready, because we are Muslims. It is our duty to fight against any infidels who are threatening our Muslim brothers."

It's not likely that many Pakistanis, or other Muslims, will actually go to Afghanistan to fight the Americans - assuming American soldiers land there. Khan's militant views are not shared by most of his countrymen.

But in a broader sense, and in the longer term, many people in the Middle East fear that the coming war against terrorism - unless it is waged with the utmost caution - could unleash new waves of anti-American sentiment.

Jamal al-Adimi, a US-educated Yemeni lawyer, speaks for many when he warns that "if violence escalates, you bring seeds and water for terrorism. You kill someone's brother or mother, and you will just get more crazy people."

Trying to root out terrorism without re-plowing the soil in which it grows - which means rethinking the policies that breed anti-American sentiment - is unlikely to succeed, say ordinary Middle Easterners and some of their leaders.

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On the practical level, Hariri points out, "launching a war is in the hands of the Americans, but winning it needs everybody. And that means everybody should see that he has an interest in joining the coalition" that Washington is building.

On a higher level, argues Bassam Tibi, a professor of international relations at Gottingen University in Germany, and an expert on political Islam, "we need value consensus between the West and Islam on democracy and human rights to combat Islamic fundamentalism. We can't do it with bombs and shooting - that will only exacerbate the problem."

Reported by staff writers Scott Baldauf in Islamabad, Pakistan; Cameron W. Barr in Amman, Jordan; Peter Ford in London; Nicole Gaouette in Jerusalem; Robert Marquand in Beijing; Scott Peterson in Sana, Yemen; Ilene R. Prusher in Tokyo; as well as contributors Nicholas Blanford in Beirut, Lebanon; Sarah Gauch in Cairo; and Simon Montlake in Jakarta, Indonesia.

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Islam's new bastion

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Body

As Indonesia wrestles with its worst economic crisis in 30 years, a wave of religious fervour is fuelling anti-Christian, anti-Chinese and

anti-Western sentiment. DAVID JENKINS reports on the likely fallout.

WHEN Muslim fundamentalists met in the mountains of West Java in 1948 to proclaim an "Islamic state of Indonesia", they introduced a penal code that drew heavily on Koranic law and left no doubt about their religious and social orientation.

Indonesia was to be a negara Islam (Islamic state) in which all senior civilian and military positions would be reserved for devout Muslims. A jihad (holy war) was to be carried out until the Dutch colonialists were expelled and until "the laws of Islam are [operating] in all perfectness throughout [the country]".

The intolerance and ferocity of the so-called Darul Islam (House of Islam) movement, which spread in varying degrees to most Muslim areas of the nation, claiming an estimated 25,000 lives before it was suppressed in 1962, left an abiding distaste for

fundamentalism in Indonesia, which had rejected arguments for an Islamic state when the Constitution was drawn up in 1945.

That fear of religious fundamentalism remains as strong as ever.

But today, 30 years after President Soeharto came to power, something new and very significant is happening in the world's most populous Muslim nation.

Islam, long sidelined by Soeharto's army-backed government, is on the march, to the beating of mosque drums and the waving of green flags.

It is winning millions of newly devout adherents in mushrooming urban centres. It is making inroads in the densely populated heartland of Java.

Islamic leaders are in no position to oust Soeharto. You would have to be a lieutenant-general, at least, to have any chance of doing that and the army has given no sign that it is about to withdraw its support for the nation's embattled leader.

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But Soeharto, having played the Islamic card for his own ends, now finds himself confronted by disenchanted leaders who have the power to sway the Muslim masses, a dangerous development at a time of mounting social, economic and political crisis.

More than 87 per cent of Indonesia's 202 million people are Sunni Muslims. But on Java, distinctions have traditionally been made between two main social-cultural groups - the pious or orthodox Muslims (santri) and the more numerous abangan, who follow a syncretic Javanese religion that includes many pre-Islamic practices.

As a new wave of Islam washes over East and Central Java, where as many as two-thirds of the population has been seen as abangan and, as such, deeply wary of "purer" varieties of Islam, some key assumptions about Indonesian society are being called

into question. NO-ONE can miss the strong Islamic wind blowing across Indonesia. New mosques are going up everywhere, each topped with a glistening silver dome, a crescent symbol of Islam and a powerful public address system.

Mushollas (prayer houses) are being established in city office blocks, in government ministries and along highways. University mosque groups are running successful Islamic outreach programs.

In high schools, many girls now wear the jilbab, or Islamic shawl, a practice outlawed until seven years ago, when the Government gave in to rising popular pressure. So, too, do many older women, including Siti Hardiyanti Rukmana, known as Tutut, Soeharto's eldest daughter.

More and more people are making the haj pilgrimage to Mecca. Others are setting off on the umroh, or "smaller haj", which is usually made in the non-haj season, omitting some of the ritual.

Christians have all but disappeared at the upper levels of the Indonesian Army, where there is a renewed emphasis on Islam, although partly, it is true, for tactical and career reasons.

Above all, there is a new willingness to identify with Islam, especially in the bureaucracy and among the urban middle class. Indonesians who only a few years ago would have been reticent about proclaiming themselves Muslims are proud to stand up and be counted.

They pray five times a day. They observe the fast. They turn up in ever-growing numbers at the huge prayer rallies that are held in the big towns and cities at Lebaran, the day of celebration at the end of the Muslim fasting month.

On Fridays, the mosques are full to overflowing. In cities such as Jakarta, many worshippers are businessmen, arriving from their offices in white shirts and ties. In the past, people such as these were seldom seen at the mosque.

This has all happened in the space of 20 years, confounding many in the older generation.

"There has been an erosion of the abangan position," says a lecturer at the prestigious Gajah Mada University in Yogyakarta, once a stronghold of abangan sentiment. "Many people are mystified by the zeal and orthodoxy of their young."

Nor is eclipse of Javanese religion necessarily a temporary phenomenon. "I don't see this as a pendulum," says the lecturer, "but as a long-term trend." A university colleague, sitting nearby, endorses that view. These days, he says, the once-dominant nominal Muslims feel a bit demoralised. "They feel that their time of glory has gone." WHAT is behind the Islamic revival in Indonesia? In part, it is driven by a search for spiritual moorings amid the turbulence engendered by rapid social and economic change. Islam, like the other great religions, offers a reassuring system of values and beliefs. The mosque offers a sense of community, as well as many ancillary social services.

There is a sense that Islam provides a bulwark against a tide of modernisation that sometimes seems to be swamping the country.

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Under the late President Sukarno, Indonesia was renowned for its prickly, sometimes self-destructive, nationalism. That is a thing of the past.

"The bangsa [nation] no longer has the appeal that the umat [Islamic community] does," says a Western political scientist who has monitored developments in Indonesia since the 1950s. "August 17 [national day] means nothing. It's not spirit-charged as it once was. In Indonesia, as in Egypt, Turkey and Iran, nationalism, like socialism, is seen to have failed."

That said, nationalism may be reappearing in a different guise. At one level, says this source, nationalism has lost its appeal. At another level, nationalism is reviving under Islamic auspices.

Finally, the deepening sense of Islamisation is driven by political factors. In recent years, Soeharto has gone out of his way to get the modernist urban Muslims on side, if only to compensate for an erosion in support in the armed forces, his power base since 1965.

Those overtures have been welcomed in Islamic circles.

"[The identification with Islam has] always been there," says Rosihan Anwar, a retired editor and publisher. "But once they feel that encouragement has been given to practise their religion, they all come streaming back."

If this were simply a matter of people seeking spiritual moorings at a time of profound change it might not excite much comment. There is concern, however, that heightened fervour in the Islamic community is beginning to threaten Indonesia's precarious religious and racial balance, a disturbing prospect for the minority Christian and Chinese, who have long been the object of envy and resentment in Muslim circles.

In June 1996, Muslims rampaged through the streets of Surabaya, Indonesia's second city, destroying 12 Christian churches. The army did nothing. No-one was arrested.

That sent a dangerous signal to those with an interest in stirring up trouble. In the Islamic "horseshoe" of East Java - a U-shaped region that takes in the staunchly Muslim island of Madura and the nearby mainland - word spread that it was open season on Christians.

In October 1996, 3,000 Muslims took to the streets in the East Java town of Situbondo, setting fire to 25 churches in a single day after a man was charged with making disparaging comments about Islam. Five people, including a priest, died in a blazing church.

The violence continued last year, with riots in East, Central and West Java.

This week, as the Government grappled with the nation's worst economic crisis in 30 years, thousands of Muslims went on a violent rampage in East Java, protesting against brothels and stalls selling alcohol during Ramadan. Two policemen were wounded by machetes. In Bandung, West Java, 1,200 riot police were deployed after evicted stall-holders ran wild, hurling rocks through the windows of supermarkets owned by ethnic Chinese.

Each of these riots was sparked by a particular incident. But in each case, the rioters vented their fury on Chinese and/or Christian targets.

"At the grassroots, Christian-Muslim relations are quite bad," says an analyst in Jakarta. "All the riots [in 1996] ended up with churches and church-run homes for the elderly being burnt. Every Lebaran there are more and more incidents occurring."

This is something that disturbs many Indonesians.

"I'm very concerned," says Dr Mely Tan, head of the research institute at the Atma Jaya Catholic University in Jakarta. "I think we have gotten away from this whole idea of unity, where we were all one despite the differences in ethnicity, despite the differences in religions, despite differences in world view."

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All of a sudden, Tan says, minority groups have become fair game. "In the last year we have had a number of incidents that make you really sit up and wonder what is happening. Wherever there is unrest, the Chinese are the easiest target. They are visible, they are vulnerable and they're powerless. They won't hit back and nobody will defend them."

The situation is becoming serious. According to an expert in criminal law at Airlangga University in Surabaya, no fewer than 300 churches have been put to the torch in the past decade, mostly in Java.

"There is this pent-up frustration in society, a deep resentment towards the Chinese," says a source in Central Java.

"A lot of people are banging the anti-Chinese, anti-Western, anti-Christian drum. People say, 'We have been stupid. We have let the Chinese take over [the economy].' There is great concern among the Christians. In Situbondo, Muslims have an internal dispute and what do they do? They burn down Christian churches."

Nor is that the end of it. In the highly charged atmosphere that characterises political discourse in Indonesia, conspiracy theories abound. It is claimed that the army gave the Situbondo rioters a wink and a nod. It is said that Islamic modernists instigated riots in Tasikmalaya to discredit Islamic traditionalists, their long-time rivals.

Indonesians take great pride in national tolerance. For the moment, however, tolerance is under strain, trust in short supply. And the worst may be yet to come.

Indonesia is yet to feel the full impact of a currency crisis that has triggered the third-biggest International Monetary Fund bailout in history.

The nation is bracing for corporate bankruptcies, loan defaults, mergers, further job losses, food shortages, price increases and higher inflation.

Even in good years, Lebaran has been a time of labour unrest, with some companies seeking to avoid paying year-end bonuses to their workers. This year, many companies will simply not be able to pay.

To make matters worse, the country is suffering from the effects of a prolonged El Niño-induced drought.

Then there's the President's health. At 76, Soeharto is suddenly looking old and tired. He is suffering from fatigue, stress, high blood pressure, kidney problems and a leaking heart valve. He may have had a minor stroke.

Until recently, it was widely believed that Soeharto would seek a seventh five-year term from the rubber-stamp People's Consultative Congress when it convenes in March. Suddenly, all bets are off.

It is mid-afternoon at a modern, nondescript office in central Jakarta. The retired general, a Javanese Christian, is pouring coffee from a stainless steel jug and reflecting on the significance of a nationwide resurgence in Islam.

On the wall behind him is a sepia-toned photograph of Soeharto with key political officers from his inner circle, taken in the early days of the New Order when political Islam was viewed with the deepest suspicion, something to be kept strictly in check.

Soeharto is smiling his broad, enigmatic smile.

"It's difficult to say [how important this Islamic phenomena is]," the general is saying. "I would look at it as just the mood of the day. To become Islam. To show that you are Islam and all that. While I think that more than half of these people, if you asked them to pray, to use the right words, they don't know [how to do] it . . . They say [everything] in Arabic. But if you ask them to translate it, they don't know how."

There may be something in that. For some women, the decision to dress in the Islamic manner may be no more than a fashion statement. Islamic dress has become de rigueur. An escort agency in Malang, East Java, is said to provide its clients with young women dressed demurely in the jilbab.

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But there is much more to it than fashion. "I talk to a number of students, friends of my grand-daughter," says Rosihan Anwar, receiving a guest before setting off for Friday morning prayers. "They say, 'We would like to show our [Islamic] identity. It is nice to be different from the rest. Our religious teacher says you must cover yourself, so we do that. And by doing that we show our identity.' Which, to me, is a good explanation. But if you ask them, 'Do you want to be like the Taliban in Afghanistan, women completely covered, [girls] not allowed to go to school?', I don't think they like that. I think they reject that."

In short, many Indonesians find the "new" Islam more attractive and user-friendly than the "old" Islam, which was seen by some as unnecessarily stern, even severe. That may go for the President too.

When Soeharto came to power, he seemed the personification of Agama Jawa, or Javanese religion, seeking the guidance of dukuns(shamans), consulting primbons(Javanese manuals of divination), meditating overnight on mist-shrouded volcanoes in Central Java. He was, of course, a Muslim. But as with many Javanese, the Islamic veneer did not seem especially deep.

Today, the leader of the world's most populous Muslim nation gives every sign of being a devout Muslim. He has made the pilgrimage to Mecca. He prays five times a day. He meets regularly with learned scholars to discuss the finer points of Islamic doctrine.

At public gatherings, he pre-faces his remarks with an Arabic salutation: "Assalamu' alaikum wa rahmatullahi wa barakatuh." "May peace be with you, and the blessing and grace of God."

In short, the President seems to have come full circle in his religious beliefs. Or has he?

"Soeharto is a smart guy," says Rosihan Anwar. "He's a fox, an old fox. He just looks. 'Do I have to play the Islam card?' He plays it. That means he must go on the haj and he is doing that. That's no problem. As long as he's in power."

For most of the New Order period, the modernist stream of political Islam was viewed with misgivings, especially in the army, where a secular nationalist ethos prevailed and where a significant number of senior officers were from either a Christian or Central Javanese abangan background. In the words of the late Mohammad Natsir, a former prime minister and prominent Islamic modernist, "they have treated us like cats with ringworm".

DURING his first two decades in power, Soeharto made a sustained attempt to neutralise political Islam. He refused to permit the reappearance of Masyumi, the modernist political party, allowing instead only a tame alternative. He pushed in 1973 for a secular marriage bill that was anathema to modernists and traditionalists, backing off only when confronted by threats of nationwide unrest. He sought in 1978 to give Javanese mysticism (kepercayaan) the same status as religion.

He stripped the state-sponsored "Islamic" political party of its highly potent electoral symbol, the black cubist Ka'bahshrine at Mecca. He insisted that all three political parties accept the state ideology, Pancasila, as their sole principle, a bitter pill for many Muslims, for whom Islam is the only possible sole principle. He gave preferment in the armed forces to Christian and abangan officers.

But as Robert Hefner of Boston University pointed out in an illuminating 1993 paper, it did not follow that New Order restrictions on political Islam - "that is, on the Islamic parties that aimed to capture the reins of government" - meant that the

Government was opposed to "cultural" or "civil" Islam, or Islam as a source of ethical and cultural guidance.

On the contrary, the Soeharto Government provided graphic evidence that it was willing to support cultural Islamic programs. For a start, it allocated large sums for higher Islamic education. Under Soeharto, State Islamic Institutes sprang up everywhere, turning out graduates trained in Islamic theology, law and arts. It also allocated large sums for the construction of mosques, prayer halls and Islamic schools. In Central Java alone, the number of mosques almost doubled in the 12 years to 1992, from 15,700 to 28,700.

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These programs came at a time of far-reaching change in the Islamic community. Faced with continuing government restrictions on political activity, Hefner noted, many young Muslim intellectuals "distanced themselves from mass politics in favour of a new strategy of Islamic revitalisation", especially in the fields of education and social work. One result of this was that large numbers of devout Muslims began entering the bureaucracy, "where they quietly laboured to promote Muslim interests".

SOEHARTO, a politician of astuteness and high watchfulness, was well aware of these broad social trends; he also saw an opportunity to advance his own interests. Bolstered by his success in persuading Muslim groups to accept Pancasila - and not Islam - as their sole ideological foundation, and feeling in need of a new political ally to compensate for an erosion of support in the armed forces, the President began making overtures to Muslims.

Starting in the late 1980s, those initiatives came in quick succession. Soeharto approved an education law that made religious instruction compulsory in all public schools. He introduced a law clarifying and reaffirming the independence of religious courts and their equality with civil courts. He reversed a ban on Muslim schoolgirls wearing the jilbab. He backed the establishment of an Islamic bank. He went on the pilgrimage to Mecca, dressed in the flowing white robes of a haji and taking the additional name Muhammad.

Most important of all, the President gave his blessing to the establishment of the Indonesian Association of Muslim Intellectuals (ICMI), a body headed by the Minister for Research and Technology, Dr B. J. Habibie, a Soeharto protege.

In 25 years of New Order politics there had never been anything quite like ICMI. The association brought together not just trusted cabinet ministers and senior officials but also a number of Islamic intellectuals who had been outspoken critics of the Soeharto Government.

One such figure was Dr Imaduddin Abdulrahim, head of an Islamic outreach program at the sometimes volatile Bandung Institute of Technology (ITB). Imaduddin, who was detained after the army opened fire on Muslims in the crowded Jakarta dock area in 1984, was once described by a leading general as "the most dangerous man in Indonesia".

ICMI had its own newspaper, *Republika*. It had its own think tank, CIDES. As one analyst puts it, "the idea was to bring in non-participating Muslims". SOEHARTO'S gesture of reconciliation was welcomed in modernist circles. "Muslims can now participate actively in the debate in Indonesian society - on the economy, on technology, on politics, on development issues and on the question of succession," Dr Nasir Tamara, a senior editor at *Republika*, said in 1994.

"This is important. The Muslims feel secure. When the Muslims feel secure, they are not going to throw bombs. [Without this] you will have a *Hamas*-type [reaction] against anything that is considered Western. Now we have CIDES. Now we have *Republika*. In the past, when [the generals] Ali Moertopo and Benny Moerdani were there, there was no way Soeharto would have done this."

A persuasive case can be made in support of the proposition that Indonesian Muslims - often characterised as a majority with a minority mentality - had been pushed too far to the periphery. But Soeharto's decision to play the Muslim card was hardly risk-free.

One problem was that ICMI became a vehicle for modernist Islam. It had the support of Muhammadiyah, the largest modernist organisation in Indonesia, with 25 million members. It had the support of independent Muslim intellectuals. That sharpened the divide between the urban modernists and the rural-based conservatives in Nahdatul Ulama (NU), Indonesia's largest religious body, with about 34 million members.

Worse still, as many Indonesians saw it, the creation of ICMI sharpened religious and ethnic tensions.

According to Mely Tan, Indonesian society is becoming polarised: "It started with ICMI, which is a very exclusive group. There is nothing wrong with people showing their religious identity. But in a pluralist society there should

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continue to be respect for other religions . . . Why should the Muslims be in a group? After all, 90 per cent of the population is Muslim anyway."

If ICMI gave non-participating modernist Muslims a sense that they were at last getting their place in the sun, the President was careful to cover his bets. ICMI was organised along familiar corporatist lines, which made it responsive to the presidential will. It was headed by a man whose political career was entirely dependent on his relationship with Soeharto. Its membership was weighted heavily in favour of bureaucrats.

Despite those constraints, many modernist Muslims believed that ICMI presented them with an opportunity to promote their interests from within the system, an appealing thought, not least for marginalised intellectuals such as Imaduddin, who had experienced years of harassment by the army and police. But "acceptance" came at a price.

Before, says a source in Jakarta, people such as Imaduddin were opposition figures. "The New Order has done its thing and co-opted more people. True, it has now pushed them out again. But they are now compromised and can't become radicals again."

Today, seven years after its formation, ICMI is in some disarray. Soeharto was not amused when Amien Rais, chairman of Muhammadiyah and a powerful voice in ICMI, lashed out at his government's foreign investment policies. Soon afterwards, Rais was forced out of ICMI.

He has not gone quietly. At a gathering in Jakarta on December 28, during which Muslim intellectuals rejected a seventh term for Soeharto and supported the improbable notion of Rais standing as an alternative candidate, the Muhammadiyah leader accused Soeharto of fostering "corruption, collusion, nepotism, greed and moral degeneration".

To make matters worse, Abdurrahman Wahid, the leader of Indonesia's conservative Muslims, is letting it be known that he "understands", if not supports, Rais's position. This is an unwelcome development. A rapprochement between the traditionally disputatious urban and rural wings of Indonesian Islam - which between them claim the support of nearly 60 million people - is the last thing the Government wants.

As it happens, the two main Islamic groupings have merely papered over their deep-seated differences. In the opinion of Abdurrahman Wahid, Soeharto gave the modernists too much leeway during the 1990s, unleashing dangerous forces.

"There are still two orientations within the Islamic movement," says Wahid, an engaging, seriously overweight man who perches on the edge of a sofa at NU headquarters, tilting his head crookedly to make the most of his rapidly diminishing eyesight.

"One type is the NU, which likes this idea of having a modern Indonesian society in which the Muslims can implement the teachings of their religion voluntarily, not monitored by the state and controlled by the state, not promoted by the state. The less the state involves itself in religious matters, the better.

"But there are still people like Amien Rais, like Imaduddin Abdulrahim from ICMI, who demand that Indonesia should develop into a Muslim society. Not an Islamic state but a Muslim society in which Islamic teachings are implemented by the society. That means the society has to be helped by the state [with] more and more legislation of syariah [Islamic law] teachings."

For the Government, meanwhile, the spectre of political Islam is anything but dead and buried. The President may have been able to engineer the ouster of Megawati Sukarnoputri, the daughter of Indonesia's first president, as leader of the minority Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI) ahead of last May's general election. But that ploy backfired badly when many of Megawati's supporters linked up with members of the Muslim-backed United Development Party. At noisy, sometimes violent, campaign rallies, ordinary people mocked the Government and its works.

In 1996, says Professor Arief Budiman, a former Indonesian student leader who is head of Indonesian studies at Melbourne University, "it was all Megawati against the Government. It was Sukarnoism versus Soehartoism.

Islam's new bastion

Without the PDI, it is Islam against the Government. That creates a new dynamic. The perception is that this Government is against Islam. And that's dangerous." AS these events unfold, some Indonesians play down the significance of the "Islamisation" of Indonesian - and more particularly Javanese - society.

The religious pendulum may have swung towards Islam in recent years, they say. But it is now swinging back again. "It has not yet reached the middle," says a Christian intellectual from Central Java, "but it is going [in that direction]."

Asked how the nominal Javanese Muslims felt about Islamic revivalism, this source says, "There are no abangan any more." Where have they gone? "Well, they are following the abangan tactics as usual. They will take it [a greater emphasis on Islam] if they have to take it. Because they never believe it actually wholeheartedly. But they will happily comply with the ritual and the formalities."

In this view, nominal Muslims are simply swimming with the tide, following Islamic procedures when there is no real cost in doing so, as is the case with the marriage ceremony, rejecting Islamic injunctions when these are inconvenient, as they are on

matters of inheritance law, an area in which Islam treats women unequally.

"On inheritance, you can follow the Muslim or the non-Muslim law," says this source. "By following the latter, it actually means you are undermining the [Islamic law]." WHAT changes do Indonesia's modernists want? At the elite level, people are calling for the reform of the Government and its institutions. One demand is for "proportionalism" - making sure that Muslims are adequately represented in the bureaucracy and in the state universities. That has created a good deal of hostility among minorities, who have seen opportunities closed off in those institutions.

Another centres on the need to establish a more "correct" balance between pribumi (indigenous) and non-pribumi (ethnic Chinese) interests. This is an area in which complex economic, ethnic and religious strands become intertwined.

Although ethnic Chinese account for less than 4 per cent of the population, they control an estimated 70 per cent of the private wealth. That many Chinese are also Christians does nothing to assuage the resentment felt by many poorer Indonesians.

For some Muslims, it would be enough were the Government to promise to provide more help for small and medium indigenous enterprises. Others insist that Indonesia will never come to terms with deep-seated economic and ethnic inequality until it introduces affirmative action along the lines of Malaysia's New Economic Policy. Such a thought alarms the big ethnic Chinese conglomerates.

At the grassroots, Muslims express concern about more down-to-earth issues, including "Christianisation", especially the offers made to young Muslims of education and scholarships at Christian schools.

For the moment, however, much of the discussion about longer-term reform has been put on the back-burner. Indonesians want to know how the Government plans to rebuild an economy that has fallen in a heap. They are not getting many convincing answers, and if the comments of the Muhammadiyah leader, Amien Rais, are anything to go by, patience and moderation are in increasingly short supply.

Article 18:

Whosoever commits adultery shall be punished by being:

- 1) Stoned to death.
- 2) Given 100 lashes.

Article 21:

(1) He who commits robbery [shall be punished by]:

- 1) Death by crucifixion.
- 2) Death in the normal fashion.
- 3) Cutting off the right hand and left foot.

Graphic

FOUR ILLUS: Under pressure . . . Top: Soeharto and family on a pilgrimage to Mecca last November. Inset: A fire crew battles a burning church during riots in Tasikmalaya, West Java, in December 1996. Loyalty . . . Muslim students salute during a ceremony marking the 52nd anniversary of Indonesia's independence. Top: One of the mosques now crowding the skies of Jakarta.

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DEATH OF A KING;
Cautious King Took Risks In Straddling Two Worlds

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By JUDITH MILLER

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Body

King Hussein of Jordan, who died yesterday at 63, successfully straddled two worlds in more than four tumultuous decades on the throne.

Cautious by instinct and habit, King Hussein took pride in his Western impulses and his Arab roots, though he acknowledged that the combination sometimes produced policies that even admirers criticized as erratic and conflicting.

He was the Middle East's longest-reigning ruler, but took little comfort from mere survival. Though he once said he yearned for a "hero's death" like that of Yitzhak Rabin, the Israeli enemy he ultimately embraced as his "brother" and "partner in peace," King Hussein succumbed not to the fanatic's bullet but to cancer, non-Hodgkins lymphoma, which he had suffered for eight months.

His twin legacies -- peace with his neighbors, including Israel, and a fairly tolerant, stable society at home -- would be impressive in any context. But they are particularly so given the often violent politics of the Middle East and the unpromising country whose stewardship he inherited while still a teen-ager.

Personally courageous, modest and unfailingly polite, King Hussein was known for his political tolerance, pardoning even those who had tried to kill him. Though he had made war against Israel in 1967, he was the only Arab leader secure enough to kneel before Israeli families who had lost children in a terrorist attack on his soil in 1997, offering his condolences.

King Hussein spent the final months of his life working relentlessly for peace and a succession that he hoped would insure both his immediate family's control of the throne and political stability in Jordan. Less than two weeks before his death, he stunned the world by bypassing his younger brother, Prince Hassan, 51, and designating his eldest son, 37-year-old Abdullah, as heir to the throne.

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In a long, bitter letter to his brother explaining his decision and publicizing a deep family rift, King Hussein assailed Prince Hassan's performance as Regent, saying his brother's palace supporters -- climbers, he called them -- had tried to "destroy Jordan" by spreading vicious gossip about his wife and children and working to divide and politicize the army. The King also suggested that Prince Hassan, his appointed heir for 34 years, had opposed Hussein's wish that his own sons succeed his brother as King.

King Hussein said the family discord had given him many sleepless nights and prompted him to intervene "from my sickbed" at the Mayo Clinic in Minnesota to end the intrigues and political jockeying for power. But he complimented Prince Hassan for his "sincere efforts" and his loyal acceptance of his demotion.

The decision not only took Jordan and the United States by surprise, but it also demonstrated that King Hussein, though ailing and in pain, remained the undisputed ruler of his kingdom until the last days of his life.

The King's Last Grasp At a Middle East Peace

Apart from settling the succession, King Hussein's last efforts were aimed at advancing peace between the Arabs and Israel, a goal that had eluded two generations of his Hashemite family.

Drawn and pale, and made bald by four rounds of chemotherapy, he had left the Mayo Clinic last October to attend the Wye summit talks in Maryland and help President Clinton coax Israeli and Palestinian negotiators into concluding the next phase of their peace accord.

"If I had an ounce of strength, I would have done my utmost to be there and to help in any way I can," he said in an emotional, impromptu speech at the signing ceremony.

Saying there had been "enough destruction, enough death, enough waste" during the five decades of Arab-Israeli conflict, he pleaded for accommodation. "We have no right to dictate through irresponsible action or narrow-mindedness the future of our children or their children's children," the King said.

A short man who used his deep, mesmerizing voice to maximum political effect, King Hussein was to a large extent a reflection and prisoner of his geography.

The leader of a slip of land the size of South Carolina, seven-eighths of it desert, without oil or other valuable resources, he was surrounded by far more powerful nations, many of them intermittently hostile. And over two-thirds of Jordan's more than 4.5 million people are Palestinian, many of whom feel little allegiance to him, his family or their adopted country.

Commenting on King Hussein's lack of options, former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger wrote in 1979, in his book "White House Years," that the King "had the capacity neither for independent action nor for blackmail, which are the stuff of Middle Eastern politics."

Nevertheless, by charting a mostly centrist, pragmatic course and avoiding the radical passions and fashionable political trends that destabilized or toppled several other hereditary leaders in the Middle East, King Hussein created a relatively peaceful, conservative, modern country whose citizens enjoy decent government and more political freedom than those of most other Arab nations.

Setbacks, Then Recovery On the Diplomatic Front

His rule was notable for both bold diplomatic strokes and strategic blunders, some of them necessary, he felt, to secure his throne. Among the latter was his decision not to join the American-led coalition that forced President Saddam Hussein of Iraq to end his five-month-long occupation of Kuwait in 1991.

And in 1967 he ignored private assurances and calls for restraint by Israel in favor of joining Egypt and Syria in their war against it. This cost him half of Jerusalem and all the territory on the western side of the Jordan River, the West Bank, which his grandfather had won in the 1948-1949 war against Israel.

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But after each setback, King Hussein recovered his political equilibrium and turned adversity to his advantage. Reputed among Jordanians to enjoy baraka, or God's blessing, for dodging at least 12 assassination attempts and 7 plots to overthrow him, the King ultimately accomplished what his grandfather had been unable to do: in 1994 he secured a stunning peace with Israel, which he called his reign's "crowning achievement."

In July 1994, standing on the White House lawn beside Prime Minister Rabin, King Hussein initialed an accord that technically ended the state of war between the neighboring countries. And three months later, in an emotional ceremony in his own land, he became the third Arab leader to sign a formal peace treaty with Israel.

"I have at last carried out the will of King Abdullah," he declared on the White House lawn, referring to his grandfather.

Indeed, the legacy of political pragmatism and the fate of Abdullah, Jordan's first King, strongly shaped his rule. In the summer of 1951, when he was 15, King Hussein saw his grandfather gunned down at the entrance of the silver-domed Al Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem.

King Hussein said another bullet had ricocheted off a medal on the uniform he had been told to wear by his grandfather, who had become a scapegoat of Arabs furious over their humiliating defeat by Israel in 1948-49 and of Palestinians angry at King Abdullah's secret meetings with Israeli leaders.

In a memoir, King Hussein said he had learned painful, important lessons from witnessing the killing of Abdullah, a "wonderful old man" and a "man of desert ways to whom I owe more than I can say."

In an interview more than 30 years later, the King said he would never forget how Abdullah's aides, his "so-called friends," had scattered in all directions "like frightened women in the night" minutes after the killing, or how they had opened political intrigues within hours.

The first rule he learned, the King said in his memoirs, was "the unimportance of death: that when you have to die, you die," a fatalism he manifested at critical moments throughout his life.

"I also saw that rulers cannot depend on their advisers to save or guide them, that they must make their own decisions and go their own way," he said in an interview in 1993.

This determination to keep his own counsel, and to be prepared to suffer the consequences of rash actions, allowed him to brush aside the savage criticism periodically directed at him by Westerners and Arabs alike.

Though he shared Abdullah's commitment to the Arab cause, the assassination reinforced his skepticism about fellow Arab rulers. And from that day on, he carried a gun or kept one within easy reach.

Finally, the assassination taught him that if he was to pursue Jordan's strategic interest by maintaining his grandfather's dialogue with Israel, such contacts had to remain secret. Even toward the end of his life, King Hussein refused to discuss details of what Israelis estimate were more than 500 hours of talks with every Israeli leader except Menachem Begin, a series of contacts that the King initiated in 1963.

A Crown Prince's Son, Yet Reared in Poverty

Descended from a powerful Arabian family that traced its lineage to the Muslim prophet Mohammed, Hussein ibn Talal ibn Hussein was born in Amman, Jordan, on Nov. 14, 1935, to Crown Prince Talal and Princess Zein. His family, like his country, was desperately poor. His baby sister died of pneumonia "in the bitter cold of an Amman winter," he later wrote. The family house had no heat.

Abdullah had been born and raised among the tribes of the Arabian Desert, but Hussein, in contrast, was educated at Victoria College in Alexandria, Egypt, and at Harrow and the Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst in Britain.

Indeed, his Hashemite family owed much to Britain. To protect against French encroachment on British interests in Palestine, and to reward the family for leading the Great Arab Revolt against the Ottomans, who were allied to

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Germany, in 1916, Winston Churchill, then the Colonial Secretary, had carved Transjordan out of Syria in 1921, agreed to finance the emirate with a modest subsidy and given it to Abdullah to rule under British mandate. In 1946 Transjordan became independent. Abdullah, who never abandoned the dream of re-creating and ruling a modern Arab empire, became King and renamed his country the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.

Unlike other Arab leaders, Abdullah -- like his grandson Hussein -- quickly grasped that he would have to deal with the Zionists. Contacts between them began as early as 1926, and in 1946 Abdullah and Jewish leaders agreed informally that Jordan would not oppose establishment of a Jewish state if the Zionists supported his rule over the Arab parts of Palestine. But after war erupted in 1948, Abdullah invaded the newborn state of Israel, winning control of half of Jerusalem and the West Bank.

After Abdullah's assassination, Prince Talal, who had been treated at a Swiss clinic for schizophrenia, took the throne. When his attacks worsened, Parliament removed him, on Aug. 11, 1952, less than a month after Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt helped topple King Farouk in a military coup. Hussein, then 16, was proclaimed Jordan's King just as intense Arab nationalism was taking hold throughout the region.

King Hussein always relished physical if not political danger. As if the extraordinary challenge of sheer survival were not sufficient, he parachuted, flew stunts in his jet planes and raced high-performance cars and motorcycles across the desert (insisting in his later years on being photographed with a helmet as an example of safety to his people). Risk became second nature, "what water is to fish," he told a journalist. Compounding the risk, he chain-smoked cigarettes, a habit he tried innumerable times to break.

King Hussein himself conceded that at first he made many mistakes as ruler. "Those early years were hard for me," he said once in an interview. "I learned late."

In 1956, when Arab nationalist passions were running high and conservative monarchies like his were a constant target of coups and assault, King Hussein tried to damp growing popular unrest by dismissing Sir John Bagot Glubb, the British general who commanded Jordan's Arab Legion. He also abandoned liberal measures that he and his father had adopted, declared martial law and called out the army against his own people.

As the immediate threat to his rule receded, King Hussein gradually replaced British protectors with Americans, whose influence was growing in the Middle East as Britain's faded. According to senior Jordanian and American officials, ties between the Central Intelligence Agency and King Hussein were cemented in 1957 and 1958, when American intelligence officials learned of a coup plot involving Jordanian diplomats and warned the King.

Relations like those, an American airlift of oil in 1958 when Jordan was boycotted by Egypt, Syria and Iraq, and monthly checks from the C.I.A. helped persuade the King that Washington was a reliable ally. (The C.I.A. payments reportedly ended in 1977, when their disclosure embarrassed the King.)

A Costly Decision to Go To War Against Israel

King Hussein fared less well in his second crisis: the 1967 Arab-Israeli war. Although Israel had urged restraint, he flew to Cairo shortly before the war to sign a defense treaty with President Nasser, despite Nasser's earlier plotting against him.

Although the King later conceded that he had known he was taking a risk by siding with Syria and Egypt, he said he had feared the fury of his people, many of them Palestinians, more than Israel. A senior Jordanian official said most Jordanians so strongly favored the war that the King's choice, in fact, was between "war and civil war."

It was a costly decision. As a result of the 1967 war, Israel controlled all of Jerusalem and the West Bank. Thousands of Palestinian refugees fled into arid Jordan, increasing the population by about half. Three-quarters of the population of Amman was now of Palestinian origin, making it the largest Palestinian city. Unlike other Arab rulers, King Hussein offered the refugees citizenship and a passport.

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In 1970, Yasir Arafat and the Palestine Liberation Organization, which increasingly viewed King Hussein as vulnerable and an obstacle to its struggle, challenged the Hashemites' control of Jordan. In despair at the prospect of a civil war, the King later acknowledged, he briefly pondered abdication, as he would again during other crises. Instead, he decided to confront Mr. Arafat.

Though Mr. Arafat subsequently maintained that the Jordanian Army killed as many as 20,000 in putting down the unrest, conservative estimates put Palestinian losses at 2,000. While King Hussein had not sought that test of wills, his legitimacy was never challenged again.

On the Sidelines In the 1973 War

Drawn once into an Arab war with Israel, King Hussein would not be seduced a second time. Before the 1973 war, Israeli diplomats said, he cautioned Israel that Egypt and Syria were planning to fight, but his warning was discounted. And while the King sent a Jordanian armored brigade to fight alongside Syrian forces, he avoided fighting Israel along their common border, a decision that precluded the loss of still more land.

Moreover, his quiet contacts with Israel continued even during the war. According to a recent book by an Israeli journalist, Samuel Segev, Hussein secretly persuaded Israel's Chief of Staff to divert artillery fire from a hill on the Golan Heights where the King was scheduled to address the troops he had sent to help the Syrians.

King Hussein never commented publicly on accounts like those, but friends and diplomats said such disclosures by Israeli officials infuriated him.

The King paid a high political price for his 1970 assault on the P.L.O. and his de facto abstention from the 1973 war.

At a meeting in Rabat, Morocco, in 1974, the Arab League anointed the P.L.O. as the "sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people." Since Jordan was then more than half Palestinian and had ruled the West Bank between 1948 and 1967, the Arabs had decided, in effect, that he could no longer protect what amounted to his own national interests, he said in an interview a decade later.

In his fourth major crisis, the Persian Gulf war in 1991, King Hussein in effect sided with radical Arab passions in his tilt toward Saddam Hussein. He insisted at the time -- and even later -- that he had been seeking a peaceful solution and had been neutral, saying, "I took the side of peace."

But his stance infuriated Saudi Arabia and other gulf nations, not to mention Washington, whose gifts and foreign aid had helped him to survive and Jordan to prosper.

American officials understood the King's need to placate President Hussein of Iraq, given Jordan's economic dependence on Iraqi trade and the passionate pro-Iraqi stance of most Jordanians, especially Palestinians, who saw an Iraqi victory as the first step toward regaining a homeland.

But American patience snapped in February 1991 when King Hussein gave an emotional speech condemning the air strikes against Iraq as "a war against all Arabs and Muslims" aimed at "destroying all the achievements of Iraq" and placing the entire region "under foreign domination."

The King once again paid a high price. The gulf states suspended aid, costing Jordan almost a billion dollars a year, and the influx of some 300,000 more Palestinian refugees from Kuwait and elsewhere in the gulf severely strained Jordan's economy. In Washington, the King, who owned a home in Potomac, Md., that he shared with his American-born wife, became persona non grata.

The King Is Returned To U.S. Good Graces

In November 1992 and even more dramatically in May 1993, the King tried to repair his relations with the United States by distancing himself from Saddam Hussein, with whom he had once enjoyed the warmest of ties -- frequent visits, nighttime barbecues and deep conversations while fishing for carp.

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Saying Iraqis were suffering gravely under the American-led boycott, he concluded that it was time for the Iraqis to embrace democratic government and end Mr. Hussein's dictatorial rule.

Eventually a combination of fading American memories of the gulf war, intense lobbying in Washington on the King's behalf by Israeli leaders and Jordan's strategic role as a buffer between Iraq, Syria and Israel produced warmer relations with the new Democratic Administration. On June 18, 1993, President Clinton met King Hussein at the White House for the first time.

While proud of his family's and his country's Arab heritage, King Hussein always understood the need to maintain contact with Israel.

The first meeting between the King and a succession of Israeli leaders took place in mid-1963 at the London home of his doctor when he had yet to consolidate power. Subsequent sessions were held in Paris, in tents, in desert trailers, aboard boats, on a Red Sea island, even in a Mossad safe house north of Tel Aviv. Though widely rumored among politically well connected Israelis, the meetings were almost never discussed in public.

For King Hussein, who had few illusions about the dangerous neighborhood in which he lived or the perfidy of many of his neighbors, Israel was an insurance policy against Egyptian, Syrian, Palestinian and even Iraqi ambitions. He always promised that one day he would forge a formal peace and normal relations with Israel, a goal he doggedly and often dangerously pursued throughout his rule.

At the same time, he insisted that a peace must be comprehensive, rejecting the notion that Arab nations could make separate accommodations with Israel. For that reason, he later asserted in interviews, he opposed the Camp David peace accord between Israel and Egypt in 1978 and their peace treaty the next year.

Despite his intense misgivings about Mr. Arafat's prior history and future intentions, he was among the first Arab leaders to endorse the Madrid peace talks sponsored by the Bush Administration in October 1991. He and Osama el-Baz, an adviser to President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, were influential in persuading the Palestinians to take part in the ground-breaking talks.

To encourage the effort and keep the P.L.O. under some check, he agreed to include Palestinian representatives as nominal members of the Jordanian delegation, thus defusing Israel's objections to direct negotiations with the Palestinians.

A First Bout of Cancer, And a Change of Focus

But the talks between Israel and its Arab enemies, which continued in Washington after the Madrid conference, dragged on inconclusively month after month. Without the knowledge of most of the officials negotiating in Washington, Prime Minister Rabin had blessed a secret effort by his Foreign Minister, Shimon Peres, to seek a breakthrough directly with the P.L.O. in Oslo. King Hussein was not informed.

Efforts to make peace between Jordan and Israel were given unexpected impetus from a traumatic development in the summer of 1992: King Hussein was found to have cancer. At the Mayo Clinic in Minnesota, he underwent surgery on his urinary tract.

In September he returned to Jordan to a tumultuous welcome. Unable to imagine their country without him, more than a million Jordanians -- then almost a third of his kingdom -- lined the roads between the airport and the capital to welcome him home, waving banners, pictures and placards, cheering, chanting and weeping.

His illness and the fervor of his welcome intensified his determination to make peace, King Hussein said shortly before the treaty with Israel was signed in 1994. While he had been "overwhelmed by the warmth, by the feelings of the people" upon his return, he said, "I felt an element of fear -- of insecurity -- about what might happen if I was not there, so I knew that I had to do everything I could, in whatever time I had left, to achieve peace and make it work."

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In October 1992, Jordan and Israel agreed in writing for the first time that their common goal was a formal peace treaty within the framework of a comprehensive Arab-Israeli settlement.

But in the summer of 1993, the P.L.O. and Israel stunned the world -- and King Hussein -- by announcing that the Oslo talks had produced a peace agreement between them. The King felt shunted aside and feared that his poor country would be frozen out economically while billions of dollars poured into the West Bank and Gaza.

Still, the King ignored those concerns and welcomed the accord. On Sept. 14, a day after the Oslo agreement was made official at the White House, Jordan and Israel signed their own agenda outlining the treaty they hoped to reach.

In November, King Hussein and Foreign Minister Peres signed understandings on economic relations and other forms of cooperation at a secret meeting in Amman. And in July 1994, Israel and Jordan ended the state of war that had existed between them for nearly half a century, signing a declaration on the White House lawn that paved the way for a formal peace.

This peace came on Oct. 26, 1994, in another stirring ceremony witnessed by President Clinton at Wadi Arava, a barren strip of desert between Jordan and Israel.

"This is without a doubt my proudest accomplishment: leaving my people a legacy of peace," the King said in an interview in Nadwa Palace in Amman shortly before the ceremony.

No Arab leader was more openly upset by the assassination of Prime Minister Rabin of Israel in November 1995 than King Hussein. Traveling openly to Jerusalem for the first time since its loss to Israel in the 1967 war, he wept openly at the funeral of his former enemy, his "brother."

"It is peace that has been assassinated," King Hussein said in his tribute as Mr. Rabin's body was laid to rest under the pines and cypresses of Mount Herzl, the cemetery of Israel's military and spiritual heroes.

Disillusionment Grows With New Israeli Leader

When Benjamin Netanyahu became Israel's Prime Minister in 1996, King Hussein said Arab alarm over the change of government was overwrought, and expressed confidence that the election would not undermine the quest for peace.

But he grew disillusioned with Mr. Netanyahu's leadership, which in the King's view seriously eroded support for peace within Jordan. While the King was noting that he had risked domestic discontent by overtly pursuing peace, Mr. Netanyahu was authorizing expansion of Jewish settlements in the West Bank and housing projects in East Jerusalem, and taking other measures that offered a contrary, hawkish vision.

In a severe blow to relations in September 1997, Mossad agents sought to kill a militant Islamic leader from Hamas on the streets of Amman, but failed. The bungled affair threatened King Hussein's need to balance his inclinations toward peace with Israel against his need to keep faith with his Palestinian constituents and avoid offending Arab neighbors.

By the spring of 1998, many Jordanians were openly deriding the treaty with Israel as "the King's peace," arguing that the agreement had brought them no tangible gain. Instead of getting better, the economy turned worse. The Government became less tolerant of dissent.

The sense of crisis in Iraq also made many Jordanians fear that once again they would somehow end up paying the price. But King Hussein refused to break with Mr. Netanyahu, fearing such a step would cause greater instability, which would drive away the foreign investment that his country so desperately needs.

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The King's political troubles were overshadowed by illness once again in mid-1998. In July, he told his brother, Crown Prince Hassan, in a letter made public in Jordan that a new round of tests at Mayo showed that he probably had cancer of the lymph glands, which is usually fatal.

An Image as a Playboy Never Quite Outlived

In a radio broadcast from the Mayo Clinic in late July, King Hussein said he had undergone chemotherapy for the first time. "My general condition is excellent, my mind is clear and my morale is high," he said, departing from the traditional secrecy that prevails in most Arab capitals when rulers fall ill. "This is a new battle among the many battles and, with God's help, we will fully overcome this problem."

In more than 46 years on the throne, King Hussein had 4 wives, fathered 11 children and adopted a 12th. Besides Prince Hassan, he had another brother, Mohammed, a sister, Basma, and 15 grandchildren.

Even in his early years as King, many women were drawn to him, and vice versa. A superb dancer who loved parties, the young King quickly established a reputation as a playboy that he never fully overcame.

His first marriage, to Sherifa Dina Abdul Hamid, a Cambridge-educated intellectual and an older, distant cousin, ended after 18 months.

Ms. Hamid, a lively, independent woman who found sleepy Amman dull, had one child, a daughter. But she and King Hussein had little else in common. Though they parted amicably, she later married a Palestinian commando who had taken part in the 1970 uprising against the King.

The King's second wife was Toni Avril Gardiner, whom the King named Muna, Arabic for My Wish. The shy daughter of an English colonel at the British Embassy, Muna had little interest in politics and refused to be designated Queen. She and King Hussein had four children, including Abdullah. The marriage ended in 1972.

The King then married Alia Baha ud-Din Toukan, the daughter of a prominent Palestinian diplomat from Nablus, on the West Bank, who had settled near Amman. He and the popular Queen had two children and adopted a daughter. Alia was killed in a helicopter accident in 1977.

In 1978, King Hussein took a fourth wife, an American, Lisa Halaby, the daughter of Najeed E. Halaby, a Texan descended from a Syrian family who headed the Federal Aviation Administration and then became chairman and chief executive officer of Pan American World Airways. The Queen is known as Noor, or Light, in Arabic. She and King Hussein have two sons, Hamzeh and Hashem, and two daughters, Iman and Rayah.

Queen Noor and the King grew particularly close during his long fight with cancer. According to family friends, she urged him to designate her son Hamzeh as heir instead of Prince Hassan. While concluding that Hamzah, who is now 18, was still too young for the job, Hussein did pass over his loyal, long-serving brother in favor of Abdullah, his eldest son, who named Hamzeh his Crown Prince yesterday.

In an interview with Life magazine shortly before his death, King Hussein said his illness had been a "bonding" experience for him and Queen Noor, with whom relations had occasionally been strained. Expressing his love for her, the King said, "It is everything."

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Graphic

DEATH OF A KING; Cautious King Took Risks In Straddling Two Worlds

Photos: Cancer claimed Hussein at 63. With him here is his successor, Abdullah. (Agence France-Presse, 1996); A KING IS SLAIN -- The 15-year-old Prince Hussein, second from right, at the funeral of his assassinated grandfather, King Abdullah, in 1951. His father, Prince Talal, assumed the throne but was removed by Parliament in 1952 because of his worsening schizophrenia. (Associated Press); WITH HIS TROOPS -- As Commander in Chief, King Hussein, standing right, visited Jordanian troops in 1966. He himself attended the Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst, England. (Keystone Press); PEACE WITH ISRAEL -- King Hussein, left, with Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel after the signing of a peace treaty on Oct. 26, 1994. The King would subsequently call Mr. Rabin, who was assassinated the next year, his "brother" and "partner in peace." (Reuters); PEACE AGAIN THE AIM -- King Hussein, left, with Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel at the White House during the signing of the Wye peace accord last October. (Paul Hsefros/The New York Times); AN ALLY OF EGYPT -- King Hussein, left, and President Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt signing a joint defense agreement in Cairo shortly before the 1967 Arab-Israeli war. (Associated Press); AN AMERICAN QUEEN -- King Hussein with his American bride, Lisa Halaby, in June 1978. (Agence France-Presse)(pg. A11)

Chart: "A King's Life"

NOV. 14, 1935

Hussein ibn Talal ibn Hussein is born to Crown Prince Talal and Princess Zein.

1948

The state of Israel is created with the end of the British Mandate in Palestine.

1950

Jordan annexes the West Bank.

1951

Hussein's grandfather, King Abdullah, is assassinated in Je 2/3ru 2/3sa 2/3lem. Hussein, who is at his side, is unhurt.

1952

He is proclaimed King, replacing his father, who is declared unfit to rule.

1953

Formally assumes his constitutional powers at age 18.

1960

Briefly mobilizes troops against Syria after Prime Minister Hazza al-Majali of Jordan is killed by a bomb placed by Syrian agents.

1967

In the Arab-Israeli war, Israel captures the West Bank and East Jerusalem from Jordan.

1970

A civil war breaks out after Yasir Arafat challenges the Hashemites' control of Jordan.

1974

DEATH OF A KING; Cautious King Took Risks In Straddling Two Worlds

Avoids confrontation with Israel in the 1973 war, but loses his status as the representative of the Palestinian people when the Arab League transfers the role to the Palestine Liberation Organization.

1988

Disengages Jordan from the West Bank, clearing the way for the Palestinians to declare a state.

1990-91

Infuriates Washington and his Arab neighbors with his support of Saddam Hussein of Iraq (shown here in 1988) in the confrontation following the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

1991

Endorses the Madrid peace conference. His inclusion of Palestinians in the Jordanian delegation smoothes the way for their talks with Israel.

1992

Is found to have cancer and undergoes surgery at the Mayo Clinic in Minnesota.

1993

Meets with President Clinton at the White House for the first time.

1994

Signs a declaration with Israel ending the state of war that had lasted since 1948.

1998

Returns to the United States for cancer treatment. In October he attends peace talks in Wye, Md., and helps Mr. Clinton coax Israeli and Palestinian negotiators into concluding an accord.

1999

Home in Jordan, he changes the line of succession by passing the crown from his brother to his son Abdullah. He dies Feb. 7. (pg. A11)

Load-Date: February 8, 1999

One Man and a Global Web of Violence

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Section: Section 1; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 1; HOLY WARRIORS -- First of three articles: A Network of Terror

Length: 6859 words

Byline: The following article is based on reporting by Craig Pyes, Judith Miller and Stephen Engelberg and was written by Mr. Engelberg.

Body

Mr. bin Laden, the Saudi millionaire, would use his camps in Afghanistan to take holy warriors from around the world -- who had always pursued local goals -- and shape them into an international network that would fight to bring all Muslims under a militant version of Islamic law.

Some of his comrades in arms warned him that the goal was unattainable.

"I talked to Osama one day and asked him what was he doing," recalled Abdullah Anas, an Algerian who was fighting in Afghanistan at the time and provided a rare personal narrative of the formation of Mr. bin Laden's organization. " 'Imagine after five years a guy from Malaysia goes back to his country. How can he remember you are his leader? He will get married, have children, engage in work in his country. How can you establish one camp for jihad in the world?' "

But he and other doubters watched as Mr. bin Laden, who is now America's most wanted terror suspect, set about doing just that. Mr. Anas's account and those of other witnesses, along with intelligence from United States, the Middle East and Europe, draw a vivid and newly detailed portrait of the birth of a modern jihad movement. What began as a holy war against the Soviet Union took on a new dimension, Mr. Anas said, when Mr. bin Laden broke away and established a new corps of militant Muslims whose ambitions reached far beyond the borders of Afghanistan.

From his Afghan camps, Mr. bin Laden created a kind of clearinghouse for Islamic terrorism, which American officials say not only conducts its own operations but trains and underwrites local militants, connecting home-grown plots to a global crusade.

His strategy is aptly captured by one of his many code names: The Contractor. The group he founded 13 years ago, Al Qaeda, Arabic for The Base, is led by masterful opportunists who tailor their roles to the moment, sometimes teaching the fine points of explosives, sometimes sending in their own operatives, sometimes simply supplying inspiration.

The group has become a beacon for Muslim Malaysians, Algerians, Filipinos, Palestinians, Egyptians, even Americans who have come to view the United States as their enemy, an imperial power propping up corrupt and godless governments. Mr. bin Laden has tried to bridge divisions in a movement long plagued by doctrinal, ethnic

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and geographic differences. "Local politics drives what they're doing, but it's much more visionary," said Robert Blitzer, a former F.B.I. counterterrorism official. "This is worldwide. This is, 'We want to be somewhere in a hundred years.' "

According to a recent Central Intelligence Agency analysis, Al Qaeda operates about a dozen Afghan camps that have trained as many as 5,000 militants, who in turn have created cells in 50 countries. Intelligence officials say the group is experimenting with chemical weapons, including nerve gas, at one of its camps.

Mr. bin Laden and his supporters use centuries-old interpretations of the Koran to justify violence in the name of God against fellow Muslims or bystanders -- a vision on the farthest extremes of one of the world's largest religions. But their operations are thoroughly modern -- encrypted e-mail, bomb-making recipes stored on CD-ROM's, cell phones and satellite communications.

The group plans attacks months or years in advance, investigators say. A former United States Army sergeant, Ali A. Mohamed -- who worked for Mr. bin Laden and is now a government witness -- has told prosecutors that Al Qaeda trains "sleeper" agents, or "submarines," to live undetected among local populations.

Mr. bin Laden has not achieved his more ambitious goals. He has not brought more Muslims under the rule of Islamic law, toppled any of the Arab governments he took aim at, or driven the United States out of the Middle East. His violence has repulsed many believers and prompted severe crackdowns in Arab states that already have limited political freedoms.

Nonetheless, he and his small inner circle have preoccupied American officials, paralyzing embassies, thwarting military exercises and making Americans abroad feel anxious and vulnerable. Earlier this month, the United States closed its Rome embassy for nearly two days after intelligence officials warned of a possible attack.

American officials have charged Mr. bin Laden with masterminding the 1998 bombings of two embassies in Africa that killed more than 200 people, and suspect him of involvement in the October bombing of the destroyer Cole in Yemen, which killed 17 sailors. Four men went on trial this month in lower Manhattan in the African bombings.

American authorities are also examining Al Qaeda's role in three plots timed to millennium celebrations in 1999 -- attacks directed at another American ship, a so-far unknown target in the United States, and tourist sites and a hotel in Jordan.

Mr. bin Laden's group has recently attempted operations against Israel -- a significant departure, American and Middle Eastern officials say. They acknowledge that he has ensured his organization's survival, in the event of his capture or death, by designating a successor: his longtime aide, Abdulaziz abu Sitta, an Egyptian known as Muhammad Atef or Abu Hoffs al-Masri. Last week, according to Al Jazeera, an Arab satellite channel, his son married Mr. Masri's daughter in Kandahar, Afghanistan.

"His arrest, which we dearly hope for, is only one step along the road of the many things we need to do to eliminate the network of organizations," said Richard A. Clarke, the top White House counterterrorism official.

The Cause

Afghan War Draws Young Arab Fighters

Al Qaeda grew out of the jihad inspired by Muslim scholars to combat the Soviet Union's 1979 invasion of Afghanistan. They issued religious rulings, known as fatwas, which exhorted Muslims everywhere to defend the Islamic land of Afghanistan from infidels. Over the next few years, several thousand young Arab men joined the Afghan resistance.

One of the first to answer the call was a young Algerian named Boujema Bounouar, who went by the nom de guerre Abdullah Anas. In recent interviews in London, where he now lives, Mr. Anas recounted how Mr. bin Laden went to Afghanistan to fight the Soviets and was drawn to a group of Egyptians who wanted to start a global jihad.

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Mr. Anas, who is now a leader of an Algerian Islamic political party, is not a dispassionate observer. He acknowledges that he opposed Mr. bin Laden, whose program of terrorism, he says, has tarred the reputations of thousands of Arabs who fought honorably for the Afghan cause. But his firsthand account, which conforms with Western intelligence analysis, provides one of few portraits of Mr. bin Laden's evolution as a militant leader.

The two men were defined by many of the same forces. Mr. Anas said his journey from teacher of the Koran to holy warrior began in 1984, when he was 25 and living with his family in Western Algeria. Visiting the local library, he read in a news weekly about a religious ruling that waging war against the Soviets was every Muslim's duty.

"After a few days, everyone heard about this fatwa and started talking," he recalled. " 'Where is this Afghanistan? Which people are they? How can we go there? How much is the ticket?' "

That year, Mr. Anas was among the million Muslims who participated in the hajj, the annual pilgrimage to Mecca, Saudi Arabia. "You feel very holy," he said. "People from all over the world. From Zimbabwe to New Delhi. Everyone is wearing just two pieces of white cotton. Everybody. You can't describe who is the minister, who is the president. No jewelry. No good suit."

In Mecca, he said, prayer leaders spoke emotionally about the jihad in Afghanistan.

He was standing in the marble expanse of the Great Mosque with 50,000 others when, he said, a friend pointed out a radical Palestinian scholar who was organizing the Arab support for the Afghans. His name was Abdullah Azzam, and his writings, which would help spur the revival of the jihad movement in the 20th century, were just becoming widely known.

Mr. Anas introduced himself and asked whether the magazine article he had seen in the library was correct. Had the religious leaders agreed that fighting in Afghanistan was a duty of all Muslims?

"He said, 'Yes, it's true.' "

" 'O.K.,' I said. 'If I want to go to Afghanistan, what do I do now?' "

Mr. Azzam gave him a business card with a telephone number in Islamabad, Pakistan, where he was a university professor. A week later, Mr. Anas was on a flight from Saudi Arabia to Pakistan.

He had no idea where he was going, or what he would do. He dialed the only phone number he knew in Pakistan, reaching Mr. Azzam, who offered him a place to stay in his own house, a bustling salon frequented by students and scholars.

It was there that he first caught sight of Mr. Azzam's youngest daughter, whom he would marry five years later. And Mr. Azzam introduced him to a Saudi visitor identified in the traditional Arabic way, as Abu Abdullah, the father of his eldest son, Abdullah. The visitor was Osama bin Laden.

The two men exchanged pleasantries. Mr. bin Laden's name was well known. He was said to be the youngest of 24 brothers in a family that ran one of the largest construction companies in the Arab world.

Mr. bin Laden seemed no different from the other Arab volunteers who were starting to arrive in Pakistan, Mr. Anas recalled. The conversation turned to how the volunteers could help the Afghans win their jihad, and teach them more about Islam.

The Soviet forces had a considerable advantage in the Afghan conflict. Their helicopter gunships controlled the air, and their troops held the main roads. But the rebels had powerful friends. The United States and Saudi Arabia were spending millions funneling arms to the Afghans through Pakistan's intelligence service.

Mr. Anas began by teaching the Koran to the Afghan rebels, who did not speak Arabic and learned the verses by rote. He also led prayers at a "guest house" set up in Pakistan for Arab volunteers. At the time, he said, there were no more than a few dozen Arabs in the country, working with the rebels. None spoke the Afghan languages.

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After a few months, Mr. Anas said, he trekked into Afghanistan to join a combat unit, one of three Arabs traveling with a caravan of 600 Afghan soldiers. He learned Farsi and took on the role of mediator, traveling among the feuding rebel camps. He spent most of each year inside Afghanistan.

Mr. Anas became a top aide to Commander Ahmed Shah Massoud, whose troops controlled northern Afghanistan and are now fighting the Taliban rulers -- who support Mr. bin Laden.

Like many Muslims who joined the rebels, Mr. Anas expected to die in the Afghan jihad and earn the special status designated in the Koran for martyrs, which includes forgiveness of sins and the enjoyment in Paradise of beautiful virgins. "It's not the main idea to be a shahid," or martyr, he said. "But it's part of my plan."

In the mid-1980's, American and Middle Eastern intelligence officials say, Mr. bin Laden moved to Peshawar, a Pakistani city near the border with Afghanistan. The city was a staging ground for the war against the Soviets; American, French and Pakistani intelligence officers intrigued and competed there to manipulate the Afghan cause to their countries' advantage.

Mr. bin Laden's fortune of several hundred million dollars gained him immediate popularity.

"He was one of the guys who came to jihad in Afghanistan," Mr. Anas said. "But unlike the others, what he had was a lot of money. He's not very sophisticated politically or organizationally. But he's an activist with great imagination. He ate very little. He slept very little. Very generous. He'd give you his clothes. He'd give you his money."

Mr. Anas, who returned annually to Pakistan from the Afghan battlefields to visit with Mr. Azzam, said Mr. bin Laden at first slept in the guest house in Peshawar on a cushion on the floor. He recalled that Mr. Azzam liked to say: "You see, this man has everything in his country. You see he lives with all the poor people in this room."

At about this time, in 1984, Mr. Azzam set up the organization that would play a pivotal role in the global jihad over the next decade. It was called the Makhtab al Khadimat, the Office of Services, and its goal was to recruit and train Muslim volunteers for the Afghan fronts. Mr. Azzam raised money for the organization in countries overseas including the United States and gave impassioned speeches promoting the Afghan cause. Mr. bin Laden embraced the idea from its inception and became Mr. Azzam's partner, providing financial support and handling military affairs.

Mr. bin Laden worked best with small groups, Mr. Anas said. "When you sit with Osama, you don't want to leave the meeting," he said. "You wish to continue talking to him because he is very calm, very fluent."

A main goal of the Office of Services, Mr. Anas said, was to prevent the increasing number of outside volunteers from taking sides in the rebels' factional struggles. "We are in Afghanistan to help the jihad and all the Afghan people," Mr. Azzam told him.

But there was increasing frustration from many of the disaffected young Muslims over Mr. Azzam's insistence that the Office of Services support only the Afghan cause -- when many were agitated about the plight of their own homelands. Some approached Mr. bin Laden.

"They told him: 'You shouldn't be staying with Abdullah Azzam. He doesn't do anything about the regimes -- Saudi, Egyptian, Algerian. He's just talking about Afghanistan,'" Mr. Anas said.

"These people are always saying to Osama: 'You should establish something. Have a clear idea to use these people after Afghanistan for other wars.' "

Among those most ardently courting Mr. bin Laden was a group of Egyptian radicals called the Egyptian Islamic Jihad, which helped assassinate President Anwar el-Sadat in 1981.

The Egyptian group advocated the overthrow of governments by terrorism and violence, and one of its key figures, Ayman al-Zawahiri, had taken shelter in Afghanistan. Mr. Anas said -- and Western intelligence agencies agree --

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that Dr. Zawahiri was a commanding early influence on Mr. bin Laden. Today he is part of Al Qaeda's leadership, according to intelligence officials.

But Mr. Azzam quarreled bitterly with the Egyptians.

Mr. Anas said he once witnessed a heated argument between Mr. Azzam and Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman, a radical religious scholar, who argued that the flouting of Islamic law had turned Presidents Mohammed Zia ul-Haq of Pakistan and Hosni Mubarak of Egypt into infidels who could therefore be killed. Sheik Abdel Rahman later moved to Brooklyn, where he was associated with an Office of Services branch. In 1995 he was convicted of plotting to blow up New York landmarks.

In 1986, according to Mr. Anas and Middle Eastern intelligence officials, Mr. bin Laden began to chart a separate course. He established his own training camp for Persian Gulf Arabs, a group of about 50 who lived in tents set apart from the other Afghan fighters. He called the camp Al Masadah -- The Lion's Den.

Within little more than a year the movement divided, as Mr. bin Laden and the Egyptians founded Al Qaeda -- the "base" for what they hoped would be a global crusade.

Mr. Anas said Mr. Azzam confided to him that Egyptian ideologues had wooed Mr. bin Laden away, gaining access to his money. "He told me one time: 'I'm very upset about Osama. This heaven-sent man, like an angel. I am worried about his future if he stays with these people.' "

The differences between Mr. Azzam and Mr. bin Laden were largely tactical, Mr. Anas said, noting that the two men remained friends.

A committed enemy of Israel, Mr. Azzam believed the Arab warriors should focus on creating an Islamic state in Afghanistan, a process that could take decades. Mr. bin Laden, according to Mr. Anas, came to believe that such a war could be fought in many countries simultaneously.

"The arguments were very secret," Mr. Anas said. "Only three to four people knew about them at the time." Mr. Azzam saw little difference between the United States and the Soviet Union, contending in his articles and speeches that both were hostile to Islam. But Mr. Azzam opposed terrorism against the West, Mr. Anas said.

By the late 1980's, Peshawar had become a magnet for disaffected young Muslims who shared Mr. bin Laden's views. "Ten people would open a guest house and start issuing fatwas," Mr. Anas recalled. " 'We are going to make revolution in Jordan, in Egypt, in Syria.' And they haven't got any contact with the real jihad in Afghanistan."

The tide of the Afghan war was turning. Stinger missiles, provided through the American covert program, had forced Soviet aircraft to fly far above the battlefields. Afghanistan had become Moscow's Vietnam. By February 1989, the Soviets had withdrawn.

A C.I.A. official said that the agency, aware of the changing nature of the jihad, had taken some steps he would not specify to counter the threat. But Milt Bearden, the former C.I.A. station chief in Islamabad, who coordinated the agency's anti-Soviet effort in Afghanistan, disagreed.

"The Soviet Union, armed to the teeth, was falling apart," he said. "A shooting war then erupted in the Persian Gulf. Afghanistan was off the front burner."

When the war ended, he said, "we got the hell out of there."

The Afghan rebels' war continued, first against the Soviet-backed government and then within their own ranks. On Nov. 24, 1989, Mr. Azzam and two sons were killed by a car bomb in Peshawar as they drove to Friday Prayers. The murders were never solved.

Mr. Anas said he tried to take over leadership of the Office of Services. According to the C.I.A., the group split; the extremist faction took control, siding with Mr. bin Laden.

"They loved the ideas of Osama and the person of Abdullah Azzam," Mr. Anas said wistfully. "They don't love me."

The Base

From Many Lands, Under One Banner

Fired by their triumph over the Soviets, the Arabs who had fought in Afghanistan returned home, eager to apply the principles of jihad to their native lands.

The Koran sets strict limits on when and how holy war is to be undertaken. But Gilles Kepel, a leading French scholar of contemporary Islam, said the Afghan veterans were guided by their own radical interpretation of sacred Muslim texts. "Intoxicated by the Muslim victory in Afghanistan," he said, "they believed that it could be replicated elsewhere -- that the whole world was ripe for jihad, which is contrary to Islamic tradition."

They called themselves the Arab Afghans.

In Jordan some founded a group, Jaish Muhammad, that officials say took aim at King Hussein, whose family claims descent from the Prophet Muhammad.

In Algeria, the Arab Afghans were among the founders of the Armed Islamic Group, the most radical to emerge after the military government canceled the 1991 elections. Known by its French initials, G.I.A, it began by blowing up military targets and escalated to wholesale massacres of Algerians who did not believe in the jihad.

According to Mr. Anas, one of its founding members was an Algerian who had initially fought with him in Afghanistan but joined Al Qaeda in the late 1980's. Mr. Anas says he has been told that Mr. bin Laden provided some of the seed money for the G.I.A.

The early 1990's proved difficult for Mr. bin Laden. He was enraged by King Fahd's decision to let American troops wage the Persian Gulf war from Saudi Arabia, site of the two holiest shrines in Islam. He began to focus his wrath on the United States and the Saudi government. After the conflict ended, he moved to Afghanistan.

But his stay was brief. Within months he fled, telling associates that Saudi Arabia had hired the Pakistani intelligence service to kill him. There is no confirmation that such a plot existed. Nonetheless, in 1991, Mr. bin Laden moved to Sudan, where a militantly Islamic government had taken power.

Over the next five years, Mr. bin Laden built a group that combined legitimate business with support for world holy war.

He also set out to accomplish his overriding goal of gathering the leading Islamic extremist groups under one banner. According to Middle Eastern officials, Mr. bin Laden and his envoys met with radicals from Pakistan and Egypt to propose an international Islamic front, led by Afghan veterans, that would fight Americans and Jews.

Al Qaeda began training its own operatives. Ali Mohamed, the government witness, who has said he arranged Mr. bin Laden's move to Sudan, told investigators that he taught group members about weapons, explosives, kidnapping, urban fighting, counterintelligence and other tactics at camps in Afghanistan and Sudan. He said he showed some of the trainees how to set up cells "that could be used in operations."

The dispatch of American troops to Somalia in late 1992 and 1993 as part of a United Nations mission was another affront to Mr. bin Laden. The Bush administration presented it as a relief operation.

American officials say a defector from Al Qaeda told them it viewed the deployment as a dangerous expansion of American influence in the region and a step toward undermining the Islamic government of Sudan.

Al Qaeda privately issued fatwas that directed members to attack American soldiers in Saudi Arabia, Yemen and the Horn of Africa, according to American prosecutors. They said he also sent his military chief, an Egyptian who had been with him at the formation of Al Qaeda, to find the vulnerabilities of United Nations forces in Africa.

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Al Qaeda created a cell in Kenya as a "gateway" to its operations in Somalia, the prosecutors assert. Members of the group blended into Kenyan society, opening legitimate businesses that sold fish and dealt in diamonds, and operating an Islamic charity.

Federal prosecutors say at least five group members crossed the border to Somalia, where they trained some of the fighters involved in an Oct. 3, 1993, battle with United States special forces that left 18 Americans and several hundred Somalis dead.

The battle, one of the most widely publicized setbacks for American forces in recent memory, cast a shadow over every subsequent Clinton administration debate on the possible uses of ground troops. American intelligence did not learn of Al Qaeda's role in the ambush until several years later.

Prosecutors say the group also considered attacking Americans in Kenya to retaliate for the Somalia mission. Mr. Mohamed testified that Mr. bin Laden sent him to Nairobi in late 1993 to look over possible American, French, British and Israeli targets for a bomb attack, including the American Embassy. He said he took photos, drew diagrams and wrote a report, which he delivered to his boss in Khartoum. "Bin Laden looked at the picture of the American Embassy and pointed to where a truck could go as a suicide bomber," he said.

American prosecutors say Al Qaeda had more grandiose plans: a leading member, an Iraqi who Mr. Anas said had first gravitated to Mr. bin Laden in Afghanistan, tried to buy enriched uranium in Europe.

The Iraqi, Mahdoudh Mahmud Salim, forged links between Mr. bin Laden's group and others supported by Iran. Mr. Salim met with an Iranian religious official in Khartoum, and soon afterward, the prosecutors say, Al Qaeda members got training from Hezbollah, the Iranian-backed Shiite group in Lebanon skilled in making car bombs. American officials said this alliance was notable because it marked the first time radicals from the minority Shiite branch of Islam collaborated with extremists from the dominant Sunni branch.

Mr. bin Laden's business ventures in Sudan -- including a tannery, a transportation company and a construction concern -- raised money and served as cover for the travels of Mr. Salim and others, according to American officials. They said that his companies cornered Sudan's exports of gum, sunflower and sesame products -- and that he invested \$50 million of his family money in a new Islamic bank in Khartoum.

The Network

As in Afghanistan, So in the World

The new jihad movement was fueled by the civil war that consumed Afghanistan in the early 1990's. The training camps that had once schooled soldiers to battle the Soviet enemy now attracted militants more interested in fomenting holy war back home -- in America, Europe or the Middle East -- than in the struggle for control of Afghanistan.

The Office of Services, the Pakistan-based group founded in the 1980's by Mr. Azzam to recruit soldiers for the anti-Soviet cause, arranged the travels of some of these new jihadists, according to European and American officials.

Many of those associated with the office, Mr. Anas said, shared Mr. bin Laden's vision of a global movement. American officials suspect they were acting under his instructions, though this remains a subject of debate among intelligence analysts.

American investigators stumbled across the first signs of the new global phenomenon in 1993, when they began to examine the bombing at the World Trade Center.

They discovered that the four men who carried out the attack, which killed 6 and wounded more than 1,000, had ties to Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman, whom they charged with leading a worldwide "jihad organization" that had begun plotting to kill Americans as early as 1989.

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Mr. Abdel Rahman was later convicted of conspiring to blow up New York landmarks, including the United Nations. But in the years since, American intelligence officials have come to believe that he and the World Trade Center bombers had ties to Al Qaeda.

The evidence is suggestive, but not conclusive. Several of those convicted in the World Trade Center case were associated with the Brooklyn refugee center that was a branch of the Office of Services, the Pakistan-based organization that Mr. bin Laden helped finance and lead. The Brooklyn center was headed for a time by Mustafa Shalabi, an Egyptian murdered in 1991 in a case that remains unsolved. Federal prosecutors recently disclosed that it was Mr. Shalabi whom Mr. bin Laden called in 1991 when he needed help moving to Sudan, according to Mr. Mohamed, the federal witness.

One of the men convicted of bombing the World Trade Center, Ahmad M. Ajaj, spent four months in Pakistan in 1992, returning to the United States with a bomb manual later seized by the United States government. An English translation of the document, entered into evidence in the World Trade Center trial, said that the manual was dated 1982, that it had been published in Amman, Jordan, and that it carried a heading on the front and succeeding pages: The Basic Rule.

Those appear to be errors. Two separate translations of the document, one done at the request of The New York Times, show that the heading said Al Qaeda -- which translates as The Base, the name of Mr. bin Laden's group. In addition, the document lists a publication date of 1989, a year after Mr. bin Laden founded his organization. And the place of publication is Afghanistan, not Jordan.

Steven Emerson, a terrorism expert who first pointed out the errors, said they deprived investigators of a subtle early clue to the existence of Mr. bin Laden's group.

While the trade center trial ended in 1994, federal prosecutors did not open their grand jury investigation of Mr. bin Laden and Al Qaeda until 1996.

"Had the government correctly translated the material," Mr. Emerson said, "it might have understood that the men who blew up the World Trade Center and Mr. bin Laden's group were linked."

Asked about the mistranslation, an official in the United States Attorney's office, who declined to be identified, said only that Mr. Ajaj had been carrying "voluminous material printed by various organizations." He added that their titles referred to international conspiracy, commando operations and engineering of explosives.

The jihad movement also took root in Europe. In August 1994, three young French Muslims of North African descent, wearing hoods and brandishing machine pistols, opened fire on tourists in a hotel lobby in Marrakesh, Morocco, killing two Spaniards and wounding a third. The French police investigating the attack learned that it had been planned by two Moroccan veterans of the Afghan war, who had recruited commandos for the attack in Paris and Orleans and sent more than a dozen of them to Afghanistan for training.

The indoctrination of the young Muslims began with religion, according to French court papers and testimony. An Orleans mathematics professor and interpreter of the Koran, Mohamed Zinedine, gathered around him a group of men from the slums of Orleans who wanted to learn how to pray. Later, French court papers say, he instructed them in the concept of waging jihad against corrupt governments, saying it was a higher stage of Islamic observance.

One young Moroccan testified that Mr. Zinedine -- who is now a fugitive -- showed him a videotape of Muslim victims of "torture in Bosnia, of babies with their throats cut, of pregnant women disemboweled, and fingernails torn off." The young man added, "He told me there was a way of helping them and that I must help them." Prayers for people like the Muslims in Bosnia, he quoted Mr. Zinedine as saying, were not enough. He must become an "armed humanitarian."

European investigators tracing the Afghan network in France, Belgium and Germany found records of phone calls between local extremists and the Office of Services in Pakistan. In March 1995, Belgian investigators came across

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another clue: A CD-ROM in the car of another Algerian, who had been trained in Afghanistan in 1992 and was part of the G.I.A. cell in Brussels. The CD was initially ignored, Belgian officials say.

Months later, the Belgians began translating its contents and discovered several different versions of a manual for terrorism that had begun circulating among Islamic militants in the early 1990's. The voluminous manual covered diverse subjects, from "psychological war in Islam" to "the organizational structure of Israeli intelligence" to "recruiting according to the American method."

The manual also offered detailed recipes for making bombs, including instructions on when to shake the chemicals and how to use a wristwatch as a detonator. In addition there were instructions on how to kill with toxins, gases and drugs. The preface included a dedication to the new hero of the holy war: Osama bin Laden. Versions of the manual circulated widely and were seized by the police all over Europe.

Reuel Gerecht, a former C.I.A. official, said he was told that the agency did not obtain its own copy of the manual before the end of 1999. "The truth is," he said, "they missed for years the largest terrorist guide ever written." The omission, he asserted, reflects the agency's reluctance to scrutinize the fallout from its support of the anti-Soviet jihad.

A C.I.A. official said that the agency had had "access to versions" of the manual since the late 1980's. "It's not the Holy Grail that Gerecht reports it to be," he said, adding that the terrorist-related parts were fairly recent additions.

By the mid-1990's, American officials had begun to focus on Mr. bin Laden and his entourage in Sudan. They saw him as the embodiment of a dangerous new development: a stateless sponsor of terrorism who was using his personal fortune -- which one Middle Eastern official estimated at \$270 million -- to bankroll extremist causes.

American officials pressed Sudan to eject Mr. bin Laden, and in 1996 they succeeded, forcing him into exile. It was a diplomatic triumph, but one that many American officials would come to rue. Mr. bin Laden made his way back to Afghanistan, where a new group of young Islamic militants, the Taliban, was taking control.

American and Middle Eastern officials said some of the cash that the Taliban used to buy off local warlords came from Mr. bin Laden. Soon the new, hard-line rulers of Afghanistan allowed him to use their country to pursue his goal of creating "one jihad camp for the world," as Mr. Anas put it.

The Edict

A Sacred Muslim Duty To Kill All Foes

Two years after he arrived in Afghanistan, in February 1998, Mr. bin Laden publicly announced his intentions. At a camp in Khost, in eastern Afghanistan, he and several other leaders of militant groups declared that they had founded the International Islamic Front for Jihad Against Jews and Crusaders, an umbrella entity that included Al Qaeda and groups from Egypt, Pakistan and Bangladesh, among others.

The front issued the following fatwa: "To kill Americans and their allies, both civil and military, is an individual duty of every Muslim who is able, in any country where this is possible."

On Aug. 7, 1998, eight years to the day after the first American troops set foot in Saudi Arabia, Mr. bin Laden delivered on the threat, American prosecutors say. Bombs exploded hours apart at the American Embassies in Kenya and Tanzania.

The plot, as described by federal prosecutors, was truly international. Prosecutors assert that the attacks were carried out by Muslims from Tanzania, Saudi Arabia and Jordan, most of whom were trained in Afghanistan. The Kenyan plotters, they say, spoke directly with Mr. bin Laden by satellite telephone as they developed their plans.

The attacks were costly for Al Qaeda. Less than two weeks after the embassy bombings, the United States conducted air strikes against Mr. bin Laden's camps in Afghanistan. Over the next two years, police and intelligence

agencies around the world, many prodded by the United States, arrested more than 100 militants in some 20 countries.

Almost every month, authorities detain or question people with ties to Al Qaeda. Late last year, in what American officials described as one of the more alarming cases, the Kuwaiti police arrested a local man, an Afghan veteran, who said he was associated with Mr. bin Laden's group and planning to bomb American and Kuwaiti targets. American officials say he ultimately led the police to a weapons cache of almost 300 pounds of explosives and more than 1,400 detonators.

And in addition to the two-day closure of the American Embassy in Rome, officials say, recent warnings of a possible Al Qaeda attack prompted the United States to divert an entire carrier battle group scheduled to dock in Naples.

American officials acknowledge that Al Qaeda and Mr. bin Laden have proven resourceful, resilient adversaries. Much of his personal wealth has now been spent, or is in bank accounts that are now frozen. But officials say he is raising money through a network of charities and businesses. His group reconstitutes its networks in many countries as quickly as they are disrupted.

And failure can breed success. In late 1999, American officials say, a group of Yemenis botched an attempt to blow up an American ship, The Sullivans, as it passed through Yemen. Their boat, loaded with explosives, sank a few feet off shore.

This year, American officials say, a Saudi operative of Mr. bin Laden's who helped organize that attack worked with some of the same people on the bombing of the Cole in Yemen.

Internal crackdowns on Muslim militants, like the Algerian government's largely successful attempts to stamp out the G.I.A. in the mid- 1990's, have in several instances fueled the international jihad.

American officials said the most radical Algerians were now collaborating with Mr. bin Laden. In 1999, Algerians were for the first time implicated in plots against the United States, when Ahmed Ressay was arrested crossing the border from Canada with a carload of explosives. Mr. Ressay goes on trial later this year in Los Angeles.

American and Middle Eastern officials say Al Qaeda has now expanded its jihad to include Israel, which until recently had regarded Mr. bin Laden as an American problem. The officials say Al Qaeda has financed and trained an anti-Israel group, Asbat al Ansar, that operates from a Palestinian refugee camp in Lebanon.

Last June, Israel charged in a sealed indictment that a Hamas member who was plotting to attack targets within Israel, including settlers and the army, had been trained in one of Mr. bin Laden's Afghan camps. "Al Qaeda wants in on the action -- the new intifada against Israel," said one American official.

Olivier Roy, a French scholar who follows Islamic activities, says Al Qaeda's biggest asset is the thousands of jihadists around the world who no longer see their struggle in strictly local or even national terms, which makes them impervious to normal political or military pressure.

Mr. bin Laden's actions, he said, are "not the continuation of politics by other means."

"Osama bin Laden doesn't want to negotiate."

Holy Warriors

TODAY -- The making of an Islamic terror network.

MONDAY -- A look inside a plot that could have crippled Jordan's capital.

TUESDAY -- What motivates the jihad's young recruits.

War, terrorism and the world of Osama bin Laden.

One Man and a Global Web of Violence

1979: Soviet troops invade Afghanistan; local Muslims declare a "jihad," which the U.S. and Saudi Arabia later support, against the invaders.

1981: President Anwar el-Sadat of Egypt is assassinated; Muslim militants are charged.

1984: The Office of Services is founded by Abdullah Azzam, a Jordanian militant, to recruit and support the jihadists.

1984: Osama bin Laden moves from Saudi Arabia to Pakistan to help Azzam establish training camps across the border of Afghanistan.

1986: Bin Laden founds Al Masadah, a training camp for Arabs from the Gulf states.

1988: Bin Laden establishes Al Qaeda, a group to promote the jihad.

1989: The Soviet Union withdraws from Afghanistan. The United States closes its embassy. Afghans get an interim government.

Bin Laden returns to Saudi Arabia to join his family construction company.

Azzam is killed by a car bomb; the Office of Services splits; its extremist faction join Al Qaeda.

1990-1991: The United States sends forces to Saudi Arabia to drive Iraq out of Kuwait, starting the gulf war.

Infuriated by an American presence near Islamic holy sites, bin Laden moves to Sudan, relocating Al Qaeda headquarters.

1992: The Algerian Army cancels final parliamentary elections. Armed Islamic groups seeking to overthrow the government set off civil war.

The United States sends troops to Somalia for a U.N. relief mission.

Al Qaeda issues proclamations that U.S. forces in Saudi Arabia, Yemen and the Horn of Africa, including Somalia, should be attacked.

Civil war grips Afghanistan.

1993: A bomb explodes at the World Trade Center, killing six. Links to the Office of Services and Al Qaeda emerge but do not lead to charges.

1993: Somali tribesmen trained by Al Qaeda, U.S. prosecutors say, attack the U.N. relief operation, killing 18 Americans.

1994: The Taliban emerge as a force in Afghanistan's civil war.

Saudi Arabia strips bin Laden of citizenship; his family disavows him.

Explosions in the Paris Metro that kill eight are traced to Algerian militants trained in Afghanistan.

1995: A car bomb explodes in Riyadh, killing five Americans and two Indians. Four Saudis are beheaded after confessing, saying they were inspired by bin Laden.

1996: Sudan, pressed by the United States, evicts bin Laden, who relocates to Afghanistan.

1996: A truck bomb explodes at the Khobar Towers in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia. Nineteen American soldiers are killed.

One Man and a Global Web of Violence

1998: The International Islamic Front for Jihad Against Jews and Crusaders, an umbrella for international militant groups organized by bin Laden, issues its first formal religious order: It is the individual duty of Muslims to kill Americans, including civilians, anywhere possible.

American Embassies in Kenya (right) and Tanzania are bombed, killing more than 200 people. The United States bombs sites in Sudan and Afghanistan in retaliation.

Bin Laden is indicted on charges of complicity in the bombings; \$5 million is offered for his capture.

1999: Jordan announces that it has foiled an Al Qaeda-linked plot to bomb tourist sites in Amman during the millennium celebrations.

The United States arrests Ahmed Ressam at a customs check-point at Port Angeles, Wash., driving a rented car with a cache of explosives.

2000: The destroyer Cole is bombed in Aden harbor, Yemen, killing 17 sailors. Investigators link the explosion to bin Laden.

Ali Mohammed, a former U.S. Army sergeant, pleads guilty to participating in a conspiracy initiated by bin Laden to bomb the embassies in East Africa.

2001: Jury selection for trial of four charged in the embassy bombings begins in Federal District Court in Manhattan. Former U.S. Army sergeant, pleads guilty to participating in a conspiracy initiated by bin Laden to bomb the embassies in East Africa.

2001: Jury selection for trial of four charged in the embassy bombings begins in Federal District Court in Manhattan. (pg. 16-17)

<http://www.nytimes.com>

Graphic

PHOTOS: An Arab channel said this image showed Osama bin Laden, right, and his son Muhammad at the son's wedding last week to the daughter of Abu Hoffs al-Masri, left, Mr. bin Laden's designated successor. (Al Jazeera Television via Associated Press)(pg. 1)

ABDULLAH AZZAM -- A Palestinian scholar who drew young Arabs to help Afghanistan's Muslims expel the Soviets, he opposed further broadening the jihad and was killed by a car bomb. (Steven Emerson)

ABDULLAH ANAS -- "How can you establish one camp for jihad in the world?" this Algerian fighter once asked Osama bin Laden in Afghanistan. He then watched Mr. bin Laden do just that. (Jonathan Player for The New York Times)

(Agence-France Presse)(pg. 16)

The Minds Behind the Jihad -- OSAMA BIN LADEN -- The man whose version of a worldwide jihad resulted in the founding of Al Qaeda. (Associated Press)

ABU ZUBAYDAH -- A key Al Qaeda aide responsible for contacts with non-Afghan Islamic militant groups.

AYMAN AL-ZAWAHIRI -- An Egyptian physician responsible for military operations who was an early influence on Mr. bin Laden.

One Man and a Global Web of Violence

ABU HOFFS AL-MASRI -- An Islamic law expert designated to succeed Mr. bin Laden as Al Qaeda's leader should he be captured or killed.

(Agence France-Presse)(pg. 17) CHART: "An Empire of Violence

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Inside Jihad U.:
The Education of a Holy Warrior

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Body

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. A madrasa is a Muslim religious seminary, and Haqqania is one of the bigger madrasas in Pakistan: its mosques and classrooms and dormitories are spread over eight weed-covered acres, and the school currently enrolls more than 2,800 students. Tuition, room and board are free; the students are, in the main, drawn from the dire 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. The youngest boys spend much of their days seated cross-legged on the floors of airless classrooms, memorizing the Koran. This is a process that takes between six months and three years, and it is made even more difficult than it sounds by the fact that the Koran they study is in the original Arabic. These boys tend to know only Pashto, the language of the Pathan ethnic group that dominates this region of Pakistan, as well as much of nearby Afghanistan. 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. These students also study Islamic jurisprudence and Islamic history. The oldest of those attending Haqqania -- the postgraduates, if you will -- are enrolled in the "mufti course." A mufti, in Islam, is a cleric who is allowed to issue fatwas, or religious rulings, on matters ranging from family law to the rules governing the waging of jihad, or "holy war." (One room in the school's administration building houses upward of 100,000 fatwas issued by the madrasa over the years.) There are about 600 students in the mufti course.

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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.

The Haqqania madrasa is, in fact, a jihad factory.

This does not make it unique in Pakistan. 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. Many madrasas are village affairs, with student bodies of 25 or 50. Some of the madrasas are sponsored by Pakistan's religious parties, and some are affiliated with the mujahedeen groups waging jihad against India in the disputed province of Kashmir.

Haqqania is notable not only because of its size, but also because it has graduated more leaders of the Taliban, Afghanistan's ruling faction, than any other school in the world, including any school in Afghanistan. The Taliban is today known the world over for its harsh interpretation of Islamic law, its cruelty to women and its kindness to terrorists -- the most notable one being Osama bin Laden, the 42-year-old Saudi exile who the American government believes was behind the bombings two years ago of the United States Embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. The Taliban also seems to harbor a deep belief in the notion of a never-ending jihad, which makes the Haqqania madrasa a focus of intense interest in such capitals as Washington and Moscow and New Delhi and Jerusalem, where the experts are trying to understand just what it is the Taliban and its sympathizers want.

At any given time, there are several hundred Afghan students at the madrasa, along with dozens from such former Soviet republics as Kazakhstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, and a handful from Chechnya too. To those who see wars like the one in Chechnya as expressions not only of nationalist aspirations but of pan-Islamic ones as well -- to those who see a new Islamic revolution on the horizon, a Sunni revolution a generation after the Shia revolution that shook the world -- the foreign presence at Haqqania is not comforting.

The majority of Haqqania students come from Pakistan itself, a fact that also worries officials in Washington and Moscow and New Delhi and Jerusalem. Pakistan's Islamists are becoming more and more radicalized -- Talibanized," some call it -- thanks in part to madrasas like Haqqania, and Pakistan is showing early signs of coming apart at the seams. Pakistan also happens to be in possession of nuclear weapons. Many Muslim radicals say they believe these 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.

Maulana Haq -- maulana means "our master" -- is a well-known Islamist with pronounced anti-American views. He is a Deobandist, a follower of an Islamic movement born in India in the days of the British Raj; it was a movement devoted to anticolonialism, and its outlook is not dissimilar to that of Wahhabism, the austere, antimodernist Saudi variant of Islamic fundamentalism embraced by Osama bin Laden. 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. Samiul Haq is also a politician, a former senator who today leads a faction of the Jamiat-Ulema-Islami, the J.U.I., 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.

Because of his views -- and because he is said to have endorsed a 1998 fatwa issued by bin Laden that called on Muslims to kill Americans wherever they may be found -- I was not sure how well we would get along.

I was made to wait outside his office for 20 minutes. Students would pass by, shooting me looks ranging from the quizzical to the hostile. Eventually, I was invited in by two of the maulana's sons, Hamed, who is 31, and Rashid, who is 27 and in charge of designing the madrasa's Web page. We were joined by several of the madrasa's teachers and students, and we made small talk while we waited. One student, surprisingly, mentioned that my last name is the same as that of a star of World Championship Wrestling.

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The maulana came into the room in a rush, and sat down right beside me. He is a man of 65. He was barefoot, and his toenails looked as if they were covered with rust. He had a long beard dyed a kind of fluorescent brown, and a loosely wrapped turban sat on his head. He has two wives and eight children, he told me, and he seemed, right from the start, 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. Clinton is a good man, but he's surrounded by Jews. Madeleine Albright's father was the founder of Zionism."

"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 Company, a gun store that sells shotguns for \$40 and AK-47's for \$70. And I never heard a lecture about bomb making or marksmanship.

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 this spring. For a cramped campus housing so many students, it was, most of the time, unusually quiet. The hustle and energy of town life never seemed to intrude, and what noise there was mostly came from the Grand Trunk Road, just outside the gates of the school, where the horn and not the brake is the driver's primary defense against accident, and buses and trucks compete for space with donkey carts and the occasional camel train.

There were no TV's, no radios that I could see. The students woke up before dawn, to pray in the madrasa's mosque. The dormitories were threadbare and filthy, and there was no cafeteria, per se: students lined up at the kitchen with their plates and spoons and were fed rice and curries and nan, the flat Afghan bread. Suffice it to say, the students at the madrasa almost never see women. There were no female teachers, no female cafeteria 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. To be sure, I did see, on occasion, a facsimile of what we in the West call student life: like all Pakistanis, the young students are cricket fanatics, and in the late afternoon, they would play on a dirt field across the road from the school. There was a dusty patch and a net for volleyball too. But most of the day was devoted to Islam.

The youngest students interested me particularly. They had not yet been armored 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, 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.

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They were also fascinated by my shoes. Shoes weren't worn in class; they were left outside the rooms. So for reasons of poverty as well as convenience, most students owned a single pair of slippers. My Timberlands, then, were a source of conversation, and I once caught my two 11-year-old pursuers trying on my shoes. I tried to learn what I could about these boys, but they were reticent. And my minders -- there was usually someone from Samiul Haq's office with me, listening in on my conversations -- didn't want me probing too deeply into how boys came to be students at the madrasa.

The youngest boys were kept under lock and key, in a three-story dormitory guarded by older students, and I wasn't allowed to see how they lived. The two 11-year-olds were refugees, I eventually learned. One of them lost his father in Afghanistan. Their mothers spend their days gathering firewood. They are as poor as poor can be. Compared to a refugee camp, the madrasa is a palace, and they are blessed to be here, where they eat food every single day. 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. In the classes I attended, even the high-level classes of the mufti course, the pattern was generally the same: a teacher, generally an ancient, white-bearded mullah, would read straight from a text, and the students would listen. There was no back and forth. It seemed as if rote learning was the madrasa's only style of learning. During one particularly dreary class, I abandoned my interpreter and left the room. In the hallway outside, a poster was stapled to the wall. On it was a picture of a split-open watermelon whose flesh was veined in an unusual way. The caption read: "A miracle of Allah: this watermelon contains the name of Almighty Allah."

After a time, I began to be asked questions during classes, questions about America and about my views. 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? It is unsettling, to say the least, to be seated in a class being held in a mosque, led by a mullah, and attended by some 200 barefoot and turbaned students, and be asked such a question.

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."

I was curious to know how Wali came to admire Osama bin Laden so ardently. After all, there was no course at the madrasa -- at least so far as I could tell -- titled "The Sayings of the Great Muslim Osama bin Laden."

"Osama wants to keep Islam pure from the pollution of the infidels," he said. "He believes Islam is the way for all the world. He wants to bring Islam to all the world."

I answered that the Koran states that "there is no compulsion in religion." This is the Koranic saying frequently quoted by those who believe that, at its core, Islam is moderate and tolerant of others.

Wali: "There is no compulsion. But the West compels Muslims to live under the control of infidels, like in Chechnya."

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. The Islamists in Pakistan have been the most vociferous proponents of Pakistan's nuclear program. The leading religious party, the Jamiat Islami, has in fact led the

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campaign to persuade the government not to sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. 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," one student, whose name was Ghazi, answered.

"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 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, more out of self-interest than anything else: What would you do if you learned that the C.I.A. 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."

Later that day, I met with a small group of students I had grown to like, hoping that, away from their teachers, they would talk a different talk. Meeting students out of class had already made for a number of interesting moments: I had, for example, been asked for sex, as had Laurent Van Der Stockt, the photographer with me. Sometimes the propositions were intimated; sometimes they were unusually blunt, especially given the Taliban's official position on homosexuals, which is that they should be killed. Those few students who knew a bit of English seemed most interested in talking about sex. Many of them were convinced that all Americans are bisexual, and that Westerners engage in sex with anything, anywhere, all the time. I was asked to describe the dominant masturbation style of Americans, and whether American men were allowed by law to keep boyfriends and girlfriends at the same time.

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Among the young men I spoke with after the Osama colloquy there was no talk of sex. One, a bright and personable student from a village near Kabul, had told me his name was Sayid. His brother, a Taliban judge, had also attended the madrasa. When I had asked Sayid for his last name, he'd said he would be known as Sayid Haqqani upon graduation. Many of the students take Haqqani as their last name when they leave the madrasa.

I asked him on this afternoon 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 saw the maulana, and I told him I thought some of his students believed that terrorism, under certain circumstances, was Koranically acceptable. "Then you don't understand what we are teaching," he said, frowning just for a moment. "There is a great difference between jihad and terrorism." He invited me to eat with him, to discuss my inability to comprehend the distinction, but I begged off. I was due in Islamabad, the capital, for a birthday party, and I had promised I would go.

It was quite a party. a big cake, lots of speeches, lots of dignitaries, including Gen. Pervez Musharraf, the "chief executive" of Pakistan, which is the title he took when the Pakistani Army overthrew the elected government in October and installed him as maximum leader.

The cake was actually quite good. It was a vanilla sheet cake, and written in lemon frosting across the length of it 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.

Pakistan has fetishized the bomb. In the traffic circles of every sizable city in the country, a full-scale model of the country's home-grown long-range missile stands proud. In Muzaffarabad, the capital of Pakistani Kashmir, a model of a missile is aimed at India. In three cities in Pakistan I visited there stand 30-foot-high models of the Chagai Hills, the site where Pakistan exploded its test bombs, and in Islamabad, the monument lights up from the inside at night -- all fiery orange -- to simulate the effect of a nuclear explosion. Parents dress up their children and photograph them standing before it.

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 General Musharraf. We met one morning at Army House, the residence of the Pakistani Army's chief of staff. (General Musharraf has chosen not to take up residence in the prime minister's house, even though he has functioned as prime minister since October.) During our conversation, I asked General Musharraf if the West should worry that fundamentalist Muslims, in or out of the army, might get hold of Pakistan's 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.)

"Absolutely implausible," General 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."

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I made mention of the religious overtones of the Youm-e-Takbeer celebration, particularly the science minister's remarks, saying that Westerners are discomforted by the belief that God is the founder of Pakistan's nuclear weapons program.

"Yes, we do use the term 'Allah's will,' "he 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."

General 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, like when he began parsing the words "jihad" and "terrorism" for me.

"There is no question that terrorism and jihad are absolutely different," he told me. "You in the West are allergic to the term 'jihad,' but jihad is a tolerant concept."

I asked the general if he believed bin Laden to be a terrorist.

"If at all he's involved in planning or conducting bombings or hijackings, he's a terrorist."

I then asked him if he doubted American claims that bin Laden is a terrorist.

"The Taliban has a stand on this subject. They say they need proof, which has not been given to them. We have asked for proof from the U.S. and we are in the process of getting this. From the legal point of view, I haven't seen the proof."

General Musharraf says he needs the pro-Taliban Pathans on his side. The religious parties, though never terribly successful at the polls, have street power, and when it comes to Kashmir, broad sympathy. Kashmir used to be spoken of in secular terms, as a national liberation struggle against a neocolonial oppressor. But today, that same fight is spoken of matter-of-factly as a jihad. It is almost as if the end of the jihad against the Soviets in Afghanistan forced the professional jihadists in the region to find a new cause to adopt.

General Musharraf himself calls the struggle against India a jihad, and the English-language newspapers in Pakistan use the language of jihad when talking about the fight: one otherwise dry-as-bones news story I read stated that seven "mujahedeen" had "embraced shahadat" in a fight against the Indian Army. Shahadat is martyrdom, and "embraced shahadat" means that they were killed.

The jihad in Kashmir is of great political help to General Musharraf. In a fractious country like Pakistan, the jihad in Kashmir unifies people the way no other issue does. And so the military junta has given wide berth to the jihad groups training on Pakistani soil. Two weeks after we met in Rawalpindi, General Musharraf's government announced that it would curb the power of militant groups within Pakistan, and bring the madrasa network into conformity with national educational standards, two steps the Americans have been asking him to take nearly from the moment the army seized power. But in our pleasant, early-morning conversation at Army House, the general did not seem overly concerned about the power of the madrasas. "Very few of these schools are engaged in any kind of militancy," he said. "Most of them are very humanitarian. They give food and lodging to these poor boys."

He also defended the activities of groups the State Department has labeled terrorist, particularly the Harkat ul-mujahedeen of Fazlur Rahman Khalil, which is waging a violent jihad against India; it is believed to be behind the hijacking last December of an Indian airliner. The State Department has labeled the HUM, as it is known, a terrorist organization. The group keeps training bases in Afghanistan, but Khalil, its leader, has an office in Rawalpindi, not far from General Musharraf's house, and he moves freely through Pakistan. "These people are not terrorists," General Musharraf said. "They are fighting a jihad."

Two days after my interview with the general, I talked to Khalil in Rawalpindi. We met late at night, in a dingy office near a bus station, and sat shoeless on the floor under a poster depicting the word "Allah" spelled out in bullets. Khalil, bearded and preternaturally calm, told me he is sorry his group is thought as of terrorists. "We feel very bad

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about this," he said. He denied his group was behind the hijacking of the Indian airliner -- a "breakaway faction" was to blame, he said -- and he denied that his group has ever killed civilians in its war in Kashmir.

"No one should worry about us," he said. "Only the oppressors of Islam."

I asked Khalil: Would you use nuclear weapons against your enemies if you could?

"We don't have nuclear weapons," he said, smiling. "We wish we had nuclear weapons. If we had them, we would use them as necessary. But they're very expensive."

Khalil, I was told, would be going to Afghanistan the following day, to Jalalabad, for a meeting with leaders of the other Islamic extremist groups given shelter by the Taliban. Pakistani news reports the day before our meeting stated that Osama bin Laden was replacing his bodyguards with men from Khalil's group; they were true believers, the report said, who would keep bin Laden safe.

One day, I drove across the border of Pakistan to the Afghan city of Kandahar, in the Taliban heartland, where many of the students at the Haqqania madrasa will end up.

The Taliban burst out of Kandahar in 1994 on their quick march to Kabul. Along the way, they closed down girls' schools and fired female doctors and murdered homosexuals and staged public amputations and generally gave a bad name to the Prophet in whose name they claimed to act.

It was a long drive, through the Baluchistan desert, over the Khojak Pass and through miles and miles of Afghanistan wasteland. On the approach to Kandahar, near the airport, is one of bin Laden's houses, but the Taliban wouldn't let me anywhere near it. We drove a bit farther, past the market square where wrestling matches are staged each Sunday. If you time it right, you might be able to catch a glimpse of Mullah Omar, the supreme leader of the Taliban, who will sometimes stop by in his black Pajero S.U.V. with the tinted windows to catch a couple of matches. If he's in a good mood, he'll even send his bodyguards to challenge the local wrestlers.

We continued on, past the Chechen Embassy, and soon enough approached the compound of the Shrine of the Respectable Cloak of Muhammad, from which the Taliban derive so much of their legitimacy among Afghan believers. The cloak of Muhammad is kept locked in a marble vault that is housed inside an elegant, one-story shrine in the center of town. The people of Kandahar believe that the Prophet Muhammad wore the cloak, and so they believe that proximity to the cloak will cure the sick and heal the lame. They also believe it lends its current custodians the mantle of Islamic legitimacy. At the Haqqania madrasa, they talked a lot about the cloak.

The cloak has only been removed from its vault three times in the 250 or so years since it was brought to Kandahar by followers of the Afghan king Ahmed Shah Durrani. The last time it came out of its vault was in 1994, when Mullah Omar wore it to a rally of his followers. His decision to wear the cloak could have easily been seen as blasphemous, but things broke his way, and it was on that day that he solidified his reputation as the commander of the faithful.

It is not easy to get inside the compound that houses the shrine. For one thing, the Taliban minder assigned to me, a mullah named Haji Muhammad, resisted my pleas for help. Mullah Muhammad -- actually, he admitted, he was not yet a mullah, having not yet passed his final examinations -- was a short, taciturn fellow who couldn't for the life of him understand why I wanted to see the Respectable Cloak Shrine. The other problem: the men of the Committee for the Propagation of Virtue and the Suppression of Vice, who wear black turbans and black eyeliner (to make themselves appear fierce), were patrolling the entrance to the shrine, and they are terrible xenophobes.

The first time I tried to see the shrine, I was accompanied by a photographer, Nina Berman. In accordance with local custom, Nina was dressed like Mrs. Khomeini at a wake, but to the men of the Taliban, she might as well have been Jennifer Lopez. We were rudely denied entrance. We did, however, get to touch the toothache tree.

When the people of Kandahar feel the beginnings of a toothache, they come to this dead tree outside the shrine and hammer in a nail. Thousands of nailheads cover every inch of tree trunk. The interpreter who accompanied us explained that the tree actually worked as advertised. He once had a toothache and so banged a nail into the tree.

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One-two-three, his teeth felt fine. I looked inside his mouth. He didn't have any teeth in the Western sense of the word "teeth," just yellow stumps of bone that in poor, superstitious backwaters like Kandahar pass for teeth. After six years in power, the Taliban is good at waging jihad, but not good at all at providing medical care to the people of Afghanistan.

Later that same day, I returned with the interpreter in the hope of getting a better look at the shrine. But he wouldn't go with me. "It's better if we sit in the car," he said, and then I realized how frightened he was. He was frightened of the Taliban, and he was frightened by Mullah Muhammad, who only grudgingly accompanied me back to the compound.

We made it all the way to the front entrance of the shrine, but standing there were 15 or so young guards, thick wooden sticks in their hands. I turned around to ask Muhammad to intercede on my behalf, but he had made himself disappear. The young guards were angry, and they called me a "kaffir," an infidel. Then they ran me out of the compound.

I made it to the car, and we sped off. "It's better to wait in the car," my interpreter said wearily.

I asked Mullah Muhammad if we could see Osama bin Laden's house; he said no. What about Mullah Omar's house? No. But I knew he would turn down these requests. I was surprised, however, when he wouldn't allow me near the Jihadi madrasa. The Jihadi madrasa is Muhammad's alma mater, and it is one of the biggest in Kandahar. "Non-Muslims aren't allowed into a madrasa," he said. "It's against the Koran."

Which is nonsense, of course. Nothing in the Koran or in the Hadith bars infidels from school buildings, and I said so. He asked me how I knew this.

"Because I read the Koran," I answered.

"In Arabic?"

"No, in English."

"The Koran comes in English?" he asked, utterly sincerely.

The next day, frustrated to the point of paralysis, I complained to the Taliban foreign minister about Mullah Muhammad and his strange ideas.

"This is the fault of the Clinton administration," Wakil Ahmed Muttawakil, the foreign minister, said. The foreign minister is a man completely lacking in charm, and he has a beard that has crawled up to within an inch of his eyes. He is touted as one of the sophisticates of the Taliban, a new face of moderation. He is not an easy small-talker, and so to thaw him out, I asked him how many children he has. "I have four boys and one girl," he said, and then offered, with no prompting: "The girl is my most beloved of all." Even the Taliban engages in spin.

Muttawakil understood my frustration with Muhammad. "The attitude is regrettable," he continued, "but many of our young people feel very badly about America because of the missile attacks and because of these unfair accusations about Osama bin Laden, and so they aren't open to Americans."

In other words, Taliban paranoia is an American creation?

"Yes. We have done nothing to you, but you insist on treating us as an enemy."

Muttawakil is no fan of America. "In America, parents do not show love to their children," he informed me -- but he said the average Afghan doesn't necessarily share his feelings. They may feel warmly about America, because of the help it gave to the mujahedeen during the struggle against the Soviets.

Mullah Muhammad feels no such warmth, however. A couple of days after seeing the foreign minister, I asked Muhammad what he thought of America.

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"America is the place that wants to kill Osama," he said. "Osama is a great hero of the Muslims."

Does anything good come out of America?

He thought about that one for a while.

"Candy," he answered finally. "Candy comes from America. I like candy."

Did I mention that Mullah Muhammad is 17 years old?

Because he seemed to have a lot in common with madrasa students in Pakistan -- and having no expectation that I would be allowed to plumb the mysteries of Taliban spirituality -- I began to ask Muhammad about his life. He was born in Kandahar, he said, but lived for a while near Quetta, one of the Pakistani cities that absorbed millions of refugees during the Afghan wars. He has attended madrasas all his life. He has never studied math or science or English or computers or history. He had learned the Koran, by heart, by the time he was 9. But he learned it in Arabic, and he speaks Pashto. All he learned were the sounds.

I asked him if he has read any books beside the Koran.

"Yes," he answered. "A book of Hadith."

"Are you interested in reading other books? "

"No. Why?"

I asked him if he knew any women.

His sisters, he responded.

Any women not his relatives?

No.

I learned that he hasn't hugged his mother since he reached puberty. He listens to no music; he has never seen a movie.

I asked him what the future held for him. He said he has already fought once with the mujahedeen against the northern alliance, and might do so again.

And if you're not martyred in that fight?

"I will return to my job."

Why do you want to work at the Information Ministry?

"This is not my regular job," he said, meaning baby-sitting for me.

Where do you work, then?

"I'm a teacher."

Mullah Muhammad teaches the Koran to 9-year-old boys.

This is what Maulana Samiul Haq imparts to his 9-year-old boys, and everyone else enrolled at his madrasa: America, he told me in one of our many conversations, was controlled by the Jews, who were in turn controlled by Satan. His is a worldview shaped by his understanding of the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad, but it is a worldview moderate Muslims might say is shaped by something else.

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." The dar-al-Islam is the Ummah, the worldwide community of Muslims. The dar-al-harb is everything else. In the 1980's, the Soviet Union epitomized, for fundamentalist-minded Muslims, the abode of war. Today, it is the U.S. 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 hard-core 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 American social and sexual 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. Haq, like many Pakistanis, even some Pakistanis of secular bent, say they believe that America's policy toward Muslims is directed by a Jewish-Hindu conspiracy. (A former chief of Pakistan's intelligence service sympathetic to the Islamists, Gen. Hamid Ghul, told me that Aipac, the pro-Israel lobby, sets America's policy toward Pakistan. "The Jews and the Brahmins have a lot in common," he said, referring to high-caste Hindus. "Like what?" I asked. "Usury," he responded, rubbing his hands together in the Shylockian manner.)

In Samiul Haq's view, the West is implacably hostile to the message of Islam, and so the need to prepare for jihad is never-ending.

"Jihad" is a concept widely misunderstood in the West. It does not mean only "holy war." It essentially means "struggle," and according to the traditional understanding of Islam, there are two types of jihad: greater and lesser. "Greater Jihad," is the struggle within the soul of a person to be better, more righteous -- the fight against the devil within. "Lesser Jihad" is the fight against the devil without: the military struggle against those who subjugate Muslims.

Whenever I meet a Muslim fundamentalist, I ask them the same stupid-sounding question: Which is more important to Islam, greater jihad or lesser jihad? The answer, usually accompanied by an indulgent look, is usually something like, "They don't call it 'greater jihad' for nothing." The struggle against the external oppressor waxes and wanes, but the fight to suppress the evil inclinations within is perpetual.

But in my conversations with Haq, and with mullahs across Pakistan and Afghanistan, I kept getting a different answer. "They are of equal importance," Haq said. "Jihad against the oppressor of Muslims is an absolute duty. Islam is a religion that defends itself." Jihad against the devil without 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, ever answered the question this way.

(The thinking of Mullah Omar, the Taliban leader, is in line with Haq's. Mullah Omar has refused to meet face to face with non-Muslims, a policy ungrounded in the Koran or in the Hadith, but when I submitted a written question to him about the nature of jihad, he wrote in response: "Both the jihads have their own importance. In one, one struggles to amend his inner self, and in another he defends his religion.")

When I asked Samiul Haq to explain why he placed so much emphasis on lesser jihad, he said: "Islam is a religion of limits. There are four pillars of Islam. Hajj, the pilgrimage to Mecca, you must make once, only if you have the means. There is a limit to how much charity you must give. In prayer, we only pray five times a day. And fasting, we fast for only one month, Ramadan. But for jihad, there are no limits. Jihad must be fought without limits. There is no compromise in jihad."

So where is the jihad being fought today? Against India?

"Yes. The liberation of Kashmir is a holy struggle."

He then said that jihad today should be waged against Serbia and Russia and Israel, and against the northern alliance, the Taliban's foe in Afghanistan.

I asked him question after question about the Taliban -- why do they do the things they do? Finally he had enough: "Listen, if you Americans don't stop pestering us about the Taliban, we'll give them the nuclear bomb. How would you like that?"

He also said it was necessary to wage jihad against America, for "occupying" Saudi Arabia.

This jihad is the particular obsession of the Saudi exile Osama bin Laden: the struggle to evict American troops from Saudi Arabia, who are there at the invitation of the Saudi king. Samiul Haq says he believes that these troops are polluting holy soil. A jihad, then, is compulsory. And in a jihad, he said, these American troops are targets.

I asked him 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. And the secret of the Taliban -- the secret of Talibanism -- is not found inside the Shrine of the Cloak of Muhammad. 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 person of Mullah Haji Muhammad, my 17-year-old minder in Kandahar who has no interest in any book but the Koran, and in the hundreds of thousands of young men like him at madrasas across Pakistan and Afghanistan. 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.

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Graphic

Photos: On campus at the Haqqania madrasa, which has "placed" more students in the Taliban leadership than any other school in the world.; Volleyball and cricket provide late-afternoon breaks for students whose day begins at 4:30 a.m. The rest is all Islam, all the time.; Mealtime at Haqqania. "Very few of these schools are engaged in any kind of militancy," says Gen. Pervez Musharraf, Pakistan's ruler. (Laurent Van Der Stockt for The New York Times)

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Playing War

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Body

A little before noon on the last day of his life, 15-year-old Ahmed Abutayeh invented a toothache. This was the first time he had ever complained of a health problem in school, so his science teacher wrote him a permission slip to visit a nearby clinic. Ahmed shouldered his plaid-patterned book bag and walked out of the Rimal Boys' School and onto the chaotic streets of Beach Camp, where 75,000 Palestinian refugees are corralled into a half-square-mile block, at the northern end of the Gaza Strip. It was Nov. 1 of this year. The previous day, Ahmed had sold his pet nightingale for a few shekels, and now, carrying this money, he caught a taxi and asked to be driven to a place called Karni crossing. He was wearing the nicest shirt he owned, a light blue button-down, and a few dabs of his father's cologne. On the outside of his book bag, in blue ink, he had inscribed a four-word epitaph: "The Martyr Ahmed Abutayeh."

Karni crossing, as its name implies, is an intersection. It's where the Karni Road crosses the so-called Green Line, the razor-wire border dividing the occupied territory of Gaza from Israel proper. The Gaza Strip is a place small enough to be easily fenced. It pokes from the northern end of the Egypt-Israel border and follows the shoreline of the Mediterranean Sea; its silhouette is roughly that of a pistol, aimed just west of Jerusalem. Karni crossing is at a point about midway along the pistol's barrel.

Palestinians are not allowed through the Karni crossing. The road is reserved for Israeli access to a settlement called Netzarim. Forty percent of the Gaza Strip's land is controlled by Israel and is home to 6,500 or so Israeli settlers, many of whom believe they have a property claim that is spelled out in the Old Testament. The other 60 percent is home to more than a million Palestinians, half of whom live in refugee camps. Most Israeli settlements in Gaza are clustered in one of the large, fortified areas at both ends of the strip, but Netzarim is in the middle, an Israeli island in a Palestinian sea. There is something about the Karni crossing, several Palestinians told me, that seems emblematic of the entire half-century-long Israeli-Palestinian conflict: it's a place where Arabs are not considered equal citizens, in an area dominated by the Israeli armed forces, permitting entrance to a settlement provocatively situated to deny the Palestinians a homeland. And so when the peace process fell apart in September

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and fighting resumed, it made sense that Karni was a scene of daily clashes. This is why Ahmed Abutayeh wanted to go there.

The confrontation on Nov. 1, the day Ahmed took the taxi, was intense. The Israeli Defense Forces had placed a tank and two armored vehicles along the Karni Road, trying as usual to maintain a safe route for settlers to pass through. Also beside the road, crouched in dirt trenches and behind cement barricades, were at least a hundred Palestinians, all of them male and many of them, like Ahmed, too young to be away from school. The boys Ahmed's age were armed with stones and Molotov cocktails. A few older fighters, wearing dark green uniforms indicating membership in the loosely controlled Palestinian security services, carried guns.

Ahmed had a sling with him, made of a bit of denim the size of an eye patch and a long piece of twine. He'd cup a stone in the denim, twirl the sling about his head, then snap the line taut. By all accounts he was a fierce and fearless stone-slinger. Sometime around 4 o'clock, as the desert sun was low and the dust that hovers about the Gaza Strip turned golden, the level of violence escalated. Two carloads of settlers wanted to drive through, and the Palestinians showed no signs of permitting a trouble-free passage. Live ammunition was fired from the Israeli side. Many of the boys fled or dove behind barricades, but Ahmed continued to twirl his sling. He did not seem concerned about finding protection. He stood up and flung another stone. A bullet from an M-16 struck Ahmed just above his right ear. The bullet was traveling at a downward angle, and it passed through his head and throat and settled in his chest. He was dead before an ambulance crew could reach him. The permission slip from his science teacher was found in the front pocket of his blue jeans.

This is a strange war. The rhetoric and geo-politics of the conflict -- the claims of Biblical or Koranic privilege; the push-pull of Middle Eastern power; the status of refugee rights and occupied lands and religious sovereignty -- are all cast in the loftiest of ideals. And yet, on the Palestinian side at least, much of the fighting is being carried out by children. There are preteenagers and midteenagers and boys as young as 5 hurling stones at Israeli soldiers. Children are dying with shocking frequency. Since late September, at least 68 boys under the age of 18 have been killed and thousands wounded in clashes in the Gaza Strip and West Bank. The violence, though, does not deter the children; quite the opposite, in fact.

The day after Ahmed's death, there were more boys at Karni crossing than ever before. At the front, in the trenches, the energy level felt wild and unfocused and adolescent; not much different, really, than an unruly middle-school recess. Here I met half a dozen boys who'd known Ahmed: I met Sameh and Muhammad and Hares and Yehya and Aymen and Rami. All of them were 13 or 14 or 15 years old, skinny and dirty and friendly. Each held a couple of rocks in his hands and jiggled them idly. Protruding from back pockets, where one might expect to see combs, were wooden slingshots and denim-and-twine slings. Aymen wore silver-framed glasses that sat crooked on his nose and sported a strip of cloth tied ninja-style about his head, upon which he'd written, "Better to die a martyr than die in your sleep." Rami's left wrist was bandaged; he'd been hit, he said, by a rubber bullet. I commented on his bravery, and all the boys lifted their shirts or raised their pants legs to show me various scars. Each one said they'd seen people die. Hares insisted that the red stain on his shirt was Ahmed's blood; he'd tried to stem the bleeding until the medics arrived, he said, but the attempt was hopeless.

Hares was one of the unofficial leaders of the front. He seemed perpetually agitated, in the noisy, inexhaustible manner of a child who might benefit from Ritalin. During a stone-throwing volley, he'd always leap up first, or nearly so, and he leapt in a way that seemed designed for maximum bravado, leaving himself exposed as if daring the soldiers to fire at him. Most of the boys appeared to admire this, but Muhammad admitted to me that he sometimes worries about Hares.

Muhammad was a little calmer than the others and more cautious, and only slightly averse to introspection. He had gone to school with Ahmed -- they were in the same class -- and Muhammad's family lived a few doors down from Ahmed's, in the center of Beach Camp. They'd been friends, Muhammad said. Muhammad had an easy, inviting grin, a slight fuzz of a mustache and front teeth just shy of being buck. He kept a stash of roasted watermelon seeds in his pocket and nibbled them in the smooth, casual way a smoker handles his cigarettes. The trenches weren't the place for lengthy conversation, but Muhammad mentioned that if I met him after school tomorrow we could talk. I told him I would.

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The fighting progressed in fits and starts. Sameh owned a pair of binoculars, and though one eyepiece was broken they were still usable.

He focused on an Israeli tank, 100 feet away, and studied the soldier in the hatch, helmet lowered to his eyebrows, straps tight against his cheeks, his mouth a thin pair of lines, one hand about the trigger of his rifle and an eye at the scope, watching the boys watching him. The vehicle crept along the Green Line, and when it reached the spot directly in front of us there was a surge of momentum, 20 or 30 boys leaping up at once, the air a hailstorm of stones. The soldier ducked into the hatch and the stones fell harmlessly against the tank. There was no return fire, but the boys all said it was only a matter of time before the Israelis' patience wore thin.

The exceptionally large turnout at Karni didn't happen by chance. Dozens of fighters were there specifically because of Ahmed. Most had not known him personally, but his martyrdom had been embraced by the Palestinian leadership and transformed, in short order, into a powerful recruiting device. Within an hour of Ahmed's shooting, his mother, Afaf, was perched on the edge of a bed in Shifa Hospital, where her son had been pronounced dead. She was wrapped in a black headress and robe, her eyes furious and red as she looked into a Palestinian Broadcasting Corporation television camera. She spoke in Arabic, using the baroque argot of the uprising, rhythmic and sharp. "Who killed my son, who shot my son, I am asking God to kill him, to spread his blood," she intoned. "We must flood Israel with blood like they have flooded us with blood. Let their blood wash them out of Palestine."

Two other Palestinians were also killed in Gaza the same day. One of them, Ibrahim Omar, was a friend and classmate of Ahmed's. Ibrahim, too, was 15 years old. He was shot in the neck while standing behind the same barricade where Ahmed had earlier been killed. The third victim was a 17-year-old named Muhammad Hajjaj. Ibrahim and Muhammad's families also delivered pleas for vengeance. These were broadcast throughout Gaza, on radio and television, along with an announcement that the three funerals would be conducted simultaneously the following day. Schools would be released early, it was reported, so that students could attend.

The next morning, in the minutes before Ahmed and Ibrahim and Muhammad's funeral procession was scheduled to arrive, Gaza City was quiet. All of the buildings -- five, six, seven stories tall -- appeared to be constructed of cinder blocks. There were cracks in some walls wide enough to offer glimpses of the apartments inside. Falafels were frying at outdoor stands; groceries sold cigarettes and soft drinks and penny candies. Tea shops were open. Clattering over the broken pavement came a mule-drawn cart, transporting a crateload of live chickens, dirty and squawkless. A few taxis passed. A bright new banner was stretched across the road, and my translator read it aloud: "Glory and Eternity for Our Martyrs."

Faces of the dead gazed from a dozen posters. Within hours of the boys' shootings, printing presses across Gaza had begun churning out posters. Each featured a head shot of one of the dead superimposed in front of the giant, gilded Dome of the Rock, in Jerusalem's Old City, the place where the Prophet Muhammad is thought to have ascended to heaven. In the posters' upper right-hand corner was an outline of the State of Israel, shaded in the colors of the Palestinian flag.

From down the street came the sound of chanting, and there seemed to be a change in the air, a ratcheting of pressure, as if a storm front were approaching. The demonstration blew in. At its head were three pickup trucks, each ferrying a stack of concert-size loudspeakers. An announcer stood atop each stack, shouting into a microphone, his voice so amplified and reverberative that the words felt as if they were being hurled outward, smacking against our ears and chest.

The trucks crept forward, each enmeshed by a turbulent crowd, shouting and reacting to the announcer's calls, many of the marchers spreading their fingers into victory signs. A man held up a Kalashnikov and fired round after round into the simmering sky. "Will we forgive those who killed our children?" cried one truck's preacher, his face a commingling of rapture and grief.

"No!" responded the marchers.

"Will we forget our martyrs' blood?"

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"No!"

"Will we compromise for peace?"

"No!"

Behind the trucks swelled a larger pack of mourners. They carried flags, hundreds of them, representing every political faction in Gaza -- Popular Front flags and Fatah Youth flags and Islamic Jihad flags; flags with images of clenched fists and crossed rifles and soaring minarets -- and they marched in a mass that stretched from sidewalk to sidewalk, and anyone standing and watching had the choice of joining the demonstration or being trampled by the flow.

At the crowd's core were the three bodies. They were laid out on gurneys, wrapped in Palestinian flags, flowers piled on their chests, riding atop the crowd. Up close, I noticed that Ahmed did not have the

jet-black hair typical of a Palestinian. It was slightly red. His eyebrows were thick and caterpillary. His left ear, the only one visible (the right one, presumably damaged, was covered by a head cloth), stuck out like an open door. He seemed to be sweating. Perhaps it was the mortician's makeup, melting under the heat.

The marchers pressed toward Martyrs' Cemetery, a simple expanse of sand dotted with headstones and fenced by palm trees. Three fresh graves had been dug, and mourners packed around them. Women tipped their heads skyward and keened in trilling strains. Men linked arms and swayed forward and back. A mullah stood in the center, among the graves, and as the bodies arrived he shouted, "With our soul, with our blood, we will sacrifice ourselves for God." He shouted it again and a third time, and the crowd picked up the chant. The three boys were slid into the ground and the dirt was piled on, a thousand hands pawing at the graves. After the bodies were covered, the mounds atop their graves were a collage of palm prints, and everyone was still chanting, even the smallest of children, who wandered about the cemetery dazed from the excitement, repeating the words softly to themselves.

As the funeral ended there seemed to be a general exodus in the direction of Karni crossing, a short walk away. Toward the rear of the battlefield, a few hundred yards from the Green Line, rose several large mounds of dirt, almost a miniature mountain range. These were the equivalent of the battle's grandstands, and the hills were heavy with spectators, about half teenagers and half older, a hundred people milling around, arguing politics and charting the progress of the clashes. At moments when the situation became hazardous, everyone retreated from the hilltops and stood behind the dirt, and the conversations scarcely missed a beat.

In front of the dirt mounds, closer to the Green Line, were a series of cement blocks, about the size of dishwashers, each pocked with bullet scars and protecting a small clot of fighters. A few broken blocks hid just a single person, a fighting force of one. At the very front, about 30 yards from the Green Line, were a series of wide trenches cut into the soft desert soil, protected by dirt walls. The trenches were jammed with dozens of stone-throwers, almost all of them high-school age or younger. At the Green Line itself, on the far side of the fence, were three Israeli armored trucks and one tank, driving back and forth. Soldiers poked out the top hatches, rifles poised. There were no Israeli soldiers outside of the vehicles, at least none visible. A dog had been killed the day before, and its corpse lay on the battlefield, infusing the trenches with a miasmic tang. Plastic bags caught in the razor wire flapped in the wind. A burning tire exhaled black columns of smoke.

The area was wide open -- there were heaps of uprooted tangerine trees, a mess of twisted steel where a factory once stood and the remains of a demolished house. The Israeli Defense Force's policy is to bulldoze any spot on a battlefield that might offer protection to Palestinians. But instead of being deterred, the fighters who show up each day face an increasingly greater risk. At Karni, no one I spotted anywhere near the front carried a gun. The 10 or so Palestinian soldiers I saw were all well back, at the dirt mounds, their weapons slung casually over their shoulders. "We don't fire our weapons during the day," one of them explained. The children were the warm-up act. At dark, the real fighting began -- soldiers against soldiers. Several Israeli officers confirmed that virtually all the shooting from the Palestinian side occurred after nightfall.

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Most of the stone-throwers at the front, it seemed, lived in refugee camps. Still, even in the trenches, the boys wore collared shirts, school-uniform pants and stylish sneakers; Palestinians are fastidious dressers, no matter the occasion. Toward the rear, kids in leather belts and jean jackets and penny loafers crouched safely behind the dirt mounds, too far from the Green Line to throw stones. The boys in the back were nearly all from the more middle-class neighborhoods outside Gaza City. Their parents were carpenters and electricians and merchants. They had clean fingernails and careful haircuts; they owned watches and Walkmans.

At the back there were vendors selling soft drinks and ring-shaped loaves of bread and, from a cart beneath a red umbrella, flavored ices. Bicycles and book bags were scattered about. A boy sat cross-legged in the dirt, studying from a mathematics book. Another boasted about his personal computer, which housed, he said, a Pentium 1 chip and Windows 98 and a collection of Pamela Anderson photos -- O.K. to keep, he explained, because she wasn't Islamic. Eight ambulances, with red crescent moons painted on the sides, were lined up like cabs at an airport, the drivers socializing and smoking. Parked nearby were two dump trucks, property of the Palestinian security services. At sunset the trucks would roll onto the battlefield and the kids would scramble aboard, to be driven back to their neighborhoods as if riding the school bus.

What was missing was anger. even in the trenches, even while throwing stones, none of the boys seemed particularly enraged. If anything, they appeared to be having fun. Yehya and Rami, two of the kids who had known Ahmed, spent half an hour assembling an enormous slingshot that required both of them to operate. They called it a Palestinian tank. Nobody cared that its accuracy could at best be considered random. Anyone who found a soda bottle would rush off and soon return with it half-filled with gasoline, a rag stuffed in the neck. The rag would be lit and the bottle tossed, to trenchwide cheers. It usually landed nowhere near an Israeli soldier. The Gaza soil never seemed short of rocks, though once in a while a donkey cart laden with cinder blocks would arrive and the boys would race to the cart, smash the blocks and return to the front with armloads of fresh ammunition. During the frequent cigarette breaks, the preferred brand was Marlboro, because if you took a pack and turned it upside down, the word "Marlboro," when inverted, approximated the Arabic script for the phrase "Horrible Jew."

Not one Palestinian political faction, no matter how militant, claims that it encourages children to participate in the clashes. Every party's official position is that it's better for the children to stay home. But if the boys decide on their own to fight, the organizations all say, well, there's nothing we can do to stop them -- this is a popular uprising, after all, and the children, like the rest of us, feel strongly about recapturing our homeland. At the front, the boys themselves could not say precisely who or what had motivated them to fight. They were too young to be affiliated with a political party, though most knew their parents' party, which was overwhelmingly Hamas, the fundamentalist movement that denies Israel's right to exist. Nobody told them to come, the boys all affirmed. They saw images on television, they said, or joined a demonstration, or knew a friend who fought. There were no recruitment drives or strategy sessions or battle plans. They were just here to throw rocks. It was better than going to school.

Of Ahmed's six friends at the front, two claimed that their fathers had granted them permission to fight, and all said that their mothers forbade it. It's not uncommon to witness a mother arrive at the front, spot her child and haul him off with an arm grip that indicated further punishment to come. About 5 percent of boys under 18 in Gaza regularly join the clashes, more than enough to compose a potent fighting force.

"If my mother knew I was here," said Sameh, "I'd be beaten."

"I told my mom I'm playing soccer," said Yehya.

"Mine thinks I'm at Aymen's house," said Hares.

"And mine thinks I'm at his house," said Aymen, and everyone broke into laughter.

When they tried to explain exactly why they were throwing stones, everyone said the same thing -- not approximately the same thing, but exactly the same thing. "I'm fighting for Palestinian freedom," they said. "I'm fighting so that Jerusalem can be the capital of Palestine. I'm fighting because the Jews stole our land and we want it back." Every sentence was taken, verbatim, from messages played and replayed on Palestinian TV.

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At one point, following a rock-throwing jag, there was a sudden series of suctionlike pops. "Fireworks!" the kids shouted, and in an instant tear-gas canisters exploded about us. For reasons that didn't seem clear, the Israeli retaliation had begun. No one panicked. The boys reached into their pockets and produced cotton balls that had been rubbed with garlic and onion and pressed them to their eyes. Aymen tore his in two and gave half to me. Then the games began. Several boys vaulted out of the trenches, ran to the steaming canisters, picked them up and hurled them back at the Israelis. They were playing with army men, just as I did at their age, only mine were plastic and theirs were real.

Canisters that had already discharged their gas were brought to the trenches so the boys could play hot potato, staging contests to see who could hold the scalding metal in their fingers the longest. "Look," said Hares, making a face. "Built in America. I hate America." The writing on the outside of the 560 CS Long-Range Projectile said that it was manufactured by Federal Laboratories in Pittsburgh. When it had sufficiently cooled, Hares stuffed it in my pocket. Everyone was working on an ammunition collection. A basic set included the two styles of rubber-coated bullets (spherical and cylindrical), an M-16 bullet, a tear-gas canister and a .50-caliber bullet. Sometimes the kids traded them back and forth, like baseball cards.

Shortly after the tear-gas attack, which inspired nobody to leave the front, came rubber-coated bullets. Two, three, four shots. These were the spherical ones -- musket-type balls sheathed with a few millimeters of cushioning. They're launched from high-powered rifles; boys have died from being struck in the head by them. They ricocheted unpredictably about the trenches, and the boys hunkered down and the atmosphere turned a notch serious. A few people began crawling toward the rear of the battlefield, though all of Ahmed's friends remained. Muhammad curled himself into an insectlike ball and bit down hard on his lower lip. Sameh lay on his side and knocked two stones together, tapping out a jittery beat. Hares retrieved one of the bullets, stuck his fingernail into the rubber, peeled it like an orange, put the metal ball into his slingshot and fired it back.

Despite the scare, the next time an armored car approached, nearly everyone jumped up and launched an especially exuberant barrage of rocks. The boys, so far as I could tell, were convinced that their stones would eventually disable the Israeli Army. This may one day prove correct, though probably not in the David-versus-Goliath fashion the boys envision. What's clear to many Palestinian leaders but not apparent to the children is that the stones, and those who throw them, are playing an almost purely symbolic role in the war. In Mecca, Muslims throw stones at a statue representing the Devil; it's a centuries-old tradition. In Gaza, Israeli soldiers fill the Devil's role. Stones, the Palestinian leaders know, won't directly defeat the Israelis, but repeated images of rock-throwing youths being shot by highly trained soldiers might turn international opinion against Israel and persuade other Arab nations to join the war. In this way, Palestinian thinking goes, Israel could be defeated and erased from the map, replaced with the nation of Palestine.

After about 10 rubber shots in five minutes, a real bullet was fired. Again, it wasn't clear why. No vehicle seemed to require access to the Karni Road; nothing more lethal than rocks, as far as I could tell, was coming from the Palestinian side. I knew it was a live bullet because the sound was different -- just a hummingbird's whoosh and a quick spray of sand -- and because every boy's eyes instantly popped wide open. But the proof came with the second shot. There was another whoosh, followed by a moment of strained silence, everyone's shoulders instinctively hunched, and then a choking gasp that swiftly accelerated into an agonized cry. Someone was hit. A few feet down the trench there was a burst of whistling and yelling, and a dozen boys raced to the spot. Hands grabbed for the body. The wounded boy was hoisted out of the trench, dropped once, then picked up again and carried into the open. His right thigh was bent in an unnatural way. Blood blossomed on his pants. There was the sound of spinning wheels; a siren.

The Israeli Defense Forces have an official rule of engagement: live ammunition is never to be used unless Israeli soldiers or the people they are protecting are in immediate danger. The situation at Karni crossing, it was explained to me by an army spokesman, fell under this definition. Thrown rocks, I was told, have killed motorists. And for a few hundred Israelis, the Karni Road is their only link to the outside world. Israeli settlers have the right to drive. Palestinian children refuse to vacate the road. Something has to give.

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I spent two weeks at Karni during daylight hours, and in my time there, the Israeli Army fired live ammunition almost every day. Sometimes only two or three shots, sometimes a dozen or more. On occasion the shots were fired when cars or buses needed to enter or exit the settlement, at other times I could ascertain no reason for the shooting. Not once did I see or hear a single shot from the Palestinian side. Never during the time I spent at Karni did an Israeli soldier appear to be in mortal danger. Nor was either an Israeli soldier or settler even slightly injured. In that two-week period, at least 11 Palestinians were killed during the day at Karni.

When the ambulance arrived, the wounded Palestinian was pushed inside, and in the commotion I hopped in as well and we sped away. The stone-thrower, an 18-year-old named Ibrahim Abusherif, arched his back and clenched and unclenched his fingers and shouted a single phrase over and over: "Damn the Jews; damn the Jews." His right femur, the medic said, appeared to be shattered. The ambulance rattled across the dirt and onto the cracked pavement, and the bottles and bandages and intravenous bags slid about on their little shelves, and Ibrahim continued to damn the Jews.

At Shifa Hospital, he was hurried into the emergency room and laid on a bed beneath a bare, flickering bulb. The floor was made of rubber tiles, sticky with the blood of previous patients. Elsewhere in the emergency room, behind salmon-colored curtains, were 6 other injured fighters -- a handful of the 40 people who are injured, on average, each day in the clashes in Gaza. The hyperventilated gasps of earnest pain filled the room. On the wall was a poster of a suicide bomber who had blown himself up two weeks before. Written above the poster, in thick black letters, were the words, "He is worth a thousand men." A doctor dug into Ibrahim's thigh and removed three twisted fragments of an M-16 bullet, which he held up like trophies. Then Ibrahim was rolled into surgery.

Rimal Boys' School, the school that the two slain boys attended, is hidden behind a stout cinder-block wall, insulated somewhat from the filth and clamor of Beach Camp. The entrance is a large steel door, upon which was spray-painted "The Student Union Congratulates Our Martyrs." The school's headmaster guided me to one of Ahmed's former classrooms. Forty-four students, all boys, sat two to a wooden desk. (Palestinian girls attend their own schools and rarely appear at the clashes.) The rear wall was decorated with six posters of Ahmed, two posters of Ibrahim and a detailed drawing of a human cell, with the nucleus and cytoplasm and mitochondrion labeled in Arabic. Muhammad, the boy I'd met in the trenches, flashed me a brief, acknowledging smile, then propped his head in his left hand and focused on his book. Ahmed's desk, in the second-to-last row, had been turned into a shrine, decorated with a flag and a head scarf and a bouquet of plastic flowers.

Palestinian schoolbooks tend to offer a rather one-sided view of Middle Eastern history. In some texts, Nazism and Zionism are equated, and Palestinians are portrayed as the true historical stewards of the land. Maps of the region omit Israel entirely and label the land between Lebanon and Egypt as Palestine. According to a widely studied book, "Our Country Palestine," "The Jewish claim to historic rights to Palestine has no justification; it is a deceitful and disproved claim with no parallel in history, a blatant lie."

Every student I spoke with, in the hallways, in classrooms, in the courtyard, insisted that he, too, wanted to be a martyr. "I don't fear the bullets," one boy informed me. "I want to be with God," said another. "I will avenge Ahmed and Ibrahim's deaths," announced a third. This was, I suspected, a form of adolescent bluster, but no one would dare say anything different, especially in front of his friends. In the school's art room, though, the pictures on the walls offered a different perspective. The works were done in colored pencils, and they were nearly all fantasies -- not of violence, but of moments of almost profound simplicity: a family picnicking on a beach; two boys on a swing set; a tennis game on a tree-shaded court.

When school ended for the day, Muhammad agreed to let me walk home with him. Immediately outside the school's gate, he unbuttoned his school shirt to reveal an undershirt advertising his favorite musician, an Iraqi singer named Kazem el-Safer. At a record store he stopped and gazed at some of el-Safer's tapes, but he didn't have any money. Muhammad walked with a teenager's slack-legged gait, strolling along one of Beach Camp's central thoroughfares, which had a V-shaped notch running along the middle, transporting raw sewage to the sea. Beach Camp's idyllic name was bestowed because it abuts the Mediterranean, but the beaches were little more than garbage dumps.

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There are no real side streets in Beach Camp, just alleys between the homes so narrow that people can pass one another only by turning sideways. The alleys were a cat's cradle of laundry lines, flush with school uniforms. The houses, concrete cubes with corrugated tin roofs, were packed together and stacked atop one another as if in a warehouse. Trash whirled about. In a vacant lot a few cactus bushes pushed through the sandy soil. Women shuffled their feet listlessly, hauling loads of laundry. Unemployed men sat around playing backgammon. The air smelled of fried fish and charred rubber and fresh mule dung. Small children, many of them barefoot, ran about in hyperkinetic herds, sometimes tossing rocks at one another, or playing marbles, or lighting cardboard fires. Older kids played soccer in the street. The average woman in Gaza gives birth seven times.

A vegetable stand sold a shopping bag's worth of tomatoes for the equivalent of a quarter. Gaza's borders had been sealed by the Israeli Army since the start of the violence -- the strip was now, for all practical purposes, a million-inmate prison. (Even the Internet had been disrupted.) Farmers, who worked humble plots in the few uncrammed corners of Palestinian-controlled Gaza, were prohibited from exporting goods, creating a glut. Most of the season's crops were expected to rot.

Graffiti was everywhere, on the walls of homes and shops and abandoned construction sites. Teams of painters, employed by each of the major political factions, were working daily, whitewashing old slogans and adding new ones, and for those without television or radio, the messages ("Death to Barak"; "On With the Intifada"; "To Jerusalem We Are Going") served as daily updates on the mood of the Palestinian leadership. At Beach Camp's entrance, an Israeli flag was painted on the roadway and both sidewalks, so that anyone passing through had to step on it. Most pedestrians made sure to plant a foot in the center of the six-pointed star.

Muhammad has six brothers and seven sisters. His father, Tayser, is a janitor at Shifa Hospital; his mother, Anaam, owns a tiny shop next to their home. Their family name is Saman. Like many Muslims, Muhammad prays five times a day, though he said he wasn't especially religious. He attends mosque on Fridays, at a new building in Beach Camp where the sermons are usually laced with anti-Jewish screeds. He has never listened to rap music, or eaten at McDonald's, or heard of e-mail.

He sleeps on a reed mat in a room with eight of his siblings. He wakes up at 6 o'clock in the morning and eats a bit of cheese and falafel -- unless I wake up late; then I just run to school." In the rear of his mother's shop, in a metal cage, he keeps his pet birds, a dozen canaries. "I like the way they look and I like the way they sing," he told me. Muhammad recently marked his 15th birthday but hadn't received any presents. The last gift he'd been given was nearly a year before, to mark Id al-Fitr, the post-Ramadan feast. His mother bought him a new pair of pants, the ones he was now wearing, which were too long and rolled at the ankles. In school, he's good at math and carpentry and not that solid in his foreign language, which is English.

Muhammad has never once in his life left the Gaza Strip. Yet when asked where he's from he'll respond, as many in Gaza do, with the name of a town on the other side of the Green Line. His family left Hamman in 1948, soon after Israel declared its statehood, a period during which tens of thousands of Palestinians relocated to Gaza, which was then under Egyptian control. Gaza was captured by Israel during the 1967 Six-Day War, and the settlements were soon established. Muhammad's parents have told him stories about Hamman -- though they, too, have never been there. "It's a small town," Muhammad told me. "It's filled with olive trees. There are big fields, and the soil is good. The water is good. It's healthy to live there."

If Muhammad had the power to end the conflict, this is what he'd do: "I'd give Palestinians back all of their homeland, and I'd send the Israelis to the countries they came from."

And if the Israelis refused to leave?

"Then I'd kill them."

I asked Muhammad what he'd buy if he had money. "A gun," he said. The last two summers, he added, he attended a sleep-away camp where he learned to shoot M-16's and Kalashnikovs, firing at targets dressed up like Israeli soldiers. The camp was financed by the Palestinian National Authority, the governing body of the Palestinian-

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controlled areas of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. This summer he's going again. As soon as he's 16, he told me, he'll join the Palestinian security services.

What would you buy, I asked him, if you could purchase more than just a gun?

"I'd buy a tank," he said.

But what if there were peace? Then what would you buy?

Muhammad thought for a second. He looked upward, as if calculating something, then grinned in a way that involved his entire face. "I'd buy a bicycle," he said. "A mountain bike. I'd buy a cell phone. I'd buy a bed, and a bedroom, and a desk, and a soccer ball. And a TV. And chocolate. I'd buy a lot of chocolate. I love chocolate."

On the way to Muhammad's house, we stopped at Martyrs' Square, the centerpiece of Beach Camp, where a plaque lists 73 names of men and boys from the camp who have died fighting the Israelis. A ceremony known as a "martyr's wedding" was being held for Ahmed and Ibrahim. A large green tarp had been stretched over much of the square for the three-day celebration. Men sat in plastic chairs, drinking coffee and smoking apple-flavored tobacco from elegant water pipes. There were streamers hung with miniature Palestinian flags, and a disk jockey played the theme music of the uprising, most notably "Jerusalem Never Dies," by the Egyptian singer Hani Shaker. Here, the graffiti reached critical mass; every political group had painted a sign congratulating Ahmed and Ibrahim for dying in the service of God. There were a pair of billboard-size murals, one of a burning Israeli flag, the other of a young boy hurling a stone. Kids jumped around on the empty chairs. A banner flew overhead, courtesy of the Popular Liberation Front: "If You Want to Die -- Die a Martyr, Amid the Bullets."

The festival felt neither weddinglike nor funereal. It was odd, stilted, like an ill-rehearsed play. Ahmed's father, Sliman, was sitting in the center of the square fingering a strand of prayer beads. People were all around him, yet he appeared to be alone. He had a gray mustache and a drawn face and curly hair, tinted with some of the red I'd seen in Ahmed's hair. "I'm proud of my son; he fought for our homeland," he said, avoiding eye contact, his voice a monotone. "He was very brave. A very brave boy."

The women gathered at the family home, one street away. Ahmed had seven brothers and two sisters, all of whom lived in two underfurnished rooms. Ahmed's mother, Afaf, sat cross-legged in her black robe, clutching her son's book bag, surrounded by friends and relatives. There was an old yellow refrigerator in the corner and a ceiling fan overhead, but no electricity. A tray of dates served as refreshments. Unlike Ahmed's father, Afaf was animated and emotive and loud. What she said, though, bore no relation to what she was asked. She was simply chanting phrases. "I am proud," she said. "so proud. Look at how beautiful his wedding is. What a grand celebration. Thanks be to God. Did you see how his face shone? Oh, he is still alive! I will give all my children, if that's what it takes to get our homeland back. All of them can become martyrs. It will be a dignity to me."

At Karni crossing, several of the boys casually mentioned that dying would not only transport them to paradise, it would also bring riches to their families. When a Palestinian is martyred in the war, no matter his age, the Palestinian National Authority issues a one-time payment of \$2,000 to his family, followed by monthly payments of \$150 that continue until the last child has left the house. The Red Crescent, an Islamic relief organization, contributes an additional \$2,500. And the government of Iraq donates \$10,000 to every martyr's family. Saddam Hussein has pledged \$4.5 million to the Palestinian Authority -- enough to cover 450 martyrs -- and Gaza newspapers frequently run ads from martyrs' families thanking the Iraqi leader for his largess.

Ahmed's father told me that the Palestinian Authority's payment had already been delivered. The \$2,000 came in an envelope, in United States currency. He was expecting the rest of the money in a matter of days. The first thing he planned to purchase, he said, was a set of Korans imprinted with Ahmed's name. He'd distribute them to his friends in Beach Camp. Next, he'd buy a carpet for the mosque. Finally, he said, with the remainder of the money, the family would buy a house. "We are 12 people living in two rooms," he explained. He said he was looking for a little plot of land, where the family could grow olive trees. This is what Ahmed would have wanted, he mentioned. He had been unemployed for some time and said that there was no other way the family would ever be able to leave Beach Camp. "Ahmed always asked why we couldn't move out of this camp and have a nice house," he said. "Now we

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can." His wife, he added, was pregnant. The notion of an impending birth caused him to pause and, for the first time during our conversation, look directly at me and smile. "If it's a boy," he announced, "we'll name him Ahmed."

Muhammad's home is a few steps from Martyrs' Square, down one of Beach Camp's narrow alleys. There were three rooms, two with dirt floors covered by rattan mats and one with a cement floor overlaid by a flowered carpet, the family's most valuable possession. The kitchen consisted of a few aluminum pots and a tiny propane stove, like one that might be used on a camping trip. There was no furniture. All of the family's clothes were kept in suitcases or plastic bags, as if, after 52 years, they still hadn't decided to move in.

Anaam, Muhammad's mother, was sitting in her store, a windowless box that sold soda, candy, eggs, flour, teacups and tampons. She wore a black-and-white checkered head cloth and a brick-red robe; her 5-year-old daughter, Esraam, sat on her lap. The store is a popular place, mainly because neighborhood kids know that they can stop by after school and Anaam will give them each a free piece of candy. There was electricity and a television, which was perpetually tuned to the Palestinian network, where endless images of Israeli soldiers' brutality accompanied a soundtrack of nationalistic songs. Muhammad and I slipped behind the counter and sat down.

"You know," said Muhammad's mother, gazing at her son, "he goes to sleep scared and he wakes up scared." Muhammad sunk into his seat and rolled his feet on edge. When a friend of his stopped by a minute later, he made his escape. Anaam kept talking. She explained what happened to Raed, her oldest son. Raed is 28 years old. In 1995, he was shot in the mouth while stoning Israeli soldiers. The family can't afford dental work, and so he still has no teeth. Then she told me about her husband. It was a few months before Raed was shot, during a time the Israelis had imposed a strict curfew on Gaza. Her husband heard the 5 a.m. call to prayer and decided, defiantly, to walk to the mosque. A group of five soldiers caught him just outside the house and began beating him. The family rushed out to see what was happening. Muhammad watched as the soldiers broke his father's right arm with a billy club. He watched as they pounded his legs. "He started screaming: 'My dad is dying! My dad is dying!'" said Anaam. "He wanted to go after the soldiers, and I had to hold him back. I had to tell him no, you can't go after them."

Ever since then, she said, Muhammad has harbored a frightening anger. "He's told me, 'Mom, I've had enough of this life,' and it's made me scared. I've told him: 'Muhammad, please don't. You're too young. You're still a child.' But when the boys see their friends killed, they get angry, and they go to the clashes. Even if he'll go to heaven, no mother wants her child to die. I've told him that throwing stones at Jews will not make him a martyr. I've told him the real sacrifice is staying at home and helping care for his family. If you die doing that, I said, then you're a real martyr. I've told him that if he goes to the front and dies, then I'll be angry at him, and you know how God is -- God will never accept your martyrdom if your mother is angry at you. He said, 'O.K., Mom, I'll stay.' But every time he asks for a shekel I'm worried that it's for a cab to go to the clashes. I worry that the neighbors will come by and say, 'Congratulations, your boy is a martyr.' The last two days, since Ibrahim and Ahmed have gone, I've just sat and looked at him, at how beautiful he is."

And then she pulled her scarf over her eyes and began to sob.

I found Muhammad just down the alley from the store, playing marbles with his friend. He'd taken his bird cage out, and his canaries were taking in a bit of sun. It was late in the afternoon, and the shadows were long. There was a clanging of the water truck's bell, and the neighborhood women grabbed their containers and headed into the street. The sky held the contrail of an Israeli fighter jet; on patrol, as always. Muhammad looked at me with a crooked face and asked if I told his mom that he'd gone to the clashes. I shook my head no. He shifted closer and whispered that he'd once stolen a shekel from the shop's till, so that he could take a cab to Karni crossing. I said that his mom would be very upset, and he said that he knew.

"Are you sure," I asked, "that you want to be a martyr?"

"Yes," he said. "I want to be a martyr."

"Do you know what that means?"

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"Throwing stones and Molotovs."

"No," I said, curious. "That's not what it means. It means dying."

"I'll take a bullet in the leg," he said.

"That doesn't make you a martyr. You would have to take one in the head."

"My brother was shot in the head."

"To be a martyr," I said, "it has to go all the way through. Are you sure you want to be a martyr?"

"No," said Muhammad. "I want to be an architect."

Finding a comfortable position in the hold was hopeless. The hull was V-shaped, and large waves sent everyone sliding into the center, tossing us about like laundry. I exchanged hellos with the people around me -- Wesley and Tijuana and Wedell and Andien -- but there seemed nothing further to say. Every hour, an electronic watch chirped from somewhere in the dark. One man read from a scrap of a paperback book, Chapters 29 through 33 of a work called "Garden of Lies." From here and there came the murmurs of sleep. The occasional, taut conversations between Stephen and David consisted primarily of reveries about reaching America. David said that he wanted to work in the fields, picking tomatoes or watermelon. His dream was to marry an American woman. Stephen's fantasy was to own a pickup truck, a red one.

The rules of the boat had been established by Gilbert. Eight people were allowed on deck at once; the rest had to remain in the hold. Six spots were reserved by Gilbert and the crew. The other two were filled on a rotating basis -- a pair from the deck switched with a pair from the hold every 20 minutes or so. This meant each person would be allowed out about once every six hours. A crowded deck, Gilbert explained, would interfere with the crew and rouse the suspicions of passing boats. More important, people were needed in the hold to provide ballast -- too much weight up top and the boat would tip.

Of the 46 people on the boat, 5 were women. They were crammed together into the nether reaches of the hold, visible only as silhouettes. The further back one crawled into the hold, the hotter it got. Where the women were it must have been crippling. Occasionally they braided one another's hair, but they appeared never to speak. They were the last to be offered time on deck, and their shifts seemed significantly shorter than those of the men.

The oldest person on the boat was a 40-year-old passenger named Desimeme; the youngest was 13-year-old Kenton. The average age was about 25. Unlike the migrants of the early 90's, who tended more heavily to be families and rural peasants, most Haitian escapees are now young, urban males. The reason for this shift is probably an economic one. In recent years, according to people on le Tortue, the price for a crossing has become vastly inflated, and women and farmers are two of Haiti's lowest-paid groups.

Two hours after leaving, the seasickness began. There was a commotion in the rear of the hold, and people started shouting, and a yellow bucket -- at one time it was a margarine container -- was tossed below. It was passed back. The man who was sick filled it up, and the bucket was sent forward, handed up, dumped overboard and passed back down. A dozen pairs of hands reached for it. The yellow bucket went back and forth. It also served as our bathroom, an unavoidable humiliation we each had to endure. Not everyone could wait for the bucket to arrive, and in transferring the container in pitching seas it was sometimes upended. The contents mingled with the water that sloshed ankle-deep about the bottom of the hold. The stench was overpowering.

One of the sickest people on board was Kenton, the 13-year-old boy. He lay jackknifed next to me in the hold, clutching his stomach, too ill to grab for the bucket. I slipped him a seasickness pill, but he was unable to keep it down. Kenton was a cousin of one of the crew members. He had been one of the last people to board the boat. In the scramble to fill the final spots, there was no room for both him and his parents, so he was sent on alone. His parents, I'd overheard, had promised that they'd be on the very next boat, and when Kenton boarded he was bubbly and smiling, as if this were going to a grand adventure. Now he was obviously petrified, but also infused with an

Playing War

especially salient dose of Haitian mettle -- as he grew weaker he kept about him an iron face. Never once did he cry out. He had clearly selected a favorite shirt for the voyage: a New York Knicks basketball jersey.

This did not seem like the appropriate time to eat, but dinner was ready. The boat's stove, on deck, was an old automobile tire rim filled with charcoal. There was also a large aluminum pot and a ladle. The meal consisted of dumplings and broth -- actually, boiled flour balls and hot water. Most people had brought a bowl and spoon with them, and the servings were passed about in the same manner as the bucket. When the dumplings were finished, Hanson, one of the crew members, came down into the hold. He was grasping a plastic bag that was one of his personal possessions. Inside the bag was an *le Tortue* specialty -- ground peanuts and sugar. He produced a spoon from his pocket, dipped it into the bag, and fed a spoonful to the man nearest him, carefully cupping his chin as if administering medicine. Then he wormed his way through the hold, inserting a heaping spoon into everyone's mouth. His generosity was appreciated, but the meal did little to help settle people's stomachs. The yellow bucket was again in great demand.

Hours trickled by. There was nothing to do, no form of diversion. The boat swayed, the sun shone, the heat intensified. People were sick; people were quiet. Eyes gradually dimmed. Everyone seemed to have withdrawn into themselves, as in the first stages of shock. Heads bobbed and hung, fists clenched and opened. Thirst was like a tight collar about our throats. It was the noiselessness of the suffering that made it truly frightening -- the silent panic of deep fear.

Shortly before sunset, when we'd been at sea nearly 12 hours, I was allowed to take my second stint on deck. By now there was nothing around us but water. The western sky was going red and our shadows were at full stretch. The sail snapped and strained against its rigging; the waves, at last, sounded like waves. Gilbert was standing at the prow, gazing at the horizon, a hand cupped above his eyes, and as I watched him a look of concern came across his face. He snapped around, distressed, and shouted one word: "Hamilton!" Everyone on deck froze. He shouted it again. Then he pointed to where he'd been staring, and there, in the distance, was a ship of military styling, marring the smooth seam between sea and sky. Immediately, I was herded back into the hold.

A Hamilton, Stephen whispered, is Haitian slang for a Coast Guard ship -- it's also, not coincidentally, the name of an actual ship. The news flashed through the hold, and in reflexive response everyone crushed deeper into the rear, away from the opening, as though this would help avoid detection. Gilbert paced the deck, manic. He sent two of the crew members down with us, and then he, too, descended. He burrowed toward his cubby, shoving people aside, unlocked the door and wedged himself in. And then he began to chant, in a steady tone both dirgelike and defiant. The song paid homage to Agwe, the Voodoo spirit of the sea, and when Gilbert emerged, still chanting, several people in the hold took up the tune, and then he climbed up and the crew began chanting, too. It was an ethereal tune, sung wholly without joy, a signal of desperate unity that seemed to imply we'd sooner drift to Nova Scotia than abandon our mission. Some of these people, it seemed, really were willing to sacrifice their lives to try and get to America. Our captain was one of them.

Over the singing came another sound, an odd buzz. Then there were unfamiliar voices -- non-Haitian voices, speaking French. In the hold, people snapped out of their stupor. Stephen grabbed his necklace. David chewed on the meat of his palm. I stood up and peeked out. The buzz was coming from a motorized raft that had pulled beside us. Six people were aboard, wearing orange life vests imprinted with the words *u.s. coast guard*. Gilbert was sitting atop one of our water drums, arms folded, flashing our interlopers a withering look. Words were shouted back and forth -- questions from the Coast Guard, blunt rejoinders from Gilbert.

"Where are you headed?"

"Miami."

"Do you have docking papers?"

"No."

"What are you transporting?"

Playing War

"Rice."

"Can we have permission to board?"

"No."

There was nothing further. In the hold everyone was motionless. People tried not to breathe. Some had their palms pushed together in prayer. One man pressed his fingertips to his forehead. Soon I heard the buzz again, this time receding, and the Coast Guard was gone. Gilbert crouched beside the scuttle and spoke. This had happened on his last crossing, he said. The Coast Guard just comes and sniffs around. They were looking for drugs, but now they've gone. Then he mentioned one additional item. As a precaution, he said, nobody would be allowed onto the deck, indefinitely.

The reaction to this news was subtle but profound. There was a general exhalation, as if we'd each been kicked in the stomach, and then a brief burst of conversation -- more talking than at any time since we'd set sail. The thought of those precious minutes on deck had been the chief incentive for enduring the long hours below. With Gilbert's announcement, something inside of me -- some scaffolding of fortitude -- broke. We'd been at sea maybe 14 hours; we had a hundred to go, minimum. Ideas swirled about my head, expanding and consuming like wildfire. I thought of drowning, I thought of starving, I thought of withering from thirst.

Then, as if he'd read my mind, David took my right hand and held it. He held it a long time, and I felt calmer. He looked at my eyes; I looked at his. This much was clear: David wasn't willing to heed his own words. He wasn't prepared to die. He was terrified, too. This wasn't something we discussed until much later, though he eventually admitted it.

When David let go of my hand, the swirling thoughts returned. I wrestled with the idea of triggering the Epirb. People were weak -- I was weak -- and it occurred to me that I had the means to save lives. But though pressing the button might lead to our rescue, it would certainly dash everyone's dreams. There was also the concern that I'd be caught setting it off, the repercussions of which I did not want to ponder. I made a decision.

"Chris," I said. I was whispering.

"Yes."

"I'm going to use the thing."

"Don't."

"Don't?"

"No, don't. Wait."

"How long?"

"Just wait."

"I don't think I can."

"Just wait a little."

"O.K. I'll wait a little."

I waited a little, a minute at a time. Four more hours passed. Then, abruptly, the buzz returned. Two buzzes. This time there was no conversation, only the clatter of Coast Guard boots landing on our deck. At first, it seemed as though there might be violence. The mood in the hold was one of reckless, nothing-to-lose defiance. I could see it in the set of people's jaws, and in the vigor that suddenly leapt back into their eyes. This was our boat; strangers were not invited -- they were to be pummeled and tossed overboard, like the old man who had tried to stow away. Then

Playing War

lights were shined into the hold, strong ones. We were blinded. There was no place for us to move. The idea of revolt died as quickly as it had ignited. Eighteen hours after we'd set sail, the trip was over.

Six at a time, we were loaded into rubber boats and transported to the Coast Guard cutter *Forward*, a ship 270 feet long and nine stories high. It was 4 o'clock in the morning. Nobody struggled, no weapons were drawn. We were frisked and placed in quarantine on the flight deck, in a helicopter hangar. Three Haitians were so weak from dehydration that they needed assistance walking. The Coast Guard officers were surprised to see journalists on board, but we were processed with the other Haitians. We were each supplied with a blanket, a pair of flip-flops and a toothbrush. We were given as much water as we could drink. We were examined by a doctor. The *Forward's* crew members wore two layers of latex gloves whenever they were around us.

The *Forward's* commanding officer, a 19-year Coast Guard veteran named Dan MacLeod, came onto the flight deck. He pulled me aside. The Coast Guard, he said, had not lost sight of our boat since we'd first been spotted. He'd spent the previous four hours contacting Haitian authorities, working to secure an S.N.O. -- a Statement of No Objection -- that would permit the Coast Guard to stop a Haitian boat in international waters. When David and Stephen learned of this, they were furious. There is the feeling among many Haitians of abandonment by the United States -- or worse, of manipulation. American troops helped restore Aristide to power, then they vanished. Now, because there is democracy in Haiti, the United States has a simple excuse for rejecting Haitian citizenship claims: Haitians are economic, not political migrants. For those Haitians who do enter America illegally -- the United States Border Patrol estimates that between 6,000 and 12,000 do so each year -- it is far better to try to seep into the fabric of the Haitian-American community than to apply for asylum. In 1999, 92 percent of Haitian asylum claims were rejected.

As soon as the Haitian government granted permission, the Coast Guard had boarded our boat. Though illegal migrants were suspected to be on board -- two large water barrels seemed a bit much for just a crew -- the official reason the boat had been intercepted, Officer MacLeod told me, was because we were heading straight for a reef. "You were off course from Haiti about two degrees," he said. "That's not bad for seat-of-the-pants sailing, but you were heading directly for the Great Inagua reef. You hadn't altered your course in three hours, and it was dark out. When we boarded your vessel you were 2,200 yards from the reef. You'd have hit it in less than 40 minutes."

Our boat running against a reef could have been lethal. The hull, probably, would have split. The current over the reef, Officer MacLeod informed me, is unswimmably strong. The reef is as sharp as a cheese grater. The *Epirb* would not have helped.

Even if we'd managed to avoid the reef -- if, by some good fortune, we'd changed course at the last minute -- we were still in danger. Officer MacLeod asked me if I'd felt the boat become steadier as the night progressed. I said I had. "That's the first sure sign you're sinking," he said. There was more. "You were in three-to-four-foot seas. At six-foot seas, you'd have been in a serious situation, and six-foot seas are not uncommon here. Six-foot seas would've taken that boat down." When I mentioned that we'd expected the trip to take four or five days, Officer MacLeod laughed. "They were selling you a story," he said. In the 18 hours since leaving Haiti, we had covered 30 miles. We'd had excellent conditions. The distance from Haiti to Nassau was 450 miles. Even with miraculous wind, it could have taken us 10 days. The doctor on board said we'd most likely have been dealing with fatalities within 48 hours.

The next day, it turned out, was almost windless. It was hotter than ever. And the seas were choppy -- seven feet at times, one officer reported. Another high-ranking officer added one more bit of information: a Coast Guard ship hadn't been in these waters at any time in the past two weeks. The *Forward* happened to be heading in for refueling when we were spotted.

Our trip, it appeared, had all the makings of a suicide mission. If there had been no *Epirb* and no Coast Guard, it's very likely that the *Believe in God* would have vanished without a trace. And our craft, said Officer MacLeod, was one of the sturdier sailboats he has seen -- probably in the top 20 percent. Most boats that make it, he mentioned, have a small motor. I wondered how many Haitians have perished attempting such a crossing. "That's got to be a very scary statistic," said Ron Labrec, a Coast Guard public affairs officer, though he wouldn't hazard a guess. He

Playing War

said it's impossible to accurately determine how many migrants are leaving Haiti and what percentage of them make it to shore.

But given the extraordinary number of people fleeing on marginal sailboats, it seems very likely that there are several hundred unrecorded deaths each year. Illegal migration has been going on for decades. It is not difficult to imagine that there are thousands of Haitian bodies on the bottom of the Caribbean.

We spent two days on the Forward, circling slowly in the sea, while it was determined where we would be dropped off. On May 16, everyone was deposited on Great Inagua Island and turned over to Bahamian authorities. Chris and I were released and the Haitians were placed in a detention center. The next day they were flown to Nassau and held in another detention center, where they were interviewed by representatives of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees. None were found to qualify for refugee status.

As for the Believe in God, the boat came to a swift end. The night we were captured, we stood along the rail of the flight deck as the Forward's spotlight was trained on our boat. It looked tiny in the ink-dark sea. The sail was still up, though the boat was listing heavily. Officer MacLeod had just started telling me about its unseaworthiness. "Watch," he said. As I looked, the mast leaned farther and farther down, as if bowing to the sea, until it touched the water. Then the boat slowly began to sink.

On May 30, all 44 Haitians were flown from Nassau to Port-au-Prince. They received no punishment from Haitian authorities. The next morning, Gilbert returned to le Tortue, already formulating plans for purchasing a second boat and trying to cross once more. Stephen also went home to le Tortue, but was undecided as to whether he'd try the journey again. David went back to Port-au-Prince, back to his small mahogany stand, back to his crumbling shack, where his personal space consisted of a single nail from which he hung the same black plastic bag he'd had on the boat. He said he felt lucky to be alive. He said he would not try again by boat, not ever. Instead, he explained, he was planning on sneaking overland into the Dominican Republic. There were plenty of tourists there and he'd be able to sell more mahogany. He told me he was already studying a new language, learning from a Spanish translation of "The Cat in the Hat" that he'd found in the street.

June 18, 2000

<http://www.nytimes.com>

Graphic

Photos: Youths throwing stones at Karni crossing in Gaza, by the wall where Ahmed Abutayeh and Ibrahim Omar, both 15, were killed by fire from Israeli troops.; Muhammad Saman washes his feet before Friday prayers. He once told his mother, "I've had enough of this life."; A boy leaping to touch a poster of the recently killed Ibrahim Omar at Martyrs' Square in Beach Camp, Gaza.; A young Arab is treated for a bullet wound in a Gaza clinic. During the author's two-week stay, 11 Palestinians were killed at Karni crossing. (Chris Anderson/Aurora for The New York Times) Photos: A United States coast guardsman boarding the sailboat Believe in God some 400 miles off the Bahamas last month. The Haitian migrant at right was carried off the boat, suffering from extreme dehydration.; Right: Stephen, left, and David, second from left, were among 41 people / including the author and photographer / stuffed into the hold. Left: Hours after the Coast Guard's arrival, the empty Believe in God founders in four-foot seas.; David in the Port-au-Prince room he shares with 13 others, two weeks after his failed journey to America. (Chris Anderson/Aurora, for The New York Times)

Load-Date: December 24, 2000

Playing War

End of Document

Hamas claims responsibility for bomb attack

Times Colonist (Victoria, British Columbia)

March 7, 2001 Wednesday Final Edition

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Section: News; Pg. A7; News

Length: 189 words

Dateline: BEIRUT

Body

BEIRUT (AP) -- A **Hamas** suicide bomber set off the explosion that killed three Israelis and the bomber himself in the Israeli coastal town of Netanya, a **Hamas** official said Tuesday.

The official, who spoke on condition of anonymity, said the Izzedin al-Kassam group, **Hamas**' military operations outfit, was behind the blast Sunday that also injured dozens of others.

Associated Press

A **Hamas** statement sent to Western news agencies in Beirut identified the bomber as Ahmed Omar Alyan, a 23-year-old Muslim prayer caller from the West Bank village of Nour Shams.

The statement said Alyan was the first of 10 suicide attackers that al-Kassam had trained to carry out suicide attacks against Israeli targets.

Hamas said the explosion in Netanya was set to coincide with the first day of Eid al-Adha, the feast of sacrifice, the most important holy day on the Muslim calendar.

Ahmed Alyan cleared security barriers with four kilograms of explosives, reaching Netanya at 8:55 a.m., **Hamas** said.

"The blood of our **women** and children will not go to waste, and al-Kassam brigades' response will always be quick and painful," the statement said.

Load-Date: March 29, 2002

HAMAS CALLS HALT TO BOMB MISSIONS

Birmingham Post

December 22, 2001, Saturday

Copyright 2001 Midland Independent Newspapers plc

Section: NEWS; Pg. 7

Length: 177 words

Body

The Islamic militant group **Hamas** has suspended suicide bombings and mortar attacks on Israelis, boosting chances for truce to take hold and end 15 months of fighting.

Hamas said the move was to preserve Palestinian unity, and is seen as a victory for Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat, who has been under intense pressure to stop attacks on Israel.

However, **Hamas** only referred to attacks in Israel, not the West Bank and Gaza Strip, leaving open the possibility of further violence.

The announcement came after two days of clashes between Palestinian police -- trying to enforce a ceasefire -- and supporters of **Hamas** and the smaller Islamic Jihad group. A 17-year-old Palestinian was killed in the fighting and 39 policemen and civilians were injured.

Israel's reaction was guarded. In the past 15 months of fighting, scores of Israelis have been killed in Islamic militant attacks.

"What's positive? That they stop terror activities in one place, but keep murdering **women** and children somewhere else?" said Raanan Gissin, an adviser to Prime Minister Ariel Sharon.

Load-Date: December 24, 2001

HAMAS RENEWS THREAT TO AVENGE BOMBMAKER

Dayton Daily News (Ohio)

April 5, 1998, Sunday,

CITY EDITION

Copyright 1998 Dayton Newspapers, Inc.

Section: NEWS,

Length: 138 words

Dateline: GAZA CITY, GAZA STRIP (AP)

Body

The radical Muslim group **Hamas** made new threats Saturday to avenge the violent death of its chief bombmaker.

Pro-**Hamas** students rallied in Gaza to denounce Israel, which they blame for the death of 32-year-old Mohiyedine Sharif.

Sharif's body was found March 29 near the scene of a car bomb explosion in the West Bank.

Israel said Sharif apparently died when a bomb exploded prematurely.

An initial Palestinian police statement said Sharif had been shot to death before the blast.

On Saturday, a Palestinian pathologist was quoted as saying it would be difficult to say definitively whether Sharif died from the gunshot or in the explosion.

Hamas on Friday threatened a worldwide bombing campaign to retaliate for Sharif's death. A new leaflet Saturday vowed to "open a new circle of war, not only inside the homeland, but everywhere."

Graphic

PHOTO: Palestinian **women** in Gaza City on Saturday protested the slaying of Mohiyedien Sharif, chief **Hamas** bombmaker. CREDIT: ABED KHATEEB/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Load-Date: April 7, 1998

INSIDE

The New York Times
December 21, 2001 Friday
Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2001 The New York Times Company

Section: Section A; Column 1; Metropolitan Desk; Pg. 1

Length: 124 words

Body

Hamas Leader Defies Arafat

A leader of **Hamas**, Dr. Abdel Aziz al-Rantisi, said the group intended to continue sending suicidal attackers against Israel and defied Yasir Arafat's efforts to arrest him. PAGE A3

Ruling Backs City Unions

The State Court of Appeals has ruled that the city's police and firefighter unions may ask a state panel to help resolve contract disputes, a change the unions had long sought. PAGE D1

3 at Center of Olympic Stage

Irina Slutskaya, Michelle Kwan and Sarah Hughes are the marquee names in **women's** figure-skating, the prime Winter Olympics event.

SPORTSFRIDAY, PAGE S1

New Red Sox Owners Picked

A group that is led by the owner of the Florida Marlins was chosen to buy the Boston Red Sox.

SPORTSFRIDAY, PAGE S1

<http://www.nytimes.com>

Load-Date: December 21, 2001

Israelis hit Gaza from air

Guelph Mercury (Ontario, Canada)
December 7, 2001 Friday Final Edition

Copyright 2001 Metroland Media Group Ltd

Section: NEWS; Pg. B11; News

Length: 150 words

Dateline: GAZA CITY, GAZA STRIP

Body

Israeli planes bombed a Palestinian police post in Gaza early Friday, increasing pressure on President Yasser Arafat to step up efforts to arrest suspected terrorists.

At least 20 people were wounded, Palestinian officials said.
AP

The renewed military action came hours after a crackdown by Arafat on Islamic militants met angry resistance in his own territory, as 1,500 **Hamas** supporters battled Palestinian riot police for hours outside the home of the group's leader. One **Hamas** supporter died in an exchange of fire.

The Israeli army said in a statement Friday's attack targeted the "Palestinian security apparatus that supports and aids terrorist operations. The army will continue its operations in order to defend the safety of Israeli citizens and soldiers."

Two police buildings were completely destroyed -- one a police dormitory, the other office space, including that of a **women**'s police division.

Load-Date: December 2, 2002

Israelis hit Gaza from air

Guelph Mercury (Ontario, Canada)
December 7, 2001 Friday Final Edition

Copyright 2001 Metroland Media Group Ltd

Section: NEWS; Pg. B11; NEWS

Length: 150 words

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Load-Date: December 8, 2001

Market bomb kills four

DAILY MAIL (London)

March 5, 2001

Copyright 2001 Associated Newspapers Ltd.

Section: Pg. 29

Length: 155 words

Body

A BOMBER killed himself and three others near a packed open-air market in Israel yesterday.

Witnesses said he detonated the bomb, which was in a bag, after he was stopped from boarding a bus in Netanya near the West Bank.

The other victims were an 85-year- old man and two women.

The city street was full during the morning rush-hour and at least 66 people were injured.

The blast followed a warning on Saturday from Islamic militant group Hamas that ten suicide bombers were poised to attack once Right-winger Ariel Sharon became prime minister, expected as early as this week.

But the fact that neither Hamas nor Islamic Jihad, the groups usually behind suicide bombings, claimed responsibility increased speculation that this attack was carried out by a mainstream Palestinian group such as Fatah.

It was the latest violence in a five-month-old Palestinian revolt against Israeli occupation in which more than 400 people have died.

Load-Date: March 6, 2001

TERROR BLAST KILLS FOUR

The Mirror
March 5, 2001, Monday

Copyright 2001 MGN Ltd.



Section: 1 Edition; NEWS; Pg. 8

Length: 95 words

Body

FOUR people were killed yesterday when a suicide bomber detonated a device in a busy marketplace.

The blast in the northern Israeli resort of Netanya injured at least 45 more.

Council worker William Weiss said: "There were hands, legs, flesh and a head thrown around."

As well as the bomber, two women and an 85-year-old man were killed.

Later an enraged mob in the city tried to lynch a Palestinian. He was last night having surgery for critical head wounds.

The Islamic militant Hamas recently warned of suicide tactics to undermine Ariel Sharon, Israel's incoming leader.

Load-Date: April 12, 2005

SUICIDE BOMBER KILLS THREE

The Express

March 5, 2001

Copyright 2001 EXPRESS NEWSPAPERS

Section: NEWS; Pg. 32

Length: 104 words

Body

FEARS of a new bloodbath grew in Israel yesterday after a Palestinian suicide bomber killed three Israelis and injured 68 during the morning rush-hour.

Residents of the coastal town of Netanya retaliated by attempting to lynch a Palestinian youth as **Hamas** guerrillas threatened to step up their bomb attacks.

The blast hurled a car into the air, shattered shop windows and demolished street market stalls. Victims were an 85-year-old man and two **women**. Ex-army general Ariel Sharon, who is about to become Prime Minister, said the attack showed that Palestinian leaders "were not taking the necessary steps to halt violence".

Load-Date: March 7, 2001

End of Document

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

International Herald Tribune (Neuilly-sur-Seine, France)

December 7, 2000, Thursday

Copyright 2000 International Herald Tribune

Section: Opinion; Pg. 11

Length: 119 words

Byline: International Herald Tribune

Body

The world seems to have forgotten that terrorism was a very important factor in the Zionist struggle for Israeli statehood.

Infrastructure in Mandate Palestine was blown up, innocent British soldiers were killed, Arab villagers - including women and children - were massacred, the UN mediator Folke Bernadotte was assassinated, etc., etc. The political success of this terrorism gave inspiration to the IRA in Britain and ETA in Spain - and probably also to Hezbollah and Hamas. The Israelis should be the first to understand the Palestinians' reaction to occupation and oppression. All that Israel should do is to comply with the various UN resolutions and international law. JOHN SCHMIDT. L'Alfas del Pi, Spain.

Load-Date: December 7, 2000

Terrorist groups recruit in our cities

Hobart Mercury (Australia)

October 5, 2001, Friday

Copyright 2001 Nationwide News Pty Limited

Length: 187 words

Byline: MICHAEL OWEN-BROWN

Body

SEVEN terrorist groups are actively recruiting members in Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide, a renowned international terrorism expert says.

Although not involved in directly planning terrorist acts, they are raising money and recruiting members through lectures and internet sites.

Rohan Gunaratna is a research fellow at the Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence in Scotland, and is a former principal investigator at the United Nations Terrorism Prevention Branch.

Speaking in Sydney yesterday, Dr Gunaratna called for the Federal Government to pass laws to restrict the operations of these groups and prevent them spreading "propaganda".

He named the groups active in Australia as **Hamas**, the Hezbollah, the Turkish PKK, the Chechen Mujahadeen, the Tamil Tigers and two Indian groups, Babbar Khalsa International and the International Sikh Youth Federation.

There were several hundred members in total in Australia, who recruited and indoctrinated new members in the aims of the terrorist groups, he said.

"These are terrorists who have killed many **women** and children and these groups are functioning here."

Load-Date: October 4, 2001

MOURNERS CALL FOR REVENGE ON ISRAEL

Daily Post (North Wales)

August 2, 2001, Friday

Copyright 2001 The Liverpool Daily Post & Echo Ltd

Section: NEWS; Pg. 14

Length: 147 words

Body

ANGRY Palestinians fired rifles into the air and called for revenge as tens of thousands of mourners poured into the streets of Nablus in a noisy funeral procession for eight Palestinians killed on Tuesday in an Israeli helicopter raid.

Clashes between armed Palestinians and Israeli forces followed the funeral. In the tense, divided West Bank town of Hebron, a Palestinian was killed during a gun battle.

Palestinians said Mohammed Sharabati, 35, was shot by Israeli soldiers while he was driving his car. Palestinians fired at a Jewish enclave in the town centre.

In Nablus, the huge crowd swarmed around the eight bodies as they were removed from a hospital morgue and carried through the streets on stretchers, covered with Palestinian flags.

Women and children screamed and cried. Many waved green flags of the radical group **Hamas**, whose offices were the target of the assault.

Graphic

VIOLENCE: A Palestinian throws a petrol bomb during riots in Hebron

Load-Date: August 21, 2001

Israel's Majority Politics

The New York Times

March 28, 1998, Saturday, Late Edition - Final

Copyright 1998 The New York Times Company

Distribution: Editorial Desk

Section: Section A; ; Section A; Page 14; Column 4; Editorial Desk ; Column 4; ; Letter

Length: 134 words

Body

To the Editor:

Yossi Melman (Op-Ed, March 25) notes with apparent disappointment that the Israeli parliamentary subcommittee investigating the failed attack on Khaled Meshal, the leader of Hamas, "does not express opposition" to Government-sponsored assassinations "on moral or ethical grounds."

To be sure, reasonable people can differ as to whether assassinations are an effective way to fight terrorism and save lives or may be counterproductive and ultimately provoke more revenge attacks.

But I fail to see any "moral or ethical" objection to a government's trying to assassinate and thus permanently disable those who have already either murdered innocent men, women and children or who have chosen to participate in enterprises that actively plan such attacks.

STUART A. BLANDER

New York, March 25, 1998

Load-Date: March 28, 1998

World News Briefs;
Israel Gives Terrorist Four Life Sentences

The New York Times

May 4, 1998, Monday, Late Edition - Final

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Distribution: Foreign Desk

Section: Section A; ; Section A; Page 7; Column 3; Foreign Desk ; Column 3;

Length: 140 words

Byline: AP

Dateline: LOD, Israel, May 3

Body

An Israeli military court sentenced a convicted Palestinian terrorist today to four life terms in prison.

The Palestinian, Riyad Abu Hamdiya, 22, was convicted of shooting a kidnapped Israeli soldier, planning the March 1997 bombing of a Tel Aviv cafe that killed three women and taking part in two drive-by shootings that left three Israelis dead.

Mr. Abu Hamdiya's confessions and those of an associate were the key pieces of evidence. Mr. Abu Hamdiya belonged to a Hamas cell operating out of the West Bank village of Surif. Four other members of the so-called Surif gang are awaiting sentencing. The cell that has been blamed for the deaths of at least 11 Israelis in the last two years and the wounding of 13 people in Tel Aviv street bombings in January 1997.

Mr. Abu Hamdiya said he had acted in defense of Palestinians wronged by Israel.

Load-Date: May 4, 1998

AMERICAS & MIDDLE EAST: Suicide bomb attack kills three Israelis

Financial Times (London, England)

March 5, 2001 Monday

London Edition 1

Copyright 2001 The Financial Times Limited

Section: AMERICAS & MIDDLE EAST ; Pg. 10

Length: 463 words

Byline: By AVI MACHLIS

Dateline: JERUSALEM

Body

Israel is bracing itself for a wave of terror inside its borders after a suicide bomber blew himself up yesterday morning in the coastal resort of Netanya, north of Tel Aviv, killing himself and three Israelis and wounding at least 45 others.

The blast killed two women and an elderly man when it was detonated at a bustling intersection just a day after Hamas, the radical Palestinian Islamist group, warned it was preparing fresh strikes. Hamas said it had recruited 10 suicide bombers eager to greet Ariel Sharon, the rightwing prime minister-elect, with fresh bloodshed on the day he takes power.

Hamas, which has recently refrained from claiming responsibility for bombings in Israel, did not claim involvement in yesterday's attack. However, some Islamist officials heaped praise on the bomber and Mahmoud Zahar, a Hamas spokesman, promised: "The resistance will continue."

Amid the violence, Mr Sharon and his Likud party were putting the finishing touches to a broad national unity coalition, after stitching up a deal with the extreme nationalist Yisrael Beteinu/National Union bloc at the weekend. Last night Likud initialled a coalition accord with Shas, the powerful ultra-Orthodox party.

Mr Sharon expects to present the government formally later this week, and some analysts say Palestinian militants will step up attacks after his inauguration.

While most of the six-month-old Palestinian intifada, or uprising, has focused on attacks on Israelis in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, yesterday's bombing was the third time since Wednesday that bombs had exploded in the heart of Israel.

As ambulances whisked away the wounded, a Palestinian was nearly lynched as he tried to flee the scene and angry Israeli residents attacked him.

The bombing came after a violent weekend in which five Palestinians were killed in incidents throughout the occupied territories. In al-Bireh, near the West Bank city of Ramallah, a 46-year-old woman was shot dead. A nine-year-old boy was also shot dead in al-Bireh, and a 13-year-old boy in Gaza died after being shot earlier in the week.

AMERICAS & MIDDLE EAST: Suicide bomb attack kills three Israelis

Israeli officials blamed the Palestinian Authority for yesterday's bombing; Palestinian officials blamed Israel for the escalation.

Mr Sharon said the attack reinforced the need for a national unity government to bring security, but even the policy emerging from his aides and incoming ministers did not explain how this would come about.

Binyamin Ben-Eliezer, the hawkish Labour member who on Friday was selected to serve as defence minister, said the incoming government would focus on "the perpetrators of attacks and those who send them" while striving to reduce "collective punishment against the general Palestinian population". For regional reports, www.ft.com/mideastafrica

Load-Date: March 4, 2001

End of Document

Israel refuses to relax occupation of West Bank towns: Four weeks on, quick snatch operations and assassinations have replaced big incursions, reports Harvey Morris:

Financial Times (London, England)

November 15, 2001 Thursday

London Edition 1

Copyright 2001 The Financial Times Limited

Section: MIDDLE EAST & ASIA-PACIFIC ; Pg. 13

Length: 736 words

Byline: By HARVEY MORRIS

Body

The Israeli occupation of Palestinian-controlled areas of the West Bank today enters its fifth week with no sign that the government plans to bow to international demands to complete its withdrawal.

Troops have pulled out of areas in and around four towns they occupied following the October 17 assassination of Rehavam Zeevi, the tourism minister. They remain in place, however, near Jenin and Tulkarem, both close to the Israeli border.

A Palestinian woman was killed in her Tulkarem home on Monday during an exchange of fire between troops stationed in the occupied area and Palestinian gunmen.

The latest demand for a withdrawal - swiftly rejected by Israeli officials - came on Monday, when the five permanent members of the United National Security Council coupled a call for an Israeli pull-out with a demand for an end to Palestinian violence.

While the occupation continues, there has nevertheless been a switch in Israeli tactics away from large-scale and prolonged incursions in favour of swift snatch operations by special forces aimed at detaining terrorist suspects. Meanwhile, the army has pursued a policy of assassinating those it says were planning attacks on Israel.

In one operation on Monday troops, who included members of the undercover Duvdevan unit, raided a village near the West Bank town of Nablus before dawn, killed a **Hamas** member and arrested 45 other Palestinians. The army said the **Hamas** man was killed in an exchange of fire.

The army is understood to believe that small-scale pinpoint operations are just as effective as large-scale incursions by tanks and troops into Palestinian cities, and less likely to dominate international headlines.

The offensive in the Palestinian territories is being carried out against a background of accusations by Israeli officials that Yassir Arafat, the Palestinian Authority president, is still not doing enough to contain radical elements within his jurisdiction.

Israel refuses to relax occupation of West Bank towns: Four weeks on, quick snatch operations and assassinations have replaced big incursions, reports Harvey Mo....

Binyamin Ben-Eliezer, the defence minister, said this week: "Today there is no difference among (Mr Arafat's) Fatah, Tanzim (the Fatah militia), Islamic Jihad and Hamas, except that they are all competing with one another in their extremism."

Major General Amos Malka, director of military intelligence, meanwhile told members of the Knesset's foreign affairs and defence committee that security forces had foiled 16 attempted terror attacks in the last month, 10 of which were planned to have caused multiple casualties.

Those detained recently included three alleged members of a Fatah cell who were said to be planning a bomb attack near the Tomb of the Patriarchs, located near a Jewish enclave in the West Bank city of Hebron. They were also said to be planning attacks against targets in east Jerusalem.

There have been no big bomb attacks since Zeevi was shot dead in Jerusalem a month ago. This may indicate that the Israeli offensive against would-be bombers, coupled with the closure of Palestinian towns, is hindering their activities. Or it could reflect a change in tactics on the part of the Palestinian radicals.

While no bomber has got through the "green line" into Israel, there have been a number of shootings in which Israeli civilians have been targeted.

Among the most serious were in Hadera, near Tel Aviv, on October 29, where four women died, and in Jerusalem on November 4, where two people were killed in an attack on a bus.

The shootings, claimed by Palestinian Islamic groups, have in effect been suicide attacks, since the attackers are invariably killed by security forces or armed civilians. The Israeli reaction to the Hadera shooting, and another attack on the same day near Wadi Ara, was to tighten the grip on Jenin and Tulkarem, from where the gunmen were believed to have come.

Despite the shootings, some Palestinians believe Islamic groups may be keeping a low profile in the present stage of the conflict. From before Mr Zeevi's murder - by the secular Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine - Hamas appeared to be generally going along with a unilateral ceasefire declared by the Palestinians in the wake of the September 11 attacks on the US.

Hisham Ahmad, political analyst at Bir Zeit university near Ramallah, said: "The Islamic groups have been maintaining a low profile, but that may mean they're concentrating on more underground planning. It's not that they're being quiet because they want to be nice." www.ft.com/intifada

Load-Date: November 14, 2001

No Headline In Original

Courier Mail (Queensland, Australia)

November 3, 1998, Tuesday

Copyright 1998 Nationwide News Pty Limited

Section: NEWS; Pg. 17

Length: 249 words

Body

Arafat kill threat

JERUSALEM: The military wing of the Muslim militant Hamas movement yesterday accused Yasser Arafat of betraying the Palestinian people for signing a land-for-security deal with Israel at the White House on October 23 and warned that the deal could turn Hamas guns on Palestinian police. Also yesterday, Lebanon's radical Hizbollah group called on the Palestinians to kill Mr Arafat for signing the peace deal.

QNP

Nanny death suit

BOSTON: Former nanny Louise Woodward is to be presented with a damages bill over the death of baby Matthew Eappen. In a wrongful death lawsuit, Deborah and Sunil Eappen will ask a Boston judge to award them up to \$13.4 million for the loss of their eight-month-old son. The award would make it impossible for the nanny to make money through US book, film or newspaper deals.

War crimes trial

BUENOS AIRES: Argentina granted extradition to bring alleged World War II death camp guard Nada Sakic to her native Croatia yesterday to face trial like her husband Dinko Sakic, who was extradited in June. Nada Sakic is alleged to have worked at the women's section of a concentration camp run by her husband when Croatia was under the Ustashe regime.

Falklands talks

BUENOS AIRES: Negotiations over the sovereignty of the Falkland Islands could begin in the next three years, according to Argentine President Carlos Menem. But a British Government spokesman said: "It was made clear at the Downing Street talks that sovereignty was not a matter for negotiation."

Load-Date: March 1, 2002

WORLD IN BRIEF

The Atlanta Journal and Constitution

March 2, 2000, Thursday,

Final Edition

Copyright 2000 The Atlanta Constitution

Section: News; Pg. 4A

Length: 312 words

Byline: From our news services

Body

Palestinian militants killed during raid

Israeli security forces today tried to storm a Palestinian militants' hide-out in an apartment building in Taibeh, an Arab town in northern Israel, and two Palestinians were killed, officials said. A third guerrilla was captured, and a fourth apparently escaped, radio reports said. A member of Israel's special anti-terrorist squad was wounded in the foot. The four gunmen were members of the Islamic militant group Hamas, Palestinian security officials said.

Hamas has carried out a series of terror attacks to disrupt Israeli- Palestinian peacemaking. Israeli security forces tried to storm the building before dawn. Neighbors said they heard the sound of gunfire and explosions. JOURNAL

Head-on train collision kills 3 in Denmark

Two regional trains collided head-on in western Denmark today, killing two train conductors and a female passenger and injuring 28 others, police said. The accident took place on a side track at the Koelkaer railway station, 170 miles west of Copenhagen. The two trains held up to 70 passengers, according to police. A southbound train from nearby Herning was stopped at the station when a train headed north to Struer swung into its path instead of passing by on the main track, police said. The cause of the accident before dawn was not immediately known.

U.N. official pans China for human rights abuses

China's violations of key civil and political rights such as freedom of speech, religion and association have worsened in the past year, U.N. human rights chief Mary Robinson said today following talks with senior government officials in Beijing. Chinese leaders hoped to use Robinson's visit to mute foreign critics. But her visit appeared likely to bring Beijing more bad publicity as the U.S. seeks to censure China at the upcoming meeting of the U. N. Human Rights Commission March 20 in Geneva.

Load-Date: March 3, 2000

No Headline In Original

Pittsburgh Post-Gazette (Pennsylvania)

November 1, 2001 Thursday

SOONER EDITION

Copyright 2001 P.G. Publishing Co.

Section: WORLD,; WORLD BRIEFS

Length: 656 words

Body

6 MILITANTS KILLED IN ISRAELI STRIKES

JERUSALEM -- An Israeli helicopter missile killed a senior member of the Palestinian militant group **Hamas** yesterday, and Israeli troops gunned down five other militants.

In a midmorning Israeli strike, a helicopter gunship rocketed a barn in the West Bank city of Hebron, killing Jamil Jadallah, who the army said was a senior **Hamas** member involved in dozens of attacks against Israelis.

Another **Hamas** member, Abdullah Jarwushi, was gunned down by an Israeli tank in the northern West Bank town of Tulkarem. The army said it opened fire on a suspicious car whose passengers had fired on Israeli soldiers.

In a third clash, two Palestinian policemen plotting with a group to attack Jewish settlers were killed by Israeli soldiers who ambushed them near Bazaria, about 15 miles northwest of Nablus.

Also, after nightfall, Israeli troops moved deeper into Qalqilya, one of the four towns Israel is holding, and opened fire on armed Palestinians, killing two.

New regime for Burundians

NAIROBI, Kenya -- Beset by eight years of ethnic violence, Burundians today attempt to write a new chapter in their bloody history by ushering in a government that will eventually transfer power to the Hutu majority.

Current President Pierre Buyoya, an ethnic Tutsi, will serve as Burundi's leader for the next 18 months. Domitien Ndayizeye, a Hutu, will serve as Buyoya's vice president. In the second 18-month phase, roles will be reversed, with a Hutu serving as president and a Tutsi as his deputy. Under a peace agreement, democratic elections will be held at the end of the three-year transition.

Suicide bombers blast ship

BATTICALOA, Sri Lanka -- Tamil Tiger rebels claimed responsibility yesterday for a suicide attack on a fuel-laden ship that left seven people dead.

Voice of Tigers Radio said four rebels were killed in Tuesday's attack by the elite Sea Tiger squad, which is made up of suicide volunteers. Two of the rebels were **women**. Three people on board the ship died and their bodies were recovered yesterday. The navy rescued 25 others.

No Headline In Original

The rebels rammed their explosive-packed boats into the M.T. Silk Price, which was carrying 660 tons of fuel for Jaffna, the main city in the north.

U.S.-Brazil space pact

BRASILIA, Brazil -- A key Brazilian Congress committee approved yesterday a treaty allowing the United States to launch satellites from its Alcantara space base but only after changes were made to the text which lawmakers had said was an affront to the country's sovereignty.

Only one out of 94 members of the foreign affairs committee voted against the treaty after amending it to eliminate a clause that would have given U.S. authorities exclusive access to areas of the tropical base where U.S. equipment would be used.

U.S.-Canadian lumber war

WASHINGTON -- The government is imposing a second layer of duties on Canadian lumber in an attempt to protect U.S. jobs from what it calls unfair competition. Opponents say American consumers will be hurt by higher prices for wood products.

A 12.6 percent tariff on softwood lumber will be placed on top of a 19.3 percent duty imposed in August, the Commerce Department said yesterday, further stirring a trade dispute that has gone on for decades. The Commerce Department also ruled separately on six Canadian forest products companies and set new tariffs for them ranging from 5.9 to 19.2 percent.

3 return from space

MOSCOW -- A French woman cosmonaut and two Russians who accompanied her to the International Space Station returned to Moscow yesterday, several hours after their capsule landed safely in the Kazakh steppe.

Claudie Haignere, flanked by crew captain Viktor Afanasyev and rookie flight engineer Konstantin Kozeyev, stepped off the plane at the Star City space training center outside Moscow to cheers from a crowd of friends and relatives.

The team brought a new rescue capsule to the ISS and conducted a series of experiments.

Load-Date: November 7, 2001

No Headline In Original

The Toronto Star
June 5, 1998, Friday, Edition 1

Copyright 1998 Toronto Star Newspapers, Ltd.

Section: NEWS

Length: 517 words

Body

Switzerland

BANKS MAKE HOLOCAUST OFFER

The big three Swiss banks, in a major breakthrough, have made a firm offer to Jewish negotiators to settle billions of dollars in claims against them for failing to return Holocaust-era assets, a source close to the negotiations said yesterday. The source said the package offer was made recently by Union Bank of Switzerland, Swiss Bank Corp. and Credit Suisse. It is believed to be more than \$1 billion.

United States

DAD ACCUSED OF KILLING TWINS

A suburban Pittsburgh man bludgeoned his 5-year-old twins to death with a sledgehammer yesterday because they were slow in getting ready for day care, police said. I just lost it," police quoted Vincent Spik, 37, as saying. Spik was charged with homicide.

Zambia

KAUNDA TO QUIT POLITICS

Newly freed from house arrest, former president Kenneth Kaunda said yesterday he intends to retire from opposition politics to become a peace mediator for Africa.

Gaza

COURT FREES HAMAS OFFICIAL

The Palestinian Supreme Court ordered yesterday the release of Hamas spokesperson Abdel Aziz Rantisi, jailed since April after

No Headline In Original

he made statements critical of Yasser Arafat's government.

Rantisi remained in custody last night.

Iraq

DISARMAMENT MAP' DRAWN UP

Chief U.N. arms inspector Richard Butler said yesterday he had drawn up a road map" for Iraq to follow to complete the scrapping of its weapons of mass destruction and would discuss with Baghdad the necessary driving instructions." If Iraq fully complied, the Security Council would presumably be nearer to lifting the sanctions in force since Baghdad's 1990 invasion of Kuwait.

Guatemala

SUSPECT INNOCENT: ACTIVISTS

Human rights leaders accused Guatemalan authorities yesterday charging the wrong man with the murder of a Roman Catholic bishop who led a probe into atrocities committed during the country's civil war. Bishop Juan Jose Gerardi was murdered in April, his head crushed by a cement block. The rights leaders say authorities have no evidence against Carlos Enrique Vielman.

Bulgaria

NATIONALIZATION LAW REVOKED

The country, struggling to break away from its communist-era legacy, yesterday revoked a 50-year-old law that nationalized the property of the country's former monarchs. The announcement of the Constitutional Court's decision coincided with a visit by Countess Maria-Luisa, sister of Bulgaria's exiled King Simeon II.

Czech Republic

CASANOVA REMEMBERED

Fans of the infamous womanizer Casanova, whose full name was Giovanni Giacomo Casanova, gathered yesterday in Duchcov to mark the 200th anniversary of his death. Women and men alike have been pouring by the hundreds into the Duchcov Castle, where the world's most renowned lover spent the last 13 years of his life, to take part in a four-day program of cultural and social events devoted to Casanova.

India

No Headline In Original

HEAT WAVE KILLS 730

At least 730 people have died in a blistering heat wave sweeping the eastern state of Orissa, officials said yesterday.

Temperatures peaked at 49 C on May 29 in the state's western town of Sambalpur. Yesterday, the mercury was touching 47 C.

From The Star's wire services

Load-Date: June 5, 1998

End of Document

Shoppers hurt as bombs explode

THE JOURNAL (Newcastle, UK)

January 2, 2001, Tuesday

Edition 1

Copyright 2001 Newcastle Chronicle & Journal Ltd

Section: INTERNATIONAL NEWS,

Length: 217 words

Body

Israel: Dozens of people were injured when a devastating car bomb exploded in the busy centre of an Israeli coastal city last night. At least 34 people were injured when the bomb detonated in a parked car in the city of Netanya, 21 miles north of Tel Aviv, setting off three rapid-fire blasts that shattered windows and blew apart vehicles on a crowded shopping street. "Cars were ripped up, women were screaming," a witness told army radio. Police ordered people from the area for fear of more bombs. Only one of the injured in the early evening blast was seriously hurt and Israeli Police Commissioner Shlomo Aharonishki said his officers suspected the man was involved in the bombing. The explosion increased tensions as United States President Bill Clinton stepped up pressure on Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat to sign on for peace talks within the outgoing White House chief's last three weeks in office. There was no immediate claim of responsibility. The Hamas militant group denied involvement, but called such attacks a "holy right" for Palestinians. Israel quickly threatened retaliation. "I think the time has come to stand up and say enough," Deputy Prime Minister Binyamin Ben Eliezer, a retired general, said. Israel immediately closed Gaza's airport, sealing off the territory entirely.

Load-Date: January 2, 2001

Pizza parlour bomb confirms Israel fears: Yesterday's attack in the centre of Jerusalem should have surprised nobody as Islamist militant groups have been promising retaliation for the assassination of terrorist suspects

Financial Times (London, England)

August 10, 2001 Friday

London Edition 1

Copyright 2001 The Financial Times Limited

Section: WORLD NEWS - AFRICA & MIDDLE EAST ; Pg. 10

Length: 681 words

Byline: By RALPH ATKINS

Dateline: JERUSALEM

Body

Jerusalem may be used to violence but nothing could have prepared its inhabitants for yesterday's suicide bombing in a city centre pizza restaurant, which killed 14, including six children, as well as the bomber.

In pavement cafes along crowded nearby streets some carried on with their lunches, but they strained to hear the television news, turned to highest volume, wherever there was a set. Some shops were shutting their doors within minutes of the explosion. There was an eerie calm, interrupted only by hushed mobile phone conversations or wailing ambulances.

It was the worst attack in Jerusalem since the start of the 10-month-old Palestinian uprising against Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza.

But nobody should have been surprised that an attack of some sort took place. The Islamist militant groups **Hamas** and Islamic Jihad have been promising retaliation for Israel's decision in recent weeks to step up its policy of assassinating those in the occupied territories it regards as terrorist suspects. "Today's attack was something we all feared," said one western diplomat.

Last week, an Israeli military helicopter attack on **Hamas** activists in Nablus, in the West Bank, killed eight, including two children. Yassir Arafat, the Palestinian leader, warned that violence might escalate out of control. Israeli security services ensured the army and exhausted police units were on the highest alert in towns across the country.

Equally inevitable seemed a military counterstrike by Israel, threatening an all-out conflict between Israel and the Palestinians. Ariel Sharon, the hardline Israeli prime minister, has ensured that virtually every Palestinian action is followed by a commensurate reaction; the killing by Palestinian gunmen of a Jewish settler on Tuesday, for example, was followed by a helicopter gunship attack on Palestinian security buildings. At the same time, he has insisted Israel would not enter political negotiations whilst "under fire".

Earlier yesterday it seemed that strategy might be challenged. Shimon Peres, the Labour foreign minister who was the architect of the 1990s Oslo peace process, had told Israeli radio that he wanted to meet Palestinian leaders in

Pizza parlour bomb confirms Israel fears: Yesterday's attack in the centre of Jerusalem should have surprised nobody as Islamist militant groups have been promi....

an attempt to revive hopes of an effective ceasefire. It seemed a departure from the tough line set by Mr Sharon - that there has to be complete quiet before work could start on implementing the international Mitchell commission on ending the intifada. "I don't advise we negotiate under fire. I suggest we talk in order to stop the fire," Mr Peres said.

Binyamin Ben-Eliezer, the defence minister and another Labour cabinet minister in Mr Sharon's "national unity" government, offered support to Mr Peres' line.

After the deaths at the pizza restaurant a few hours later, however, even the dovish foreign ministry was counting on a severe reaction by Israel's military. Mr Peres' remarks were "completely irrelevant now ... It is a new ball game," said one official. "This guy deliberately killed women and children going to have pizza in the centre of town."

Mr Peres was refusing interviews, not wanting to divert attention from Israel's condemnation of Mr Arafat and his Palestinian Authority for allowing yesterday's attack to happen.

Last night, Israeli and Palestinian leaders stood at the same point as at the beginning of June, after a suicide bomb attack outside Tel Aviv's Dolphinarium nightclub had killed 21 Israelis. Then forceful diplomacy by the world community, helped by the coincidental presence of Joschka Fischer, the German foreign minister, prevented a severe Israeli counter-attack that was in the advanced stages of planning. Eventually US intervention through George Tenet, head of the central intelligence agency, secured a tentative truce.

The truce did not last. A subsequent visit to the region by Colin Powell, the US secretary of state, failed to move the two sides closer to political negotiations. But after the Dolphinarium attack at least the two sides had been pulled back from the abyss. After yesterday's bomb, they were back there again.

Load-Date: August 9, 2001

End of Document

No Headline In Original

Courier Mail (Queensland, Australia)

August 17, 2000, Thursday

Copyright 2000 Nationwide News Pty Limited

Section: WORLD; Pg. 14

Length: 267 words

Body

Army shooting

JERUSALEM: Israeli soldiers shot and killed a 73-year-old Palestinian yesterday in the West Bank, the Israeli army said in a statement. He was hit when a special unit of the Israeli army, hunting for a **Hamas** activist, returned fire after being attacked.

Ban opposed

NADI, Fiji: Owners of deserted resorts in western Fiji were yesterday still waiting for the Australian and New Zealand governments to relax their tough stand against visits to the island republic following the coup of May 19.

Body returned

CHIANG MAI: The body of British backpacker Kirsty Jones was yesterday returned home as Thai police awaited DNA test results which could help catch her killer. Ms Jones was found raped and murdered in her Thai hostel room last Thursday.

Fires raging

BOISE, Idaho: Fires burning across 12 western US states in mostly rugged, steep terrain have extended their reach, engulfing nearly 404,000ha in a fire season showing no mercy. The 20,000 plus fire fighters have been reinforced by about 2900 US regular military, National Guard and Reserve troops.

Maori method

WELLINGTON: A **female** Maori activist has recommended a traditional punishment for New Zealand sex criminals that would ensure they did not re-offend, a news report said yesterday. The woman's solution -- tying flax, or twine, around the offender's penis and pulling until the penis drops off, Wellington's Dominion newspaper reported.

Children dead

MEDELLIN: Six Colombian schoolchildren hiking in the mountains died when they were apparently caught in a crossfire between government troops and leftist rebels, authorities said yesterday.

Load-Date: December 4, 2001

No Headline In Original

End of Document

Israeli ministers call for inquiry BOYS' DEATHS:

Financial Times (London, England)

November 24, 2001 Saturday

USA Edition 2

Copyright 2001 The Financial Times Limited

Section: ATTACK ON AFGHANISTAN POLITICS & ECONOMY ; Pg. 4

Length: 340 words

Byline: By AVI MACHLIS

Dateline: JERUSALEM

Body

Two Israeli cabinet ministers yesterday called for a "serious" investigation into the deaths of five Palestinian boys caused by a powerful explosion in the Gaza Strip.

The appeals came as new details surfaced indicating the blast in the Khan Younis refugee camp on Thursday night have been caused by a booby-trapped explosive device planted by the Israelis to kill Palestinian gunmen, and not by an unexploded tank shell as originally believed.

The volatility of the situation was highlighted later in the day when a Palestinian teenager was killed in clashes that erupted after the funeral for the five boys in the Gaza Strip.

"We must not allow this war to numb our senses and cause us to lose our humanity," said Dan Meridor, an Israeli cabinet minister, speaking on Israel radio. "The incident was terrible and it must be investigated." Ephraim Sneh, the Labour transport minister and former deputy defence minister, said a "fundamental and brave" investigation must be launched.

But Palestinian officials doubted any serious Israeli inquiry would be launched. "We have heard this before," said Hanan Ashrawi, Palestinian spokeswoman. "When the army shot children and snipers killed women, we heard similar statements but so far not a single person has been punished, so I am extremely sceptical."

The boys, aged seven to 14, were walking to school when they were blown up.

Several Israeli defence correspondents yesterday cited senior military officials as confirming the blast was caused by a device Israel planted to kill Palestinian militants. They said gunmen operated from the area in attacks on Israeli settlements and military posts.

Meanwhile, a Gallup poll in the Israeli daily newspaper Ma'ariv indicated that even after 13 months of fighting, Israelis favour a return to peace talks with the Palestinians.

* Israeli helicopters fired at least two missiles at a Palestinian car near the West Bank city of Nablus yesterday, Reuters reports. The Islamic group Hamas said Mahmoud Abu Hanoud, a senior military leader, died.

Israeli ministers call for inquiry BOYS' DEATHS:

Load-Date: November 23, 2001

End of Document

No Headline In Original

Dayton Daily News (Ohio)
August 1, 2001 Wednesday CITY EDITION

Copyright 2001 Dayton Newspapers, Inc.

Section: NEWS; Pg. 1A

Length: 340 words

Body

Lava threatens tourist base on Mount Etna

Lava destroyed a cable-car station and drew closer to a tourist complex halfway up Mount Etna on Tuesday. Story, 8A.

Bookstore presses officials for a loan

Wilkie's bookstore owners are cooking up support in their search for a loan to add a cafe to the downtown Dayton store. Story, 1B.

Tax cut, weaker economy could force big borrowing

Tax-rebate checks and a weaker economy may force the biggest treasury borrowing quarter since 1996. Story, 3A.

Gov. Taft promotes Air Force research

Gov. Bob Taft lobbied Bush administration officials Tuesday to expand the Wright-Patterson Air Force Base and NASA Glenn Research Center. Story, 1B.

Feds approaching accord on patients' rights bill

The White House and Capitol Hill appeared Tuesday to be moving closer together on a patients' rights bill. Story, 3A.

Golf course at center of fossil controversy

Colorado is moving forward with a plan to build a golf course on land that holds fossils. Story, 4A.

8 Palestinians killed in Israeli helicopter attack

Israeli helicopters fired missiles Tuesday into offices of the militant Hamas movement, killing eight Palestinians. Story, 8A.

Ousted female chief accuses village of bias

Holly Manes, the ex-police chief in Pleasant Hill, has filed a discrimination charge against the village. Story, 1B.

No Headline In Original

Fair baking contest's flaky, but, oh so sweet

Judge samples pieces from anniversary cakes and apple pies at the Greene County Fair's Bake It With Lard contest Tuesday. Story, 1B.

Bridge over Tommy's Run in Franklin being replaced

A stretch of Dixie Highway was closed Monday to allow the construction of a new bridge over Tommy's Run. Story, 1B. Volume 124, Number 302 Ann Landers 6C Bridge 7C Business 1E Classified 1F Comics 6C Crossword 7C Daily Plan-It 2B Deaths 7B Editorial 6A Game Plan 2D Horoscope 6C Life 1C

Lottery 2A Movies 5C Scoreboard 5D Sports 1D Stocks 3E Television 8C FRIDAY IN GO! Car lovers unite Cruise-ins are simple - just find a parking spot, pop your hood and see if anyone has a cooler car than yours.

Load-Date: August 3, 2001

End of Document

Clinton's final bid for peace - New US talks to find solution to Middle East killings

EVENING CHRONICLE (Newcastle, UK)

January 2, 2001, Tuesday

Edition 1

Copyright 2001 Newcastle Chronicle & Journal Ltd

Section: WORLD TONIGHT,

Length: 361 words

Byline: by Peter Williamson

Body

Yasser Arafat was today heading for a Washington meeting with Bill Clinton in a last try at a peace bid during the US President's last days in office. The move came as Israel clamped down on Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip after the latest car bomb bloodshed. With Israel having accepted US terms for negotiations, Arafat's trip offers Clinton a chance in his final three weeks in office to overcome Palestinian reservations blocking a possible summit on a peace deal. Arafat's spokesman, Nabil Aburedeneh, called the Palestinian leader's trip a decisive visit at which the future of the peace process will be determined. Talks have been stalled for more than a week at Palestinians' insistence that the USA clarify proposals that the negotiations would cover. A spokesman for President Clinton said he and Mr Arafat decided they should meet to seek a common understanding about what the talks would cover. In Israel officials intensified security efforts after a car bomb injured dozens in the Israeli coastal city of Netanya. The bomb exploded yesterday evening. "Cars were ripped up, women screaming," a witness said. Police cleared the area, fearing more bombs. Israel radio said 54 people had been hurt but only one was critically injured - a man Israeli police suspect is the bomber. There was no immediate claim of responsibility. The Hamas militant group denied involvement but called such attacks a holy right for Palestinians. Israel threatened retaliation, with Deputy Prime Minister Benjamin Ben Eliezer saying the reaction should be vigorous and immediate. Israel already had closed borders to the West Bank and Gaza Strip after deadly bombings last week, blocking Palestinians from entering Israel. Monday's measures sealed off Gaza Strip almost entirely, with only food, medicine and other essential humanitarian needs being allowed through at Gaza Strip's Karni crossing with Israel, the army said. Israeli protocols with the Palestinians say they must let Arafat fly in and out of Gaza even when the airport is closed to general traffic. Three months of bloodshed in Israel, the West Bank and Gaza have more than 350 Palestinians and Israelis dead 30 .

Graphic

HUNT FOR CLUES - An Israeli forensic experts sifts through the car bomb wreckage in Netanya

Load-Date: January 3, 2001

Clinton's final bid for peace - New US talks to find solution to Middle East killings

End of Document

Killing threatens Mideast ceasefire

Financial Times (London, England)

September 21, 2001 Friday

London Edition 1

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Section: EUROPE, MIDDLE EAST & AFRICA ; Pg. 16

Length: 465 words

Byline: By RALPH ATKINS

Dateline: JERUSALEM

Body

The tentative ceasefire secured this week by the US and Europe in the Middle East was threatened yesterday when Palestinian gunmen shot dead a **female** Jewish settler travelling with her children in the occupied West Bank.

Violence also erupted in the Gaza Strip, with Palestinians reporting one death and Israel saying five soldiers had been wounded.

The settler's death prompted an angry response from the Israeli government. It said Yassir Arafat, the Palestinian leader, was failing to hold to his ceasefire pledge. It appeared likely to delay further a planned meeting between Mr Arafat and Shimon Peres, the Israeli foreign minister.

Ariel Sharon, Israel's prime minister, was last night meeting cabinet colleagues to discuss a response to the latest shootings but the US was pushing for the Peres/Arafat meeting to still take place.

Palestinian Authority was investigating the settler's death, which took place in an area under Israeli security control, according to western diplomats. But the mood on both sides appeared to have deteriorated significantly after relative quiet on Wednesday. The ceasefire was "very, very precarious", said one diplomat.

Calming the violence is seen by the US and Europe as crucial to prevent the conflict destabilising the planned international coalition against terrorism following last week's attacks on the US.

Mr Sharon decided on Tuesday to halt Israeli military offensives and to withdraw troops and tanks from positions seized in Palestinian controlled areas. He was responding to Mr Arafat's order of a ceasefire.

An aide to Mr Sharon warned that "if there are no real steps taken to stop the attacks, we will have to reconsider and take the necessary action".

But there were differences of emphasis within the Israeli government, with the foreign ministry arguing that Mr Arafat was taking steps he had not taken in previous ceasefires, including arresting some individuals planning attacks against Israelis. Palestinian officials said there was also some recognition on the Israeli side, "that you can't have absolute calm right away".

Killing threatens Mideast ceasefire

Before last night's gun battle, Palestinians had accused Israel tanks of violating the ceasefire by raiding parts of the Gaza strip. Israel had also tightened restrictions on Palestinians at checkpoints across the occupied territories, they said.

Marwan Barghouti, leader of Mr Arafat's Fatah movement in the West Bank, warned that without political progress, the ceasefire would not be maintained, and lasting peace would require Israel withdrawing to its 1967 borders. He said all Palestinian political factions, including the radical Islamic Jihad and ***Hamas*** groups, "understand the position of Mr Arafat" but they would not surrender their "right to resist the occupation and continue the intifada".

Load-Date: September 20, 2001

End of Document

Boy Dies At Funeral As Crisis Deepens -Israel Hit By Third Bomb In Two Days

THE JOURNAL (Newcastle, UK)

April 24, 2001, Tuesday

Edition 1

Copyright 2001 Newcastle Chronicle & Journal Ltd

Section: INTERNATIONAL NEWS,

Length: 411 words

Byline: The Journal

Body

A 12-year-old Palestinian boy was killed by a gunshot to the head during a politically charged funeral in the Gaza Strip yesterday, and Israel endured its third bomb attack in two days as violence eclipsed diplomatic efforts to end the bloodshed. Several political initiatives were under way in an effort to halt, or at least limit, the seven months of fighting. But none appeared to be generating any real momentum amid the climate of hostility. In the southern Gaza Strip, more than 1,000 Palestinians, some wearing green police fatigues, joined the noisy funeral procession of a Palestinian policeman who died of injuries sustained during an Israeli rocket attack last week. As the body was being lowered into the ground at the Khan Yunis cemetery, next to a Jewish settlement, several dozen Palestinian gunmen fired 21 shots into the air as a sign of respect, said Eyad Saadoni, a teacher who was present. In response, bursts of gunfire came from the direction of the nearby settlement, which is protected by an Israeli army post about 500 yards away, said Saadoni and other witnesses. As gun shots rang out, Palestinian mourners scattered in panic, with women and children running barefoot through the sandy streets. "I ran away about 100 metres," Saadoni said. "Then I sat near a wall, where some people were trying to take cover. Some of them were kneeling next to the grave. Others covered their heads with their hands. Then I saw the wounded child collapse." Moments later, wailing ambulances began taking the wounded Palestinians from the chaotic scene. A 12-year-old Palestinian boy, Muhanad Muhareb, was shot just above the left eye and died, and 11 Palestinians were wounded, including one who was in a critical condition, according to doctors at Khan Yunis Hospital. The Israeli army said it was investigating. Meanwhile, Israel suffered its third bomb blast in two days when a car bomb exploded, slightly injuring four people in the working-class town of Or Yehuda, east of Tel Aviv. A man claimed responsibility on behalf of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, in a call to the Associated Press. A day earlier, a Palestinian militant detonated a bomb in Kfar Saba, near Tel Aviv, killing himself and an Israeli doctor and wounding 50 people. Islamic militant group Hamas claimed responsibility and identified the bomber as Imad Zubadi, 18. At his home in the West Bank town of Nablus, Zubadi's mother Nehaya said she was proud he had become a martyr.

Load-Date: April 26, 2001

No Headline In Original

Courier Mail (Queensland, Australia)

September 21, 2001, Friday

Copyright 2001 Nationwide News Pty Limited

Section: SPORT; Pg. 27

Length: 462 words

Byline: Peter Howard

Body

BEAUDESERT breeder Peter Moran bought the young mare Silver Robe because of a Queensland connection in her pedigree, but now finds himself with a valuable broodmare whose progeny can tread the national stage.

Her three-year-old filly Patterns (by Success Express) will take on Listed company in the Brian Crowley Stakes or Reginald Allen Handicap at Warwick Farm tomorrow after winning at her past two starts at Canterbury and Rosehill.

Then she is off to Melbourne for a series of Group 2 and 3 races at 1200m and 1400m at the Caulfield and Melbourne Cup carnivals.

Moran purchased Silver Robe for his Noble Park Stud with a Snippets colt at foot and in foal to Hurricane Sky -- and considered the three-in-one package was good value at \$22,000.

She has proved to be a real bargain, because he sold Patterns' full brother at this year's Magic Millions for \$120,000 to Sydney trainer Ron Quinton.

Moran was attracted to the mare because her dam was a half-sister to successful Queensland stallion Pride Of Kellina, who was a handy sprinter in his time in Melbourne. Moran also identified other good sprinters in the family, which traced in direct **female** line to Todman and Noholme II's dam Oceana.

The Snippets colt, which was Silver Robe's first foal, now races as Nightrider and has won three races from the Gai Waterhouse stable in Sydney.

Misfortune struck her foal by Hurricane Sky -- a filly named, ironically, La Tempest -- which was killed during a thunderstorm while spelling after her first preparation in which she won two barrier trials in Sydney.

Moran has his fingers crossed there is better to come from Silver Robe. The mare foaled a filly a fortnight ago by Success Express's Group 1 winning son Mossman -- which makes her a three-quarter sister to Patterns -- and she will return to Mossman this season.

GLENLOGAN Park stallion Blu Tusmani has received an unexpected, early boost to his stud career, with a win from his first starter in the United States.

Blu Tusmani sired only four foals in the US. He had served six mares in his initial season at stud, before Glenlogan Park principal Jon Haseler negotiated his sale for Australia in time for the 1998 season.

No Headline In Original

Of the four foals, Something Bleu is the first to race -- winning an 1100m juvenile event first-up at Rockingham Park, New England, early this month.

Blu Tusmani, rated Italy's best two-year-old and later the Group 2 winner of the Withers Stakes at Aqueduct in the US, came to Glenlogan after the premature death of former top Australian juvenile St Covet.

He went to stud in the company of shuttle stallions **Hamas** and King's Theatre and New Zealand horse of the year Our Maizcay, and from his first crop of 44 foals his first Australian runners are expected in the early two-year-old races of the new season.

Load-Date: November 12, 2001

End of Document

No Headline In Original

Chicago Daily Herald

September 3, 1999, Friday, DuPage, Lake

Copyright 1999 Paddock Publications, Inc.

Section: News;; The City;

Length: 441 words

Body

Windows of landmark ordered to be put back

The owner of a Gold Coast apartment house has agreed to repair valuable windows that were yanked from the landmark and dumped in a trash heap in the building's courtyard, officials said Friday.

The agreement between the city and Fredrick Scott Latsko, who owns Fisher Studio Apartments at 1209 N. State Parkway, will be submitted to Housing Court Supervising Judge Sebastian Patti today for approval, city Law Department spokeswoman Jennifer Hoyle said.

Latsko has agreed "to do a certain amount of work" to repair the windows, designed by artist Edgar Miller, Hoyle said. The agreement will give the city greater power to police repairs of the glass.

"If he doesn't do something, it can put him in contempt of court if he agreed to do a certain amount of work (and failed to do it)," Hoyle said. The agreement will give the city greater power to police repairs of the glass.

"If he doesn't do something, it can put him in contempt of court if he agreed to do a certain amount of work (and failed to do it)," Hoyle said.

Money laundering lawsuit faces delay

An ongoing criminal probe likely will delay action in a Justice Department money-laundering lawsuit filed against an Oak Lawn Islamic group and a Bridgeview man, a federal judge said Thursday. The delay is being prompted by a grand jury investigation into the activities of the Quranic Literacy Institute and Muhammad Salah, accused in a civil lawsuit of laundering cash to support the terrorist activities of Hamas in the Middle East, according to U.S. District Judge Wayne R. Andersen. He made his comments after an attorney for the Islamic group asked that the case be put off until the end of the grand jury probe. Defense attorneys said they fear the organization's officers could be forced to provide testimony in the civil lawsuit that might implicate them in the criminal probe.

Murder suspect linked to 2nd woman's killing

A South Side man who confessed Wednesday to strangling a 41-year-old woman is suspected of killing at least one other woman, police said. Arthur McKenzie, 32, of the 400 block of West Winneconna is charged with murder in the death of Heidi Lloyd, found by children on their way to school Tuesday. Her body was rolled in a sheet in weeds on the 400 block of West Winneconna, police said. McKenzie also is suspected in the death of Anne Marie Cureton, 46, whose body was found on Nov. 27, 1998, on the 6400 block of South Laflin, police said. His DNA was sent to

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a state police laboratory to determine whether he is linked to a series of killings of women in the Englewood and New City neighborhoods since 1995, police said.

Load-Date: September 13, 1999

End of Document

Israeli raid on town kills nine Palestinians NIGHT ASSAULT:

Financial Times (London, England)

October 25, 2001 Thursday

London Edition 2

Copyright 2001 The Financial Times Limited

Section: ATTACK ON AFGHANISTAN MILITARY STRIKES AND DIPLOMACY ; Pg. 2

Length: 565 words

Byline: By HARVEY MORRIS and RICHARD WOLFFEIN

Dateline: JERUSALEM and WASHINGTON

Body

The crisis in the Middle East worsened yesterday after Israeli troops and tanks took over a small West Bank town in a fierce night-time assault that left up to nine Palestinians dead and at least 10 wounded.

The raid on Beit Rima, in which the Israeli army said it detained two men involved in last week's murder of a government minister, came after repeated US demands for an end to the week-long occupation of Palestinian-administered territory in the West Bank.

The leadership of Yassir Arafat's Palestinian Authority accused the Israeli army of committing a "heinous massacre" in Beit Rima, a town of 5,000 that lies 15 miles north of Ramallah.

In Washington the reaction from the Bush administration appeared subdued after pressing for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Palestinian territory this week.

Colin Powell, secretary of state, issued a balanced request for both sides to take steps to reduce the violence, first calling on Mr Arafat to pursue the assassins who killed Rehavam Zeevi, the Israeli tourism minister, last week. "Right now I think it's important for Chairman Arafat to do everything in his power to make the arrests of those who were responsible and get the violence down," Mr Powell said.

"I think at this time it would be appropriate for the Israeli government to immediately withdraw from the area of villages they have occupied."

Israeli officials acknowledged that five Palestinians had been killed in the raid on Beit Rima, and described them all as terrorists. There were no Israeli casualties. The army commander in the West Bank, Brigadier-General Yitzhak Gershon, said 11 members of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Tanzim militia and **Hamas** had been arrested.

The PFLP last week claimed responsibility for the assassination in Jerusalem of Mr Zeevi. Israeli officials said those detained included the getaway driver and the owner of a safe house used by the killers.

Palestinian residents said at least three of the dead were Palestinian policemen trying to defend the town against the tank-led assault.

Israeli raid on town kills nine Palestinians NIGHT ASSAULT:

Belal Barghouthi, a local lawyer, said by telephone that up to 15 tanks, backed by helicopter gunships, entered the town at around 2.15am and shooting lasted for about an hour. He said the Israelis used loudspeakers to order residents to stay in their homes. "They said that whoever violated the order would be dealt with without mercy," he said.

Beit Rima - the Biblical Arimathea - was under curfew last night after Israeli troops prevented ambulances and journalists reaching the town.

It was the latest incursion into Palestinian territory since areas of six West Bank towns were occupied in the immediate aftermath of Mr Zeevi's murder. The Israeli government has accused Mr Arafat of failing to arrest Mr Zeevi's killers and to detain other alleged terrorists.

Mr Arafat has told international envoys that he cannot take action against suspects while there is fighting on the streets of the West Bank.

There were more clashes in Bethlehem yesterday, the scene of the worst fighting in the past week. The Palestinian death toll in the past week, which Palestinian officials say includes five women and six children, now numbers 50.

In the Knesset yesterday Ariel Sharon, the prime minister, dismissed criticism that his failure to heed US demands for a withdrawal risked damaging relations with Israel's closest ally.

Load-Date: October 24, 2001

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No Headline In Original

Chicago Daily Herald

October 13, 2001, Saturday Lake

Copyright 2001 Paddock Publications, Inc.

Section: NEWS;; Fence Post;

Length: 538 words

Body

The average American can help fight the war

I have heard many pundits espousing the thought that we need to "return to business as usual" as soon as possible. I couldn't disagree more. It has been said that if we let the terrorists cause us to change our lives, they have won.

That is wrong, if we let our complacency lull us back to business as usual, we will have surrendered, and then a) the terrorists will have won, and b) the people who have died - not only those deaths at the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, but all those who died in terrorist attacks in the past - will have died in vain.

A wise man once said that if we don't learn from history we are required to relive it! We (as a nation) have had many warnings about these terrorist organizations: Pan Am 103, Achille Lauro, the USS Cole, Beirut, Riyadh, etc.

In the previous attacks, we returned to business as usual and the attacks were repeated. When will we learn?

We are at war! We didn't ask for it, but with the full support of the American people, we will win it. We need to mobilize, not just the military, but the civilian population. We must realize that in this war there is no distinction between the fighting front and the home front; we are the "battle front."

Terrorists use women and children to make war against all people, military and civilian alike. We are the soldiers in this war, and we better understand this fact or the next casualty might just be each one or more of us.

I have been asked, "What can we do?" I will leave the military response to the commander in chief and the Pentagon, but we, the populace, also can do our part.

I can identify at least one action we can take; I am sure others with better minds than mine, can come up with additional actions. I name but one.

From where does the money come that finances these terrorist organizations? Well, Osama bin Laden is a Saudi businessman, his money comes from Saudi oil; Hamas and the other Palestinian terrorist organizations get their financing from the oil revenues of Iran and Iraq, and so forth.

As I see it, every time we Americans drive up to a gas pump, every time we fly (aircraft use fuel), every time we buy home heating oil, a significant portion of our dollars go to finance terrorism used against us.

So what can we do? We can put aside our personal preferences and do what is necessary to wean ourselves away from Mideast oil.

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This means, in addition to conservation, which will only do part of the job, we need to use more nuclear energy, drill for oil in areas where we might desire not to, put a significant amount of effort to continue to develop alternative sources and be prepared to pay the extra for it!

I again ask the question: Will we allow those who have been the victims to have died in vain?

Richard H. (Dick) Giering

Libertyville

America will realize its towers of strength

On Sept. 11, Americans witnessed the tragic and unforgivable destruction of the two symbolic World Trade Center towers in New York. Immediately, we turned to the world and proudly proclaimed that America will always be a tower of strength and a nation of incredible spirit and amazing might.

Susan Garrett

State Representative

59th District

Waukegan

Load-Date: October 16, 2001

End of Document

Closures in West Bank and Gaza 'hurting Israel' UNSCO REPORT:

Financial Times (London, England)

December 21, 2001 Friday

London Edition 1

Copyright 2001 The Financial Times Limited

Section: AFGHANISTAN & MIDDLE EAST ; Pg. 8

Length: 639 words

Byline: By HARVEY MORRIS

Dateline: JERUSALEM

Body

Israel is damaging its own interests with its closures policy in the West Bank and Gaza Strip by creating economic devastation that is radicalising the Palestinian population, according to United Nations officials.

They were commenting on a report published today by the office of Terje Roed-Larsen, the UN special co-ordinator in the occupied territories (Unesco), that outlines the impact of the Israeli response to the 15-month-old intifada.

The report covers the first year of the uprising to the end of September, a period in which the West Bank was closed for two days out of three. In the last quarter covered by the report, severe internal closures were in force every day.

Unemployment had spiralled, as Palestinians were prevented from travelling to work in Israel or moving within territory under Palestinian Authority control.

The closures meant that the Palestinian territories were in effect split into some 200 separate entities, UN officials said.

The report found the unemployment level had more than doubled from 11 to 25 per cent, with an underlying jobless level of as high as 50 per cent in the Gaza Strip.

The first year of the crisis, according to Unesco, had cost the Palestinian economy between Dollars 2.4bn and Dollars 3.2bn, while Palestinian Authority revenues declined by 57 per cent in the first nine months alone. With real incomes down by an average 37 per cent, some 46 per cent of the 3m Palestinian population was living below the poverty line, double the pre-intifada figure.

The Israeli defence force (IDF), whose troops enforce the closures policy, issued a statement aimed at answering the report and giving its own statistics on the numbers of Palestinians working in Israel.

It said 5,800 Palestinian workers were permitted to work in Israel as were all women over 25. An additional 6,000 workers were employed in Israeli industrial zones in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

The Erez industrial area on the Gaza border was always active, said the IDF, and provided a livelihood for about 4,500 Palestinians "despite the fact that terrorists continually attempt to target the entrance to the industrial area,

Closures in West Bank and Gaza 'hurting Israel ' UNSCO REPORT:

firing mortar shells during working hours". At the same time, restrictions were being lifted on the movement of exports, imports and businessmen.

UN officials said the current economic plight was exacerbated by Israel's failure to pay Dollars 350m in taxes owed to the Palestinian Authority and its policy of retaliatory strikes against civilian infrastructure.

"Economic deprivation is the surest path to political radicalisation," said a senior UN official, noting the rise in popular support for organisations such as **Hamas**. "The closure policy is completely counter-productive to Israel's interests."

The official acknowledged Israel's insistence that it is not engaged in collective punishment against the Palestinian people, but he added: "There is no doubt the result is collective pain on a very big scale. It's peace-building in reverse."

There was no point in demanding that Yassir Arafat's security forces rein in militants if there were no accompanying relief in the economic situation, the official said.

"Sustaining peace is not possible if nothing is done to protect the social and economic fundamentals that are under threat," he said.

UN officials said that Israeli officials who thought economic pressure on the Palestinians would weaken Mr Arafat were mistaken. They said it would only contribute to increasing hatred towards Israel.

They said the economic situation was so severe that it was only donations from abroad, including the European Union and Arab countries, that were keeping the Palestinian Authority going.

Although the report was critical of Israel, the officials said the PA could do more to enable the development of the Palestinian private sector.

Load-Date: December 20, 2001

End of Document

No Headline In Original

Courier Mail (Queensland, Australia)

February 7, 1998, Saturday

Copyright 1998 Nationwide News Pty Limited

Section: WEEKEND; Pg. 8

Length: 617 words

Byline: CLARK G

Body

with Graham Clark

PEACE ON EARTH, by Gordon Stevens (HarperCollins, \$13.95, ISBN 00064 73156)

GORDON Stevens, with Provo and Kara's Game among his credits, has a reputation for producing gritty thrillers. Peace On Earth is no exception, addressing the Palestinian problem, Russian Jews hoping for a better life in Israel, the British Special Air Services, terrorist hijackings . . . Stevens has roamed widely in his past offerings, from Bosnia to Northern Ireland, killing grounds of a particularly brutal nature, and this is no exception. If the world is enjoying an unprecedented outbreak of global peace, there remain certain pockets where bloody death is a fact of daily life. Such as the Middle East, where young Palestinians have grown into adulthood knowing nothing but fear and loathing and Hamas and refugee camps; where hopeful Russians contemplating a better life are fair game; where hijacks are not merely figments of a writer's imagination. And where the SAS roams with impunity, which is just as well, considering how many times Stevens has employed their use, from Ulster to Sarajevo to Jordan and beyond. Still, if it is a hero Stevens is after, what better than a British stiff upper lip, plus rocket launcher?

QNP

FINAL VICTIM, by Stephen Cannell (Penguin, \$14.95, ISBN 01402 69215)

THIS could be from today's headlines: a freakishly tall, bald, loner obsessed with the detail of murder spending his days glued to the Internet, downloading anything even remotely connected with violent crime. As the world goes on around him, he trawls the Net, dreaming of the day when everyone will know his name _ the Wind Minstrel. Much better, in Stephen Cannell's deft hands, than his nickname of The Rat. But Cannell, creator of The Rockford Files, The A-Team, Renegade among others, well knows that one loosely-wired psychopath does not make for a lasting plot. What about a cyberspace net of hair-trigger brains, bent on indulging sick fantasies, especially those revolving around innocent women? Which explains the six women stalked and dispatched and a seventh going about her usual business little knowing that her trim figure might soon be a dismembered exhibit . . . Ah yes, Mr Cannell, now head of the Los Angeles-based Cannell Studios, clearly had a film script in mind when he penned Mr Rat's little adventures. Certainly not for the squeamish, or Aunt Dolly.

THE DUCHESS OF WINDSOR, by Michael Bloch (Phoenix, \$24.95, ISBN 07538 02694)

FORGET that this is something of a backhanded tribute to the woman who sparked a constitutional crisis within the British Empire. And forget that this woman, Wallis Simpson, was a tough, self-reliant husband-chaser who grew up the fatherless poor relation of two distinguished American dynasties and well knew what she was doing when she

No Headline In Original

persuaded King Edward VIII that her bedroom was far more preferable to any number of royal thrones. Michael Bloch, who has edited the Windsors' private correspondence into two volumes of best-sellers, has used his privileged access well to produce a catalogue of photographs and vignettes detailing decades of a royal love affair, the 1936 abdication, a honeymoon and the reality of Nassau, France, facing up to postwar life, dining with John Kennedy, meeting Richard Nixon, curtsying to Queen Elizabeth . . . half a lifetime's correspondence trying to win back favour with the Windsors. While the words and snippets of royal correspondence are intriguing, what sets this apart are the photographs, the sadness of a pet dog's death, the friendship of Fruity Metcalfe and Foxy Sefton, posing with Hitler in 1937, growing old in Paris. But still the question remains: would Edward, in hindsight, have done it all again?

Load-Date: March 1, 2002

End of Document

Anger grows in Israel as death toll mounts: The latest bombings have led to calls for a tough response as frustration over finding a peaceful solution increases, says Avi Machlis

Financial Times (London,England)

December 3, 2001 Monday

London Edition 2

Copyright 2001 The Financial Times Limited

Section: ATTACK ON AFGHANISTAN MILITARY CAMPAIGN & REFUGEES ; Pg. 8

Length: 782 words

Byline: By AVI MACHLIS

Body

As hundreds of angry Israelis flocked to the scene of a deadly Palestinian triple-bombing in Jerusalem yesterday morning, mobile phones began to ring with reports of yet another terror attack, in the northern port of Haifa.

Horror and shock were already running high after two suicide bombers and a car bomb killed at least 10 young Israelis and wounded 130 on Saturday night, just outside the pubs and clubs of West Jerusalem's busy commercial district. Now, as news of at least 15 deaths in the Haifa bus bombing filtered to the crowd, dozens of rightwing Israelis raised their voices even higher.

"All we are saying, is give war a chance," sang an ultra-Orthodox Jew from a balcony above, putting a militant twist on the late John Lennon's lyrics. Others shouted "death to the Arabs" and when Anthony Zinni, the US envoy, briefly arrived on the scene to lay a wreath, the crowd told him to go home. Tearful religious women swayed as they recited Psalms to honour the dead.

Small groups of Israelis from the radical right always grab the spotlight at spontaneous post-attack gatherings. But this time, the particularly high death toll made their chants uncommonly appealing to the crowd.

"We want our parents to be able to sleep at night, and we did not come to this world to die," said Reut, a 17-year-old girl who was awaiting news of two friends in critical condition. "We represent the youth who want war, because, without war, this will never end."

For many Palestinians, the latest wave of suicide attacks is considered legitimate revenge for Israeli incursions that have left scores of Palestinians gunmen and civilians dead in recent weeks. Public Palestinian anger has made Yassir Arafat, the Palestinian leader, reluctant to crack down on the radical groups, even as the series of attacks has undermined his position with the US.

But with Palestinian terror pushing the US even more strongly towards Israel's side, Palestinian leaders yesterday expressed determination to launch a tougher campaign against the Hamas and Islamic Jihad movements. And in a subtle shift, Al-Quds, the influential Palestinian daily newspaper, refrained from calling Saturday's bombers "shaheed", or martyrs, a title generously awarded to every Palestinian who has died in 14 months of fighting. Their status was downgraded to "perpetrators of the operations".

Anger grows in Israel as death toll mounts: The latest bombings have led to calls for a tough response as frustration over finding a peaceful solution increases....

Semantic subtleties will not be enough this time around. With both Israel and the US demanding forceful action, Mr Arafat will now be pressed to show he is willing to shut down the radicals even at the cost of confronting the emotions of his own people.

Defusing deep enmity is what Gen Zinni must figure out how to do if he is to prod the Palestinians into action, restrain an Israeli counter- strike and secure a ceasefire. Clearing a political exit from the deadly dance between Israelis and Palestinians will require, even more than political creativity, an exercise addressing the mass psychology of two societies which now believe they are fighting for their existence and have become blinded to the pain of their neighbours.

"It's true that we have killed their children, too, and I expected a response like this," says Tali Golan, a 20-year-old cashier, in a moment of empathy that has become rarer for both Israelis and Palestinians. "I just do not believe that the government can do anything to stop this."

Indeed, frustration with Ariel Sharon, the Israeli prime minister, was palpable at the bombing site. As the right-flank of his cabinet called for an even tougher response, its supporters reminded Mr Sharon that the Israeli political system and electorate knows how to boot out prime ministers at short notice.

Shai Avraham, a 21-year-old Israeli just discharged from the army, says the only politician capable of fixing the situation is Benjamin Netanyahu, the former Israeli prime minister, who is waiting for the opportunity to push out Mr Sharon and has advocated an even tougher Israeli policy. "Bibi shut down terror once, and he will do it again," he said.

As the militants shouted, undeterred teenagers said they would continue to come downtown to drink and party, surveyors swung into action to assess the damage and shopkeepers started planning reconstruction.

There was even a sliver of political pragmatism to be found amid the shattered glass that littered the pedestrian mall. "A solution will only come through negotiations that will lead to the division of this land into two independent states," said David Avidan, a 54-year-old schoolteacher. "We must invite the international community, the US and the Europeans to solve this problem. There is no choice. The hatred is just too great." www.ft.com/mideast

Load-Date: December 2, 2001

**MIDDLE EAST & AFRICA: Gaza's residents dig in as Israel tightens noose:
Life in the region since the outbreak of the intifada has been a struggle for
the most basic needs. Roula Khalaf reports:**

Financial Times (London, England)

February 28, 2001 Wednesday

London Edition 1

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Section: MIDDLE EAST & AFRICA ; Pg. 11

Length: 806 words

Byline: By ROULA KHALAF

Body

When the Palestinian residents of Gaza learned one morning recently that the Israeli army had re-opened access to the southern part of the strip, they queued for miles to cross the Israeli checkpoint. By midday, however, the thick traffic ground to a halt as few cars, trucks or donkey-pulled carts were allowed in.

Stuck on a dusty, pot-holed road, the drivers and the passengers stormed out of their cars, cursing.

A few women decided to walk south to Khan Younis to visit a relative in hospital. Children in a school bus were told they might have to go back and spend the night in their classroom.

"We don't want to talk, we want to explode," said a young man, standing by his car.

While much of the fury was directed at Israel and its increasing encroachment as well as "foreigners" who fail to force it to withdraw from the occupied territories, the Palestinian Authority of Yassir Arafat was not spared.

"If our own government doesn't care about us, why should the others?" said a truck driver.

Daily life in Gaza since the September outbreak of the Palestinian intifada, the uprising against Israeli occupation, has been a struggle for the most basic needs.

The 1.3m Palestinians in mostly filthy, overcrowded refugee camps have lived under crippling Israeli-imposed closures, isolated from the rest of the world.

With both exports to and employment in Israel cut off, the jobless rate is said to be reaching 60 per cent.

As the uprising has shifted from popular stone-throwing protests against Israeli troops to attacks on soldiers and Jewish settlers - about 40 per cent of the area remains under Israeli control - the Israeli army has tightened the screws.

To protect the 6,000 Israelis in Gaza, the army has cut off the main road linking the north to the south and razed vegetation all around the settlements, uprooting almost a quarter of the green land in the strip.

MIDDLE EAST & AFRICA: Gaza's residents dig in as Israel tightens noose: Life in the region since the outbreak of the intifada has been a struggle for the most b....

"The measures are tough but for us, in this context of violence, they are compulsory," says an army spokesman. "They (the Palestinians) cannot claim the rightness of the combat and not be ready to pay a price for it."

The price - in psychological, social and economic terms - is indeed too high, say the Palestinians. Yet few predict that Gaza will, as Israel hopes, put on any pressure for an end to armed attacks.

"Gaza always sets the tone of the Palestinian mood," says Raji Sourani, head of the Palestinian human rights centre.

"It's the more militant part of Palestinian society. People here have a sharp edge and they have nothing to lose."

In Gaza city, on the Mediterranean shore, new hotels and fancy buildings - signs of a happier future promised by the PA since its arrival in Gaza in 1994 - mix oddly with the bellicose graffiti on the walls, celebrating the 300 martyrs of the intifada, most of whom were from Gaza. "Israel has nuclear bombs, we have human bombs," reads a slogan at the Islamist university.

"People are not all the same, some prefer a quiet life and others blow themselves up," says Abdel Aziz Rantissi, a spokesman for Hamas, the militant Islamist movement now thought to be gaining further ground in Gaza. Echoing statements by officials from Fatah, the mainstream Palestinian faction that has taken the lead in the intifada, he says: "Even if we can't reach the goal of an end to occupation, we are inflicting losses on the enemy - Israelis will have no stability and no security until the occupation ends."

The PA, under international pressure to bring an end to the uprising and facing fiscal collapse and institutional paralysis, is itself being challenged in Gaza - a process that could lead to more dangerous chaos.

Social deprivation is leading to increased criticism of the PA's corruption and eroding faith in its ability to deliver any benefits at all as a result of the uprising.

"The PA at the end will sign something and it'll be over, they have too many interests, too much money to protect," says Abu Awad, a vegetable store owner in Jabalia refugee camp. Some of those accused of corruption are said to have fled Gaza, for fear of suffering the same fate as Hisham Makkeh, head of the Palestinian TV station gunned down by Palestinians last month.

The PA's authority is also being challenged more directly. When Palestinian police arrested two people in an apparent security crackdown last month in Jabalia, residents marched to the police station the next day and won their release.

"The PA has pressures that are greater than it can handle," says Yasser Fayez Zindah, a landowner living on the edge of a tiny northern Gaza Israeli settlement. Last October, two-fifths of his agricultural land was taken over by the Israeli army to expand the security ring around the settlement.

"I have no choice," he said, "I'll just stay here and wait, the intifada will go on, and one day the land will come back."

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Chicago Daily Herald

October 7, 2001, Sunday F1,F2

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Body

Religion, nationalism an uneasy mixture

Like most people here and around the world, I have experienced many emotions since the tragic events on Sept. 11. I have read the newspapers and tried to keep up-to-date on the constantly changing information, opinions and responses.

I have read a lot of comments, such as the ones printed on the Opinion page in the Sept. 21 paper, referring to the many religions of our nation, with mixed feelings. I agree with Walter Paquet's statement, "We are all branches from the same family tree" and with the headline, "Remember we belong to a global village."

My concern is with the many comments I have read this past week such as Paquet's, "The only thing that has held this nation together in all our calamities has been the belief in God that is held by its citizens."

At the risk of being called "politically correct," our country is home to many more religions than the three he mentions - Judaism, Islam and Christianity. Some of our citizens do not believe there is only one god, and many do not believe in any god or supreme being.

Even under the umbrella of Christianity, there is a great diversity in the belief of a god, such as there is in my faith.

I understand that those who do believe in God are expressing their feelings through their spirituality during this difficult time, and I encourage us all to do so in our own way.

So instead of saying "God bless America," I prefer to say "United we stand" or "Bless us all." The division between religion and nationalism is a thin line at this time and that is one of the many issues that has brought mixed emotions for me this past week.

Kathy Underwood

South Elgin

Director of Religious Education

Unitarian Universalist

Church of Elgin

School boys allowed naivete; we aren't

No Headline In Original

The Sept. 11 terrorist attacks have unleashed both words of wisdom and distorted dictums. It is understandable when naive boys from a local high school write words that reveal their ignorance. It is far more disturbing when others, including some journalists and area college educators, promulgate false or misleading theories. Thus, it is time for a reality check regarding some of the stupid notions being circulated about today's terrorists and the U.S. response to terrorism.

Distortion No. 1 - Terrorists, such as extremist Palestinians, are trying to make political statements with terrorist acts.

Reality Check No. 1 - As noted on a recent broadcast of the History Channel, today's terrorists are not seeking to gain support to rectify political injustice. They are religious fanatics seeking the wholesale destruction of those they perceive to be enemies. If extremist Palestinians were really interested in peace, rather than the destruction of Israel, they would have accepted former Prime Minister Barak's unprecedented generous offer, a deal that cost him his political future.

Distortion No. 2 - Poverty and hopelessness are the root cause of terrorism against the rich of the world.

Reality Check No. 2 - If this were really the case, then the poor of other parts of the world - Far East, Africa, South America - also would be engaged in acts of terrorism against the wealthy Western nations. Osama bin Laden's band of barbarians includes men who are educated. Bin Laden himself is the product of wealth and privilege.

Distortion No. 3 - The United States really had it coming due to our unjust foreign policies.

Reality Check No. 3 - While the United States certainly has made its share of foreign-policy mistakes, today's terrorists, unlike the thugs of the 1970s and 1980s who hijacked planes to free their fellow criminals or gain attention on the world stage, are ruthless and coldblooded and motivated by an irrational hatred of the United States and Western world regardless of our foreign policies. If the United States withdrew all support for Israel tomorrow, these nuts would still hate our guts.

Distortion No. 4 - The United States is going to bomb Afghanistan off the map.

Reality Check No. 4 - I am certainly no Republican or fan of George W. Bush, but I have never heard the president, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, Secretary of State Colin Powell or anyone in a position of authority in the U.S. military or Bush administration indicate that the United States intends to engage in indiscriminate bombing. In fact, it appears that Afghanistan is so ravaged due to wars and the criminal and inhumane acts of the Taliban, that there is nothing worth bombing there. Indeed, we are sending food to aid the suffering Afghans.

Distortion No. 5 - We should try to talk with or negotiate or simply forgive and forget these terrorist acts because retaliation will simply result in more attacks.

Reality Check No. 5 - As a Chicago newspaper reporter, Ron Grossman, argued in his Sept. 30 article, "anti-Americanism is the anti-Semitism of the 21st century. Like the latter, anti-Americanism is a form of odium as intense as it is irrational." Today's terrorists are inspired by a bastardized form of religion in which they see violence as a sacrament. They speak of holy wars and martyrdom. They are engaged in thinking errors that are so far gone there is no point in trying to talk. Would it be wise to negotiate with a Hitler, a Stalin, a Pol Pot? Heavens no! Well, neither is it responsible to put stock in discussions with these modern-day agents of Satan.

The United States and other Western nations are hated simply because we are Western. Fanatics hate our freedoms and our way of life. Authentic Islam recognizes Jews and Christians as "People of the Book," people who worship the same God. Yet bin Laden and his followers call us "infidels" and seek to destroy all of us - civilians, women, children and the aged, and to set up a pseudo- Islamic system.

For more than 30 years, the United States and Western nations have failed to respond with resolve, strength, unity and decisiveness against terrorists. Bad behavior unsanctioned emboldens bad actors to escalate their crimes. Our collective weakness has resulted in thousands of deaths from 270 people on Pan Am 103, to 241 Marines in

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Lebanon, to 243 people in U.S. embassies in Africa, and now more than 6,000 people from 80 nations at the World Trade Center and Pentagon. This is only a partial list of the victims of Islamic extremists.

Terrorist organizations will continue to attack us whether we retaliate or not. If left to their own devices, they will surely launch other attacks with chemical, biological or nuclear weapons. Thus, all terrorists from bin Laden and his gang to Hezbollah, Islamic Jihad, Hamas and other religious fanatics must be hunted down and destroyed. Their sponsors, including some current governments, must be eliminated as well.

Will the destruction of these evildoers guarantee an end to terrorism? Probably not. But doing more of what we have been doing the past 30 years will ensure that Sept. 11 will be repeated in an even more horrific form.

Yes, we need to work for justice and peace. We must try to change the thinking of people who hate America and the West on principle. But, let's not be naive. Jews have been dealing with anti-Semitism for centuries. Anti-Americanism probably won't be going away anytime soon, either.

Kim Freitag

Elgin

Let stolen flag remind us of nation's strength

To the person who stole the flag from our church in Century Oaks, I thought you might like to know a little bit about it. That flag was flown over the U.S. Capitol and donated to the church in honor of the Eagle Scout who erected the flag pole.

It was a nice flag, larger than the ones you can get in the hardware store. It had sewn stars. We just had new rigging and a light installed after the Sept. 11 tragedy so our congregation and our neighbors could enjoy Old Glory.

I really didn't know what to tell the police officer when he asked me its value. "Priceless" came to mind. Priceless to those who gave their lives for it. Perhaps priceless in terms of the eternal consequences to the one who stole it.

But whether it was a large flag with sewn stars or a plastic one, how could anyone steal a flag and then hoist it up in front of their home or business? Remember the cherry tree? Remember Honest Abe? What does that flag stand for?

In 1831, Alexis de Tocqueville, the famous French historian, came to our country at the request of the French government to study our penal institutions. He also made a close study of our political and social institutions. In less than 10 years, de Tocqueville had become world-famous as the result of the four- volume work he wrote titled "Democracy in America." Here is his own stirring explanation of the greatness of America:

"I sought for the greatness and genius of America in her commodious harbors and her ample rivers, and it was not there; in her fertile fields and boundless prairies, and it was not there; in her rich mines and her vast world commerce, and it was not there. Not until I went to the churches of America and heard her pulpits aflame with righteousness did I understand the secret of her genius and power. America is great because she is good, and if America ever ceases to be good, America will cease to be great."

God help us to rekindle the integrity we will need for the war ahead. Without it, He will not join us in battle. With it, we cannot fail.

Bishop Doug Heaton

Elgin

We meld together, but terror isn't new to us

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On Sept. 11, the United States was introduced to the reality of terrorism. Since then, the country has melded together to form a steel hammer (like the hammer of Thor) to fight this terrorism.

Our sons/daughters are asked to pick up arms and go with our military to be part of this hammer, and we glow with pride as we band together. But wait! Terrorism is nothing new to us.

Ask the parents and friends of the 11-year-old girl who was gunned down in a drive-by. Ask those people who have had bullets embedded in their home or the young man gunned down while in class.

Like the president, our city officials should take the same stance. Flush terrorists out and shut down their hiding and festering places. Those harboring these terrorists also should be flushed out. But wait! Will the ACLU stand for this? Who cares!

Richard C. Tucker

South Elgin

Pre-Sept. 11 silence the death of psychics?

This letter is for those so-called believers in the Irene Hughes-type predictors, zodiac readers, tarot cards readers, 900 phone number psychics.

Not one of the professional services mentioned above stepped forward on Sept. 10 to warn us about a horrible crash or explosion someplace in the East in which thousands would lose their lives.

So are you still going to spend your money on those \$9 per minute phone calls or seminars with prognosticators or tea-leaf readers, etc.?

Please do not spend one more dime on these psychics. None of them foresaw the very worst bloodshed of our times. None. Isn't that proof enough?

I predict that no one will answer this letter in favor of psychics.

Chuck Rosene

Elgin

Letter writer likes local give and take

I wish to peaceably address both Clarence Hayward's and Gail Patterson's letters in response to my opinion about terrorist attacks.

I will begin with Hayward's. It was my opinion that in hearing the president speak before Sept. 11, he came across as an awkward speaker and leader in general. I have witnessed a very different president since the attacks. Rather than offering President Bush an apology, as Hayward suggested, I would like to thank the president for enlightening me.

I am very sorry if I have given Gail Patterson the impression that I blame our society for the deaths of thousands of innocent American people. She made a very important point, "Each one of us has our strengths and weaknesses." We have the ability to make something good come out of a bad situation. This was the point I was trying to make.

I think this is a wonderful concept - a newspaper that allows their readers to express their opinions and for others to civilly respond. Not only does this bring us closer as a community, but we learn from each other, and in the process, we learn something about ourselves.

Allison Kramer

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Carpentersville

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The Gold Coast Bulletin (Australia)

January 17, 2001, Wednesday

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Body

YESTERDAY'S results from the fifth and final day of the Magic Millions Yearling Sale:

Lot 671 br/gr c Canadian Silver (CAN) - Salinta. Michael J Lang, NSW. \$3,500.

Lot 672 b/br c Supremo (US) - Salvata (FR). Withdrawn.

Lot 673 gr c Supremo (US) - Salzburg. Shelly Hancox Bloodstock, Vic. \$6,000.

Lot 674 gr c Lion Hunter - Sapphie Bay. Passed in \$8,500. Res: \$10,000.

Lot 675 b f Final Card - Scimonoora (US). John Pulham, Qld. \$1,250.

Lot 676 b f Nothin Leica Dane - Scorpeance. Michael J Lang, NSW. \$10,000.

Lot 677 br c Success Express (US) - Sculptor's Habit. Withdrawn.

Lot 678 ch c Danasuria - Showdown Miss. Classic Park Bloodstock Pty Ltd, Qld. \$8,000.

Lot 679 b c Dehere (US) - Sibilant. J McCarter, Qld. \$26,000.

Lot 680 b c Snappy Landing (US) - Silken Dalliance. G Rapisarda, Qld. \$7,500.

Lot 681 gr f Puissance (GB) - Silver Edition. J Colquhoun, NSW. \$8,000.

Lot 682 b c Unbridled's Song (US) - Sister Shirley. R Stephenson, Qld. \$26,000.

Lot 683 ch c Brief Truce (US) - Solar Eclipse. Stephen Gray, Sing. \$15,000.

Lot 684 b c Sir Laurence (NZ) - Spangle. John Chalmers Bloodstock, WA. \$10,000.

Lot 685 b/br c Nine Carat (US) - Sparkling Bounty. Phillip Bernie, NSW. \$50,000.

Lot 686 gr f Lion Hunter - Special Geiger. Lloyd & Jan Hickmott, Qld. \$5,000.

Lot 687 b c Nine Carat (US) - Spring Scene. Passed in \$6,500. Res: \$7,000.

Lot 688 ch c Snappy Landing (US) - Spring Symphony (NZ). Rick Hore-Lacy, Vic. \$30,000.

Lot 689 ch c Bluebird (US) - Stanza Blue. Passed in \$12,000. Res: \$15,000.

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- Lot 690 ch f Ooh Rory - Steeple Belle (NZ). Magic Millions (as agent), Qld. \$4,000.
- Lot 691 b/br f Coronation Day - Straw Ballot (NZ). classic Park Bloodstock Pty Ltd, Qld \$6,500.
- Lot 692 b f Danzig Connection (US) - Striker. Daybreak Lodge Syndicate, Qld. \$11,000.
- Lot 693 b c Nediym (IRE) - Style T See (NZ). Peter Bennett, Qld. \$2,000.
- Lot 694 gr c Lion Hunter - Sunder. Les Melvin, Qld. \$45,000.
- Lot 695 b f Eagle Eyed (US) - Sunninghill (NZ). Civic Lodge, Qld. \$2,500.
- Lot 696 b f Spectrum (IRE) - Susie Speaking. John Cornish, NSW. \$25,000.
- Lot 697 ch c Humam (IRE) - Sweet Something. Ron Pattenden Racing, Qld. \$7,000.
- Lot 698 br f Telesto (NZ) - Sweet Zoff. Withdrawn.
- Lot 699 br c T.V. Heart Throb (US) - Swirl Of Pipes. James Pond, Qld. \$50,000.
- Lot 700 b c Darbonne (US) - Take A Ticket (NZ). Passed in \$5,500. Res: \$10,000.
- Lot 701 b/br f Sir Laurence (NZ) - Tartans. Classic Park Bloodstock Pty Ltd, Qld. \$9,000.
- Lot 702 b/br c Snaadee (US) - Tautology (US). Passed in \$5,000. Res: \$7,000.
- Lot 703 b c Nine Carat (US) - Te Akau Joy (NZ). Passed in \$11,000. Res: \$15,000.
- Lot 704 gr c Switch In Time (IRE) - Telemark. Passed in \$11,000. Res: \$30,000.
- Lot 705 ch f Nediym (IRE) - Thunderbowl. Pat Farrell, NSW. \$18,000.
- Lot 706 b c Nothin Leica Dane - Tokyo. D R Pullen, Qld. \$21,000.
- Lot 707 br f Knowledge - To My Lady. Passed in \$2,500. Res: \$5,000.
- Lot 708 ch f Irgun (US) - Tranquil Love. Passed in \$45,000. Res: \$65,000.
- Lot 709 gr f Piccolo (GB) - Traveling Gray (US). Pat Duff, Qld. \$20,000.
- Lot 710 ch f King Tristram - True Impulse. Reginal Rowley, NSW. \$1,500.
- Lot 711 ch c Telesto (NZ) - Try It On. Pat Duff, Qld. \$51,000.
- Lot 712 ch f Mighty Avalanche - Tullamore Lady. Bob Hamilton, Qld. \$10,000.
- Lot 713 ch f Nine Carat (US) - Twintop (NZ). Passed in \$6,000. Res: \$7,000.
- Lot 714 b f Miesquze's Son (US) - Urgent Rate. J & R Syndicate, Qld. \$6,000.
- Lot 715 br c Sir Laurence (NZ) - Virginsky. John Chalmers Bloodstock, WA. \$7,000.
- Lot 716 blk f T.V. Heart Throb (US) - Wesasha (NZ). Withdrawn.
- Lot 717 ch f Danehill Dancer (IRE) - Western Gift. withdrawn.
- Lot 718 ch f Mighty Avalanche - Whiskey Addict. Peta Wheatley, Qld. \$8,500.
- Lot 719 b c Geiger Counter (US) - Wicked Chocolate (NZ). Passed in \$16,000. Res: \$19,000.

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- Lot 720 br c Irgun (US) - Wild Women (US). Epsom Lodge Racing, Qld. \$11,000.
- Lot 721 br f Singing in the Rain (US) - Wind. S Dwyer, Qld. \$10,000.
- Lot 722 ch f Knowledge - Wishful Woman. Passed in \$7,000. Res: \$8,000.
- Lot 723 b/br f Mister Kwila - Without Control (NZ). Pat Duff, Qld. \$22,000.
- Lot 724 b/br c Celestial Dancer (IRE) - Yakeema. W Benson, NSW. \$4,500.
- Lot 725 b c Sir Laurence (NZ) - Zehbeh. Classic Park Bloodstock Pty Ltd, Qld. \$15,000.
- Lot 726 br c Crown Jester - Zeyneba. Passed in \$14,000. Res: \$20,000.
- Lot 727 b c Success Express (US) - Zofagal. Paul Willetts, NZ. \$21,000.
- Lot 728 ch c Mukaddamah (US) - Zoffany Bay. Leo H Chan, NSW. \$18,000.
- Lot 729 br c Telesto (NZ) - Zoftig. Paul Moroney Bloodstock, NZ. \$14,000.
- Lot 730 gr c Canadian Silver (CAN) - Abnoonoo. G G Loder Sales, Qld. \$15,000.
- Lot 731 b f Danasuriqa - Ace Time. Withdrawn.
- Lot 732 b/br c Clang - Acme. Stephen Leung, Macau. \$20,000.
- Lot 733 br c Yeats (US) - A La Tien (US). Withdrawn.
- Lot 734 br f Nothin Leica Dane - All Night Long. Wzillian & Ian Eastaway, NSW. \$15,000.
- Lot 735 b c Piccolo (GB) - Amplify. J M & M D White, SA. \$26,000.
- Lot 736 ch c Irgun(US) - April Plume. Paul Willetts, NZ. \$20,000.
- Lot 737 br f Lion Hunter - Arantxa. Passed in \$27,500.; Res: \$30,000.
- Lot 738 gr f Irgun (US) - Aromatic (NZ). Passed in \$31,000. Res: \$40,000.
- Lot 739 b c Sir Laurence (NZ) - Aussie Neps. Ong Keh Cheng, Malaysia. \$5,500.
- Lot 740 b/br c Runyon (IRE) - Awesome Wonder. K Baird, Qld \$12,000.
- Lot 741 br c Irgun (US) - Badiya (US). Magic Millions (as agent), Qld. \$50,000.
- Lot 742 b c Lion Hunter - Bare Elegance. V P Sutherland, NSW. \$19,000.
- Lot 743 br c Sir Laurence (NZ) - Beeline. Magic Millions (as agent), Qld. \$28,000.
- Lot 744 b c Desert Style (IRE) - Benedictine. Paul Willetts, NZ. \$14,000.
- Lot 745 gr c Canadian Silver (CAN) - Betsy Maree. John O'Brien, Qld. \$37,500.
- Lot 746 b c Nothin Leica Dane - Big Gig. David Naylor UK. \$28,000.
- Lot 747 b f Geiger Counter (US) - Blue Azure. Passed in \$9,000. Res: \$10,000.
- Lot 748 ch f Bluebird (US) - Blues In Vain. Withdrawn.
- Lot 749 b/br c Bahamian Bounty (GB) - Blushing Belzle (NZ). Passed in \$5,000. Res: \$10,000.

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- Lot 750 ch c Irgun (US) - Brie. Debbie Newham, Qld. \$21,000.
- Lot 751 ch c Ooh Rory - Brown Teal. Reginald Rowley, NSW. \$3,500.
- Lot 752 b c Zoffany (US) - Brunei Duchess. Frank Cleary, NSW. \$7,000.
- Lot 753 br c Darbonne (US) - Burgundy. L M Dittman, Singapore. \$20,000.
- Lot 754 ch f Rocket To Mars - Cabayo. Passed in \$10,000. Res: \$20,000.
- Lot 755 br c Sequalo - Call For Joy. Magic Millions (as agent), Qld. \$17,000.
- Lot 756 b f Danasuria - Cameo Lover. J & R Syndicate, Qld. \$2,000.
- Lot 757 b c Nediym (IRE) - Canny Queen. Dean Lawson, Vic. \$52,500.
- Lot 758 ch f Clang - Champsers' Pride. Passed in \$7,000. Res: \$13,000.
- Lot 759 ch f Sanction - Chatsey. Paul Nolan, Qld. \$6,500.
- Lot 760 ch c Strategic - Cherry's Delight (GB). Burn Mander & Rosenberg, Partners, NZ. \$10,000.
- Lot 761 b c Puissance (GB) - Chesapeake. Passed in \$18,000. Res: \$20,000.
- Lot 762 ch f Encosta De Lago - Chiconi. Ron Maund, Qld \$25,000.
- Lot 763 b f Speeding Fine - Clarion Chimes. Burn Mander & Rosenberg Partners, NZ. \$10,000.
- Lot 764 b f Success Express (US) - Classic Rhythm. Passed in \$15,000. Res: \$20,000.
- Lot 765 b f Rancho Ruler - Classic Vain. Passed in \$19,000. Res: \$20,000.
- Lot 766 ch f Mighty Avalanche - Clontarf Beach. John O'Brien, Qld. \$31,000.
- Lot 767 b c Inflate (US) - Cloudy Sky. Passed in \$6,000. Res: \$20,000.
- Lot 768 b/br c Abs (US) - Cobbity Classic. Passed in \$5,000. Res: \$10,000.
- Lot 769 ch f Brief Truce (US) - Coin Case. AWB, Qld \$40,000.
- Lot 770 ch f Irgun (US) - Cona Belle (NZ). Passed in \$16,000. Res: \$25,000.
- Lot 771 b/br c Honour And Glory (US) - Conamore. withdrawn.
- Lot 772 b/br c Nine Carat (US) - Conwy River (GB). Rory O'connor, Qld. \$5,000.
- Lot 773 b c Sequalo - Coracle (NZ). Withdrawn.
- Lot 774 b f Naturalism (NZ) - Coronation Coach. H E Wagner, Qld. \$4,500.
- Lot 775 ch f Starmaker - Cotton. Classic Park Bloodstock Pty Ltd, Qld. \$8,000.
- Lot 776 ch c Sequalo - Countess Annette. Withdrawn.
- Lot 777 gr f Canadian Silver (CAN) - Court And Spark. Thornhill Park, Qld. \$22,000.
- Lot 778 b/br f Success Express (US) - Cressnip. Daybreak Lodge Syndicate, Qld \$20,000.
- Lot 779 b f Eagle Eyed (US) - Cropley Road. Epsom Lodge Racing, Qld. \$6,000.

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- Lot 780 ch f Telesto (NZ) - Curls. Passed in \$9,000. Res: \$10,000.
- Lot 781 br c Abs (US) - Dancing Zephyr. Heinrich Bloodstock, Qld. \$5,500.
- Lot 782 b c Yallah Prince - Daring Jane.W Benson, NSW. \$3,000.
- Lot 783 ch f Crown Jester - Debutante's Choice. John Brand, Qld. \$7,000.
- Lot 784 b f Hula Chief (NZ) - Diamonds For Rosie. Steve Grant, NSW. \$55,000.
- Lot 785 br f Sir Laurence (NZ) - Distant Flame (NZ). Bede Murray, NSW. \$6,000.
- Lot 786 br c True Hero (US) - Distant Jewel. Passed in \$11,000. Res: \$12,000.
- Lot 787 br c Luskin Star - Enlight. Daybreak Lodge Syndicate, Qld. \$3,750.
- Lot 788 b f Timber Country (US) - Evelynnton. Heritage Bloodstock, Vic. \$20,000.
- Lot 789 gr f Lion Hunter - Even Ledger. Passed in \$26,000. Res: \$30,000.
- Lot 790 ch f Naturalism (NZ) - Ever Willing. Passed in \$4,500. Res: \$5,000.
- Lot 791 b/br c Lion Hunter - Exploit (IRE). Withdrawn.
- Lot 792 ch c Dantibes - Fair Occasion. B R Guy, Qld. \$24,000.
- Lot 793 b f Keltrice - Family Silver (NZ). Passed in \$10,000. Res: \$12,000.
- Lot 794 ch c Irgun (US) - Fare Tender (US). R Russell, Qld. \$11,000.
- Lot 795 ch c Starmaker - Fieldflower. Civic Lodge, Qld. \$2,100.
- Lot 796 ch c Interstellar (NZ) - Fiery Lady. J Douch, Qld. \$2,250.
- Lot 797 b c Darbonne (US) - Fill The Till. Peter Bennett, Qld. \$3,500.
- Lot 798 ch f Naturalism (NZ) - Final Shot. Michael J Lang, NSW. \$2,250.
- Lot 799 b c Nediym (IRE) - Fine Fiddle. G Stewart, Qld. \$10,000.
- Lot 800 b/br f Dantibes - Flaming Hope (US). John Wallace, Qld. \$34,000.
- Lot 801 ch f Vettori (IRE) - Flatteuse (IRE). W Benson, NSW. \$4,750.
- Lot 802 ch f Lochrae - Free Rein. Trucost Pty Ltd, NSW. \$20,000.
- Lot 803 b/br f Blu Tusmani (US) - Gabby Doll. Withdrawn.
- Lot 804 blk c T.V. Heart Throb (US) - Glamour Heights (NZ). K McCasker, Qld. \$13,000.
- Lot 805 b c Darbonne (US) - Go Gally Go. Passed in \$800. Res: \$10,000.
- Lot 806 b c Brief Truce (US) - Good Sort (NZ). Epsom Lodge Racing, Qld. \$20,000.
- Lot 807 br f Sea Road - Gothic Girl (NZ). Withdrawn.
- Lot 808 ch f Starmaker - Grand Theatre. Steve McMahon, Qld. \$2,250.
- Lot 809 ch f Brocco (US) - Gypsy Fire. Classic Park Bloodstock Pty Ltd, Qld. \$18,000.

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Lot 810 br c King Ivor - Hawaii Hurricane. Passed in \$7,000. Res: \$10,000.

Lot 811 br f Sea Road - Heavenly Vice. Magic Millions (as agent), Qld. \$9,000.

Lot 812 ch f Timber Country (US) - Hideaway Dreamer. Heritage Bloodstock, Vic. \$15,000.

Lot 813 br c Hatta's Mill (GB) - Himalaya Vain. Paul Moroney Bloodstock. \$21,000.

Lot 814 b f Danehill Dancer (IRE) - Honiara Lady. Neil Jenkinson, Qld. \$18,000.

Lot 815 ch c Piccolo (GB) - Imbiancare (NZ). Paul Drossos, Qld. \$18,000.

Lot 816 br f King Ivor - I'm Rapt. John Brand, Qld. \$40,000.

Lot 817 ch f Eagle Eyed (US) - Incabar. Passed in \$12,500. Res: \$25,000.

Lot 818 b c Piccolo (GB) - Indiana Smith. Pat Farrell, NSW. \$11,000.

Lot 819 ch c Integra - Jade Millions. Passed in \$18,000. Res: \$25,000.

Lot 820 br c Dantibes - Jamaica. John Wallace, Qld. \$60,000.

Lot 821 b f Catrail (US) - Jazz Baby (NZ). Passed in \$42,500. Res: \$45,000.

Lot 822 b c Puissance (GB) - Jessie Belinda (NZ). Peter Moody Racing P/L, Qld. \$25,000.

Lot 823 br c Hatta's Mill (GB) - Jump For Joy. Passed in \$8,000. Res: \$10,000.

Lot 824 br c Puissance (GB) - Just A Tick. G F Clunes, Qld. \$25,000.

Lot 825 b f Desert Style (IRE) - Kanaloa. Epsom Lodge Racing, Qld. \$15,000.

Lot 826 ch f Sanction - Kaye's Bell. Oriental Racing Connection Pty, Qld. \$6,000.

Lot 827 br c Canadian Silver (CAN) - Keen To Sparkle. J M & M D White, SA. \$15,000.

Lot 828 br f Success Express (US) - Kutisha. Thornhill Park, Qld. \$26,000.

Lot 829 b c Palace Music (US) - Kyrinya Queen. S Jones, Qld. \$10,000.

Lot 830 br f Sea Road - Lady Ashton. Noel Fuller, Qld. \$21,000.

Lot 831 ch c Geiger Counter (US) - Lady Cipayo (NZ). Shelly Hancox Bloodstock, Vic. \$18,000.

Lot 832 br c Piccolo (GB) - Lady Onassis. John O'Brien, Qld. \$20,000.

Lot 833 ch c Breakfast Creek - Lady Zip. Noel Fuller, Qld. \$27,000.

Lot 834 b c Lion Hunter - Lakey Lady (US). Shigeru Kawada, Qld. \$16,000.

Lot 835 b/br f Sir Laurence (NZ) - Latherton. Daybreak Lodge Syndicate, Qld. \$5,500.

Lot 836 ch c Soviet Lad (US) - Lauron. Withdrawn.

Lot 837 ch f Sky Chase (NZ) - Ledanis. Passed in \$15,000. Res: \$16,000.

Lot 838 b c El Moxie (US) - Legal Verdict. J Duke, Qld. \$8,000.

Lot 839 b f Nothin Leica Dane - Legs Like Marlana. John Brand, Qld. \$24,000.

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- Lot 840 b f Vettori (IRE) - Light Action. Passed in \$17,000. Res: \$20,000.
- Lot 841 ch c Blu Tusmani (US) - Lightning Walk. Classic Bloodstock, Vic. \$3,250.
- Lot 842 ch f Starmaker - Lilliput. Ron Maund, Qld. \$1,000.
- Lot 843 ch c Secret Savings (US) - Little Anne. Frank Cleary, NSW. \$26,000.
- Lot 844 b f Success Express (US) - Little Me. Ken Reid, NSW. \$31,000.
- Lot 845 b c Eagle Eyed (US) - Love In Motion. Withdrawn.
- Lot 846 b c Mukddaam (US) - Lucid Dream (NZ). Peter Bennett, Qld. \$1,250.
- Lot 847 ch f Sanction - Lunch At Raheen. Peta Wheatley, Qld. \$2,500.
- Lot 848 b c Revoque (IRE) - Lustique. Withdrawn.
- Lot 849 b c Nine Carat (US) - Magic Strings. Passed in \$7,000. Res: \$8,000.
- Lot 850 b c Clang - Mamselle. C R Harrison, Qld. \$26,000.
- Lot 851 ch c Nine Carat (US) - Marcius (NZ). Peter Bennett, Qld. \$5,000.
- Lot 852 br c Honour And Glory (US) - Margaret Layton (US). Anton Koolman Bloodstock, NSW. \$48,000.
- Lot 853 b f Snappy Landing (US) - Marie Rambert (IRE). Passed in \$6,000. Res: \$7,000.
- Lot 854 b c Secret Savings (US) - Masterly (US). Rob Willis, Qld. \$10,000.
- Lot 855 ch f Our Maizcay - Matuvu. Passed in \$13,000. Res: \$15,000.
- Lot 856 br c Singingintherain (US) - Mawenzi (NZ). John Wallace, Qld. \$22,000.
- Lot 857 b/br c Nothin Leica Dane - Maximite. Peter McGregor, NSW. \$14,000.
- Lot 858 gr c Lion Hunter - Medico Maris. Jamie Bourke, Qld. \$7,000.
- Lot 859 b f Danasuria - Megan. Ross Balcombe, Qld. \$5,750.
- Lot 860 br c Singingintherain (US) - Miamama. Peta Wheatley, Qld. \$15,000.
- Lot 861 b f Singingintherain (US) - Miss Epicure. Withdrawn.
- Lot 862 b c Success Express (US) - Miss Kendor. Passed in \$18,000. Res: \$20,000.
- Lot 863 b f Vettori (IRE) - Miss Leader (NZ). Passed in \$7,500. Res: \$8,000.
- Lot 864 b c Geiger Counter (US) - Miss Sea Green (US). Doncaster Bloodstock Services, NSW. \$32,000.
- Lot 865 blk/br f Success Express (US) - Mom's Ice. Withdrawn.
- Lot 866 ch f Sanction - Morn Dew. Horizon Bloodstock, NSW. \$2,750.
- Lot 867 b c King Ivor - Morning Lover. Withdrawn.
- Lot 868 b c Nine Carat (US) - Moss Stepper. Passed in \$3,500. Res: \$5,000.
- Lot 869 b f Honour And Glory (US) - Mum. Newstead Farm, Qld. \$17,000.

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- Lot 870 b c Celestial Dancer (IRE) - My Bonnie Lass. Ron Maund, Qld. \$10,000.
- Lot 871 br c Canadian Silver (CAN) - My Native Rose (NZ). Paul Moroney Bloodstock, NZ. \$15,000.
- Lot 872 b f Mighty Avalanche - Nabreeta. Allan Muller, Qld. \$20,000.
- Lot 873 br f Sea Road - New Day Dawning (NZ). Passed in \$6,000. Res: \$15,000.
- Lot 874 b/br c Puissance (GB) - Nice Break (NZ). Trevor Miller, Qld \$12,000.
- Lot 875 ch c Piccolo (GB) - Nirez. David Naylor. \$27,000.
- Lot 876 b f Our Maizcay - Northern Meeting (GB). Magic Millions (as agent), Qld. \$3,500.
- Lot 877 Dantibes - No Surrender (GB). Steve Grant, NSW. \$22,500.
- Lot 878 ch c Blu Tusmani (US) - Omeomis. Paul Willetts, NZ. \$9,000.
- Lot 879 ch c Nine Carat (US) - Our Helen (NZ). Kelso Wood, Qld. \$11,000.
- Lot 880 b c Danetrice - Our Sylvia (NZ). L Huston, Qld. \$1,250.
- Lot 881 b c Piccolo (GB) - Our Ti-Arne. Magic Millions (as agent), WA. \$7,500.
- Lot 882 br c Mister Kwila - Our Zoffany Girl. Stephen Gray, Sing. \$14,000.
- Lot 883 gr c Our Maizcay - Overtight (NZ). Passed in \$37,500. Res: \$40,000.
- Lot 884 b f Nediym (IRE) - Owner's Delight. Classic Bloodstock, Vic. \$4,500.
- Lot 885 b c Success Express (US) - Paconis. Kelso Wood, Qld. \$25,000.
- Lot 886 b c Sequalo - Paris Design. Tony Gollan, Qld. \$31,000.
- Lot 887 b f Lake Coniston (IRE) - Perfect Dancer. Kelso Wood, Qld. \$15,000.
- Lot 888 b c Nothin Leice Dane - Phanessa. Classic Bloodstock, Vic. \$14,000.
- Lot 889 br c Mighty Avalanche - Pheroz Fun (NZ). K McCasker, Qld. \$17,000.
- Lot 890 br c **Hamas** (IRE) - Phoenix Watch. Magic Millions (as agent), Qld. \$16,000.
- Lot 891 b f Secret Savings (US) - Plenty Of Polish. Rob Willis, Qld. \$12,500.
- Lot 892 ch c Zoffany (US) - Point Pelee. S B & J Laming, Qld. \$36,000.
- Lot 893 ch f Nediym (IRE) - Pokies. Nanine Bradfield, Qld. \$1,250.
- Lot 894 ch f Nine Carat (US) - Pretense. Vera Turgeon, Qld. \$1,250.
- Lot 895 b c With Class (CAN) - Princeton Belle. Nathaniel Cramb, Qld. \$9,000.
- Lot 896 ch c Jugah (US) - Pure Talent (NZ). Heritage Bloodstock, Vic. \$9,000.
- Lot 897 b f Hennessy (US) - Quintet. Cliff Brown, Vic. \$67,500.
- Lot 898 br f Celestial Dancer (IRE) - Radiant Doll. Passed in 49,000. Res: \$10,000.
- Lot 899 b c Crown Jester - Raffinwine. Ron Maund, Qld. \$10,000.

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Lot 900 b c Timber Country (US) - Rainbow Canyon. withdrawn.

Lot 901 gr f Lion Hunter - Rapide (NZ). Passed in \$32,500. Res: \$40,000.

Lot 902 ch f Strategic - Rapid Rain. Heritage Bloodstock, Vic. \$30,000.

Lot 903 br c Darbonne (US) - Rare Spirit. Passed in \$16,000. Res: \$17,000.

Lot 904 ch c Dantibes - Rash Behaviour. Paul Willetts, NZ. \$20,000.

Lot 905 br f Starmaker - Recognition. D Pullar. \$17,50.

Lot 906 ch f Prince Of Birds (US) - Red Reporter. Errol Press, Qld. \$3,100.

Lot 907 br f Switch In Time (IRE) - Regal And Rich. Magic Millions (as agent), Qld. \$30,000.

Lot 908 b/br f Sequalo - Remain Calm (NZ). Neville Munroe, Qld. \$8,000.

Lot 909 b f Waajib (IRE) - Rita Marie (NZ). Jim I Herriot, Qld. \$5,000.

Lot 910 br f Knowledge - Road Not Taken. Angelo Basetti, Vic. \$5,500.

Lot 911 gr c Canadian Silver (CAN) - Roman Royale. Magic Millions (as agent), Qld. \$21,000.

Lot 912 b c Abs (US) - Rosti's Return. Withdrawn.

Lot 913 b f Royal Academy (US) - Royal Harmony (NZ). Passed in \$20,000. Res: \$25,000.

Load-Date: November 12, 2001

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No Headline In Original

Chicago Daily Herald

March 11, 2001, Sunday, Cook

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Section: News;; Fence Post;

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Body

Miracle of Israel is now unraveling

It is sad that for seven years, more than 400 innocent civilian Israeli men, women and children have paid with their lives through acts of terrorism, during the land-for-peace process, and few noticed. This callousness will escalate, as the attacks are expected to escalate in severity.

If one puts aside the potential bankruptcy of the Palestinian Authority, the creation of the joint Palestine Liberation Organization and Hamas-controlled Palestinian state to the east of Israel will soon be a reality. Further, it is important to remember that Hezbollah directs the northern border state of Lebanon, while an increasingly unfriendly Egypt lies to the south, and the perennial hatred of Syria persists to the northeast. Soon the only way for Israeli Jews to seek security will be to fully commit to fight outright or escape to America. And the above enemies of Israel are betting on the latter. But will America take them in?

The enemies of Israel are expanding their horizons well beyond the building of the infrastructure of a Palestinian state, whose original intent was to secure the well-being of their people. They now focus on the annihilation of another. Newspapers worldwide refuse to acknowledge that which is becoming more evident: Israel is about to enter the final stages of the fight for its existence. A de facto state of war exists with a multinational population of terrorists whose stated ultimate goal is Israel's destruction. Israel has surely erred. But its mistakes don't justify its liquidation.

A degree of arrogance and naivete have contributed to the weakened state of commitment by many Israelis, while the majority of Diaspora Jews are in a state of denial as to what is ultimately occurring. Individual Jewish life appears to have cheapened throughout the press, worldwide. Where are the loud condemnations against the slaughter of Jewish innocents?

Sadly, the miracle of Israel appears to be unraveling. Yet again, Jewish children may be denied their rights to live, in a land promised earlier for their survival, to a post-Holocaust people, while their murderers are blaming the victims for causing their own deaths. "Never again" is a phrase apparently without meaning.

Bruce Portnoy

Buffalo Grove

Critics are obligated to stay until the end

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It wasn't until I reached the end of Jack Helbig's comments on the Steppenwolf Theatre production of "David Copperfield," that I was shocked, appalled and ultimately offended enough to write the Daily Herald.

The art of the critic is to comment on the total theatrical presentation not just the first half or any portion you deem "enough." I find it reprehensible, that the editors would allow to be printed an incomplete writing assignment in which the writer takes to task the creative process when the writer did not witness the end result of that process. This is analogous to a sportswriter citing the winner of a game based on the halftime score.

In the future, should Helbig choose to leave a production before its end, I hope he will limit his "criticism" to himself, friends and/or family members and not present it as a fully realized critique.

R. Razz Jenkins

Des Plaines

Critic was smart to leave play early

Accolades for Jack Helbig's review of "David Copperfield." I read his review the day before I was going to see it and thought Helbig probably was being unreasonable. Well, I saw it on Saturday, and Helbig's review was right on the money. If I hadn't been with other people, I would have done as Helbig did and walked out.

What a miserable succession of "cliff notes" vignettes with an incompetent adult attempting to play David as an 8-year-old and teenager. I have to wonder why Steppenwolf couldn't at least have found a competent child actor to play the role. Helbig is lucky he missed the second act, as it didn't improve. I was hoping that eventually young David would grow up into the age of Jim True-Frost (who was excellent as the narrator/older David - he was the best part of the play by far) so he could take over the role and spare me the agony of watching that silly child/man goofing around in the role of a character he didn't understand.

I did, however, enjoy the characterizations of Mr. Macawber and Uriah Heap. I think one has to wonder why a theater company as accomplished as Steppenwolf would bother to try to stage a 1,000- page highly literary novel while there are probably thousands of real theater scripts and plays out there waiting to be produced.

I believe there is a reason why a particular literary work is written in a particular form or genre. If "David Copperfield" would have been more appropriate as a play, then Dickens would have written a play. Why do theater companies keep straining to convert novels to the stage when there are so many great theater scripts around that make the same statements, only they are written for the stage.

Once in a while there are some novels that read like a play. I can see trying to produce those as plays. "David Copperfield" is not one of them.

Of the people I know who saw "David Copperfield," I am definitely in a minority opinion, so I am very thankful for Helbig's review. If I'm crazy, at least I have company and well- respected company at that.

Hal Stern

Rolling Meadows

Shooting deserved front-page coverage

Two students are dead and 13 others people injured from a student with a parent's handgun and your lead story is rising beef prices? Are shootings at high schools so commonplace that now you act as though it is not important in our lives?

This is serious, heart attack serious, and something must be done now. The NRA (No Real Answers) will come out of their holes and tell us about their "rights" - but irresponsible gun owners must be punished. No trial, no lawyers, no jury - automatic 10 years in jail (minimum).

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I feel that if someone wants to own a gun, they have the right to do that. If they hunt, target shoot, collect old guns or to protect their family from intruders (which is a myth that you need a gun for protection), then guns should be available for them to purchase. (After a three-day waiting period).

But when kids are able to get their parents' gun and kill innocent people, then I feel the owner should be as liable as the shooter. It is sad that laws were made to protect the perpetrator and not the victim.

Mario Giannone

Barrington

Clintons can't shed the stereotypes

No matter how hard we try to suppress stereotypes - those hackneyed images grafted into the patterns of geographical regions and social circles - they exist. As an example, many regard their impoverished roots as wounds of the past - indelible in mind, remissible in life, put away forever. For others, such as nouveau Texans, their long-ago acquired twangs are badges of honor, carried on their tongues like taste buds, never to be cast off.

So it goes with the Clintons. No matter how Bill tries to shed his Arkansas roots, he will always be known as "the Bubba from the back hills who wanted it all and took it all - save none!" Unfortunately for Hillary, raised among Chicago's educated in the affluent suburb of Park Ridge, she will always be known as "the uptown girl who should have known better!"

Pat Sutarik

Palatine

Forest preserve chief has done a fine job

In light of the current difficulties of the Forest Preserve District of Cook County, I am writing to express the support of the Illinois & Michigan Canal National Heritage Corridor Civic Center Authority for Forest Preserve District of Cook County General Superintendent Joseph Nevius. The Civic Center Authority has worked closely with Nevius over 16 years on major projects and through several major changes in Cook County government and the district board of commissioners. During that time, with the cooperation of Nevius, the Civic Center Authority has secured nearly a half- million dollars in funding for projects on district property at the Chicago Portage National Historic Site in Portage Woods Forest Preserve, the most visible of which is the now famous statue of Jolliet, Marquette and their American Indian guide that marks the site.

In the experience of the Civic Center Authority, Nevius has always demonstrated the highest professional conduct and skills. He recognizes the significance and potential benefits of the full development of the Chicago Portage National Historic Site and has consistently supported our advocacy for the construction of an interpretive center there. He has supported the creation of the Centennial Trail and many other projects and events of the I&M Canal National Heritage Corridor.

With limited resources, Nevius has managed to fill important new positions in the district staff with experienced professionals such as volunteer coordinator Bill Koenig, and existing but long- unstaffed positions such as director of conservation with Chris Merenowicz.

But perhaps more importantly, Nevius has shown the leadership and vision that would be required to return the 67,000-acre Forest Preserve District of Cook County to its rightful place as a world- class model of public, urban, open space and natural resource management from its current state were he given the direction, support and adequate resources from the voters. taxpayers and the district's board of commissioners to do so.

Stanley A. Johnson

Chairman

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Executive Director

Illinois & Michigan Canal

National Heritage Corridor

Willow Springs

Odds are against Clinton telling truth

Given their famous difference in matters not usually detailed in family newspapers, it may seem surprising to note that Bill Clinton is America's direct spiritual descendant from Oscar Wilde. Their similarities, however, exceed their differences in their common rejection of traditional values. Like lying, for instance. For Oscar Wilde, lying was a prime virtue, an engaging form of originality. His big concern was that liars should never fall into "the careless habit of accuracy." Now, many longtime apologists for Bill Clinton perhaps fear that, absent any need for lying to protect his office, he might forgetfully start telling the truth. Fear not, oh true-believing Clintonistas! Clinton's recent defense of pardons for Marc Rich and other miscreants is ample evidence that your hero has not yet fallen into that dreaded habit. Bill is just as original as ever.

Alan A. Roberts

Barrington

State's changes would harm special education

On March 6, the Illinois State Board of Education came to Elgin Community College and spoke with special education teachers, parents and teaching assistants (on 36 hours' notice).

Soon special educators will have to undergo a change in their teaching certificates. Soon the state board of education wants to have teachers who will be expected to teach children with learning disabilities, behavior disorders, physical impairments, trainable mental impairments or educable mental impairments.

These areas of speciality would be lumped together under one teaching certificate. The ISBE is attempting to take the special out of special education.

After hearing the presentation and reading the information, I concluded that the ISBE thinks special educators should be "jacks of all trades and masters of none." This is of particular importance to all children with special needs. I teach children with severe physical or health impairments.

These children theoretically could be placed in segregated classrooms with children with behavior disorders. The building learning disabilities teacher would be expected to assess, implement and evaluate educational programs for children with Down syndrome or severe physical impairments, even though this special education teacher may never have had training or preparation to implement a functional curriculum or teach a child how to use a power wheelchair.

According to the proposed guidelines from the ISBE, the teacher would be certified to teach these children all in one room. I feel theses changes would set back special education in Illinois 30 years. Please contact the ISBE for more information and give your opinions. The ISBE Web site is isbe.net. Its Chicago address is 100 W. Randolph, Suite 14-300, Chicago, IL 60601, or call (312) 814- 2220, (312) 814-5821 TTY.

Angela Balk

South Elgin

Writer overlooks spirit of humans

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Recently in a letter, Hank Oettinger asked, "Are we a special form of life that subscribes to a different set of rules?" His lessons in biology and botany ignore that man has a spirit. A fact he may deny because of his disdain for religion and Catholicism in particular when he refers to "old men in cassocks."

The Catholic Church at Vatican II condemned abortion as an abominable crime. Apparently, women have not taken serious these "old men in cassocks" or they wouldn't have killed 40 million unborn children.

John R. Folkers

Arlington Heights

Don't create opening for anti-Semites

When columnist Charles Krauthammer (Feb. 2) used a specific reference to four "Hasidic Jews" instead of naming each man by his given name only, as he did the other two, I believe the connotation will give cause for any anti-Semite to embellish the fact these were "Jews" instead of four individuals trying to beat the government.

Ted Zirlin

Elk Grove Village

The fascist tendencies of America's liberals

Liberals have tried to have government take over segments of the private sector from time to time. They want certain segments of society as dependent on government as possible, so they can control them, and get their vote. Liberals are into control, but not the responsibility of owning.

It started with Roosevelt's New Deal, which was designed to try to correct the Great Depression government itself caused. This was followed by Johnson's Great Society programs. Johnson's "vision" cost taxpayer's \$ 3 trillion and did nothing except destroy more freedom. The bureaucracy expanded considerably, extending its control, and our rights suffered drastically.

Next came the extremist environmentalists, resulting in the Environmental Protection Agency, one of the most intrusive and best financed regulatory agencies. It controls some of nearly everything we do.

Following was the multibillion-dollar drug war. Again, freedoms evaporated and police powers expanded. Today, a citizen can be said, but not proven, to be guilty of a drug offense and, through forfeiture laws, lose their possessions. A trial is not necessary. Punishment comes before trial. And that punishment is at the discretion of government. I kid you not.

Finally, we got "politically correct" speech. Today, such a tight rein is kept on the thoughts and speech that kids are expelled from school for pointing a finger and saying "bang." Cursing, however, is OK, as is the free distribution, to children, of birth-control devices or deviant sexual behavior literature.

Therefore, what should we call liberals? Well, liberal programs restricting freedom, mutating government into a strong central authority, suppressing opposition through force and censorship, labeling anyone who refuses to go along as evil - in summary, wanting the activities of the individual subjugated to the will of the state (with the state run by them) - is defined in the dictionary as fascism.

Janice Rogalin

Elk Grove Village

Real life argues for self-protection

Another tragedy - and preventable had the gun laws already in place been used like they were intended. One of the continual arguments between the anti-gun and pro-gun groups is over laws and the need for more laws.

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However, in the Melrose Park shooting we have a classic example of good laws that were well-thought-out before implementation as law, that should have been used and were not. This man was a convicted felon, and according to law with that conviction came a loss of his rights to own and possess firearms.

So why did he still have them in his possession? Where were the state police or the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms to enforce the laws on the books and remove the firearms from the possession of a convicted felon? We already are hearing screams from the anti-gun side for more - what will more laws do if we are not even using those in place ?

Once again, "real life" has shown that it does not matter if you have 1 law or 1 million; those intent on committing crimes, breaking laws and using weapons illegally, and even attaining them via illegal means, have few barriers.

However, the rights of the law-abiding citizens to protect themselves are once again hindered. Because the powers that be feel we not only don't have a right to self-protection, we are not responsible enough to be "allowed such a privilege." I did not know that living and protecting one's life was a privilege given by any one man or men . I thought it was something we were all born with under the laws of our God, however we choose to believe.

For a decade now, we have been so worried about the rights of the criminal we have all but forgotten about the rights of the law-abiding and the victims. Forty-three of 50 states with some sort of personal protection via conceal-carry cannot be wrong. It is time for legitimate discussion about the rights of the law-abiding.

House Bill 401, the Family and Personal Protection Act addresses these rights and concerns. Not all of us out here are the mayor of Chicago and have personal bodyguards. We have to deal with the real world and real life. We have the right to at least have a chance at our own self-protection if we so desire.

Denise Krasicki

Prospect Heights

Advocate's death spurs vigil against execution

On March 1, renowned Chicago attorney Richard Cunningham was stabbed to death, but not a word regarding this tragic incident was found in the pages of the Daily Herald.

The violent death of any individual is tragic, with the sense of loss confined to the immediate family. In the case of Dick Cunningham, his death will have a ripple effect among many people throughout Illinois. For almost 30 years, he represented defendants in capital cases, and he was a leader in the struggle to abolish the death penalty. The day before his death was spent in Gov. Ryan's office with men he helped free from death row testifying before the commission on the death penalty that was announced when the current moratorium was announced.

Those on death row have lost a strong defender of their rights, and those of us in the abolitionist community have lost a friend. Amnesty International Group 259, here in the Northwest suburbs, will honor the commitment of Dick Cunningham on Good Friday, April 13. We will conduct an interfaith vigil to abolish the death penalty at Volunteer Plaza (Route 14 and Hicks Road) in Palatine from 2 to 5:30 p.m.

Immediately following the vigil, we will conduct an interfaith prayer circle to remember those on death row and to pray for the abolition of the death penalty. We invite people of conscience and members of faith communities to stand with us in this public witness against capital punishment.

Those desiring further details may contact us at AmnestyGroup259@aol.com . There is little doubt that Dick Cunningham will be with us in spirit as we demonstrate our opposition to the death penalty on Good Friday when the most well-known death sentence was carried out on a "criminal" who was known as Jesus of Nazareth.

Kevin M. Clark

Coordinator

No Headline In Original

Amnesty International

Group 259

Palatine

Why does Burt insist on bashing Scouting?

I don't understand why Burt deviates from his cordiality when it comes to a group of unpaid individuals (mostly kids' parents) trying to find a wholesome, nonsexual, nonpolitical activity for their kids.

Scouting has separate cabins and tents for males and females. It has been my experience that those leaders who outwardly promoted their sexuality have been frowned upon. No stripper moms in Girl Scouting and no Chippendales with the boys.

I am sure there have been embarrassing exceptions, but that's the goal. Don't ask. Don't tell. Steer away from the sexuality issue entirely. But that makes lousy press and doesn't further political agendas.

Frank Kay

Schaumburg

Load-Date: March 14, 2001

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ISRAEL GIVES TERRORIST FOUR LIFE SENTENCES

NEW YORK TIMES

May 4, 1998, Monday

Information Bank Abstracts

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Section: Section A; Page 7, Column 3; (AP)

Length: 49 words

Body

Israeli military court sentences a Palestinian **Hamas** terrorist, Riyad Abu Hamdiya, to four life terms in prison for shooting a kidnapped Israeli soldier, planning March 1997 bombing of Tel Aviv cafe that killed three **women** and taking part in two drive-by shootings that left three Israelis dead (S)

Load-Date: May 4, 1998

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Driver rams car into 11 Israeli soldiers

The Gazette (Montreal, Quebec)

August 11, 1999, FINAL

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Body

Eleven Israeli soldiers were injured when a Palestinian rammed their group with a car yesterday. The man, said to be inspired by a **Hamas** terrorist super-bomber, drove his car into young Israeli soldiers as they waited for rides home at an intersection midway between Jerusalem and Gaza. The driver died in a hail of Israeli police gunfire as his vehicle careered into a truck. One **female** soldier hit by the car was in a critical condition last night. Prime Minister Ehud Barak called the attack "cowardly" and said it strengthened Israel's resolve to fight terrorism. The Palestinian Authority said an investigation was being carried out.

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