

Date and Time: Saturday, May 4, 2024 2:59:00 AM EEST

Job Number: 223499410

Documents (100)

1. [NATION/WORLD](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

2. [ENGINES FAILED IN AIR CRASH](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

3. [Two Policemen Killed; Another Hunger Striker Near Death](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

4. [THE ROYAL WEDDING: Lady Diana Spencer -- The Blushing Princes](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

5. [NEW CALEDONIA: COLONIALISM AT HEART, CHANGE IN MIND](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

6. [*Families Rally Behind Maze Prison Fasters*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

7. [*Hunger Strike Threatens New Bloodshed*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

8. [*Irish Guerrillas End Hunger Strike*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

9. [*Bomb Kills 11 At Memorial Service For Britain 's War Dead*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

10. [Second Look for Family After Years in British Jail](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

11. [TV Highlights for FRIDAY, APRIL 10 SUNDAY, APRIL 26 9 am PBS , "Sesame Street." 10:30 am CBS , "Face the Nation." PBS , "The Perkins Family." 11 am CBS , "For Our Times." PBS , "Knowzone: 'Wildlife For Sale'" \(R\). 11:30 am ABC , "This Week with David Brinkley." PBS , "WonderWorks: 'Room To Move'" \(R\). 12:30 pm ABC , "Business World." NBC , "Meet The Press." 1 pm CBS , " NBA Playoffs." PBS , "Firing Line." 1:30 pm ABC , "Big 'I' Houston Open." 4 pm ABC , " USA vs. USSR Gymnastics Special." NBC , "Golf" -- Coverage of the Liberty Mutual Legends of Golf. PBS , "Suleyman the Magnificent" \(R\) -- Documentary on the 16th century Ottoman Empire. 5 pm ABC , "Mutual of Omaha's Spirit of Adventure: 'Challenging China's Yangtze.'" 6:30 pm ABC , "ABC World News Sunday." NBC , " NBC Nightly News." PBS , "Washington Week in Review." 7 pm ABC , "The Disney Sunday Movie: 'The Devil and Max Devlin'" -- A minor league sinner locks horns with Satan's "left-hand man" as he races against time to find a replacement for his condemned soul -- with Bill Cosby, Elliott Gould and Susan Anspach. CBS , "60 Minutes." NBC , "Our House" \(R\) -- Kris is devastated when her favorite teacher writes a negative letter about her that may have a negative effect on her chances of being accepted at the Air Force Academy. PBS , "Adventure: 'K2, The Elusive Summit'" -- Documentary on Julie Tullis, the third woman to reach the top of K2, the second highest mountain in the world. 8 pm CBS , "Murder, She Wrote" \(R\) -- Jessica investigates a murder at a circus in the first episode of a two-part story. NBC , "Rags to Riches" -- Diane gets into a car accident immediately after getting her license. 9 pm ABC , " ABC Sunday Night Movie: ' American Gigolo'" -- A gigolo falls in love with a senator's wife and finds himself accused of a shocking murder -- with Richard Gere and Lauren Hutton. CBS , "Hallmark Hall of Fame: 'Pack of Lies'" -- with Ellen Burstyn and Terri Garr. PBS , "Masterpiece Theatre: 'Star Quality'" -- An unlikely shipboard romance develops between a novelist and an alcoholic 15 years her junior. 11 pm ABC , " ABC 's World News Tonight -- The Weekend Report." CBS , " CBS Sunday Night News with Charles Osgood." 11:30 pm NBC , "George Michael's Sports Machine." MONDAY, APRIL 27](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

12. [Arena Stage mounts Shaw play and US premiere of Irish drama](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

13. [Belfast citizens pursue peacemaking in shadow of Nobel Prize winners](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

14. [Bury Hunger Striker in Huge Funeral; Riots In Londonderry](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

15. [Chain of Violence and Death Grips Northern Ireland](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

16. [News Summary](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

17. [POLITICAL IRELAND 'S MISUNDERSTOOD HERO AUTHOR MARIANNE BURNS ELLIOTT TRIES TO: PULL WOLFE TONE OUT OF ROMANTIC MISTS](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

18. [TERRORISTS KILL TWO AUSSIES](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

19. [For Anglicans, Things Stay Bright and Beautiful](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

20. [Priest, Writing Eulogy, Recalls Woman in I.R.A.](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

21. [CRIME](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

22. [New Generation in an Anti-NATO Brotherhood](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

23. [*New Generation in an Anti-NATO Brotherhood*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

24. [*New Generation in an Anti-NATO Brotherhood*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

25. [*TERRORISM HAS BECOME THE NEW BOOM INDUSTRY*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

26. [*SHULTZ IS WRONG ON TERRORISM*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

27. [Libya 's Qaddafi: shattered dreams, fear of coup plots](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases,Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

28. [POLITICS AND TRADITION MIX AS IRISH MARCH](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases,Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

29. [Belfast: not a nice place to visit, even worse to live in](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases,Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

30. [GENERATIONS OF TORMENT](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases,Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

31. [ROURKE'S TRIPLE PLAY STAR PROFILE](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases,Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31,

32. [Review/Art; The Rollicking Red Grooms, Without All the Noise](#)**Client/Matter:** -None-**Search Terms:** "Irish Republican Army"**Search Type:** Natural Language**Narrowed by:****Content Type**
News**Narrowed by**
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 199033. [Long in Distress, Economy of Ireland Turning for the Better](#)**Client/Matter:** -None-**Search Terms:** "Irish Republican Army"**Search Type:** Natural Language**Narrowed by:****Content Type**
News**Narrowed by**
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 199034. [Long in Distress, Economy of Ireland Turning for the Better - An AP Extra](#)**Client/Matter:** -None-**Search Terms:** "Irish Republican Army"**Search Type:** Natural Language**Narrowed by:****Content Type**
News**Narrowed by**
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 199035. [ECONOMIC GREENING ON EMERALD ISLE](#)**Client/Matter:** -None-**Search Terms:** "Irish Republican Army"**Search Type:** Natural Language**Narrowed by:****Content Type**
News**Narrowed by**
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 199036. [Northern Ireland 's 'troubles' after 20 years](#)**Client/Matter:** -None-**Search Terms:** "Irish Republican Army"**Search Type:** Natural Language**Narrowed by:****Content Type****Narrowed by**

News

Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

37. [BOMBING IN ULSTER KILLS 11 IN CROWD; I.R.A. IS SUSPECTED](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

38. [AT THE MOVIES ; ; 'Cal' director tried to focus on the tragic.](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

39. [Margaret Thatcher Looks Unstoppable in British Election](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

40. [7 ULSTER PRISONERS END HUNGER STRIKE WITH 2 NEAR DEATH](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

41. [THE WORLD; BY BARBARA SALVIN AND MILT FREUDENHEIM; Of Justice and Sin, Strikes and Spies; Where but in Iran ?](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

42. [*A Look Back at Those Who Departed*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

43. [*7-Story Village Mural of Stars of the Left*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

44. [*WHERE COFFINS WAIT WHILE MURDER IS DONE*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

45. [*WHERE COFFINS WAIT WHILE MURDER IS DONE*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

46. [*AT THE MOVIES*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

47. [GADDAFI: HIS IS A RUTHLESS VISION](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

48. [LONG ISLAND JOURNAL](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

49. [AN OUTSIDE CHANCE](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

50. [AP SPOTLIGHT: Thatcher's Decade - Growth of an 'Institution'](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

51. [AP SPOTLIGHT: Thatcher's Decade - Growth of an 'Institution'](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

52. [Book reviews UPI Arts & Entertainment Book Reviews](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

53. [Northern Ireland -- Land of the perennial 'Troubles'](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

54. [CRIME](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

55. [ISRAELIS AND GERMANS DOUBT BULGARIAN LINK IN ATTACK ON POPE](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

56. [JOBS BILL PITS IRISH VS. IRISH](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases,Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

57. [Twelve Months of Historic Change](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases,Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

58. [Twelve Months of Historic Change](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases,Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

59. [Twelve Months of Historic Change](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases,Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

60. [Westchester Journal](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases,Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31,

61. [THATCHER'S REVOLUTIONARY RULE](#)**Client/Matter:** -None-**Search Terms:** "Irish Republican Army"**Search Type:** Natural Language**Narrowed by:****Content Type**
News**Narrowed by**
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 199062. [PRINCE CHARLES PAYS A QUICK VISIT TO CITY](#)**Client/Matter:** -None-**Search Terms:** "Irish Republican Army"**Search Type:** Natural Language**Narrowed by:****Content Type**
News**Narrowed by**
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 199063. [Brawley's Mother Defies a Grand Jury Subpoena](#)**Client/Matter:** -None-**Search Terms:** "Irish Republican Army"**Search Type:** Natural Language**Narrowed by:****Content Type**
News**Narrowed by**
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 199064. [THE FINAL SHOWDOWN](#)**Client/Matter:** -None-**Search Terms:** "Irish Republican Army"**Search Type:** Natural Language**Narrowed by:****Content Type**
News**Narrowed by**
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 199065. [Former Sharpton Aide Was Disturbed by 'Lies'](#)**Client/Matter:** -None-**Search Terms:** "Irish Republican Army"**Search Type:** Natural Language**Narrowed by:****Content Type****Narrowed by**

News

Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

66. [TERROR IN 1985: BRUTAL ATTACKS, TOUGH RESPONSE](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

67. [Relaxing oasis with aesthetic appeal at Tampa's Lucy Ho's](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

68. [Diana and Charles To Wed Wednesday after Year-Long Courtship](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

69. [MANY FACES OF QADDAFI: SHOWMAN AND SURVIVOR](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

70. [U.S. DENIAL OF VISAS OVER POLITICS OF FOREIGNERS: THE BATTLE IS HEATING UP](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

71. [National Editorial Sampler: What Newspapers are saying](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

72. [Will capture of Noriega be worth the price?](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

73. [At the Movies](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

74. [Christmas in N. Ireland : the spirit of resilience](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

75. [Hard Times Hit Home In 1982](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

76. [ALICE, THE RADICAL HOMEMAKER](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

77. [How the IRA ships arms into Ulster](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

78. [Ulster blaze about violence after 14 years of 'The Troubles'](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

79. [GOODBYE 1990](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

80. [COLD-BLOODED BUTCHERY ON PARADISE ISLAND](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

81. [FILM; For Brian Dennehy, Character Tells All](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

82. [COUNTERING THE THREAT OF TERRORISM](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

83. [DE LOREAN MAY HAVE OFFERED STOCK HE DIDN'T OWN IN DEAL;](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

84. [Notable Paperbacks](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

85. [A case of hate // Attack on N.Y. girl, and reaction to it, stirs racial tensions](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

86. [*Thatcher Puts a Lid On Censorship in Britain*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

87. [*ULSTER'S LOST GENERATION*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

88. [*THE HARD CODE OF THE SUPERCHIEFS*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

89. [*Sikh in British Army Is Lured To a Belfast Flat and Is Killed*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

90. [British Soldier Shot by the I.R.A. Dies of Wounds in Ulster Hospital](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases,Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

91. [Quote of the Day](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases,Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

92. [Ulster Rebels Kill Soldier](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases,Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

93. [2 BRITISH SOLDIERS KILLED BY GUNMEN](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases,Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

94. [World News Summary](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases,Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31,

95. [*IRA Appeals For Tens of Thousands To March Sunday*](#)**Client/Matter:** -None-**Search Terms:** "Irish Republican Army"**Search Type:** Natural Language**Narrowed by:****Content Type**
News**Narrowed by**
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 199096. [*IRA Bombs Government Minister's Home*](#)**Client/Matter:** -None-**Search Terms:** "Irish Republican Army"**Search Type:** Natural Language**Narrowed by:****Content Type**
News**Narrowed by**
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 199097. [*Taxi Driver Killed by IRA*](#)**Client/Matter:** -None-**Search Terms:** "Irish Republican Army"**Search Type:** Natural Language**Narrowed by:****Content Type**
News**Narrowed by**
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 199098. [*A Luxury Hotel West of Belfast Burned Out by Terrorists' Bombs*](#)**Client/Matter:** -None-**Search Terms:** "Irish Republican Army"**Search Type:** Natural Language**Narrowed by:****Content Type**
News**Narrowed by**
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 199099. [*AROUND THE WORLD; 7 Injured in Bomb Blast; Near Ulster Police Station*](#)**Client/Matter:** -None-**Search Terms:** "Irish Republican Army"**Search Type:** Natural Language**Narrowed by:****Content Type****Narrowed by**

News

Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

100. [IRA pair gets 30 years' jail](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Irish Republican Army"

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newswires & Press
Releases, Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1980 to Dec 31, 1990

NATION/WORLD

St. Louis Post-Dispatch (Missouri)

January 1, 1989, SUNDAY, LATE FIVE STAR Edition

Copyright 1989 St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Inc.

Section: NEWS; Pg. 4E

Length: 1061 words

Body

PUBLIC LIFE John Mitchell, 75: Former attorney general who went to prison for conspiring to cover up the Watergate scandal. Billy Carter, 51: President Jimmy Carter's beer-guzzling good ol' boy younger brother, who alternately amused and dismayed Americans with his escapades, opinions and "Billy Beer." Jackie Presser, 61: Teamsters leader who led the union back to the mainstream of organized labor but extended its reputation for corruption with his own indictments for racketeering and embezzlement. Clarence Pendleton, 57: U.S. Civil Rights Commission chairman who opposed many programs designed to aid women and minorities. Khalil Al-Wazir, 52: Known as Abu Jihad, senior PLO commander and Yasser Arafat's closest aide. Nora Astorga, 39: Nicaraguan U.N. ambassador who lured a general into her bedroom - and a death trap. Edgar Faure, 79: Statesman who held more Cabinet posts than any other Frenchman. Georgi Malenkov, 86: Former premier and Communist Party leader of Soviet Russia. Abdul Ghafter Khan, 98: Key figure in India's struggle for independence. Kurt Kiesinger, 83: German propagandist in World War II who became West Germany's chancellor in 1966-69. Sean Macbride, 83: Teen-age Irish Republican Army guerrilla leader, he went on to win both the Nobel and Lenin peace prizes. Franz Josef Strauss, 73: German right-wing state governor. Mohammed Zia ul-Haq, 64: President of Pakistan and strong U.S. ally. ENTERTAINMENT John Carradine, 82: Appeared in more than 500 movies, including "Stagecoach" and "The Grapes of Wrath." Trevor Howard, 71: Hard-living, craggy-faced British star of stage and screen, whose most famous role was in 1946 in the movie "Brief Encounter."

John Houseman, 86: With Orson Welles, produced the famous radio version of "War of the Worlds." Noted for his role as the law professor Charles W. Kingsfield in "The Paper Chase." Joshua Logan, 79: Writer, producer and director who delighted theatergoers with his staging of "South Pacific," "Annie Get Your Gun," "Mister Roberts" and other Broadway hits. Heather O'Rourke, 12: Played the angelic child kidnapped by angry spirits in the movie "Poltergeist." Harris Glenn Milstead, 42: Known as Divine, the bizarre female impersonator starred in such films as "Pink Flamingos" and "Hairspray." Gert Froebe, 75: German actor and comic who is best known as the gold-craving villain in the James Bond movie "Goldfinger." Anne Ramsey, 59: Her character "Momma" in "Throw Momma From the Train" won her an Oscar nomination. SCIENCE Isidor Isaac Rabi, 89: Nobel prize-winning physicist who helped develop atomic energy. Klaus Fuchs, 76: Nuclear scientist in Britain and the United States in World War II who later passed atomic secrets to the Soviets. Richard Feynman, 69: Nobel Prize-winning physicist who helped shatter NASA's claim that cold weather didn't doom the shuttle Challenger. MUSIC Frederick Loewe, 86: Composer whose melodies, coupled with Alan Jay Lerner's lyrics, turned "My Fair Lady," "Camelot" and other musicals into classics. Andy Gibb, 30: Brother to the Gibbs of the Bee Gees rock group, a solo pop star in his own right. Dennis Day, 71: The golden-voiced Irish balladeer whose career as a foil for comedian Jack Benny spanned decades of radio, television and movies. Roy Orbison, 52: The rock 'n' roll pioneer who made the charts with such 1960s hits as "Oh, Pretty Woman" and "Only the Lonely." ARTS AND LETTERS Robert Joffrey, 57: Choreographer who built the Joffrey Ballet into one of the top U.S. dance companies. Milton Caniff, 81: Comic strip artist who drew "Terry and the Pirates" and "Steve Canyon." Robert A. Heinlein, 80: Science-fiction writer whose "Stranger In A Land" is a

NATION/WORLD

classic. Charles Addams, 76: Cartoonist who brought a touch of ghoulishness to The New Yorker. Alan Paton, 85: South African author whose novel "Cry the Beloved Country" opened the world of apartheid to the world beyond South Africa. Louise Nevelson, 88: Sculptor who struggled until she was nearly 60 to win recognition for her work. Louis L'Amour, 80: One of America's most-prolific storytellers, whose frontier tales of gunfighters, lawmen and drifters enthralled millions of readers. Adela Rogers St. John, 94: Early feminist and avowed "sob sister" who broke into the men's world of newspapering. SPORTS Art Rooney Sr., 87: Founding father of the NFL and owner of the Pittsburgh Steelers who watched them struggle for 40 years before they won four Super Bowls in the 1970s. Carl Hubbell, 85: Hall of Fame baseball pitcher who won 253 games is best remembered for his consecutive strikeouts of five future Hall-of-Famers in the 1934 All-Star Game. Edward Bennett Williams, 68: Owner of the Baltimore Orioles, former president of the Washington Redskins, lawyer whose spellbinding command of a courtroom rivaled that of his idol, Clarence Darrow. "Pistol Pete" Maravich, 40: The floppy-socked, shaggy-haired, utterly astounding basketball genius, biggest point producer in NCAA history. Harvey Kuenn, 57: Managed the Milwaukee Brewers to 1982 pennant, only to lose to the Cardinals. MEDIA Barry Bingham Sr., 82: Patriarch of a media empire, including two Pulitzer Prize-winning newspapers, a TV station and a printing company, who sold the properties in 1986 to end a family squabble. Sheilah Graham, 84: Author and legendary columnist who reported Hollywood's juiciest gossip. Max Robinson, 49: First black network television news anchor. From 1978 to 1983, Robinson co-anchored the ABC Evening News from Chicago. GENERAL Gregory "Pappy" Boyington, 75: World War II flying ace. Joe Carcione, 73: Television's "Green Grocer." Anatoly Levchenko, 47: Veteran cosmonaut in line to fly the new Soviet space shuttle. Christina Onassis, 37: Heiress to the billion-dollar fortune of Greek shipping tycoon Aristotle Onassis. Elmo R. Zumwalt III, 42: As a Navy officer in Vietnam, he was exposed to Agent Orange, a defoliant ordered sprayed there by his admiral father. Mildred Gillars, 87: Known in World War II as Axis Sally. Harold "Kim" Philby, 76: Spied for the Soviets from the heights of British intelligence. Andrei Artukovic, 88: "Butcher of the Balkans" was extradited from the United States and convicted in Yugoslavia of ordering thousands of prisoners killed during World War II.

Graphic

Photo Graphic; PHOTO HEADSHOTS of John Carradine, John Mitchell, Sheilah Graham, Louise Nevelson, Max Robinson, Frederick Loewe LOGO...THEY YEAR 1988 IN REVIEW

Load-Date: October 23, 1993

End of Document

ENGINES FAILED IN AIR CRASH

St. Louis Post-Dispatch (Missouri)

January 10, 1989, TUESDAY, FIVE STAR Edition

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Section: NEWS; Pg. 1A

Length: 1067 words

Body

KEGWORTH, England - Both engines failed on the Boeing 737-400 that crashed on an attempted emergency landing near here and killed 44 people, authorities said Monday. Sabotage is not suspected in the crash Sunday of the jetliner, the second major air disaster in Britain in less than three weeks, said Transport Minister Paul Channon. But Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said no possible cause could be ruled out, including sabotage. One aviation expert called the apparent double-engine failure a 10 million-to-1 chance, and yet the U.S. Federal Aviation Administration reported two examples of a dual failure of these engines. The jet, a British Midland Airways flight carrying 118 passengers and eight crew members, was en route from London's Heathrow Airport to Belfast, Northern Ireland, when it developed engine trouble. The pilot elected to make an emergency landing at East Midlands Airport near Kegworth but came in about a half-mile short of the runway. The plane plowed into a grassy embankment on one side of the M1, England's main north-south highway, bounced into the air and smashed into an embankment on the other side of the six-lane motorway. Channon said Monday: "So far the evidence - although by no means conclusive - is consistent with the right engine having stopped before impact, and there are also signs of fire in the left engine." Asked whether both engines malfunctioned, he replied: "That certainly looks probable at the moment." Amateur radio operator Mervyn Solloway monitored exchanges between the jet's pilot and airport controllers.

He said he had heard a frantic message saying, "We've got problems with the other engine." The Boeing 737-400 was delivered to British Midland only 12 weeks ago and had flown less than 500 hours, the airline said. Boeing said the plane had two CFM-56 engines, built in France by a consortium of the U.S.-based General Electric Co. and the French company SMECMA. Oliver Fagard, a SMECMA spokesman, said in Paris: "It is extremely improbable that both engines would break down in such a short interval. We have very impressive reliability statistics. There was a fire in engine No. 1, which was controlled. There was no fire in the other." Three British airlines grounded Boeing 737s with identical engines on Monday to await results from the investigation. Four such planes were in use in Britain at the time of the crash. William Tench, retired head of Britain's Air Accidents Investigation Board, said the odds against failure of both engines on a Boeing 737 were about 10 million to 1. He suggested that there had been a "technical mistake such as something incorrect being done to the engines during turnaround (servicing between flights), either inadvertently or deliberately." Aviation experts cited three possible causes for a double engine failure: contaminated fuel, an oil leak and improper servicing. According to the FAA in Washington, double engine failures of the CFM-56-3 actually have been reported twice before: Early last year, a Greek Olympic Airways 737-300 flying in heavy rain lost power in both engines, but pilots were able to restart one of them while the plane was in the air. Last May, a Salvadoran TACA 737-300 made a forced landing in heavy rain in New Orleans after one engine caught fire and the other lost power, an agency spokesman said. No one was hurt in either incident, but the FAA later put out a directive advising pilots of planes equipped with the CFM-56-3 engines to take special precautions when flying in "moderate to heavy precipitation," an FAA spokesman said. No serious precipitation was reported on Flight 092's route Sunday night. Because the plane was bound for Northern Ireland, suspicion mounted that **Irish**

ENGINES FAILED IN AIR CRASH

Republican Army guerrillas might have been involved. They are fighting to oust the British from Northern Ireland and unite it with the Irish Republic. Authorities reported that 25 soldiers stationed in Northern Ireland were on the Boeing 737. Four were killed, along with at least two police officers from Northern Ireland. But Tom King, Britain's minister for Northern Ireland, told a radio interviewer: "I am sure it was an accident." And an IRA spokesman in Northern Ireland said: "All we know is what we read in the newspapers. There is certainly no IRA involvement." Transport Minister Channon also said Monday that the death count had risen to 44 people. The latest report Sunday was that 37 had been killed. Prime Minister Thatcher inspected the wreckage and visited survivors at Derby Royal Infirmary. She said she "almost couldn't believe it" when she heard about the crash, so soon after a bomb blew apart Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland. That crash on Dec. 21 killed all 259 people on board the Boeing 747 and 11 people on the ground. Meanwhile, investigators recovered on Monday the flight recorders from Sunday's crash, and key personnel from Boeing and General Electric flew in to help in the investigation. All the survivors of the crash - 82 passengers and crew members - were injured, including pilot Kevin Hunt, 43, who was hailed as a hero for managing to avoid crashing into the village of Kegworth or onto the M1. Passengers had just been served a light dinner when the pilot reported problems, survivors said at Derby Royal Infirmary during Thatcher's visit. Gareth Jones, 38, said some **women** passengers wept as the pilot told them: "Prepare for a crash landing." Oliver Keegan, 65, another survivor, said: "I don't remember much about the crash other than a sharp descent and the calm voices of the crew trying to reassure." He escaped with a bruised leg and said: "I must be the luckiest man in the world." Gilmore Stevenson, 45, told Thatcher that it was "very, very noisy. I'll never forget that noise. We had the sensation of cartwheeling, and I ended up hanging upside-down in my seat belt. I was strung up like a turkey." Stevenson said he had agonized in the dark over whether to release his seat belt and risk being injured when he fell from his seat. By the time he decided to free himself, he hardly had the strength to lift his arm to the buckle. "I eventually managed to release the belt, and I fell down. It was only a matter of feet - I just lay there in a heap." Stevenson said that his wife, Vivienne, had helped other passengers escape and that he had been rescued by firefighters.

Graphic

Photo; AP Photo - Wreckage of a British Midland Airways jet lying on an embankment near the M1 highway (foreground) on Monday. The plane crashed short of the East Midlands Airport runway.

Load-Date: October 23, 1993

Two Policemen Killed; Another Hunger Striker Near Death

The Associated Press

August 2, 1981, Sunday, AM cycle

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Section: International News

Length: 952 words

Byline: By ED BLANCHE, Associated Press Writer

Dateline: BELFAST, Northern Ireland

Body

IRA hunger striker Kieran Doherty died Sunday in the Maze prison on the 73rd day of his fast, Britain's Northern Ireland Office announced. He was the second Irish nationalist hunger striker to die in two days and the eighth in the fast that began at the Maze five months ago.

Masked supporters of the *Irish Republican Army* hurled gasoline bombs and bricks at security forces in predominantly Roman Catholic West Belfast after news of Doherty's death spread, police said. Doherty, 25, had campaigned from his cell and was elected to the Irish Parliament in balloting last June.

British Army headquarters reported an armored personnel carrier was attacked and a 21-year-old soldier suffered wounds that required both legs to be amputated below the knees. It gave few details, but other reports said the vehicle was hit by a rocket-propelled grenade.

Police said a Catholic man suffered chest wounds from a grenade that was thrown at a police vehicle in Belfast's Ardoyne district. They reported policemen and soldiers fired plastic bullets to disperse rioters.

Earlier Sunday, before Doherty died, two members of the Royal Ulster Constabulary were killed when a landmine destroyed their squad car 60 miles west of Belfast. Two other RUC policemen in a second car were wounded and the assailants, believed to be members of the IRA's Provisional wing, escaped, officials said. The deaths raised to 14 the number of security officers killed this year.

That attack was part of the violence that followed the death early Saturday of Kevin Lynch, a convicted member of the Irish National Liberation Army who was in the 71st day of his fast. He was serving 10 years, convicted of ambushing troops and conspiring to steal weapons.

His burial was set for Monday in his hometown of Dungiven, 45 miles northwest of Belfast, and security forces anticipated more violence during and after the funeral ceremony.

West Belfast *women* banged garbage can lids and blew whistles when they heard that Doherty, who had lived longer than any of the others in the current fast, had died.

The hunger strike by Irish nationalist inmates in the prison outside Belfast was launched March 1 by Bobby Sands to force the British government to grant them political-prisoner status. Britain refused and Sands died May 5 after fasting 66 days.

Two Policemen Killed; Another Hunger Striker Near Death

"Kieran Doherty and the seven other men may not have died if the British had moved," Sinn Fein, the legal political arm of the IRA, said after Doherty's death. The IRA is outlawed in both Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic.

Catholic militants have rioted following each hunger striker's death, directing their wrath at British troops and the predominantly Protestant Royal Ulster Constabulary, the police force in this British province.

The overwhelmingly Catholic IRA and splinter factions are seeking to end Northern Ireland's status as a British province and unite its Protestant majority with the heavily Catholic Irish Republic.

Irish Premier Garret FitzGerald issued a statement in Dublin saying he regretted Doherty's death and extended sympathy to his relatives. But he added, "I have also learned with sorrow of the two RUC constables murdered today in the course of their duty in County Tyrone. This deplorable act brings only further disgrace on the organization which carried it out."

Britain's Northern Ireland Office said in a statement, "Kevin Doherty, a prisoner in Her Majesty's Prison Maze, died at 7:16 p.m. today. He took his own life by refusing all food and medical intervention."

Doherty was given a 22-year prison sentence in January 1978 after he was convicted of hijacking and possessing guns and explosives. He was elected June 11 to the Dail, Ireland's Parliament, from an IRA stronghold near the border with Northern Ireland.

The Dail is on summer recess and the earliest it could proclaim a by-election would be late October.

Doherty was the first member of the Irish Parliament to die fasting since Terence MacSwiney, lord mayor of Cork and an IRA commander. MacSwiney died Oct. 25, 1920, in London's Brixton prison after fasting 74 days.

Sinn Fein said 25-year-old Liam McClosky of Dungiven would begin fasting Monday as Lynch's replacement, and another prisoner would take Doherty's place in the hunger strike. Five prisoners are still fasting.

It said McClosky is a member of the Irish Republican Socialist Party, the political wing of the Irish National Liberation Army that Lynch belonged to. McClosky was arrested at the same time and for the same offenses as Lynch and sentenced to 10 years in jail.

After Lynch died, rioters pelted police with debris and gasoline bombs in several sections of Belfast. One boy was seriously hurt when a booby-trapped British flag blew up as he tried to remove it from a stanchion.

Catholic churchmen -- among them Bishop Edward Daly of Londonderry -- had appealed to the hunger strikers' families to save the protesters' lives by authorizing medical attention.

On Friday, when 29-year-old hunger striker Paddy Quinn became comatose, his widowed mother instructed doctors to intervene. After 36 hours of intensive care he regained consciousness in a Belfast hospital. He had fasted 47 days.

"It seems his life has been saved," said the Rev. Christopher Mohan, the Quinn family's priest. "He has been conscious for long periods and is aware of what is happening."

Mohan said Quinn showed no signs of repudiating his mother's actions. Despite speculation her intervention would start similar moves by other relatives, none had shown signs of following her lead.

A statement issued on behalf of the hunger strikers by their supporters, who said it was smuggled from the Maze, declared, "We are not prepared to surrender to the British. We stand by our demands."

Graphic

Two Policemen Killed; Another Hunger Striker Near Death

Laserphoto NY4

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THE ROYAL WEDDING: Lady Diana Spencer -- The Blushing Princes

The Associated Press

July 22, 1981, Wednesday, BC cycle

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Section: International News

Length: 933 words

Byline: By ROBERT GLASS, Associated Press Writer

Dateline: LONDON

Body

With unflagging poise, an easy smile and a winsome blush, Lady Diana Spencer charmed her prince and the nation whose throne she is destined to share.

Lady Diana, 20-year-old daughter of an earl and descendant of four English kings, exchanged privileged obscurity for worldwide celebrity to become Prince Charles' bride on July 29.

Before her Feb. 24 engagement to the world's most eligible bachelor, Diana was an assistant kindergarten teacher sharing a \$190,000 London apartment with three other young women.

She drove a six-year-old car and worked Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, helping 50 children up to the age of 5 make cakes and play games. For diversion, she went to the movies or met friends at a local pub.

Today, she is known to millions as "Lady Di," her photograph graces countless cup towels, calendars and coffee mugs, and her brow-sweeping hairstyle is a national fad.

On her marriage, she becomes the Princess of Wales.

As Charles' intended, Diana was dogged for months by a platoon of reporters, one of whom slipped into the kindergarten through a bathroom window. The press coverage was, and is, massive and largely unrestrained.

One photograph that displayed Diana's legs through a transparent skirt was said to have brought her to tears. When she appeared in public in a strapless evening gown, it was front-page news.

To satisfy the requirements of royalty, Diana was subjected to a discreet gynecological examination to ensure that she could bear the heirs of the future King Charles III. It was felt necessary to make a public declaration of her untainted past, to announce in effect that she was a virgin.

Through it all, Diana never showed signs of being rattled beyond an appealing tendency to blush. She learned, or perhaps instinctively knew, how to smile and shrug it off as the price she must pay for her new role in life.

Although their families were close and Diana actually grew up on the grounds of Queen Elizabeth II's private estate, Sandringham, her first real meeting with Charles was in November 1977.

THE ROYAL WEDDING: Lady Diana Spencer -- The Blushing Princes

He had come to the Spencer ancestral home at Althorp for a pheasant shoot. As Diana remembers it, they met "in the middle of a plowed field."

She was 16 years old at the time, and Charles, then 28, was dating Diana's eldest sister, Sarah, five years her senior. Sarah would eventually take herself out of the running as a prospective bride by declaring in a magazine interview that she was not in love with Charles.

Both Charles and Diana have said their infatuation developed into love while Diana was visiting the royal estate in Balmoral, Scotland, in July 1979. She was lunching with the queen when the family received the shattering news that Earl Mountbatten of Burma, the prince's beloved "Uncle Dickie," had been murdered by **Irish Republican Army** guerrillas.

During that time of tragedy, Diana was drawn intimately into the family web of her future husband.

Lady Diana Frances Spencer was born July 1, 1961, in her parents' bedroom on the first floor of Park House, a spacious country home rented by her father on the Sandringham estate in Norfolk.

She is one of four children -- three girls and a boy -- of the eighth Earl Spencer, former equerry, or royal household official, to Queen Elizabeth, and the former Frances Ruth Burke Roche, younger daughter of the fourth Baron Fermoy and a lady in waiting to the Queen Mother. A year earlier, her parents' first son had died on the day he was born.

Among Diana's childhood playmates were Prince Charles' younger brothers, Andrew and Edward, and she was close enough to Queen Elizabeth to call her "Aunt Lilibet."

Diana had doting parents and a nanny, but Albert Betts, a family butler, recalled that she grew into a "self-reliant" girl who washed and ironed her own jeans.

Her sheltered childhood was shaken in 1967, when her mother walked out leaving her father with the children. Diana, only 6 at the time, was made to endure the taunts of classmates as newspapers revealed that Viscount Althorp was suing his wife for divorce on grounds of adultery with Peter Shand Kydd, a wallpaper heir she later married.

Despite the stormy breakup of her parents' 13-year marriage, Diana and her mother have remained close. After a London newspaper published a highly suspect story alleging that Diana and Charles were having late-night meetings aboard the royal train, vehemently denied, it was Mrs. Shand Kydd who wrote to The Times to complain of press "harassment."

Diana attended the exclusive private schools of the upper crust. Elizabeth Ridsdale, her headmistress at Riddlesworth Hall preparatory school near Diss, described her as "an entirely average pupil."

She completed her formal education at age 16, with no particular career in mind. Her family sent her to a finishing school in Switzerland, but she returned after only six weeks.

By all accounts, Charles and Diana are well suited for each other, despite their 12-year age difference. Both love the outdoors, skiing, music and dancing and neither smokes.

They seem especially to enjoy each other's sense of humor. At an amateur horse race Diana whimsically bet on Charles to place, not to win.

At 5-feet-9, Diana is about 1 inch shorter than Charles, although one official royal wedding picture makes her appear a head shorter.

Diana has already made it clear she will not abide all the customs of royalty. She will not walk one pace behind Charles or refrain from calling him by his first name in public. She also struck the word "obey" from her wedding vows.

THE ROYAL WEDDING: Lady Diana Spencer -- The Blushing Princes

As far as other adjustments to life with England's next king, Diana once said, "I'll just take it as it comes."

Graphic

With Laserphotos

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NEW CALEDONIA: COLONIALISM AT HEART, CHANGE IN MIND

Australian Financial Review

April 26, 1988 Tuesday

Late Edition

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Section: NEWS AND FEATURES; Pg. 13

Length: 1065 words

Byline: ROWAN CALLICK

Body

The island of Ouvea, the most beautiful of New Caledonia's Loyalty Islands, is permeated by coral caves, concealed from above by thick scrub. Hidden in the caves are 16 French gendarmes, held hostage since Friday by Kanaks who killed four other gendarmes in a raid on a brigade HQ.

It will take the French security forces days to search thoroughly this island, once considered ideal for tourist development - until the only hotel there was burnt down twice by Kanak "independentistes".

This is the ideal venue for the Kanaks' latest "last stand".

Of the other Melanesian peoples, those in Papua New Guinea organised one rebellion against the German colonisers of New Guinea; the easygoing Solomon Islanders martyred an Anglican bishop but then seemed to accept the halfhearted rule by Britain.

The Irian Jayans, starved of support even from PNG, appear largely to have come to reluctant terms with their absorption by Indonesia; and the ni-Vanuatu organised themselves effectively through the Vanua'aku Party to shed the absurd British-French condominium government of New Hebrides, doomed partly by the British acceptance of the "wind of change".

But in New Caledonia there is no likely solution. The French flag was first raised there in 1853. Between 1864 and 1897, 40,000 convicts were sent to this French "fatal shore". The indigenous Kanaks were from the first more violently opposed to colonisation than their fellow Melanesians elsewhere, joining a rebellion in 1878 that was put down with particular violence.

The last 10 years have seen the Kanak political parties accept the need for a concerted voice on the overriding issue of independence, via the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front (FLNKS) umbrella organisation - the National Kanak Socialist Independence Front. This may sound like one of the anti-Roman groups parodied in Monty Python's film *Life of Brian* but it needs to be taken much more seriously.

The FLNKS problem has been that French governments have never taken it seriously.

When the Socialists came to power in 1981, Kanak hopes were raised. But however zealous for change elsewhere in the developing world, the French Socialists are French first. And the change that came to New Caledonia was small and slow.

NEW CALEDONIA: COLONIALISM AT HEART, CHANGE IN MIND

In mid-1984 the FLNKS met in frustration, and decided to undergo change. Violence ensued, and some gains were made - including increased autonomy for the four regional governments, three of which were controlled by FLNKS.

Since then, the Kanaks perceive that the colony has taken steps only backwards. The rural development agency redistributed 26,000ha of land last year - but 22,000ha went to Europeans, Polynesians, Vietnamese and other non-indigenous people. What development has taken place in New Caledonia has been lopsidedly in the capital, Noumea.

On Sunday, electors in New Caledonia voted not only for the presidency of France but also on a new "statute of autonomy", a new structure for running the territory.

Last September, at a poll boycotted by the FLNKS, 59 per cent of eligible voters opted by 90 per cent to stay part of France. Similarly, in Sunday's poll, again boycotted, the 56 per cent who voted, overwhelmingly supported the parties of the Right and extreme Right. But some doubt has been cast on the official figures.

Despite a huge security presence, with about 9,500 military or para-military troops in the colony - more than one to every seven Kanaks, men, women and children - frustration almost boiled over again into violence. The Ouvea killings and kidnappings do not appear to have been planned centrally but are a local response to a centrally expressed despair.

The "independentistes" are described by the press agencies as "separatists", as if they had originally asked to become French - as perverse as the agencies' description of *Irish Republican Army* terrorists as "guerillas".

The violence is deplorable. But the Kanaks are asking what alternative they have, as more settlers are lured to New Caledonia by the large metropolitan drafts of cash. Virtually none of it is available for what would pass for genuine development, which entails people taking control of their own affairs- elsewhere.

Previously, the killing mostly has been initiated by the settlers, such as in December 1984 when 10 Kanaks, including two brothers of FLNKS leader Mr Jean-Marie Tjibaou, were shot down in an ambush. Their assailants were acquitted of murder despite admitting the shootings.

Then the death in January 1985 of articulate "independentiste" Mr Eloi Machoro and one of his lieutenants created the organisation's major martyr. The two were shot by crack marksmen of the anti-terrorist squad, GIGN, 150 of whom have now been flown back to Noumea.

It is hard to tell how widespread is the current Kanak outbreak. The French authorities are supplying virtually no firm information, nor are they allowing journalists to see for themselves. But the next initiative is likely to come from the security forces, or from the settlers, who were already battling with Kanak villagers yesterday at St Louis, near Noumea.

Certainly the French Prime Minister, Mr Chirac, will be tempted to throw in more muscle for a security coup before the second round of the presidential election on May 8. And President Mitterrand, favoured to win, will need to demonstrate more sense of urgency if he wants to take the heat off the colony

At stake is not only the strategic nickel resource but France's stance as, in the words of Admiral Pierre Thireaut, Pacific fleet commander, "a true South Pacific country", whose nuclear testing facility in Tahiti is "a question of life or death for France".

The Australian Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, has a correct response to the continuing tragedy - which has parallels with Palestine: that the ultimate cause is French colonialism.

The sequence of events demonstrates how correct was his department in opposing a recent Foreign Affairs move to soften Australia's hostility to French policy in New Caledonia, following the disappointing shift at the UN when Japan and other regional powers moved back from previous support of the South Pacific Forum stand.

NEW CALEDONIA: COLONIALISM AT HEART, CHANGE IN MIND

France's favourite reply to Australian criticism has been to point to the fate of the Aborigines. The historical analogy may be interesting but does not fit present realities. Australian official attitudes to its original inhabitants have changed: if too late and too little.

Load-Date: March 15, 2012

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Families Rally Behind Maze Prison Fasters

The Associated Press

August 8, 1981, Saturday, PM cycle

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Section: International News

Length: 1002 words

Byline: By ED BLANCHE, Associated Press Writer

Dateline: BELFAST, Northern Ireland

Body

Irish hunger striker Thomas McIlwee died today in Maze Prison, Britain's Northern Ireland Office announced, the ninth Maze faster to succumb. Anti-British street violence erupted.

McIlwee, 23, had gone without food for 62 days.

Enraged Catholic youths dropped gasoline bombs and rocks from rooftops onto security forces as word of his death spread. Vehicles were hijacked and torched, and troops and police fired rubber bullets to disperse rioters. A German photographer was reportedly injured in the leg by a rubber bullet or rock, but his name was not made public.

In Belfast's Springfield Road and Beechmount areas, Catholic neighborhoods, vehicles were hijacked and set afire, and in the Falls Road area, also Catholic, youths hurled rocks and gasoline bombs at security forces from behind and atop apartment buildings, police said.

McIlwee's death in the prison outside Belfast came a day before the 10th anniversary of Britain's now-abandoned policy to jail suspected Irish terrorists without trial. Anti-British-anniversary demonstrators clashed with police before his death was announced.

Authorities said nine people were arrested in skirmishes at Belfast's City Hall and forces braced for more trouble because of the anniversary date and McIlwee's death.

The internment policy, begun August 8, 1971, was ended four years later after more than 2,000 suspected guerrillas had been rounded up.

McIlwee's death also came a day after Irish nationalist prisoners issued a statement seeking to open dialogue with the British about their demands. Friday night, about 400 relatives of Maze inmates rallied to support the hunger strikers and try end speculation of a rift between those urging the fast be dropped and those wanting it to continue.

Street violence by Catholic sympathizers has followed each previous death, including two hunger strikers who died last weekend. **Women** in Roman Catholic areas blew whistles and banged trashcan lids to announce McIlwee's death in a ritual that has followed each of the hunger striker's deaths.

Families Rally Behind Maze Prison Fasters

McIlwee, 23, from Bellaghy, County Londonderry, was a member of the **Irish Republican Army's** militant "Provisional" wing. He had been imprisoned since 1977, charged with mounting a massive bomb blitz in Ballymena, County Antrim, the previous year.

He was sentenced to life imprisonment after a conviction of manslaughter in the death of a woman burned to death by an incendiary device he allegedly planted.

Britain's Northern Ireland Office reported that he was visited Friday night in the Maze by his girlfriend, Delores O'Neil, another IRA guerrilla serving a life sentence on bombing charges. She was given special permission for the 30-minute visit and was taken under heavy guard from her own cell in the Armagh **Women's** Jail.

"Thomas Gerard McIlwee, a prisoner in the Maze prison died today at 11:27 a.m. He took his own life by refusing food and medical attention for 62 days," a spokesman for the Northern Ireland Office said to announce his death.

The statement echoed those issued for the eight other convicted guerrillas who have died in the Maze near Belfast since Bobby Sands, 27, started the fast on March 1. Sands was elected to the British Parliament in a special election April 9 in a Northern Ireland district. He died May 5 after 66 days without food.

McIlwee's death leaves five prisoners participating in the hunger strike, which the nationalists say is a bid for more "humane" treatment in prison. British authorities say is a thinly disguised bid for prisoner of war status and refuse.

Liam McCloskey, 25, was scheduled to join the fast Monday, the IRA said.

Families of the fasting Irish nationalist prisoners rallied behind their starving sons, charging the British government with "most cruel and callous irresponsibility."

"We'll break Maggie Thatcher!" about 400 relatives of jailed nationalists shouted Friday night in a display of solidarity that cut short speculation they were divided about continuing support for the death fast.

The new offer from the prisoners to end the hunger strike in exchange for reforms in prison rules was quickly shot down by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's government.

The families -- including relatives of the current hunger strikers, those who died and some 90 other prisoners who have offered to join the fast -- met for two hours in a Roman Catholic monastery in the Falls Road section of Belfast.

Eileen McDonnell, 58, mother of Joe McDonnell, who died July 8 after 61 days without food, later read a statement saying, "We find the British government guilty of the most cruel and callous irresponsibility ... We, the relatives, stand united behind the protesting hunger strikers."

Some families were said to have been urging the IRA leadership to call off the fast in the face of Britain's refusal to give in to the strikers' demands. Speculation about a rift between the families and strike leaders mounted after the widowed mother of comatose hunger striker Paddy Quinn authorized doctors to save his life last week.

The British minister for Northern Ireland, Sir Humphrey Atkins, said in London that the new statement from the Maze prisoners Friday did not change their position. He said he could see "nothing to suggest that they have understood the government's reasons for refusing to concede their five demands."

He said the government would not make special prison rules for the guerrillas and "certainly not on the ground that some of them claim that the serious crimes they committed were politically motivated."

The IRA and its supporters want to wear their own clothes, not to do prison work, associate freely among themselves, receive visitors and letters, full remission or 50 percent of the sentences normally accorded prisoners for good behavior.

Families Rally Behind Maze Prison Fasters

The British government has been firm in its refusal of special privileges, saying that to do so would support the IRA campaign to force the British out of the Protestant-dominated Northern Ireland. The IRA wants the province united with the mostly Catholic Irish republic.

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Hunger Strike Threatens New Bloodshed

The Associated Press

December 18, 1980, Thursday, AM cycle

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Section: International News

Length: 1033 words

Byline: By ED BLANCHE, Associated Press Writer

Dateline: BELFAST, Northern Ireland

Body

The 53-day hunger strike broken Thursday by seven convicted Irish guerrillas brought Northern Ireland to the knife-edge of sectarian bloodshed, after a year of dwindling terrorism.

Despite the Northern Ireland Office announcement late Thursday that the imprisoned seven had ended their fast, there was no immediate word on whether 30 other inmates, sympathizing with the so-called "Maze Seven," would end their more recently called hunger strike.

The conditions of the seven original strikers was reported serious and one, Sean McKenna, was reported to have been given the last rites of the Roman Catholic church before the strike was ended. He was transferred from the prison infirmary to an outside hospital for intensive medical treatment.

It was not immediately known whether McKenna or the other severely weakened strikers would survive. Northern Ireland officials, who had taken major steps in preparation for the possibility of violence in the event of a strikers' death, were relieved the strike had ended.

Their comments before Thursday's announcement underscored the severity of the situation, which would continue should the other 30 strikers continue their fast.

The mass hunger strike "to the death" by 40 convicted guerrillas seeking political prisoner status has shattered Northern Ireland's painstaking efforts toward normality after more than 11 years of killings by Roman Catholics and Protestants.

"Belfast is as taut as a tightrope," a senior police commander said as the seven guerrillas who launched their fast Oct.27 in Maze Prison near here approached possible nationalist martyrdom.

The seven, joined by 30 comrades in the Maze this week and three women guerrillas in Armagh prison Dec.1, belong to the outlawed **Irish Republican Army's** "Provisional" wing and the smaller Irish National Liberation Army.

Both organizations want to oust Britain from the Protestant-dominated province and unite it with the neighboring, predominately Catholic Irish Republic.

Hunger Strike Threatens New Bloodshed

The Conservative British government of Margaret Thatcher has refused to grant their demand to be treated as political prisoners rather than common criminals, despite mediation efforts by the Irish Catholic Primate, Cardinal Tomas O Fiaich.

The British argue that granting the demands of guerrillas convicted of murder and terrorism would result in such actions being considered political rather than criminal acts.

The strikers also want to associate among themselves in the Maze rather than be isolated to their cells, wear their own clothes rather than prison uniforms, be exempt from prison work and receive more letters, parcels and visits from relatives.

"I'd not like to be a prophet of doom, but if the problem isn't resolved quickly one could anticipate an increase in violence," noted Seamus Mallon, deputy leader of the mainly Catholic Social Democratic and Labor Party.

"One shudders to think of the emotional reaction to deaths within the prison and the inevitable deaths outside because of the hunger strike."

That grim mood of foreboding is sharpest in Catholic areas where the IRA is based. Many of the province's 500,000 Catholics do not support the hunger strikers but the prospect of self-styled patriots dying in British prisons has galvanized many others in the bleak working class ghettos that have borne the brunt of the sectarian fighting since 1969.

The grimy, violence-scarred walls of Belfast's Falls Road, once dubbed "ambush alley" by British troops, are plastered with graffiti slogans reading "Victory to the hunger strikers" and "Don't let them die."

IRA prisoners have been protesting for political status since September 1976. But their plight roused little support until the hunger strike began, recalling IRA men who starved themselves to death in British prisons in the past.

Although the Catholic church opposes the hunger strike, warning that starving themselves to death is a form of suicide, a mortal sin, tens of thousands of Catholics have taken to the streets in protest marches. Diehard IRA sympathizers have joined with labor unionists and many Catholics who would not normally be seen supporting the "Provos."

"They're not asking the British to let them go," explained a Catholic businessman who requested anonymity. "They only want to be treated as prisoners of war."

Maura McKearney's son Tommy is one of the hunger strikers reported near death. McKearney, 28, is serving a life sentence for assassinating an unarmed Protestant militiaman in 1977.

Mrs. McKearney's family has already paid a terrible price for its nationalism. Her father fought the British in the 1920s. Her eldest son Sean, a Provo, was killed while planting a bomb in 1972. A third son is in jail on arms charges. And a fourth hovers near death from starvation.

But she is ready to see him die for the cause of Irish nationalism.

"We're a Republican family and we accept that role even if it results in the death of my son," she told an interviewer at her home in the border village of Moy, County Tyrone, before the strike ended.

"I'm proud my son is man enough to die for his people. I'm not going to ask him to come off the hunger strike. These men have suffered a lot for their principles. They deserve to be heard."

Militants among the Protestant majority of one million are violently opposed to the IRA and support the government's refusal to grant the hunger strikers' demands. They have vowed to "eliminate" IRA men and sympathizers if the hunger-strikers win their bizarre battle of wills with the British.

Hunger Strike Threatens New Bloodshed

Sporadic attacks and several assassinations by the pro-British "Loyalists" have raised the specter of renewed sectarian bloodletting.

Peter Robinson, a diehard Protestant Member of the British Parliament, echoed Protestant fears that government concessions "will be weakness. The hunger-strikers are murderers and terrorists who deserve no special consideration. Let them die."

But IRA men see the hunger strike as crucial to their campaign and their credibility as the standard-bearers of the centuries-old struggle against British rule.

Veteran Provo Billy McKee, who led a 38-day hunger strike in 1972 that won guerrillas "special category" status for a time, declared: "This war will be won in the prisons."

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Irish Guerrillas End Hunger Strike

The Associated Press

December 19, 1980, Friday, PM cycle

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Section: International News

Length: 979 words

Dateline: LONDON

Body

A hunger strike by 40 convicted guerrillas demanding political prisoner status in Northern Ireland's prisons ended today amid claims of victory by both the guerrillas and the government.

The strike ended at mid-morning when three women holdouts in Armagh Prison joined 37 men who abandoned their fast Thursday night, the government said.

The women, who had not eaten since Dec. 1, and 30 of the men who stopped eating earlier this week, struck in support of seven guerrillas who ended a 53-day fast Thursday.

The Irish Republican Army's political wing said today the four-year "blanket" protest by more than 500 convicted guerrillas seeking political prisoner status will "probably be called off within the next few days."

In the protest, the prisoners refused to wear prison clothes and instead wrapped themselves in blankets and smeared the walls of their cells with their own excrement.

Gerry Adams, vice-president of Sinn Fein, claimed the protesters had won "every point in their demands" including "clear political recognition."

The government denied that it had made concessions to the strikers but promised a review of prison conditions.

Britain's minister for Northern Ireland told the House of Commons that the 37 men ended their hunger strike at Maze Prison near Belfast because they "could not achieve their object."

Officials hailed the collapse as a major victory over the guerrillas of the IRA's "Provisional" wing and the smaller Irish National Liberation Army who had demanded treatment as political prisoners rather than criminals.

A Northern Ireland Office spokesman said in an interview that "no concessions were made to the hunger-strikers," but Northern Ireland Secretary Humphrey Atkins promised to review prison conditions. The hunger strikers cited the pledge in a statement issued through their supporters.

In New York, Irish Northern Aid issued a statement on behalf of the strikers claiming that "the British have been forced to concede political status just as they will be forced to cede all of Ireland back to the Irish people."

Irish Guerrillas End Hunger Strike

Irish Northern Aid supports the IRA and INLA in their bid to oust the British from predominately-Protestant Northern Ireland and unite the province with the mainly-Roman Catholic Irish Republic. The 11-year conflict has cost 2,066 lives known to the police.

Atkins addressed the Commons one day after the seven original strikers ended their 53-day fast. They quit after British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher made it clear she would not grant them political prisoner status, even if they died.

"The hunger strike could not achieve its object," Atkins said. "It is encouraging that the influence of all those who sought to persuade the prisoners of that fact was finally effective."

The hunger strikers claimed their crimes were politically motivated and that they should thus receive political prisoner status.

If they did, the guerrillas would receive the preferential prison treatment generally accorded political prisoners, including the right to associate among themselves rather than be isolated to their cells; wear their own clothes rather than prison uniforms; be exempt from prison work and receive more letters, parcels and visits from relatives.

Atkins' summary indicated that prisoners who obey rules can wear their own clothes at certain times and associate within each wing of a prison block in the evening and on weekends.

Informed sources said the Roman Catholic hierarchy, opposed to suicide as a political weapon and fearing worse violence if a hunger striker died, was responsible for ending the fast.

They said emissaries of Cardinal Tomas O Fiaich, the primate of all Ireland who got a letter from Mrs. Thatcher on Wednesday reiterating there would be no concessions, had emissaries contact the hunger strikers and their families.

The cardinal greeted the end of the action by saying, "Thank God. The decision will be welcomed with great relief by all sections of the community(? 1/8 ."

In the Irish Republic, Prime Minister Charles Haughey said, "I now look forward to a period of reconciliation in Ireland."

The seven took salt water only and in the last days some of them could not hold even that down and were vomiting bile. The weakest of them, 26-year-old Sean McKenna, was like a "yellow skeleton," a relative said after visiting him.

A Belfast doctor who asked not to be named said the men will first be drip-fed intravenously as they would be incapable of eating.

"The trouble is that if you give them too much fluid it could cause heart damage. But if you give too little it will not revive them," he said. "McKenna, whose eyes reportedly are damaged by the fasting, could need a corneal graft to recover his eyesight."

John Yudkin, emeritus professor of nutrition at London University, said it will be several weeks before the hunger strikers are back to full strength.

"Many people have come through eight weeks of fasting with absolutely no problems at all," he said.

Yudkin said McKenna's condition was serious, but his poor eyesight was almost certainly not due to vitamin deficiency during the fast, as earlier reported, but to a general condition accentuated by the lack of food.

"Humans have enough vitamins to keep them going for months," he added.

Irish Guerrillas End Hunger Strike

McKenna was given three days to live before the hunger strike was called off. He is serving 25 years for attempting to kill a policeman, bombings, kidnapping and other crimes. His six comrades are serving terms ranging from 14 years to life for murder, armed robberies and other violence.

McKenna is being treated in a hospital in Musgrove Park where he "can get the best treatment we can provide in Northern Ireland," Britain's minister for Northern Ireland said.

The other six men are being treated in the hospital at the Maze, a top security prison laid out to confine terrorists on the site of a World War II American air base, 15 miles south of Belfast.

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Bomb Kills 11 At Memorial Service For Britain's War Dead

The Associated Press

November 8, 1987, Sunday, AM cycle

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Section: International News

Length: 1018 words

Byline: By MALCOLM BRODIE

Dateline: ENNISKILLEN, Northern Ireland

Body

A bomb killed 11 people and injured 61 Sunday at a Remembrance Day ceremony for Britain's war dead in the worst Irish terrorist attack in five years.

The huge explosion transformed the solemn pageant, which recalled the thousands of Northern Ireland's Protestants and Roman Catholics who perished for king and country in two world wars, into a horror scene of bloodshed and destruction.

No organization claimed responsibility, but the province's top police official said he had no doubt the outlawed **Irish Republican Army** had planted the bomb, and that it was specifically aimed at civilians.

The mainly Catholic IRA is fighting to unite Northern Ireland, a British province where Protestants outnumber Catholics 3-2, with the predominantly Catholic Republic of Ireland.

Police reported five Catholic youths in Belfast were wounded Sunday night by gunfire from a passing car. They called the shootings a "sectarian action," and religious leaders issued pleas against retaliation for the Enniskillen bombing.

Authorities had canceled a memorial parade in the village of Tullyhommon, near Enniskillen, after police received an IRA bomb threat. There was no explosion.

Friends, relatives, soldiers and bandsmen dug with their bare hands through the rubble of a community center where the bomb was planted in Enniskillen, a County Fermanagh town near the Irish border.

In the frantic digging for survivors, a soldier found the body of his mother.

The blast blew out one end of the building and the structure collapsed, trapping men, **women** and children against sidewalk railings.

Police said three married couples were among the six **women** and five men killed, and that many of the wounded were seriously injured in the 10:45 a.m. explosion.

A 14-year-old member of the Boy's Brigade said he was standing near the war memorial ready to lay a wreath when the bomb went off.

Bomb Kills 11 At Memorial Service For Britain 's War Dead

"I dropped the wreath and rushed to where the wall had collapsed. People were screaming and we did all we could to pull them out. At 11 o'clock we should have been remembering the dead, not digging them out," he said.

The Rev. Michael Jackson, who had been waiting near the community center at the monument for the ceremony to begin, said, "People started to scream and people started to run away _ those who could _ but it was obvious that many would have been killed instantly."

Chief Constable Sir John Hermon said, "I am satisfied beyond doubt that this was the work of the IRA."

He said the area, but not the community hall, had been searched closely.

"For years, the wall beside that building has been the gathering place for those watching the ceremony, not security forces," he said. "Those who placed the bomb there did so with the malicious intent of killing civilians."

The IRA views British security forces as its archenemies.

However, the extent of civilian bloodshed brought expressions of regret from the local branch of Sinn Fein, the legal political wing of the IRA.

Paul Corrigan, chairman of Fermanagh District Council, said in a statement that the party was shocked by the loss of life and added that Sinn Fein members "do not expect to escape the consequences of this explosion _ even if the IRA were not involved."

But he insisted the bombing should be seen in the context of the movement's fight for Irish independence. "We stand firm against those who will attempt to exploit the outcry for their own party political interests," he said.

Britain's Northern Ireland secretary, Tom King, said the device was a 30-pound bomb of homemade explosives.

King flew to Enniskillen, 70 miles southwest of Belfast and 10 miles from the Irish Republic, to survey the damage and visit the injured.

"The outrage has scarred the face of Ireland and there is no place on the island for people with this sort of depraved mentality," he said.

Members of the military and police in dress uniform, who had been preparing to take part in the parade, quickly switched to rescue duties.

Two uniformed men gently carried out an old woman suspended limply in their arms. Others heaved aside slabs of debris and hauled away large timbers.

A policeman comforted a survivor who was hauled out still clutching a red wreath destined for the monument.

"I saw people pinned under a collapsed wall. They had been blown against the railings on the pavement. They didn't have anywhere to escape," said Pat O'Doherty, who witnessed the explosion from his apartment overlooking the cenotaph monument.

The attack was condemned by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and Queen Elizabeth II, who both attended the main Remembrance Day ceremony under heavy security in London.

Irish Prime Minister Charles Haughey and Cardinal Tomas O'Fiaich, head of the Roman Catholic church in Ireland, also expressed outrage.

"Every civilized nation honors and respects its dead. Every civilized country expects others to honor their dead. To take advantage of these people assembled in that way was really a desecration," Mrs. Thatcher said.

She spoke outside her official 10 Downing St. residence, dressed in black and wearing a red poppy of remembrance.

Bomb Kills 11 At Memorial Service For Britain 's War Dead

It was the deadliest terrorist attack since December 1982, when a discotheque patronized by British troops was blown up in Northern Ireland, killing 11 soldiers and six civilians.

The entire area around the memorial was cordoned off after the blast and army bomb disposal teams moved in to check the community center, called the St. Michael's Reading Rooms, for other bombs.

Local Democratic Unionist Councilor Bert Johnson said rescuers' hands "were all cut and lacerated from tearing at the rubble to get the people out of the building."

The head of the Church of Ireland, The Rt. Rev. Robert Eames, rushed to Erne Hospital to comfort the injured and relatives of the dead.

"If anyone ever had any doubts at all what terrorism can do, I just wish those who planted this bomb could see what I'm seeing at this moment," Eames told the British Broadcasting Corp.

The bombing brought to 86 the number of people killed this year in Northern Ireland terrorism, the worst year since 1982, when 97 died. Since 1969, 2,611 people have died, 1,800 of them civilians.

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Second Look for Family After Years in British Jail

The New York Times

August 15, 1987, Saturday, Late City Final Edition

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Section: Section 1; Page 2, Column 1; Foreign Desk

Length: 1030 words

Byline: By FRANCIS X. CLINES, Special to the New York Times

Dateline: LONDON, Aug. 14

Body

In denouncing the violent antagonists in the troubles of his beloved Ireland, the playwright Sean O'Casey always spared the women: "The mothers, alone sensible and suffering, bear the brunt of it all."

But even O'Casey, who invented the Irish Juno, would have had trouble imagining such a powerful matriarch as Annie Maguire, a 51-year-old former convict now and still the heart of a notoriously broken family that is finally reunited after serving, parents and children, nearly a decade in prison as convicted pub bombers.

The Maguires were 20 years gone from Belfast and established in London in 1975 when the police accused them of being Irish terrorists and arrested Annie Maguire, her husband, Paddy, 13-year-old Patrick and 16-year-old Vincent.

Now the Government has agreed to look at their cases again after years of protest by prominent English citizens who found the pleas of Annie Maguire hard to resist and the evidence of the Guildford bar-bombing convictions increasingly dubious.

'Opposed to Violence'

"I told them if I smacked my kids on the hand, it hurts me, that's how opposed to violence I am," said Mrs. Maguire, who served her time on the strength of vowing some day to prove her family was innocent. It was a strength she was forced to find, she says, amid a shattering experience 11 years ago when the Maguires were allowed their first hourlong prison visit together after months apart.

"To see little Patrick come in wearing prison clothes," she recalled, now back in north London where she cleans a bar to support the family. "And the boys hugging me to show strength, when I could feel their hands shaking. And then Paddy crying, grabbing us all and asking, 'What's happened to you?' "

Paddy Maguire is a reticent, gray-haired man now, spending his days unemployed between the local bar and their public-housing apartment, where his wife plans each phase of the family's continuing campaign to be pronounced not terrorists but victims of injustice.

An older friend and relative, Patrick Conlon, died in prison, accused of being a plotter in the case, and the years of her boys' childhood in detention without their mother was just as mortal a loss, she said firmly, recalling the prison time.

Second Look for Family After Years in British Jail

'The Strength of This Family'

"I was going to go off my head, but something kept saying to me, 'You're the strength of this family.' I knew if I broke, the boys would break, go on a hunger strike and die, the family'd be lost."

The mother and younger Maguires did not break. But the family remains as guilty as ever in the eyes of the law, found so in a jury trial, and they have served their full terms: the parents nine years and four months, the boys close to four years. But Annie Maguire's hope is running higher since the announcement that the Home Office would investigate the case.

"England's our home and here we stay," she said. "It will always be the Maguires' home, and this is why we have to fully clear our name."

The unusual inquiry is based on new evidence submitted in the sensational 1975 bombings at two English bars frequented by British soldiers, at Guildford and Woolwich, in which seven people were killed. The explosions were part of an ***Irish Republican Army*** terror offensive in England, one that left civilians alarmed in the mid-1970's and Irish immigrants here anxious at the thought of being suspect.

One Piece of Evidence

The Maguires were arrested in their London home on the basis of a confession from a nephew in Belfast who later renounced it, insisting it had been beaten out of him. Their convictions rested on a single piece of controversial forensic testimony, the insistence by Government laboratory experts that the Maguires' hands bore traces of nitroglycerine.

The guilty verdict came even though experts contradicted each other and the inventor of the test questioned its reliability, saying tobacco traces can produce the same result as explosives. The Government has since changed its evidence procedures to require that a different, more positive test be used to conclusively show traces of explosives.

This was too late for the Maguires, but the details of how their convictions rested on this single piece of evidence have now been publicized in a book, "Trial and Error," by Robert Kee.

He is a longtime documentary journalist well-respected in Britain, particularly for a series several years ago that accomplished the seemingly impossible task of presenting a history on the English-Irish troubles that was well received by both sides.

"Their bearing and constancy as a family are testimony to that true worth of human nature which makes it so necessary always to distinguish between right and wrong," Mr. Kee said of the Maguires, presenting an array of doubts about the convictions.

Different Image of the Police

In particular, he noted that the public climate toward police credibility may be less doubt-free than it was a decade ago, when the police were under intense pressure to make arrests in the bombings. The police have denied charges of having beaten confessions from Irish people in dragnet operations.

Annie Maguire said it was belief in divine justice and in the expressions of support from sympathetic Englishmen, not the I.R.A.'s complaints of injustice, that had motivated her to make the family continue fighting. "They're hurting their own people," she said of the I.R.A. "I believe violence gets nobody anywhere."

She said she built her resolve in prison by recalling old days in the care of an earlier Annie, her grandmother from the Clark clan who raised 15 children along Belfast's Falls Road, an increasingly depressed ghetto for the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland.

Second Look for Family After Years in British Jail

"Us Belfast women are inclined to stand up and fight to the end if we know we're right," she said.

This week the Maguires, hardly redeemed but still redoubtable, celebrated the first birthday of the family's newest Annie. She is a granddaughter, a strong crawler through the family apartment, a smiling blonde born to Anne-Marie, the daughter who was 9 years old and spared arrest when the rest of her family was taken away 12 years ago.

"I thought about my granny," said the ranking Annie. "She was strong."

Graphic

Photo of Annie Maguire in her apartment at a public housing complex in north London (NYT/Judah Passow)

End of Document

TV Highlights for FRIDAY, APRIL 10
SUNDAY, APRIL 26
9 am PBS, "Sesame Street." 10:30 am CBS, "Face the Nation."
PBS, "The Perkins Family." 11 am CBS, "For Our Times."
PBS, "Knowzone: 'Wildlife For Sale'" (R). 11:30 am ABC, "This Week with David Brinkley."
PBS, "WonderWorks: 'Room To Move'" (R). 12:30 pm ABC, "Business World."
NBC, "Meet The Press." 1 pm CBS, "NBA Playoffs."
PBS, "Firing Line." 1:30 pm ABC, "Big 'I' Houston Open." 4 pm ABC, "USA vs. USSR Gymnastics Special."
NBC, "Golf" -- Coverage of the Liberty Mutual Legends of Golf.
PBS, "Suleyman the Magnificent" (R) -- Documentary on the 16th century Ottoman Empire. 5 pm ABC, "Mutual of Omaha's Spirit of Adventure: 'Challenging China's Yangtze.'" 6:30 pm ABC, "ABC World News Sunday."
NBC, "NBC Nightly News."
PBS, "Washington Week in Review." 7 pm ABC, "The Disney Sunday Movie: 'The Devil and Max Devlin'" -- A minor league sinner locks horns with Satan's "left-hand man" as he races against time to find a replacement for his condemned soul -- with Bill Cosby, Elliott Gould and Susan Anspach.
CBS, "60 Minutes."
NBC, "Our House" (R) -- Kris is devastated when her favorite teacher writes a negative letter about her that may have a negative effect on her chances of being accepted at the Air Force Academy.
PBS, "Adventure: 'K2, The Elusive Summit'" -- Documentary on Julie Tullis, the third woman to reach the top of K2, the second highest mountain in the world. 8 pm CBS, "Murder, She Wrote" (R) -- Jessica investigates a murder at a circus in the first episode of a two-part story.
NBC, "Rags to Riches" -- Diane gets into a car accident immediately after getting her license. 9 pm ABC, "ABC Sunday Night Movie: 'American Gigolo'" -- A gigolo falls in love with a senator's wife and finds himself accused of a shocking murder -- with Richard Gere and Lauren Hutton.
CBS, "Hallmark Hall of Fame: 'Pack of Lies'" -- with Ellen Burstyn and Terri Garr.
PBS, "Masterpiece Theatre: 'Star Quality'" -- An unlikely shipboard romance develops between a novelist and an alcoholic 15 years her junior. 11 pm ABC, "ABC's World News Tonight -- The Weekend Report."
CBS, "CBS Sunday Night News with Charles Osgood." 11:30 pm NBC,

TV Highlights for FRIDAY, APRIL 10 SUNDAY, APRIL 26 9 am PBS , "Sesame Street." 10:30 am CBS , "Face the Nation." PBS , "The Perkins Family." 11 am CBS , "....

"George Michael's Sports Machine." **MONDAY, APRIL 27**

United Press International

April 24, 1987, Friday, BC cycle

Copyright 1987 U.P.I.

Section: Entertainment

Length: 687 words

Body

7 p.m.(Note: In some regions, news is broadcast at 6 and 6:30 p.m. Check with local affiliates for details.)

ABC, "ABC's World News Tonight with Peter Jennings."

CBS, "CBS Evening News with Dan Rather."

NBC, "NBC Nightly News with Tom Brokaw."

PBS, "Sneak Previews." 7:30 pm PBS, "The MacNeil-Lehrer NewsHour." 8 pm ABC, "The Charmings" -- Eric feels less than princely when he assumes the role of house husband to allow Snow more time for her flourishing fashion career.

CBS, "Nothing is Easy."

NBC, "Roomies." 8:30 pm ABC, "Webster" (R) -- Webster finally gets the chance to pitch for his Junior League baseball team.

CBS, "The Popcorn Kid" -- The Majestic Theater is robbed.

NBC, "Amazing Stories" (R) -- A teenager who is obsessively interested in horror flicks suddenly finds himself in the middle of a blood-curdling scene from the movie "Psycho."

PBS, "Wall

reet Week with Louis Rukeyser." 9 pm ABC, "MacGyver" (R) -- MacGyver and a friend go to Central America to rescue a pretty botanist from the clutches of a local police chief and an American drug dealer.

CBS, "Do You Remember Love?" (R) -- A poet contracts Alzheimer's disease at the height of her career -- with Joanne Woodward, Richard Kiley and Geraldine Fitzgerald.

NBC, "Miami Vice" (R) Posing as arms buyers, Crockett and Tubbs run afoul of the **Irish Republican Army**; Gina falls for a member of the IRA. 10 pm ABC, "ABC News Closeup: 'The Bomb Factories'" -- Richard Threlkeld investigates alleged safety violations at American nuclear weapons production facilities.

NBC, "Stingray" (R) -- Stingray helps a chemist expose a large laboratory that is manufacturing illegal drugs and distributing them to Third World countries. 11:30 pm ABC, "ABC News Nightline."

CBS, "Cbs Late Night: 'Keep on Cruisin.'"

TV Highlights for FRIDAY, APRIL 10 SUNDAY, APRIL 26 9 am PBS , "Sesame Street." 10:30 am CBS , "Face the Nation." PBS , "The Perkins Family." 11 am CBS , "....

NBC, "The Tonight Show Starring Johnny Carson." 12:30 pm CBS, "CBS Late Night: 'Death Ride to Osaka'" -- An aspiring singer is elated when she finally gets a job at a Tokyo night spot, but her joy soon turns to terror when she discovers that something unusual is going on at this club -- with Jennifer Jason-Leigh and Thomas Byrd.

NBC, "Friday Night Videos."

7 p.m. (Note: In some regions, news is broadcast at 6 and 6:30 p.m. Check with local affiliates for details.)

ABC, "ABC's World News Tonight with Peter Jennings."

CBS, "CBS Evening News with Dan Rather."

NBC, "NBC Nightly News with Tom Brokaw." 7:30 pm PBS, "The MacNeil-Lehrer NewsHour." 8 pm ABC, "MacGyver" (R) -- MacGyver, suffering from amnesia, encounters an assassin whose targets are top U.S. military men.

CBS, "Kate and Allie" (R) -- Kate and Allie reminisce about their lives in the 1970s. NBC, "ALF" (R) -- ALF sells parts of his spaceship to buy a sportscar for Lynn. 8:30 pm CBS, "My Sister Sam" (R) -- Sam reluctantly agrees to let Patti host a party.

NBC, "Valerie." 9 pm ABC, "ABC Monday Night Movie: 'I Want to Live'" (R) -- A young wife and mother embarks on a wild lifestyle that eventually leads to her execution -- with Lindsay Wagner, Martin Balsam and Harry Dean Stanton.

CBS, "Newhart" (R) -- Dick and Joanna try to overcome their newcomer status in town.

NBC, "Monday Night at the Movies: 'Desperado'" -- Western centering around the adventures of a roving cowboy who fights the corrupt authorities who run a mining town -- with David Warner, Robert Vaughn, and Lise Cutter. 9:30 pm CBS, "Designing Women" (R) -- Julia's delight over her son's visit fades when she meets his girlfriend, a much older woman. 10 pm CBS, "West 57th." 11:30 pm ABC, "ABC News Nightline."

CBS, "CBS Late Night: 'Simon & Simon'" -- The Simons help an all-American family who inadvertently gets caught in the middle of a gangster's vendetta.

NBC, "The Tonight Show Starring Johnny Carson."

PBS, "Upstairs, Downstairs" (R) -- King Edward VII comes to dine at Eaton Place, and a very pregnant Sarah returns. 12:30 am NBC, "Late Night with David Letterman." 12:40 am CBS, "CBS Late Night: 'One Trick Pony'" -- A musician who was overwhelmingly successful during the 1960s finds himself supplanted by younger artists -- with Paul Simon.

Arena Stage mounts Shaw play and US premiere of Irish drama

Christian Science Monitor (Boston, MA)

May 4, 1987, Monday

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Section: Arts and Leisure; Pg. 35

Length: 1039 words

Byline: Louise Sweeney, Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Dateline: Washington

Body

Arena Stage has decided to play the Irish card this season with Anne Devlin's "Ourselves Alone," a contemporary play about love and bombs in Belfast, and "Heartbreak House" in which George Bernard Shaw takes a shillelagh to English society on the eve of World War I.

Both plays are about love and war in a general sense. Shaw's "Heartbreak House" is a three-act metaphor for the shelter of a dangerous torpor with which Europe faces its first world war, as well as a dark comedy on the war between the sexes. Devlin's bittersweet drama deals with the "the Troubles," the 18-year civil war in Northern Ireland that has shattered that country and its families as surely as a bullet through a mirror. In "Ourselves Alone," the focus is on three women in one politically torn family: the two Finn sisters, Freida and and Josie, their sister-in-law, Donna, and the men they love.

This American premiere of "Ourselves Alone" is the better production of the two, although Shaw is the more memorable playwright. The title of this searing play comes from the Gaelic "Sinn Fein," which translates as "Ourselves Alone" and is also the name of the political wing of the outlawed Irish Republican Army. It is the slogan of the militant Republicans who want a united Ireland. But the playwright borrows the slogan for the three sisters, who stand - "Ourselves Alone" - against the magnetic pull of their men's love for the heroics, destruction, and death of war.

Each of the women finds her life caught on the barbed wire fences of the Troubles. Tough and gutsy Josie is herself a courier for the Provos or Provisional IRA, of which her father and brother are members. She is suspicious of the Eton-bred Joe Conran, who says he's half Irish and fully dedicated to joining the Provos. She tells him, "My Daddy used to say, 'When the English withdraw, we can be human'" - and sometimes all too human, as in an unexpected nude scene revealing the vulnerability of Josie and her lover. Josie (Randy Danson) falls in love with Conran (Robert Westenberg), welcoming him to the IRA tribe and sealing the fate of her family. Conran is an informer who betrays them all to the British and leaves her pregnant.

The other sister, Freida, is a singer and songwriter who rebels against the fatalistic politics of her family. Freida (Heather Ehlers) says of all the dead hunger-strikers in Long Kesh prison and the women who have suffered for them: "We are the dying. Why are we mourning them?" She becomes involved with the obsessive and radical John McDermott (Thomas Anthony Quinn), who belongs to the Workers' Party, formerly the official IRA.

Arena Stage mounts Shaw play and US premiere of Irish drama

The third "sister," Donna (Christina Moore) is the common-law wife of their brother, Liam, who was imprisoned in "the Kesh." She abandons the devilish Liam for someone not mired in violence.

Devlin, a teacher in Northern Ireland and the daughter of a politician, writes with trenchant wit and biting compassion about the tragedy that seems to have no final act. During the play's London production, she won the Susan Smith Blackburn Prize, awarded to an outstanding woman writing for the English-speaking theater.

Under Les Waters's exciting direction, "Ourselves Alone" is a compelling and complex evening at Arena's Kreeger Theater. The crackling good cast includes Randy Dandson, Christina Moore, and Heather Ehlers as the three sisters and Robert Westenberg as the charming and duplicitous Conran.

There is a creative electricity about this production of "Ourselves Alone" that is missing from the version of Shaw's "Heartbreak House," now playing at the Arena Stage itself. Arena can do Shaw impeccably and irresistibly, as it proved a few seasons ago with "Man and Superman." But while this "Heartbreak House" looks delightful, it is a soggy production, particularly in the first act, which, if it were a person, would expire from ennui. Shaw was a writer of some passion under all that wit, and he cared deeply about the subject of this play, as he indicated in a prologue:

"'Heartbreak House' is not merely the name of the play which follows this preface. It is cultured, leisured Europe before the war." But the guns were already loaded, he wrote, and Chekhov and Tolstoy both knew it: "Tolstoy did not waste any sympathy on it; it was to him the house in which Europe was stifling its soul; and he knew that our utter enervation and futilization in that overheated drawing room atmosphere was delivering the world over to the control of ignorant and soulless cunning and energy, with the frightful consequences which have now overtaken it." At the time he wrote "Heartbreak House," Ireland was still a British colony.

On stage, the house is an Edwardian conceit, a sprawling mansion in the shape of a ship, where the dotty old Captain Shotover (Mark Hammer), a retired sea captain, spars with his two nearly femme fatale daughters, Hesione Hushabye (Tana Hicken) and Lady Utterwood (Halo Wines) and their various admirers. As the Captain says, "I've stood on the bridge for 18 hours in a typhoon. Life is stormier here, but I can stand it." Sooner or later, though, everyone's heart is broken at "Heartbreak House," including that of the mercenary ingenue, Ellie Dunn (Katherine Leask), who tells her villainous and reluctant fiancé: "You made a business convenience of my father. Well, a woman's business is marriage. Why shouldn't I make a domestic convenience of you?"

The minuet of relationships, everyone coveting someone else's romance, is the subject of some of Shaw's most devastating lines. But, under Mel Shapiro's uneven direction, the soul-stifling atmosphere that Shaw was attacking too often slips into boredom, despite the brilliance of the writing. Tana Hicken as Hesione best captures the Shavian spirit, romping off with it between her teeth with a glittering smile. And Stanley Anderson plays the dastardly Boss Mangan in such a winning way that you forgive him for upsetting the balance of the play.

The cast includes Ralph Cosham as Ellie's father; Richard Bauer as ladykiller Hector Hushabye; Henry Strozier as Lady Utterwood's brother-in-law, Randall; June Hansen as the nurse; and Richard Dix as the burglar. The stunning set is by Karl Eigstei.

Graphic

Picture, Tana Hicken and Katherine Leask in Arena Stage version of 'Heartbreak House', JOAN MARCUS

Belfast citizens pursue peacemaking in shadow of Nobel Prize winners

Christian Science Monitor (Boston, MA)

February 8, 1984, Wednesday

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Section: Pg. 1

Length: 1100 words

Byline: By David K. Willis, Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Dateline: Belfast

Body

We sit in a wintry, upstairs room in an old Belfast house, with snow outside and a single gas radiator inside. Her face is familiar from countless newspaper photos: the wide mouth, the wide-set eyes.

As she talks, Mairead Maguire's fingers fiddle with a small, well-used woolen bag, white with black zigzag lines. She leans forward, the bag opens, and into my hand slides a large metallic disc, glinting in the light.

It takes a moment to realize that in my palm is the Nobel Peace Prize - 250 grams of pure gold that symbolize the high-water mark of Ulster peacemaking. The medal was awarded in 1977.

Today, Ulster remains a tense and divided province. Protestant and Roman Catholic communities stay largely separate. Violence has lessened somewhat but since 1976, 657 people have been killed and 9,589 terrorist incidents recorded.

The peacemakers here are much less visible than they once were.

The medallion's owner - she was Mairead Corrigan when she helped lead peace rallies that drew as many as 40,000 people in 1976 and 1977 - is quietly raising a family 20 miles southeast of Belfast. She is married to Jackie Maguire, the widower of her sister Anne. Mairead was galvanized into action when three of Anne's children were killed at the height of the violence in 1976. Anne committed suicide in January 1980.

The woman with whom Mairead shared the prize and the headlines - Betty Williams - now lives in Florida. She is married to electrical engineer Jim Perkins.

It is ironic that the two women, honored for trying to make peace, came to disagree deeply about how it should be pursued. Personality clashes developed as the first triumphs wore off and the struggle settled down to long, hard, backstage work. Betty Williams set up her own separate reconciliation group, and in February 1980 she resigned from the main organization she and Mairead had helped to found: the Community of the Peace People.

Yet the convictions that formed these groups and others are still strongly held. A number of groups remain active, trying to bring people together at the grass roots rather than in the glare of publicity.

Mairead Maguire puts it this way:

Belfast citizens pursue peacemaking in shadow of Nobel Prize winners

"The human family has got to find an alternative to violence and war. We have to find ways to make peace in our own lives. . . .

"To the churches, I say that it isn't enough to pray for reconciliation: Genuine steps must be taken. Churches should support integrated schools, for instance.

"You can't impose solutions from London or Dublin. You have to build up a political consensus between Protestants and Roman Catholics. We need as many platforms for dialogue as possible. . . ."

Some in Belfast, including government officials, dismiss Mrs. Maguire now as a visionary who lacks political power.

Others such as the Rev. John Morrow, leader of the Corrymeela Community, which works to unite Protestants and Catholics, believe she and other peacemakers have helped keep Belfast from becoming another Beirut.

"You have to keep chipping away all the time," Mr. Morrow said in his Belfast headquarters. "Bigger structures of peace cannot grow unless there's more contact at the grass roots. . . . This society still exists because a lot of people have reached out to each other who don't want to give in to violence. . . ."

Mr. Morrow credits the work of Mrs. Maguire and Mrs. Perkins with encouraging many on both sides to be less afraid. "In the Protestant housing estate of Glencairn residents were encouraged to stand up to their local paramilitary groups and regain control of their area," he said.

"A lot of our work is getting rid of the deep-seated fear people have of each other here."

Also tackling such "deep-seated fear" are people like Margaret Wilkinson, for 36 years a Protestant missionary in southern India. Now she is trying to bridge the gap between Catholics and Protestants by living in a residential center called Columbanus. It was founded by the Rev. Michael Hurley.

So far two Protestants and four Catholics share the center. "I've begun going into day centers for the elderly and into Catholic homes, getting to know people," Miss Wilkinson said after attending an annual Protestant-Catholic church service in the Clonard monastery. The buildings are just around the corner from the headquarters of Sinn Féin, the political wing of the Provisional **Irish Republican Army**, on the notorious Falls Road.

At the other end of Belfast, Methodist Hazel Dickson is sharing another residential center with, among others, Roman Catholic Sister Gladys Hayward, for 22 years a missionary and nurse in northern Ghana.

Their experiment is called the Cornerstone Community, after the verses in the New Testament from Ephesians (2:14-22). The center, situated in the volatile Springfield Road area, hopes to provide a neutral zone where families from both sides can meet without fear. "We try to repair and strengthen family life," Sister Hayward says.

Another Belfast woman, standing nearby, nodded. "I'm a Protestant," she said, "and many of my closest friends are Catholics. We have a weekly Bible study group. It is times like those, and church services like these, that keep me here in Northern Ireland."

The Peace People Community survives, based in a former Presbyterian manse on the Lisburn road. Steve McBride now edits its biweekly paper, Peace by Peace. The community has a budget of (STR)20,000 (\$28,000) a year, much of it donated by the Public Welfare Foundation in Washington.

McBride runs an integrated football league for 12-year-olds. An old Ford van with 100,000 miles on the odometer ferries families of prisoners to and from Belfast's two jails every week. Donated by Austrians, the van is an alternative to IRA and Protestant paramilitary buses. There is no public bus to either jail.

"Generally it isn't violence that we fight in Ulster today," Steve McBride says. "It's apathy and alienation. So many people throw up their hands and say there's nothing more to be done. . . ."

Belfast citizens pursue peacemaking in shadow of Nobel Prize winners

As for Mairead Corrigan Maguire, to the outside world she remains the best-known symbol of all the peacemakers still living here.

Not everyone approves of her. Some Catholics think she became swell-headed when she received the Nobel prize (which also provided her and Mrs. Williams with (STR)38,000 each). The Provisional wing of the outlawed IRA organized hostile demonstrations as her rallies grew in 1976. Some Protestants disliked the idea of a Roman Catholic leading the North's most famous peace group.

Mrs. Maguire herself prefers not to speak about her break with Betty Williams. Politely, she steers the conversation into other channels.

Graphic

Picture, Maguire still seeks an end to violence, FILE/BANDPHOTO

End of Document

Bury Hunger Striker in Huge Funeral; Riots In Londonderry

The Associated Press

May 7, 1981, Thursday, AM cycle

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Section: International News

Length: 1093 words

Byline: By ED BLANCHE, Associated Press Writer

Dateline: BELFAST, Northern Ireland

Body

The Catholics of Belfast buried Bobby Sands in a graveyard of Irish nationalist heroes Thursday, to a bagpipe's lament and a parish priest's plea for "love ... peace ... an end of violence."

But new violence flared in this bloodstained land even as Sands, who starved himself to death to become the latest IRA martyr, was taken to his resting place, escorted by masked **Irish Republican Army** guerrillas and attended by 20,000 mourners.

Six miles from the cemetery, the strains of "God Save the Queen" rose in the drizzling Belfast air from 3,000 Protestants gathered to honor the victims of the underground war waged by Sands and his comrades in the IRA's Provisional wing.

"By a deliberate choice, he (Sands) took his own life. Those whom we honor today had no choice," militant Protestant leader Rev. Ian Paisley told the crowd, including widows of slain Protestant policemen, in front of Belfast city hall.

A cheer rang out as a young man raised the Union Jack.

The 27-year-old Sands' death Tuesday, the 66th day of his hunger strike at Belfast's Maze prison, brought a new peak of tension to the 11-year-old sectarian conflict here. The latest round of "troubles" threatens to worsen -- three other IRA men imprisoned at Maze are hunger-striking to the death, like Sands, to demand that jailed guerrillas be treated as political prisoners.

The guerrillas of the largely Roman Catholic IRA are fighting to end British control of this Protestant-dominated province and unite it with the Catholic Irish republic to the south. Almost 2,100 people have been killed since 1969.

Thursday's new violence was reported in Londonderry, 60 miles to the west, where rioting erupted after a march of mourning. At least a dozen automobiles were hijacked, and youths stoned security force patrols.

Two policemen were hurt in the rioting, authorities said. A barrage of gasoline bombs hurled at British troops in the Govnascale district of Londonderry set alight the tunics of two soldiers but the flames were quickly extinguished, army headquarters said.

Bury Hunger Striker in Huge Funeral; Riots In Londonderry

Further south in County Armagh, a British army helicopter came under sniper fire near Crossmaglen but was not hit, the army said.

The army announced the arrest of two men after a gunbattle at the border with the Irish republic. One man was taken north of the border at Killeen, County Down, and the other was arrested by Irish police in the republic.

Catholic West Belfast ground to a halt for the burial of Sands, who had been serving a 14-year sentence on a gun-charge conviction and recently was elected a member of the British Parliament. Security forces were braced for trouble here after the funeral, but none was reported immediately.

The funeral was the biggest mounted here by the outlawed IRA since the conflict began.

One thousand mourners packed St. Luke's Church, Sands' parish in southwest Belfast, for the hour-long requiem Mass.

The pastor, Rev. Liam Mullan, appealed for an end to the killing.

"We are all Christians, surely to God we are all Christians!" he declared.

Quoting Christ's injunction to "love one another as I have loved you," Mullan said, "We can put this into practice today by striving in these critical days for peace, for restraint, for consideration and an end of violence."

The coffin, draped in the Irish republic's flag of green, orange and white and topped by a black beret and gloves, was taken on a slow, three-hour procession to the Milltown cemetery, sprawling on a hillside.

British soldiers with automatic weapons and armored vehicles stood by on side streets as the two-mile-long cortege wended through Belfast's Catholic districts, led by a green-kilted bagpiper and seven IRA men, masked and in combat fatigues. Many mourners carried black flags. Women in black armbands wept. Two British army helicopters chuffed overhead in the light rain.

Halfway to the cemetery, a trio of IRA riflemen fired three volleys over the coffin, then quickly melted into the crowd.

A stillness fell over the graveside scene in early evening light. Sands' mother, Rosaleen, stood fighting back tears beside most of the leadership of the IRA's political front, Sinn Fein, as priests intoned the burial service in Latin.

Sinn Fein Vice President Gerry Adams, once interned by the British as a suspected terrorist, gave a brief oration in Gaelic, the ancient Irish tongue.

"We have paid our tribute to Bobby Sands," he concluded.

The tricolor, beret and gloves were removed and given to Sands' family. The dead man's son, Gerard, who will be 8 on Friday, stood bewildered and dry-eyed as the pale-oak coffin bearing the shriveled body was lowered into the red clay by six IRA men. Sands' sister, Marcella, put her arm around the boy.

The crowd surged forward, trampling over other graves. The boy later laid a wreath on the grave of the father he hardly knew.

Sands' estranged wife, Geraldine, who lives in England, did not attend. Radio reports quoted relatives as saying she disagreed with Sands' views and would never return to Ireland.

Some mourners grabbed clumps of muddy clay as souvenirs from the cemetery's Republican Plot, where Sands lies alongside hundreds of other IRA members, including many slain in Northern Ireland's violence.

The Maze prison hunger strikers demand, among other things, that imprisoned IRA guerrillas be given political status -- allowed to freely associate with each other and wear their own clothes.

Bury Hunger Striker in Huge Funeral; Riots In Londonderry

Visitors said the condition of one of three remaining hunger strikers, 25-year-old Francis Hughes, serving a life term for killing a British paratrooper, was rapidly worsening on the 54th day of his fast.

After Sands' death, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher reiterated her government's refusal to meet the hunger strikers' demands.

Her secretary for Northern Ireland, Humphrey Atkins, said again Thursday that his government would not budge to save the lives of the prisoners still fasting.

"We are not prepared to concede the principle of political status for which Robert Sands was ordered to die, nor are we prepared to do so to prevent others taking the same course," Atkins said in a London television broadcast.

Sources close to the IRA had said "the gloves will come off" once Sands was buried. Police headquarters issued a general warning Thursday to prominent people to be alert in the coming days.

In Dublin, capital of the Irish republic, two gunman went to the door of anti-IRA politician Garrett FitzGerald on Thursday but was locked out by his wife, police said. They said it appeared to have been a bungled assassination attempt. FitzGerald was not at home at the time.

Graphic

Laserphotos NY4,5 BEL2-5,7

End of Document

Chain of Violence and Death Grips Northern Ireland

The Associated Press

May 21, 1981, Thursday, AM cycle

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Section: International News

Length: 1082 words

Byline: By ED BLANCHE, Associated Press Writer

Dateline: BELFAST, Northern Ireland

Body

Hunger striker Patrick "Patsy" O'Hara died Thursday night at in the Maze Prison. He was the second striker to die in a day and the fourth this month in an effort to gain political status for Irish nationalist prisoners.

Prison authorities said he died at 11:29 p.m. (6:29 p.m. EDT) on the 61st day of his fast. The 24-year-old O'Hara was the first member of the Irish National Liberation Army faction, a radical splinter group allied with the **Irish Republican Army's** Provisional wing, to die on a hunger strike.

After O'Hara died, mobs of Roman Catholic youths attacked police and British troops with gasoline bombs and homemade grenades in O'Hara's hometown of Londonderry, in Belfast and in Dungannon, 40 miles east of Belfast, police said.

Gunfire was heard in Belfast's Twinbrook district, but it was unclear who was doing the shooting. Troops in Belfast fired plastic bullets at the rioters and masked youths hijacking vehicles, but police said there were no immediate reports of casualties.

The INLA issued a statement Thursday night threatening "fierce retaliation" for O'Hara's death against all sectors of British rule in Northern Ireland.

Earlier in the day, a wave of hijackings, firebombings and sniper attacks swept Roman Catholic West Belfast after the death of the Raymond McCreesh, the third hunger striker. Several thousand troops in armored vehicles sealed off much of the area to keep the violence from spilling over into Protestant neighborhoods.

The Roman Catholic primate of all Ireland, Cardinal Tomas O Fiaich, appealed in "near desperation" for compromise. He again denounced violence and described the killing this week of five British soldiers in an IRA explosion as a "revolting deed (which) shames us all."

McCreesh, a convicted IRA guerrilla, died in Maze prison at 2:11 a.m. Thursday with his brother, the Rev. Brian McCreesh, at his side. Among his last words, the Catholic priest said, were "I want no violence after my death."

Sporadic gunfire, gasoline bombings and burnings then raged for five hours, but the violence following McCreesh's death was less than after the deaths of his fellow IRA guerrillas Bobby Sands, 27, on May 5 and Francis Hughes, 25, on May 12.

Chain of Violence and Death Grips Northern Ireland

As it did after McCreesh's death, the British government issued a statement saying O'Hara -- the 16th Irish nationalist to die of a hunger protest in this century -- "took his own life by refusing food and medical intervention for 61 days." Both McCreesh and O'Hara began their hunger strikes March 22.

O'Hara was jailed in January 1980 for eight years for possession of a hand grenade. He died after slipping into a coma in the prison's hospital.

His father, James, and mother, Margaret, and his sister, Elizabeth, were at his bed side when he died. They had kept a round-the-clock vigil for the last two days.

Word of McCreesh's death spread quickly as women banged out the traditional alarm on the lids of garbage cans, and crowds soon gathered. Then began the same ritual of violence that followed the deaths of two fellow inmates who starved themselves to death in a bid to win political status for imprisoned Irish nationalists.

Mobs of young men hurled gasoline bombs at police and troops in a half-dozen areas. Snipers fired on two British army patrols and a police car in West Belfast, and troops shot at a sniper in a timber yard, wounding him before he was carried away by his companions, authorities said.

Three hundred rioters lobbed more than 50 firebombs during a two-hour siege at a heavily fortified police-army base in the Belfast's New Barnsley district.

Security forces fired fusillades of plastic bullets from anti-riot guns to disperse the rioters. Masked men hijacked scores of vehicles for barricades.

In the Lenadoon area, one mob broke into the Bass Brewery and drove off with 24 trucks loaded with beer kegs and set some on fire.

Cardinal O Fiaich warned: "If the (British) government continues its rigid stance on prison dress and work it will ultimately be faced with the wrath of the whole Irish nationalist population."

But O Fiaich also urged the hunger strikers to drop their "all or nothing" demands for prison privileges.

Hours before McCreesh's death, Britain's Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, embittered by the IRA ambush killings of five British soldiers Tuesday, reiterated the Conservative government's determination not to yield to the hunger strikers' demands.

The British say granting political status to the IRA prisoners would legitimize the IRA's violent campaign to unite the mostly Protestant province with the overwhelmingly Roman Catholic Irish republic to the south.

A thousand people gathered outside a hospital in Newry, about 40 miles from Belfast, after the body of McCreesh was turned over to his family by British authorities.

The line of onlookers stretched for about a quarter-mile as the coffin, draped in the Irish Tricolor with a black beret on top was borne slowly eight miles to the village Camlough, McCreesh's hometown. Black flags hung from houses along the route.

McCreesh serving a 14-year term on conviction of the attempted murder of British soldiers, died in the early hours of Thursday in the 61st day of his hunger strike.

The IRA's political front, Sinn Fein, said a seventh jailed Irish nationalist, Kieran Doherty, would take McCreesh's place in the hunger campaign.

Sinn Fein said McCreesh will receive a full IRA military funeral Saturday as did Sands and Hughes.

Another prisoner, Brendan McLaughlin, 29, who joined the hunger strike May 15, was suddenly taken from the Maze and transferred to an outside hospital, British authorities said.

Chain of Violence and Death Grips Northern Ireland

They said the move was taken as "precaution" because of suspected internal bleeding and said McLaughlin had not asked for medical treatment.

McCreesh's body was removed from the Maze about an hour after he died and taken to the Daisy Hill Hospital in Newry. An autopsy was done before the body was turned over to the family, authorities said.

In Dublin, Prime Minister Charles J. Haughey announced national elections for the republic would be held June 11.

Haughey's decision had been expected by lawmakers of all parties since Easter but he delayed, according to insiders, hoping the IRA hunger strike here might be resolved. He has been under pressure from republican sympathizers to back the hunger strikers' demands forcefully, while his government, and the majority of the Irish people, oppose IRA violence and there were fears it might spill over into the republic as the hunger strikers died.

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News Summary

The New York Times

June 30, 1990, Saturday, Late Edition - Final

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Section: Section 1; Page 2, Column 5; Metropolitan Desk; Summary

Length: 1193 words

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International 2-5

Lithuania approved a moratorium on its declaration of independence. The republic agreed to suspend the declaration for 100 days in exchange for negotiations with Moscow and the lifting of economic sanctions. Page 1

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Grocery stores in East Germany stood bare and people outside banks stood for hours as the country braced for the surrender of its economy to the West. For most, the suspense and uncertainty were tempered by anticipation of a promising new life. 1

Goods that Communism produced have been consigned to the past in East Germany. Virtually empty shop windows and shelves demonstrate this rejection in big cities and towns. 4

The political debate in Poland is beginning to reflect a broad spectrum of interests and antagonisms. The traditional frictions between peasants, workers, intellectuals and even the cities of Gdansk and Warsaw are now finding voice. 5

Production of harmful chemicals that destroy the atmosphere's protective ozone layer may be halted by the end of the century. In a landmark agreement, most of the world's nations vowed to stop producing and using chlorofluorocarbons. 1

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A royal wedding was held in Japan. Emperor Akihito's second son, Prince Aya, married a commoner, Kiko Kawashima, in a ceremony in a sacred Shinto shrine deep in the woods of the Imperial Palace. 3

Canada's constitutional crisis has led the State Department and the C.I.A. to conclude that any loosening of Canada's federal makeup would severely affect a broad range of security, trade and other ties between Washington and Ottawa. 2

Guerrillas free kidnapped U.S. miner 3

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The shuttle fleet was grounded. The space agency announced that it was suspending missions by the nation's three shuttles until engineers can find and fix an elusive fuel leak that has now struck two of the spaceships. 1

The defects on the Hubble telescope are the latest example of the space agency's lack of attention to quality control, Senator Al Gore asserted. He is the chairman of a Senate panel on science and space. 10

President Bush defended his decision to reverse his position on taxes by painting a bleak economic picture and saying he trusted Americans to understand why he was now prepared to accept higher taxes. 1

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Food allotments would be restored for many of the poor women and children who have been cut from a Federal nutrition program under a bill approved by Congress. 1

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A television reporter has been jailed in San Antonio. He faces the prospect of months behind bars for refusing to name three people who helped him get an interview with a jailed murder suspect. 6

The director of an abortion clinic in Corpus Christi, Tex., has been excommunicated from the Roman Catholic Church by her bishop, who sent her a formal decree separating her from the sacraments of the church. 7

An outbreak of fires in California has resulted in at least two deaths. State officials offered rewards for information about the arsonist they say touched off some of the blazes. 6

Defense lawyers in the Barry trial went on the offensive, aggressively seeking to portray Mayor Barry's arrest in a videotaped undercover drug operation as overzealous conduct by the authorities. 6

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Nelson Mandela went to Los Angeles, beginning the final leg of his American tour. He planned to attend a celebrity-studded fund-raising dinner and a concert that together were expected to raise over \$1 million for the African National Congress. 10

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A former Congressman's conviction was overturned by a Federal appeals court in New York. The extortion conviction of Robert Garcia of the Bronx was overturned and the case was sent back for a possible new trial. 1

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Joe Doherty can apply for asylum, a Federal Appeals Court in Manhattan ruled. A former guerrilla with the **Irish Republican Army**, Mr. Doherty has struggled to escape a lifelong prison sentence in Britain. 25

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A stringent newspaper-recycling law was signed by the Suffolk County Executive. It requires newspapers with weekly circulations of 20,000 or more that are printed or sold in the county to publish only on recycled paper by the end of 1996. 25

A popular five-and-dime may close in Rye, N.Y. In a city where trendy boutiques have bloomed, the campaign to keep Woolworth's open seems to have as much to do with preserving a symbol as saving a place that sells a little bit of everything. 25

Donald J. Trump is good for a laugh. From the Doonesbury comic strip to "Late Night With David Letterman" to tourists in the shiny marble halls of his own buildings, people are reveling in reviling the real-estate developer. 27

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POLITICAL IRELAND'S MISUNDERSTOOD HERO AUTHOR MARIANNE BURNS ELLIOTT TRIES TO; PULL WOLFE TONE OUT OF ROMANTIC MISTS

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Byline: Patricia Rice Of the Post-Dispatch Staff

Body

TO WHISPER about the possibility of Ireland's independence from England was a radical act 200 years ago. Wolfe Tone moved from whispers to military action. Today he is claimed as an Irish nationalist hero. He's considered the founder of Irish Republican nationalism. The provos (Provisional ***Irish Republican Army***) and Sinn Fein, as well as their avowed enemies, the Ulster Protestant groups, make annual pilgrimages to his grave at Bodinstown in County Kildare. Both sides choose different dates to visit so their eyes don't meet over his grave. The story of his life provides romantic scenes that would suit a movie, opera or television miniseries: his political exile spent as an officer in Napoleon's Army, the thwarted Christmas French invasion at Bantry Bay, his capture and inflated sense of honor that led to his suicide. Frequently national heroes are so wrapped in myth that facts are lost. For example, more Americans can tell you the myth about George Washington's cutting down the cherry tree than can describe his military exploits as a Revolutionary commander. "That is exactly what has happened with Tone," said Marianne Burns Elliott. Her biography "Wolfe Tone - Prophet of Irish Independence" was published this spring by Yale University Press (\$35). She first was introduced to Tone when her father, an amateur actor, was in heroic plays about Tone. She has seen every shade of Irish activists quoting Tone - often wildly out of context - to suit their needs. "Constitutional nationalists sanitize the Tone tradition, taking the safe elements, whitewashing the rest," she said.

Some Catholics never mention that he was a Protestant. Contemporary terrorists quote his use of arms with complete disregard for his 1798 statement, "For a fair and open war I was prepared; if that has degenerated into a system of assassination, massacre and plunder, I do most sincerely lament it." Elliott was at the University of Missouri at St. Louis recently to attend the 28th annual convention of the American Conference for Irish Studies. Acting Chancellor Blanche Touhill, an internationally regarded historian and expert on Irish immigrants in Australia, brought the four-day meeting to St. Louis. It featured 87 speakers from Ireland, Australia, Great Britain and America. The vivacious, witty Elliott, 46, who was reared in Northern Ireland and now lives in Liverpool, England, found time for a tea-time interview. She talked about pulling the real Tone out of the romantic mists. For 10 years she sifted through journals, dry parliamentary papers, letters, public records and newspapers in Ireland, England, France. Far livelier research came from long talks with Tone's 86-year-old American great-granddaughter, Katherine Dickason. Tone, a member of the Belfast elite, didn't initially set out to change the world, only to make a living. Shortly after the young lawyer was admitted to the Irish bar, his father declared bankruptcy. Records and even jokes indicate that young Irish lawyers weren't expected to make a living for years. With no family backing, Tone sought to make money as a political journalist and pamphleteer. He was not an original thinker, Elliott said, but "he voiced the confused aspiration for independence with clarity and conviction." That led him to found with several others the Society of United Irishmen in Belfast. Their efforts for Irish parliamentary reform saw little effect.

POLITICAL IRELAND 'S MISUNDERSTOOD HERO AUTHOR MARIANNE BURNS ELLIOTT TRIES TO; PULL WOLFE TONE OUT OF ROMANTIC MISTS

Across Europe in the 1790s there was a growth of radicalism among young intellectuals, not unlike the wave of the 1960s, she said. He was stirred by these radical ideas of the French Enlightenment and Revolution. Tone saw the revolutionary potential of the Irish Catholic majority who could not own land and had a wide array of religious, economic and social grievances. They were the key to the independence of his country, he decided. She found that Tone had compassion for the poor, but his opinion of their judgment and political capacities was low. He thought they were vulgar and he had "no intention whatsoever of involving them directly in politics," she found. He was militant for an independent republic, not a democracy. He was anti-papist and anti-clerical and almost sneered at efforts to revive Celtic cultural nationalism. None of those opinions is the stuff of Irish legends. Still, he rallied the Catholic majority and became their spokesman by calling for independence from England. When it appeared he might be charged with being a revolutionary, he sold his lands and with his wife, three children, brother, sister and 600 books made the six-week voyage to Wilmington, Del. They settled on a 180-acre farm in Princeton. He was miserable. He was lonely for Ireland and disillusioned by the corruption and pro-British sentiments of some American leaders. A year later in February 1796, he moved to Paris. He didn't join the mob. In fact, he always sat in a box at the opera, believed he was due social deference and became melancholy about the death of Marie Antoinette. Within a month of arrival he began to sell the French on the idea of invading Ireland. The French hoped Irish revolutionaries would then help defeat the English. He joined the French Army and was given the rank of adjutant general. Gen. Louis Lazare Hoche led the French naval expedition with 14,450 troops to Ireland's Bantry Bay at Christmastime, 1796. Bad weather scattered the fleet and prevented landing. Attempted coups on land at Wexford, Antrim, Down and Mayo failed. In 1798 he was part of a second invasion that he predicted was doomed. Tone was captured on a French ship off Donegal and sentenced to hang for treason. He wanted a soldier's sentence before a firing squad. Enraged by the traitor's sentence of hanging, he cut his own throat. He was 35. The movement that Wolfe Tone had founded had by the time of his death become alien to his ideals of militant republicanism. If he lived, Elliott said, she thinks he would not have agreed with the militants in Ireland and may have been disregarded. "So, for his reputation as a nationalist hero, his death was perhaps timely," she said. Her book was well received at the conference here. In Ulster, the Protestant-backed "Belfast Herald" and the Roman Catholic-backed "Irish News" gave it good reviews. That is a healthy sign she believes. Until the last decade or so only Catholic schools in Ireland taught Irish history; Protestants studied English history. Elliott grew up in a Belfast Catholic family. After studying history at Queen's University, there she got her doctorate in French history at Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford University. This is her fourth book on Irish and French connections since 1982. She is working on a fifth while on the history faculty at Liverpool University. She has also taught at the University of South Carolina and at Iowa State University in Ames. Her husband, Trevor, jokes that for years Tone was the only one who mattered in the house. Would she have liked to know Tone in person? "I wanted to like him," she said. He was single-minded and not interested in the gray areas of an argument that could have strained a friendship. She would not have liked to have been married to him. Tone loved his wife, but he liked women, loved his freedom and loved to drink. "I would have flinched at the way he treated his wife," she said. "In the 18th century, men happily left their wives and went off on military careers."

Graphic

Photo; PHOTO By Karen Elshout/Post-Dispatch of Marianne Burns Elliott PHOTO of Wolfe Tone

Load-Date: October 18, 1993

TERRORISTS KILL TWO AUSSIES

COURIER-MAIL

May 29, 1990 Tuesday

Copyright 1990 Nationwide News Pty Limited

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Body

Terrorists kill two Aussies Brisbane newly-wed watches husband die in hail of bullets By CHERYL THURLOW and our London bureau A BRISBANE woman watched in horror as hooded terrorists shot dead her husband of 10 months in a Dutch town yesterday. The gunmen, believed to be **Irish Republican Army** terrorists, also shot dead another Australian man in the attack. Police believe the two Australians, who were holidaying in The Netherlands, were the victims of a bungled IRA operation _ the gunmen having mistaken them for British servicemen. The dead Brisbane man, Stephan Melrose, 24, of Samford, had been working in London as a lawyer for 1 1/2 years. He worked for the Brisbane law firm Morris Fletcher and Cross before moving to London. He and wife, Lyndal, were holidaying in Europe with the other murdered man, Nick Spanos, 24, a lawyer of Sydney, and his girlfriend, Vicki Coss, also from Sydney. In Brisbane last night, Stephan's uncle, Mr Val Melrose, of Samford, said Stephan had attended a wedding in north Queensland two weeks ago. He had returned to Europe for a holiday. The man's parents, Royston and Beverley Melrose, also of Samford, did not want to comment. It is believed Lyndal's parents flew out of Brisbane yesterday afternoon. They were due to arrive in Amsterdam this morning. The men were shot by three gunmen as they were about to get into their hired Citroen. The men and two **women** had just left a restaurant in the southern Dutch town of Roermond at 11.15pm on Sunday Dutch time.

QNPThe Australian Ambassador at The Hague, Dr Don Grimes, and the Consul, Mr Ross Brown, travelled last night to Roermond, on the German border, to investigate the killings. Dr Grimes said the dead men were the ""completely innocent victims of an outrage". ""They were just ordinary tourists who had stopped in this quiet town for a meal and were taking photographs of an old church on what was a beautiful summer's night. ""That something like this should happen on a Sunday night in a place like this is disgusting," Dr Grimes said. Dr Grimes said he was arranging for the **women**, both in their twenties, to be flown back to England early this morning (Australian time). ""They were obviously very shattered and upset. They have spoken to the police," he said. He was disgusted at the thought that the IRA might issue an apology. ""It would just make people feel sick," he said, saying that the IRA had recently murdered a baby girl not far from the murder scene. A spokesman for Sinn Fein, the political wing of the IRA, said last night a statement would be made as soon as the facts were known. He said the IRA would express its ""profound regret" if and when it owned up to the slayings. The Australian Government last night pledged its full support to catch the gunmen. The Acting Foreign Affairs Minister, Dr Blewett, said the Government would make every effort to bring the killers to justice. ""This outrageous and cowardly act of violence has shocked all Australians," he said. Dr Blewett said he and the Government expressed their deepest sympathy to the families of the two men. In Britain, the Prime Minister, Mrs Thatcher, said she was ""shocked and concerned" over the attack. The assailants appear to have thought the men were British soldiers. British servicemen at NATO bases in Germany cross the border on Saturday nights to socialise at Roermond. A witness to the attack, bar-owner Mr Paul Reingoud, said he heard ""loud shots" from ""hand-operated machineguns". ""The shots were fired at two men which were outside taking a photograph of the City Hall," Mr Reingoud said. ""The attack was done by three masked men completely black. They were driving in a dark Mazda 626." He said the **women** were left ""completely

TERRORISTS KILL TWO AUSSIES

alone". Police arrived within three minutes. ""They (police) suggest it was an IRA attack," he said. The attack bears strong similarities to 15 previous attacks in the past 12 years by the IRA, which traditionally focuses on ""soft" military targets. A spokesman for the British Army in Munchengladbach said he was convinced it was an IRA strike. Roermond was the scene of an IRA attack in 1988 when gunmen cut down two British soldiers travelling in a car. The British Army has replaced its distinctive British Forces registration plates with standard British plates in response to the series of killings. The Citroen the Australians were driving had British licence plates. Restaurants in Roermond's town square were just closing after a busy Sunday night and the area was crowded with people as up to 15 shots rang out. Seconds later, one man lay slumped across the back seat of the grey Citroen CX. The other was gunned down as he erected a tripod beside the car ready to take pictures of the buildings. As dawn broke, the car, its two back doors and tailgate still open, was still in place as bomb squad specialists searched the area. At least three bullets smashed through its window. One body lay on the cobbled square covered with a blanket. The other was untouched, visible to horrified passers-by. Mr Renee Leenders, one of the owners of the Stap In Entree restaurant, was seeing off his last customers as the shots were fired. ""I heard the shots ring out but at first I thought it was some children playing with fireworks," he said. ""My car was parked in the square, so I looked to see what was happening. One man had just put up a tripod beside his car. He didn't have time to get the camera. He was lying behind the car and a man with a shotgun or a rifle still pointed at him was backing away." He and a colleague went to help the two women. ""There was nothing we could do for the two who had been shot. We brought the two women into the restaurant. One was just crying but the other was quite calm. ""One of them made a phone call to Australia, then they were taken away to hospital. They were not injured but they were obviously suffering from shock." In London, the head of the all-party Parliamentary Committee on Defence, Mr Michael Mates, bitterly denounced the IRA for killing the two Australians. ""They made another terrible mistake. The Australians were holidaymakers who had absolutely nothing to do with the military. ""We will hear weasle words from the IRA _ how sorry they are about the killings which were all a terrible mistake etc. ""But they continue to make boobs that cost the lives of innocent people. ""Now the cowards of the IRA have made another big mistake," he said. ""They will show their complete and utter disregard about who they kill when Jerry Adams (the leader of Sein Fein) announces how sorry he is. ""But none of them will ever admit that killing holidaymakers, women and babies is counterproductive to their cause." Continued, Page 2 From Page

Graphic

PIC OF SUSPECTED IRA VICTIM STEPHAN MELROSE AND LYNDAL MCCREDIE AT THEIR WEDDING JULY, LAST YEAR

Load-Date: September 24, 2003

For Anglicans, Things Stay Bright and Beautiful

The New York Times

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Byline: By PETER STEINFELS, Special to the New York Times

Dateline: CANTERBURY, England, Aug. 6

Body

Anglican bishops from all over the world are ending a three-week Anglican Conference this weekend convinced that their union of independent churches has been strengthened rather than shipwrecked on issues like the consecration of **female** bishops and maintaining common church doctrine and authority.

"Some thought this conference was impossible - reason and experience suggested we would fall apart," the Most Rev. Robert Runcie, the Archbishop of Canterbury, told the closing session of the meeting today. Instead, he said, the conference had "created spiritual energy and fresh vision."

Earlier this week, the bishops had agreed to disagree over the explosive question of whether there should be **female** bishops. The conference also set in place new mechanisms to strengthen Anglican ties.

For three weeks, the bishops tried to build bridges over deep theological, political and cultural differences and speak to the needs of the 70 million Anglicans worldwide. And they tried to do this without treading on the independence of the 27 national or regional churches historically rooted in the Church of England.

Charges of Fostering Terror

The enthusiasm Archbishop Runcie conveyed in the closing session came only 24 hours after the 500 Anglican bishops found themselves facing the unlikely accusation of encouraging **Irish Republican Army** terrorism. It was only one dramatic example of the problems faced by the church leaders at the conference, an event held every 10 years.

The conferences are officially known as the Lambeth Conferences, after the name of the traditional London residence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lambeth Palace.

The charges of fostering terrorism arose from a resolution passed on Thursday. The resolution supported nonviolence as "the way of the Lord" and warned of the potential for injustice in all armed struggle. But it also stated that the conference "understands" those who "choose armed struggle as the only way to justice."

Anglican bishops from Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic worried that the measure might be used to justify political violence. Sure enough, articles linking the resolution to recent I.R.A. attacks promptly appeared in some newspapers.

For Anglicans, Things Stay Bright and Beautiful

In fact, the resolution was directed at situations like that of Archbishop Desmond Tutu in South Africa. Two out of every five Anglican bishops here came from the third world, and Africans outnumbered those from elsewhere.

Simultaneous Translations

The fact that the Anglican Communion is no longer an appendage of the Church of England or even of the English-speaking nations was underlined by the simultaneous translation of speeches here into the conference's five official languages - English, Spanish, French, Japanese and Swahili.

The uproar over the armed struggle resolution had to be repaired Friday morning with an emotional speech by Archbishop Robin Eames, the Anglican Primate of Ireland, and a hastily composed resolution condemning all violence in Northern Ireland.

According to Bishop Richard Harries of Oxford, the original resolution on armed struggle was "incoherent and contradictory," trying to combine the "soft pacifist underbelly" of past conference statements with a gesture toward third-world liberation struggles.

But the reason for the incoherence was not only the difficulty of bringing the struggle in Northern Ireland and against South African apartheid under a single heading. It also sprang from the brief time available to draw up statements on many issues.

Convinced of Success

Despite these frustrations, the vast majority of bishops seem to be leaving convinced of the conference's success.

Bishop Edmond L. Browning, who presides over the Episcopal Church of the United States, said he came here with doubts about whether there should even be another conference. "My mind has been changed," he said on Friday, and suggested more frequency.

The conference's first accomplishment was something that did not happen. Because bishops are the key links between different Anglican churches, it was said the Anglican Communion might shatter over the determination of the Episcopal Church in the United States and fellow churches in Canada and New Zealand to consecrate female bishops when many other branches still reject priestly roles for women.

On Monday, however, the bishops reached an agreement to disagree, and set in place a commission to study the matter and carry out what Archbishop Donald Robinson of Sydney, Australia, called "damage control."

Even before business wound up today, the primates met and outlined steps for appointing the commission on female bishops.

On Strengthening Ties

Several other measures were designed to strengthen Anglican ties, including a greater role for the 27 primates, the senior bishops who head the separate churches; the initiation of a major theological study of church unity; the drafting of a common Anglican declaration of fundamental doctrines, and the appointment of an advisory body to encourage unity in forms of worship.

Among the measures showing the new weight of growing third-world churches in Anglicanism was the reversal of a hundred-year-old ban on baptizing polygamists in the church unless they retained only one wife.

African bishops said that the ban either led to the abandonment of women and children or to the loss of converts to other faiths. Only one black African bishop was at the 1888 Lambeth Conference that instituted the ban.

For Anglicans, Things Stay Bright and Beautiful

The resolution reversing the ban is limited to cultures where polygamy is socially established. But it upholds monogamy as the Christian ideal and forbids converted polygamists from taking more wives.

An Overwhelming Approval

The resolution on polygamy was approved overwhelmingly. So were endorsements of further doctrinal discussions with Roman Catholicism, Lutheranism, Eastern Orthodoxy and most other branches of Christianity.

But unity became frayed over a simple recommendation for "dialogue with people of other faiths." Bishops from Africa, Asia and Latin America voiced numerous reservations before passing the resolution.

Those bishops felt it might undermine missionary fervor or weaken the resolve of Christian minorities. Third-world bishops also proved the most effective spokesmen for the more theologically conservative, evangelical wing of Anglicanism.

A detailed document on improving relations between Christians, Jews and Moslems raised fears about weakening the teaching that Jesus is the savior for all humanity. The document was politely set aside for further study.

Bishop Paul Moore of New York City introduced two resolutions, one calling on the church to support programs to ease the AIDS crisis and the other a very general resolution opposing discrimination against homosexuals. Both eventually were passed, but only after amendments and bitter criticism, particularly from African bishops, reflecting fears that the church might be viewed as approving homosexuality.

The prime factor working against disagreements of this kind, according to many bishops, was the daily Bible study in small groups.

"Sitting down together and sharing our lives out of the word of God has had an immense effect," Bishop Browning said.

Bishop Browning questioned the value and precision of the conference's many resolutions, but he said he found the clash of views a positive example of "what the Anglican Communion is all about."

"In a tangible sense," he added, "unity in diversity has been lived out here."

Graphic

Photo of the Most Rev. Robert Runcie, the Archbishop of Canterbury, after a group photograph of some 500 Anglican bishops at the start of the Lambeth Conference in Canterbury, England (Reuters)

Priest, Writing Eulogy, Recalls Woman in I.R.A.

The New York Times

March 16, 1988, Wednesday, Late City Final Edition

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Length: 1150 words

Byline: By FRANCIS X. CLINES, Special to the New York Times

Dateline: ARMAGH, Northern Ireland, March 15

Body

It was late, the fire was fading at the rectory hearth and the priest had finished writing his eulogy for Mairead Farrell, an Irishwoman slain in the time-worn rebellion.

The body of the slender, dark-haired woman is back from Gibraltar, where she was shot nine days ago as she and two other rebels plotted to bomb a British parade. She will be buried Wednesday to the words of the priest who knew her, the Rev. Raymond Murray.

The priest sat dispirited before the fire, hardly relishing another potentially violent bout of outside attention at the pained history and funereal persistence of Northern Ireland's embattled Roman Catholic minority.

"People don't even understand the simple notion of requiem," said Father Murray, slouched and deep-voiced as he recalled the scores of Irish rebels Miss Farrell led and he ministered to as chaplain of Armagh Prison. "The Requiem Mass is a great plea for mercy, but they'll be saying we're 'celebrating' her struggle."

A Plain-Spoken Adherent

Far from being a romantic enigma, Mairead Farrell was a plain-spoken adherent of the ***Irish Republican Army*** who was involved in her 31 years of life in a total of two insurgent operations. These were interrupted by 10 years in prison, where Father Murray says he first felt the sharpness of her wit in debate in defending the violent I.R.A. struggle from criticism, particularly the church's.

As England mourned her not at all, claiming a moral and strategic victory over I.R.A. atrocity, others were struck by a sense of naivete in the I.R.A.'s sending so inexperienced a woman so recently out of prison on a "Libya-styled" plot out in the vigilant world of anti-terrorist intelligence gathering.

"Tell your Irish-Americans they don't need any part of Qaddafi," said another dispirited priest, the Rev. Denis Faul, referring to the I.R.A.'s supposed acceptance of Libyan overtures to obtain explosives. "Tell your Irish-Americans to stick to the old trenchcoats and revolvers for their contributions," he said, referring to the old movie stereotype of the Irish revolutionary gunmen.

"Mairead was ruthlessly gunned down," added Father Faul, whom Miss Farrell resented as an anti-I.R.A. priest. "Kids like her are out of their depth."

An Instant Leader of Women

Father Murray was more to her liking, since from his prison duty he came to be a leader in complaints of human rights abuses by the British authorities. "It destroyed me," he said, describing the death and political struggle of the last 20 years and the militant women he visualizes as peaceful leaders in some other time and place.

He saw Miss Farrell become the instant leader of scores of women through their darkest days when they held their yearlong "no wash" strike in 1980 over the British authorities' withdrawal of their political prisoner status. The strike and retaliation kept them in their cells 23 hours a day, the windows dimmed, the walls covered in the excrement of protest.

With Miss Farrell in the lead, he recalled, the women shouted to one another in the darkness, prayed, wept, and found fresh resolve in the deaths of 10 male prisoners in the I.R.A. hunger strike over prisoners' rights.

Others attest to a mix of militant dedication and easy friendliness free of the trouble-hardened edge that marked so many others. "Mairead had something very likable, the quality of a friendly kid," said Elizabeth Shannon, an American biographer who is writing a book on Irishwomen and the contradictions of nationalism, religion and feminism that mark their time.

"She was really a cut above the rest," said Mrs. Shannon, who found Miss Farrell relatively unaware at first but then increasingly curious about the secondary role of women in the male-dominated I.R.A.

Miss Farrell, however, insisted that a resolute woman could indeed "get doing what the lads did," as she put it in an interview with Magill magazine 18 months ago when she got out of prison. "It depended to what extent you were prepared to be committed."

Her stark transition from the daughter of a middle-class hardware shopkeeper is no great surprise in the modern troubles. For Miss Farrell was of a generation of Irish women who, as young girls, experienced the explosion of the age-old sectarian conflict right on their doorsteps.

Women from the Catholic ghettos tell of seeing their houses searched, their fathers, brothers and neighbors marched out, arrested and shot, too.

"If anything, I have become stronger, more committed," Miss Farrell said in the Magill interview, vowing the day after prison to get right back into I.R.A. activities. "I always believed we had a legitimate right to take up arms and defend our country and ourselves against the Brits' occupation," she said, never accepting a divided Ireland.

The British authorities, anxious over the I.R.A.'s plans for a martyr's farewell for her, have been emphasizing her lethal intent, both in the Gibraltar bomb plot - the I.R.A. does not dispute her role - and earlier, when she was a 19-year-old, gun-toting neophyte insurgent in a group of rebels who blew up a hotel outside Belfast in 1976. She always stressed that the occupants had been warned and were not harmed. But people who knew her say she could show strategic coldness, too, in weighing the effects, intended and unintended, of such a major operation as the Gibraltar plot against British soldiers who had served in Ireland.

Requiem for an Irish rebel has always been a complex event, even a deadly one. On Monday, the hearses bearing the bodies of Miss Farrell and her slain comrades, Sean Savage and Daniel McCann, were alternately saluted by Catholics and stoned by jeering Protestants as the cortege traveled from Dublin to Belfast.

Monday night, as crowds gathered in Belfast to view Miss Farrell's coffin, another rebel was shot to death by the police, who said he was on a sniper mission.

Today, a Catholic man was killed outside a Belfast supermarket as he arrived for work. The police said the killing appeared to be the work of Protestant terrorists.

Priest, Writing Eulogy, Recalls Woman in I.R.A.

The British authorities, their troops and the Royal Ulster Constabulary remain nervous at the propaganda possibilities and threat of violence. Black events have a way of piling one atop another in Belfast, and the armored police vans were everywhere, their silhouettes medieval with slotted armor windows impervious to the rock or bottle hurled from the angry darkness.

"I think we're completely and utterly helpless," Father Murray said, putting aside his two-page eulogy.

His despondent stare was in contrast to his few spirited words about the manner of Mairead Farrell's life and death, the latter characterized as "barbarous assassination" in his accusation, for she was unarmed when she was killed. He described her in Gaelic as a "cailin gairiuel, diograiseach," - a smiling, earnest colleen. "Death has not got the last word," he insisted. "It never will."

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CRIME

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Length: 1168 words

Byline: By NEWGATE CALLENDAR

Body

For a first novel, *PUSH, MEET SHOVE* by Peter Barthelme (St. Martin's, \$14.95) moves with unusual confidence. The writing is assured and relaxed, with snappy, sophisticated dialogue and convincing characterizations. Mr. Barthelme is also on secure ground, in that he is an advertising man in Texas writing about an advertising man in Texas.

This man, named Beaumont, is approached by Clay Thomas, a big operator in the oil business. He wants Beaumont to dream up an advertising campaign. Beaumont prepares a very expensive one, and the plan is accepted. He receives an advance and sets to work, doing the visuals and booking the ads. But when the time comes for the big payment - \$160,000 - Thomas says he knows nothing about it. He claims to have paid Beaumont only a consulting fee for advice. So Beaumont has a lot of bills to pay and no cash with which to pay them.

He soon learns why he has been set up in this manner. Thomas wants him to do a shady deal or two, and promises full payment as soon as Beaumont complies. He has no choice. Things are complicated by the two women currently in his life, each of whom has had dealings with Thomas. Beaumont finds himself in deep trouble and has to use all his wits to escape unscathed. His life is on the line.

In "Push, Meet Shove" the hero has to outwit a professional hit man. Usually in that kind of situation the reader has to suspend disbelief. But not this time - the action takes place in a boat on the open water and Beaumont is an experienced sailor, whereas the hit man is not. So this too rings true. Don't overlook the book. You'll have a good time.

* * *

Ted Wood's *CORKSCREW* (Scribners, \$14.95) is the fifth in the Reid Bennett series. Bennett is the one-man police force in the little Canadian resort town of Murphy's Harbour. One-man, yes; but he also has Sam, a wonderful attack dog who seems to be more intelligent than most humans.

A boy is missing. A motorcycle gang is in town, and that means trouble. Bennett finds the body of the murdered boy. He also has to whip one of the bullies in the gang. It soon turns out that the gang may have been involved in the boy's murder. But when a complaint is filed against Bennett for beating up the biker, he is suspended from duty pending investigation. A very good, conscientious cop, Bennett works with his replacement. At the end there is a question: Will he stay on the force?

CRIME

This is the best in the series since the first, "Dead in the Water," in 1983. Bennett is handy with his fists, handsome, attractive to women. But in some of his exploits, such as in "Fool's Gold" two years ago, he is made to act more like Superman than a believable human being. Here he is a troubled man who has to deal with murder and the stupidity of a petty-minded bureaucrat. But he has Sam and a resourceful girlfriend, and what with one thing and another he comes out on top. The writing is, as always, good. Mr. Wood employs functional prose without any padding. It is unpretentious writing, but more subtle than would appear.

* * *

Here we go again into the world of academe. In ALL BOOKED UP by Terrie Curran (Dodd, Mead, \$15.95), scholars working in a research library find that important books are missing. A husband-and-wife professor team finally breaks the case. We get a good deal of information about incunabula, library filing systems, early English literature and the like (the author is a professor of medieval literature at Providence College in Rhode Island).

The usual lovable and not so lovable eccentric types make their appearance. Murder is taken in stride by the academics, who are really much more interested in Welsh dialects of the Elizabethan period or Thomas Tyrwhitt's 18th-century edition of "The Canterbury Tales." There is something actually sweet about the monomaniacal dedication of the literary specialists in "All Booked Up," and Ms. Curran - undoubtedly writing from experience - presents her characters without condescension.

* * *

Linda Barnes has written four mysteries featuring Michael Spraggue. Now, in A TROUBLE OF FOOLS (St. Martin's, \$15.95), she introduces a private eye named Carlotta Carlyle, a redhead over six feet tall who is a former Boston policewoman.

An elderly woman hires her to find her missing brother. Carlyle starts investigating and uncovers an Irish Republican Army connection and a drug operation. Along the way we learn a lot about her sex life. She is also a Big Sister to a Hispanic girl, and that story occupies a fair part of the book. Perhaps Carlyle is not so interesting as Ms. Barnes seems to think. But Ms. Barnes is an expert writer who enjoys spirited and even lusty dialogue. The plotting, too, side issues or no, is logical. Nothing much new here, but a thoroughly competent job.

* * *

The formula that Robert Campbell has used in his two previous Jimmy Flannery mysteries seems to be wearing a bit thin in the latest, HIP-DEEP IN ALLIGATORS (New American Library, \$16.95). Flannery is a sewer inspector in Chicago and also a Democratic precinct captain. He is kind and considerate and speaks workingman's English. Faced with solving a murder, he uses common sense and his city contacts. Up to now, in "The Junkyard Dog" and "The 600-Pound Gorilla," the series has had charm and novelty. In "Hip-Deep in Alligators," though, Mr. Campbell is trying too hard.

The opening is promising enough. Flannery finds two halves of a body in the sewer. The medical examiner says that an alligator was responsible. How does this tie in with the theft of dogs and pigeons in a Chicago ward? It does. But the file on the alligator killing is closed, and Flannery is disturbed. Is there a cover-up? Flannery wants to know, and in the process he uses up a lot of his vouchers. In Chicago ward politics a favor must be repaid, and Flannery through the years has done lots of favors for people big and little.

Mr. Campbell is beginning to take his hero a bit too seriously. There is too much about his girlfriend and their plans to be married. There is a set piece about the meeting of the two families that may be amusing in itself but has nothing to do with the plot. One hopes that Mr. Campbell can rediscover the fine, careless rapture of "The Junkyard Dog."

* * *

CRIME

Howard Kaplan's BULLETS OF PALESTINE (Gold Eagle/Worldwide, Paper, \$3.95) takes a look at the complexities of the Palestine problem. Mr. Kaplan brings together a former Palestinian terrorist and an Israeli agent, who unite in a common cause. Their aim is to eliminate the well-known terrorist Abu Nidal. Trying to play fair, the author gives both sides of the case. Israeli intelligence is here as ruthless as Arab terrorism. But neither of the main characters is believable. Mr. Kaplan does not have the flair or, indeed, the basic expertise to put together a convincing novel.

Graphic

Drawing

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New Generation in an Anti-NATO Brotherhood

The Associated Press

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Byline: By CHARLES J. HANLEY, Associated Press Writer

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"From the Red Army Faction point of view, the only opportunity to fight NATO suppression around the world is to organize a kind of illegal guerrilla war and get in contact with more and more people," said a source close to the German underground group, speaking with a reporter on condition of anonymity.

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In Italy, where the Red Brigades assassinated judges, police officials and former Premier Aldo Moro, authorities say their key tools were new laws allowing plea bargaining for "repentant" terrorists who informed against comrades. About 1,250 Red Brigades members and other leftist terrorists are now in jail.

In West Germany, advanced police work paid off. The Federal Criminal Office, which has headquarters in this gray Rhine River city, put special anti-terrorist detectives into the field and developed impressive computer files tying together incidents, people, weapons and methods.

"The computer has a huge memory. It is an absolutely important tool," said Hans-Werner Kuehn, deputy chief of the anti-terrorist unit.

Today, more than 30 members of the Red Army Faction hard core, which never numbered more than a few dozen, are imprisoned. Others have fled abroad.

Despite the law-enforcement victories, however, new generations of militants are taking the field.

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Altogether, the central armed units of the major German, Italian, French and Belgian groups probably total fewer than 100 people, investigators say. But their small size makes them difficult to penetrate.

"They stick together very well," a German security official said unhappily.

Belgian police believe that four suspects they arrested last December are key figures in the Fighting Communist Cells, and the French last month captured two alleged Direct Action members. But Direct Action's leaders remain at large, and no major arrests have been made in West Germany recently.

The continuing threat is clear: Captured Red Army Faction material indicates terrorist sympathizers have infiltrated German civilian staffs at U.S. military bases and are collecting information on targets.

The U.S. Air Force, with a dozen bases in West Germany, has deployed armor-plated automobiles for its generals, thrown a four-foot-high wall around its headquarters building at Ramstein Air Base, brought in bomb-sniffing dogs, and intensified screening of German civilian personnel.

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"The RAF has been gaining experience, getting bolder," said an Air Force security officer. "And they are very meticulous in their planning and surveillance... They want to live to fight another day."

NEXT _ Part IV: The Terrorist Mind

Graphic

Laserphoto

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Some 2,000 other supporters, including relatives of militants, who do lesser support work, including propaganda.

The hard core was believed to have dwindled to about 10 members by 1984, "but now the vacancies have been filled from the militant environment," Kuehn said. Gunshop thefts and bank robberies have replenished the Red Army Faction's arsenal and treasury.

A second, less cohesive organization, the Revolutionary Cells, has sprung up in West Germany, but these scattered units, dubbed "weekend terrorists," engage in less deadly attacks than the Red Army Faction.

Altogether, the central armed units of the major German, Italian, French and Belgian groups probably total fewer than 100 people, investigators say. But their small size makes them difficult to penetrate.

"They stick together very well," a German security official said unhappily.

Belgian police believe that four suspects they arrested last December are key figures in the Fighting Communist Cells, and the French last month captured two alleged Direct Action members. But Direct Action's leaders remain at large, and no major arrests have been made in West Germany recently.

The continuing threat is clear: Captured Red Army Faction material indicates terrorist sympathizers have infiltrated German civilian staffs at U.S. military bases and are collecting information on targets.

The U.S. Air Force, with a dozen bases in West Germany, has deployed armor-plated automobiles for its generals, thrown a four-foot-high wall around its headquarters building at Ramstein Air Base, brought in bomb-sniffing dogs, and intensified screening of German civilian personnel.

The Americans respect their unseen enemy.

"The RAF has been gaining experience, getting bolder," said an Air Force security officer. "And they are very meticulous in their planning and surveillance... They want to live to fight another day."

NEXT _ Part IV: The Terrorist Mind

Graphic

Laserphoto

TERRORISM HAS BECOME THE NEW BOOM INDUSTRY

COURIER-MAIL

June 28, 1985 Friday

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Length: 1256 words

Byline: BRICE C

Body

Terrorism has become the new boom industry From CHRIS BRICE in London INTERNATIONAL terrorism seems to have hijacked the world. In this bloody month from San Salvador to Beirut, from Belfast to Nepal, from Frankfurt to Tokyo and in the sky over the Atlantic hundreds of people have died in a barrage of terrorist bullets and bombs. An Air India jet blown out of the sky, a TWA jet hijacked, car bombs in Tripoli and Beirut, airport explosions in Frankfurt and Tokyo, mortar shellings in Northern Ireland . . . So great is the scale of the present outrages the media is hard pressed to keep track of them all. One London newspaper this week ran at the bottom of its main page one story this sobering tag line "' . . other terrorism reports on page 17". It appeared below a report about Scotland Yard smashing an IRA plot to turn Britain's beachside resorts into summer slaughterhouses. International terrorism has become the boom industry of our time. And in the manic scramble to grab headlines for one fanatical cause or another new terrorist groups seem to appear almost weekly. A few years ago there were only a handful of terrorist organisations _ the Baader-Meinhof group, the IRA, the PLO, and the Red , were among the most murderous _ but today there are scores. Six groups claimed responsibility for the Frankfurt Airport bombing last week which killed two Australian children. Among them was an organisation calling itself the Peace Conquerors, a cell of fanatical environmentalists based in Europe, who are against airport development.

QNPIn a telephone call to a European press agency earlier this month they said they would destroy an airport and blow up a jumbo jet "'before the month" was out. They were initially also linked with the Air India bombing. However, West German police have ruled them out along with another group which claimed responsibility for the Frankfurt bombing _ the hitherto unknown Arab Revolutionary Organisation. In a statement to a Beirut news agency the Arab Revolutionary Organisation said it planted the bomb because West German intelligence was recruiting Arabs to assassinate members of "'Arab fighting organisations" in Lebanon. A week after the bombing West German police say they have no clues to who was responsible and have rejected all claims, including two made by Germany's Left-wing Red Army faction. To help police keep tabs of who's who in the terrorism league there are a number of organisations like the Rand Corporation, the Jonathan Institute in America and the International Relations Department of Aberdeen University which use computers to endlessly sift data. This information shows that terrorist organisations can be divided into a number of separate groups _ State terrorists, trans-national terrorists, ideological groups and issue groups, such as animal liberationists and environmentalists. Among the State groups are the Libyans, Iranians, North Koreans and Bulgarians who send squads on international manhunts. The trans-national terrorists, members of national and separatist groups, who also work abroad, include the Sikh Zealots who downed the Air India jet last week. Others in this group include the ASALA (the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia) and JCAG (Justice Commandos for the Armenian Genocide). Since the PLO (Palestine Liberation Organisation) has lost its Lebanon base and fallen against hard political and financial times the Armenian's, claiming revenge for the 1915 Turkish massacre of their forebears, have become the foremost terrorist group. They have carried out attacks all over Europe and since 1975 have killed 26 Turkish diplomats, including five ambassadors. Then there is the IRA (***Irish Republican Army***), the INLA (the Irish National Liberation

TERRORISM HAS BECOME THE NEW BOOM INDUSTRY

Army) and the Basque Separatist Organisation, ETA (Basque Homeland and Liberty). ETA has been fighting in Spain's Basque country for 25 years and earlier this year started a bomb terror campaign against Spain's Mediterranean holiday resorts. It was formed in 1959 by a group of Basque nationalist students to fight the Franco regime and its repression of Basque nationalism since the civil war. According to the Spanish Government ETA has been involved in more than 500 killings and thousands of bombings. Its biggest exploit was the blowing up of Admiral Luis Carrero Blanco, the Spanish Prime Minister in Madrid in 1973. This effectively left the Franco regime without a successor. The ideological terror groups which operate widely through Europe include the Red Brigade from Italy and the West German TZ (revolutionary cells) organisation. Last week police in Italy captured 36-year-old Barbara Balzerani, known as the Scarlet Pimpernel, and considered the world's leading woman terrorist. The feared leader of the Red Brigades is said to have been responsible for the kidnap and murder of ex-Prime Minister Aldo Moro in 1978. She has been sentenced to death in absentia by courts in several Italian cities. Known as a woman of a thousand faces, Balzerani, was the Red Brigade's most glamorous member, using her charm and appeal as effectively as her machine gun. In 1981 she masterminded the kidnapping of the US Brigadier General James Dozier. The Red Brigade and the Prima Linea organisations in Italy have suffered heavy losses in recent years. In November 206 terrorists from these organisations were jailed for a total of 1206 years in a Milan court. In West Germany the RZ and the Red Army faction top the terrorist league list. Although many Red Army faction members have been captured by police it remains among the most ruthless terrorist organisations in the world. While the Red Army faction seeks to bring down the capitalist system the TZ and its female counterpart, Red Zora, are protesting against "inhuman technocracy". Paris is at present the most lethal of Europe's terrorist capitals. Within it there are five main groups operating _ Action Directe (anti-capitalist), Charles Martel Club (neo-fascists), Clodo (anti-computers), Bakunin Gdansk Paris (anti-defence) and separatist militants from Corsica, Guadeloupe, Martinique, New Caledonia and French Guiana. One of the newest and recently most active organisations in Europe is the Belgian Group CCC (Cellules Communistes Combattantes). Since October it has launched bomb attacks in Belgium. Its targets are NATO facilities. European police fear the CCC is part of a new co-ordinated alliance between established and new organisations. Members of this "terrorism incorporated" are thought to include the Portuguese FP-25 (Forces Populaires 25 de April), Action Directe in France, Germany's The Red Army Faction, and Gari (Revolutionary Internationalist Action Group) in Spain. Now the terrorism disease has spread to the Third world. Last week the Himalayan kingdom of Nepal had its first major terrorist attack when nine people were killed in a two-day bombing spate. Responsibility for the blitz was claimed by a group calling itself The United Liberation Torchbearers. On leaflets scattered through the streets of Kathmandu the terrorists warned: "There is more to come, for our struggle will continue until our objective is achieved _ the liberation of the people." It's a fair bet that within a few months, maybe even weeks, those words will be heard again as another new terrorist group announces its birth with a bomb explosion in some corner of the world. FLASHBACK to 1978 when police found the body of Italian Premier Aldo Moro in a car. Inset: Red leader Barbara Balzerani, captured last

Graphic

PIC SHOWS BARBARA BALZERANI, AND A FLASHBACK TO 1978 OF BODY OF ITALIAN PREMIER ALDO MORO

Load-Date: September 18, 2003

SHULTZ IS WRONG ON TERRORISM

The New York Times

December 16, 1984, Sunday, Late City Final Edition

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Section: Section 4; Page 21, Column 2; Editorial Desk; OP-ED

Length: 1211 words

Byline: By George Ball ; George Ball was Under Secretary of State in the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations.

Body

In three recent speeches, Secretary of State George P. Shultz has permitted his obsession with terrorism to distort his normally judicious view of the world.

Not only should America, he insists, retaliate with force against terrorist violence; it should not hold back from launching pre-emptive strikes to thwart threatened terrorist attacks merely because such strikes might entail some innocent civilian casualties. For guidance, he recommends that we look to Israel as "a model of how a nation should approach the dilemma of trying to balance law and justice with self-preservation."

That last comment is singularly revealing because Israel exemplifies not balance but excess. Since it is a small, insecure, beleaguered country surrounded by enemies, self-preservation is its dominant imperative. So it is hardly surprising that one reads almost weekly of a bombing attack on some Arab village aimed at destroying a "P.L.O. headquarters" or a "terrorist base."

George Ball Op-Ed column says Secretary of State George P Shultz is wrong to suggest that United States should respond to acts of terrorism as Israel does; says Israel is beleaguered country; suggests instead that United States and her allies apply economic sanctions against countries giving aid and comfort to terrorists; drawing (M)

No doubt such attacks have had some deterrent effect, but they have also, as statistics clearly show, killed hundreds of men, women and children guilty of no offense other than living in a target area. In 1981, for example, when Israel bombed a Beirut apartment house thought to contain a Palestine Liberation Organization headquarters, it is reported to have killed as many as 300 civilians only to discover the P.L.O. leaders had already left. Because America is, by contrast, a huge nation living in secure borders and obligated by its leadership role to uphold international standards, our problems are sharply different in nature and dimension. Thus, if we need a model, we might more appropriately turn to Britain, which, while suffering terrorist afflictions, has kept faith with humane principles and practices that are our common heritage. Had the British followed the Israeli pattern, they might have answered the Irish Republican Army's bombing of the Grand Hotel in Brighton by blowing up a part of the Roman Catholic section of Belfast. Or, in the pattern of Israel's performance in Lebanon, they might have attacked Dublin because some I.R.A. members were thought to be hiding there. If we are to cope effectively with terror, we must understand its complexities. Apart from the anarchist madness practiced by the Baader- Meinhof gang and the Red Brigades, which only marginally touched

America, two types of terrorism should principally concern us.

The first, directed toward achieving a political aim, is sometimes effective. Four decades ago, the Irgun and Stern Gang successfully used terror to help persuade Britain to relinquish its Palestine Mandate, thus hastening the

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creation of Israel. But the P.L.O has accomplished nothing by terrorism. In spite of all its violence, the 900,000 Palestinians dispersed throughout the Arab world have regained not one acre of the land from which they were displaced. Instead, even though the P.L.O. continues its activities despite Israeli counterattacks, its outrages and doctrinal rigidity have critically damaged the Palestinian cause and strengthened opponents of negotiation.

Not that P.L.O violence poses any direct threat to America: it is sharply focused on Israel. Our own recent casualties have almost all resulted from a second, different kind of terror fueled by religious fanaticism - a fervor that drives Shiite zealots to strike out blindly against modern Western values symbolized by America - and, in their lunatic fervor, they have so far killed more than 350 Americans. Yet since our logic is missing from their calculus, reprisals have little value; in fact, killing fanatics only inflames their brethren to seek similar martyrdom. Such passion is hard for Westerners to understand, yet proper diagnosis is essential. Our casualties have not resulted, as Mr. Shultz suggests, because "the technology of security has been outstripped by the technology of murder." The planting of car bombs and the suicidal use of explosive- laden trucks shows little advance over the exploding horse-drawn carriage used in an anarchist attack in Wall Street 60 years ago.

We also confuse the issue when we think of today's political and religious terrorism as phenomena peculiar to our age. In the 19th century, anarchists mowed down princes and potentates all over Europe with bombs and gunfire. Not only the 12th century Assassins but other fanatics have practiced murder in the name of religion. What gives distinctly colors our predicament is the complicity of renegade governments such as Libya's and Iran's. That radically affects our approach to the problem, for, although America cannot use military force against an offending government without committing an act of war, we should be able, through collective action with like-minded nations, to use economic and political pressures unavailable in dealing with free-wheeling terrorists.

What the situation urgently demands is that Mr. Shultz and his colleagues concentrate on organizing concerted measures with our closest allies. Acting collectively, we would threaten - and if necessary apply - economic sanctions against countries giving aid and comfort to terrorists. All members of such a concert of nations might even agree to break diplomatic relations with - and thus impose political isolation on - any government that violated the embassies or interfered with diplomatic personnel of any participating nation, or condoned such violations.

Obviously such measures would entail political and economic costs that some allies would almost certainly resist; any experienced diplomat knows it is far easier to call for collective action than to achieve it. Still, persuasion is the essence of leadership and the case for action is compelling. State-sponsored terrorism menaces the whole international order, and if we are to maintain even minimum world stability we must ostracize any nation condoning it.

Meanwhile, let us take care that we are not led, through panic and anger, to embrace counter-terror and international lynch law and thus reduce our nation's conduct to the squalid level of the terrorists. Our prime objective should clearly be to correct, or at least mitigate, the fundamental grievances that nourish terrorism rather than engage in pre-emptive and retaliatory killing of those affected by such grievances.

So let us be guided by our own time- tested traditions and not, as Mr. Shultz suggests, adopt as national policy the Talmudic injunction, "If one comes to kill you, make haste and kill him first." For we would be tragically wrong to abandon those cherished principles of law and humanity that have given our country its special standing among nations. Otherwise, we may find our position confused with that of the warrior bishop during the Albigensian Crusade, who, when asked by a soldier how they could tell the Catholics from the heretics, replied that they should kill them all, since "God will know his own."B

Graphic

drawing

SHULTZ IS WRONG ON TERRORISM

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Libya's Qaddafi: shattered dreams, fear of coup plots

Christian Science Monitor (Boston, MA)

May 4, 1984, Friday

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Section: Pg. 1

Length: 1222 words

Byline: By John Cooley, Special to The Christian Science Monitor; The writer is a former Monitor correspondent, author of the book "Libyan Sandstorm," and now ABC news correspondent based in London.

Dateline: London

Highlight: He seems little like the idealist who overthrew King Idris in '69

Body

A scowl furrows his brow. His face showing the strain of living for years under threat of assassination, Muammar Qaddafi listens.

The Libyan leader tries to concentrate for a moment on the questions newsmen fire at him at a Tripoli news conference. His thoughts seem far away.

Even as Colonel Qaddafi accuses Britain of framing his former emissaries in London for the murder of a British policewoman to provoke Britain to break ties with Libya, his eyes seem to look beyond the TV cameras in the security-cordoned room.

Isolated from neighbors whom he has alternately helped with money and arms and harmed with conspiracies, Qaddafi is a leader haunted by his past, say former intimate friends and associates. They say his thoughts are often filled by memories of disastrous military adventures, such as his support for Ugandan dictator Idi Amin, or his present encounter with the French-backed regime in neighboring Chad.

Perhaps other specters cross his vision: shattered plans for Libya's union with Egypt, Sudan, Tunisia, Algeria, and even Syria.

The TV cameras show Qaddafi return from his reverie. He faces the reporters again and offers France a carrot: mutual withdrawal of French and Libyan troops from Chad. Then he wields a stick against Britain: a threat to again aid guerrillas from the outlawed *Irish Republican Army*.

The troubled leader on the television screen seems to have little in common with the idealistic and unknown young man this reporter first met in Tripoli in 1969, only days after he and a baker's dozen of like-minded other young lieutenants had overthrown the Western-protected King Idris.

Qaddafi is zealous, puritanical, and conspiratorial. His moods vacillate between elation and depression, although he is still charged with a sense of mission. That mission, he often said in so many words, was to continue the struggle for Arab unity and liberation begun by his idol, Egypt's late President Gamal Abdel Nasser.

Libya 's Qaddafi: shattered dreams, fear of coup plots

Now, Qaddafi's Libyan opponents say - with much evidence to support them - Qaddafi's direct personal hand on Libya's tiller is partly replaced by a kind of revolutionary directorate. Its members are young zealots, scarcely known even in Libya. Qaddafi, denying that he is chief of state, can approve or disavow their acts and decisions as he chooses.

Qaddafi's opponents say this inchoate system breeds chaos.

"Opposition is sweeping Libya like a growing storm," says Muhammad Magarief, once a financial controller, who is shocked by Qaddafi's reckless spending of Libya's oil wealth on foreign adventures.

Abdul Hamid Bakkoush, who served as prime minister for King Idris, agrees. He adds that overthrowing Qaddafi, protected as he is by loyal tribesmen and East German security guards, may not be easy.

Many close observers wonder about Qaddafi's sanity. Newsmen in Libya recently reported that he is said to depend heavily on tranquilizers, and that he acts like a man in physical danger.

The confusion evident in Qaddafi's thinking and utterances is matched by apparent incoherence in his policies. Dreams he had as a student at the Libyan military academy centered on Arab unity and liberation. But with each foreign misadventure, these dreams have faded.

By the time the United States suspended diplomatic ties with Libya in 1981, Qaddafi had begun to lash out at neighbors and had alienated friends, including US and other Western intelligence agencies, which at first felt his anticommunist, Muslim zeal deserved protection.

Qaddafi's targets had included Egypt, Sudan, Tunisia, and Morocco. Then his tactics began to change. He indulged in a series of on-again, off-again flirtations with "reactionary" regimes, as he had called them, like those of the Moroccan and Saudi Arabian kingdoms.

Qaddafi first offered, then withdrew, help for Moroccan King Hassan's adversaries, the Polisario guerrillas fighting Morocco for control of the former Western Sahara. Qaddafi kept up sporadic pressure on Tunisia. He has even turned against Algeria, which he once termed a "revolutionary sister state."

Recently he has financially supported an Islamic fundamentalist group headed by Ahmed Ben Bella, Algeria's first president after independence, now considered in Algeria a subversive nuisance to President Chadli Benjedid's government.

In the Mideast, Qaddafi helps various radical Palestinian guerrilla groups, but spurns as an enemy the mainstream Palestine Liberation Organization chairman, Yasser Arafat. In Lebanon, he finances groups like the Sunni Muslim Murabitoun militia in west Beirut. This has proved an embarrassment to Qaddafi's ally, Syria, in its recent efforts to pacify Lebanon.

Recently, Qaddafi's chief aide, Maj. Abdul Salam Jalloud, has been seeking better understanding with another ally of circumstance, Iran's leader, Ayatollah Khomeini. Despite Qaddafi's paradoxical support for non-Arab Iran against Arab Iraq, Khomeini has so far not forgiven Qaddafi for the still unexplained disappearance in Libya in 1978 of the charismatic Iranian-born leader of Lebanon's Shiite Muslims, Imam Musa Sadr.

At home, even Qaddafi's "parallel government" by people's committee has turned against him, as oil income declines and ill-starred economic experiments weaken Libya's once-opulent welfare state system.

Early this year, some people's committees - local groups of Libyans at their places of work - opposed Qaddafi's proposals for compulsory military training of women and for changes in family and educational law.

An angry Qaddafi sacked the leadership of the General People's Congress, his real cabinet. More radicals were brought in. He was shrewd enough to appoint as new foreign minister Ali Treiki, a capable career diplomat recalled from his post as Libyan permanent representative to the United Nations.

Libya 's Qaddafi: shattered dreams, fear of coup plots

Qaddafi's Libyan opponents abroad anticipated new terror against them comparable to or worse than that in 1980 when he created an ominous new "ministry for external security" last winter.

In February, four key young pro-Qaddafi zealots took over the London "people's bureau," or embassy. Police here say it was these zealots who committed bombings and made threats against anti-Qaddafi Libyans in London and Manchester in March.

Then, on April 16, student revolutionary committees in the Libyan capital hanged two fellow students in public. This did much to trigger the anti-Qaddafi demonstration in London, which led to the murder of a London policewoman by shots from the embassy the next day.

Seasoned European and Arab analysts here believe the Reagan administration's desired campaign of Western pressure against Qaddafi would be counterproductive. They doubt that European trade sanctions will be enacted against Libya or that, if enacted, they would change Qaddafi's policies. Europeans might tacitly approve covert CIA operations against Qaddafi, but they are unlikely to join them.

What may someday be tested is how far the East German security men and the 2,700 or so Soviet military advisers in Libya would go to defend Qaddafi. He has never been willing to sign a friendship or alliance treaty with Moscow. Whether he will make good on recent threats to grant the Soviets air or naval base facilities against the West in the eastern Mediterranean also has yet to be proved.

Here, too, incoherence may prove the future theme of Qaddafi's thoughts, words, and deeds.

Graphic

Picture, Losing his hold on Libya? SIMON/GAMMA LIAISON

POLITICS AND TRADITION MIX AS IRISH MARCH

The New York Times

March 18, 1983, Friday, Late City Final Edition

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Section: Section A; Page 1, Column 2; Metropolitan Desk

Length: 1198 words

Byline: By MARTIN GOTTLIEB

Body

On a raw day and amid unaccustomed controversy, New York's 221st St. Patrick's Day Parade made its way up Fifth Avenue yesterday to the sound of pipes and drums and the cheers of onlookers standing 10 deep in places.

The controversy, which centered on the election of an **Irish Republican Army** supporter, Michael Flannery, as grand marshal, reached a dramatic point shortly after noon when Terence Cardinal Cooke broke with tradition and declined to receive the 81-year-old Mr. Flannery on the steps of St. Patrick's Cathedral.

The Cardinal, who met with Mr. Flannery before a 10 A.M. mass, has criticized all violence in Northern Ireland and a characterization of the event as "a pro-I.R.A. parade."

At 12:22 P.M., Mr. Flannery halted in the line of march in front of the cathedral's empty steps, took off his hat and waved to cheering onlookers.

On a raw day and amid unaccustomed controversy, New York's 221st St. Patrick's Day Parade made its way up Fifth Avenue yesterday to the sound of pipes and drums and the cheers of onlookers standing 10 deep in places.

About 20 minutes after Mr. Flannery walked by, the Cardinal emerged with a dozen bishops and bishop's aides and greeted tens of thousands of other marchers who continued to pass by until the last unit - the United States Customs Service's Emerald Society - walked past at 4:50 P.M.

When the Cardinal appeared, a number of people in the crowd booed and jeered while others tried to shush them. Later, when the Cardinal spoke with reporters, he said he had expected even more jeering. Political banners and cheering were evident along the line of march, but the parade retained much of its traditional good cheer. On a windy day when temperatures barely rose above 40 degrees, families came from all over the metropolitan area. Young children sat at curbside, watching high school majorettes shiver along the two-mile route. While the police reported little violence or rowdiness, there was one serious incident.

Seven people were reported hurt by a truck that turned onto the parade route at West 54th Street. The driver was charged with drunken driving and attempted murder.

In a parade boycotted by Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, former Gov. Hugh L. Carey and a score of high school bands, Mr. Flannery became the centerpiece, receiving waves of cheers from the sidewalks.

Governor Cuomo, Mayor Koch, Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato, Representative Mario Biaggi and a number of other elected officials marched in or reviewed the parade and received applause and cheers.

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"Usually nobody notices the grand marshals," said Jack Thornton, editor of The Irish Echo. "Usually their uncles give them a clap." Yesterday it was different - and cheers for Mr. Flannery were accompanied by a number of "England Out of Ireland" signs.

The police said the crowds along the parade route were larger than they were last year and comparable in size to many of the larger parades.

"I think it's larger than last year because last year we had rain," said Assistant Police Chief Milton Schwartz, head of the Manhattan South Borough Command. "The crowd seems to be large and subdued."

Chief Schwartz said incidents of drunkenness and rowdiness had practically disappeared from a parade that had been plagued by such problems until last year.

Continuing last year's policy, most Catholic schools in the metropolitan area kept classes in session. In addition, 3,800 police officers were assigned to the event, and liquor and beer were confiscated from youths.

Bottles Confiscated

By last night, the police said, 1,147 bottles of wine, liquor and beer had been confiscated. Officers had also issued 172 summonses for drinking along the parade route.

At 1:45 P.M., according to the police, a pickup truck driven by a New Jersey man suddenly turned south onto Fifth Avenue from West 54th Street and sped down the west side of the avenue against the line of march.

The truck hit a barrier, struck two women watching the parade between 46th and 47th Streets, mounted the sidewalk and continued south on Fifth Avenue. It came to a stop after colliding with two vehicles crossing the avenue at 42d Street. Three police officers were hurt while chasing the truck on foot, and a fourth officer was struck by the barrier the truck hit. None of the officers was seriously injured.

James Walsh, a spokesman for Bellevue Hospital, said one of the two women, Frances Yoncko, 59, of Albany, had suffered a severe injury to her right ring finger. The other woman, her daughter, Jaclyn Morby, 33, of Ravena, N.Y., was treated at the hospital for "minor trauma."

Reminders of Politics

The truck driver was identified as Eugene Francis Brady, 36, of Livingston. The police said he had been charged with attempted murder, reckless endangerment and driving while intoxicated.

Flecking the parade route were banners with such slogans as "Ireland: England's Vietnam," "We Love You, Michael Flannery," and "New Jersey Loves Mike Flannery." Leaders of the Fire Department Emerald Society carried signs, as they have in the past, reading, "England, Get Out of Ireland" and "Bobby Sands and Comrades Live On." Mr. Sands was one of 10 I.R.A. prisoners who died during hunger strikes in Northern Ireland in 1981.

But many of the viewers came with children to enjoy a family tradition that went back generations. Others said that while they deplored violence, they were strongly critical of the British role in Northern Ireland.

At 59th Street, John Killoran, 47, an executive with Avon Products, spent his lunch hour watching the parade with his 5-year-old son, Sean. "This is his first parade," said Mr. Killoran. "I brought him because my parents took me here when I was his age." Turning to Sean, who was cradled in his arms, he said: "This is the first time he saw Mayor Koch. Isn't that right?"

'The American Mosaic'

POLITICS AND TRADITION MIX AS IRISH MARCH

Sean nodded, but mostly he hunched over to keep warm. "My mother brought me here when I was this high," said Joseph Collins, who retired from the Police Department as a sergeant last Thursday. Mr. Collins still plays a bagpipe in the department's Emerald Society Band. "Nothing could stop me from coming here."

Nearby, Governor Cuomo said: "The political statement of this parade is its great to be Irish and that the price of being American does not involve giving up being Irish, Italian, Jewish, black, Greek or whatever. This is a celebration of the American mosaic."

Mr. Flannery became the center of attention at 9:40 A.M., when his limousine pulled in front of St. Patrick's Cathedral. He and his wife, Margaret, were escorted inside for a meeting with Cardinal Cooke.

Describing the meeting later, the Cardinal said: "It was a very cordial meeting. I explained to him that the way of violence was futile, immoral and interfering with the peace process. I also told him, however, that I was well aware of denial of human rights and injustice in the North of Ireland and that by the political process something had to be done about it, not only by the people in the North of Ireland, but by the Irish Government, the British Government - our own United States has to be more interested and supportive - and by the European community too."

Graphic

Illustrations: photos of St. Patrick's Day parade (Page B2) photos of St. Patrick's Day Parade

Belfast: not a nice place to visit, even worse to live in

Christian Science Monitor (Boston, MA)

May 1, 1981, Friday, Midwestern Edition

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Section: Pg. 4

Length: 1084 words

Byline: By David K. Willis, Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Dateline: Belfast

Highlight: Years of Violence in N. Ireland take their toll on this scarred city and its weary residents

Body

Weary of 12 years of violence, Gerry McLarnon stood with his wife, Rosalie, looking out over one of the worst urban ghettos in Europe, an area scarred by corrugated iron fencing, defaced by graffiti, and littered by burned-out and bricked-up tenements.

One of the minority half-million Roman Catholics in Ulster, he sighed and said, "Sure it's a terrible sight. Protestants live in fear, too, I know.

"But what have the British ever done for us? We get the worst houses, the worst of everything. If it wasn't for the Provisionals [the Provisional wing of the illegal ***Irish Republican Army***], I don't know where we'd be, even though I don't like all the killing, no, not at all. . . ."

Across the other side of the notorious "peace line" of iron, concrete blocks, barbed wire, and metal pipes that separates the warring areas, Mary G. (not her real name), one of Ulster's majority of 1 million Protestants, raised her voice in her front room.

She was angry at the IRA, at the British Army, at the police, and what she saw as the world's misperception of her plight.

"A Canadian friend who came here thought all the Catholics lived in tin huts," she said, as several Protestant friends hooted with laughter.

"I showed her the hut I live in, bannisters falling down, back wall damp. The Catholics get the best treatment now. We are the second-class citizens.

"The Army and police are scared to go into Catholic areas anymore. Our children are questioned and our houses searched when it's them who are causing the trouble.

"I ask you: When has [the Rev. Ian] Paisley ever been wrong?"

These are but two of many conflicting views expressed to this correspondent in two days of interviewing up and down Catholic and Protestant areas in West Belfast, as hunger-striking IRA prisoner Bobby Sands came close to

Belfast: not a nice place to visit, even worse to live in

death April 30. Both communities were braced for an expected upsurge in rioting in what must be one of the bleakest urban battlegrounds in the world.

Their words reflect mutual anger, bitterness, and hatred. But they also yield courage, compassion, decency -- and a deep-seated desire to live in peace. Catholics say they like individual Protestants. Protestants say they like individual Catholics.

Both sides detest terrorism and violence; the tragedy is that so far, neither side seems able to forgive or trust the other.

Gerry McLarnon drove me through the Catholic Falls district, through Springmartin, Ballymurphy, Andersontown, on the western edge of the city in the foothills of the low, green Divis Mountain.

"See those homes all bricked up, no windows, no doors, filthy?" he pointed. "No one will live there, they're on the 'peace line.' It's a shame. The Protestants have burned them out. Three or four years ago, they tortured some of the Catholics they caught before killing them. Can you imagine that?"

Recession has also hit hard: Joblessness is the worst in Britain. Catholics suffer most.

We cruised slowly past deserted shopping areas covered by hunger-strike graffiti: "Don't Let Them Die," "H-Block Hell Block," "Blessed Are Those Who Hunger For Justice," "You Are Now Entering Provo Land," "Provos Rule The Falls."

A gas station was burned out, concrete building and metal pumps blackened and empty.

Rosalie didn't like violence: "But the Provos attack uniforms, not innocent civilians," she insisted.

A Catholic businessman, asking that his name not be used, said shrewdness and care were needed to live in the Falls area. "I don't like the IRA," he said, "but when they come around giving out posters about the prisoners, I smile and take them. What else can I do? If you're not seen to be a nationalist around here, you're a candidate for a bomb or a bullet."

IRA Provisionals were setting up new area defense committees. "Drifters, no-goods, they're being appointed area leaders, imagine. . . ."

He saw the conflict as nationalists vs. loyalists. It was secondary to him that most nationalists were Catholic and most loyalists Protestant.

"I want to see Ireland united mainly for business reasons," he said. "It would be a going concern."

Today he wanted to expand his business to Protestant areas nearby, but shrugged and said it was impossible.

Rent in the Catholic area was three times higher for the same storefront space available on the (Protestant) Shankill Road: "But if I go to the Shankill, I'll be shot," he said with conviction.

(Later, even moderate Protestant friends nodded grimly at this. "I'm afraid he's right," one woman said. "Either shot or a petrol bomb.")

Over in Protestant territory, on a tenement road called Duncairn Gardens, Jean B. (not her real name), complained the British government was "bending over backwards" to help Catholics at the expense of Protestants.

In fact, Protestant housing is also being replaced and renewed. But Jean and her friends are convinced that clever IRA propaganda is working against them, even though they are in the majority.

"You Americans just don't understand," Jean said. "They build new houses all the time for Catholics but not for us."

Belfast: not a nice place to visit, even worse to live in

"Catholics know how to get benefits from the government. They know all the tricks. Americans send them money. All the big Catholic charities help them. . . .

"Why don't American Protestants send us money, too?"

She and four friends in the room chorused an emphatic "no" when I asked if they thought the 11,000 British troops and the predominantly Protestant police could contain new violence.

"They are afraid of upsetting the Catholics," said a woman in a red scarf whose son is in the Maze prison. (She swore he was innocent: "Others said he had firearms but he never had them.")

Repeatedly, the women brought out everyday grievances, rumors, and memories of hurts gone by.

"My son was bitten by an Alsatian dog turned on him by four young Catholic boys," said another mother indignantly. "The police told me to get him to a hospital. I pointed out the boys and the dog and asked, 'Aren't you going to get them?' The police just shook their heads."

"I like devout Catholics," said Mary G. "They are fine, but the IRA are thugs. They are not religious. They want us out. If they rule Ireland, we're done for."

Most young men have moved out of Duncairn Gardens to find housing and jobs. The women left behind feel vulnerable -- they are reticent about Protestant paramilitary forces but clearly look to them for protection.

"We want the Army and the police to seize the IRA and shoot them if necessary," said Mary G. "They know who they are. Let's end this terror once and for all."

Graphic

Picture, Young boys walk in light drizzle along Belfast lower Falls Rd., Bombed-out and graffiti covered building in Belfast bear the scars of 12 years of political violence in Northern Ireland, By R. Norman Matheny, staff photographer

GENERATIONS OF TORMENT

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Byline: By Peter Maas; Peter Maas's next book, a novel involving Northern Ireland, will be published next year by Simon & Schuster.

Body

"In no way, can or will the Provisional ***Irish Republican Army*** ever be defeated militarily." - Sir James M. Glover, former general officer commanding, British Army, Northern Ireland, Feb. 21, 1988.

FROM THE HEIGHTS outside Belfast, the purplish smudge on the horizon across the water is the British mainland, and you can't help thinking, My God, how could it be? How is it that a fabled empire upon which the sun once never set couldn't vanquish this small island, or even today, the yet smaller chunk of it where the Union Jack still flies?

Lamentably, Northern Ireland is back in world consciousness, beginning last November when an ***Irish Republican Army*** bomb attack in the town of Enniskillen, aimed at soldiers of the Ulster Defense Regiment, a home-grown adjunct of the British Army, wound up killing 11 civilians, including several who were elderly and a young ***female*** nurse. The tragedy gave the British Government plenty of ammunition to denounce what it called the I.R.A.'s mindless barbarism. Nothing, said London's man on the spot, Secretary of State for Northern Ireland Tom King, "can expunge the awful horror of Enniskillen."

But then suddenly, as a British television documentary put it, "The Stalker affair reversed everything." John Stalker, an appropriately named ace English detective, was appointed to investigate allegations that the Royal Ulster Constabulary - the Northern Irish police - had engaged in its own terrorist operations, specifically that it used a "shoot-to-kill" policy against unarmed, suspected Irish rebels and also against a teen-ager, who, as Stalker would discover, had no I.R.A. connection until one had been cooked up for him.

Just as Stalker was zeroing in on the teen-ager's death, he was abruptly removed from the assignment. In what was widely described as a whitewash, a colleague of Stalker's took over the investigation. But even his report was suppressed for "national security" reasons. The Attorney General of Britain further declared that there would be no prosecution of the police officers involved.

On the heels of this, three young I.R.A. volunteers, said to be on a bombing mission against the Royal Anglian Regiment stationed in Gibraltar, were shot dead by undercover operatives of the Special Air Services (S.A.S.), the British Army's secret counterinsurgency detail. According to eyewitnesses, two of the volunteers, one a woman, had their hands up when they were riddled with bullets. The third was shot in the back as he tried to flee. None of the three was carrying a weapon.

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While coffins containing their corpses were being lowered into graves in a Roman Catholic cemetery in Belfast with thousands of mourners in attendance, a man began hurling grenades into the crowd, killing three and wounding dozens more. Michael Stone, a Protestant, was later charged with murder and is awaiting trial. Informed sources claimed that Stone was tied to the Ulster Freedom Fighters, or one of its violent front gangs, the Ulster Volunteer Force, a charge that both groups denied.

Three days later, while one of the dead mourners was about to be buried in the same cemetery, two British soldiers in civilian dress were spotted. An enraged mob, believing them to be S.A.S. agents, gruesomely beat them before they were taken away and summarily executed by the I.R.A. More recently, in an I.R.A. reprisal for Gibraltar, three off-duty British airmen were killed in the Netherlands.

Lost in the media coverage of these and other events was the news that the first British soldier in the last 20 years to be convicted and sentenced to life for murder in Northern Ireland had been secretly released from prison and returned to active duty.

In West Belfast, I spoke to Shane Walsh, at 31 about Michael Stone's age, although his choirboy looks made him appear a good deal younger. A decade ago, Walsh was arrested for delivering a gun to the I.R.A. and locked up in the Maze, the prison the British had built. In the Maze, I.R.A. inmates were not, as formerly, granted prisoner-of-war status; they were required to wear prison uniforms instead of their own clothes. The symbolism of the rule was enormous: Cell blocks rang with songs against Britain's attempt to "brand Ireland's fight 800 years of crime."

The prisoners, Walsh among them, responded with the "blanket protest." For three years, they remained in their cells 24 hours a day, winter and summer, huddled unbathed on bare mattresses with only a blanket to cover their nakedness, their excrement smeared on the cell walls.

The stench was horrendous. Several prisoners went insane. One day, Walsh told me, a guard looked at him and said, "You couldn't get me to do this for two million pounds." "What did you say?" I asked. "Oh, I said, well, you couldn't get me to do it for that either."

Then Walsh said, in a voice marked not so much by anger as resignation, "That wasn't so much, what I did. Men died in the hunger strike that came afterward. I'm only a tiny part of a long struggle."

Indeed, modern-day Britons commonly call it the "Long War." But what they are talking about is only the last two decades, since 1968, when the latest round of the Irish "troubles" started. For the Irish generally, a better date is 1171, when the forces of King Henry II invaded and appeared to conquer the island. For self-proclaimed Ulstermen, the largely Scots-Irish loyalist majority in Northern Ireland that swears allegiance to the crown, the matter was settled once and for all in 1690 when the army of William of Orange defeated the deposed Catholic King James II and his Irish allies at the Battle of the Boyne. It is why every July 12, black-suited men of the Orange Order, in bowlers, with colorful sashes across their chests, sally forth to the beat of tribal drums, commemorating the victory of "King Billy."

But for the I.R.A., which traces its ancestry directly to the United Irishmen and its founder, Theobald Wolfe Tone, the war properly began in 1798. Tone, not only a friend and admirer of America's own revolutionist, Tom Paine, but also a Protestant, triggered a war for Irish independence that failed. He was subsequently captured, tried and sentenced to death. After that, you can take your pick. Uprisings were smashed in 1803, 1823, 1848, 1867. This may sound like ancient stuff, ghosts best laid to rest, but it gives ardent Catholic republicans their historical imperative, sustaining them in their darkest hours.

By the last third of the 19th century, a nightmarish series of bombings and assassinations in both Ireland and England by what was now called the Irish Republican Brotherhood led to the formation of Scotland Yard's famous Special Branch. Sir William Harcourt, the British Home Secretary at the time, declared: "This is not a temporary emergency . . . Fenianism is a permanent conspiracy against English rule which will last far beyond the term of my life and must be met by a permanent organization to detect and to control it."

Sir William was prescient. He wrote those words more than 100 years ago, in 1883.

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Then, of course, came the watershed 1916 Easter rebellion in Dublin and, in 1922, the partition of Ireland. But I.R.A. volunteers, on the cutting edge of the war against the British Army, refused to accept partition, and savage civil strife ensued before the I.R.A. was compelled to go underground.

The original partition plan was to fold all of the ancient province of Ulster into Northern Ireland. Then London realized that under that scheme, the ratio of Catholics to Protestants would be too close for comfort. Instead, six of the nine Ulster counties were included, thus assuring a solid 60-40 Protestant majority in any democratically held elections concerning Northern Ireland's future. As one cynic observed, "It was like a miracle. In an instant, the minority became a majority."

THE BASIC, INESCAPABLE fact, however unpleasant, is that Northern Ireland is a conquered land that truly remains unconquered.

The flying time from London's Heathrow Airport to Belfast is roughly the same as, say, a New York-Washington shuttle flight. In real time, it might as well be a transcontinental trip. You are advised to arrive two hours before departure. Not only is there the normal security gate, but each passenger is thoroughly hand-searched, each piece of baggage, whether carried on board or checked, is opened and ransacked. Questions are asked, proof of identity demanded.

On a recent visit, the passenger next to me was a space salesman for a Belfast newspaper returning from a vacation in France. "How are things in the province?" I asked. He frowned. "Not good, not at all." After a moment, he said, "You're American, are you?" I said I was, and after a moment, he said, "Ah, you know, some of my best friends are Catholic." Perhaps it was a heartfelt remark, I thought, and I refrained from saying how many times I had heard that about blacks and Jews.

Northern Ireland is roughly the size of Connecticut, with a population of 1.5 million. In the last two decades, more than 2,600 people have died because of the conflict. One out of every 20 households has suffered a death or injury. As Padraig O'Malley, a senior public policy associate at the University of Massachusetts, has pointed out, the number of dead, relative to the population, approximates that of our Civil War.

The conflict rages throughout Northern Ireland, but there's universal agreement that the key battleground is Belfast. On the maps of the Royal Ulster Constabulary; the Special Branch; M.I.5, the domestic secret service, and British Army Intelligence, it is a city marked in blocks of orange and green. Green is for the Catholic nationalist enclaves, concentrated in West Belfast. Sometimes there are isolated bits of green within the big blocks of orange.

The orange blocks are populated by English and Scottish descendants of colonizers sent in the 1600's by the great London mercantile and trading companies. The Scots, particularly, congregated in the northeast, less than 30 miles across the water, as the crow flies, from their native heath.

In East Belfast, there are sprawling working-class neighborhoods whose curbs are painted red, white and blue. The walls of buildings read "God Save Our Queen." There are also quiet, tree-lined streets with large private residences, neatly clipped lawns and elaborate flower gardens reminiscent of wealthy suburbs across the United States. In one of them, called Malone, there are discreet stone pillboxes at the intersections, with almost invisible gun slits, designed to blend into the surroundings so as not to offend one's sensibilities.

But in West Belfast the story is different. Armored Saracen personnel carriers manned by machine gunners continually patrol the streets. Helicopters hover overhead. Columns of troops in full battle dress, automatic rifles at the ready, crouch and whirl along sidewalks as if moving through some enemy-infested jungle. Passers-by, meanwhile, try to go about their daily business. It's like watching two different movies being filmed on the same set. A metal and brick wall cuts across thoroughfares, separating the Catholic Falls district from the Protestant Shankill.

The wall is the ultimate irony. In a land where there is no peace, it's called the "peace line." It has been there since 1969, just after the present "troubles" began. There were two ostensible sparks - the placement of a new university in loyalist rather than nationalist territory, where it was desperately needed, and the jumping of a young, single loyalist woman over 10 nationalist families in line for public housing. But the real catalyst was television, and the

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civil rights marches in the Southern United States led by the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. that were shown night after night. "I'll never forget it," one of the participants told me. "We all thought if black people in America could do it, why can't we?"

A march from Belfast to Northern Ireland's second city, Londonderry (or Derry, as Republicans call it) was organized. At the time, the right to vote was based on property ownership, so that in overwhelmingly Catholic Londonderry, the local government was overwhelmingly Protestant. Just as in the Selma, Ala., march, the protesters were brutally beaten and clubbed along the way while the police looked on. The song that the marchers sang was not some defiant, hallowed Fenian air. It was, "We Shall Overcome."

Fueled by the rhetoric of the fundamentalist minister Ian Paisley - the Pope is the "anti-Christ," he has cried from the pulpit . . . - mobs from the Shankill poured into the Catholic Falls, pillaging and burning. The British Army was sent in to restore order, and the "peace line" came into being. At first, the troops were greeted warmly. Children in the besieged enclaves brought them tea and sweets. Gradually, though, a sense developed that nothing had actually changed. The deteriorating situation climaxed on Jan. 30, 1972 - "Bloody Sunday" -when British paratroopers opened fire on a civil rights rally in Londonderry and killed 13 marchers, seven of them teen-agers.

The sudden emergence of the civil rights demonstrations and the savage retaliation of loyalists caught the old I.R.A., directed from Dublin and supposedly the armed guardian of republican aspirations, unprepared. The initials were jeered at as standing for "I Ran Away." A new "Provisional" I.R.A. rose up, its command primarily in the North. While the "Provo" sobriquet has stuck, it is for all practical purposes the present-day I.R.A.

By 1976, a pattern of indiscriminate bombings had alienated much of the I.R.A.'s popular following. But then the British ordered I.R.A. inmates to wear prison uniforms. In 1981, after the "blanket protest" had failed, Bobby Sands, the poet and I.R.A. member, began his hunger strike. Nationalist communities throughout Northern Ireland were galvanized. As he lay near death, Sands was elected to the British Parliament.

Before it was over, nine more striking prisoners died. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher was quoted as inquiring if they were trying "to prove their virility." In the end, while British authorities still officially refused to recognize the "political status" of I.R.A. prisoners, the prisoners won the battle over uniforms. "Bobby's election was all the recognition we needed," said an official of Sinn Fein ("Ourselves Alone"), the political wing of the I.R.A. And the **Irish Republican Army** was back in business.

IN A WORKINGMAN'S CLUB near the Belfast shipyards - the Titanic was built here - an Ulster militant said to me, "They breed like rabbits. They don't know the meaning of cleanliness. Many of them can hardly read or write. We'll not be dragged down to their level."

That view was echoed by Peter Robinson, deputy chairman of the Democratic Unionist Party, founded by Paisley. Robinson declared that the civil rights movement was "an I.R.A. front." "There are some things worth fighting for," he added. "I will not have an Irish tricolor waving over my children's heads."

Paradoxically, though, Robinson's most venomous remarks were aimed at the British Government. An elected member of Parliament at Westminster, he recounted endless slights. Just two hours a month are allotted to legislative matters involving Northern Ireland, he said, "usually at around 2 in the morning."

To what, then, was he loyal? I asked.

"To the crown," he answered. (Although he is often characterized as a "flinty-eyed" zealot, I saw a lot of the politician in Robinson. When I first met him, there had been a note in the press about members of Paisley's church picketing a public skating rink in Robinson's home district because it was open on Sunday. Was there a problem between him and the fiery minister? Not at all, said Robinson, a one-time real-estate agent. "Personally, I'm against skating on Sunday, but my constituents seem to desire it.") The real seat of power in Northern Ireland today is at Stormont Castle, high on an East Belfast hillside and surrounded by coils of razor wire. London has dissolved the province's legislative assembly, and the Secretary of State - currently Tom King, a Tory member of the House of

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Commons from Bridgwater, England - rules instead. Over a gin and tonic, King explained that the problem he faces has a simple root cause: "The I.R.A. are Marxists."

Unfortunately, this doesn't quite square with a secret British Army intelligence report, whose leakage in 1979 was perhaps the most embarrassing security breach London has suffered in the last decade. The report, signed by the then-commanding general of British troops in Northern Ireland, James M. Glover, said there were "no indications of any substantial link between the Soviet Union and the I.R.A." The enemy, it said, was propelled by the "traditional aim of Irish nationalism, that is the removal of the British presence from Ireland."

The report stated that while the I.R.A. maintained "some links with overseas terrorist movements," this was for the access it might gain to weaponry; there were no signs that the I.R.A. has "either the intention or the ability to foster" such contacts. The report further emphasized that it would be a grave mistake to think that the I.R.A. rank and file "were merely mindless hooligans drawn from the unemployed and unemployable."

TOM KING'S - AND LONDON's - big bet these days is the English-Irish Agreement, commonly called "the accord." Signed in November 1985 by Britain and the Irish Republic, it officially gave Dublin a consultative role in affairs affecting the Catholic community in the North while Britain was recognized as an honest broker between warring factions. For the first time, London also formally committed to bowing out if a majority in the province ever voted for unification with the rest of Ireland, an unlikely event in the foreseeable future, given the way Ulster was reconstituted at the time of partition.

To date, the accord has produced little that's substantial, except for allowing the Irish tricolor to be flown in nationalist neighborhoods and for streets in those neighborhoods to bear Gaelic as well as English signs. But if nothing else, it has for once united Sinn Fein and the unionists. Sinn Fein sees the accord as a slick British maneuver to maintain control and power. The unionists see it as a sellout.

The chief architect of the accord is John Hume, head of the Social Democratic and Labor Party, which under his lead enjoys a majority of Catholic support in Northern Ireland. He preaches a nonviolent solution to unification. A man of impeccable credentials among nationalists - he was in the first civil rights marches - and a member of the House of Commons, he is engaging, articulate and arguably the shrewdest politician on the scene, although a previous Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, Jim Prior, complained that dealing with him was "rather like punching cotton wool, you could never actually find a hard core to his demands."

At his home in Londonderry, overlooking the Bogside flats where Bloody Sunday occurred, Hume said, "The accord is not the end. It's an ongoing process, a healing. It's the means . . . When they [the unionists] realize we're not interested in revenge, then the real dialogue will begin."

The head of Sinn Fein, Gerry Adams, is a man of Hume's generation and, like him, highly intelligent and a gripping speaker. Adams was the contact man outside the Maze during the hunger strike. The target of an assassination attempt by a loyalist gunman, he, too, is an elected member of the House of Commons, although he has never taken his seat. Unlike Hume, who travels frequently to the United States, Adams is not allowed a visa.

For Adams, any concessions Hume has wrung out of London have been because of I.R.A. pressure. "The Brits," he told me, have seized on Hume as a way to divide the opposition and neutralize Sinn Fein. Adams does not promote violence as a solution, but, he said, "the truth is that the Brits don't depart willingly," adding sardonically, "you might start with America." Asked if the war against Britain wasn't unwinnable, he said, "Well, that's what they said about Palestine and India and Zimbabwe, didn't they?"

A KEY OFFICIAL AT STORMONT Castle, requesting anonymity as civil servants there routinely do, earnestly told me not long ago, "I admit, many mistakes have been made. But over all, the situation is improving. Each year progress is being made. As long as that continues, I'll be satisfied, even if it takes 50 or 60 years to accomplish."

Even to grant this, the question, of course, is whether anyone is going to wait that long. Events have drastically speeded up. While the struggle is centuries old, the last 20 years have been unique. Warfare has been nonstop, leaping from one generation to the next. The kids of 1968 are the commanders of today.

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In a situation that cries for dramatic moves, London has yet to take decisive action. The Royal Ulster Constabulary, for example, is widely perceived not as a traditional police force but as a paramilitary arm of suppression. The constabulary is 90 percent Protestant. A spokesman said that whenever it tries to sign up a Catholic, his family is immediately threatened by the I.R.A. When it was suggested that a massive Catholic recruitment campaign in a time of staggering unemployment might foil the I.R.A., the spokesman threw up his hands. "That," he said, "would be reverse discrimination."

Like a persistent beggar, the idea of a united, federated Ireland composed of the historic provinces of Ulster, Munster, Leinster and Connaught keeps popping up. Significantly, the present Prime Minister of the Irish Republic, Charles J. Haughey, does not dismiss the thought. But, he says, many other issues must first be resolved at the negotiating table, a table so far with a lot of empty chairs.

On the surface, attitudes in the Irish Republic appear ambivalent. A few years ago, during the dedication of a statue honoring Sir Roger Casement - executed by the British for trying to bring in rebel arms aboard a German ship during World War I - a prominent politician named Dick Spring lavished praise on Casement. The very next day, Spring was hailing the interception of an I.R.A. arms shipment not far from the beach where Casement had been caught.

Still, according to Haughey, emotions run deep in the Republic of Ireland regarding the North. Although relations between Dublin and London have been strained since the Stalker scandal, Haughey promises to do his best to implement the agreement, which comes up for re-examination this fall.

During a previous turn as Prime Minister, Haughey boasted that he could "talk to" Mrs. Thatcher. He's not so sure anymore. He has privately told friends of a meeting with her following the recent eruption of violence in which he suggested that new initiatives were absolutely necessary. According to his account, she replied that all that was needed was patience and time to let things cool off.

Time? "But its been going on for more than 800 years," Haughey said.

Oh, said Mrs. Thatcher, turning to an aide for confirmation, "I thought it was 300," and quickly changed the subject.

There have been some moves to ease the tension, all of them contingent on highly unlikely "ifs." Loyalist leaders have indicated that they would sit down with Prime Minister Haughey if the accord were abandoned. John Hume has been meeting with Gerry Adams to explore the idea of forming a united front if Sinn Fein surrenders in advance the principle of armed rebellion.

Only one option has not been tried: a phased end to Britain's presence in Northern Ireland, perhaps over a period of years, during which time reforms would be launched, including the establishment of a police force that truly reflects the population. The I.R.A. is on record as saying it will willingly go out of business should the two Irelands be reunited. Yet London insists it will never leave. The result would be a bloodbath, it is said, although the wonder is how things can get any worse.

The theory behind withdrawal is that, at long last, the bitterly divided loyalists and nationalists will face a new reality and have to learn to live together. I asked a number of nationalist leaders if this wouldn't trigger a replay of 20 years ago, when loyalist mobs ravaged Catholic communities and brought in the British Army in the first place. They said that it was different now. Those communities were essentially defenseless then; they aren't anymore.

In his homily on St. Patrick's Day, the day after Michael Stone hurled his grenades in a Belfast cemetery, John Cardinal O'Connor of New York, not especially known as a radical thinker, said, "Where are the American Irish, those 40 million in this land? Where are the social activists, especially the priests and nuns, who condemn oppression in the third world, but are silent about the suffering in Ireland? . . . Have we forgotten the very existence of Ireland and the horrors perpetrated there for so many years?"

Cardinal O'Connor announced that he was going to lead a pilgrimage to Ireland this summer to pray for peace. The idea, he told me, came to him as he was speaking from the altar. He is aware of the pitfalls. He has been attacked

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many times, but "never hit harder," he said, than by parts of the British press for once "daring to imply," as it was put, that British Government forces could be as guilty of wrongdoing as the other side.

I asked the Cardinal, who plans to depart July 21, if he believed the solution lay in the withdrawal of the British. He said he thought of it more negatively - unless the British leave Northern Ireland, the problem will never be solved.

As things stand now, more atrocities are guaranteed. If not sooner, later. When Michael Stone's grenades started exploding, the Republican leadership in the Catholic cemetery understandably dove for cover. It was the teen-agers and young men in their early 20's who chased after Stone as he fired at them with a revolver.

"There's the future," a bystander was heard to say.

Graphic

Photos of mourners at I.R.A. funeral ducking fire from (Andrew Moore/Reflex) (pg. 28); British soldiers at demonstration in Catholic Lower Falls district, Belfast (Laurie Sparham/Network/Contact) (pg. 30); Londonderry children walking past I.R.A. graffiti (Laurie Sparham/Network/Contact) (pg. 31)

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ROURKE'S TRIPLE PLAY; STAR PROFILE

The Sun Herald (Sydney, Australia)

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Body

AFTER the most explosive and hard-working year of his career, that bad boy of movies, Mickey Rourke, is firmly back in business. Rourke, the charismatic and controversial star of Rumblefish and Angel Heart, has three new movies scheduled for release in the coming year, as well as plans for a sequel to his steamy 9 1/2 Weeks and another project with his Year Of The Dragon director, Michael Cimino.

At 34, and with just 10 years in showbusiness, the intense Rourke has earned comparisons with Brando, Dean and De Niro, both for his talent and his ability to throw himself totally into a role.

The outspoken actor has always collected as much press for the roles he turned down (Top Gun, Beverly Hills Cop) as for his heated comments on Hollywood, actresses and projects - such as 9 1/2 Weeks and A Prayer For The Dying - which he disliked.

In the past year, his off-screen bad-boy reputation has threatened to eclipse his on-screen triumphs.

The British press and public were outraged by Rourke's "homework" for his role as an ***Irish Republican Army*** gunman in A Prayer For The Dying. During filming in 1987, Rourke had disappeared from the London set and was missing for two days, rumoured to be in Ireland. In May this year, he admitted to giving money to the IRA, notably to Joe Doherty, who had been convicted of the murder of a British army captain.

On the other side of the world, the US press was floored by reports of Rourke's involvement with the Hell's Angels bike gang. Everyone else, meanwhile, was digesting Rourke's announcement that not only had he been married for eight years to Debra Feuer, his 28-year-old Homeboyco-star, but also that they have lived apart for the past four years.

Rourke's habit of bad-mouthing many of the projects he works on - and a personal entourage which includes rougher elements of New York's boxing world- hasn't affected his status or his fee, now in the \$1 million a picture bracket.

Over the past year, he has criss-crossed the world, working on a string of films. Australians recently saw him in Homeboy, released here on video last month. The story of a punch-drunk boxer in his comeback fight was a "personal dream project" for the ex-fighter turned actor.

ROURKE'S TRIPLE PLAY STAR PROFILE

Two weeks after completing Homeboy, Rourke went to Northern Italy to make Francesco. The \$16 million biography of St Francis of Assisi was directed by Liliana Cavani, of Charlotte Rampling's The Night Porter fame, and co stars Helena Bonham Carter, of A Room With A View.

Rourke calls the movie humanistic, a story about an ordinary man who made extraordinary sacrifices.

He then completed Johnny Handsome, due to be released here next year. Playing opposite Ellen Barkin, Rourke is a hideously scarred man in this modern Beauty And The Beast thriller.

With barely a breather, Rourke was in Brazil shooting Wild Orchid, the already controversial sex thriller from the makers of 9 1/2 Weeks. At the last minute Brooke Shields and Anne Archer quit the film, both claiming it was too steamy, to be replaced by Jacqueline Bisset and super model Carrie Otis.

Also scheduled for Rourke is the much-anticipated sequel to 9 1/2 Weeks. His co-star, Kim Basinger, has agreed to a return appearance. Rourke promises that "this will be closer to the original premise", after slamming 9 1/2 Weeks as "a safe Hollywood project that lost its integrity and passion".

Another project attracting as much attention is The Desperate Hours, a remake of the 1955 Bogart crim-on-the-run thriller. Rourke is not the centre of attention this time. Instead, the spotlight is on Michael Cimino, the director whose mega box office flop Heaven's Gate was a major factor in the collapse of United Artists Studios.

However, Rourke has always been loyal to the director ever since a small appearance, later cut, in Heaven's Gate. He supported Cimino over the savage critics' notices of The Year Of The Dragon.

Cimino in return has described Rourke as an actor "who works from the heart".

"He has a great deal of pride in what he does. He's prepared to work with the same dedication as a Brando or De Niro."

Producers may appreciate Rourke's intense approach: for Rumblefish, he dyed his hair and wore contact lenses; for The Pope of Greenwich Village, he added 10 kilos, spent \$14,000 of his own money on a "flashy" wardrobe and encouraged Daryl Hannah to hit him so hard in one scene that she knocked a cap loose from one of his teeth; for A Prayer For The Dying, he acquired an IRA tattoo of "Our Day Will Come" in Gaelic; and for Wild Orchid he is said to be using liposuction to reduce his weight fo

r the nude scenes.

However, Rourke also has an unenviable reputation for being explosive, unpredictable and a star who has no qualms about panning his own films. Even admiring director Adrian Lyne admitted that Rourke would often show up on the 9 1/2 Weeks set much the worse for wear and "hanging in rags". A Prayer For The Dying author Jack Higgins condemned Rourke's "arrogant behaviour on set, as well as those goons he surrounds himself with".

Rourke is openly critical of his chosen career, bagging Hollywood("phoney"), acting ("I consider myself a good garbageman among a lot of garbagemen in the garbage business"), critics ("spineless and the scum of the earth"), actresses ("The most unattractive women on the face of the earth ... neurotic, needy and ... big babies) and other stars ("I don't want to turn into Warren Beatty, you know ... be so pompous that I can't walk down the street").

Yet Rourke can charm as well, especially with his refusal to believe his own publicity and the Brando comparisons. "People throw that stuff around like peanut butter," he said. "You can't imitate anyone else."

He will drop the tough-guy pose to admit that Feuer was his first serious girlfriend "because I could never talk to girls and she was the first person who ever made me feel good about myself".

Now, he says, he loves her but can't live with her. A recent Elle magazine interview noted that "Rourke is touchingly earnest, idealistic even, in his wish to help her out. Feuer, he feels, has not been getting the breaks".

ROURKE'S TRIPLE PLAY STAR PROFILE

Rourke knows about not getting the breaks. After a tough childhood - his father was an alcoholic, his parents divorced when he was seven - and a tougher adolescence, hanging out with boxers and other street kids, Rourke headed for New York when he was 19.

After quitting boxing due to what he calls his "lack of discipline", he took up acting "because it didn't look like working". He did work - as a parking attendant, dishwasher and massage parlour bouncer to pay for acting classes.

After 78 auditions, he was hired to play a psychopath in a TV drama. Then came a larger role in Body Heat, then Diner, Rumblefish, The Pope Of Greenwich Village. Now Rourke can pick and choose and he chooses very carefully.

"I'll take less money to do the movies I want to do and still be able to live with myself. I'm not giving in to please the masses because, in the end, even if I made a million more, I'd just spend that million, too." *

Graphic

Three ILLUS: Right, Mickey Rourke in one of his three new films, Johnny Handsome. Far right, Rourke in The Year Of The Dragon Mickey Rourke with his Angel Heart co-star Charlotte Rampling

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Review/Art:
The Rollicking Red Grooms, Without All the Noise

The New York Times

August 11, 1989, Friday, Late Edition - Final

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Section: Section C; Page 21, Column 1; Weekend Desk; Review

Length: 1353 words

Byline: By ROBERT SMITH

Body

It may be that Red Grooms, past and present master of the rollicking walk-in environmental cartoon, is a better artist in two dimensions than in three. This is one idea to be gleaned from the artist's print retrospective, a traveling exhibition currently at the Bronx Museum of the Arts.

From "Ruckus Manhattan" to "Ruckus Rodeo," Mr. Grooms's environments have never failed to entertain, nor to reflect a large and multi-faceted talent for painting, sculpture and theater rolled into one. But it could also be argued that these works often suffered from a certain high-key monotony. After a while, they came to seem overwhelmingly and uniformly big, colorful and complicated, portraying their creator as a multimedia circus master as much as an artist.

On flat surfaces, things are different. The range of Mr. Grooms's art both expands and quiets down; his satirizing virtuosity gains a compelling emotional undertow that it does not always have in the round. He projects an altogether more complex and subtle artistic intelligence, all of which makes this a revealing, unusually personal show.

Of course, certain things remain the same. Mr. Grooms continues to navigate the boundary between high art and popular culture with nearly infallible finesse, paying particular attention to the conventions of the cartoon - political, animated and comic book. Characteristically, his graphic talents seem to know no limit. He can work large or small, in color or black and white, in lines of exquisite delicacy or broad humor, in styles that can tend toward realism or out-and-out caricature and in any type of print media.

Within the opening section of this exhibition, the viewer encounters both the fine, scratchy lines and shady characters of a small, untitled etching from 1962, the show's earliest work, and the softer contours of "No Gas Cafe," a 1976 color lithograph of a large woozy face lurching toward a morning-after cup of coffee. Also included in this area are a red-yellow-and-blue color aquatint of Coney Island and "The Daily Arf," from 1974, a little domestic comedy between man and man's best friend in silk screen and intaglio.

In addition, Mr. Grooms remains an indelibly urban artist, drawn to busy streets and crowd scenes and generally to any arena teeming with personality and energy. Many of the best images here are set on the sidewalks of his beloved anarchic New York City and bring to life an encyclopedic array of urban types, encounters and catastrophes. The topsy-turvy composition of "Blewy II" of 1971 turns the havoc of a city downpour into a comic ballet complete with airborne taxis, rain-ravaged citizens and an umbrella factory on one corner.

Review/Art; The Rollicking Red Grooms, Without All the Noise

Mr. Grooms may be most at home with these chaotic all-over scenes that fill the image top to bottom and side to side with linear incident. Writing in the exhibition's catalogue, the critic Paul Richard suggests that they add something to the concept of Field painting that originated in the abstract art of Jackson Pollock and Mark Rothko. But the intimacy of the print medium also enables Mr. Grooms to pursue some personalities along more solitary paths, and they are almost always other artists, past and present.

In his 1976 portfolio of small etched portraits, "19th-Century Artists," he portrays the giants of French art as a group of sometimes dirty if endearing old men - Rodin in drag, Courbet kissing a naked foot, Cezanne gnawing on his apples. He seems to identify most with Manet, whom he depicts in a larger single etching, also from 1976, at ease in a crowded cafe that bears his name.

And in a still larger etching, "Manet/Romance," the artist's face is nearly swamped in a sea of smaller images - crowds of well-dressed Parisians, fragments of his masterpieces, a woman's hand. Literally lost in thought and memory, Manet's face is also subtly infested by these images.

Mr. Grooms's graphic work more fully displays the darker, more passionate side of his artistic personality. It reveals him as an erudite consumer of culture, both high and low, with a soft spot and keen eye for the people who produce it. Above all, his work successfully evokes a succession of specialized milieus and subcultures - from Manet's, to D. H. Lawrence's, to his own - that make such production possible.

This retrospective - organized by the Fine Arts Center, Cheekwood, in Nashville, Mr. Groom's hometown, and circulated by the Trust for Museum Exhibitions in Washington - has toured more than 14 states in the last three years. It is accompanied by a modest catalogue *raisonne* that lists all and reproduces nearly all of Mr. Grooms's prints, a total that counting portfolios, posters and catalogue covers numbers about 100. The catalogue makes this viewer wish that the show itself, which consists of about 65 items, could have included everything.

"Red Grooms: The Graphic Work" remains on view at the Bronx Museum of the Arts, 1040 Grand Concourse, at 165th Street, through Sept. 10.

'Hot Spots: Curator's Choice IV'

The Bronx Museum of the Arts

Through Sept. 10 tion of Laura Hoptman, the exhibition's curator at the Bronx Museum of the Arts, that Irit Batsry, Amir Bey, Josely Carvalho, Alexander Drewchin and Paul Graham, the artists showcased here, are worth watching. But more profoundly, the words also allude to a common esthetic thread: the work of all five artists is concerned with specific places - sites charged with personal and political conflict.

Mr. Graham's color photographs of the Northern Ireland countryside present a lush pastoral calm, shattered by small disturbing details - a Union Jack in a tree, an ***Irish Republican Army*** slogan painted on a curb. Mr. Bey's glazed ceramic life masks, notable for their beautiful colors and patterns, conjure up a rich yet uneasy mixture of cultures and rituals - African, American and American Indian. And Miss Batsry's video installation "Leaving the Old Ruin: Contaminated View" imparts images of urban decay that also suggest ancient ruins in a dark, dreamy cavelike environment.

In selecting this exhibition, Ms. Hoptman substitutes "timeliness" for "timeless value" and connoisseurship, asking that the work meet the needs of the Bronx community or, as she puts it, "the challenge of relevance presented by exhibiting in these white rooms, located not in SoHo but in the poorest Congressional district in the country."

This approach creates some problems. It is difficult, for example, to look at Miss Carvalho's layered images of ***female*** torsos and tree foliage silk-screened onto unstretched pieces of thin fabric - their clear feminist viewpoint notwithstanding - without thinking of the work of Robert Rauschenberg. Nor does it seem possible to sympathize with the political and environmental concerns apparent in the landscape paintings of Mr. Drewchin, a native of the Soviet Union who now lives in Manhattan, without wishing he was a more original painter.

Review/Art; The Rollicking Red Grooms, Without All the Noise

Yet Ms. Hoptman's approach is both innovative and courageous in its attempt to be site specific in a museum whose mission has been, in her words, "to dedicate itself with equal energy to the emerging artist and the emerging public." And it works as well as it does, because each artist she has selected strives for and usually achieves some balance between form and content, medium and message.

'Romancing the Stone: A Show of Paintings'

Feature Gallery 484 Broome Street

Through today

This show's title, "Romancing the Stone," a term used first by diamond cutters and then by Hollywood, implies both the attempt to find new facets in painting's priceless stone and the fatuousness of such attempts, enabling its participants to have it both ways.

Some, like Michael Banicki, take a cynical approach to visual decision making. His gridded abstractions are charts on which he rates contemporary artists against one another. Others, like Christopher Sasser, pursue relatively conventional forms of gestural abstraction.

Varying degrees of figuration and abstraction, on and off canvas, operate between these extremes, with some of the more noteworthy efforts made by Richard Morrison, Jim Shaw and B. Wurtz.

Graphic

"No Gas Cafe," a color lithograph by Red Grooms, is part of a print retrospective at the Bronx Museum of the Arts.

Long in Distress, Economy of Ireland Turning for the Better

The Associated Press

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Byline: By COTTEN TIMBERLAKE, Associated Press Writer

Dateline: DUBLIN, Ireland

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But critics complain that the improvements in this small, green island republic of 3.4 million people are not filtering through to the jobless and destitute, some so poor they have no bathrooms and feed their children corn flakes for dinner.

The Irish continue to emigrate at an estimated 32,000 a year, or 1 percent of the population, the highest level since the 1950s. That sometimes is cited as a contributing factor in the declining unemployment rate, although it has not been quantified.

Others say the future is clouded by impatience for bigger and better results and by uncertainty introduced by the prime minister's ill health. Haughey, 62, has been repeatedly hospitalized for kidney stones and a severe respiratory infection this year.

The conflict in Northern Ireland, the British-ruled one-sixth of the island, also casts a shadow over relations between Ireland and Britain, its biggest trading partner, and the vicissitudes of modern life intrude on Ireland's traditional, conservative culture.

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The present minority government owes its survival partly to Haughey's personal charisma, partly to Fine Gael's knowledge that if the government fell now, it would be re-elected with an increased majority.

An opinion poll published in the Irish Times in December gave Haughey's party a 51-percent approval rating, its highest since the last election, against 26 percent for the opposition.

Said economist Jim O'Leary of Davy Stockbrokers, Dublin's largest investment firm: "One of the best things that has happened to this country in the last three or four years is that we have a situation that the major parties have arrived at a consensus about economic policy."

Although specific cutbacks have worsened unemployment, dampened consumer spending and drawn vociferous opposition from affected groups, the Irish generally support the tight grip as a much-needed measure, and confidence has been bolstered, experts said.

The government has also begun to reform Ireland's high taxes by bringing more people into the lowest income tax rate of 35 percent. But annual earnings above 11,500 pounds (\$\$17,700) remain subject to an extraordinary marginal rate of 58 percent.

At the same time, a tax amnesty in the past year has earned the government a 500 million-pound (\$\$770 million) windfall.

The government plans to relax exchange rate controls at the beginning of 1989, signaling confidence that the economy is strong enough for funds not to flee the country.

Private economists expect the economic growth rate to be about 3 percent when all the figures are in for 1988, and the same for 1989, after a 4.8 percent spurt in 1987.

The economy, dominated by chemicals, pharmaceuticals, electronics, light engineering and agriculture, has been boosted by strong exports, some of which come from the many foreign-owned plants Ireland has attracted.

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Unemployment has dropped below 18 percent, to about 234,000 jobless people, from a peak of 19.4 percent in January 1987, and should continue declining.

But the big problems remain.

Largely rural Ireland is still northern Europe's poorest country, with per capita gross domestic product of \$5,123 in 1987, according to the Paris-based Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. It is one of the lowest figures in the 24-member group.

The Economic and Social Research Institute in Dublin says 1 million people are poor. Other studies show that nearly 40 percent of the population depends to some degree on social welfare payments.

"It's hard for any mother to face that, to keep saying, 'No, no,'" Martha Carrig, a mother from Newmarket-on-Fergus, said in a recent documentary on poverty aired on RTE, the state television network.

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With no jobs to go to, college graduates are among the first to emigrate.

"People are voting with their feet. The ultimate vote of no confidence is to leave the country," says Brendan Walsh, an economics professor at University College, Dublin.

Ireland also is shadowed by the Protestant-Catholic feuding in Northern Ireland, where more than 2,700 people have died since 1969 and the outlawed **Irish Republican Army** fights with bombs and bullets to unite the predominantly Protestant province with the Irish Republic.

One-third of the army's \$385 million annual defense budget goes to policing the border against the IRA, and the police spend a similar amount. Although the violence hardly ever spills into the Irish Republic, officials are convinced it hurts tourism.

In addition, Ireland's traditional self-image as a Christian, moral and safe place is being battered by violent crime, drug abuse and **women** flocking to Britain to seek abortions, Walsh said. Abortion and divorce are banned in the constitution.

But for all the difficulties, there is hope.

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The Associated Press

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Dateline: DUBLIN, Ireland

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Graphic

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ECONOMIC GREENING ON EMERALD ISLE

St. Louis Post-Dispatch (Missouri)

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And the vicissitudes of modern life intrude on Ireland's traditional, conservative culture. "1989 is going to be one of the greatest years, from the point of view from the Irish economy, for at least 20 years," Haughey said in a recent speech to the Fianna Fail, his political party. "We are ready to make a major advance in the Irish economy in the next three years." Even Michael Noonan, finance spokesman for the principal opposition party, Fine Gael, said in an interview, "Things are improving. They have our support on the main economic policies." However, Noonan added: "The improvement of the economy is not felt in the day-to-day lives of people. That is something that, if it doesn't change, will affect the consensus." Most dramatic has been Haughey's transformation from big spender to budget slasher. When he became prime minister for the third time following the February 1987 election, he moved quickly to cut Ireland's runaway public borrowing for social services it couldn't afford. Such spending had begun a debt spiral a decade ago, and the economy worsened severely with the oil-price rises of the 1970s. Haughey, by the second year of his five-year term, has restrained public expenditure to cut public borrowing to about 5 percent of gross national product from a 1981 peak of 15 percent. The moves were made possible by the unusual political consensus between the minority government and the principal opposition. Indeed, many of Haughey's remedies are precisely those advocated by Noonan's Fine Gael during its 1982-87 term of office. Fine Gael under Haughey's predecessor, Garret FitzGerald, governed in coalition with the socialist Labor Party, which constantly hampered Fine Gael's austerity programs and finally brought the government down in a dispute over cuts in welfare spending. The present minority government owes its survival partly to Haughey's personal charisma, and partly to Fine Gael's knowledge that if the government fell now, it would be re-elected with an increased majority. An opinion poll published in the Irish Times in December gave Haughey's party a 51 percent approval rating, its highest since the last election, against 26 percent for the opposition. Said economist Jim O'Leary of Davy Stockbrokers, Dublin's

ECONOMIC GREENING ON EMERALD ISLE

largest investment firm: "One of the best things that has happened to this country in the last three or four years is that we have a situation that the major parties have arrived at a consensus about economic policy." Although specific cutbacks have worsened unemployment, dampened consumer spending and drawn vociferous opposition from affected groups, the Irish generally support the tight grip as a much-needed measure, experts said. The government also has begun to reform Ireland's high taxes by bringing more people into the lowest income tax rate of 35 percent. But annual earnings above 11,500 pounds (\$17,700) remain subject to an extraordinary marginal rate of 58 percent. At the same time, a tax amnesty in the past year has earned the government a 500 million-pound (\$770 million) windfall. The government plans to relax exchange rate controls at the beginning of 1989, signaling confidence that the economy is strong enough for funds not to flee the country. Private economists expect the economic growth rate to be about 3 percent when all the figures are in for 1988, and the same for 1989, after a 4.8 percent spurt in 1987. The economy, dominated by chemicals, pharmaceuticals, electronics, light engineering and agriculture, has been boosted by strong exports, some of which come from the many foreign-owned plants Ireland has attracted. Exports increased 13.3 percent in 1987, giving Ireland its first current account surplus in 20 years. Interest rates have declined to 8.5 percent from 14 percent in early 1987 and annual inflation is running at a 28-year-low of about 2.1 percent, which is expected to hold steady. Inflation was 20 percent in 1981. Those improvements encouraged consumer spending to increase by 3 percent in 1988, after a flat 1987. They also encouraged some investment and fueled a housing boom. Unemployment has dropped below 18 percent, to about 234,000 jobless people, from a peak of 19.4 percent in January 1987, and should continue declining. But big problems remain. Ireland is still northern Europe's poorest country, with per capita gross domestic product of \$5,123 in 1987, according to the Paris-based Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. The Economic and Social Research Institute in Dublin says 1 million people are poor. Other studies show that nearly 40 percent of the population depends to some degree on social welfare payments. "It's hard for any mother to face that, to keep saying, 'No, no,' " Martha Carrig, a mother from Newmarket-on-Fergus, said in a recent documentary on poverty aired on RTE, the state television network. An unidentified Waterford woman told RTE: "There are people hungry in this country. You come down and live with us and tell us we're not hungry." Unemployment is Ireland's No. 1 economic and social problem, critics say. It is exacerbated by the high birth rates in a 93 percent Roman Catholic country where most forms of contraception are illegal, by rigid labor union contracts, and by an emphasis on free education that has produced more students than there are taxpayers. With no jobs to go to, college graduates are among the first to emigrate. "People are voting with their feet. The ultimate vote of no confidence is to leave the country," says Brendan Walsh, an economics professor at University College, Dublin. Ireland also is shadowed by the Protestant-Catholic feuding in Northern Ireland, where more than 2,700 people have died since 1969 and the outlawed **Irish Republican Army** fights with bombs and bullets to unite the predominantly Protestant province with the Irish Republic. One-third of the army's \$385 million annual defense budget goes to policing the border against the IRA, and the police spend a similar amount. Although the violence hardly ever spills into the Irish Republic, officials are convinced that it hurts tourism. In addition, Ireland's traditional self-image as a Christian, moral and safe place is being battered by violent crime, drug abuse and **women** flocking to Britain to seek abortions, Walsh said. Abortion and divorce are banned in the constitution. But for all the difficulties, there is hope. "It now looks like we've turned the corner," said Joe Durkan, one of Ireland's leading economists, who works for the accounting firm Coopers and Lybrand in Dublin. "There's no reason the economy should not do very, very well. It's going to go forward."

Graphic

Photo; PHOTO By AP...Shoppers stroll on Dublin's newly repaved Grafton Street, which is closed to vehicle traffic.

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Northern Ireland's 'troubles' after 20 years

United Press International
June 5, 1988, Sunday, BC cycle

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Byline: By ED LION, United Press International

Body

Twenty years and more than 2,600 killings ago, Northern Ireland's "troubles" began in peace.

Inspired by Martin Luther King, Roman Catholic civil rights activists began to campaign against discrimination in housing and jobs by the Protestant majority in the British province called Ulster.

They marched. They sang "We Shall Overcome." They were galvanized by King's "I have a dream" speech calling for equality for all.

But the dream in Northern Ireland quickly turned into a nightmare. Protestant hard-liners, seeking to retain the legacy of privileges granted them as "loyalists" to the British crown, reacted violently.

The mostly Protestant police attacked the Catholic marchers. Catholic-Protestant riots erupted. Thousands of both religions were firebombed out of their homes.

To quell the violence, British troops flew into the province on a "peacekeeping" mission. The dormant **Irish Republican Army**, reactivated in "the defense of Catholics," began a campaign of bombings and shootings, saying it wanted to end British rule so the north could be united with the Catholic Irish Republic in the south.

Today -- more than 2,600 deaths later -- 10,000 British army soldiers still remain in the tiny province of 1.5 million people.

Both the IRA and British military commanders refer to the province's conflict as "the long war." No one on either side expects it to end soon,

The civil rights campaign did bring a modicum of reform. But the hatred of Protestants and Catholics for each other is as bitter as ever. And the province's 600,000 Catholics still suffer from a jobless rate 2 times that of the 900,000 Protestants.

"When the campaigners began the marches, it was like a great dream," said a Catholic Belfast journalist who has covered much of what the Irish call "the Troubles."

"They thought justice was finally going to come to Northern Ireland," he said. "But the dream quickly turned into a nightmare."

Northern Ireland 's 'troubles' after 20 years

"Admittedly, there have been changes and there is very little discrimination in housing. But now we have this disgusting cycle of violence and fear which never seems to end."

The civil rights campaign, by most accounts, was born in June 1968 when housing officials in the town of Dungannon, 35 miles southwest of Belfast, refused to give needy Catholic families state-subsidized housing, currently used by one-third of the province's population.

In 1968 the Protestants controlled most local governments -- and housing offices -- through voting laws that gave them disproportionate powers.

In the province's second largest city, Londonderry, 85 miles northwest of Belfast, the city's 14,000 Catholic voters had less power than its 9,000 Protestant electors because of political boundary rigging. A tiny Protestant district had the same number of city council members as a district containing thousands of Catholics.

Such gerrymandering helped give Protestants a virtual political monopoly throughout the province. Although they had the constitutional right, successive London governments never sought to rein in what historians now consider the Protestant abuse of power, which also extended to anti-Catholic discrimination in private and government jobs.

Then came the spring of 1968, when King was leading his campaign for black civil rights in the United States and student riots raged throughout Europe.

The flashpoint in Northern Ireland came when Dungannon officials awarded a subsidized house to a single 19-year-old Protestant woman, secretary to a Protestant politician, ignoring needy Catholic families, some with as many as a dozen children.

Austin Currie, a Catholic member of the British Parliament, was so incensed he smashed a window and staged a sit-in in the house earmarked for the secretary.

His action won wide publicity, but on June 20, 1968 he was forcibly removed. But the incident galvanized Catholic civil rights campaigners, a collection of trade unionists, students, politicians and socialists.

They staged a series of marches to publicize their grievances. Some were attacked by police, others by Protestant counter-demonstrators.

The movement threw up a ***female*** firebrand, Bernardette Devlin, then 21, as its most prominent leader. A psychology student and ardent socialist, she became known as "the Irish Joan of Arc" and in fiery speeches demanded justice in the province.

This campaign came to an abrupt and tragic end on what the Irish call "Bloody Sunday" -- Jan. 30, 1972.

British army troops, believing they were fired on by snipers, opened fire on thousands of unarmed protesters staging a banned march in Londonderry. Thirteen people died.

So violent was the reaction and the IRA campaign which followed that 467 people were killed in 1972 alone.

Under increasing international pressure, Britain curbed Protestant powers in the province by instituting "direct rule" from London. It continues today.

Under direct rule, Britain scrapped the laws that gave Protestants disproportionate power and largely ended housing-related "favoritism." It also introduced some measures against job discrimination.

But some Catholic politicians say these have not been enough. Many call for American-style quota systems as the only way to combat the imbalance in the jobless rate.

Male unemployment exceeds 85 percent in some neighborhoods of the IRA's staunch stronghold of West Belfast -- a prime IRA recruiting ground and the scene of much bloodshed.

Northern Ireland 's 'troubles' after 20 years

In West Belfast in March, at the funeral of three alleged IRA bombers killed in Gibraltar while planning an attack, a Protestant gunmen opened fire on mourners, killing three and wounding 68.

Three days later at the funeral of one of the dead mourners, two British soldiers were from their car, beaten and shot to death.

"Every time I think I've seen it all, some new atrocity comes along to surpass the others," said a Belfast journalist who witnessed the Protestant gunman's rampage. "Here you can't even bury the dead in peace."

Bernadette Devlin -- now 41, Mrs. McAliskey and a mother of three - charged on television recently that the continuing violence is a product of poverty, injustice and British rule.

"There are appalling conditions in which many of these people are trapped, and they reject the political system (British rule) and its injustices," she said.

McAliskey, a member of the British parliament for five years, and her husband were shot and wounded by Protestant gunmen at their home in 1981. Since then she has largely dropped out of politics, only occasionally taking part in debates or volunteering on "community groups."

Currie, who historians say effectively gave birth to the civil rights campaign, is still a member of parliament from the moderate Catholic Social Democratic and Labor Party, pressing on with his campaign for Catholic rights.

A staunch opponent of the IRA's armed struggle, his home has been attacked both by the IRA and Protestant militants.

"I have no regrets about what I did, nor do I feel that I should have," he said. "There had been a burning sense of injustice in the nationalist (Catholic) community ...

"People say there is no grievance that justifies what has happened. That is fair enough. But there were serious injustices that could not be ignored."

"I am sorry that the civil rights movement led to (even) one death," said another Catholic civil rights leader, Gerry Fitt, now a member of the House of Lords. "But I am not sorry for taking part" because the conditions demanded change.

Fitt, another advocate of non-violence, was beaten by Protestant police during the civil rights marches and the IRA repeatedly attacked his West Belfast home. He had a police permit to carry a pistol for his own protection, but in 1983 he finally left Belfast ("driven into exile," he says) and settled in London.

He said he equally blames both Protestant militants and the IRA for turning the civil rights dream of equality into a nightmare of violence.

Pointing to a list taped to his office wall with the names of most victims of Northern Ireland's "troubles," he said:

"That sickens me. We could have got these reforms without violence."

BOMBING IN ULSTER KILLS 11 IN CROWD; I.R.A. IS SUSPECTED

The New York Times

November 9, 1987, Monday, Late City Final Edition

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Section: Section A; Page 1, Column 1; Foreign Desk

Length: 1247 words

Byline: By HOWELL RAINES, Special to the New York Times

Dateline: ENNISKILLEN, Northern Ireland, Monday, Nov. 9

Body

Eleven people were killed today when a huge bomb exploded as crowds gathered in Enniskillen for a wreath-laying ceremony honoring Britain's war dead.

The police said 61 others were wounded when, without warning, an explosion ripped out the end of a building near the town's cenotaph, a memorial to the dead of World War I and World War II. The explosion, at 10:45 A.M. on Remembrance Sunday, sent the end gable and part of the roof crashing to the pavement.

The debris buried many of the casualties, crushing them against a steel railing along the street, where they were waiting for an 11 A.M. parade and ceremony. Remembrance Sunday, a solemn national day throughout Britain, is observed on the Sunday before Armistice Day.

Frantic Search for Children

Witnesses described a scene of horror and chaos as wailing children called through choking dust for their parents, and parents frantically sought lost children.

Ulster Defense Regiment troops, in full parade dress, and beribboned veterans who were to take part in the ceremony broke ranks and rushed to the devastated building. They dug through the rubble with their hands until the army brought in heavy lifting equipment.

As of tonight, no group had claimed responsibility for the attack, but officials said it was the work of the outlawed **Irish Republican Army**, which is waging a guerrilla campaign to reunite Britain's six-county province with Ireland.

'Work of the I.R.A.'

"I'm satisfied beyond doubt that this was the work of the I.R.A.," Sir John Hermon, chief of the Royal Ulster Constabulary, told reporters at the scene. "I'm satisfied their purpose was to inflict casualties on civilians. No one has accepted responsibility for the bomb, but even the terrorists - and I include the I.R.A. - will be shocked by the carnage they have wreaked today."

Some 2,600 people have died in Northern Ireland since 1969. The bombing today had the highest death toll since a bombing by the Irish National Liberation Army, an I.R.A. offshoot, killed 17 people at a pub at Ballykelly in 1982.

BOMBING IN ULSTER KILLS 11 IN CROWD; I.R.A. IS SUSPECTED

Officials Issued Warnings

Security officials have been warning for weeks that the I.R.A. would try to carry out a major atrocity to try to redress a number of setbacks. Eight I.R.A. gunman were killed last summer by British army commandoes, and tons of I.R.A. arms shipments have been seized on both sides of the Irish border and, most recently, in a vessel off France.

But most observers expected trouble next Sunday, the second anniversary of a treaty, despised by the independence forces, that pledges Britain and Ireland to work together to solve the province's problems.

Condemnation by Haughey

The events today are expected to increase pressure on Charles J. Haughey, the Irish Prime Minister, to support an act allowing extradition of terrorists to Britain when it comes before the Irish Parliament on Dec. 1.

Today, Mr. Haughey condemned the bombing, as did Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. She learned of it after joining Queen Elizabeth II at a wreath-laying at the Cenotaph in Whitehall Street in London at 11 A.M. Security at the ceremony was heavy.

In an apparent reference to the extradition treaty, Mrs. Thatcher said the bombing showed there must be "no hiding place" for those who had carried it out. Noting that the bombing took place before a memorial service, she said it was "desecrating the dead and a blot on mankind."

Mr. Haughey called the bombing "unspeakable" and a "criminal act of carnage against innocent people."

"Those responsible," he said, "must be reputiated utterly and no effort must be spared to ensure that they are brought to justice."

The police said the bomb exploded in a building known as St. Michael's community center, which is adjacent to a convent and fronts on the paved area near the town's cenotaph. #13 Children Are Wounded Witnesses said about 40 to 50 people were waiting between the building and a street railing, about 20 yards from the cenotaph, a stone pedestal with a statue of a soldier on top.

Six men and five women - including three married couples - were killed. The casualties included 13 children, aged 2 months to 15 years.

Yet it seemed clear that the carnage would have been greater a few minutes later. When the explosion took place, soldiers, bands and local dignitaries had not completed lining up for their march to the monument.

Witnesses said the explosion shook the area and sent a wave of dust rolling like a thick fog into the street.

"There was a loud bang and a lot of rubble and glass came shooting forward from a building which is just behind the cenotaph," said the Rev. Michael Jackson, who was standing near the blast area. "People started to scream and people started run away -those who could - but it was obvious that many would have been killed instantly."

Nowhere to Escape

Pat O'Doherty, who looked down on the scene from the window of a nearby building, said: "Some people were blown through the windows. I saw people pinned under a collapsed wall. They had been blown against the railings on the pavement. They didn't have anywhere to escape."

The explosion, he said, was followed by "an unnatural silence."

"Three seconds later, all the crying started and people were running in distress, shocked trying to find relatives, trying to search for a reason, trying to search for reality. Reality just didn't exist here this morning."

BOMBING IN ULSTER KILLS 11 IN CROWD; I.R.A. IS SUSPECTED

Tom King, Britain's Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, called the bombing "one of the most callous and heartless acts of butchery in Northern Ireland's troubled history."

Reprisals Are Feared

A number of officials expressed the fear that the bombing could set off a cycle of reprisals from Protestant extremists or groups who favor remaining under Britain.

The Royal Ulster Constabulary reported that five Catholic youths were wounded by gunfire tonight in northern Belfast, frequently a scene of sectarian violence. The constabulary said the shootings appeared to be in retaliation for the Enniskillen bombing and that the youths did not appear to be seriously wounded.

Northern Ireland's more moderate politicians today lamented the possibility of retaliatory exchanges. John Hume, a member of Parliament from Northern Ireland's Social Democratic and Labor Party, said the bombing "is probably the most deeply provocative act to have been committed against the Unionist people."

"I think feelings must run very high as a result of it," said Mr. Hume, whose mostly Catholic party does not endorse the violent methods of the I.R.A. He adjourned a party conference after hearing of the bombing.

Another voice of moderation in Northern Ireland, Dr. John Alderdice, leader of the Alliance Party, called on Catholics and Protestants "on both sides of the border to cooperate fully with the security forces."

"There must be no refuge, no hiding place, for people who do these kinds of things," he said in urging Ireland to approve the extradition act.

Building Was Not Checked

Security officials acknowledged that the community center in Enniskillen had not been checked for bombs because no military personnel were to be near the building during the ceremony. Bomb-detection squads, with trained dogs, had swept the nearby parade route leading to the cenotaph.

In another incident on this violent day, the I.R.A. had warned by telephone that another bomb was planted at the village of Tullyhomon, but had failed to detonate. The constabulary said two soldiers and an officer found a 200-pound land mine there.

Graphic

Photo of body near rescuers tending to another victim (AP) (Pg. 1); firemen walking through damage cause by bomb (Reuters) (Pg. 8)

AT THE MOVIES ;
'Cal' director tried to focus on the tragic.

The New York Times
August 31, 1984, Friday, Late City Final Edition

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Byline: By Lawrence Van Gelder

Body

"At a certain remove from Northern Ireland," Pat O'Connor, the Irish-born director of "Cal," said the other day, "one has fairly glib assumptions as to who's in the right and who's in the wrong, whereas the problem is, in fact, extremely complex. The film, if it does nothing else, will hopefully allow people to see a scenario that is a little bit wider than the stereotypes that are projected either from the Catholic or Protestant point of view."

"Cal," playing at the Gemini, is a love story set against the background of conflict in Northern Ireland. The movie, based on a novel by Bernard MacLaverty, who wrote the screenplay, stars Helen Mirren as the widow of a slain Protestant policeman and John Lynch as a younger Roman Catholic who is both her lover and a reluctant recruit to **Irish Republican Army** violence.

"What I would like," Mr. O'Connor said, "is to allow people to see Northern Ireland for the tragedy it is, through the depiction of this love affair in which these two people are trapped by what goes on around them."
Interview with Pat O'Connor, director of movie Cal

"Cal," the Irish entry at this year's Cannes Film Festival, where Miss Mirren won the award for best **female** performance, is Mr. O'Connor's first feature. But he came to it - at the invitation of David Puttnam, producer of "Chariots of Fire" - after having made some 20 documentaries on Northern Ireland during 12 years in Irish television, and after having won an assortment of prizes for directing a television drama called "The Ballroom of Romance."

Mr. O'Connor, who grew up mainly in Waterford, said, "Like most people who are very interested in film and end up making it their career, I was always at the cinema as a kid. There were mostly American films at the time." He remembers being impressed by "On the Waterfront," "Somebody Up There Likes Me" and "The Quiet Man." When he went to England at the age of 18 or 19 in the early 1960's, he discovered European films by such directors as Ingmar Bergman and Vittorio de Sica. Eventually, Mr. O'Connor studied film in the United States and Canada.

Now that "Cal" has garnered accolades abroad (its opening in London and in Dublin will not take place until Sept. 14), Mr. O'Connor has a number of offers for new projects, although he has yet to choose one.

Someday, though, he knows he'd like to apply his Irish background and affinity for political issues to the United States. "I would like to make a really deep and detailed film about the Irish-American involvement in politics," he

AT THE MOVIES ; ; 'Cal' director tried to focus on the tragic.

said. "You know, the Tammany Hall stuff, the slightly crooked Irish involvement in politics at the turn of the century. It's really a very powerful emotional film about those people, who were tough and brave like all the ethnic groups that came to America."

'Street-Bright' Actress Favors Instinct

"Penny," Susan George said, "is very smart, witty. I would say unlike myself. I would call myself street- bright."

Miss George was discussing the character she plays in "The Jigsaw Man," the new spy thriller at the Rivoli and Gemini. Michael Caine plays Penny's father, a British intelligence chief who has defected to the Russians, and Laurence Olivier plays his successor.

"My knowledge," the British actress went on, "does not come from books. This lady's background *does* come from books. Her childhood was that her father went to Russia many years ago, and she took on a new identity so as not to be involved with him - and then he comes back into her life."

Miss George and Mr. Caine had acted together before, but working with Lord Olivier was something new for her. "The prospect of opening my mouth with such a legend was daunting," Miss George said, but Lord Olivier became a friend. "I call him Larry because I had the pleasure of his asking me to do so," she said. "Otherwise, I would have called him sir."

As for performing, Miss George said, "I'm a very instinctive actress, and I don't in any way knock it. I'm not a Method actor. Neither is Michael. Neither is Larry. We all have that much very much in common. The only thing that one learns in one's trade is to be instinctive 10 times over if that's necessary. In other words, to make it new every time."

Why 'Bostonians' Team Felt No G Was A-O.K. Though abundant passion seethes through "The Bostonians," at Cinema 1, it's hardly the sort of film - with its prim New Englanders, courtly Southerners and elevated discourse - that would be expected to sally forth without a rating from the Motion Picture Association of America.

But examination of the fine print in advertisements shows that the screen version of the Henry James classic is distinctly unlettered: no G, no PG, no PG-13, no R and certainly no X.

Compliance with the ratings code is, of course, voluntary; and it seems that "The Bostonians" faced a choice: to go public with no rating, like Bo Derek's "Bolero," which opens today at the Rivoli and other theaters, or to accept a G, like "The Muppets Take Manhattan."

"I thought it might be a bit damaging to the picture, in that audiences would get the wrong perception of the film - might think it's a children's film," Frank Moreno said of the G rating that was offered. Mr. Moreno, who is president of Almi Pictures, the motion-picture company that is distributing "The Bostonians," said he expressed this opinion to the two people faced with the ultimate decision to accept or reject the rating: Ismail Merchant, the producer, and James Ivory, the director. And, he said, they chose to go without the G.

"I don't believe a G rating is really helpful to the box-office potential of a film," Mr. Moreno said, "unless the film is a film for children, and by children I mean in the age group of 5 to 10 or 12."

Of "The Bostonians," he says: "This is a film that appeals primarily to the top 10 percent of your audience intellectually. So we decided to go out with no rating rather than to accept a G on the film." Alexanderplatz' Again

Anyone who missed Rainer Werner Fassbinder's 15 1/2-hour "Berlin Alexanderplatz" when it was last shown in New York six months ago will have another opportunity beginning Sunday to see this saga of post-World War I Berlin.

Parts 1 and 2 of the work, originally filmed for television, and based on the 1929 Alfred Doblin novel, will be presented Sunday, Monday and Tuesday at the Thalia, 250 West 95th Street, just west of Broadway (222-3370).

AT THE MOVIES ; ; 'Cal' director tried to focus on the tragic.

Each Monday thereafter, through Oct. 15, two more parts will be shown. Admission is \$4.50. Before 5 P.M., however, the price is \$2.50 for those 65 and over and for children. A ticket for the entire series is \$25.

Love Trek

What's Rob Reiner up to in the aftermath of the acclaim for "This Is Spinal Tap"? He's making a romantic comedy called "The Sure Thing," about two college students who learn about love in the course of a cross- country trip.

Return Visitor

"E. T. The Extra-Terrestrial" is coming back. According to Universal Pictures, the Steven Spielberg film has established a record for box-office grosses by amassing nearly \$360 million in the United States and Canada between June 11, 1982, when it opened, and June 9, 1983, when it was withdrawn from release.

"E.T." will be back on July 19, 1985.

It's a Friday.

Graphic

Photo of pat O'Connor

End of Document

Margaret Thatcher Looks Unstoppable in British Election

The Associated Press

June 4, 1983, Saturday, AM cycle

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Section: International News

Length: 1335 words

Byline: By MAUREEN JOHNSON, Associated Press Writer

Dateline: LONDON

Body

Despite near-record unemployment, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher appears headed for victory in this week's election. She would become the first Conservative leader since 1900 to win successive terms in office.

Not since the opposition Labor Party swept Winston Churchill from power in 1945 and set up the welfare state has the division between Britain's two major parties been so great.

"The choice facing the nation is between two totally different ways of life," Mrs. Thatcher, 57, said in opening her campaign for the balloting June 9. "What a prize we have to fight for _ no less than a chance to banish from our land the dark, divisive clouds of Marxist socialism."

Or as Labor Party leader Michael Foot, 69, put it: "The Tories (Conservatives) promise more of the same dogmatic, monetarist economics, devil-take-the-hindmost social policies, care and compassion thrown out of the window in reckless pursuit of the money test."

Amid the insult-trading, shopping center walkabouts and saturation television coverage that go with Britain's four-week election campaigns, the choice has been presented as capitalism vs. socialism.

Few seriously doubt the message from opinion polls that Mrs. Thatcher will win. Oddsmakers rate her the heavy favorite.

Opponents say that with a sweeping victory, she'll unleash "conservatism with no conscience," purging old-style moderates from her administration and dismantling the welfare state and nationalized industries.

If the left-dominated Labor Party goes down badly, Britain's 42.5 million voters will signal that Labor's radical socialism and unilateral nuclear disarmament are not for them.

"The losers of this battle are not going to be able to dust themselves off and walk away; their entire philosophy will have been rejected," said commentator Brian Walden.

Between the giants lies the election's wild card, the 20-month-old centrist alliance between the Social Democratic and Liberal Parties.

The alliance hopes to break the two-party axis that has dominated British politics for 60 years by winning enough seats to hold the balance of power in the new House of Commons _ or at least live to fight another day.

Margaret Thatcher Looks Unstoppable in British Election

In the current 635-member House, the Conservatives hold 334 seats, the Laborites 239, the Social Democrats 29 and the Liberals 13, with the remainder in the hands of minor parties or independents.

In this election the Commons' membership is being increased to 650 to account for electoral boundary changes.

The Conservative platform promises more of the tough Thatcher economic medicine that cut annual inflation to a 15-year low of 4 percent, but almost trebled unemployment to a current near-record 3.17 million people, or 13.3 percent.

With that comes another term of Mrs. Thatcher's foreign policy, which pledges to deploy U.S. cruise nuclear missiles in Britain this year and spend billions updating the nation's own nuclear arsenal.

After losing power in 1979, the Labor Party has adopted the most left-wing platform of its 83-year history _ little to the taste of party moderates headed by deputy leader Denis Healey.

It pledges an immediate 11-billion-pound (\$17.7 billion) spending boost _ which would more than double the current low 8-billion-pound (\$12.9 billion) deficit _ to create 2.5 million jobs in five years. This would be backed up by monetary exchange controls and more state intervention, including taking over banks if they don't cooperate.

In pledges that enrage the Tories, Labor promises unilateral nuclear disarmament and withdrawal from the 10-nation European Common Market, which Britain joined in 1973.

Labor would ban cruise missiles and close U.S. nuclear bases in Britain. Whether it would actually scrap Britain's Polaris nuclear weapons unilaterally, which polls show large majorities oppose, has become bogged down in conflicting statements from party leaders.

The Social Democrat-Liberal alliance envisages a modest 3-billion-pound (\$4.8 billion) job creation program and, apart from wanting to cancel Mrs. Thatcher's order to buy U.S. Trident missiles, is close to the Tories on defense and continued Common Market membership.

Mrs. Thatcher called the election 11 months before the end of the ordinary five-year term in order to take advantage of a long-held 12-point lead in opinion polls, unprecedented for a British leader.

Polls through the campaign show that lead holding up, with nearly half the electorate favoring the Tories, and the alliance running third behind Labor.

Most voters tell pollsters unemployment is the most important issue, but then, in smaller majorities, say they'll vote for Mrs. Thatcher _ who refuses even to estimate when the jobless rate might drop.

The independent Sunday Times noted: "Unemployment isn't working for Foot."

Opponents blame what Labor's Healey calls a Thatcher-induced "mood of fatalism."

"She has destroyed the self-confidence of the British people," Healy has asserted. "She has made many of them believe there is no alternative to mass unemployment."

Whether they believe Mrs. Thatcher's message that somebody had to do something to curb union power and state spending and to streamline industry, what many voters, according to polls, clearly do not believe is that Labor's plan can work.

Many others regard Foot as Labor's major problem. He is an intellectual, compassionate man who will be 70 in July, and looks older, and scores around 20 percent in popularity polls.

Elected 2 1/2 years ago as a compromise candidate to head the strife-torn party, his campaign performance has been given very low marks.

Margaret Thatcher Looks Unstoppable in British Election

Televised speeches and interviews have dissolved into rambling discourses and unfinished sentences, his mane of white hair flying.

After two weeks of this, Healey, a veteran infighter, started playing the Labor Party's most prominent role at news conferences and on TV _ even though Foot would be prime minister if Labor should win.

Similarly, the Social Democrat-Liberal alliance midway cast its leader, the Social Democrats' Roy Jenkins, 62, into second place for media appearances behind the Liberals' nationally popular David Steel, 45.

Mrs. Thatcher, backed by a multi-million dollar party advertising campaign and a top public relations firm, Saatchi and Saatchi, which helped improve her image last time, dominates her own party and so far the entire election.

It is, commented the Economist magazine, a ballot on "more Thatcher or no Thatcher. ... You can take all of Mrs. Thatcher or none of her."

Of 2,579 candidates contesting the 650 seats in the House of Commons, nearly 1,900 represent the three major political groups.

A hundred eighty-five candidates are women, up from 103 in 1979. But many are running in districts where they have little chance, so the new Parliament may contain fewer women than the 19 who made it in 1979.

The number of blacks and Asians _ who make up 4 percent of the population _ is at a record high 23 candidates. Eighteen are running for the major parties and five for a non-white pressure group taking them on for the first time in high-immigrant districts.

Among other runners are Scottish and Welsh nationalists, 40 Communists, environmentalists and racists _ plus a line-up of candidates seen as cranks and eccentrics.

The three main parties are contesting every seat except the 17 _ up from 12 _ in Northern Ireland where politics is enveloped in civil strife and nationalism.

Eleven of the Northern Ireland seats are safe for the two-thirds Protestant majority, insistent on keeping the province British.

Sinn Fein, legal political wing of the outlawed **Irish Republican Army**, appears set to take two or three of the mainly Roman Catholic districts with candidates who openly support the bomb-and-bullet campaign to oust the British from the province. They plan to boycott the House of Commons, if elected.

For a bare overall majority in the new Commons, a party needs 326 seats and its leader then becomes prime minister.

For Foot it looks like a long shot, while if early trends hold, Mrs. Thatcher could be back in power with 475 or more seats.

7 ULSTER PRISONERS END HUNGER STRIKE WITH 2 NEAR DEATH

The New York Times

December 19, 1980, Friday, Late City Final Edition

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Length: 1264 words

Byline: By WILLIAM BORDERS, Special to the New York Times

Dateline: LONDON, Dec. 18

Body

Seven Irish prisoners tonight called off a hunger strike that they had been conducting in a Belfast prison for seven and a half weeks.

Their decision, a clear victory for the Government of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, came as at least two of the seven were nearing death from starvation.

"It is very good news," said Mrs. Thatcher, who throughout the ordeal had refused to yield to the strikers or compromise with them in any way. "We are delighted."

Tension Rises in Province

The hunger strike, in support of a demand that the prisoners be given special political status instead of being treated as common criminals, had greatly heightened tensions in Northern Ireland.

AN-A

Emotions in the province were being more and more aroused by street marches and rallies with the theme "Don't let them die!" If, as had been expected, one of the prisoners had died within the next few days, the British Government was expecting a sharp increase in street violence and terrorism.

Earlier today one of the strikers, 26-year-old Sean McKenna, had been given the last rites of the Roman Catholic Church and officially informed by the Government that he had only 24 hours to live.

Inmate in a Coma

Mr. McKenna, who is serving a 25-year sentence for the attempted murder of two policemen, and related offenses, has slipped into a coma and lost his sight because of malnutrition. Doctors said that it was not clear tonight that he would recover, even with nourishment.

Mr. McKenna's sister, who visited him earlier today, described him as "a yellow skeleton," and said he had not recognized her. "I would rather see him dead than living there blind until he is 50," she said.

7 ULSTER PRISONERS END HUNGER STRIKE WITH 2 NEAR DEATH

According to the Government, the six others were given nourishment this evening, at their request. The decision to abandon the strike, which all seven had vowed to continue "until death," apparently came as a surprise to the spokesmen of the Provisional **Irish Republican Army**, although six of the seven are members of that organization.

Strikers Issue Statement

Late tonight, the strikers issued a statement saying that they had abandoned their fast after "having seen the statement to be announced by Humphrey Atkins in the House of Commons tomorrow." Mr. Atkins is the Cabinet official responsible for Northern Ireland, and his statement was to have been a report on the situation as members of Parliament began their Christmas break.

Mr. Atkins said tonight that he had made no secret concessions to the hunger strikers. "The Government position was clearly set out before this hunger strike started, and we haven't moved since the very beginning."

He said he thought that the men had abandoned the hunger strike because they had finally realized that the Government was determined not to give them the political status they were seeking.

"I think they must have grasped that this is not going to be given to them," he said. The prisoners concluded their statement with this warning: "In ending our hunger strike, we make it clear that failure by the British Government to act in a responsible manner toward ending the conditions which forced us onto a hunger strike will not only lead to inevitable and continual strife within the H-blocks, but will show quite clearly the intransigence of the British Government."

The H-blocks are the cell blocks in which the inmates live at the Maze Prison, so called because they are H-shaped. The end of the strike aroused expressions of relief from various segments of the British and Irish communities, who had been poised for a week of violence and recrimination just before Christmas.

"My first reaction is a fervent 'Thank God,'" said Tomas Cardinal O'Fiaich, the Roman Catholic Primate of All Ireland, who had been pleading with the Government to do something to bring an end to the strike before anyone died.

"In the name of God, give up," Cardinal O'Fiaich said earlier this week in a special appeal to the hunger strikers.

Special Status Sought

Cardinal O'Fiaich, who is regarded with some suspicion in London as a friend of the Irish republicans, had also been involved before the strike began in the negotiations over the special status issue, which is a perennial difficulty in relations between the British Government and the republican guerrillas, who are seeking the reunification of Ireland.

The republicans, who see themselves as soldiers in a war of liberation, maintain that they should be given special political status in prison and not treated like common criminals.

Although that demand has been accepted in the past, the present Government - like the Labor Party Government that preceded it - has consistently refused even to consider giving the men political status, on the ground that they have been convicted of regular crimes, such as murder and arson.

"Murder is not political," Prime Minister Thatcher said the other day, in a statement that she has repeated dozens of times. "Murder is murder."

Others on Hunger Strike

The seven men who called off their strike tonight were among 37 republican inmates fasting at the Maze Prison near Belfast. There were also three **women** republicans on hunger strike at a prison in the town of Armagh.

7 ULSTER PRISONERS END HUNGER STRIKE WITH 2 NEAR DEATH

There was no immediate word about those other protests, but it was assumed that they would also be abandoned soon. In any case, none of the others had been fasting for longer than two and a half weeks, and so their physical condition was not comparable to that of the original seven, who until tonight had taken no food since Oct. 27.

In addition, six prisoners on the other side of the sectarian battle, members of the Protestant paramilitary Ulster Defense Association, went on a hunger strike with similar demands late last week, but it lasted only a few days.

For several years, large numbers of republican prisoners at the Maze Prison have been refusing to wear the prison uniform, because they regard it as symbolic of criminal status, and have draped themselves only in blankets instead. Their number has fluctuated, but there are now more than 400 men "on the blanket," as the Irish say.

They have also been refusing to use the toilets, and have been covering the walls of their cells with excrement.

Prison Is Well Equipped

Though this makes their condition wretched, as I.R.A. propaganda distributed around the world has pointed out, the British Government, in its own propaganda, emphasizes that the wretchedness is self-imposed.

The Maze Prison, which was built only a few years ago, is one of the most modern and well equipped in Europe, according to the Government. Prisoners taking part in the so-called "dirty protest" are regularly moved from dirty cells into clean cells, so that the cells they have dirtied can be steam-cleaned.

It was not clear tonight what effect the defeat of the hunger strike would have on the blanket protest. Besides the right to wear their own clothes, instead of prison uniforms, the strikers had been demanding to be excused from doing prison jobs and to be allowed to mingle freely with one another - other symbols of a status in prison that would be political, not criminal.

The Northern Ireland Unionists, who are devoted to keeping the province part of the United Kingdom, had been apprehensive that the Government might make a concession that would be interpreted by the prisoners as a sign of weakness. But tonight they congratulated Prime Minister Thatcher for holding firm.

"It seems as if Mrs. Thatcher and Mr. Atkins have at last taken a stand against the I.R.A.," said the Rev. Ian Paisley, one of the province's leading Protestant politicians.

THE WORLD;
BY BARBARA SALVIN AND MILT FREUDENHEIM;
Of Justice and Sin, Strikes and Spies; Where but in Iran?

The New York Times

July 6, 1980, Sunday, Late City Final Edition

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Length: 1344 words

Body

In Iran last week, echoes of an ancient order were revived amid some signs of dissatisfaction with the new. The 7th-century Arabs were the first Moslems who stoned to death those guilty of sexual offenses. Last week, a court in the town of Kerman imposed the penalty against two men for homosexuality and rape and two women for prostitution and procurement. Following a now-rare custom in the Moslem world, the four were hooded, buried up to their chests and pelted with stones until they died. That took 15 minutes.

An official group called the Center for the Campaign Against Sin decreed an end to the "selling and reproduction of vulgar music" by next Monday, the first day of the Moslem holy period of Ramadan. In response, Teheran residents mobbed shops that sell bootlegged tape cassettes of Western music.

There were other complaints about the new order. Doctors struck to protest the execution of a physician in the oil center of Ahwaz. Employees of Teheran's water board held their boss hostage for two days, demanding restoration of housing allowances and overtime eliminated because of dropping oil revenues.

AN-A

But malcontents remain a minority. On cue, an estimated half million Iranians marched through the capital Friday to demonstrate fealty to Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini and to chant death to his enemy, "Carter."

President Carter was in California at the time, to address a town meeting. He declared that the United States would not be "brought to its knees and beg" for the 53 Americans held hostage in Iran for eight months.

The Iranian regime has threatened repeatedly to try some of the Americans as spies. Last week, it announced that the first secretary of the Soviet Embassy in Teheran had been caught with "espionage documents," but he got off easy. He was declared persona non grata and expelled.

Making Seoul Safe From Democracy

South Korea's ruling generals, evidently making their fears fit the crime, last week announced that the country's leading advocate of democracy, and 36 other persons, would be tried by a military court for sedition. Kim Dae Jung, said the Martial Law Command, was a "red element wearing the mask of democracy."

Mr. Kim has been under arrest since May 17, but was charged with plotting and financing the nine-day general uprising in Kwangju that began on May 18 and took 174 lives. The command said that he met with student leaders

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five days before his arrest to plan the rebellion and anti-Government rallies in Seoul and other big cities. It said he had intended to seize power as head of a provisional government.

In South Korea's last real presidential contest, nine years ago, Mr. Kim received 45 percent of the vote, losing to President Park Chung Hee. Government agents later kidnapped Mr. Kim in Japan and brought him back to South Korea where he was imprisoned for opposing the regime. After President Park was assassinated in October, the United States urged Seoul's new rulers, with little apparent effect, to move toward democracy.

Last week, as the generals drew the political noose tighter, the Information Ministry expelled Japanese reporters after they wrote that Mr. Kim was hospitalized with injuries suffered under interrogation.

All Together Now, One, Two, Trois...

Nobody ever said "The Star-Spangled Banner" was easy to sing but at least it only has one set of lyrics. "O Canada" has at least three versions and two of them were sung simultaneously last week at a ceremony meant to celebrate Canadian unity.

Originally a French song, "O Canada" was expropriated, with French Canada, by English-speakers. In the French lyrics, Canada carried the sword and cross across the land, an image that did not go down well with English Protestants.

In 1908, English lyrics were written that have no connection with the French except that they are supposed to be about the same country. They also offend, to varying degrees, immigrants, Western Canadians and champions of women's rights. One phrase, "stand on guard for thee" is repeated five times and is just plain boring.

Political parties have been trying to write a new English version but only came up with tentative lyrics by last week's celebration of Canada's 113th birthday. Nonplussed, the Governor General, Edward R. Schreyer, signed a royal proclamation declaring "O Canada" the official anthem.

Unfortunately, nobody could agree on whether the song should be sung first in English or in French, so the choir split in two and sang both together. That way nobody could understand the lyrics.

Double Trouble For Ireland Plan

The British Government's latest green paper on Northern Ireland received the predicted reception last week - generally negative, divided according to religious affiliation.

Issued as rising unemployment and a new freeze on Government subsidies in the province threatened to aggravate the political situation, the plan suggested an 80-seat assembly, elected by proportional representation, to restore some of the provincial authority pre-empted by London in 1974. It offers alternatives for sharing power between the Protestant majority and the Roman Catholic minority. Under one plan, Catholics would be allotted seats in a new executive body in proportion to their strength in the assembly. In the other, a joint Protestant-Catholic advisory council would have blocking powers.

Though some Protestants denounced the first option as "totally unacceptable," they said the over-all proposal was worth further discussion. And while Catholics said the advisory council option would cause "grave problems," they also saw a basis for talks with London officials.

In Dublin, the Provisional Sinn Fein, representing Irish Republican Army guerrillas, insisted that only total British withdrawal from Northern Ireland would do. Punctuating the rejection, a bomb blamed on the I.R.A. injured a police officer and his family in a country police station northwest of Belfast.

Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's representative, Humphrey Atkins, said he would discuss the options with all parties in Northern Ireland and hoped to put a plan before Parliament in the fall.

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Justifiable Caution On Polish Prices

The minimum Poles demand in compensation for the many restrictions and failings of their system is cheap food. For that reason, their leaders have failed repeatedly to find a way to raise prices without provoking riots and strikes.

The Government tried again last week, this time using a bit of psychology and stealth. Meat prices were raised 60 to 90 percent without notice and they applied only to such specialties as boneless beef and pig's knuckles, excluding the staples of the Polish diet - sausage and pork.

Nevertheless, workers at several factories staged brief strikes and won wage increases. However, there was no violence or street demonstrations of the sort that overturned the Government of Wladyslaw Gomulka in 1970 and forced the current regime of Edward Gierek to rescind announced price increases in 1976.

By American standards, last week's higher prices were still modest. A pound of boneless beef, for example, rose to \$1.03 and bacon to 70 cents. Subsidizing prices costs the treasury \$3.3 billion a year, a drain on resources that Poland, in debt to the West for \$18.5 billion, can ill afford.

'C.I.A.' Dangerous Lable in Jamaica

At least 243 people have been killed since February in preelection violence in Jamaica. Last week, an American target in Kingston escaped injury when his house was shot up by unknown assailants. N. Richard Kinsman had been identified by Covert Action Information Bulletin, a Washington newsletter, as the Central Intelligence Agency station chief for Jamaica. The State Department said he was an embassy political officer.

Prime Minister Michael N. Manley, who has stressed friendly relations with Fidel Castro of Cuba, charged before the shooting that "there is a calculated and deliberate destabilization program at work." He knew there were "C.I.A. people in Jamaica," he said, adding "I draw no conclusion from that fact."

Milt Freudenheim and Barbara Slavin

A Look Back at Those Who Departed

The Associated Press

December 22, 1988, Thursday, BC cycle

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Byline: By The Associated Press

Body

They explored the cosmos and peered into the inner space of atoms. They built racing cars and football teams and nations. They wrote tellingly of man's fate, and entertainingly of mankind's fantasies. They made the world sing and dance and laugh. And then they departed.

Here is a look back, month by month, at some who died in 1988:

JANUARY

"PISTOL PETE" MARAVICH, the floppy-socked, shaggy-haired, utterly astounding basketball genius, biggest point producer in NCAA history. He collapsed at age 40, while playing the game he loved.

TREVOR HOWARD, hard-living, craggy-faced British star of stage and screen, whose most famous role was in the 1946 film "Brief Encounter." At age 71.

GREGORY "PAPPY" BOYINGTON, World War II flying ace who shot down 28 Japanese planes and led the renowned "Black Sheep" squadron. At age 75.

ISIDOR ISAAC RABI, Nobel prize-winning physicist who helped develop atomic energy during World War II and spent the post-war years trying to control it. Age 89.

SEAN MACBRIDE, in his teens an ***Irish Republican Army*** guerrilla leader, in his later years an international jurist and crusader for disarmament and human rights, winner of both the Nobel and Lenin peace prizes. At age 83.

ANDREI ARTUKOVIC, "Butcher of the Balkans," official of Yugoslavia's Nazi puppet government in World War II, extradited from the United States and convicted in Yugoslavia of ordering thousands of prisoners killed. Died in prison at age 88.

ABDUL GHAFER KHAN, revered leader of the Indian subcontinent's Pathan tribe and key figure in India's struggle for independence. At age 98.

BARON PHILIPPE DE ROTHSCHILD, French sportsman, writer, eminent winegrower. At age 85.

KLAUS FUCHS, nuclear scientist in Britain and the United States in World War II who later passed atomic bomb secrets to the Soviets, and was caught and imprisoned. Lived in East Germany after his release. At age 76.

A Look Back at Those Who Departed

FEBRUARY

HEATHER O'ROURKE, actress who played the angelic child kidnapped by angry spirits in the movie "Poltergeist." Died following what was thought to be a bout with the flu, at age 12.

FREDERICK LOEWE, the composer whose memorable melodies, coupled with Alan Jay Lerner's fetching lyrics, turned "My Fair Lady," "Camelot" and other musicals into timeless classics. At age 86.

NORA ASTORGA, Nicaraguan U.N. ambassador who, as a revolutionary, lured a general into her bedroom - and a death trap. At age 39, of cancer.

RICHARD FEYNMAN, Nobel Prize-winning physicist who helped shatter NASA's claim that cold weather didn't doom the shuttle Challenger. Age 69.

MARCH

HARRIS GLENN MILSTEAD, known as Divine, the bizarre female impersonator who starred in such films as "Pink Flamingos" and "Hairspray." At age 42.

KURT KIESINGER, a German radio propagandist in World War II who overcame his Nazi past and served as West German chancellor in 1966-69. At age 83.

ANDY GIBB, brother to the Gibbs of the Bee Gees rock group and a solo pop star in his own right. At age 30, apparently of a heart inflammation caused by a virus.

ROBERT JOFFREY, choreographer who founded a dance troupe on a shoestring and built it into the Joffrey Ballet, one of the top U.S. dance companies. At age 57.

EDGAR FAURE, brilliant statesmen who held more Cabinet posts than any other Frenchman. At 79.

APRIL

ALAN PATON, South African author whose novel "Cry the Beloved Country" opened the world of apartheid to the world beyond South Africa. At age 85.

KHALIL AL-WAZIR, known as Abu Jihad, senior PLO commander and Yasser Arafat's closest aide. Assassinated in Tunisia, reportedly by an Israeli commando squad. At 52.

LOUISE NEVELSON, sculptor who struggled until she was nearly 60 and finally won recognition for her work, the best-known of them dramatic black-on-black wood boxes assembled from "found" objects. At 88.

MAY

HAROLD "KIM" PHILBY, the most damaging double agent in modern history, who for almost three decades spied for the Soviets from the heights of British intelligence. He died a decorated KGB officer in Moscow, at 76.

JUNE

LOUIS L'AMOUR, one of America's most prolific storytellers, whose frontier tales of gunfighters, lawmen and drifters enthralled millions of readers from waitresses to presidents. At 80.

DENNIS DAY, the golden-voiced Irish balladeer whose career as a foil for comedian Jack Benny spanned decades of radio, television and film. At age 71.

A Look Back at Those Who Departed

MILDRED GILLARS, known during World War II as Axis Sally, was convicted of treason for her propaganda broadcasts for Nazi Germany. Taught music to kindergarteners after serving 12 years in prison. At 87.

JULY

JACKIE PRESSER, Teamsters president who led the union back to the mainstream of organized labor but extended its reputation for corruption with his own indictments for racketeering and embezzlement. At age 61, before he could be tried on those charges.

JOSHUA LOGAN, writer, producer and director who delighted theatergoers with his deft staging of "South Pacific," "Annie Get Your Gun," "Mister Roberts" and other Broadway hits. At 79.

AUGUST

ANATOLY LEVCHENKO, veteran cosmonaut in line to fly the new Soviet space shuttle. Of a brain tumor at age 47.

ADELA ROGERS ST. JOHN, early feminist and avowed "sob sister" who broke into the men's world of newspapering and covered some of the biggest stories of the first half of the 20th century. At 94.

ANNE RAMSEY, whose grotesque character "Mamma" in "Throw Mamma From the Train" won her an Oscar nomination and a following in the twilight of her career. Of throat cancer at 59.

EDWARD BENNETT WILLIAMS, owner of the Baltimore Orioles, former president of the Washington Redskins. Criminal lawyer whose spellbinding command of a courtroom rivaled that of his idol Clarence Darrow. At 68.

ELMO R. ZUMWALT III, who as a Navy officer in Vietnam was exposed to Agent Orange, a defoliant ordered sprayed there by his admiral father. Dead of cancer at age 42. He never blamed his father for the disease.

ENZO FERRARI, former auto racer who became Italy's greatest sports car builder. At 90.

BARRY BINGHAM SR., patriarch of a media empire, including two Pulitzer Prize-winning newspapers, a TV station and a printing company, who sold the properties in 1986 to end a family squabble. At 82.

MOHAMMED ZIA UL-HAQ, president of Pakistan and strong U.S. ally. Killed in a plane crash that also took the lives of the U.S. ambassador and 28 others. Age 64.

ART ROONEY SR., a beloved founding father of the NFL who bought the Pittsburgh Steelers in 1932 with \$2,500 and watched them struggle for 40 years before they won four Super Bowls in the 1970s. At 87.

SEPTEMBER

GERT FROEBE, German actor and comic who played in almost 100 films but was best known for his role as the gold-craving villain in the 1964 James Bond film "Goldfinger." At 75.

BILLY CARTER, President Carter's beer-guzzling good ol' boy younger brother, who alternately amused and dismayed Americans with his escapades, opinions and "Billy Beer." At age 51 of cancer.

OCTOBER

FRANZ JOSEF STRAUSS, controversial German right-wing state governor who upstaged federal chancellors to leave his mark on world affairs. At 73.

A Look Back at Those Who Departed

JOHN HOUSEMAN, who with Orson Welles produced the famous radio version of "War of the Worlds," and later gained fame and an Oscar for his role as the imperious law professor Charles W. Kingsfield in "The Paper Chase." Age 86.

NOVEMBER

JOHN MITCHELL, the former attorney general who authorized the Watergate break-in and went to prison for conspiring to cover up the scandal in his friend Richard Nixon's White House. At 75.

SHEILAH GRAHAM, author and legendary columnist who reported Hollywood's juiciest gossip and was romantically involved with novelist F. Scott Fitzgerald in the last years of his life. At 84.

CHRISTINA ONASSIS, heiress to the billion-dollar fortune of Greek shipping tycoon Aristotle Onassis. Her stormy romances and huge fortune made her an international celebrity. Of an apparent heart attack at age 37.

CARL HUBBELL, Hall of Fame baseball pitcher who won 253 games and is best remembered for his consecutive strikeouts of five future Hall-of-Famers in the 1934 All-Star Game. At 85.

JOHN CARRADINE, patriarch of an American acting family who appeared in more than 500 films, including "Stagecoach" and "The Grapes of Wrath." At age 82.

DECEMBER

ROY ORBISON, the rock 'n' roll pioneer who made the charts with such 1960s hits as "Oh, Pretty Woman" and "Only the Lonely," and who recently was enjoying a comeback. At 52 of a heart attack.

STUART SYMINGTON, who as a U.S. senator from Missouri was a champion and watchdog of the nation's military and who was offered - then denied - the No. 2 spot on the 1960 presidential ticket with John F. Kennedy. At 87.

MAX ROBINSON, the nation's first black network television news anchor. From 1978 to 1983, Robinson co-anchored the ABC Evening News from Chicago. At 49 from complications of AIDS.

End Adv for Year-End Editions

7-Story Village Mural of Stars of the Left

The New York Times

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Byline: By GRACE GLUECK

Body

An all-star cast of the international left - Karl Marx, Mother Jones, Fidel Castro, Lenin, Malcolm X and other leaders of the working class - is appearing in a new but very old-fashioned political wall painting. The huge work, known as "The Pathfinder Mural," is nearing completion on the side of a building at West and Charles Streets in Greenwich Village, and its creators are braced for controversy.

"Lenin has not appeared in a mural here since Diego Rivera put him into the one he painted at Rockefeller Center," exulted Mike Alewitz, a politically active artist who conceived the mural project and is directing it. The Rivera mural was removed by the Rockefellers, who owned the building, but Mr. Alewitz does not think his work will share that fate.

The mural covers the entire south wall - 70 feet high and 85 feet wide - of the building at 410 West Street owned by the Pathfinder Press, whose policy is to publish the writings of "outstanding working-class and revolutionary leaders." Done in the strident visual rhetoric of 1930's Social Realism, the painting is influenced by such leading lights of the Mexican mural movement as Diego Rivera and Jose Clemente Orozco.

A Volunteer Collaboration

The main image is a press churning out Pathfinder publications with their authors depicted on sheets of paper that thicken into books. Beneath the press, a horde of workers, farmers and civil rights leaders feed into it a banner that proclaims "A World Without Borders" in French, Spanish and English.

The mural, which involves the collaboration of volunteer artists from the United States and abroad, was suggested to Pathfinder by Mr. Alewitz, a performance and conceptual artist who in 1986 led striking union workers at the Hormel meat packing plant in Austin, Minn., to produce a vivid but short-lived anti-management mural on the wall of the union headquarters. He has also organized mural projects with Sandinista sympathizers in Nicaragua.

"I wanted to do this one because Pathfinder represents the tradition of publishing important revolutionary ideas," said Mr. Alewitz, a sturdy-looking man of 37 wearing cut-off jeans and a single earring. "I'm critical of the New York art scene. I find that much of the art taught in the schools and produced through the gallery system reflects the values of the cynical and confused middle class. Basically, a stronger art is produced in those societies - like Cuba and Nicaragua - where there's a pulling together, an optimism about going forward."

Artists From Abroad

7-Story Village Mural of Stars of the Left

The mural project involves local artists and several from other countries - Nicaragua, El Salvador, South Africa, Canada, Mexico and Colombia. Some of those invited from abroad not only paint but also travel around the United States on lecture tours. One such was Arnolando Guillen, a Nicaraguan who helped found the National Union of Plastic Artists of the Sandinista Cultural Workers Association. To the mural, he has contributed portraits of Augusto Cesar Sandino, the Nicaraguan guerrilla general who gave his name to the Sandinista movement, and Carlos Fonseca Amador, a founder of the Sandinista National Liberation Front in 1961.

A portrait of the South African leader Nelson Mandela is being done by an exiled South African artist who lives in the United States, Dumile Feni. Maurice Bishop, the leftist Prime Minister of Grenada who was slain by his aides in 1983, has been done by his cousin, Maxine Townsend-Broderick, a photographer who lives in New York and who worked with Bishop in the New Jewel Movement.

Another New York artist, Eva Cockcroft, has painted a big portrait of Mary Harris (Mother) Jones, the militant unionist who organized miners and steel workers in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. And Lyne Pelletier came from Montreal to work on the mural with seven young women who do "socially oriented" wall works under the rubric Artifact (Art in Action).

"The collective aspect of this appealed to us, because we work that way," said Ms. Pelletier, who contributed a portrait of Thomas Sankara, revolutionary leader of the African country of Burkina Faso.

Some Opposition

By and large, the local community seems to have taken little notice of the mural, which is near the Hudson outside the Greenwich Village Historic District and is covered by scaffolding. "So that's what goes on in that quiet building near the river!" said a woman active in local affairs when told of the mural's content. But it has aroused some opposition.

Last November, an artist living on Charles Street, Yudel Kyler, asked the police to determine whether a permit had been granted for the scaffold. An inspector for the city's Department of Buildings went to the site and issued a violation notice, though the scaffold, Pathfinder officials said, met city requirements in that it was on private property and did not overhang the sidewalk. A permit was subsequently granted.

"Most people, especially those under the age of 40, think the mural is funny," Mr. Kyler said. "But then, they wouldn't have any idea what's behind all that agitprop. One has to have lived through some of those times, as I have. I reacted to the arrogance of these kids putting the mural up in this neighborhood, where it serves only their own political fantasies. It's being accepted on the basis that everyone has a right to free speech. But I think it should be whitewashed over."

The mural project has run into other problems with the city. Last December, the Department of Sanitation issued 35 citations for unauthorized posting of handbills advertising an open house to meet Mr. Guillen, the Nicaraguan artist. The citations carry fines totaling \$3,500 that are still pending, and the project's leaders sent a letter of protest to Mayor Koch.

"Everyone puts up handbills all over the place," said Meryl Lynn Farber of Pathfinder. "Why are they picking on us?"

Reponse From the Mayor

In his reply, the Mayor denied that the project and its artists were being "singled out for harassment" because of the mural's content. Although a permit had already been granted, the Mayor referred to "failure to obtain Building Department construction permits" as a "serious violation of the New York City Administrative Code."

Asked to elaborate on the Mayor's letter, Diane Mulcahy Coffey, the chief of staff for Mr. Koch, said: "We are not engaged in censorship. There's no way we would ever pretend to judge the content of an artistic piece. A violation

7-Story Village Mural of Stars of the Left

was issued because the work was under way before they got a permit. The issue is really one of public safety, and the city acted properly in giving it."

Pathfinder officials and Mr. Alewitz also say that the State Department has denied visas for two foreign artists to visit under the sponsorship of the mural project. They are Gerard Kelly, an artist from Belfast, Northern Ireland, who has spent time in prison for **Irish Republican Army** activity, and Camilo Minero, a Salvadoran who lives in Nicaragua and who, like Mr. Guillen, is a founding member of the Sandinista National Union of Plastic Artists. Mr. Kelly was denied a visa, and Mr. Minero was told at the United States Embassy in Managua that he had to apply for his visa in El Salvador.

Denial Unrelated to Mural

Ruth van Heuven, a spokeswoman for the State Department's Bureau of Consular Affairs in Washington, said: "There are statutory reasons why we were unable to issue the Kelly visa, which have nothing to do with the mural or its content. Mr. Kelly was convicted of possession of explosives with intent to endanger life and served a prison term, which makes him ineligible."

While she did not have the specifics of the Minero case, Mrs. van Heuven said: "Apparently he was unable to convince the consular officer in Managua that he was coming only for a temporary visit and that he would not be working or receive a salary. That is a frequent ground for refusal."

Under the fiscal sponsorship of the Anchor Foundation, which shares offices with Pathfinder, donations are being sought to cover the mural's estimated cost of \$100,000, including \$15,000 to rent the scaffold. Fund-raising efforts are under way in several cities, and a letter seeking financial support was signed by Ms. Cockcroft, the folk singer Pete Seeger, the film maker Emile de Antonio, and the poet Sonia Sanchez. "The idea is not so much to make the mural a beautiful piece of work as to involve hundreds of thousands of people," Mr. Alewitz said.

Graphic

photo of Eva Cockcroft and Jenny Kahn (NYT/William E. Sauro)

WHERE COFFINS WAIT WHILE MURDER IS DONE

COURIER-MAIL

March 22, 1988 Tuesday

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Length: 1380 words

Byline: ELLIS W / MILLAR P

Body

THE dark side of Irish history holds two enduring images: the murderous mob and the mournful funeral. Saturday saw them fused into an ugliness that made the stomach heave. Two British soldiers were dragged from their car by a lynch mob which only seconds before had been part of the funeral cortege for an ***Irish Republican Army*** man, himself killed last week in a graveside grenade and gun attack. The two soldiers were brutally beaten before being shot. Terrorist is a much-banded word. No terror could be greater than sitting within that car on Belfast's Falls Road, surrounded by snarling hatred, splintering glass, the acid smell of sweat, bloodlust and imminent, violent death. The coffin of IRA man Kevin Brady had to wait while more murder was done. The soldiers were the victims of the erosion of the vestiges of civilisation, an already awful conflict's brutalisation of humanity. Ireland's atrocities have a long history. What we saw Saturday took us back to the worst of them, on a par with the 17th-century massacres when the mobs of one side impaled the "enemy" on pikes. Saturday was the final degradation in a new downward spiral that began on November 11, Armistice Day, in the Ulster town of Enniskillen with the callous bomb murder of 11 people during a service to commemorate their world-war dead. Traditionally there had been a taboo about funerals in Ireland, woven into the fabric of tribal observance with each side respecting the other's equality in death.

QNP It was not an inviolate taboo, rather one that was being gradually eaten away. The rot in the unwritten rules of Ireland's irregular warfare had set in slowly, as military targets gave way to civilian massacres and the sectarian eye-for-an-eye killings, the midnight knock on the door by a murderer, just to even the population balance. Last year the IRA planted a bomb at a Royal Ulster Constabulary funeral; it was discovered in time and defused. But Protestant (Loyalist) anger had also been growing at the propaganda success of the IRA's own paramilitary funerals _ the "hero send-offs" _ with the "Brits" in the form of the RUC shown as callous bullies batoning the mourners. Television pictures, often without interpretation or explanation, had gone all around the world, building Protestant resentment fast. Enniskillen blew most of the remaining taboos away. So universal was the condemnation that even the normally stone-faced IRA felt obliged to apologise. But the fatal blow to an already damaged collective psyche had been delivered. All the madness needed was the moment. Then came the Special Air Services (SAS) killing of three IRA volunteers in Gibraltar two weeks ago. The three were acknowledged to have been on an active mission, almost certainly planning a bomb blast at a military parade that would have caused dozens of casualties, civilian as well as military; but they were unarmed when shot, an essential detail as a catalyst for what followed _ that inevitable martyrs' funeral last week which a single mad gunman clearly thought was one too many. The likelihood is that Michael Stone _ the man whose bomb and gun attack on the funeral procession killed three and injured 60 _ was a mentally unbalanced, profoundly violent individual, occasionally used on a freelance basis by one of the extreme Loyalist organisations to carry out a particularly dirty job. The charges against 32-year-old Stone, who was arrested after the massacre, may include 10 other counts of murder. It is unlikely he was ordered to attack the funeral, but he might have been encouraged, in order to test the Loyalist community's reaction to a new shock tactic, proof that someone was "striking back". The Ulster Defence Association has long needed to do something to

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Graphic

PIC OF MURDERED SOLDIERS DEREK WOOD BEFORE AND AFTER, CORPORAL ROBERT HOWES AND WOMEN FROM MILLTOWN ESTATE BELFAST LAYING TRIBUTES AT THE ULSTER DIVISION MEMORIAL OF TWO SOLDIERS KILLED AT THE FUNERAL OF KEVIN BRADY

Load-Date: September 20, 2003

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AT THE MOVIES

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Section: Section C; Page 10, Column 1; Weekend Desk

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Byline: By Nina Darnton

Body

"BEVERLY HILLS COP," starring Eddie Murphy, received mixed reviews from the critics back in December 1984, but it was a smash hit at the box office. Martin Brest directed the comedy adventure in which the sizzling, fast-talking Mr. Murphy strutted his stuff, helping to make the film the highest-grossing comedy ever made, earning \$350 million worldwide. So when Don Simpson and Jerry Bruckheimer, the producers, decided to make "Beverly Hills Cop II," which opened Wednesday, they had a successful formula to follow.

But when Mr. Brest was unavailable for the sequel, reportedly feeling that he didn't want to repeat himself artistically, the producers had to look for another director. They turned to Tony Scott, a British director who had completed another blockbuster for them, "Top Gun," which also received mixed reviews and made more than \$300 million worldwide. Mr. Scott said that his first reaction was that he didn't think he wanted to do a sequel, but that he then had an idea for the film that the producers had to accept before he agreed to the project: increase the action.

"A director is always ambivalent about doing a sequel," Mr. Scott said. "I took it on because I got a particular fix on what I could do with 'Cop II.' My fix was an energy fix that comes from action trying to pull against the main theme, which is humor. It's trying to pull the audience in two directions, to exhaust the audience by manipulating it in the best sense of the word, by pulling it between action and humor - getting it to a pitch with tough action sequences so that when the humor comes it is almost a sense of relief. It heightens the humor."

Mr. Scott said that since his idea was not part of the formula of the first film, the producers were worried at first. "But they listened and were prepared to make that transference to my concept," he said. "A couple of times en route I was asked to slow down and re-evaluate. They said, 'Remember what kind of a picture you're making - there is too much action.' And I listened. But ultimately, they made the decision to gamble."

The gamble - particularly Mr. Scott's direction - has drawn mixed reviews from critics; it is too early to tell if the new formula will succeed at the box office. Although Mr. Scott's first feature was "The Hunger," a moody psychological piece about contemporary vampires in New York City, he seems to like action footage. Before he directed "Top Gun," he had a reputation in England for making macho commercials, including one for Saab using jet fighters.

His next film, set in San Francisco, is called "Presidio," after an Army base there. It is a tough action movie, he said, "but also down and dirty, gritty and real." He described the story as "a drug war that becomes a war of obsession between a marine and a police officer set against a background of drugs, a crime and an obsessive love story." The Power of Film Music, As Wielded by Bill Conti Bill Conti is a composer and conductor, one of the artists whose contribution makes a difference in a finished film but whom most people rarely think about. Long after the director is

AT THE MOVIES

chosen, the actors cast and even the editor hired, the composer is brought in to see the rough cut and add the score.

Mr. Conti has provided the music for "The Right Stuff," for which he won an Oscar, as well as for movies as varied as the James Bond picture "For Your Eyes Only," the first three "Rocky" films and, most recently, "A Prayer for the Dying," starring Mickey Rourke, Bob Hoskins and Alan Bates. The film, in which Mr. Rourke plays an **Irish Republican Army** killer who is trying to reform, is already shot, and post-production work will be completed in late June. It is directed by Mike Hodges. "Music brings out the feelings that aren't said," Mr. Conti said. "Music is much more subtle. We can show emotional feelings which aren't necessarily on the screen; we can, as in a Greek Chorus, make further comments that the script has left out or would like exaggerated. We can take you psychologically in a different direction completely, or enhance the direction the film is going in. We have a lot of power."

Mr. Conti's father and grandfather were musicians. Although he occasionally composes classical music (he is working on a trumpet concerto on a commission from the United States Air Force band, and he conducts his own works in orchestras around the country), he likes to think of himself primarily as a working composer.

"I am a composer in the Baroque sense rather than the Classic and Romantic sense," he said. "The Baroque sense means that one composes because that is one's job description. Bach wrote a mass for Sunday's church service or a piece for someone's wedding - a composer wrote something because the king wanted it to be played for dinner that night, not the Romantic sense of composing in isolation for oneself to produce art."

"I think it's important to be a working composer. It's great to teach, but it's a shame to be a teacher if you hate teaching and are doing it just to pay the rent. I'd rather write music and be a composer for whatever medium wants to hire me. I like the kind of music that immediately communicates." The Underside Of New York Life Remember "Mondo Cane," the cult film that showed that grotesque, barbaric and revolting customs have no national boundaries? The original "Mondo Cane" and its sequel depicted strange and for the most part disturbing customs throughout the world. A New York producer, Stuart Shapiro, proving that you can find the whole world in New York City, is making "Mondo New York," to show the esoteric, the far-out and the outrageous that exist side by side in this city.

"It will show the underground of New York, bizarre happenings, graffiti, homeless people, shooting galleries, a Haitian voodoo ceremony, a cock fight and a Chinese slave auction, which is a kind of theatrical form of prostitution," Mr. Shapiro said. It will also focus on the underground art scene, performance artists like Ann Magnuson and Karen Finley and street artists. The film will use a combination of documentary techniques and theatrical re-creations, depending on the subjects' accessibility.

The movie will be distributed by Paramount Pictures exclusively for home video. On June 3, the producer is sponsoring a party at a New York club, the Tunnel, which he hopes will turn out the cream of the city's bizarre people. He is offering a prize for what he calls "the most Mondo couple."

"We hope we'll get the most strange, incredible people," he said. "We'll put in a runway, we'll give a \$1,000 cash prize, and we'll film the whole thing." A Czechoslovak Festival At the Film Forum An interesting festival of Czechoslovak films will begin at Film Forum 1 on June 3 and last for a week. The director of the Film Forum, Karen Kooper, was invited to Prague, where she spent a week screening more than two-dozen recent films. She chose seven that she says, represent a variety of subjects and styles reflecting the most innovative work of the last three years.

The subjects range from such films of personal crisis as Dusan Hanak's "Quiet Happiness," which is essentially a tale of **women's** liberation, depicting an unhappily married woman who decides to make her own way, to more social themes. "They've All Got a Talent" by Zdenek Flidr is a gentle satire of opportunism. An after-school folk-dancing group becomes fashionable in high Government circles and is soon mobbed by parents trying to get their children places and teachers trying to curry favor. "Radical Cut," by Dusan Klein, depicts tension between gypsies and the authorities, and "Cobweb," by Zdenek Zaoral, is the first Czechoslovak film that deals with drug abuse.

AT THE MOVIES

The films are shown in repertory throughout the week, so it is a good idea to phone the box office after June 3 to find out the daily schedule (431-1590), or pick up a printed schedule at the Film Forum, 57 Watts Street.

Graphic

photo of Tony Scott

End of Document

GADDAFI: HIS IS A RUTHLESS VISION

COURIER-MAIL

April 17, 1986 Thursday

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Length: 1381 words

Byline: STENGEL R

Body

Gaddafi: his is a ruthless vision From RICHARD STENGEL in Washington IN the movie reel of his imagination, he sees himself standing alone in the desert, silhouetted against the moon, swathed in traditional Bedouin robes. He sees himself as a far-sighted prophet of Islam and the mighty creator of the Great Arab Nation, stretching from the warm Persian Gulf to the dark Atlantic Ocean _ a nation that would eclipse the West in power and glory and purity. Muammar Gaddafi is not a man of modest ambitions, nor one without a sense of backlighting. But his messianic vision, like the turbans in which he wraps himself, does not camouflage his vicious methods and his ruthless fanaticism. He believes his own erratic ends are justified by any means, however bloody. He has become the modern-day incarnation of the Society of Assassins, which flourished from the 11th to the 13th century in the Middle East _ only his victims are random and spread over the entire map. The primary tool of his effort to achieve Islamic unity and the elimination of Israel is terrorism. Gaddafi regards himself not only as the last great hope of pan-Islam, but as the scourge of the West, which he fervently believes has humiliated the Arab world for centuries. It is a humiliation he intends to avenge. Although Gaddafi is often described as a madman, an irrational mystic who speaks in rhyme but without reason, there is a contorted yet intent philosophical underpinning to his actions and ideology.

QNP His madness has method in it _ indeed, his apparent madness is a method. His very unpredictability is a way of keeping his enemies off guard. He revels when those in the West denounce him as a devil; it only confirms the righteousness of his cause. Gaddafi's cause and the means with which he pursues it are the result of his desert youth, his early military training and his scattered reading of Utopian and anarchist writers. His father was an illiterate Bedouin shepherd, and Gaddafi was born in a goat- skin tent in the desert near Surt. ""The desert teaches you to rely on yourself," Gaddafi has written. ""The values I learned there have remained with me all my life." His activism ignited early. He walked kilometres to school, often slept in a mosque, and was booted out of secondary school after starting a student strike. He later entered a military academy, where he immersed himself in the Koran and the passionate speeches in praise of Arab nationalism by Gamal Abdel Nasser, whom Gaddafi came to worship. After graduating, he spent 10 months at a British Army signals school. When he returned to Libya, Gaddafi began to organise his fellow officers into secret cells to plan a way to overthrow the regime of the aged King Idris, whom he regarded as a corrupt and effete tool of Western oil companies. In 1969 Gaddafi led an efficient and bloodless coup, an effortless overthrow that seemed to have the tacit support of the US. To many Arabs, smarting from their defeat at the hands of Israel in the 1967 war, the strutting 27-year-old Gaddafi seemed to provide an image of Arab pride. Gaddafi saw himself as the heir to Nasser's crusade for Arab unity, and he would later form paper unions with Egypt, Syria and the Sudan. He engineered the ousting of British and American bases in Libya and negotiated shrewd deals with Western oil companies to yield greater revenues for Libya. With that money, Gaddafi set about to make good his promises of free housing, medical care and education for Libya's citizens, something he largely accomplished by the mid-1970s. In 1973 Gaddafi announced what he called his Popular Revolution, designed to eradicate all forms of the nation's bourgeoisie and bureaucracy. His revolution was based

GADDAFI: HIS IS A RUTHLESS VISION

on three slender volumes of his own self-taught philosophy titled The Green Book, Gaddafi's equivalent of Mao's Little Red Book. The books outline Gaddafi's combination of Islamic zeal and Bedouin socialism in a system he calls the Third Universal Theory. The premise is that all contemporary political systems are inherently undemocratic and divisive. Gaddafi contends that capitalism benefits only the elite, whereas communism stifles the individual. Guided by his own principles, Gaddafi eliminated all private enterprise, all rental properties and froze bank accounts. He mandated the creation of so-called People's Committees, which were meant to institutionalise the Koran's concept of consultation. Today the committees run virtually all aspects of Libyan daily life and help suppress any opposition to the regime. By 1978 Gaddafi declared that Libya had become the first *jamahiriya*, which means a state without a government, or a people's state. Gaddafi subsequently resigned from his official positions and took for himself the title of Leader of the Revolution. Despite the vagueness of the designation, his power was still unquestioned and absolute. He used it ruthlessly to stifle dissent abroad as well as at home. Since the late 1970s, a succession of Libyan exiles have been gunned down in Europe by Gaddafi henchmen. "My people have the right to liquidate opponents inside and outside the country," he said, "even in broad daylight." Terrorism and the support of "revolutionary movements" are tenets of Gaddafi's foreign policy. Gaddafi in fact seems hardly to have met a terrorist he didn't like _ or support. In addition to funding the radical fringes of Palestinian organisations, his hand and pocketbook have been seen behind Colombia's M-19 guerrillas, the ***Irish Republican Army*** and anti-Turkish Armenian terrorist groups. He offered sanctuary to the three surviving members of the Black September guerrillas who slaughtered 11 Israeli athletes at the 1972 Olympic Games. Gaddafi has turned Libya into a kind of Palm Springs for despots and terrorists. He once provided a home for Uganda's Idi Amin, as well as a safe haven for the Palestinian radical Abu Nidal, who allegedly masterminded the Rome and Vienna airport massacres. Although Gaddafi's Green Book describes the US and the Soviet Union as equally egregious imperialists, he has made Libya into a Soviet military client, albeit one that even the Kremlin has trouble controlling. The Soviets are his principal supplier of weaponry, and he had purchased more than \$12 billion worth of Soviet hardware by the early 1980s. The US, he says, is the "devil" and the Soviets are a "friend". The main reason for his embrace of the Soviets is US support for Israel. Gaddafi is obsessed with wiping Israel off the map, and he is convinced that only America stands in his way. "Gaddafi believes that without the US, Israel could not continue to exist," says one Western diplomat. "He believes that the US is being unfair to the Arabs and that it is his duty as standard-bearer of the Arab cause to continually challenge Washington." Like Iran's Khomeini, he sees Washington as the focus of evil on the planet and regards the US, not Israel, as the ultimate enemy. Over the years, Gaddafi has become his own best public relations agent, a master at dropping personal details to Western reporters, making himself appear as a humble man of the desert. But there is a pride in his modesty and a kind of repressed cupidity in his abstinence. He regularly parades himself and primps before the ***female*** Western reporters based in Tripoli. Married to the same woman for 16 years, he had seven children, six of them boys. One child was reported killed in the US air raid. He has written that Islamic ***women*** are not to be kept in servitude. As if to demonstrate the point, his retinue has been known to include ***female*** bodyguards carrying sub-machine guns. He lives in a small boxcar of a house, no different from the spartan homes of the other military men at the well-fortified Bab el-Azizia barracks. He keeps a tent outside, and it is underneath its cloth top that he appears to feel truly at home. He has a piece of bread and a glass of camel's milk for breakfast, a regimen he has kept since he was a boy. He says he likes Western classical music, especially Beethoven, and that his favorite book is Uncle Tom's Cabin. With a kind of adolescent romanticism, he thinks of himself as a Bedouin Byron. "I am a poet," he told a German interviewer. "From time to time, I weep, but only when I am alone."

Graphic

PIC OF COLONEL GADDAFI

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GADDAFI: HIS IS A RUTHLESS VISION

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LONG ISLAND JOURNAL

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Body

-American political and social groups in one week is hard on the waistline, but it was apparently worth it for

Peter King , the grand marshal of New York City's St. Patrick's Day Parade.

Mr. King, the Nassau County Comptroller, has long been identified with things Irish, in particular as a supporter of the outlawed **Irish Republican Army**, and the Irish Northern Aid Committee, which raises funds for the Roman Catholic minority in Northern Ireland.

Two years ago, when

Michael Flannery , an avowed partisan of the cause, was named grand marshal of the parade, the late Terence Cardinal Cooke, the Archbishop of New York, refused to welcome the parade officials to St. Patrick's Cathedral. Mr. King tried to finesse the situation this year by meeting with Archbishop

John J. O'Connor a week before the parade to encourage him to lend his presence to the festivities.

Mr. King, who has made many trips to Ireland as a guest of various "nationalist" groups, as he calls supporters of the Catholic cause in Northern Ireland, said he was continuing a correspondence with "loyalists," or representatives of the Protestant majority, and that there was more of a "dialogue" in Northern Ireland than at any time in 15 years.

"George Seawright, who once said all Catholics should be incinerated," Mr. King remarked, referring to a Protestant activist, "endorsed me for grand marshal. That's a dubious endorsement, but I'll take it anyway."

I N what is being described as the first joint venture of its kind, members of the Jewish community of Great Neck are to gather at Temple Emanuel on Hicks Lane at 10:30 A.M. today to discuss a major effort to aid the famine-stricken Jews of Ethiopia, known as Falashas.

The Great Neck Project, as it is being called, is being sponsored by the American Jewish Committee's Long Island chapter in conjunction with groups from B'nai B'rith, the Great Neck Synagogue, the Lake Success Jewish Center, Temple Israel, Temple Isaiah, Temple Beth-El and Young Israel of Great Neck.

The objective, according to

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Joan Silverman, executive director of the American Jewish Committee, is to raise money to begin action to deal with the hunger problem on a one-to-one basis.

Representative

Gary Ackerman, Democrat of Queens, who recently returned from famine- stricken areas of Ethiopia and refugee camps in the Sudan where many Ethiopian Jews have fled, is to be the main speaker.

AFTER more than 30 years of maintaining an open-door policy to all wayward and unwanted animals, the Hampton Animal Shelter in Bridgehampton is due to close, said

Helen Rosenblum, court-appointed receiver of the facility.

Last December, upon the recommendation of the State Attorney General's office, Mrs. Rosenblum, a Riverhead lawyer, was appointed receiver by Justice

Lester E. Gerard of State Supreme Court.

This followed an unannounced inspection by the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals of the shelter's facilities last fall. At that time, A.S.P.C.A. agents found more than 400 animals. Many were deemed "unsavable," and more than 80 were put to death.

Subsequent to the A.S.P.C.A.'s findings, the state brought charges of animal abuse against the shelter's founder and director,

Corina Videla, as well as against some directors and employees of the facility. The well-being of the animals fell into the jurisdiction of the State Attorney General's office.

Until the A.S.P.C.A. inspection, Mrs. Videla refused to put animals to death and accepted all animals, no matter what their species, age or condition. This led to severe overcrowding and the spread of contagious diseases.

Early in Mrs. Rosenblum's receivership she said she hoped to keep the facility operable. But this month she advised Justice Gerard that the shelter should be closed. She cited lack of funds as the primary reason.

Justice Gerard approved Mrs. Rosenblum's recommendation last week and said the facility must be closed by May 3.

Shortly after Mrs. Rosenblum filed her recommendation,

Gail Bleil, Southampton Town's animal control warden, removed 60 animals from the facility to the town's pound in East Quogue. The next day, representatives from Bide-a-Wee came to the shelter and agreed to take up to 30 disease- free dogs. Bide-a-Wee is a private, nonprofit animal shelter and adoption facility that operates on Long Island and in New York City.

Mrs. Rosenblum said her receivership would continue until all pending litigation is resolved.

MORE support services for disabled people striving for self-sufficiency are now being offered through Suffolk Independent Living Services.

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The Medford-based organization, which provides counseling, transportation, advocacy, referral and other services, is holding an open house on Friday to introduce its programs to the community.

Funds for the center and a satellite office planned for Central Islip come through the State Department of Education's Office of Vocational Rehabilitation.

Among the program's goals are helping the disabled find housing and necessary support services, such as home health aides, to enable them to find jobs, according to

June Roberts, the program's director.

The open house is to run from noon to 7 P.M. at the center's office, 74 Southaven Avenue, Suite H, in Medford.

A BENEFIT concert to start fund-raising efforts to create a scholarship fund for women seeking graduate educations in science will be held at the Brookhaven National Laboratory in Upton on Saturday at 8 P.M.

The concert has been set up by a group called Brookhaven Women in Science. It will feature works by Brahms, Purcell, Scarlatti and contemporary female composers to raise funds for the Renata W. Chasman Memorial Scholarship Fund.

The performers, all Long Island residents, include

Daniel Trueman, violinist;

Joseph DePalo, clarinetist;

Florence Hechtel and Linda

Sandberg, mezzo-sopranos, and

Maria Heger and

Laurine Elkins Marlow, pianists. Tickets for the concert cost \$5 at the door. The performance will be held at Berkner Hall.

SEMINARS on Hispanic history and the culture of Ireland are among the offerings in the spring series of Queens College seminars at the school's center in Caumsett State Park in Huntington Town.

Limited to 35 people, the seminars are held at the manor house of what was once the Marshall Field 3d estate in Lloyd Neck. Participants, including faculty members, will stay in dormitories on the 1,400-acre estate, which encompasses meadowlands and beach.

"Festival Hispanico," presented by the Romance languages department March 29 through 31, will include Spanish and Latin American feature films, a discussion of poetry of the Spanish Civil War, a session on South American Indians and a lesson in beginning Portuguese for students of Spanish, showing people how they can use what they know in that language to break the code of the Portuguese language.

"Old and New in 20th-Century Ireland," April 29 through 31, presented by the Irish studies department, will explore Ireland's two languages, its folklore, literature and political and economic problems.

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The annual creative writing weekend, May 3 through 5, presented by the English department, will offer all-day workshops as well as evening readings. A guest speaker, Paul Auster, a Manhattan writer, will read from his works. The first volume of his New York trilogy, "City of Grass," was recently published.

A \$50 fee covers transportation to and from the campus, food and lodging. Those interested may call 718-520-7119.

THE 5,000 or so elderly people who live in nursing homes in Nassau County will now have somebody to complain to. The county's Department of Senior Citizens Affairs has received a \$50,000 state grant to set up an Ombudservice program for them.

"Experience with the Ombudservice in other areas of the state indicate that this approach is extremely effective in avoiding misunderstandings and resolving seniors' problems in long-term care facilities," said Commissioner

Adelaide Attard of the Department of Senior Citizens Affairs.

The grant will go to the county's Family Service Association in Hempstead, which will sign up volunteers who will be trained to administer the program.

"Basically, the volunteers will work closely with nursing home staffs, patients and their families, and provide counseling on financial concerns and any sensitive matters that patients or relatives might have," said

Linda Strongin, public information supervisor of Senior Citizens Affairs.

The goal is to have a few volunteers in each nursing home to act as middlemen between patients and the home's administration. Miss Strongin said that explaining such matters as Medicare and Medicaid services would be one of the volunteers' duties. Under the Federal Older Americans' Act, the state's Office for Aging was requested to establish the Ombudservice project.

Those interested in volunteering may call 466- 9718.

Graphic

Photo of Peter King being outfitted by Sean Stanton

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AN OUTSIDE CHANCE

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Body

As an outdoor recreationalist, naturalist and, by some definitions, an environmentalist, I feel I must take an unpopular position. I am voting against the Natural Streams Act. I am in favor of the intent behind it, but I cannot support it as it is written. I don't like the idea of buying a user permit to go on a float trip, but for the sake of the streams I could live with that. I don't like the idea of every stream in the system having its own set of rules and red tape to know. But for the sake of the streams, I could live with that, too. My fear is that the only major effect the act will have will be to intensify the alienation that exists between landowners and river users. These two factions have within the past couple of decades shown increasingly more animosity toward each other, with elitist attitudes and limited perspective on both sides, and with law-enforcement authorities often caught in the middle. Landowners will be told where they can and cannot build structures. They will be told how to run their agricultural operations and, in some cases, prohibited from resuming them if they stop for five years. Some of these factors do need to be controlled for the health of the streams, but the answer is to work with landowners not against them. Landowners and river users need to come together, communicate and work for conflict solutions that will benefit all concerned. The Natural Streams Act, I fear, will not accomplish this, but instead will drive a wedge further between the groups. We've got to stop butting heads and work together. Mark Hodges St. Louis HEADLINE: Faulty Priorities I find it unbelievable that virtually half of the Oct. 3 front page contained pictures of a gallant rescue from a burning building - of a cat. With due respect to the courageous firefighters involved, recognizing that people do become attached to their pets, and having experienced the anguish of my child's severe burns in a home fire, the Post-Dispatch would have done a greater justice to the community it serves by checking with the family of any of the 54 people listed in the obituary section to see if they might be able to suggest better use of a front page story! Susan O'Leary Town and Country I love cats. Our family pet is a cat. However, I was once again reminded of the perilous future of public education in this nation, when I read the Oct. 3 edition. A large portion of the front page was devoted to photos of a woman in a firefighter's coat, being helped by trained firefighters to coax her cat to safety from a burning building. A three-column article relating the story was on page 7A. The Missouri teacher of the year announcement was also in that issue of the Post-Dispatch. It was a four line news brief on page 5A. There was no photograph of the teacher. That teacher, like many others throughout the United States, is teaching, motivating and molding the lives of our children - the future leaders of this country. The problems teachers face daily are enormous: lack of money, lack of parental involvement, and lack of public support or appreciation. Yet, teachers continue to teach and to make a difference in the lives of young people throughout this country. Where are our priorities? Perhaps our nation's teachers need to don yellow firefighters' coats to draw attention to the burning issues facing this country's public education. Jean Tchoukaleff University City On Oct. 3 I reached for the Post, confident of reading a front-page article about the celebrations in Germany - complete with large headlines and photographs. What did I find instead? Four full color photographs of a rescue of a cat from a burning building. Why did the editors feel that this story deserved such extensive coverage on the front page? I could understand if the situation were as dramatic as the heroic effort of firefighter Adam Long when he rescued and attempted to breathe life into little Patricia Pettus. Yet

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these four pictures of the Belleville fire used more newspaper space than the single, Pulitzer Prize-winning photograph of Long. I find this shocking! And where did I finally find a picture to accompany the news of the reunification of Germany? On the last page of the front section! Shame on the Post ! It's times like this that I sincerely wish there was a second major newspaper in St. Louis. Joanne M. Condon Brentwood HEADLINE: Curtain Call The recent furor revolving around female journalists in professional sports locker rooms caused one fanciful question to come to my mind: If there were professional female sports teams, and they drew enough public interest to warrant media coverage, would male reporters be allowed to invade these locker rooms and interview them? I think that the ladies' sensibilities would be granted preference over the male journalist's right to do his job. I've heard no outcry in respect to the athlete's right to privacy. It may come as news to some women but most men don't feel any more comfortable undressing in the presence of strange women than women do undressing in front of strange men. The much maligned proposal by Cincinnati Bengals coach Sam Wyche to have his players remain in uniform for 20 minutes after each game, after which time no reporters of any sex would be allowed in the locker room, is a meritorious idea. When the New England Patriots' Zeke Mowatt brandished his anatomy in the face of the Boston Herald's Lisa Olson, I doubt he was in any way trying to arouse or assault her. I suspect it was just his way of expressing, "Lady, if you're gonna come in here and make me uncomfortable, I'm gonna make you uncomfortable!" Joseph E. Leicht St. Louis HEADLINE: IRA Is Winning Acting British Consul General R.F. Jones' Aug. 25 letter cunningly misidentified the terrorists in occupied Ireland. Jones' figures are false. Occupied Ireland's war-death tabulations from 1969 through 1989 reveal that the (staunchly anti-communist) Irish Republican Army is winning the war, while British forces are the major terrorists; as follows: British forces killed by Irish forces; 886. Irish forces killed by British forces; 142. Noncombatants killed by Irish forces; 582. Noncombatants killed by British forces; 807. Irish noncombatants killed by British forces; 657. British noncombatants killed by Irish forces; 380. The terrorism quotient (noncombatants killed by this agency as a percentage of all of its killings) of British forces there is 78.7 percent. The terrorism quotient of Irish forces there is 36.1 percent. Furthermore, the single worst terrorist attack in Britain or Ireland was the 1972 Dublin street bombing by the brothers Littlejohn, which killed 23 civilians, and maimed hundreds. These British agents confessed to perpetrating that crime as part of a British government policy of terrorist bombings for which the IRA was to be blamed. Chris Fogarty Vice Chairman Friends of Irish Freedom Chicago HEADLINE: A Noisy Neighbor I've got this neighbor who is driving me crazy. He rents the place from some absentee landlord who ignores his neighbors. The noise on weekend mornings is horrible. I called the "governing body," and they say they will put me on a list of complainers, but nothing ever gets done. My neighbor is always adding on. In fact, he can't come toward my property anymore because he's at the edge already. My other neighbors are fed up with his build, build, build philosophy. In fact they're spending their own money to fight this guy. It doesn't matter to him, though, because he's spending other people's money, and if he should win, then the extra rent money goes straight to him. The property he owns could surely be used by some other enterprising tenant. I have visited several of the other guys who do the same thing he does, but in other cities. They almost always operate out in the open country, and they have big, new shiny buildings and parking lots. I believe the majority of residents in the St. Louis area regard a modern airport as essential for the future and vitality of the St. Louis area. If I owned Lambert Field, I also would demand that I be the sole owner and proprietor of this expanded and updated facility (especially if paid for by someone else). The debate is whether Lambert is the international airport we want. Get a grip, St. Louis; don't get caught up in this political garbage. Do your homework; look at the real facts. As a good friend of mine once put it, "Let's not pour perfume on a pig!" Christopher Kneibert Pasadena Park HEADLINE: Tax Talk Ever get the feeling that everything you do is wrong? I would imagine many politicians get that feeling when they act on taxes. The apparent spirit of many in this country seems to be to raise the other fellow's taxes, not their own, and don't take away any of their government allocations or increase their cost therefore. One of our senators from Missouri even resists a measly 2 2/3 cents increase on a can of beer, even though evidence seems to be quite persuasive that continual drinking of alcoholic beverages contributes to an early death. Ever get the feeling that not many Americans really care about the federal budget deficits or the monstrous federal debt? It really galls me to hear the phrase "the war that nobody wanted." If nobody wanted it, then it would not have been. If everybody did not want fiscal irresponsibility on the part of the federal government, then everybody would cooperate to make sure the government lived within its means. Robert A. Shepherd Kirkwood

AN OUTSIDE CHANCE

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AP SPOTLIGHT: Thatcher's Decade - Growth of an 'Institution'

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Body

Many Britons barely remember life before Margaret Thatcher, and many more can't imagine what Britain will be like after she's gone.

In the decade since she came to power on May 4, 1979, something of a curiosity as Europe's first **female** prime minister, she has become, in her own words, an institution.

Having begun with uncertain prospects for survival, she has now had the longest uninterrupted tenure in 160 years of British politics.

She dominates national life more than any prime minister since Winston Churchill in World War II. She was asked once what she had changed.

"Everything," she replied.

So all-embracing is the free-market crusade called "Thatcherism" that even the name of her Conservative Party has become something of a misnomer.

Conservatism, columnist Alan Watkins wrote in the liberal weekly Observer, means preserving the old. But "Mrs. Thatcher has not only refused to put the clock back; she has put it forward, turning the hands furiously, so that bells chime unpredictably and clockwork jangles."

She has quelled the labor unions; she has sold off vast segments of the state-owned sector turning traditional money-losers like steel into profitable enterprises and in the process has built an army of new shareholders; she has shifted the entire political agenda rightward; she has achieved the international recognizability of a superpower leader.

Now, after a third consecutive election victory in 1987, she is trying to carry the revolution into the heartland of the old Britain by shaking up the 40-year-old National Health Service, the tradition-cloaked legal profession and the education system.

It has been, says Hugo Young, her latest biographer, "an era in which an ordinary politician, laboring under many disadvantages, grew into an international figure who did some extraordinary things to her country."

It is a formidable legacy and most analysts agree much of it will endure.

AP SPOTLIGHT: Thatcher's Decade - Growth of an 'Institution'

"There will never again be moribund nationalized industries," said Robert Worcester, head of pollsters Market Opinion and Research International, said in an interview.

"There will never again be trade union baronies, there will never again be the working class rejection of middle class values by the majority."

The election May 3, 1979, with the final results declared early on May 4, followed a winter of strikes that left the dead unburied and garbage piled in cities, and spelled the end of James Callaghan's Labor government.

She began with a prolonged spell of bitter medicine: high unemployment as loss-making heavy industries were pared, state spending curbs, then an onslaught against heavy-spending Labor-controlled local governments.

If miners and steelworkers were heroes of the Labor Party, small businessmen were the heroes of Margaret Thatcher, inspired by her father in whose grocery she helped out while growing up in the north England town of Grantham. Taxes were cut, currency controls abolished and an enlarged police force deployed to deal with strike pickets now illegal under her union-curbing laws.

By 1981 she was rated the most unpopular prime minister since opinion polls began. But the following year came victory in the 74-day Falklands Islands war against Argentina. Her popularity soared and she was re-elected in 1983 with an increased majority.

It enabled her to carry on the revolution, and the fruits are beginning to appear in a higher growth rate, a budget surplus and a sustained consumer boom.

Male average earnings at 273 pounds (\$\$466) a week have risen by nearly one-third in real terms since 1979.

Two-thirds of Britons are homeowners, up from 50 percent in 1979. Trade union membership, down by one-third, is equaled by the some nine million stock holders.

But the number living on welfare has doubled to 9.4 million, or 17 percent of the population, official statistics indicate. Unemployment is nearly 7 percent, higher than in most other industrialized countries, and inflation nags away at 7.9 percent forcing interest rates to stay high at 13 percent.

Opinion polls indicate that while Britons don't like her, they respect her. Now she is often accused of going too far.

"Change and reform have become ends in themselves," comments the left-wing political scientist Ben Pimlott in the weekly New Statesman and Society.

"This is a government and, above all, a prime minister, that now believes it can break any convention, dispatch any sacred cow to the abbatoir with absolute impunity."

Critics argue that Mrs. Thatcher has stayed in power on only 42 percent of the popular vote, because opposition parties are divided.

The division between the prosperous south and unemployment-stricken north also has widened in Mrs. Thatcher's decade.

It's not all her fault. The north has always been poorer than the south. The Thatcher era happens to coincide with the decline of heavy industry, the north's traditional mainstay, and the south's closer proximity to the lucrative markets of continental Europe.

But although the state spends more on the north than the south, the predominant feeling among northerners is that Mrs. Thatcher cares little for regions that are not natural Conservative constituencies. Thus the Conservative vote has plummeted in the north and in Scotland, separatist nationalism is at its strongest in 10 years.

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Mrs. Thatcher has made the language of debate more combative and divisive. She declares she wants to bury socialism in Britain, and some opponents adopt the trappings of East European dissidents. The latest anti-Thatcherite organization calls itself Charter 88, modeled on Czechoslovakia's dissident Charter 77.

Labor legislator Kim Howells acknowledges that when Mrs. Thatcher came to power, "The left was largely bankrupt of ideas about what to do about British industry. It did not come to terms with the things Thatcher was talking about ... in a sense we became the reactionaries."

It's not only the left that Thatcherism has upset.

Her policies have brought her into conflict with large parts of the establishment: Church of England bishops, the British Broadcasting Corp., the universities, even Queen Elizabeth II. The queen was said to be upset over discord in the Commonwealth, the association of former colonies, at Mrs. Thatcher's refusal to impose tough economic sanctions on South Africa.

The prime minister is also accused of being obsessed with official secrecy and too eager to use the courts to gag disclosures involving sensitive areas.

Mrs. Thatcher is also widely accused of undermining free speech with such measures as the banning of broadcast interviews with the ***Irish Republican Army*** and its supporters, and the revision of the 78-year-old Official Secrets Act to make it even harder to report news that the government feels should be suppressed.

Her government's protracted and ultimately fruitless battle to keep the retired secret service operative Peter Wright from publishing "Spycatcher," his memoirs, fuelled charges that she is obsessed with secrecy.

She argues that the ban on broadcasts of IRA interviews is essential to fight terrorism, and that the Wright case was meant to bind secret agents to their life-long secrecy oaths.

But the results sometimes go palpably against the liberal British grain: an issue of Harper's magazine with an article by a former intelligence operative is banned in Britain; a BBC studio is raided by police over a documentary on a secret spy satellite.

"She is destroying, or going a good way to destroy, some of our finest institutions," said James Cornford, former professor of politics at Edinburgh University who heads a new left-wing think tank, the Institute for Public Policy Research.

"I don't think she saved us from anything," he added in an interview. "And she has cost us a great deal."

The frustration of the intellectual left is compounded by the existence of an entire generation that knows only Thatcherism.

"It's become sort of normal," Cornford said, recalling a recent talk he gave to a group of high school seniors. "It was clear they really couldn't conceive of anybody else being prime minister."

To her admirers, the Iron Lady - a name given her by the Soviets - is a national savior who ended Britain's postwar cycle of confrontation and decline. But the balance sheet remains inconclusive.

She has no clearly defined challenger in her own party, while the opposition, split between Labor and the small, moderate center parties, looks incapable of toppling her.

Plans to privatize the national water supply and revamp property taxes are arousing widespread suspicion. Doctors and lawyers, ordinarily a Conservative constituency, are deeply hostile to her proposals for reforming health and the legal profession.

Critics point to Britain's creaking infrastructure - congested roads, a poorly run railway system, sewers dating to Victorian times - and insist that Mrs. Thatcher is wrong to place the burden of renewal on private investment.

AP SPOTLIGHT: Thatcher's Decade - Growth of an 'Institution'

This happily married mother of twins is already talking of beating all records by running for a fourth term in the 1990s.

"I think I have become a bit of an institution," she said after her third election victory. "And the place wouldn't be quite the same without this old institution. People seem to think, 'She isn't so bad, is she, this Maggie.'"

Graphic

With LaserPhoto, LaserGraphic EDITOR'S NOTE - In Britain's past, women movers and shakers mainly were monarchs. For the past decade, the dominant figure has been Margaret Thatcher, the commoner, and she has put the firm stamp of "Thatcherism" onto British history. A correspondent who has covered the prime minister since she came to office here describes the Thatcher Decade. ---

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AP SPOTLIGHT: Thatcher's Decade - Growth of an 'Institution'

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Dateline: LONDON

Body

EDITOR'S NOTE - In Britain's past, women movers and shakers mainly were monarchs. For the past decade, the dominant figure has been Margaret Thatcher, the commoner, and she has put the firm stamp of "Thatcherism" onto British history. A correspondent who has covered the prime minister since she came to office here describes the Thatcher Decade. ---

Many Britons barely remember life before Margaret Thatcher, and many more can't imagine what Britain will be like after she's gone.

In the decade since she came to power on May 4, 1979, something of a curiosity as Europe's first female prime minister, she has become, in her own words, an institution.

Having begun with uncertain prospects for survival, she has now had the longest uninterrupted tenure in 160 years of British politics.

She dominates national life more than any prime minister since Winston Churchill in World War II. She was asked once what she had changed.

"Everything," she replied.

So all-embracing is the free-market crusade called "Thatcherism" that even the name of her Conservative Party has become something of a misnomer.

Conservatism, columnist Alan Watkins wrote in the liberal weekly Observer, means preserving the old. But "Mrs. Thatcher has not only refused to put the clock back; she has put it forward, turning the hands furiously, so that bells chime unpredictably and clockwork jangles."

She has quelled the labor unions; she has sold off vast segments of the state-owned sector turning traditional money-losers like steel into profitable enterprises and in the process has built an army of new shareholders; she has shifted the entire political agenda rightward; she has achieved the international recognizability of a superpower leader.

AP SPOTLIGHT: Thatcher's Decade - Growth of an 'Institution'

Now, after a third consecutive election victory in 1987, she is trying to carry the revolution into the heartland of the old Britain by shaking up the 40-year-old National Health Service, the tradition-cloaked legal profession and the education system.

It has been, says Hugo Young, her latest biographer, "an era in which an ordinary politician, laboring under many disadvantages, grew into an international figure who did some extraordinary things to her country."

It is a formidable legacy and most analysts agree much of it will endure.

"There will never again be moribund nationalized industries," said Robert Worcester, head of pollsters Market Opinion and Research International, said in an interview.

"There will never again be trade union baronies, there will never again be the working class rejection of middle class values by the majority."

The election May 3, 1979, with the final results declared early on May 4, followed a winter of strikes that left the dead unburied and garbage piled in cities, and spelled the end of James Callaghan's Labor government.

She began with a prolonged spell of bitter medicine: high unemployment as loss-making heavy industries were pared, state spending curbs, then an onslaught against heavy-spending Labor-controlled local governments.

If miners and steelworkers were heroes of the Labor Party, small businessmen were the heroes of Margaret Thatcher, inspired by her father in whose grocery she helped out while growing up in the north England town of Grantham. Taxes were cut, currency controls abolished and an enlarged police force deployed to deal with strike pickets now illegal under her union-curbing laws.

By 1981 she was rated the most unpopular prime minister since opinion polls began. But the following year came victory in the 74-day Falklands Islands war against Argentina. Her popularity soared and she was re-elected in 1983 with an increased majority.

It enabled her to carry on the revolution, and the fruits are beginning to appear in a higher growth rate, a budget surplus and a sustained consumer boom.

Male average earnings at 273 pounds (\$\$466) a week have risen by nearly one-third in real terms since 1979.

Two-thirds of Britons are homeowners, up from 50 percent in 1979. Trade union membership, down by one-third, is equaled by the some nine million stock holders.

But the number living on welfare has doubled to 9.4 million, or 17 percent of the population, official statistics indicate. Unemployment is nearly 7 percent, higher than in most other industrialized countries, and inflation nags away at 7.9 percent forcing interest rates to stay high at 13 percent.

Opinion polls indicate that while Britons don't like her, they respect her. Now she is often accused of going too far.

"Change and reform have become ends in themselves," comments the left-wing political scientist Ben Pimlott in the weekly New Statesman and Society.

"This is a government and, above all, a prime minister, that now believes it can break any convention, dispatch any sacred cow to the abbatoir with absolute impunity."

Critics argue that Mrs. Thatcher has stayed in power on only 42 percent of the popular vote, because opposition parties are divided.

The division between the prosperous south and unemployment-stricken north also has widened in Mrs. Thatcher's decade.

AP SPOTLIGHT: Thatcher's Decade - Growth of an 'Institution'

It's not all her fault. The north has always been poorer than the south. The Thatcher era happens to coincide with the decline of heavy industry, the north's traditional mainstay, and the south's closer proximity to the lucrative markets of continental Europe.

But although the state spends more on the north than the south, the predominant feeling among northerners is that Mrs. Thatcher cares little for regions that are not natural Conservative constituencies. Thus the Conservative vote has plummeted in the north and in Scotland, separatist nationalism is at its strongest in 10 years.

Mrs. Thatcher has made the language of debate more combative and divisive. She declares she wants to bury socialism in Britain, and some opponents adopt the trappings of East European dissidents. The latest anti-Thatcherite organization calls itself Charter 88, modeled on Czechoslovakia's dissident Charter 77.

Labor legislator Kim Howells acknowledges that when Mrs. Thatcher came to power, "The left was largely bankrupt of ideas about what to do about British industry. It did not come to terms with the things Thatcher was talking about ... in a sense we became the reactionaries."

It's not only the left that Thatcherism has upset.

Her policies have brought her into conflict with large parts of the establishment: Church of England bishops, the British Broadcasting Corp., the universities, even Queen Elizabeth II. The queen was said to be upset over discord in the Commonwealth, the association of former colonies, at Mrs. Thatcher's refusal to impose tough economic sanctions on South Africa.

The prime minister is also accused of being obsessed with official secrecy and too eager to use the courts to gag disclosures involving sensitive areas.

Mrs. Thatcher is also widely accused of undermining free speech with such measures as the banning of broadcast interviews with the ***Irish Republican Army*** and its supporters, and the revision of the 78-year-old Official Secrets Act to make it even harder to report news that the government feels should be suppressed.

Her government's protracted and ultimately fruitless battle to keep the retired secret service operative Peter Wright from publishing "Spycatcher," his memoirs, fuelled charges that she is obsessed with secrecy.

She argues that the ban on broadcasts of IRA interviews is essential to fight terrorism, and that the Wright case was meant to bind secret agents to their life-long secrecy oaths.

But the results sometimes go palpably against the liberal British grain: an issue of Harper's magazine with an article by a former intelligence operative is banned in Britain; a BBC studio is raided by police over a documentary on a secret spy satellite.

"She is destroying, or going a good way to destroy, some of our finest institutions," said James Cornford, former professor of politics at Edinburgh University who heads a new left-wing think tank, the Institute for Public Policy Research.

"I don't think she saved us from anything," he added in an interview. "And she has cost us a great deal."

The frustration of the intellectual left is compounded by the existence of an entire generation that knows only Thatcherism.

"It's become sort of normal," Cornford said, recalling a recent talk he gave to a group of high school seniors. "It was clear they really couldn't conceive of anybody else being prime minister."

To her admirers, the Iron Lady - a name given her by the Soviets - is a national savior who ended Britain's postwar cycle of confrontation and decline. But the balance sheet remains inconclusive.

AP SPOTLIGHT: Thatcher's Decade - Growth of an 'Institution'

She has no clearly defined challenger in her own party, while the opposition, split between Labor and the small, moderate center parties, looks incapable of toppling her.

Plans to privatize the national water supply and revamp property taxes are arousing widespread suspicion. Doctors and lawyers, ordinarily a Conservative constituency, are deeply hostile to her proposals for reforming health and the legal profession.

Critics point to Britain's creaking infrastructure - congested roads, a poorly run railway system, sewers dating to Victorian times - and insist that Mrs. Thatcher is wrong to place the burden of renewal on private investment.

This happily married mother of twins is already talking of beating all records by running for a fourth term in the 1990s.

"I think I have become a bit of an institution," she said after her third election victory. "And the place wouldn't be quite the same without this old institution. People seem to think, 'She isn't so bad, is she, this Maggie.'"

Graphic

With LaserPhoto, LaserGraphic

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Book reviews UPI Arts & Entertainment Book Reviews

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Body

To appreciate "Literary Agents: The Novelist as Spy" a reader should have at least a nodding acquaintance with the authors under discussion and the world of espionage in general.

Biographer Anthony Masters assumes, for example, that you understand such things as the British Official Secrets Act.

He discusses the careers of a dozen men who wrote about espionage on the basis of at least some experience, from Erskine Childers, executed for his involvement with the **Irish Republican Army** in 1922, to David Cornwell, who turns out best sellers as John le Carre.

Most of the authors are British; World War II was on the horizon before the United States began building an extensive espionage bureaucracy that writers could join.

Masters has some interesting tidbits about people we may know only from their writings. For instance, Somerset Maugham, who was sent by England to Russia, wrote that he was too late to prop up the Socialist government of Alexander Kerensky. He thought the allies might have had a chance to undermine the Bolsheviks had he arrived six months earlier.

People who know Howard Hunt only as a Watergate figure linked to the CIA might be surprised to find he published his first novel in 1942 and earned a respectable living from his writing.

Malcolm Muggeridge, the first on the list still around to be interviewed for the book, comes alive with wry comments. He knew British traitors Kim Philby and Guy Burgess, as did some of the other men who were drawn into British Intelligence during World War II and lived to write about it. They refer to one another with varying degrees of respect, reflecting professional jealousy in the worlds of both espionage and letters.

Readers drawn to this book by the promise of information on espionage and its practitioners might find that some of Masters' comments about the writings of his subjects evoke memories of English Lit I. But he does provide a wealth of information for those whose appetites are whetted by the teasers offered on the book jacket. Sharon Miller (UPI)

Mongoose R.I.P., by William F. Buckley Jr. (Random House, 322 pp., \$17.95)

If you believe the CIA capable of assassination attempts -- and rightly or wrongly most people do -- and have ever wondered just how the agency might go about it, William F. Buckley Jr.'s latest Blackford Oakes novel gives you some idea.

"Mongoose R.I.P." is a skillful blend of fact and fiction. Most of the novel is about a number of American assassination attempts on Cuban Premier Fidel Castro that were carried out under the name of Operation Mongoose.

Oakes, the young operative familiar to readers from Buckley's seven previous spy thrillers, is part and parcel of the operation, which takes place in 1963.

A good portion of "Mongoose R.I.P.," takes place in Cuba and describes the feelings of two Cubans, at first enamored of Castro and the revolution, who become key players in the plot. It is also through them that you get a feel for the brutality of the regime.

This being 1963, there also is a subplot about whether or not the Soviets removed all their missiles from Cuba in that classic example of brinksmanship between President Kennedy and Soviet Premier Nikita Krushchev that made the world extremely nervous.

Oakes' long-time love, Sally Partridge, appears mainly on the sidelines except for a lengthy account of her background, their break-up and what ensues. One wonders whether Buckley felt obliged to include her in the novel and found this a convenient place to insert her family history. Since Castro is still with us, it's obvious the assassination attempts failed but this is a good read, made all the more so when you get to the epilogue where Buckley tells you just how much of it really happened. Of course, it didn't actually happen the way Buckley, himself a former agent, literately describes it in "Mongoose R.I.P." Or did it?

Post-mortem Effects, by Thomas Boyle

Once again, Thomas Boyle shows his mastery of the police procedural - and his ability to capture the essence of the borough he first wrote about in "Only the Dead Know Brooklyn."

Colorful characters, sharp writing and action coupled with a touch of black humor give this mystery featuring supercop Francis DeSales a literary feel. But it is Boyle's ability to evoke the smell, sound and feel of Brooklyn that makes the novel special.

And it is that dimension that leaves scenes painted in your memory long after the plot twists begin to fade.

The novel begins with a "too routine, too harmonious" Indian summer afternoon outing to a playground. A "Jewish looking" man abducts a boy from the midst of an upscale day-care play group.

While DeSales begins the hunt for the kidnaper, events begin to unravel too quickly for him to keep pace: the little boy's body is found in a Jewish-owned building; a Jewish sect member is attacked and his beard is shaved; and finally a Haitian man is found murdered and in an apparent voodoo rite in a Japanese shrine.

Are the killings related? As Brooklyn simmers in a stew of ethnic and racial suspicion, DeSales turns to Prof. Timothy Desmond for help. The two appear on a television talk show -- and then the hostess turns up missing.

As the plot lines begin to overlap, the already fast paced novel quickens even more when Desmond's 4-year-old son is kidnapped.

Can DeSales save both the television anchorwoman and the little boy?

Finding the answer makes for a memorable read. Emily R. Michaels (for UPI)

The Manzoni Family, by Natalia Ginzburg (Seaver Books, 358 pp., \$19.95)

To this reviewer, Alessandro Manzoni has always been, above all else, the man on whose death Giuseppe Verdi composed his monumental Requiem. Measured against that, everything else having to do with Manzoni, the great 19th century Italian poet, writer and patriot perhaps must pale.

Manzoni's main work of fiction was "I Promessi Sposi" (The Betrothed), which became an Italian classic.

Natalia Ginzburg, who used the letter format exclusively and quite effectively in her recent novel "The City and the House," resorts to it again frequently, perhaps too frequently, in this biography.

Consequently, the connecting narrative and author's interpretation is cut to the bone. While readers know what is going on, they often can only guess why.

Ginzburg herself admits her frustration at "the gaps and absences and obscurities" but says she just could not find all the documentation. She recommends that the book be read "without demanding more or less of it than a vel can give."

Still, people keep dying at an appalling rate and their deaths remain unexplained except by the conclusion that medical knowledge and general hygiene in the 1880s must have been poor, indeed.

The Manzoni women keep getting pregnant at an equally appalling rate, and there are pages in the book that read just like listings of births, illnesses and deaths.

Manzoni himself lived to be 88 and His mother Giulia, the matriarch, lived to be 79. Anchored on the two, the book covers a spread of fascinating history of Milan and northern Italy from the Napoleonic wars through the emergence of a unified Italy.

With the rivalries between so many members of the clan, there are plots and subplots galore and the biography should read like a Dostoyevsky novel. But it does not. Ivan Zverina (UPI)

58 Minutes, by Walter Wager (Macmillan, 260 pp., \$18.95)

Like a modern-day cliffhanger, "58 Minutes" opens with a terrorist attack that leaves thousands of airline passengers trapped in the sky over New York when the jets they are flying in lose all contact with the ground.

Willi Staub, a vicious one-eyed killer, and the four ruthless men working with him have wiped out the entire traffic control system at the three New York metropolitan-area airports. The planes can't be talked down because the terrorists are jamming the radio and in 58 minutes the first doomed airliner will run out of fuel and crash into the city.

To complicate matters in Walter Wager's new thriller, a blizzard is raging in the Northeast. This, plus a wide range of characters including a prince, a British member of the U.N. Security Council and a Kiev grandmother, will remind some readers of "Airport."

Staub has demanded the release of seven jailed terrorists and has promised to restore the traffic control system when he, his team and the prisoners have escaped safely. But his demands are a coverup to protect the interests of a Middle East tyrant and his promise is a lie.

Facing off against the notorious killer is Capt. Frank Malone, head of the New York police department's elite antiterrorist unit, whose young daughter is aboard one of the jets over New York.

Malone calls in the cops, the troops and the Coast Guard to search out the terrorists and an Air Force secret weapon to guide the planes to safety.

In a note at the back of the book, Wager says that the equipment detailed in his novel is supplemented by other systems that he has not included, in the interest of air safety. This is comforting, for grinning from every page is the specter of waking up one morning to screaming headlines reporting an actual attack. Lillian O'

Northern Ireland -- Land of the perennial 'Troubles'

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Body

In the city's Roman Catholic New Lodge ghetto, sandwiched between two Protestant neighborhoods, residents sleep with hammers and crowbars under their beds.

Life in New Lodge, where some 1,200 families live with an estimated 60 percent unemployment rate, is typical of many troubled areas in British-ruled Northern Ireland, almost two years after British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's dramatic initiative to defuse the turmoil.

It is a life filled with hate, fear and social deprivation, sprinkled with the old-fashioned blarney that seems to create new legends monthly and fuels the violence in the tiny province. In such an environment, political initiatives to end the fighting have little force.

Already a legend is the tale of the "Spiderman," in which the **Irish Republican Army** claimed one of its guerrillas scaled a 12-story slum apartment building in the New Lodge to bomb a British army rooftop observation post.

The British army confirmed the attack took place on May 1, but said the explosives were actually placed in an apartment underneath the post. The damage was only minor, it said, and only three soldiers were slightly wounded.

Whatever the truth, the tale of the IRA's "Spiderman" has been recounted by everyone in the New Lodge -- from little children to cab drivers and the politicians from Sinn Fein, the legal, political arm of the outlawed IRA.

"Everyone looked on the attack with delight and amazement," said Bobby Lavery, an area Sinn Fein politician who sits on the Belfast City Council. "Little children were shouting to the Brits on the roof that 'Spiderman has joined the IRA and he's going to get you.'"

The Irish "Troubles" -- as locals euphemistically call the hatred between the two communities -- trace their roots to the 1600s and to this day split the province's 900,000 Protestants and 600,000 Catholics largely with hate and mistrust.

Ever since the 1600s, when Britain confiscated the richest Irish land and "planted" Scottish settlers on it, "The Troubles" have sputtered. They culminated in 1922, when after a bloody, six-year war the 26-county, mostly Catholic Irish Republic was granted independence from Britain.

Northern Ireland -- Land of the perennial 'Troubles'

But the Protestant majority in the six counties of the north opted to remain under British rule. Their children and grandchildren today often hang British flags in front of their homes or paint curbstones in the "loyalist" areas red, white and blue -- the colors of the Union Jack.

The Protestants still control the province economically and enjoy less than half the unemployment rate of Catholics -- a legacy of the advantages afforded to their settler-ancestors.

With an overall province-wide male unemployment rate of 22 percent, it is the poorest part of Britain and there are Catholic families in some areas where no one has worked for years.

Most Catholics thus want the British out so the north and south can be united, and about 35 percent of them support the IRA's armed struggle.

Nearly 2,600 people have been killed in bombing and shootings staged by the IRA, its splinter offshoots and vengeance-seeking Protestant paramilitaries over the past 18 years.

In North Belfast, which includes the New Lodge, a dozen Catholic families have been victims of random sectarian Protestant assassinations in the past two years.

"Everyone sleeps with hammers and crowbars under their beds for protection against the Prods (Protestants)," said a New Lodge man. "Someone right next door to me was killed."

The latest British attempt to break the deadlock is an agreement signed in November 1985 with the Irish Republic.

It gives the republic an advisory role in the province to safeguard Catholic rights. As a reassurance to Protestants, it also pledges Northern Ireland will remain under British rule so long as the majority there wishes.

Although both Britain and the Irish Republic are sticking to the agreement, the violence has worsened in Northern Ireland. So far this year at least 67 people have been killed in political and sectarian violence, compared to 61 for all of last year and 54 for 1985.

Also last year, a total of 550 families -- mostly Catholics -- had to move from their homes after attacks by Protestant neighbors, the most chased out since the depths of the modern "Troubles" in the 1970s.

"You can't just legislate hate away," said a Catholic official, expressing a pessimistic view held by many people in public life in Northern Ireland. "Given the history and hatred, the violence will be hard to end."

Protestants fear the pact is a Catholic-orchestrated first step toward a British pullout from the province and eventual "Dublin rule."

Ironically, the IRA also denounces it. The guerrilla group says the Anglo-Irish agreement only "legitimizes British colonial occupation."

Meanwhile, Protestant militants firebombed and stoned 120 police families out of their homes last year and many officers say they feel caught in the middle.

"My wife can't hang my (police) shirts out on the line to dry because the IRA would target me," said a 24-year-old officer. "We also always have to look under our cars for bombs. But last summer I was hit in the face by a rock thrown by a Protestant. No one seems to like us."

The IRA onslaught has turned local precinct stations into armed camps, enveloped in barbed wire and guard towers. Those who service the stations -- from construction workers to garbage men -- live in fear of IRA retaliation for "collaborating with crown forces." Eight such -- mostly building company managers -- were killed in the past 2 years.

Although the police force does not confirm it, security sources say that a major project to rebuild 14 bombed-out police stations has been stalled because laborers are too fearful to work in the face of the threats.

Northern Ireland -- Land of the perennial 'Troubles'

Days after the IRA issued a renewed threat to kill police "collaborators," the shadowy Ulster Volunteer Force said it would then kill Catholics working for Protestant-owned firms. No one was killed specifically as part of that campaign but it succeeded in adding a new dimension of terror in the province.

"To work in a situation like that is very stressful," said a Catholic worker. "But I have to support my family."

Each year, Britain invests \$2.4 billion to keep the province's economy afloat. The figure does not include the another \$1.75 billion spent annually to keep 10,000 British army troops in place to bolster an estimated 20,000 policemen and a locally recruited militia force.

"We are trying to create inward investment to the province but the political problems have tended to discourage foreign investment," a government source said.

Despite that, the shopping center of Belfast is flooded with customers. Government and business officials, moreover, are in the midst of sinking \$640 million into a downtown development project over the current decade.

The city center's boom may have been affected by a shift in IRA tactics away from bombing pubs and stores toward targeting security forces.

"In the 1970s," said a source in Britain's Northern Ireland Office, the arm of the government that rules the province, "we had to ban parking because of car-bombs in the city-center. But those random bombings -- killing women and children -- cost the IRA a lot of support. Now they seem to focus their campaign against the military and police.

"So, with the exception of several streets and security gates to close off the area if we need, it's just like any other shopping district in Britain," the source said. "In fact, I would say it's safer because we have very little muggings."

Ordinary street violence has been throttled by both the IRA and Protestant paramilitary groups, who have fielded "punishment squads" to deter anti-social behavior by young criminals.

The most common method is "kneecapping" -- shooting the victims in the knee or legs -- but other methods have included dropping cinderblocks on a suspect's outstretched hands.

Although many in Belfast's poor areas applaud the vigilantes, the police condemn them as "hypocrisy" perpetrated by those who want "a monopoly for themselves on crime in their areas."

Racketeering by both sides is indeed rife in Northern Ireland. Paramilitaries gain revenue through extortion, protection rackets, controlling construction sites and skimming off profits from drinking clubs.

One source with police contacts said the IRA alone has 28 such clubs in Catholic West Belfast.

In addition, paramilitaries on both sides are laundering some of their dirty money by setting up legitimate businesses.

"It's just like the mini-Mafia," the source said. "They're into everything."

He estimated the Protestant paramilitaries make \$160,000 a week from illicit and legal operations and the IRA and its offshoot groups some \$400,000 a week.

"Don't think it all goes to the cause," he said. "Most line their own pockets."

On a recent night at an IRA haunt in the New Lodge called the "Felon's Club," two generations of an IRA-supporting family were gathered around a table for drinks.

"Me and my Da (father) have been jailed for what they call 'terrorist offenses,'" said Barney, 46. "I'm not saying if the charges are correct. But the Brits don't belong here and Ireland should be united. The problem with the Prods is they want to remain better off. They get all the jobs and their areas get all the government money."

Northern Ireland -- Land of the perennial 'Troubles'

Barney's 64-year-old mother shook her head.

"You know, one gets tired off all this," she said. "I want it better for my grandchildren. But as long as the Brits are here I don't see an end to the war."

A mile away in the Protestant Shankill community center, a grandmother also shook her head.

"I've been to Dublin and have seen the poverty there," she said. "If there is a united Ireland, what happens to us Protestants? We are the most loyal people in the United Kingdom. Why should we become part of a foreign land? It would be like giving back America to the Red Indians."

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CRIME

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Body

Lieut. Leroy Powder of the Indianapolis Police Department (Missing Persons Bureau) makes a reappearance in Michael Z. Lewin's *HARD LINE* (Morrow, \$11.95). As tough and crusty as ever, as honest and dedicated, as unlikable and compulsively one-sided, Powder still demonstrates an unexpected touch of humor and, underneath it all, a heart of gold. In short, he is a stereotype. But the skillful Mr. Lewin manages to imbue him with a certain reality.

Among other things, Powder is a male chauvinist, and he does not like having a lady cop in a wheelchair assigned to his unit. Injured in the line of duty, she is considered a heroine, and reporters throng around. Powder gets rid of them in short order. He also has to contend with his politically motivated superiors. He also has a murderous caseload. He also has problems with his son, a punk heading for big trouble. Lieutenant Powder is not in an enviable position.

He moves in a pretty rotten world and yet manages to maintain not only his purity but his compassion for unfortunates. One of these unfortunates is a woman who may or may not be an amnesiac. Whatever her problems, she clearly has a lot to hide, and she plays a prominent part in the book, up to its explosive ending. Like its predecessors, "Hard Line" is well written, with terse and effective dialogue.

Newgate Callendar reviews novels about crime

The unrest in Ireland has been the subject of many novels in recent years, and the latest is *EMBRACE OF THE BUTCHER*, by Anthony Burton (Dodd, Mead, \$12.95). The last Burton book to come this way - "The Coventry Option" of 1976 - also had something to do with Ireland and the ***Irish Republican Army***. That was a powerful piece of work, and so is this one, which finds an American reporter going to Ireland to discover why and how his brother, an English army officer, was killed.

He discovers that the British Government has put a D-notice on the episode: All information is blacked out. We are introduced to the fanatic elements of the I. R. A., including a New York cop who is a killer for the movement. The reporter finds enemies fast closing in on him. The action switches back and forth between New York and Britain, until the hit man decides to do a job that will insure immortality for himself and the cause he so believes in. The amorality of men in power is examined, and at the very end there is an ironic twist in which a crazy kind of justice is served. "Embrace of the Butcher" is a gripping and imaginative novel that offers no easy solutions to a major problem.

CRIME

The espionage entry this week, *TO PLAY THE FOX*, by M.S. Craig (Dodd, Mead, \$10.95), is a gimmick novel. Mr. Craig sets up an artificial situation in which two Russian sleeper agents are activated. But Moscow decides that one of them has to be eliminated. Their Russian superior has to decide which one to put away.

One of the two men is a likable sort. The other is a complete stinker. Naturally the reader roots for the good guy, even though he is a Russian agent. The author, who is well acquainted with the romance of old flying machines, puts a good deal of the action into the air. But even though the solution is altogether predictable, there is enough action and maneuvering to keep the book from being a bore.

Bill Pronzini, who turns out a couple of books every year, continues his Nameless Detective series with *DRAGONFIRE* (St. Martin's, \$10.95). In "Scattershot," published last April, the Nameless Detective, a poor schnook who has nothing but trouble in his life, had lost his girlfriend and his license. Now his best friend is shot in San Francisco's Chinatown, and the ex-private eye takes it upon himself to investigate. He uncovers some unpleasant things. Was his friend on the take? The Nameless Detective puts everything together and faces a moral decision at the end. Mr. Pronzini turns in his usual competent, undistinguished prose. He knows everything about the conventions of the genre, but does not seem to have the imagination to step outside them.

In her first novel, *MURDER AT TOMORROW* (Walker, \$11.95), Kara George introduces a private eye (named Nick Nicoletti) and a reporter (named Theo Marlow) for a national newsweekly. Nicoletti is hired to look into a series of mean practical jokes at the magazine, as well as the high jinks of the new publisher's wife. Soon there is murder. The New York backgrounds are authentic enough, and so are the routines at the magazine. And there is some bright writing. But there also is some atrocious soap-opera writing: "Finally the tears came. Vanessa Wills struggled with racking sobs." After the sobs she says, "So awful. I loved him. How can I so bitterly miss a man who almost destroyed me? Why? He was so beautiful. Why such an ugly death?" Miss George has a good way to go.

Joseph Hansen has had a near monopoly on the homosexual mystery story, thanks to his Dave Brandstetter series, started in 1973. In his new book, *BACKTRACK* (Countryman Press, Woodstock, Vt., \$12.95), Mr. Hansen drops Brandstetter. But not the homosexual world of the West Coast.

Instead of Brandstetter, Mr. Hansen gives us an unusual hero - an 18-year-old boy who is waiting for a killer to come to him. The story alternates between Then and Now (in the author's terminology). In the flashbacks, the boy is seen trying to learn about the death of a father he never knew. The father had been a well-known actor who walked out on the family when the boy was a baby. The mother managed on her own, entertaining in sleazy joints, bringing up her child in a haphazard manner.

The boy turns out to be extraordinarily bright, perhaps a genius. Yet, with all of his brightness, with all of his cynicism, he really is an innocent. Especially a sexual innocent. But in tracking down the mystery of his father's death, he learns a lot. With its gritty sex, "Backtrack" is a gamy book; yet Mr. Hansen does not pander. Furthermore, he has written a brilliant piece in which even flashbacks are handled convincingly. His characters are splendidly fleshed out. It is not a happy book, and it has a sad, bitter ending. But it is a book that commands respect.

That British specialist in espionage and adventure, Desmond Bagley, turns to Africa in *WINDFALL* (Summit, \$13.95). A private eye from New York is sent to the West Coast to find the son of a South African, which he does. When he brings the young man back to New York, the private eye is fired. He is stubborn enough to want to know the reason, and he starts an investigation on his own. The trail leads him to England.

Then things really get complicated, what with a fake heir, a mysterious, so-called agricultural installation in Kenya, the British head of a security agency and his crooked American opposite number, and all kinds of peripheral matters. The skillful Mr. Bagley seems to be working with a plot he does not fully trust. Yet he is basically such a fine storyteller that he can get away with a good deal of padding, and here he does.

Another experienced British practitioner is Roy Lewis, who specializes in legal matters. *DWELL IN DANGER* (St. Martin's, \$10.95) is one of his typical concoctions - sober yet not without humor, full of deft character touches, well plotted. His hero is unusual - an ex-cop, now a lawyer, who is threatened with blindness from glaucoma. The story

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concerns the machinations of an old farmer who is trying to defraud his son. There is murder, of course, and an unexpected denouement. Mr. Lewis, himself a lawyer, knows whereof he speaks.

And another British entry -THE LAST HOUSEPARTY by Peter Dickinson (Pantheon, \$12.95). Mr. Dickinson is one of the more original mystery story writers of the decade, and he generally manages to create something that breaks the mold. In fact, one wonders if "The Last Houseparty" really belongs to the mystery genre, even though a crime is committed at one point.

A sort of "Brideshead Revisited" affair, the book hops around in time in a rather unsettling way. Its characters are very British upper class, there is a great deal of political and other kinds of talk, there is a castle and a tower clock that play a large part in the plot (but disabuse yourself of the notion that this book is in any respects a Gothic), and at the last houseparty there is a nasty crime that one finds hard to believe. Mr. Dickinson is as suave and sensitive as ever, but readers who look for the classical amenities in a mystery story should steer clear of this one.

Ralph McInerny's seventh Father Dowling mystery is A LOSS OF PATIENTS (Vanguard, \$9.95). Father Dowling, the Catholic priest, still has his parish in Fox River, near Chicago. Many of the characters in the previous books are present, including, of course, Lieut. Phil Keegan, the cop who is the priest's closest friend. Two women die, and the police are willing to write the deaths off as suicide. But they are not suicides, as the reader learns early along. This is one of those books in which the identity of the killer is revealed near the beginning. "A Loss of Patients" (surely Mr. McInerny could have come up with a more original pun than that) is the study of a quiet madman, written with the expertise and understanding that the author has brought to the previous books in the series.

ISRAELIS AND GERMANS DOUBT BULGARIAN LINK IN ATTACK ON POPE

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Body

Israeli and West German intelligence and security sources with a special interest in international terrorism are skeptical of charges of a Bulgarian connection in last year's attempted assassination of Pope John Paul II by a Turk.

Intelligence agencies in both countries, however, regard Bulgaria, as well as other countries of the Soviet bloc, as important links in a terrorist network.

The Soviet Union and its European allies, as well as China, North Korea, Cuba and Vietnam, are believed by Israeli intelligence officials to be supplying the various branches of the Palestine Liberation Organization - some of which are mutually antagonistic - with arms and training. The Palestinians, in turn, extend shelter, training and arms to other terrorist groups and sometimes recruit them for their operations.

The West German and Israeli agencies, which maintain close ties with their Italian counterparts, as they do with most others in pro-Western countries, do not regard the Italian secret services as of the highest standard.

JERUSALEM, Dec. 17 - Israeli and West German intelligence and security sources with a special interest in international terrorism are skeptical of charges of a Bulgarian connection in last year's attempted assassination of Pope John Paul II by a Turk. **Rivalry Among Italian Agencies**

They fear that rivalry within the Italian internal security agencies, suspect evidence or outright "disinformation" may have played a role in the disclosure of information that caused an investigating magistrate, Ilario Martella, to have a Bulgarian airline official in Rome arrested last month on suspicion of "active complicity" in the attempted assassination of the Pope on May 13, 1981.

Mr. Martella has also moved for the lifting of diplomatic immunity from two members of the Bulgarian Embassy's staff, so that he may issue arrest warrants for them on related charges. Both have been withdrawn to Bulgaria.

The sources, interviewed in Israel and West Germany, do not claim possession of evidence exonerating Bulgarians from having aided Mehmet Ali Agca, who is serving a life term in Italy for having fired the shots that seriously wounded the Pope. But separately and firmly they stated their belief that Bulgaria, whose secret service they consider an adjunct of the Soviet K.G.B., would not have taken so grave a diplomatic risk for so nebulous a political advantage with such a high chance of the plot's disclosure.

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The skepticism of the intelligence agencies is the more striking in Israel, which has waged a consistent campaign to convince the world that Palestinian terrorism is a creature of Soviet policy and the source of other terrorist acts in Western nations, and would have been happy to have been able to implicate Palestinians or Bulgarians.

Palestinians Reported in Bulgaria

The Israeli intelligence officials said that Israel had captured enough men, materiel and documentation during the war in Lebanon to sustain Israel's charges against the Soviet Union and its satellites. But they said they had seized no Western European or Japanese terrorists, only 28 Turks, in their occupation of Palestinian camps and bases.

They said they had shared documentary evidence of Turkish, West German, Italian and Irish terrorists who had been trained in Lebanese Palestinian camps with the governments concerned and would not be surprised if recent arrests of suspects, particularly in Italy and West Germany, had resulted from such intelligence.

Confirming a report from a high-ranking West German Interior Ministry official last week, an Israeli intelligence source said a number of Palestinian activists who had fled from Beirut during the Israeli siege had been given shelter in Bulgaria. He reported that three officers of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, a leftist hard-line group headed by Dr. George Habash, were now staying at the Vitosha Hotel in Sofia.

Reports originating in Italy, believed to derive from continuing "concessions" by Mr. Agca, had described the Vitosha as a meeting place for terrorists, gunrunners and narcotics smugglers.

Cache of Arms Seized in 1980

The source said that Israeli intelligence had traced no movement of P.L.O. activists to other Communist countries since their departure from Beirut. But he said the grant of asylum to Palestinian militants marked the second time that Israeli intelligence had noted special Bulgarian consideration for such groups.

He said that in June 1980, two Palestinians of the Abu Nidal organization, an anti-P.L.O. terrorist group said to be operating on behalf of Iraqi intelligence mainly against Jewish targets in Western Europe, left Baghdad in a Mercedes-Benz 200 bearing Kuwaiti license plates. Half of the fuel tank, he said, was taken up by a compartment that contained 30 Soviet-made Makarov and Tokarev pistols, four Polish-made WZ-63 submachine guns and 400 rounds of nine-millimeter ammunition.

The car crossed Turkey without being searched at the borders, but Bulgarian inspectors discovered the cache. The men were jailed, but 35 days later they were said to have been released and the arms placed back in the fuel tank. The car crossed Yugoslavia and Italy unscathed, and the source said the trail petered out when in late July, in Rome, an Italian and a man of Middle Eastern appearance carried the arms and ammunition off in large suitcases.

Attack Used to Justify Invasion

Asserting another link between the Communist country and Palestinian terrorism, an official placed on his desk a WZ-63 submachine gun, which he said was the weapon with which the Israeli Ambassador in Britain, Shlomo Argov, was critically wounded last June.

He said that the gun had traveled from Warsaw to Baghdad and then to London in the Iraqi diplomatic pouch. In London it was handed to the assailants. The attempted assassination was invoked by Israel to justify its invasion of Lebanon.

Israeli intelligence sources also said they had evidence that two West German women who took part on Sept. 15, 1981, in an attack with guns and anti-tank grenades against the car in which the commander of the United States Army in Europe, Gen. Frederick J. Kroesen, was traveling near Heidelberg, had been trained in a Palestinian camp in Tyre, Lebanon. Moreover, the Israelis claimed the grenades had been smuggled to Germany in the Syrian diplomatic pouch.

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Other sources said the attack on the general, who escaped injury, had been part of a conspiracy to strike at American targets throughout Europe that had been decided on at a meeting in Lausanne, Switzerland, the preceding July by European and Palestinian terrorists. They included the Red Brigades of Italy, the German Red Army faction, the Basque E.T.A., the **Irish Republican Army** and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

Abduction of U.S. General

The attack in Germany was followed by a vain effort to kidnap a general in Italy and the successful abduction of Brig. Gen. James L. Dozier the next day, last Dec. 17. In Paris, an attempt on the life of the charge d'affaires, Christian A. Chapman, failed, but last Jan. 18 a military attache, Lieut. Col. Charles R. Ray, was gunned down.

But the Israeli sources said evidence of specific acts by Communist countries in support of specific terrorist operations was there. What is depicted here as firmly established is a heavy flow of Communist arms to Palestinian bases and military training of Palestinians in Communist countries. An official said Bulgaria played a leading role in both activities.

An Israeli source said that from 1979 until the June 6, 1982, invasion, the Bulgarian Black Sea port of Varna handled 80 percent of the flow of arms for the Palestinian forces in Lebanon. The shipments went to the Lebanese ports of Tyre and Sidon and to the Syrian port of Latakia. All the European Communist countries contributed to the flow, and East Germany and Czechoslovakia also shipped directly by air, usually via Damascus.

Israeli intelligence sources said they had identified training centers for Palestinians in the Soviet Union and all its European allies except Poland, as well as in Yugoslavia. The principal centers in Bulgaria were identified as Adropola, about 12 miles north of Varna, and the Bulgarian Army camps of Salvan and Smolyan.

Training by K.G.B. Agents

The main Czechoslovak camp is said to be near Karlovy Vary. In East Germany, Palestinians are reportedly training near Karl Marx Stadt. In the Soviet Union, Simferopol in the Crimea is said to be the camp for ground troops, while pilots are trained near Moscow.

At the Karlovy Vary installation, the training is reportedly conducted by K.G.B. officers, while Soviet military intelligence is believed to be running another camp at Doupov. The Bulgarians and East Germans are believed to be conducting their own training, and Bulgarian experts are reported also to have been active in camps in Lebanon.

In the absence of evidence, West European and Israeli analysts and intelligence officials speculate over the source and aim of the charges of what is being called "The Bulgarian Connection." Much of the skeptical speculation centers on "disinformation," the word in clandestine circles for the circulation of false information with the intent of embarrassing an opponent.

In these theories, the target is Yuri V. Andropov, the new Soviet leader and longtime K.G.B. chief, whose position might be weakened were his organization found to be involved in the attempted slaying of the Pope. The possible source of the disinformation in these hypotheses could be either internal rivals or external foes of Mr. Andropov.

JOBS BILL PITS IRISH VS. IRISH

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Body

FOR THE EVE of the feast day of St. Patrick, we will consider matters of "possible grave international consequences." An Irish journalist friend used to love that phrase, and it certainly is appropriate for what went on not long ago in a basement hearing room at the state capitol in Jefferson City. Michael Keane, editor of Dublin's Sunday Press, would glory in uttering those cheerless words after a night at Mulligan's, a saloon next to the Irish Press building on Corn Exchange Place. Puffing himself up in mock earnestness, Keane would say, "Hold the edition, we have something here," and then go into his "grave international consequences" routine, the last word coming out in an exquisite hiss. Keane, of course, would appreciate the "grave international consequences" arising from the debate over the MacBride Principles bill, being fought out in the Missouri House. Not to mention the plight of the undocumented Irish, which is the subject of the article at the top of this page. They are, in a way, related matters, the lack of jobs and efforts to control the new flood of Irish immigrants. The battle over the MacBride Principles has once again pitted Irish against Irish, and there is nothing unusual in that. The issue of job discrimination in Northern Ireland, and the rhetoric that surrounds it, have been around for the better part of this century; the Irish are well practiced at this. "Irish Bill Evokes Strong Emotions" was the headline in the Joplin Globe.

Sure enough. An Irishman named O'Neill told the Post-Dispatch that another Irishman named Gallagher was a "Judas" for taking on a lobbying assignment for Her Majesty's Government to work against passage of his bill. "That sinful man," said state Rep. Jim Murphy, another Irish-Catholic legislator, who spoke mostly in jest. Murphy is a Crestwood Republican, another child of immigrants, and the son of a streetcar driver. Murphy, however, abandoned the family's Democratic Party traditions to join the GOP. "You'd think I'd become a Protestant," he said. House Bill 1000 is the work of State Rep. Matt O'Neill, a south St. Louis Democrat, a vice president of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and a thoroughly Irish-American fellow. His parents were Irish immigrants who suffered great economic and educational hardships at the hands of the British, he said. His wife, Maureen, is from County Galway. They have a raft of relatives left over there. Both O'Neill and Murphy can recite British horror stories, particularly the work of Great Britain's murderous black and tan irregulars. "They simply pillaged, raped the women, killed the babies," said Murphy, referring to military force sent into Southern Ireland before Irish independence. "I abhor what the British have done, but thank them for forcing my parents over so I could be an American. They thought this country was heaven on Earth; and you know where hell is." O'Neill has been working for a couple of years now to add Missouri to the roll of states enacting MacBride Principles legislation, billed as an effort to ensure fair employment policies for Catholics in Northern Ireland. Illinois is now a MacBride state. O'Neill hopes Missouri will be next. Backers of the MacBride effort say it is a non-violent approach to social justice and fair employment practices for Northern Ireland's minority Catholic population. The British position is that MacBride Principles would discourage investment in Northern Ireland and cause additional economic hardships. Not to mention that there already is a Northern Ireland fair employment act that became law last year. The Bush

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administration and the State Department are opposed to it because they see MacBride as a usurpation of the national government's authority to set foreign policy, which they do not see as the purview of city and state governments. "It's not that the majority Protestants in Northern Ireland want the Catholics to become Protestant, it's really economics - who owns and controls the wealth of Northern Ireland," said the Rev. James J. O'Sullivan of Eldon, Mo., himself a native of County Cork. O'Sullivan has testified for the MacBride Principles both this year and last. "MacBride Principles has been incredibly effective in forcing the British to come up with fair-employment practices in the North," said Niall O'Dowd, editor of Irish America Magazine in New York. "You solve the economics, you've solved the violence." But the British government is fighting hard to derail MacBride legislation in this country, spending millions of pounds annually in this effort, say MacBride advocates. And, indeed, the British agents have come to Missouri, much to the consternation of O'Neill and fellow MacBride backer Jim Murphy. Actually, the agents in question were Northern Irishmen who spoke against the O'Neill bill. They said they were Catholics, said O'Sullivan, whose tone dripped with sarcasm. "I really resented that British agents were allowed to testify against us, to lobby in Jefferson City, and they were unregistered foreign agents, which is illegal," said Rep. Murphy. "We complained to the State Department in Washington, but they kind of hoo-hooed, and ha-ha-haaed, and said, 'We're looking into it.' "There're too damned many WASPs in Washington," said Murphy, who kind of sets the rhetorical tone. But he's not quite as graphic as Father O'Sullivan. "The English have robbed the people of their dignity, of their humanity, have broken their spirit, and for that there should be no forgiveness," testified the pastor of Eldon's Sacred Heart Catholic Church, in remarks to the House committee a year ago. O'Sullivan was back again this year, urging passage of MacBride. Meanwhile, agents for Her Majesty's Government, known officially as the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland, suggest that this is all a republican plot. Rather than reduce unemployment, it would harass U.S. companies and cause them to leave, creating joblessness for workers of all faiths, say those speaking against the bill. "This is part of a republican campaign against the Brits; it's not really aimed at unemployment," Harry Coll was quoted as saying in the Joplin Globe. Coll is one of O'Neill's dreaded unregistered foreign agents, who has since returned to Belfast, capital of Northern Ireland, where he is a solicitor, or lawyer. Coll was joined in Jefferson City by two others from the North who testified against the bill, Sean Neeson and Martin Dummigan. The bill would be "bad for us," said Coll. Only the Sinn Fein Party, the political arm of the Provisional wing of the **Irish Republican Army**, which often has "terrorist" attached to its name, endorses the MacBride plan, say these agents for the British. All so much British-inspired shenanigans, say O'Neill and Murphy, who insist that this thing called the MacBride Principles is peaceful and non-violent. It is merely an attempt in this country to put pressure on American companies doing business in Northern Ireland to cease the systematic bias against employing Catholics in that country. Proponents say it was modeled, in part, after the Sullivan Principles in South Africa, a divestment scheme used against American corporations doing business in South Africa, intended to force an end to apartheid. (MacBride, incidentally, was the late Sean MacBride, a Dublin barrister, Nobel and Lenin Peace Prize winner, and creator of the nine principles intended to bring about peaceful change in Northern Ireland.) "I supported blacks on apartheid," said O'Neill. "Never get anyone's attention without hitting them in the pocketbook." His bill, which passed committee on a 4-3 vote, with one abstention, would call for divestment of state pension funds for American corporations found guilty of discriminating against Catholics in the North of Ireland. The Ford Motor Co. is often mentioned in this regard, and was even cited by the British government for discriminatory practices in its hiring practices at its West Belfast plant, which is a Catholic area. "There was even a boycott by Irish-Americans, but ultimately there have been improvements," said Patrick Doherty, director of the Division of Investment Responsibility for the New York comptroller's office, the city where the MacBride Principles campaign began in 1984. New York City was first to enact legislation, with Massachusetts the first state. "This is not like the Sullivan Principles in that we're asking American corporations to leave Northern Ireland - quite the opposite," said Doherty. "We're not asking American companies to leave. In some cases, we are asking mandatory divestment with companies not in compliance, and after several years of violations. It's a delicate balance; this may cause companies to leave. "But five years have passed (since the beginning of the MacBride campaign, and many of the companies we were putting pressure on have expanded in Northern Ireland." Doherty insists the MacBride Principles would help Protestant workers in areas where they're discriminated against, places such as Londonderry where the United Technologies plants has a Catholic work force of more than 95 percent. "MacBride would remove all unfair barriers to fair employment," he said. "We would like to make a couple of distinctions," said Chuck Gallagher, the Earth City lobbyist who was hired by the British to lobby against O'Neill's bill. (Gallagher's mother's parents are from Dublin, his father's family from Kilarney. "Every nationality has their Judases," said O'Neill.) "First, apartheid is indeed a legal entity in South Africa, while discrimination in Northern Ireland is illegal," Gallagher said.

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"These MacBride Principles would require reverse discrimination and mandate quotas. A significant point you might want to make is that the corporations doing business in Northern Ireland have been singularly silent." All well and good, say the MacBride backers, but as a practical matter, the anti-discrimination law in Northern Ireland has no teeth and no serious enforcement agency. If you're a Catholic in Northern Ireland, you're 2 times more likely to be unemployed than a Protestant, they say. And so it goes.

Graphic

Photo; PHOTO (COLOR) HEADSHOT of Chuck Gallagher. PHOTO HEADSHOT of Jim Murphy. PHOTO HEADSHOT of Matt O'Neill.

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Twelve Months of Historic Change

The Associated Press

December 29, 1989, Friday, BC cycle

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Body

Here is a chronology of news events in 1989:

JAN. 4 - U.S. Navy F-14s shoot down two Libyan MiGs over Mediterranean.

JAN. 7 - Emperor Hirohito of Japan dies after 62 years on throne and is succeeded by his son, Crown Prince Akihito.

JAN. 10 - Cubans begin troop pullout from Angola.

JAN. 16 - Motorcyclist shot by policeman in Miami, sparking rioting by blacks. Policeman later convicted on manslaughter charges.

JAN. 17 - Disturbed gunman opens fire on Stockton, Calif., schoolyard, killing five children and wounding 30 other students and teachers.

JAN. 20 - George Bush inaugurated 41st president of United States.

JAN. 22 - San Francisco 49ers defeat Cincinnati Bengals 20-16 in final minute of Super Bowl XXIII.

JAN. 24 - Serial killer Ted Bundy executed in Florida.

JAN. 27 - Political extremist Lyndon LaRouche sentenced to 15 years in prison for conspiracy and mail fraud.

FEB. 3 - Strongman Alfredo Stroessner ousted as Paraguayan leader.

FEB. 11 - Barbara Harris consecrated first **female** bishop of Episcopal Church.

FEB. 14 - Union Carbide agrees to pay \$470 million settlement in deadly gas leak at Bhopal, India. Ayatollah Khomeini orders assassination of author Salman Rushdie as riots in India and Pakistan over Rushdie's "Satanic Verses" kill 19.

FEB. 15 - Soviets complete withdrawal from Afghanistan.

FEB. 24 - Nine passengers aboard United Flight 811 killed when large hole opens in Boeing 747 after takeoff from Honolulu.

Twelve Months of Historic Change

FEB. 27 - Four days of rioting begins in Venezuela, touched off by price increases. More than 300 die.

MARCH 4 - Machinists strike Eastern Airlines. Pilots and flight attendants honor picket lines.

MARCH 8 - Daily artillery barrages between Christian and Syrian forces and their militia allies begin in Beirut. At least 930 die before cease-fire takes hold Sept. 22.

MARCH 9 - President Bush's nominee for defense secretary, John Tower, loses Senate ratification vote.

MARCH 14 - Lebanese hijacker Fawaz Younis, brought to United States to stand trial, found guilty of air piracy in 1985 hijacking.

MARCH 24 - Tanker Exxon Valdez spills more than 10 million gallons of oil in Alaska's Prince William Sound.

MARCH 26 - Soviet Union holds first nationwide multicandidate elections in 70 years.

APRIL 4 - Richard M. Daley, son of former mayor, elected mayor of Chicago.

APRIL 5 - Solidarity legalized in Poland.

APRIL 7 - Soviet nuclear sub sinks in Norwegian Sea, killing 42 sailors.

APRIL 11 - Bodies found near Mexico-Texas border, in ritualistic sacrifice-drug slayings. Fifteen bodies eventually found and several suspects captured.

APRIL 14 - Seven people killed in California winery rampage; suspect Ramon Salcido captured five days later.

APRIL 15 - Crowd crush at soccer match in Sheffield, England, kills 95.

APRIL 19 - Gun turret explodes on USS Iowa, killing 47 sailors.

APRIL 25 - Japan's Prime Minister Takeshita announces he will resign in ongoing Recruit political bribery scandal.

APRIL 26 - Pennsylvania lottery jackpot of \$\$100 million divided among 14 winning tickets.

MAY 3 - Yasser Arafat says call for destruction of Israel in PLO charter "null and void."

MAY 4 - Oliver North convicted on three counts in Iran-Contra affair, acquitted on nine.

MAY 10 - Panamanian leader Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega annuls elections after opposition wins by 3-1 margin.

MAY 17 - More than 1 million Chinese pro-democracy demonstrators take to Beijing's streets. Hijacker Mohammed Ali Hamadi convicted and sentenced to life for TWA hijacking and killing of U.S. Navy diver.

MAY 31 - Speaker of the House Jim Wright announces resignation in face of ethics problems. Thomas Foley later succeeds him.

JUNE 3 - Chinese troops firing indiscriminately march on crowds in Beijing, killing hundreds, possibly thousands. Revolutionary leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini dies in Iran.

JUNE 4 - Gas explosion in Soviet Union engulfs two passing trains, killing 645. Solidarity overwhelmingly defeats Communist Party in Polish parliamentary elections.

JUNE 24-25 - Oil spills in Texas, Delaware, and Rhode Island.

JULY 3 - Supreme Court grants broad authority to states to restrict women's rights to terminate pregnancies but leaves intact its 1973 decision legalizing abortion.

JULY 6 - Palestinian steers Israeli bus into ravine, killing 16. Last Pershing 1A missiles scrapped.

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JULY 12 - French farmer on shooting spree kills 14, injures 11.

JULY 17 - Maiden flight of B-2 stealth bomber.

JULY 18 - Actress Rebecca Schaeffer, co-star of television's "My Sister Sam," age 21, shot to death by obsessive fan.

JULY 19 - United DC-10 crashes while attempting emergency landing in Sioux City, Iowa - 112 dead, 184 survivors.

JULY 27 - Carl Pettersson convicted in slaying of Swedish Premier Olof Palme, but conviction later overturned. Korean Air DC-10 crashes in Libya; 80 die.

JULY 28 - Israelis kidnap Sheik Abdul-Karim Obeid of Hezbollah from southern Lebanon.

JULY 31 - Lebanese kidnappers claim they hanged U.S. hostage William Higgins, a Marine lieutenant colonel.

AUG. 3 - Hashemi Rafsanjani sworn in as Iran's new president.

AUG. 5 - Congress passes landmark \$159 billion bill to bail out savings and loan industry; President Bush signs it into law four days later.

AUG. 7 - Communications workers strike three regional phone companies. U.S. Congressman Mickey Leland killed in plane crash in Ethiopia.

AUG. 9 - Toshiki Kaifu named new prime minister in Japan. Mexican train crash kills 112.

AUG. 14 - P.W. Botha resigns as president of South Africa. F.W. de Klerk formally succeeds him a month later.

AUG. 18 - Assassination of Colombian presidential candidate touches off drug war in Colombia.

AUG. 18-19 - Polish leader Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski approves first non-Communist government in Poland since World War II, nominating Solidarity activist Tadeusz Mazowiecki as prime minister.

AUG. 20 - Barge rams pleasure boat in London's Thames River, 57 die.

AUG. 24 - Pete Rose banned from baseball for life. Unmanned exploratory spacecraft Voyager 2 passes within 3,000 miles of planet Neptune.

AUG. 30 - Hotel queen Leona Helmsley convicted on tax evasion charges, later sentenced to four years in prison and fined \$8.8 million.

AUG. 31 - England's Princess Anne and husband Mark Phillips officially separate.

SEPT. 3 - Cuban plane crash in Havana suburb kills 170.

SEPT. 6 - South African elections; some 25 die in rioting.

SEPT. 10 - Hungary drops requirement for East Germans to have exit permission from East Berlin government. Exodus of East Germans that began in summer increases.

SEPT. 14 - Gunman shoots workers at printing plant in Louisville, Ky., killing eight and wounding 12 before taking his own life.

SEPT. 17-21 - Hurricane Hugo sweeps through Caribbean and into Charleston, S.C., with 135 mph winds, killing 62.

SEPT. 19 - Bomb explodes on French UTA DC-10 airliner over Chad, killing all 171 aboard.

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SEPT. 20 - De Klerk inaugurated as South African president.

SEPT. 21 - School bus crashes into Texas water pit, killing 20. Soviet Union reports 292 people killed in ethnic violence in various republics since January 1988.

SEPT. 22 - **Irish Republican Army** bomb blast at military barracks in Deal, England, kills 11.

SEPT. 26 - Vietnam declares troop withdrawal from Cambodia completed.

SEPT. 29 - Zsa Zsa Gabor convicted and later sentenced to three days in jail for slapping policeman.

OCT. 3 - Military coup against Noriega in Panama fails.

OCT. 5 - PTL preacher Jim Bakker convicted on fraud charges and later sentenced to 45 years. Dalai Lama wins Nobel Peace Prize.

OCT. 7 - Hungarian Communist Party formally disbands, reconstituting itself as Hungarian Socialist Party. Parliament later rewrites constitution and adopts laws allowing several parties to contest free elections next year.

OCT. 13 - Stock market plunges 190.58 points, its second biggest drop ever, four days after hitting record closing high of 2,791.41.

OCT. 17 - Earthquake measuring 7.1 on Richter scale rocks San Francisco Bay area, killing 67 and causing \$\$7 billion damage.

OCT. 18 - Amid large demonstrations, East German Communist Party chief Erich Honecker ousted and replaced by Egon Krenz. Space shuttle Atlantis launched on mission to send Galileo probe on six-year journey to Jupiter.

OCT. 23 - Explosion at Phillips plastics plant in Pasadena, Texas kills 23, injures 120.

OCT. 28 - Oakland Athletics sweep San Francisco Giants to win quake-delayed World Series. Aloha commuter plane crashes in Hawaii, killing 20.

OCT. 29 - Jet fighter plane crashes on deck of aircraft carrier USS Lexington, killing five, in worst of string of Navy accidents that kill 13 people within six weeks.

NOV. 4 - Thailand's worst typhoon in 35 years ravages Gulf of Thailand and Unocal oil rig Seacrest capsizes. At least 200 die in storm, 447 more missing.

NOV. 9 - East Germany lifts travel restrictions and opens gateways through Berlin Wall.

NOV. 10 - Bulgarian Communist Party chief Todor Zhivkov ousted and replaced by moderate.

NOV. 11 - Rebels in El Salvador launch major new offensive.

NOV. 14 - Czechoslovakia announces it will open borders.

NOV. 15-16 - Tornadoes and severe storms in eastern United States kill 31, including nine children when wall of school cafeteria collapses in Newburgh, N.Y.

NOV. 16 - South African government announces it will repeal law allowing segregated public facilities. Six Jesuit priests and two others tortured and murdered in El Salvador.

NOV. 17 - Hundreds of demonstrators clubbed and tear-gassed as riot police crush peaceful demonstration in Prague.

NOV. 22 - Lebanon's newly elected president, Rene Mouawad, assassinated by bomb. Elias Hrawi elected two days later to replace him.

Twelve Months of Historic Change

NOV. 27 - Bomb probably planted by Colombian drug traffickers aboard Avianca jetliner explodes shortly after takeoff from Bogota, killing all 107 aboard.

NOV. 29 - Czechoslovak Parliament deletes leading role of Communist Party from constitution after widespread protests force resignations of Communist hard-liners.

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Twelve Months of Historic Change

The Associated Press

December 22, 1989, Friday, BC cycle

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Section: Domestic News

Length: 1837 words

Byline: By The Associated Press

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End of Document

Westchester Journal

The New York Times

November 8, 1981, Sunday, Late City Final Edition

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Section: Section 11; Westchester; Page 3, Column 1; Westchester Weekly Desk

Length: 1648 words

Byline: By James Feron

Body

WESTCHESTER COUNTY spent \$50,000 last week to help the Board of Elections improve the reporting of election results, but when it was all over early Wednesday morning, there were indications that more work was needed.

It had been hoped that the use of county computers would speed the process, so final results would be available by midnight or before. But at 12:30 A.M., or three-and-one-half hours after the polls closed, only 52 percent of the results had been posted at Board of Elections headquarters.

Vincent Castaldo, the county's Administrator of Special Services who handled the first stages of the process, said it had been his first such experience, and that he had learned a lot. "The first thing we noticed is the delay in reporting results."

Westchester Journal column, by James Feron, notes attempt by county to improve reporting of election results still needs more work and local news

Election inspectors, who are local party persons, start the process by telephoning results to members of the League of Women Voters and other volunteers who staff 90 telephones in the County Office Building. "But we noticed that by 10 o'clock," an hour after the polls closed, "we had only 50 of 787 districts," Mr. Castaldo said.

In some cases, he said, inspectors were including absentee ballots. They are counted in the later official tally, but their inclusion election night only slows the process. Some inspectors were calling in the results of each voting machine, thus providing "partial" results and adding further confusion. Others familiar with the political process said some inspectors routinely call local candidates first, adding to the delay.

By 10 P.M., the calls were pouring in, swamping the nearly two dozen "data entry" clerks on the third floor. The tabulated results were run off every half hour or so and taken by courier to the Board of Elections a mile away. There they were posted, but only for the major races. The results of contests for mayor, supervisor, local council and town board were tabulated in the traditional way - "by hand," as one official put it - at election headquarters.

More immediate results, reporters have learned, are available where candidates gather, although the tendency there is to release the most favorable figures first. Even so, the outcome of the White Plains and Yonkers mayoralty races were known at those locations an hour before they were posted at the Board of Elections.

It was also impossible to learn what portion of a County Legislator's district was represented by an incomplete return because the computer was releasing results on a countywide basis. Mr. Castaldo said that the 11-member Election Night Task Force would meet next week to reassess the new system.

Ann Jones wrote "Women Who Kill," and just over a week ago, as a lecturer at Sarah Lawrence College, she defined them in simple terms. "Women who kill," she said, "are just like women who don't kill; they're just pushed farther."

Miss Jones, whose talk in Reisinger Auditorium was sponsored by the school's Center for Continuing Education, covered the subject from Colonial times - when, she said, women were prosecuted "with the greatest gusto" - to the present.

Today, the typical woman who kills "is a battered woman," she said. "The figure quoted is 45 percent but I put it higher, perhaps 80 to 90 percent, with many not indicted because they kill in selfdefense."

She cited statistics from the Federal Bureau of Investigation indicating, she said, that 50 percent of the women who live with men will be battered. There was a murmur in the audience of nearly 300, most of whom were women. "Is that astonishing?" she asked. "It's cited as a reason for 25 percent of divorces." Three of four women who are killed, she added, are victims of husbands or lovers.

"The violence of women," she said, "represents the inadequacies of the institutions they serve." Women have "always been a peaceable lot, committing only 15 percent of homicides, and there are fewer today than there were in the 19th century, and fewer intentionally - they kill in a last-resort situation."

The idea for her book emerged from earlier studies about women and "the suicide model," Miss Jones said. "We're programmed to become depressive and suicidal."

Miss Jones began her studies with Lizzie Borden, "who is the mother of us all, not Betty Friedan," she said to laughter. "Lizzie did take a hatchet to her stepmother and father, and an hour elapsed between the two. She was as guilty as guilty could be." But she was acquitted - "as a poor orphan."

"That she was a self-made orphan didn't seem to matter," Miss Jones observed. "Lizzie, considered a poor 'girl' - she was 32 years old - was acquitted because of social and sexist prejudices. All three judges had daughters her age."

According to Miss Jones, "chivalry protected ladies - not working women or women of color -and it protected them from jobs and education, and also from accountability to the law."

The author spent "five years in a little room in the New York Public Library" researching her book, which now has an "afterword" on the case of Jean S. Harris, the Madeira School headmistress who was convicted earlier this year of murdering Dr. Herman Tarnower, her former companion and lover.

The crime "was completely atypical of women," Miss Jones said. "Women have killed out of jealousy, but not many." The case, as presented in the press, "served to reassure us that Mrs. Harris, although gifted and educated, could not live without her man," she said.

Explaining that she did not "condone homicide, I just try to understand it," Miss Jones conceded that the subject of her book "tends to make people walk away from me in the middle of conversations."

A week after the \$1.6 million Brink's armored-car robbery and the shootings in Rockland County involving former members of political underground groups, a Scarsdale adult-school class was listening to a lecture on terrorism. Police investigators, meanwhile, were seeking evidence of what they now saw as a possible radical conspiracy. The lecturer offered another point of view on whether such a conspiracy existed in the Rockland incident.

The lecturer was Jan R. Reber, president of Security Perceptions Unlimited of Southport, Conn., and a consultant to Fortune 500 companies on crimes such as extortion and kidnapping. His company assesses labor unrest and "extremist thinking" for corporations, and advises them on risks, preventive methods and guidelines.

Mr. Reber was the third to speak on "Terrorism: Tyranny of the Minority," the title of a series of talks dealing with terrorism's effect on social institutions, its influence on the conduct of United States foreign policy and its impact internationally.

Mr. Reber said that Weather Underground members involved in the Rockland murders "avoided the Federal Bureau of Investigation, as did the people in the Patty Hearst case, by moving into the black criminal underground."

By calling an organization the Black Liberation Army, he said, "you give a political veneer to crimes." He did not think that the Black Panthers as a party had any connection with the Brink's assault, despite an earlier influence it had on radical thinking.

In Rockland, he said, "It was a case of black criminals and white revolutionaries working in tandem, and they were caught at it." He referred to items found in the homes of suspects, including diagrams of police stations, lists of police officers, automatic weapons and bomb-making paraphernalia. These did not indicate a political conspiracy was involved, he said, adding: "Bank robberies have been done for years with automatic weapons; the police diagrams were an unknown factor, depending on how current they were, and the names of police officers included some who had retired.

"There is no intent to organize mass activity in the United States This was just one expropriation," and it failed. Addressing the broader issue of terrorism, Mr. Reber said its origins were with "socially political activists" who were "issueoriented at the beginning." They "participate in demonstrations, then become full-time activists and extremists and, later, terrorists," he said.

Mr. Reber drew a profile of the terrorist, referring to those functioning in transnational terrorism, excepting the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Irish Republican Army: middle- to upper-class background, some higher education, an age in the early 20's to late 30's, qualities of idealism and dedication, well-armed and organized, using propaganda and threats with emotional impact as key weapons.

The typical terrorist, he said, sees a personal ability to change conditions and has a view of why the aggression takes place, not an interest in violence for its own sake. Such terrorists usually have a political plan of action if a government is overthrown.

These terrorists, he said, use a wide range of successful tactics. Capture and punishment of such terrorists are rare. Some demands, which are often complex and unrelated to ransom, accompany the actions, aggravating political and economic relationships in the absence of national policies of response. Often, some demands are met.

Mr. Reber discussed the acceptance of women in terrorist movements and the unusually violent roles they sometimes play. Of the 28 people wanted in Germany for terrorist activity now, he said, " 19 are women."

According to Mr. Reber, the police in the United States term terrorism here a "guns-and-grass" subculture, where explosives are used by drug-using terrorists who live in communal situations. "Brink's was a money-raiser, not part of the usual looking, waiting and planning that is typical of terrorists," he said.

Mr. Reber was asked about terrorists at the age of 40. "Most are dead or in prison by that age," he replied.

Graphic

Illustrations: photo of John O'Donnell, Patricia Foy and John Leonard

THATCHER'S REVOLUTIONARY RULE

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Byline: Maureen Johnson Of The Associated Press

Body

LONDON (AP) (REST) MANY BRITONS barely remember life before Margaret Thatcher. Many more can't imagine what Britain will be like after she's gone. In the decade since she came to power on May 4, 1979, something of a curiosity as Europe's first female prime minister, she has become, in her own words, an institution. Having begun with uncertain prospects for survival, she has now had the longest uninterrupted tenure in 160 years of British politics. She dominates national life more than any prime minister since Winston Churchill in World War II. She was asked once what she had changed. "Everything," she replied. So all-embracing is the free-market crusade called "Thatcherism" that even the name of her Conservative Party has become something of a misnomer. Conservatism, columnist Alan Watkins wrote in the liberal weekly Observer, means preserving the old. But "Mrs. Thatcher has not only refused to put the clock back; she has put it forward, turning the hands furiously, so that bells chime unpredictably and clockwork jangles." In her 10 years in office, Thatcher has quelled the labor unions; she has sold off vast segments of the state-owned sector turning traditional money-losers like steel into profitable enterprises and in the process has built an army of new shareholders; she has shifted the entire political agenda rightward; she has achieved the international recognizability of a superpower leader. Now, after a third consecutive election victory in 1987, she is trying to carry the revolution into the heartland of the old Britain by shaking up the 40-year-old National Health Service, the tradition-cloaked legal profession and the education system.

It has been, says Hugo Young, her biographer, "an era in which an ordinary politician, laboring under many disadvantages, grew into an international figure who did some extraordinary things to her country." It is a formidable legacy, and most analysts agree much of it will endure. "There will never again be moribund nationalized industries," Robert Worcester, head of Market Opinion and Research International, said in an interview. "There will never again be trade union baronies, there will never again be the working class rejection of middle class values by the majority." A workaholic with no outside interests, Thatcher puts in an 18-hour day, eats and drinks little, does not smoke, and reluctantly consents to take one week's holiday a year. Even the most loyal of her aides concede she has little humor or patience. Always well-groomed, she has made subtle stylistic changes to her wardrobe, her hair and her speaking manner since becoming prime minister to project an image at the same time softer and yet also authoritative. A barrister and a chemist by training, Thatcher is always well briefed, whether for summit meetings with other world leaders or the twice-weekly question time in parliament she calls the highlight of her week. Asked what attribute distinguished Thatcher from the political herd, a close adviser said: "The key advantage is guts. Where others would have given up, she won't." Thatcher moved into 10 Downing Street on May 4, 1979, after leading the Conservative Party to the first of a record three successive general election victories. In the decade since then, "Thatcherism" has entered the lexicon as a political philosophy founded on toughness, drive, enterprise and self-belief. The election of 1979 followed a winter of strikes that left the dead unburied and garbage piled up in cities, and spelled the end of James Callaghan's Labor government. Thatcher began with a prolonged spell of bitter medicine: high unemployment as loss-making heavy industries were pared, state spending curbs, and

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then an onslaught against heavy-spending Labor-controlled local governments. If miners and steelworkers were heroes of the Labor Party, small businessmen were the heroes of Margaret Thatcher, inspired by her father in whose grocery she helped out while growing up in the north England town of Grantham. Taxes were cut, currency controls abolished and an enlarged police force deployed to deal with strike pickets now illegal under her union-curbing laws. By 1981 she was rated the most unpopular prime minister since opinion polls began. But the following year came victory in the 74-day Falklands Islands war against Argentina. Her popularity soared, and she was re-elected in 1983 with an increased majority. It enabled her to carry on the revolution, and the fruits are beginning to appear in a higher growth rate, a budget surplus and a sustained consumer boom. Male average earnings at 273 pounds (\$466) a week have risen by nearly one-third in real terms since 1979. Two-thirds of Britons are homeowners, up from 50 percent in 1979. Trade union membership, down by one-third, is equaled by the some nine million stock holders. But the number living on welfare has doubled to 9.4 million, or 17 percent of the population, official statistics indicate. Unemployment is nearly 7 percent, higher than in most other industrialized countries, and inflation nags away at 7.9 percent forcing interest rates to stay high at 13 percent. Opinion polls indicate that while Britons don't like her, they respect her. Now she is often accused of going too far. "Change and reform have become ends in themselves," comments the left-wing political scientist Ben Pimlott in the weekly *New Statesman and Society*. "This is a government and, above all, a prime minister, that now believes it can break any convention, dispatch any sacred cow to the abattoir with absolute impunity." Critics argue that Thatcher has stayed in power on only 42 percent of the popular vote, because opposition parties are divided. The division between the prosperous south and unemployment-stricken north also has widened in Thatcher's decade. It's not all her fault. The north has always been poorer than the south. The Thatcher era happens to coincide with the decline of heavy industry, the north's traditional mainstay, and the south's closer proximity to the lucrative markets of continental Europe. But although the state spends more on the north than the south, the predominant feeling among northerners is that Thatcher cares little for regions that are not natural Conservative constituencies. Thus the Conservative vote has plummeted in the north, and in Scotland separatist nationalism is at its strongest in 10 years. Thatcher has made the language of debate more combative and divisive. She declares she wants to bury socialism in Britain, and some opponents adopt the trappings of East European dissidents. The latest anti-Thatcherite organization calls itself Charter 88, modeled on Czechoslovakia's dissident Charter 77. Labor legislator Kim Howells acknowledges that when Thatcher came to power, "The left was largely bankrupt of ideas about what to do about British industry. It did not come to terms with the things Thatcher was talking about. . . in a sense we became the reactionaries." It's not only the left that Thatcherism has upset. Her policies have brought her into conflict with large parts of the establishment: Church of England bishops, the British Broadcasting Corp., the universities, even Queen Elizabeth II. The queen was said to be upset over discord in the Commonwealth, the association of former colonies, over Thatcher's refusal to impose tough economic sanctions on South Africa. The prime minister is also accused of being obsessed with official secrecy and too eager to use the courts to gag disclosures involving sensitive areas. Thatcher is also widely accused of undermining free speech with such measures as the banning of broadcast interviews with the ***Irish Republican Army*** and its supporters, and the revision of the 78-year-old Official Secrets Act to make it even harder to report news that the government feels should be suppressed. Her government's protracted and ultimately fruitless battle to keep the retired secret service operative Peter Wright from publishing "Spycatcher," his memoirs, fueled charges that she is obsessed with secrecy. She argues that the ban on broadcasts of IRA interviews is essential to fight terrorism, and that the Wright case was meant to bind secret agents to their life-long secrecy oaths. But the results sometimes go palpably against the liberal British grain: an issue of Harper's magazine with an article by a former intelligence operative is banned in Britain; a BBC studio is raided by police over a documentary on a secret spy satellite. "She is destroying, or going a good way to destroy, some of our finest institutions," said James Cornford, former professor of politics at Edinburgh University who heads a new liberal think tank, the Institute for Public Policy Research. The frustration of the intellectual left is compounded by the existence of an entire generation that knows only Thatcherism. "It's become sort of normal," Cornford said, recalling a recent talk he gave to a group of high school seniors. "It was clear they really couldn't conceive of anybody else being prime minister." To her admirers, the Iron Lady - a name given her by the Soviets - is a national savior who ended Britain's postwar cycle of confrontation and decline. But the balance sheet remains inconclusive. She has no clearly defined challenger in her own party, while the opposition, split between Labor and the small, moderate center parties, looks incapable of toppling her. Plans to privatize the national water supply and revamp property taxes are arousing widespread suspicion. Doctors and lawyers, ordinarily a Conservative constituency, are deeply hostile to her proposals for reforming health and the legal profession. Critics point to

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Britain's creaking infrastructure - congested roads, a poorly run railway system, sewers dating to Victorian times - and insist that Thatcher is wrong to place the burden of renewal on private investment. This happily married mother of twins is already talking of beating all records by running for a fourth term in the 1990s. "I think I have become a bit of an institution," she said after her third election victory. "And the place wouldn't be quite the same without this old institution. People seem to think, 'She isn't so bad, is she, this Maggie.' "

Graphic

Photo Graphic; PHOTO HEADSHOT of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher..."I think I have become a bit of an institution"... CHART-TABLE by AP...Britain's Economy...Prosperity: Growth has improved and inflation is slower, but more goes to taxes...Employment: Average pay is up but so is joblessness as unions shrink...(Figures for May 1989 are estimates)...

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PRINCE CHARLES PAYS A QUICK VISIT TO CITY

The New York Times

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Byline: By FRED FERRETTI

Body

Prince Charles, the heir to the British throne, visited New York for the first time yesterday and was welcomed with all of the panoply usually accorded a head of state.

He was greeted by Nancy Reagan, guarded by more than 1,700 city police officers and shepherded by 300 State Department and Secret Service men who during the day managed to keep him far from several demonstrations by those sympathetic to the cause of independence for Northern Ireland.

However, his evening at the Royal Ballet was marred when four **Irish Republican Army** supporters, two men and two **women**, who presumably purchased tickets to the performance, interrupted the first act of "Sleeping Beauty" with anti-British shouts. One man screamed, "Charles is the Prince of Death," before he was hustled bodily out of the Metropolitan Opera House.

The remainder of the Prince's zigzagging day was considerably more pleasant. It included a helicopter trip over Manhattan, a luncheon cruise with Mrs. Reagan around the Statue of Liberty and, after a nap at his Waldorf Towers apartment, a Lincoln Center reception, the 50th-anniversary gala benefit performance by the Royal Ballet and a ball in a vast tent set up for the occasion.

Fred Ferretti describes activities surrounding Prince Charles' visit to New York City

Throughout his 24-hour visit Prince Charles, trimly elegant in gray suit, gray silk tie and blue shirt early in the day, and later in evening clothes, smiled easily, spoke softly with those who greeted and accompanied him and seemed to enjoy the social hubbub he created.

On Hand for Battle Day Again

At one point he was reminded that his visit coincided with the 206th anniversary of the Battle of Bunker Hill, fought during the Revolution on June 17, 1775. He raised an eyebrow, smiled and said, "We always make sure a good representative comes on these occasions," noting that on another American visit he had been taken to Yorktown, where Lord Cornwallis surrendered.

"I always arrive on special battle days," he said. There were few battles yesterday, but there were anti-British demonstrations near the South Street Seaport, where Prince Charles disembarked from his luncheon cruise, and later around Dante Park in front of Lincoln Center, where he attended a performance of the Royal Ballet, as well as inside the hall.

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The 32-year-old Prince was reminded of Northern Ireland by Mayor Koch, who was also on the luncheon cruise. Mr. Koch said that he and Prince Charles had strolled on deck and that the Prince had told him he "felt very sad to be the subject of invective" over Northern Ireland, that he was "very sympathetic to the plight of Catholics" there and that he hoped that eventually it would be possible to "remove British troops."

A Day of Fund-Raising

Other than the Northern Ireland diversions, the Prince's day was virtually a mass fund-raising event with all of the appurtenances one associates with such occasions.

His lunch, aboard the yacht Highlander, belonging to Malcolm Forbes, the publisher, was attended by representatives of the 10 corporate sponsors who underwrote the \$200,000 reception and ball at Lincoln Center. Those at the reception, performance and gala contributed either \$1,000 or \$600 each as "donors" or "benefactors" of American Friends of Covent Garden and the Royal Ballet Inc., the English-Speaking Union of New York and the Metropolitan Opera Association.

Prince Charles arrived shortly after 10 A.M. when his British Airways Concorde set down at Kennedy International Airport. He transferred to a 12-passenger Sikorsky helicopter piloted by a British Airways captain, John Milward, and headed for Manhattan with his traveling party, which included Edward Adeane, his private secretary; Francis Cornish, Mr. Adeane's assistant; Chief Inspector Paul Officer of Scotland Yard, his security chief, and Stephen Barry, his valet.

He sat as co-pilot next to Captain Milward as the helicopter swung over upper Manhattan, the George Washington Bridge, the Statue of Liberty and the World Trade Center.

Later, he mentioned to Mayor Koch "the desolation of parts of the city" he saw as he flew over upper Manhattan and the South Bronx. His helicopter landed at the Wall Street heliport where he was greeted by Lee Annenberg, the United States Chief of Protocol and wife of Walter H. Annenberg, former Ambassador to Britain, with a gesture that was, in the opinion of a bystander, "less a curtsy than a bob." Mrs. Annenberg, who was honorary chairman of the Lincoln Center gala last night, had been criticized for curtsying before him on a prior occasion.

The Prince then left by motorcade for the South Street Seaport, his motorcade stopping just east of South Street beyond the entrance to the Seaport pier, where he got out of his limousine and strolled down the pier, stopping to chat with a group of employees of the Seaport Museum and the English-Speaking Union and their families.

The meeting had been arranged, Patrick Nixon, head of the British Information Services, said later, at the request of the Prince, who had said that he wanted to speak to some "average New Yorkers."

He asked Emily Fisher, 14, how good the buses were and she replied, "Slow, but easy to get on," and in answer to a similar question about subway trains, Eliza Booth, 12, said, "They're hot, but they're O.K."

He stopped near Terry Walker and asked where she worked. "The Seaport Museum," she said. "What are you drinking?" he asked, pointing at a cup she held. "Orange drink from McDonald's," Miss Walker said. "Orange drink will give you rotten teeth," said Prince Charles. Then he boarded the yacht. Mrs. Reagan joined him about 15 minutes later and the couple strolled aboard the upper and lower decks of the 126-foot yacht shaking hands with guests such as Mrs. Brooke Astor, Mr. and Mrs. Annenberg, Lady Henderson, wife of the British Ambassador to the United States; Mr. and Mrs. Armand Hammer; Milton Petrie, owner of a chain of New Jersey stores, and Mrs. Petrie; Mrs. Kurt Waldheim, wife of the United Nations Secretary General; Mrs. Edward Boehm of Boehm Porcelains; Anthony Bliss, general manager of the Metropolitan Opera Association, and Mrs. Bliss; Daniel Davison, chairman of U.S. Trust, and his wife, Kastusha, who was co-chairman of last night's gala, along with Alton Peters, vice president of Friends of Covent Garden and chairman of the New York branch of the English-Speaking Union.

A Hefty Buffet Aboard

PRINCE CHARLES PAYS A QUICK VISIT TO CITY

Also aboard were executives and family members of Amcon, American Express, Heinz, I.B.M., Saks Fifth Avenue, Texaco and Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner and Smith, which along with Mrs. Boehm, the Petries and the Annenbergs, underwrote the Lincoln Center gala.

The guests nibbled on a buffet lunch of cold beef loin, Long Island duckling, cold Maine lobster, avocado mousse, corn bread and California strawberries with New Jersey heavy cream.

As he left the yacht to go to his Waldorf Towers apartment, Prince Charles said the lunch "wasn't too bad, but I ate too much," as he patted his stomach.

He needed his afternoon nap because the food and drink did not stop. At the evening reception in Avery Fisher Hall, where he was greeted by Amyas Ames, chairman emeritus of Lincoln Center; by Martin E. Segal, the chairman, and by John Mazzola, its president, he sipped a glass of rare pink Imperial Rose Moet & Chandon champagne, flown in by the champagne manufacturer for him.

Then, in evening clothes, a pink-tipped white carnation in his lapel and a bright-blue mottled handkerchief in his breast pocket, he inched down a line of honor, grinning and sipping as **women** curtsied and men nodded. Shortly before 7 o'clock he went down the escalator and across Lincoln Center Plaza to the Metropolitan Opera House. He joined Mrs. Reagan in the state box, and seemed to enjoy the performance of "Sleeping Beauty" despite the heckling.

Screaming Was 'Horrifying'

One of the British dancers, Gerd Larsen, was backstage when the sporadic screaming began. "It was horrifying for us," she said. "The dancers were a bit frightened, but they just carried on beautifully. They didn't falter."

After the ballet there was a backstage visit with the dancers, to whom the Prince and Mrs. Reagan were introduced by Sir John Tooley, general administrator of the Royal Opera House in Covent Garden, and Sir Claus Moser, co-chairman of the Royal Ballet.

The couple's departure was delayed a bit when Mrs. Reagan's diamond ring became enmeshed in the tutu of a dancer, Marguerite Porter, but it was freed and Prince Charles and Mrs. Reagan walked into Damrosch Park for the day's climax, a formal ball.

Waiting for them was Lester Lanin, who had composed a waltz, "My Lady Love," in honor of Lady Diana Spencer, Prince Charles's fiancée, to which the Prince and Mrs. Reagan danced.

Prince Charles left the ball shortly after 1 A.M. in the middle of "You Ain't Nothin' But a Hound Dog" and returned to the Waldorf. A review of the Royal Ballet's gala performance of "Sleeping Beauty" will appear in tomorrow's editions.

Graphic

Illustrations: photo of Prince Charles with Lee Annenberg (page B4) photo of demonstrators outside Avery Fisher Hall (page B4) photo of Prince Charles and Nancy Reagan at Metropolitan Opera House

Brawley's Mother Defies a Grand Jury Subpoena

The New York Times

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Byline: By CRAIG WOLFF, Special to the New York Times

Dateline: POUGHKEEPSIE, N.Y., May 24

Body

The mother of Tawana Brawley ignored a grand jury subpoena today, defying New York State's first effort to compel her family's cooperation in the investigation of what the family says was the racially motivated abduction and rape of the black Dutchess County teen-ager.

The Attorney General, Robert Abrams, said he would ask a judge to order Miss Brawley's mother, Glenda Brawley, to explain her absence. He said failure to do so could put her in contempt, raising the possibility of a 30-day jail sentence or a \$250 fine. Mr. Abrams said he expected a hearing next week before Justice Angelo Ingrassia of State Supreme Court here. Verbal Attack Mrs. Brawley's failure to appear was perhaps the most significant legal development in the tangled case since Mr. Abrams was appointed special prosecutor in January. His mandate was to investigate what the 16-year-old Miss Brawley has said was an abduction and rape by a group of white men in November. In the succeeding months, her family and its representatives have withheld Miss Brawley's cooperation, citing a cover-up in the investigation after she gave initial, fragmentary accounts to investigators last fall.

As the grand jurors and Mr. Abrams, awaited her arrival at 10 A.M. at the armory building here, Mrs. Brawley was in a radio studio in Manhattan with the family's representatives denouncing the investigation as a cover-up and calling Governor Cuomo and Mr. Abrams racists.

"I am not the type of person who's going to stand back and let them attack my child and not do anything about it," she said.

A family lawyer, C. Vernon Mason, said in the broadcast on WLIB, "Bob Abrams is as big a racist as Bull Connor was." He also said, "Cuomo is as big a racist as Lester Maddox was down in Georgia."

"You cannot subpoena Glenda Brawley to come in and participate in a cover-up," Mr. Mason said.

A family adviser, the Rev. Al Sharpton, said: "A dog would bark in a rape. I wouldn't even put Abrams with dogs, because dogs have more sensitivity." Addressing Mr. Cuomo, he also said, "We will show the world that you are the K.K.K. of the 80's."

At another point, the family's other lawyer, Alton H. Maddox Jr., asserted, "This is a race case because the entire white community has lined up behind the perpetrators."

Brawley's Mother Defies a Grand Jury Subpoena

Timothy Gilles, a spokesman for Mr. Abrams, said the Attorney General would have no comment on what he called "ad hominem, personal kinds of attacks."

Gary Fryer, a spokesman for Mr. Cuomo, said he would not comment on today's remarks. "The rhetoric doesn't change," he said. "The only thing that's relevant is what Tawana says to the grand jury. it's the one thing that's missing in this case."

The case has cast a taint of racism over the mid-Hudson Valley and drawn both Mr. Abrams and Mr. Cuomo into an investigation that has, so far, defied resolution. To date, investigators, without the help of the Brawleys, have been unable to find evidence of the crime they say occurred or corroboration for accusations against several Dutchess County men they have publicly accused of participating.

Miss Brawley was found in a dazed condition last Nov. 28 outside her family's former apartment in Wappingers Falls. She was wrapped in a garbage bag, smeared with dog feces and with racial epithets scrawled on her torso.

Rising Tensions

To this point in the investigation, Mr. Abrams had resisted issuing any ultimatums to Miss Brawley, any members of her family or their lawyers. A letter sent to Miss Brawley seeking her voluntary cooperation was ignored.

Indeed, as the months have passed, the assertions offered by Miss Brawley's representatives have grown broader: they have cited, without evidence, the involvement of the Ku Klux Klan and the **Irish Republican Army** and have said the Federal and state law-enforcement establishment is dominated by organized crime.

At news conferences and on radio and television broadcasts they have offered what they portray as significant lines of inquiry, suggesting in one instance that investigators search for a man with a missing finger. In another instance they said that Miss Brawley's memory had been impaired after she was forced to drink a milky white liquid.

They have likened Mr. Abrams to Hitler. They requested that Rudolph W. Guiliani, the United States Attorney in Manhattan, take over the investigation. When Mr. Guiliani decided not to do so, they accused him of covering up for the involvement of organized-crime figures.

Officials familiar with the grand jury investigation said that without being able to hear Miss Brawley's version of what happened or an account from her relatives, the inquiry will likely remain frustrated. The Federal Bureau of Investigation, which had deployed a team of agents to investigate the Brawley family's charges, has all but withdrawn, and is monitoring the case in a cursory way.

'Strategy of Defiance'

Though Glenda Brawley had said on Saturday that she would defy the subpoena, Mr. Abrams waited four and a half hours for her to appear today, listening to other witnesses in the interim. At 2:30 P.M. he appeared on the steps of the red-brick armory at the corner of Market and Church Street and read a prepared statement for reporters.

"Ironically, there are hundreds of people, friends of Tawana, neighbors, teen-agers, adults, black and white, who have cooperated with this investigation in various ways," Mr. Abrams said. "Only Tawana Brawley and her close family members have totally refused cooperation.

"As special prosecutor, I personally find it unfortunate and regrettable that the first enforcement action taken in connection with this investigation is against the mother of the apparent victim and not against whoever may have been responsible for the condition in which she was found last November 28. This is not a happy prospect."

Mr. Abrams also said that blame for the lack of cooperation must be shared by Mr. Sharpton, Mr. Maddox and Mr. Mason, who he said have used a "strategy of defiance and noncooperation."

Brawley's Mother Defies a Grand Jury Subpoena

Asked if the grand jury's action on Glenda Brawley was a signal that he would eventually subpoena her daughter, Mr. Abrams offered no comment.

Tangled History

The two lawyers and Mr. Sharpton became involved in the case last December after an initial investigation bogged down. The Dutchess County District Attorney, William Grady, withdrew from the case for reasons he would not specify, but that were later attributed to a possible conflict of interest in his office. The conflict involved an assistant prosecutor, Steven A. Pagones, who was an acquaintance of a police officer whose suicide became an early focus of inquiry. Officials later discounted involvement by either man in the Brawley case.

A local lawyer who was appointed to succeed the District Attorney in the case then also withdrew, citing unspecified difficulties.

With the Brawley lawyers appealing to the Governor for a new special prosecutor, Mr. Cuomo, with their initial support, named Mr. Abrams. The Brawley lawyers later attacked Mr. Abrams as unqualified and have refused further cooperation.

During the WLIB radio program, broadcast between 9:30 A.M. and 11 A.M. today, the Brawley family lawyers and Mr. Sharpton made frequent references to what they put forth as the facts of the case and again implicated several white Dutchess County men, including Mr. Pagones and Scott Patterson, a state trooper. Most of the lawyers' assertions about specifics of the case have been challenged by investigators.

Another Prosecutor Sought

Mr. Mason and Mr. Maddox reproached Mr. Abrams for not having called Mr. Pagones or Mr. Patterson to testify before the grand jury. The former, Mr. Sharpton said, had not been subpoenaed because "his father is a judge" and the latter, he said, has not been called because his father is a high-ranking state police official.

Mr. Maddox asserted that Miss Brawley had cooperated with officials in the days just after she was found. But, he said, "Once Tawana had the temerity to say the truth and tell who did it the entire law-enforcement community in Dutchess County went against her."

Mr. Maddox said officials in both the county and the state were willing to tolerate sexual attacks on black women. He said: "This is what Cuomo and Abrams are trying to serve notice on our women, that we will rape you, Cuomo and Abrams included. Ours son will rape you, and you better not say anything."

Both Mrs. Brawley and Mr. Sharpton said that the family's further cooperation depended on the appointment of a new "independent prosecutor" and grand jury.

'All Bets Are Off'

Mrs. Brawley said the grand jury would have to be "competent and listen to her story," referring to her daughter. She said that only such an arrangement would "do us justice, that is all we ask."

Mr. Mason repeatedly characterized the subpoena as invalid. "We say to all New York, 'Bob Abrams, you cannot come with an illegal subpoena to an illegal grand jury that's set up to cover up the dirty, bloody tracks of these perpetrators. You can't come with that because just like Rosa Parks, Dr. King, Gandhi shut that whole system down, today we're saying 'no.'"

The Attorney General, Mr. Mason said, could "come with the handcuffs, because before we cooperate to prostitute Tawana, who is finer than any of these folks who are talking against her, we will all be in jail because justice has been arrested in this state for a long time."

Brawley's Mother Defies a Grand Jury Subpoena

Mr. Sharpton said, "This is the last time we're going to take this kind of nonsense of grand juries hanging black people just because they're black."

"All bets are off," he continued, referring to the Brawley case. "This is the one we're going to call all the marbles in on."

Graphic

Photo of Glenda Brawley (NYT/Chester Higgins, Jr.)

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THE FINAL SHOWDOWN

COURIER-MAIL

May 24, 1986 Saturday

Copyright 1986 Nationwide News Pty Limited

Length: 1608 words

Byline: WILSON B

Body

The final showdown From BRUCE WILSON in Dublin THE future of Ireland _ if such a thing is conceivable _ has been carefully arranged here in alliance with that old Irish enemy, England. All it needs is the total co-operation of the Protestant majority in Northern Ireland, the British Parliament, the Irish Dial and that old triumvirate of faith, hope and charity. The threatened Government of Irish Prime Minister Garret FitzGerald and the equally threatened Government of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher are now trying to stare down, once and for all, The Troubles. Dr FitzGerald is fighting to drag Ireland into the latter part of the 19th century by making it possible for couples to divorce, while at the same time having errant husbands pay maintenance. In the north, the killing continues as the bewildering divisions of Protestant against Protestant have made the Catholic minority feel, for once, like a protected species. An Irish political solution is, at best, a fist fight, and at worst hooded bigots with illegal weapons blowing away a young Protestant woman _ as happened while I was in Belfast _ for the dreadful crime of marrying a Catholic. It was not really an isolated act of violence, but it was so dreadful that it made everyone blink and say that enough would seem to be enough. Not the least being Peter Prendergast, the affable and alert official spokesman for the Irish Government, sitting over lunch in a swish Dublin hotel and seeing an Irish future as it has never been seen before.

QNPDublin is much more relaxed than Belfast, and so I cannot name the man with whom, a day before, I had been sharing a whisky with in Stormont Castle, the headquarters of the British Government in Northern Ireland, and who outlined a scenario not far removed from Mr Prendergast's. In this, the Protestant extremists are cornered. They seek cul-de-sac after cul-de-sac to escape the inevitability of the Anglo-Irish agreement. Finding them closed, they surrender. In the Republic, the **Irish Republican Army** and all its extremist elements find that they, too, are no longer the voice of Irish nationalism. They are pushed into the same dead-ends until they, too, accept the inevitable. In short it is this: Northern Ireland remains in Great Britain, but the Protestant majority shares power with the Catholic minority which makes up a third of the population, but which now is almost powerless. The term for it is ""devolution" and its result would be a Northern Ireland assembly which is not representative. Rather, it gives the Catholics more political clout than they would have on a strict count of numbers. If this happens _ and if widespread political moves which involve Washington as much as anywhere else go ahead _ Ireland will march down a different path. As Mr Prendergast put it, this must work because nothing else can. As my unnamed man at Stormont put it, it is the final showdown. Unless the Protestant leaders accept the Anglo-Irish accords, the end result is total breakdown of Ulster and civil war. The way it was put was: they (the Protestants) must understand they will be stood upon like cockroaches. This is amazing stuff, but you would have to see the two Irelands today to understand how much things have changed. In the north the Protestants have made their old ally, the Royal Ulster Constabulary, the villain. In the Republic, they are talking about divorce, as if The Troubles were some kind of sideshow being fought between a handful of mad Catholics and a larger handful of madder Prods. It is only recently that Ireland took two major steps very Irish in concept. Abortion was made illegal in the Irish constitution, and birth control was legalised. It is, to be sure, limited birth control, but young Irishmen no longer need a prescription to buy

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a condom and young Irish women _ or some, anyway _ can take the Pill without having to go across the Irish Sea to get it. Divorce, however, will be the subject of a referendum and what a fascinating poll it will be. It will be along both religious and demographic lines, and the most recent poll in The Irish Times showed that 58 percent of the voters will go for divorce. It seems unreal to say it, but divorce may well be at the heart of many of the problems of Ireland. Dublin is one of the most engaging cities on earth, but it is also the centre of Irish nationalism and the terrorism which stems from the extremist groups. In Ireland, a small nation of less than three million, there is between 21,000 and 70,000 wives who have been abandoned, mistreated or otherwise offended by their husbands. In most nations they would be entitled to a divorce. The lack of divorce laws has certainly played a part in terrorism, since wives who might be delighted to tell the authorities that their husbands spend their spare time plotting evil deeds cannot testify against them. But the major problem is a social one. Without the right to divorce, Irish women are often enough rendered powerless. And because of a huge baby boom in the prosperous 1960s and a vast movement out of the country in the 1940s and 1950s, half the population is 26 or younger. New divorce laws have become a kind of symbol, then, for a new, younger Ireland _ an Ireland which sees The Troubles as an anachronism of a past to which the young feel no link. Given this, the divorce referendum is likely to be passed. Even then, it will take five years for an Irish couple to divorce, but this is not the point. The point is that it will be another modernising and liberating step in Ireland. Take Dublin today. It has always been wonderful, mad, illogical. But it bustles along with a freewheeling style much different from the Dublin of 10 years ago. Belfast, by the starkest of contrasts, is a city of wide, empty streets, where the British Army roams uneasily and wonders where the next bomb is coming from; where to go shopping for socks needs a security check. There have been since Easter Monday, 300 attacks on the Royal Ulster Constabulary, either in their homes or on the streets, and most have been from Protestants. I was in Portadown for a Protestant march, a very Ulster thing. Marching to an Ulsterman is a way of life and the lads were all on hand, down from Belfast, tattooed and ready to go. But the word from Stormont Castle is filtering through. While urchins gave the one-finger salute to the RUC in their armored Land Rovers, the extremist Protestant leaders were urging the marchers to play it cool. These tempering words were issued by Ian Paisley. He is shrewd, and he knows a cul-de-sac when he sees one. And he is going to see plenty, if what I was told in Belfast is true. This time, they are saying in high places that it is for real. The Ulster Protestants can no longer go on being more British than the English, while ignoring the decisions of the British Parliament. They will have to face the alternative to the Anglo-Irish Agreement; a total breakdown of services, 25,000 instead of 8000 British troops in Ulster, if necessary civil war. In other words, the Thatcher Government has decided _ or so they say _ to bite the bullet, to challenge the Protestants, to say to them that if they want to be British, obey the Parliament . . . or otherwise, perish. Strong stuff. The same mood of having had enough of it all is afoot in the Republic, which under Dr Fitzgerald is thoroughly tired of the whole ongoing business. This week the British supremo in Ulster, Tom King, was in the USA pulling in the cards Ronald Reagan owes Margaret Thatcher for Libya in exchange for new extradition rights for the Irish terrorists who have long found haven in America. There has never been any doubt that the strong Irish-American vote has prevented any US administration from risking political disfavor by seeming to aid the British. This time, however, the British feel they have a chance, especially since a group of alleged terrorists are now undergoing a widely-publicised trial in London for the bombing in 1984 of the Grand Hotel in Brighton, killing five and very nearly killing Mrs Thatcher during the Conservative Party conference there. What Mr King has to beat is the fact that a handful of American Irish with more power than they deserve are in Washington. One, for example, is called Ronald Reagan, nee Regan, a proclaimed descendant of Brian Boru, the legendary Irish king. Add to him the Boston Irish contingent which helps run the Democratic Party, and there is plenty of ould sod around. This week, riding the train between Belfast and Dublin, it is difficult still to get a handle on all this. Ireland is such a pretty place, the Irish so lovable, the service so quaint . . . "I suppose you'll be wanting breakfast _ well, there's not none". But in both Belfast and Dublin they are a tougher breed politically than they were. What is not generally known is that the Anglo-Irish accords were devised not in London, but in Dublin and Belfast. My Belfast contact _ a Protestant _ described the present Ulster Protestant leadership as little more than tribal chieftains seeing their fiefdoms disappearing. To retain any power, they had to be seen to be in control of the masked hoodlums who call themselves the "para-militaries" and stop the killing. It just might be on the cards. Imagine an Ireland not united _ but at peace. In the republic, divorce, contraception; in the north the rule of government and law. It almost sounds like the 20th century, all right, and it could just be that the Irish of all religions are ready for it. IRA honor guard for a dead colleague, and Prime Ministers Fitzgerald and Thatcher . . . now the confrontation.

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Graphic

PICS SHOW PRIME MINISTERS FITZGERALD AND THATCHER, SOLDIER AND A CASUAL SHOPPER

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Former Sharpton Aide Was Disturbed by 'Lies'

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Body

Perry McKinnon, a former aide to the Rev. Al Sharpton, has said that he was profoundly disturbed by "lies" surrounding the Tawana Brawley case, but that he still had no clear idea what had happened to Miss Brawley and little direct knowledge of any doubts about her case that might be harbored by her lawyers, advisers or family.

In a six-hour interview with The New York Times, Mr. McKinnon said Mr. Sharpton and the Brawley family lawyers, Alton H. Maddox Jr. and C. Vernon Mason, "knew they had no evidence" to support accusations that several white Dutchess County men abducted and raped the black Dutchess teen-ager last November.

But Mr. McKinnon, a 39-year-old security man, acknowledged that he had never heard Miss Brawley explain what had happened to her and that his conversations with Mr. Sharpton about the case were far more substantial than those with the lawyers or family.

Even now, he said, he was uncertain whether Miss Brawley had been attacked and held over a four-day period. "The only thing I'm sure of," he said, "is something happened to her that led to the condition she was found in." "Lies That Cloud This Issue"

Mr. McKinnon said he believed that the lawyers and Mr. Sharpton - who, he said, had become "prosecutors and persecutors, rather than defenders of Tawana Brawley" - knew little more than he did about the facts of the incident.

"That's my opinion," he said. "I don't know what they know, at this point. And I never alluded in this whole thing that I knew what happened to Tawana. I do know about the lies that cloud this issue."

After Mr. McKinnon created a furor last week by disclosing his break with the Brawley family representatives and testifying before the grand jury investigating the case, he was described by Mr. Maddox as "a desperate man."

Mr. Mason and Mr. Sharpton suggested that Mr. McKinnon, who had suffered a "nervous condition" as a soldier in Vietnam, was mentally unstable and a bigamist who was only suddenly talking about the sanctity of the law.

Mr. Sharpton and Mr. McKinnon -who said he had two wives because he did not complete "paperwork" in connection with a divorce - also traded charges about the use of money raised by the National Youth Movement, an anti-drug program run by the minister.

Mr. Sharpton said it was because he had demanded an accounting of the youth movement money that Mr. McKinnon had split with him.

Former Sharpton Aide Was Disturbed by 'Lies'

Importance of Credibility

The extent to which Mr. McKinnon was a confidant of Mr. Sharpton is also at issue. To many reporters, for whom he was often Mr. Sharpton's liaison aide, Mr. McKinnon seemed an informed figure, more accessible and more apt to be punctual than Mr. Sharpton. Now, he is portrayed by the lawyers and Mr. Sharpton as more of a "gofer," a man who was ever the outsider.

For Attorney General Robert Abrams, special prosecutor in the case, Mr. McKinnon's credibility may be as vital as any specific information he provided to the grand jury. Before Mr. McKinnon testified last Thursday, Mr. Abrams, as did Governor Cuomo, said that Mr. McKinnon's turnabout raised a question of whether the case was a "hoax" from the start and, if so, whether it was known to Mr. Maddox, Mr. Mason and Mr. Sharpton.

After the testimony, Mr. Abrams said it was too soon to "fully assess" its value.

Mr. McKinnon has been quoted in The Daily News as saying Miss Brawley's account was "nothing but a pack of lies." On WCBS-TV, he said Mr. Mason and Mr. Sharpton - "not so much Mr. Mason" - were "frauds, from the beginning."

'They Were My Friends'

In the interview with The Times, Mr. McKinnon ranged over his relationship to Mr. Sharpton, the involvement in the Howard Beach and Brawley cases, the manner and methods of the Brawley "team," his growing disenchantment with how Mr. Sharpton and the lawyers were portraying the case and the decision to separate.

Although he said he had no regrets about his decision to break with Mr. Sharpton and the lawyers, Mr. McKinnon seemed rather wistful about not being in touch with them. He said he disagreed with the lawyers. "I like those guys," he said. "They were my friends."

Mr. McKinnon said that recently he had secreted himself in a building across the street from the Bethany Baptist Church, where Miss Brawley's mother, Glenda, has taken "refuge" from a contempt citation for failing to respond to a grand jury subpoena. He wanted to see what was happening, he said.

After Howard Beach

Mr. McKinnon said he met Mr. Sharpton, a 33-year-old Pentecostal minister, in April 1985 at St. Mary's Hospital in Brooklyn, where Mr. McKinnon was the new director of security and Mr. Sharpton had an office for his youth movement.

From time to time, Mr. McKinnon said, he would accompany Mr. Sharpton to concerts and other events. "Al said it was for security, but all I did was walk around," Mr. McKinnon recalled.

After a group of white youths attacked several black men in Howard Beach, Queens, in December 1986 -with one black man being killed by a car as he ran - Mr. McKinnon took a more active role by Mr. Sharpton's side.

Mr. Sharpton was among those successfully demanding the appointment of a special prosecutor in the case. Mr. Maddox and Mr. Mason, whom Mr. McKinnon met for the first time, were lawyers for the victims' families. Mr. McKinnon said that even while he continued to work for the hospital, he arranged news conferences, chauffeured Mr. Sharpton, and "helped out" in the youth movement office.

'She Only Nodded'

Mr. McKinnon said Mr. Maddox, Mr. Mason and Mr. Sharpton were able to use their "credentials" from the Howard Beach case as a "reference" with the Brawley family last fall. "They use it as a reference all the time," he said.

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Mr. McKinnon said it was not until last January, shortly before the family members were scheduled to go before a local grand jury that was briefly involved with the case, that he first saw Miss Brawley.

Around that time, Mr. McKinnon said, he watched Mr. Maddox or Mr. Mason put some questions to the girl but that "she only nodded, which was interpreted by Juanita, her aunt, and you couldn't really tell whether she was saying yes or no."

Miss Brawley, he said, still appeared to be "severely traumatized, and nobody really bothered her too much."

Mr. McKinnon said he has never known whether either lawyer or Mr. Sharpton had ever heard Miss Brawley, who is now 16, explain what had happened to her during the period in question, Nov. 24 to Nov. 28. For months, he said, "all they had was her story, and were trying to put the pieces together, looking for some kind of facts."

'I Never Heard the Women'

A great deal of time, Mr. McKinnon said, was spent "rehashing" sketchy interviews the authorities conducted with Miss Brawley in late November and "rehashing what was being said on TV."

Mr. McKinnon said that neither Glenda nor Juanita Brawley expressed any doubt to him about Miss Brawley's basic account.

"I never heard the women," Mr. McKinnon said. Once, he remembered, Glenda Brawley asserted that there was a red spot on Miss Brawley's forehead when she was found in a plastic bag outside the Brawleys' old and unoccupied apartment on Nov. 28 and that it matched a spot on the floor of the apartment.

The red spot had not been in the apartment when it was vacated two weeks earlier, Mrs. Brawley was said to have observed, suggesting that Miss Brawley had been in the apartment shortly before being discovered.

Mr. McKinnon said he had had little substantive conversation about the case with Mr. Maddox, who "didn't like me" or, with Mr. Mason, who, he said, never expressed any serious reservations about the case with him.

'In It for the Exposure'

In Mr. McKinnon's view, Mr. Mason was a "a great guy, superintelligent, who could do anything in life." But Mr. Mason, he said, takes direction from Mr. Maddox and Mr. Sharpton, "because he doesn't want to be pushed out of the case."

"He's in it for the exposure," Mr. McKinnon said.

Mr. Maddox, Mr. McKinnon added, wants to "tear down the present justice system in New York State by using an issue to build a movement." For Mr. Maddox, as for Mr. Sharpton, Mr. McKinnon charged, the case was a "mechanism to ride where they want to go."

Mr. McKinnon said that whenever doubts were raised about the account or the handling of the case, the lawyers' "answer was that it didn't matter whether she was raped or not."

Mr. McKinnon said that the first time Mr. Sharpton expressed some real doubts concerning what had occurred was in late March, when, Mr. McKinnon said, he was pressing the representatives to let him investigate the case.

Reaction to Newscast

Mr. McKinnon wanted to check out information he had received that Steven A. Pagones, a Dutchess prosecutor whom Mr. Maddox had recently accused of taking part in the attack against Miss Brawley, was linked to organized

Former Sharpton Aide Was Disturbed by 'Lies'

crime. But neither the lawyers nor Mr. Sharpton seemed interested, Mr. McKinnon recalled, and he passed the information to WCBS-TV, which televised an inconclusive report.

Nonetheless, when the report was broadcast, the Brawley family's lawyers quickly took up the cry that Mr. Pagones, whose father is a judge, was "a mob figure."

Mr. McKinnon said Mr. Maddox had publicly accused Mr. Pagones of attacking Miss Brawley solely on speculation.

"They didn't have any proof to Pagones's involvement," Mr. McKinnon said in the interview. "But there wasn't nobody to disprove it."

Quest for 'Glimmer of Hope'

The charge about Mr. Pagones was just one of the "lies" that disturbed him, Mr. McKinnon said. Another, he added, was a public assertion by the Brawleys' representatives that the case was tied to the ***Irish Republican Army***. That contention, Mr. McKinnon said, had virtually no basis other than the speculation of reporters "who we were sitting with" at a hotel in Poughkeepsie.

Mr. McKinnon said he remained on the "team" because he was "looking for a glimmer of hope" in the case. But, he said, his doubts about the facts -and the way the case was being handled by the lawyers and Mr. Sharpton - mounted in April and May, at the same time that the Brawley representatives and family members, refusing to cooperate with the Attorney General, intensified the number of church and other rallies.

"It hit me in places in my heart and my conscience, the stuff they were spewing out, like people's prosecutors," Mr. McKinnon said. "It sounded reddish, Communist, and it bothered me that they were effective in acting and talking this way."

Graphic

Photo of Perry McKinnon (NYT/Chester Higgins, Jr.)

TERROR IN 1985: BRUTAL ATTACKS, TOUGH RESPONSE - Correction **Appended**

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Body

As a year of hijackings, kidnappings, car bombings and murder draws to a close, reports from correspondents of The New York Times around the world indicate that governments have hardened their attitudes and toughened security measures against a growing plague of terrorism.

Across Europe and the Middle East, where terrorists in 1985 struck more often and more brutally than in years past, governments have adopted new laws, ordered tighter defenses and forged new links of international cooperation to exchange information, catch and prosecute terrorists, and isolate nations that support them.

Even Italy and Austria, which have long been sympathetic to Palestinian and Arab causes, on Friday found their airports the targets of men with links to Palestinians, and officials' responses showed they were embarrassed.

Britain's Tough Measures

Britain, which uses tough measures to suppress Northern Ireland violence that have led to more violence, agreed last fall to give the Irish Republic a voice in the affairs of Northern Ireland.

France, where violence by leftist radicals has sharply increased in the past year, has made little progress in trying to track terrorists and is considering a range of tougher measures -including more police powers to infiltrate terrorist groups, even if these encroach upon traditional freedoms.

Israel, which has heavy antiterrorist security, found it harder in 1985 to retaliate against Palestinian terrorists. Some experts say Israel, which scattered the Palestinians when it destroyed their sanctuary in Lebanon several years ago, may have to resume using its tactics of the 1970's, when Mossad hit teams sought terrorists.

Though many American citizens abroad have been attacked by terrorists in the last year, the United States has been spared from major violence, partly because of its own security measures and partly because targets overseas have presumably been seen by terrorists as easier marks.

After years of relative immunity, the Soviet Union, which has long backed Palestinian aspirations and countries that aid terrorists, found itself a victim in 1985 when terrorists kidnapped four Soviet Embassy workers in Beirut and killed one of them. Moscow and other Soviet-bloc countries, in response, seemed to edge away from their past tolerance toward terrorist groups, calling for severe punishment for them.

TERROR IN 1985: BRUTAL ATTACKS, TOUGH RESPONSE

Though the Soviet Union has not backed away from Libya and Syria, which support terrorists, or from the Palestine Liberation Organization, there have been reports that Soviet and American officials have begun to share information about terrorism in an effort to combat attacks.

Further evidence of the hardening Soviet-bloc attitudes toward terrorism came at the United Nations on Dec. 9, when the General Assembly, which has 159 members, unanimously adopted a resolution condemning all international terrorism as criminal.

Cuba Joins in Vote

"It is an important resolution - we support it all the way and wholeheartedly," said Oleg A. Troyanovsky, the chief Soviet delegate. Even Cuba, which had cast the sole vote against the resolution in the Assembly's legal committee, switched at the last minute in the full Assembly vote.

Though the United Nations vote was no more than a moral commitment, it ended more than 13 years of bitter debate over the issue and underscored a growing attitude of revulsion against terrorism in a year in which, according to State Department figures, there were more than 690 major terrorist attacks around the world.

While there is no easy way to quantify terrorism and compare it with that in years past, interviews with government officials and terrorism experts in a score of countries around the world over the weekend indicated that 1985 was one of the most active, lethal and brutal times of terrorism in years.

Children were killed. An elderly New York City man in a wheelchair was shot and hurled into the Mediterranean. There were murders without demands by some terrorists, and some bombings for which no group took responsibility.

Many Faces of Terror

There were acts of terrorism in Europe, the Middle East, Central and South America and other parts of the world in the name of various Palestinian factions, the **Irish Republican Army**, anti-Sandinista rebels in Nicaragua, Sikhs in India, Islamic fundamentalists, Basque separatists and others.

In March, 80 people were killed in a car bomb in Beirut. In June, an American Navy diver was slain and hostages were held for two weeks by hijackers of a Trans World Airlines jet that had just left the Athens airport, and gunmen in San Salvador killed 13 people in a cafe.

In August, a car bomb killed 50 people in Beirut. In September, 39 people were wounded in a grenade attack on a cafe in Rome. In October, gunmen seized an Italian cruise ship, the Achille Lauro, and shot Leon Klinghoffer, the New York man in a wheelchair.

In November, rebels in Bogota, Colombia, seized a court building and 95 people, including 11 Supreme Court Justices, were killed; later that month, an Egyptair plane was hijacked and 60 of the 98 people on the jet were killed during the hijacking and the storming of the plane.

Death Toll in Hundreds

The year's toll of hundreds killed and thousands wounded was capped last Friday by attacks on crowds near El Al Israel Airlines check-in counters at airports in Rome and Vienna. The attacks seemed to symbolize much of the year's terrorism: shocking, brutal, with innocent people slain.

They also reflected the difficulties of providing effective security at public places like airports, which can hardly prevent incursions by trained, determined terrorists willing to die for a cause.

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Nonetheless, governments around the world have toughened security measures and, according to experts, terrorists have responded in the past year with new tactics and strategies. Instead of directly attacking security-minded foes like Israel, for example, Palestinians have attacked softer Israeli targets in Italy, Austria and elsewhere.

A Year of Growing Terror

Moreover, in 1985 terrorists also made more lethal bombs, struck more frequently and tried to kill larger numbers of people in the belief that these tactics would more forcefully express their own grievances and inflict greater psychological shocks on a public that seems to be growing inured to minor acts of terrorism.

"With one or two people being killed by terrorist bombs every week," said Ariel Merari, a terrorism expert at Tel Aviv University, "terrorists feel they need to kill more people to get the same amount of attention. The public is not so easily shocked as before. Today, you have to kill a lot of people to shock the public."

Claus Walter Herbertz, one of West Germany's leading academic authorities on terrorism, also said he has observed a growing quiescence of public opinion in response to the rising level of violence, as if people were becoming hardened to the horrors of terrorism.

"I believe it is a new normality," Mr. Herbertz said. "It is cruel and abnormal, but it is normality. The German public is very strongly used to it."

Israel

Israeli officials said 1985 marked the re-emergence of the P.L.O., which had been destroyed as a conventional military force and crippled as a guerrilla movement when it was ousted from Lebanon and scattered throughout the Middle East in August 1982.

In the last year, at least 12 Israelis were killed by Palestinian attackers. Palestinian guerrillas were involved in 38 attacks in Israel or on Israelis in Europe in the first nine months of 1985, more than double the 1984 total for the same period, Israeli officials said.

Israeli officials say that, despite his disavowals, Yasir Arafat, the P.L.O. chairman, sanctioned many of these attacks, while rival and dissident Palestinian groups were responsible for others, seeking to embarrass him or destroy peace initiatives.

The policy of blaming Mr. Arafat appears to be based partly on the belief that he is behind many of the attacks. It is also the result of a general effort to discredit him at a critical time in the Middle East peace process.

Meanwhile, the Israelis have found it increasingly difficult to retaliate for Palestinian attacks. Experts on terrorism said the Israeli bombing of the P.L.O. headquarters near Tunis last fall was an act of desperation that had little effect on Palestinian violence and provoked an outcry by other nations.

With nations like Syria, Libya and Iran accused of clandestinely providing terrorists with weapons, training and sanctuary, Israeli officials feel they will have to make it clear that such nations will be held responsible for their clients' actions.

Britain

The Government of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has taken a hard line on terrorism, warning that no prisoners would be released, no statements made, no hijacked airliners allowed to take off and no other concessions made in response to terrorists' demands.

The Prime Minister has also appealed to news organizations to "deprive terrorists of the oxygen of publicity," but beyond appeals for restraint, the Government has not tried to invoke censorship or employ coercion.

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The **Irish Republican Army** is the Government's main worry. The organization says it has killed 23 policemen this year; there have been bomb and mortar attacks on six police stations since Dec. 5.

Britain's decision last fall to give the Irish Republic a voice in Northern Ireland's affairs is partly an effort to starve the I.R.A. of local support and to improve security in a region where harsh measures have angered many nationalists.

The measures include the use of plastic bullets and undercover units, trial without jury, the use of uncorroborated testimony of paid informers, and the Emergency Powers Act and the Prevention of Terrorism Act, under which suspects can be held for a week without charges.

Britain has tight controls on Irish flights at airports. Travelers to and from Ireland and Northern Ireland must file information about the purpose and duration of their trips and where they will stay; all passengers, even children, undergo body searches; and luggage is hand-searched as well as X-rayed.

Douglas Hurd, the former Northern Ireland Secretary who is now Home Secretary, recently called for all countries to refuse substantive concessions to terrorist demands, for exchanges of information on terrorists and for cooperation in apprehending and prosecuting terrorists.

France

Direct Action, a radical leftist group, says it has conducted 20 terrorist attacks this year, including the bombing of the Marks & Spencer department store in Paris. Yet not a single suspect has been arrested. There also has been no progress in private and Government efforts to free four French hostages held for many months, apparently by pro-Iranian extremists in Lebanon.

There is a widespread sense of anger and frustration, and a belief that the standard security methods are no longer effective against terrorists.

"Is there ever among these fanatics who fire without shame on innocent people - on women, on children - someone who asks himself if the struggle to which he is devoted can justify in any way this madness?" Le Monde asked over the weekend.

And Le Figaro, in a front-page editorial, called for tough new measures, including greater powers for the police to infiltrate terrorist groups, even if these measures encroached on traditional freedoms. Apparently the government was already considering such steps.

Francois le Mouel, head of the French Antiterrorist Coordination Unit, in a confidential memo that found its way into the press recently, complained that the police had virtually no informers or other sources to infiltrate terrorist groups.

He proposed greater use of telephone wiretaps, the reintroduction of hotel security cards for security checks, new procedures for admitting visitors from the Middle East, detention of suspects for up to four days for questioning without filing charges and more use of technology to process information on suspected terrorists.

"We will certainly have to find a difficult balance," he wrote, "between our principles of liberty and certain security measures which could impinge on them."

Italy

Defense Minister Giovanni Spadolini said he believed Italy was faced with a new generation of Mediterranean terrorists, whose goal is "to strike at the heart of countries favorable to negotiations in the Middle East."

Though no stranger to terrorism -the Red Brigades and other radical groups created chaos for years - Italy has long been relatively free from Arab violence, in part because of its friendliness to the P.L.O. and its understanding for the Palestinian cause.

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But the Government of Prime Minister Bettino Craxi has, with Western allies, tried to involve the Palestinians in a new process of trying to negotiate peace in the Middle East.

Italy, however, has become a virtual playground for Arab terrorists. A Palestinian was charged in connection with a bombing on the Via Veneto in September. Jordanian and British airline offices in Italy were attacked by terrorists. Palestinians have been accused of the hijacking of the Achille Lauro. After American jets forced the Egyptian plane carrying those Palestinians to land in Italy, the United States criticized Italy for letting Mohammed Abbas, the man Washington accuses of being the mastermind of the affair, go free. One gunman who survived the attack at Leonardo da Vinci Airport on Friday carried a note indicating he was a member of a renegade Palestinian group.

Italian officials complain that their intelligence services are lax about terrorists, and some critics contend that in Italy there is a certain tolerance toward terrorists. Italy does not harbor terrorists, though Interior Minister Luigi Scalfaro conceded that there are hundreds of thousands of Arab nationals in Italy whose movements the Government does not monitor.

West Germany

West Germany, which was shaken in the late 1970's by acts of terrorism carried out by the Red Army Faction, has had fewer such incidents in recent years. West German officials say this is partly because terrorists have not been well organized and partly because the West Germany, with its efficient tracking of all citizens, makes life difficult for terrorists on the run.

Despite the best West German efforts, terrorism continues, including the slaying of a prominent industrialist in Munich in February and a bombing at the Rhein-Main Air Base in August that killed 2 Americans and wounded 20. The Red Army Faction took responsibility for both attacks. In addition, a bombing last month at a United States Army post in Frankfurt wounded 35 people; the Abu Nidal group, a renegade Palestinian faction, is suspected of involvement in that attack.

Austria

In 1979, Austria became the first Western country to recognize the P.L.O. Chancellor Bruno Kreisky sought to mediate in several Middle East peace initiatives, as well as helping to arrange a prisoner exchange between Israel and Syria last summer.

Despite Austria's relatively sympathetic position on Arab issues, though, Arab terrorists hijacked a train carrying Jewish immigrants from the Soviet Union in 1973, forcing Austria to cut its role as an immigration transit point. In 1975 terrorists took hostage several oil ministers from Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries nations, and in 1981 Heinz Nittel, president of the Austria-Israel Society, was assassinated in Vienna.

Some diplomats in Vienna believe Austria's stance on Arab issues makes it vulnerable to terrorist attacks, as Arab factions bent on using violence to sabotage Middle East peace moves find it relatively easy to enter and leave.

Spain

Spain, which has seen nearly 500 people killed since 1968 and 36 killings this year alone in violence related to the Basque separatist movement, has a tough law that allows terrorism suspects to be held for 10 days without a court appearance. Basque terrorism does appear to be declining.

The Socialist Government of Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez has sought to rebut charges that it is soft on terrorism. Mr. Gonzalez has negotiated an agreement with France to deny Basque terrorists safe haven, and during the T.W.A. hijacking last summer, Spain refused to give in to a demand to free two Shiite Moslem militiamen that were being held by Spain.

TERROR IN 1985: BRUTAL ATTACKS, TOUGH RESPONSE

Soviet Union

This year, after years of relative immunity to terrorism, the Soviet Union found itself a target and seemed to edge away from its past tolerance of, if not outright support for, terrorist groups. The turning point was in September, when terrorists kidnapped four Soviet Embassy employees in Beirut and later killed one of them.

On Oct. 9, hundreds of Soviet Foreign Ministry employees left work to attend a memorial for Arkady Katakov, the Beirut embassy secretary who was slain. The three others were released unharmed.

Further signs of a shift came two days after the memorial service when the Soviet press agency Tass, reporting the killing of Mr. Klinghoffer aboard the Achille Lauro, described American anger as "understandable and just."

"The crimes of terrorists, no matter where they are committed, must be punished most severely, and such severity must be shown unflinchingly to all perpetrators of such crimes," Tass said.

The kidnapping of the Russians was also believed to have helped change the Soviet attitude - and that of many of its allies - on the United Nations resolution on terrorism.

Whether the change in the Soviet Union's public statements about terrorism will mean a change in its policies remains to be seen. If support for Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi, the Libyan leader, constitutes support for terrorism, as the Reagan Administration contends, then Moscow showed little concern when it welcomed him in October. Nor has the Soviet Union backed away from the P.L.O. or Syria.

Nicaragua

Nicaragua is a center of the global debate over terrorism. Both sides -the Government and the United States-backed rebels - call their enemies terrorists.

Rebel units in Nicaragua have burned down scores of health centers, schools and other public buildings. They have been accused of many kidnappings, rapes and murders, and President Daniel Ortega Saavedra has denounced these at every opportunity, saying the United States is responsible because it supports the rebels.

During its 20-year struggle to gain power, which finally succeeded in 1979, the Sandinista Front staged dozens of robberies, hijacked airplanes, and seized or killed members of the National Guard who were implicated in incidents of torture. President Ortega himself served seven years in prison for a bank robbery in which a guard was killed.

The Sandinista Government says it never committed random assaults like those at the Rome and Vienna airports Friday. It contends that its operations, as a guerrilla movement before coming to power, were all of a political nature, not terrorism, because they did not victimize innocent civilians.

The Reagan Administration has repeatedly pointed to the solidarity between the Sandinistas and leftist rebels in other countries as proof that Managua has become a haven for terrorists. The Sandinistas say their Government is the victim, not the perpetrator, of terrorism.

Canada

Canada has always sided with the United States in condemning terrorism, but its citizens have long believed themselves immune from, or at least far distant from, terrorist strikes. That changed this year.

In June, an Air-India flight from Toronto crashed in the Irish Sea, killing all 329 people on board. While the cause of the disaster has yet to be officially established, there has been speculation that Sikh extremists planted a bomb on board. On the same day, a bomb exploded in the luggage of another airliner that had flown from Canada to Narita International Airport near Tokyo, killing two baggage handlers.

TERROR IN 1985: BRUTAL ATTACKS, TOUGH RESPONSE

In November, a Canadian woman and her 16-month-old son were among 60 people killed when Egyptian commandos stormed the hijacked Egyptian jet in Malta.

Since June, the Canadian Government has tightened security at all major airports, and before Christmas it issued a general warning to travelers to look out for suspicious persons and luggage at airports.

South Africa

South Africa's white rulers see themselves as a target of a terror campaign by the outlawed and exiled African National Congress, which they call part of a wider Soviet conspiracy against nations with Western values.

But critics contend that the South African Government itself exports terrorism with across-the-border raids on insurgent bases in neighboring countries, and by sponsoring anti-Government rebels in Angola and elsewhere.

Like Israel, with which it is said to maintain clandestine military and intelligence ties, South Africa considers itself justified in attacking foes beyond its borders.

Also, a bomb at a shopping mall in Amanzimtoti, south of Durban, recently killed five whites. The African National Congress has warned that more civilians may die. "The distinction between soft and hard targets will disappear and innocent people will get killed," said Oliver Tambo, the Congress's leader.

China

China's has condemned terrorism, and it not only voted for the United Nations resolution of condemnation, but also offered a four-point program for fighting terrorism. During the years of Mao Zedong, the Government applauded Palestinian terrorist attacks.

Today, China, a staunch Palestinian supporter, trains P.L.O. fighters, and gives the P.L.O. weapons. The aid is apparently limited to Mr. Arafat's faction. Mr. Arafat himself was received in Peking in May with honors usually accorded to heads of state.

For all its support of Palestinians, though, diplomats say Peking opposes to indiscriminate violence.

Japan

Japan has been slow to criticize terrorism when it is carried out by Palestinians or any Arab group, but when Israel has conducted reprisals Japan has been swift to denounce them.

This apparently does not reflect a soft attitude on terrorism, but rather the need of a nation starved for oil to avoid offending the Arab world.

Japan has also been far removed from terrorist events. In the 1970's, the Japanese Red Army conducted several actions, including one at Lod Airport in Israel in 1972 in which 26 people were killed.

But the group has been dormant for a decade and the only trouble in Japan lately has been attributed to a group that took responsibility for knocking out public rail service in Tokyo and Osaka on Nov. 29.

The Philippines

The Philippines takes a hard line on terrorism and an aggressive approach to several insurgencies.

These include the Communist New People's Army, which has attacked military and police installations and slain provincial officials; the Moslem Moro National Liberation Front on the southern island of Mindanao, which has staged kidnappings and bombings, and the April 6 Movement, which has set off bombs and set fire to hotels.

TERROR IN 1985: BRUTAL ATTACKS, TOUGH RESPONSE

Some moderate politicians who oppose the Marcos Government, while not generally condoning terrorism, have expressed sympathy for the social problems that have led desperate people to commit violence.

Southeast Asia

Organized terrorism has not threatened the stability of most of the nations of Southeast Asia in recent years.

Burmese separatists known as Karens have blown up several trains this year, killing about 100 people.

It is hard to assess events in the Communist nations of Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam, but it is known that Soviet or Eastern European advisers have been assassinated in Laos and Cambodia.

Correction

A picture caption yesterday with an article about the history of terrorism in 1985 incorrectly described a June attack in San Salvador. The 13 deaths there occurred not in an explosion but in firing by gunmen at a cafe.

Correction-Date: December 31, 1985, Tuesday, Late City Final Edition

Relaxing oasis with aesthetic appeal at Tampa's Lucy Ho's

St. Petersburg Times (Florida)

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Times Publishing Company

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Length: 1994 words

Byline: CAROL KIRSCHENBAUM

Body

Lucy Ho's, 3611 W Hillsborough Ave., Tampa. (three locations; also at Fowler Avenue and 30th Street and in the food court in Tampa Bay Center). 874-8818. Hours: Sun.-Fri. 11:30 a.m. to 10:30 p.m.; Sat. 3:30-11 p.m. Handicapped access very good. No gratuity added. Major credit cards accepted. Inexpensive to moderate. Buffets offered at certain locations.

For a change, here's a well-designed, stylish and attractive Chinese restaurant - a real "going out" kind of place. And it's not decorated in red and gold, either. The dining room is a cool hunter green, with rosewood trim. Someone felt compelled to add a tassel to the brass chandelier. I hope it was a joke.

There's a small menu, specializing in standard, well-known Szechuan and Hunan dishes such as mu shu pork; kung pao chicken, beef or shrimp; smoked tea duck; whole fish, fried or steamed. They do it all pretty well - up to the standards of a neighborhood Chinese place in San Francisco's better suburbs. It's the closest taste to Szechuan I've had to date in this area, although Lucy Ho's is still quite Americanized.

The dominant language is Yupspeak, not Chinese.

The restaurant has a lot going for it, nevertheless. There's the relaxing, softly lit atmosphere, semi-circular upholstered booths that are the furniture equivalent of an embrace, and pleasant, professional service (another weak spot in most rush-rush Chinese restaurants).

Mu shu pork (\$ 8.75) is the best I've had around here. The filling isn't overly thickened - in fact, the kitchen uses little cornstarch, resulting in a much fresher taste than I've found elsewhere. The waiter folded the pork and vegetable filling into the traditional envelope at our table and didn't flub it.

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Whole red snapper Hunan-style (\$ 12.50) looked spectacular. The flesh had been slashed along both sides so that the fish "stood up" on the platter after it was plunged in hot oil. (Those gashes on both sides made filleting unnecessary; just lift the pieces off the bone.) A rose made from a turnip made us smile, though Mr. Fish's turned-down mouth looked grumpy. Maybe that was because he was overcooked.

For a little bit of everything in the appetizer section, there's the ubiquitous "pu-pu platter," for \$ 8.50, a concept borrowed from Polynesian restaurants where funny sounds are an accepted part of the native languages. (I defy any English-speaking person who has raised a child to say that "p" word without giggling.) You'll find the usual assortment: spare ribs (tough), chicken wings, spring rolls (greasy but with a delicious, unusual vegetable filling), cho-cho sticks (tough beef strips), butterflied shrimp (bready and slippery) and - highly recommended - very savory fried wontons stuffed with a gingered mixture of pork and minced vegetables.

Lucy Ho's prices are slightly higher than other Chinese restaurants but not by much. Portions are large, probably to accommodate people like myself who love spicy kung pao chicken for breakfast. The kitchen prepares this classic quite well: The chicken, water chestnuts and bamboo shoots are all diced to the same size as the smallest ingredient, the peanuts. Aesthetic attention to the very Oriental art of chopping sets Lucy Ho's apart from the mainstream.

I saved the weird part for last. Lucy Ho's is more than a nice Chinese restaurant. It is also a Japanese restaurant, with an adjacent tatami room. Architecturally, the dining room is so well-designed that the subdued Japanese corner at first seemed like a cocktail lounge.

I know: Now you don't trust the place. The idea of combining Chinese and Japanese cuisines under one roof is, politically and historically, almost as likely as inviting the *Irish Republican Army* for High Tea at Buckingham Palace. From my sampling of fried foods here, I wouldn't put much faith in Lucy Ho's tempura, but that's one small portion of a comprehensive menu that I'll have to try. It would really be something if Lucy Ho's turned out to be a very acceptable Japanese restaurant, too.

Cathay, the best from a bygone era Cathay Restaurant, 2801 34th St. S, St. Petersburg. 864-4437. Hours: 11 a.m. to 10 p.m. daily. All major credit cards. Handicapped access fair. No gratuity added. Inexpensive.

Next on this list, in order of my preference, is a less lavish, though a tastefully decorated Cantonese restaurant in, yes, Pinellas county. Clean tablecloths and very little eye-popping red - what a relief Cathay has its own kind of authenticity; it is one of the best in the suburban '50s tradition of Chinese-American restaurants. The taste of Cathay's spare ribs made me, one of those aging baby boomers, want another Shirley Temple.

This place is like a diner - a real piece of Americana. Come here when you are not looking for Hunan or Szechuan. The butterflied shrimp is terrific - huge shrimp, fluffy batter that's not bready or overly greasy (\$ 9.80). Spare ribs, egg rolls - all your usual midnight cravings will be satisfied.

But it is not low-cholesterol. Frankly, it would be difficult for anyone on a special diet to survive the Chinese food around here. The friend who accompanied me, who had just started a low-fat diet at her doctor's advice,

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just stared at the "pu-pu" tray (\$ 6.80). There was nothing she could eat. The food was either fried or fatty (pork fillings) or just plain greasy. Sauces here are typically egggy and thickened. Hot and sour soup (\$ 2 per bowl) is the usual piquant cornstarch blend.

Cathay is a good, solid example of the kind of Chinese food that was America's favorite a generation ago. It's one of the best we have, in this genre.

Dumplings tempt at Golden Dragon Golden Dragon, 3201 Fifth Ave. N, St. Petersburg. 327-6888. Open daily 11:30 to 9:30 p.m., Fridays and Saturdays until 10. Lunch menu until 3 p.m. Free delivery within five-mile radius, with a \$ 10 minimum order.

Handicapped access poor. No gratuity added. Major credit cards accepted. Inexpensive.

They deliver, free, within a radius that encompasses the beaches, Coquina Key and northeast St. Petersburg. When I heard this, I put the Golden Dragon's number on my phone's auto dialer. Chinese food, whenever the craving hits, is the next best thing to room service. (Pregnant women, take note.) The Golden Dragon's delivery service has its drawbacks: It takes forever. Count on an hour and a half. But when the food arrives, you'll scarf it down as though you hadn't eaten all day.

Actually, I hadn't eaten all day when I first smelled the irresistible aromas of garlic and ginger in the Times newsroom. Never before had pot-stickers - those pan-fried wontons of Northern China, also called kuo teh or just "dumplings" - so tempted me. They weren't mine, but I wanted them. Badly. I needed them. Now. Fork 'em over.

Heeding a wise friend's warning ("Everything tastes and smells terrific in the office in the middle of the day"), I later phoned for delivery service at home, just for the heck of it and because it was pouring outside.

I cleaned the kitchen, watched a TV movie and ironed my summer wardrobe while waiting for the pot-stickers I had ordered. Problem was, I didn't then know that the restaurant calls these goodies "dumplings" (10 for \$ 5.50). Not knowing what I meant, they delivered the "pu pu platter" - a name I refuse to say aloud - instead. This is a good argument for going to a restaurant in lieu of take-out: If there's a goof-up in the order, the kitchen's not five miles away. The assorted appetizers - rumaki (chicken livers wrapped in bacon), fried chicken wings, spare ribs and egg rolls - are typical of cocktail party food. Stick with the dumplings. They're stuffed with a savory pork mixture, pan-fried (usually not burnt, but it happens) and quite good, with an exceptional, spicy dipping sauce.

In the not-bad-especially-when-you're-ravenous category, there's the chicken in garlic sauce (\$ 5.95). The chicken is plentiful and sliced, not hacked up leftovers. I'd prefer the sauce less sweet, lighter and more spicy, but the Golden Dragon's version is among the best I've tasted in this area.

Green beans with garlic can be fine or dessicated and sloppily done (\$ 4.50) based on the two times I tried them. The only dish I tried that was just plain bad was the eggplant with garlic sauce (\$ 4.50). Too salty to eat

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but fine for the medicine chest. Also avoid twice-cooked pork (\$ 5.50), a traditional Hunan-style specialty. Tough and fatty pork in a bland barbecue sauce is not twice-cooked pork at its best. It is a typical Cantonese-American restaurant's attempt - good reason to stick with dumplings.

Colorfully wrapped but empty: Shuelin Shuelin, 120 U.S. 19 N, Clearwater. 791-6998. Open for dinner daily 4:30 p.m. to 11. Handicapped access fair. Major credit cards accepted.

No gratuity added. Inexpensive to moderate.

The bizarre look of Shuelin may portend what will happen to Beijing's Forbidden City should Miami Vice ever come to Chinese television. Grauman's Chinese Theater on the outside, cool Miami gray and pink on the inside, and awfully strange all around. But good food often comes in strange packages.

I was heartened when I saw the menu. There were few cliches and many exotic favorites from Northern China and Szechuan provinces - General Tso's chicken, chicken in bird's nest, kung pao preparations and "paper chicken" in parchment. Don't get your hopes up, though.

The menu is a cruel trick.

Paper chicken wasn't in parchment but in aluminum foil - an oily, tasteless sliver of chicken. No bird's nest today. My Szechuan tester dish, kung pao chicken (\$ 5.95), was made with carrots and celery - not peanuts, water chestnuts and bamboo shoots. It had a worse-than-usual gloppy, Cantonese-American restaurant sauce and was sweet, not spicy, and not good.

The food was one unpalatable disaster after another. We ordered eight dishes, and not one of them was truly, enjoyably edible. To wit: Crab rangoon, an appetizer for \$ 2, was a fried wonton square with a tiny, hard brown lump inside. I imagine that dried up brown stuff was, at some point in time, a morsel of crab.

Emerging as the filling from boiled dumplings (\$ 3.50) were little pink balls - pork, we hoped. Sometimes you'll find filling like this in frozen, pre-made dumplings. Whole steamed fish (\$ 12.95) was an unidentified finny antagonist who stared you in the eye and dared you to eat just his flesh, not his bones as well. This could not be done.

Service at most Chinese restaurants is usually polite and snappy.

Our waitress at Shuelin, however, couldn't even get the drink orders correct. (Three people each ordered a drink. The waitress brought one person three of the same drink - and forgot about the rest. Attempts at redress were useless.) She was aided and abetted in more serious misfires by a waiter who bumbled even more pathetically. You may wish to visit Shuelin just to have the experience of watching a waiter grab half a duck by the leg and wrestle with it, randomly slashing away with his knife, resting the bird on the table, holding the whole duck up in the air while scraping off the meat. This waiter would be a scream at Thanksgiving.

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The shredded meat - skin and all - he then tucked into thick pancakes. Could this be the Peking Duck of the Cultural Revolution? If so, Shuelin's chef needs to be re-educated.

Reports are in that Shuelin recently lowered its prices. I don't wonder why.

Graphic

BLACK AND WHITE PHOTO; Bowl with chopsticks

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Diana and Charles To Wed Wednesday after Year-Long Courtship

The Associated Press

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Byline: By JEFF BRADLEY, Associated Press Writer

Dateline: LONDON

Body

Prince Charles spent 14 years playing the field and in the end proposed to the blushing girl next door.

Lady Diana Spencer marries the future King Charles III on July 29, after a year-long courtship which has infatuated a nation wearied by a rundown economy, the troubles in Northern Ireland and recent street rioting.

A Cinderella-like glass coach will take the future 48th queen of England to St. Paul's Cathedral where she will enter the royal family, the House of Windsor, perpetuating a monarchy which began with Saxon kings over 1,000 years ago.

Of the promised spectacle, Charles said: "It's the sort of thing we do well in this country. If 600 million people are going to watch it, I want to give them a run for their money."

In every corner of the world, TV networks will carry live pictures of the glittering horse-drawn carriage procession from Buckingham Palace to Sir Christopher Wren's domed cathedral. More than a million people, standing 20-deep and some having camped out for days, are expected to blanket the two-mile route.

Fanfares will announce the bride's arrival at the Renaissance church where the envied ticket-holders will see 20-year-old "Diana Frances" exchange vows with "Charles Philip Arthur George," 32-year-old heir to the British throne. She will sign the marriage register as Princess of Wales.

Diana's swept-fringe, ash blonde hair style and liking for ruffled blouses became a fashion craze as the nation was captivated by her bachelor-girl charm.

But the days of popping into Harrods to pick out a skirt or joining flatmates for a bite at a favorite restaurant are over.

From now on, her public appearances will be formal. Lots of handshaking and smiling, polite conversation and the royal wave.

Charles hesitated before subjecting Diana to the inevitable loss of personal freedom.

"I wanted to give her a chance to think about it, to think if it was all going to be too awful," he said when announcing their engagement on Feb. 24.

Diana and Charles To Wed Wednesday after Year-Long Courtship

Lady Diana chipped in: "Oh, I never had any doubts about it."

And so the daughter of the 8th Earl Spencer -- one of England's most noble lords and equerry to the queen when Diana was born -- will become the first English girl to marry a future British king since 1677.

The product of his mother Queen Elizabeth II's "open" reign, narrowing the distance between royalty and commoner, Charles is the first Prince of Wales not to submit to an arranged marriage. His 20 predecessors had no choice, including the last one to be married, Prince Albert Edward, later King Edward VII, who was matched with Princess Alexandra of Denmark in 1863.

The Spencer family's ancestry is "impeccable," said Patrick Montague Smith, former editor of Debrett's Peerage, the who's who of British bluebloods.

The Windsor and Spencer clans can be traced back to King Henry VII. Charles and Diana, it turns out, are 16th cousins once removed. Diana is also descended on the wrong side of the blanket from mistress-loving King Charles II, according to genealogists.

And she is one-eighth American. Her great-grandmother Frances Work was the daughter of the Vanderbilt family's stockbroker.

Prince Charles' romances began when he was a history student at Cambridge University and fell for Lucia Santa Cruz, daughter of the Chilean ambassador.

Later, as he travelled the world, captaining a Royal Navy minesweeper, playing polo, windsurfing or skiing, the press linked him with a series of debutantes and hopefuls. Princess Marie-Astrid of Luxembourg was ruled out because she was a Roman Catholic. As head of the Protestant Church of England, Charles was barred from picking her.

The prince admitted he was a man "who falls in love easily." But on a tour of India last year, he lamented to the royal press corps: "It's all right for you chaps. You can live with a girl before you marry her. But I can't. I've got to get it right from the word go."

Front-runners included Diana's sister, Lady Sarah, 25, who spoiled her chances by telling a women's magazine, "I am not in love with him." The prince was not amused.

Unwittingly, Sarah had already played Cupid for her younger sister. In 1977 she invited Charles to come hunting on her father's estate at Althorp, Northamptonshire.

"We met in the middle of a plowed field," Diana later recalled.

Although he had seen Diana previously, the blooming 16-year-old made a great impression. "I remember thinking what fun she was," said Charles.

Their romance began in earnest last August when Diana, who left private school at 16, went to the royal family's summer retreat at Balmoral, Scotland. Her other sister, Lady Jane, wife of the queen's assistant private secretary Robert Fellowes, was expecting a baby there.

"We began to realize then that there was something in it," said the prince.

"Love?" The couple was asked.

"Of course," Lady Diana said.

"Whatever 'in love' means," added Charles, raising ungallant speculation that perhaps he had taken too seriously the advice of his father, the Duke of Edinburgh, to hurry up and find a wife "or there won't be anyone left."

What of the 12 1/2 -year difference in their ages?

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"I've never really thought about it," said Diana. Her future husband, who takes care to cover the bald patch on the crown of his head, noted: "Diana will certainly keep me young."

In a hereditary monarchy, producing heirs is paramount and while the royal family is not short of them -- the queen has four children and Princess Anne has given her two grandchildren -- the nation looks to Charles to preserve the line.

Lady Diana's uncle, Lord Fermoy, went to the extraordinary lengths of a public statement to cut short press insinuations that she might have had serious boyfriends in the past. "Lady Diana, I can assure you, has never had a lover," he said point-blank.

The public had not been troubled by this possibility, falling instantly for the blue-eyed, 5-foot-9 kindergarten assistant who always seems shy because of the way she droops her chin.

Four kings, five queens, five princes, three princesses and a grand duke are among the crowned heads of Europe and other royalty who will attend the wedding, including Princess Grace of Monaco.

President Reagan's wife, Nancy, joins dignitaries in the 2,600 congregation, with another 500 musicians, clergy and press.

Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government has declared July 29 a public holiday.

Eleven stately carriages, drawn by 32 ornately harnessed horses from the Royal Mews, will convey the wedding party. If it rains, covered coaches will replace open carriages.

Inside the cathedral, the prince will not have a best man but two "supporters," his brothers Prince Andrew and Prince Edward. Andrew will hand over the wedding ring.

Lady Diana will be given away by her father. There will be five bridesmaids, including Clementine Hambro, 5-year-old great-grand-daughter of Sir Winston Churchill, and two page boys.

Thousands of police, some armed, will line the route peering into the crowd.

Sewers will be combed for explosives, every building on the route will be checked, and remote control TV and surveillance helicopters will monitor crowds held back by 8,000 police barriers.

"It's the biggest security operation we've ever mounted," says Scotland Yard's deputy assistant commissioner, John Radley.

The **Irish Republican Army**, fighting to end British rule in Northern Ireland, has declared the royal family legitimate targets.

Charles' great-uncle, Earl Mountbatten of Burma, was blown up by the guerrillas in 1979.

The lone gunman is also feared. On June 13 a young man standing within a few feet of the queen during the ceremonial Trooping the Color fired off six blank shots.

Wedding trivia has filled the newspapers for months.

In London's East End, pubkeepers Alan and Dora Cross changed the name of their Dalston hostelry from the Prince Arthur to the Lady Diana, while breweries are producing 60 different "wedding ales."

C & C Bedding of Lye got the contract to build the 5-foot-6 wide royal bed; Janice Ruthen, a 33-year-old mother of twins, fed silkworms at home eight times a day to help produce the silk for Lady Diana's dress; a ferret lured by a piece of bacon was employed to pull TV cable through an underground duct outside Buckingham Palace.

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The English Tourist Board expects 1.5 million tourists in London, spending some \$380 million. Some are taking royal wedding tours past the \$190,000 Coleherne Court apartment Diana's father bought for her to share with three friends in Kensington.

Lunch with Diana's father and stepmother at Althorp and tea with her step-grandmother Barbara Cartland, the romantic novelist, were part of a \$1,399 tour for Americans.

For the less affluent there are an estimated 1,600 different souvenirs for sale, from a 5-cent box of matches to a sterling silver cutlery set bearing the prince's coat of arms from Garrards, the royal jewelers, at \$14,250.

Badges warning "Don't do it Di" sold alongside jigsaw puzzles, thimbles, T-shirts, mugs, tea cosies and other mementoes cranked out by manufacturers hoping to reap a \$760 million bonanza.

Bartenders produced cocktails in red, white and blue, schoolchildren set to work on gifts -- the prince said please don't send any pets or plants -- publishers rushed out books of royal wedding lore, and 70 countries printed special postage stamps.

Fifty countries plan to screen the ceremony, taking pictures from the saturation coverage planned by the British Broadcasting Corp. and Independent Television. America's major networks are scheduling live breakfast programs from London.

Lady Diana will become the first of Britain's royal brides not to promise "to obey" her husband. Archbishop of Canterbury Robert Runcie, who will perform the service, said those words were "optional" in the marriage rite the couple selected.

Princess Diana will also smash the tradition of walking one pace behind the heir and calling him "Sir" in public.

"It is unimaginable that she will stand or walk behind Prince Charles anywhere. Normally she will walk beside him," said a Buckingham Palace spokesman.

"She will call him 'my husband' or 'the Prince of Wales' if she is talking to somebody else and by his Christian name or whatever she likes if she is talking to him."

The couple is expected to start their honeymoon the same way Charles' parents did in 1947 -- at Broadlands, the former Mountbatten home in Hampshire. After that, the royal yacht Britannia figures in their plans, but the palace won't say more.

Their main residence is to be 15-bedroom Highgrove House, an 18th century Georgian mansion in Gloucestershire which Charles bought last year for \$1.9 million. They are also to have rooms in Kensington Palace, home for Princess Margaret and other royals.

MANY FACES OF QADDAFI: SHOWMAN AND SURVIVOR

The New York Times

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Body

Earlier this year Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi of Libya tried to convince the West that he was not a terrorist.

He invited five female correspondents to meet his wife, Safiya, and their seven children inside a Bedouin tent permanently pitched inside the heavily fortified Bab el-Azziziya military barracks in Tripoli.

For more than two hours Colonel Qaddafi portrayed the role of devoted husband, loving father and beneficent leader of his country's 3.5 million people. He spoke about his personal life, his hopes and dreams, his desire for peace and his respect for the American people.

"They think I don't laugh or smile or tell jokes," Colonel Qaddafi said. "They think I only hate." "But you can see that the image Reagan has of me is not true," he said, stroking the hair of his only natural daughter, Aisha, age 8. "I invite you to tell the world."

The colonel might have carried off the family scene convincingly had another invitation not been issued outside the tent.

After the interview, the reporters were escorted to a nearby office building to join Colonel Qaddafi for tea. One by one, three of the five women were invited in succession into a tiny room containing only a bed and a television set. There, Colonel Qaddafi made an abrupt sexual advance at each of them and was rebuffed.

Since coming to power in 1969, Colonel Qaddafi has tried, through interviews and news conferences, to portray himself as an incorruptible, ascetic leader. Many newspaper articles have described him as a devout Moslem who neither drinks nor smokes and a devoted family man. But Libyans close to the leader know that the family-man image, like so much in Colonel Qaddafi's Libya, is political veneer.

Durable and Unpredictable

Colonel Qaddafi is a masterful showman of political theater who has demonstrated an almost astonishing capacity for focusing world attention on his vast, underpopulated land. But he is also a ruthless and cunning politician whose skills have frequently been underestimated by opponents.

Time and again Colonel Qaddafi, whom this reporter last saw in late February, has proven himself a survivor. At 44 years of age he is one of the Arab world's most durable, if youngest, leaders.

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He is also one of the world's most erratic. The colonel demonstrated this on Wednesday, when he failed to appear as promised before 40 journalists summoned to Libya from various parts of the world to attend what had been promoted as a major speech marking the 16th anniversary of the expulsion of the United States from Wheelus Air Base in Tripoli. Instead, the colonel delivered a rambling attack against the United States on television. He appeared tired, confused and disoriented, television viewers said.

Despite such celebrated unpredictability, Colonel Qaddafi, in the name of Islam and an eccentric ideology that he calls the "Third International Theory," has transformed the traditional, Bedouin-dominated former Italian colony into a police state, a society as arid and lifeless as its desert environs. Thirty thousand of its best-educated citizens have fled Libya.

Colonel Qaddafi's revolution and his stewardship of his country have brought education and economic development for many Libyans. But it has also brought repression, fear, and, according to diplomats, political killings at home, assassinations and terrorist attacks abroad.

Only four of the 12 junior officers who toppled King Idris in a coup and seized power with him in 1969 have survived. The others, and numerous "stray dogs," as the colonel has called critics who have sought sanctuary abroad, have been gunned down or poisoned in European capitals, even in the United States. Law enforcement officials attribute these attacks to Libyans enrolled as students, and to diplomats who followed faithfully the colonel's instructions to "crush stray dogs like cats."

Despite such extreme efforts to quell opposition, the colonel appears to have become increasingly frustrated with his people's stubborn resistance to his radical notions and eccentric vision of Islamic utopia. He has succeeded in inculcating his revolutionary creed primarily among the young. As such, the so-called revolutionary committee guards he has created have become a major pillar of his regime. They are composed of teen-agers who carry Soviet-made assault rifles, spy on their friends and families and are despised by many Libyans.

Army Is Unhappy

The army, angered by the growing influence of such paramilitary groups, is unhappy, Colonel Qaddafi has acknowledged. Its members do not relish the prospect of being replaced by "armed masses," as Colonel Qaddafi has ordained.

And his people, Colonel Qaddafi complains, are lazy. But he attributes this idleness to the inherent character of "petroleum societies," not to a form of silent protest of his regime, as some diplomats believe it to be.

The frustration is apparent on the colonel's face. Gone are the soft smile and wide-eyed enthusiasm discernible in photographs of him soon after the coup. He is still enormously photogenic and charismatic before the cameras. But up close his smile seems forced. The corners of his lips turn down. A scowl comes more readily than the smile he occasionally dons for visiting reporters. His face is deeply lined. His eyes are small, piercing, cold.

During a recent interview, he repeatedly stared at his television set, which he keeps on constantly without sound, as he watched one of an endless series of "people's assemblies" in which Libyans were chanting and waving their fists in anger at the United States.

"Look at them," he said, motioning to the podium where young Libyans were orchestrating the cheering. "They are all wearing vests. That's because I wore a vest yesterday. Whenever I wear something, the whole country winds up wearing it," he sighed.

Visage Is Everywhere

Although he says he despises personality cults and has ordered Libyan television and the newspapers not to show pictures of him, the colonel's visage is omnipresent in Tripoli. His photograph adorns almost every street and every shop. Shop owners who did not display his portrait were ordered at gunpoint by revolutionary guards to show it.

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Libyan stores offer a dozen photos of the colonel in various postures, as well as dozens of postcards of the colonel in daily activities - at prayer, at play and with his family, riding horseback, one of his favorite hobbies.

Colonel Qaddafi's appearance undergoes drastic changes depending on his mood. In interviews earlier this year, for example, he appeared before reporters clean-shaven, meticulously attired and relaxed. He looked his 44 years. Later, in February, however, he appeared unshaven and shoddily dressed. Dark circles encased his eyes. When this reporter was summoned one night to the Bab el-Azziziya barracks, he looked as if he had not slept for days. His face was severely swollen.

In fact, Libyans say, he sleeps little, and almost never in the same place two nights in a row. "He has become like Yasir Arafat, constantly in motion and terrified of being killed," an Arab diplomat said, comparing the colonel to the chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

To some extent, his fear is justified. Thanks to security provided by East German advisers, he has escaped at least seven assassination attempts in recent years, according to diplomats. The most serious is said to have occurred in May 1984, when 12 men attacked the Bab el-Azziziya barracks and were killed in the effort.

The colonel's revolutionary committee members arrested some 2,000 Libyans suspected of involvement in the plot and blew up an apartment building and its 250 inhabitants after some of the attackers sought shelter there.

Colonel Qaddafi's frequent and dramatic shifts in mood and the sharp changes in his physical appearance have led some diplomats to conclude that he is either ill or taking drugs such as antidepressants or cortisone, which alters a person's appearance. One intelligence analyst who has followed Colonel Qaddafi closely says the colonel has received secret medical treatment for an undisclosed ailment in the Soviet Union, at a Swiss clinic, in Egypt and in France.

Persistence Toward Goals

Despite his unpredictable behavior, Colonel Qaddafi has pursued his grand political visions with persistence and consistency. Born in the desert town of Sidra, he was raised in a tent and went to school only for a few years. Self-taught, he professes to have steeped himself in the writings of Jefferson, Lincoln, Marx, Lenin and his hero Mao Zedong, whose "little red book" was a model for Colonel Qaddafi's Green Books, the three slender volumes in which he outlines his idiosyncratic political theories.

He learned English, which he speaks fairly well when he wants to and is relaxed, in Tripoli and in Wilton, England, where he was a junior officer assigned to a staff course in communications in 1966. He disliked Britain, some friends say, and found the English cold and condescending.

He adored Gamal Abdel Nasser, the late President of Egypt, and since coming to power has vigorously sought to carry out Nasser's vision of a united Arab world that would confront the West and Israel.

Colonel Qaddafi has forged or proposed unity agreements with Arab and African neighbors, and even with China, which gracefully declined. Only Morocco has a functioning unity accord with Libya now; most of his other Arab neighbors, targets of assassination attempts blamed on Colonel Qaddafi or of Libyan efforts to destabilize their Governments, scorn but fear him.

The colonel's attitude toward the United States is more complex, bordering on what might be described as love-hate. Despite his professed admiration for American ingenuity and technology, he has expressed hatred for the United States for its support of Israel and has tried to kill American officials and Americans abroad for years, according to diplomats.

In the late 1970's and early 1980's, his support for revolutionaries and a wide variety of terrorists became more overt. American officials say, and diplomats confirm, that Libya has provided training sites, weapons, money, diplomatic cover, passports and other logistical support to a wide variety of groups - the **Irish Republican Army**,

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the Red Brigades of Italy, Direct Action of France, dozens of Arab terrorist mercenary groups, the P.L.O. and radical Palestinian factions and Latin American insurgents.

While the anti-American and anti-Israeli terrorist attacks in Europe and the Middle East to which he has been linked have attracted much public attention, his growing influence in Africa has worried European political analysts far more. His latest target is the Sudan, where he has spent more than \$20 million buying influence in the wake of the coup last year in the Sudan, and has given money to virtually every political faction, according to Western officials.

Effects of Raid Debated

In the six months that preceded the American air raids last April, American officials say, Colonel Qaddafi stepped up his public taunts of the United States and quietly issued orders, which were intercepted by American intelligence, to Libyan embassies throughout Europe for more terrorist attacks against American targets. It was this escalation of terror that led the Reagan Administration to take stronger action against Libya, the American sources said.

The effect of the American economic and military attacks on him are still being debated. But recent visitors to Libya concur that the American raid has badly shaken the colonel and intensified opposition to his rule, particularly in the crucial military sector.

One indicator is that the colonel, who once loved to have flamboyant confrontations with American journalists, has not met face to face with them since the attack. American officials hope that Colonel Qaddafi's ultimate vulnerability will have been exposed, along with the unreliability of his Soviet ally and the equipment it has supplied.

The great survivor, these officials say, is now being put to his toughest test.

Graphic

Photo of Maummar el-Qaddafi with daughter, Alsha, earlier in 1986 (NYT/Judith Miller)

End of Document

U.S. DENIAL OF VISAS OVER POLITICS OF FOREIGNERS: THE BATTLE IS HEATING UP

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Byline: By MARVINE HOWE

Body

Twenty years ago, Pablo Neruda, one of Latin America's greatest poets, a Nobel laureate who calls himself a pacifist, was barred from the United States because he was a member of the Chilean Communist Party.

The denial of visas to Mr. Neruda and other literary figures caused such a stir that the Johnson Administration agreed to issue a "group waiver" of such visa denials for foreigners coming to the United States for a 1966 congress sponsored by International PEN, the writers group.

In January, International PEN is to hold its 48th congress in New York, and of the thousand or more writers and poets expected at least a score are known to be on the exclusion list. Among them are the novelist and Nobel laureate Gabriel Garcia Marquez of Colombia, the novelist Jorge Amado of Brazil, the Mexican novelist Carlos Fuentes, the Palestinian poet Mahmoud Darwish, the Argentine novelist Ernesto Sabato and the Japanese novelists Yotaro Konaka and Kobo Abe.

"We will try to get another group waiver because we have a precedent, but we don't know how this Administration will react," said the poet Rose Styron, head of the PEN Freedom to Write Committee.

Issue and Debate article on United States denial of visas to foreigners because of their political views; photo (M)Japanese and Canadians

Other prominent foreigners who have had visa troubles under a 1952 law providing for exclusion of such visitors include Roberto d'Aubuisson, the Salvadoran rightist leader, and Ruben Zamora, a Salvadoran leftist leader; Tomas Borge, Nicaragua's Interior Minister; Gerry Adams, head of Sinn Fein, the political wing of the **Irish Republican Army**, and the Rev. Ian Paisley, the militant Protestant leader from Northern Ireland; Canadian professors; Cuban scholars and Japanese peace activists.

A coalition of civic and cultural organizations, including the PEN American Center, recently stepped up its campaign against "ideological exclusions." These groups ask whether the law, which excludes foreign visitors solely on the basis of their political beliefs or associations, is necessary.

Those who support the exclusion law say that visa ineligibility because of political association is routinely waived by the Government. They say, however, that the Government must retain the authority to control the entry of foreigners in the national interest.

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Opponents, who call the law as a relic of McCarthyism, say it has been used to deprive Americans of access to a variety of opinions and damages the United States' reputation abroad as a leader in the struggle to defend fundamental freedoms.

The Background

The 1952 Immigration and Nationality Act, better known as the McCarran-Walter Act, was passed over the veto of President Truman, who said, "Seldom has a bill exhibited the distrust evidenced here for citizens and aliens alike."

The Act's Section 212 (a) 28 permits the Government to exclude foreigners who have ever been members of or affiliated with Communist, anarchist or terrorist organizations, or who advocate such doctrines. Another section of the act, 212 (a) 27, permits the exclusion of foreigners who seek to endanger the national security or engage in vaguely defined "activities which would be prejudicial to the public interest."

In 1977, after the Helsinki agreements on human rights, Congress passed the McGovern Amendment, under which the State Department must recommend to the Justice Department a waiver of ineligibility under Section 212 (a) 28 unless it can certify to both houses of Congress that admission of the person in question would be "contrary to the security interests of the United States."

The foreigner blacklist contains "tens of thousands" of names, according to sources in the Immigration and Naturalization Service. The only way to get a name off what is called the "lookout book" is by establishing that a person's affiliation with a proscribed organization was involuntary, or that the person has defected from the group and has actively opposed it for at least five years.

Not Many Denials

Relatively few people are actually excluded under the controversial "ideological" provisions, according to the State Department's Bureau of Consular Affairs. Out of 32,218 visa requests refused for fiscal year 1984, 691 persons were finally denied entry under 212 (a) 28. There were 43 visa denials under the non-waivable 212 (a) 27 to people whose visits were deemed likely to have "potentially serious adverse foreign policy consequences."

As political tensions with Central America have intensified, Washington has increasingly used the McCarran-Walter Act. Among those who have had visa problems lately are three Nicaraguan officials - the novelist Sergio Ramirez Mercado, who is a member of the ruling junta; the essayist Omar Cabezas, the Deputy Minister of the Interior, and the poet Ernesto Cardenal Martinez, the Minister of Culture.

Others who have recently been excluded are four Salvadoran women who are leaders of the Mothers' Committee. The women, whose group opposes political violence, were recipients of the annual Robert E. Kennedy Human Rights Award.

Against Exclusion

"Most American presidents have resorted to ideological exclusions as a convenient tool but today, under the Reagan Administration, it has become a purposeful instrument of national policy to control information," said Steven Shapiro, staff attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union.

"The United States is the only Western democracy that excludes a foreign visitor simply on the basis of belief or association without the allegation that he will harm the country," said Morton Halperin, director of the Civil Liberties Union's Center for National Security Studies in Washington.

Jack Macrae 3d, the editor in chief of the publisher Holt Rinehart & Winston, said that when he talks about greater freedom of expression in the Soviet Union, South Africa and South Korea, officials come back at him with, "What about your own ideological restrictions on foreigners?"

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Mr. Macrae is the head of the Association of American Publishers International Freedom to Publish Committee, which has called for the elimination of the ideological exclusion provision.

'Unworthy of U.S.'

"This law is unworthy of the United States and its democratic principles," Mr. Fuentes said, adding that "nothing was so damaging to this country's image in intellectual circles abroad." Mr. Fuentes, who has criticized United States policy in Latin America, is a visiting scholar at Harvard University. Every time he leaves the country, he must apply for an exclusion waiver to re-enter.

Joseph Papp, who heads the New York Shakespeare Festival, has championed the cause of foreign artists who are listed as "excludable," not always successfully. The Italian playwright Dario Fo waited four years for a visa to attend the opening of his Broadway hit "Accidental Death of an Anarchist." The Vietnamese pianist Dang Thai Son and the Salvadoran theater group Sol del Rio have been kept out.

Critics of the McCarran-Walter Act say it is not the quantity but the nature of the exclusions that has had a devastating effect on this country's image. Many exclusions appear to be cases of mistaken identity or merely bureaucratic bungling, they say.

Last spring Mr. Garcia Marquez was invited by a group of New York artists to speak on the situation in Central America. He refused a conditional visa "for reasons of principle and personal dignity." The author of "One Hundred Years of Solitude," who once worked briefly for the Cuban press agency, has received restricted visas since 1963.

Hortensia Bussi de Allende, widow of President Salvador Allende Gossens of Chile, was twice barred from the United States in 1983, when she was invited to speak before church, university and civic groups and women's organizations in Los Angeles and Boston. The Boston groups are suing the State Department for violating their First Amendment rights to hear her speak.

For Exclusion

Charles M. Lichenstein, former deputy delegate to the United Nations and now a senior member of the Heritage Foundation, a conservative research institute in Washington, said that "no one is privileged to enter any other country."

"Every country excludes people for political reasons," Mr. Lichenstein said, adding that it would be "ludicrous and irresponsible" if the United States did not.

He said there was no need to change the political exclusions under the McCarran-Walter Act but acknowledged that there had been "stupid decisions," citing as an example the exclusion last April of the Canadian nature writer Farley Mowat. Mr. Mowat said he had no past or current associations with "Communists, anarchists or subversives," as immigration officials said he had. Mr. Mowat said he had joked once about shooting down American B-52's "with my trusty little .22." Later the Immigration Service said it would grant Mr. Mowat a waiver but he refused.

Mr. Lichenstein called for "sophisticated implementation of the law."

'Right and Obligation'

Maurice C. Inman Jr., general counsel of the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service, said that "a government is empowered by law with the right and obligation to determine who enters the country."

State Department officials say that freedom of information is guaranteed through the liberal use of exclusion waivers. They say, however, that the Government should keep the authority to review on a case-by-case basis the purpose of visits here by foreign Communists.

U.S. DENIAL OF VISAS OVER POLITICS OF FOREIGNERS: THE BATTLE IS HEATING UP

"We don't have problems with Communists visiting the country and that's why so many visitors get waivers," said Diane Dillard, Public Affairs Officer in the State Department's Bureau of Consular Affairs.

Miss Dillard said the McCarran-Walter Act could be modernized, but she said legislation was needed so that for "foreign policy reasons" some people - such as Libyans and Iranians seeking to specialize in nuclear physics and aircraft operations, Sikhs who advocate the overthrow of the Government of India, or Armenian and Croatian extremists - could be kept out of the country.

One well-known example of exclusion for "foreign policy reasons" is the case of Nino Pasti, a former Italian general and Senator. Mr. Pasti had come here frequently in the past but was barred entry in 1983, when he was invited to speak against the deployment of United States missiles in Europe.

The Outlook

Representative Barney Frank, a Massachusetts Democrat, has introduced new legislation to repeal what he calls "a national embarrassment." Saying that some of the 33 grounds for exclusion under the Immigration and Nationality Act are reasonable, Mr. Frank said others are "archaic or contrary to this country's tradition of freedom of thought and expression."

Mr. Frank's first attempt to change the law last year met with firm opposition from the Administration, and he says he has now "toughened up" the wording on terrorism. He says 25 or 30 other members of Congress are ready to be co-sponsors for the bill.

Few court challenges have been made to the exclusions. Of those cases, in every instance the Government's position has been upheld. In the case of the Belgian Marxist scholar Dr. Ernest E. Mandel, the Supreme Court ruled that "plenary government power to make policies and rules for the exclusion of aliens" prevailed over Americans' rights under the First Amendment.

Mr. Papp said that the immigration act was passed at a time of "a lot of hysteria" and that he believed it would not go through Congress today.

The current moves to get Congress to revoke the legislation barring foreign visitors on political grounds appear doomed, however, according to people on both sides of the debate. Many say it is unlikely that, with the new confrontational mood on Capitol Hill, many members of Congress would want to welcome even the most distinguished Marxist and other leftist visitors.

Arthur C. Helton, chairman of the Immigration and Nationality Committee of the New York City Bar Association, supports Mr. Frank's move. Echoing sentiments heard from both American officials and human rights advocates on why the law is still on the books, he said: "Congress is still generally afraid to be seen as soft on Communism."

Graphic

Photo of Gabriel Garcia Marquez)UPI)

National Editorial Sampler;
What Newspapers are saying

United Press International
October 19, 1984, Friday, BC cycle

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Section: Commentary

Length: 1928 words

Body

Bangor (Maine) Daily News

The president's decision to release details of Soviet violations of arms agreements is a positive, vital step ...

Proponents of arms control initiatives have repeatedly scoffed at the notion that the Soviets can't be trusted -- a consideration that the opponents of SALT II and their successors have frequently cited.

In the absence of proof, of substantive evidence, the only credibility that has been a public issue is that of the debaters themselves. The matter of Soviet credibility could only be weighed indirectly.

By releasing confidential documents to public scrutiny, hawkish elements in the administration, who are already treating this as a victory, are taking a calculated risk. Revealing the specifics on Soviet violations -- 11 over a quarter of a century -- could easily prove a boon to arms-control proponents if the violations are minor and technical.

But the larger victory here is for the people, the members of a free society who need information to make reasoned and wise decisions on all matters -- especially issues of national security.

Manchester, N.H., Union Leader

With all due respect to the omniscient network television pundits and the public opinion polls, it is our purely subjective opinion that the debate between George Bush and Geraldine Ferraro was a draw.

For those who look for such things, and apparently they are legion, Bush, the perennial preppy, undoubtedly won big points with his gee-whiz enthusiasm. But we happened to be more impressed by his superior knowledge of issues, particularly those relating to terrorism in the Mideast and Marxist subversion of democracy in Central America. But we were depressed by his failure to pick up on some issues ("no rebuttal") handed him by his Democratic counterpart.

On the other hand, we felt that Ferraro, who was later criticized by several of the all-knowing TV commentators for being "too low key," scored tactical points by not coming off as the shrill haridan perceived by many along the campaign trail.

Boston Globe

National Editorial Sampler; What Newspapers are saying

A death threat against Supreme Court Justice Harry Blackmun by a fanatical anti-abortion group is a distressing indication that the denunciations of abortion by political and religious leaders in recent months has reawakened the lunatic fringe in the pro-life movement.

The threat against Justice Blackmun, who wrote the court's 1973 ruling that legalized abortion, cannot be lightly dismissed. The Army of God, the group suspected of sending the threatening letter to Blackmun, has already shown a willingness, even an eagerness, to commit acts of violence. The court's decision to increase its security is a wise precaution. ... the threat to Justice Blackmun is a clear sign that it is time to recognize that abortion is a personal matter between each woman and her conscience. We do not need a new reign of terror by either the Army of God or any other extremist group that would resort to force and terrorism to achieve the goals of the anti-abortionists.

Norwich (Conn.) Bulletin

Does it matter that the U.S. Senate postponed action on major civil rights legislation until next year? ... Not if you're a white, able-bodied male who is indifferent to the special obstacles faced by women, the old, the handicapped, and ethnic minority groups.

The Supreme Court's Grove City decision involving Title 9 of the 1972 Education Act amendments made it clear that new federal legislation is necessary. Title 9 prohibits sex discrimination in any "program or activity" that receives federal aid. Until the court's decision, this ban had been seen as applicable to all programs and activities at the institution receiving the aid. If a college received federal funds for scientific research, for example, it could not discriminate against women in athletics. Women who represented the United States at the Olympics have made their case for Title 9 before Congress and the media. Without the opportunity for training at their schools and colleges made possible by Title 9, they would not have gotten to Los Angeles.

But the Supreme Court narrowed the reach of Title 9 by declaring that it applied only to the particular program getting the aid.

Needed now is legislation to make it clear that discrimination by any "recipient" of federal aid will not be tolerated. The legislation that was tabled in the Senate would have done that, not only for Title 9, but for bias on the basis of race, age or handicap.

he (Providence, R.I.) Journal

Why is it that computer mail is full of profanity, obscenity and rudeness that business people normally don't use in face-to-face conversations? That is not a matter of theory but of fact. It even has a name, from the computer age; it is known as "flaming."

The significant factor in this phenomenon is emotional. When people sit down to express their opinions or ideas at computer terminals, they tend to get far more emotional than in talking or even in old-fashioned letter writing. And researchers are a bit baffled by the loosening of inhibitions that takes place. ...

Scientists are straining their ingenuity to build new kinds of computers that will have the ability to think -- artificial intelligence, they call it. If they make a breakthrough in that direction, the first thing they will have to do is program every computer with a censor that will screen out all the offensive words and phrases that, in grade, school, triggered a slap from the teacher's ruler -- in the older generation, of course.

Brattleboro (Vt.) Reformer

The stereotype of the baby-boom generation is the Young Upwardly Mobile Professional who is married to a prosperous fellow Yumpy, lives well on a double income and has an eclectic taste in politicians that runs from Gary Hart to Ronald Reagan. In reality, however, those young Americans who were born toward the end of the postwar baby boom and are now between the ages of 25 and 34 are nowhere near as well off as people their age were a generation ago.

National Editorial Sampler; What Newspapers are saying

... There is no mystery why life is not all BMWs and Caribbean vacations for so many of the people in this age group: There are simply too many of them for the number of well-paying jobs available.

As a result, there has been a decline in real-dollar average incomes for households in this age category over the past five years. ... At the same time that their earnings have not kept pace, the costs - especially the financing costs -- of single-family houses have risen sharply.

... none of the candidates has come up with any patent solutions to the high interest rates that are pricing these non-Yumpy baby-boomers out of the market for a single-family house -- which is still an integral part of the American dream.

Birmingham, Ala., Post-Herald

In an eyebrow-lifting interview in Redbook magazine, John Zaccaro said he plans to sit in on Cabinet meetings if his wife, Geraldine Ferraro, is elected vice president.

"I think I would insist on being there, just as long as they don't throw me out," Zaccaro said when asked if he would attend Cabinet sessions as Rosalynn Carter did when her husband was president.

Somebody ought to tell Zaccaro the facts of political life before he embarrasses Ms. Ferraro even more.

First, Rosalynn Carter's presence at Cabinet meetings added to the impression that Jimmy Carter was a wimp and was run by his wife.

Second, if Zaccaro shows up at the Cabinet door and they aren't smart enough to throw him out, he will hurt his wife by making it appear that the first **female** vice president can't do her job without aid from a male's supposed greater wisdom.

Third, Zaccaro should know that people will be voting for his wife and not for him on election day and then learn a little humility.

St. Petersburg (Fla.) Times

It's been the fashion among some cynical Americans to make fun of former President Jimmy Carter for the emphasis he placed on human rights in dealing with certain Latin American governments that did not respect them. But the last laugh is his. Mr. Carter visited some of those same nations last week and received a hero's welcome from civilian officials who credit him for having helped restore democratic conditions to their countries. ...

"I don't think the American people understood or have yet understood the profound impact of our human rights policy around the world," Carter told The New York Times, citing Brazil, Peru and Argentina as examples of democratic progress influenced in part by that policy.

Human rights is nothing more or less than the ideal on which the United States was founded, and Americans used to be proud of nothing so much as setting that example to the rest of the world. If democracy ever ceases to be our proudest export, what else have we left to sell?

Fort Worth (Texas) Star-Telegram

The **Irish Republican Army** terrorists don't know how lucky they were.

Despite the damage, death and injury done by the bomb IRA terrorists exploded at the Grand Hotel in Brighton, England, last week, they did not succeed in their real objective, which was to kill the prime minister of Great Britain. ...

Had the IRA succeeded in killing British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, the fury of a whole nation backed by the concentrated outrage of the free civilized world would have been directed against the murderous secret organization, and its days of infamy would have been brought to a quick end. ...

National Editorial Sampler; What Newspapers are saying

The IRA should not be confused with the Irish nationalist movement that fought and won independence for the Irish republic. The IRA is a revolutionary, terrorist organization, financed, supported and trained to a considerable extent by Khadafy's Libya and the Soviet bloc. Unfortunately, the IRA also receives significant support from many Americans of Irish descent who are confused about its real objectives.

The Daily Oklahoman, Oklahoma City

Now that we appear stuck with so-called presidential debates every four years, some reflections on the format and value of the televised confrontations appear in order.

... what might be done to improve the debates as a vehicle for getting the views and personalities of the two candidates across to the viewing audience?

The answer that occurs is to change the format into a real debate setting. There are long-established rules governing formal debates with which former high school and college debaters are familiar.

Let the two presidential aspirants go at each other head-on, with no diffusion of their comments through a filter of panelist questions. In short, make the event a real debate."

The (Portland) Oregonian

President Reagan and Walter Mondale both argued too much about the past and talked too little about the future when they sparred over Social Security and Medicare in their Oct. 7 debate. ... voters should be concerned about what really will happen after election day: Tough decisions will be required.

In their discussion of history, Mondale was closer to correct than Reagan in discussing the president's record. This administration has proposed major cuts in Social Security benefits -- particularly for college students receiving dependents' benefits, persons planning to retire at age 62 and disabled workers who in many cases found their eligibility revoked without any specific consideration of their circumstances. It also proposed cuts in the Medicare system, including benefit reductions.

Reagan seems to want these efforts, some implemented, some rejected by Congress, to be forgotten by the voters as he promises not to do it again. If the president's statements now have so little link to his past record, it is reasonable to wonder if they are tied any more closely to what he does in the future.

Will capture of Noriega be worth the price?

St. Petersburg Times (Florida)

January 23, 1990, Tuesday, City Edition

Times Publishing Company

Section: EDITORIAL; Letters; Pg. 11A; LETTER

Length: 2210 words

Body

Re: Four charged with plot to buy missile, Jan. 13.

The British are coming The British are coming Not really, but look at a political jackpot available in the United States to Maggie Thatcher, or any future British prime minister.

Freely roaming the streets of this country are several *Irish Republican Army* (IRA) terrorists indicted by British courts for the killing of British military personnel and the cold blooded murder of innocent civilians. In many cases, the weapons used by those gunmen/bombers were obtained from Col. Gadhafi who got them from the communist world in the days when the cold war was serious business.

Some IRA fugitives have actually been arrested, and the British invariably sought custody under terms of a U.S.-U.K. extradition treaty. To no avail, not in one single case. Defense lawyers always bring their clients before a sympathetic, or intimidated judge who obligingly declare the IRA man either a "legitimate combatant" or a "political refugee" and set him free. Never mind that the Irish Republic recognizes these outlaws for what they are.

Clearly, London has exhausted every legal avenue to bring people who have killed or maimed its citizens to justice in a British court.

Now, given the precedent set by the U.S. invasion of Panama together with the arrest of Manuel Noriega and his transport to this country to stand trial, don't the British have a right to mount a military strike into the United States to capture indicted IRA men and haul them away for prosecution?

The British will not do it, but what about a country like Iran?

Immediately after our Justice Department declared a U.S. right to arrest anyone it wanted anywhere in the world, the Iranian Majlis (parliament) passed a law asserting the same right and pointed ominously at the captain of the USS Vincennes, the cruiser that shot down that commercial Iranian airliner over the Persian Gulf. Can the Iranians do it? Not impossible, especially if they hire some old pals in the Israeli intelligence service to help.

Will capture of Noriega be worth the price?

And what about China? Suppose the murderous old conservatives who run the country decide to throw a tantrum against the United States and demand the hand over of Fang Lizhi, the pro-liberal democracy dissident who has taken refuge in the U.S. Embassy. What if the Chinese backed up their demand by surrounding the embassy with armored troops, hovering helicopters overhead and blasting the place around the clock with amplified Peking Opera music? Complaints would sound pretty hollow, wouldn't they?

And what about Latin America? The longer Noriega languishes in an American prison cell, the more likely he will be transformed in millions of Latin eyes from a brutal, drug running thug into a martyr and folk hero. As that evolves, the danger of U.S. citizens being taken hostage will increase. Also, the value of immunity for U.S. diplomatic personnel and property will diminish.

In short, when some of the ugly chickens released by the invasion of Panama come home to roost, there will surely be a recalculation as to whether the collaring of a punk like Noriega was worth the price.

And when that happens, do not blame America. Blame George Bush and the Republicans.

Walter D. Sutton Jr., St. Petersburg Support Stark-Gradison Bill

Re: Catastrophic care backers want benefits reinstated, Jan. 7.

Affluent and upper middle class senior citizens have generated a storm of protest which totally "trashed" the Catastrophic Health Care Act. As a result, lower income seniors have been denied the assurance of adequate coverage for long-term illness; they face the possibility of depletion of life savings for treatment of terminal or chronic illness.

In order to remedy this situation, a bipartisan team of representatives, Fortney Stark, D-Calif., and Bill Gradison, R-Ohio, are planning to introduce remedial legislation into Congress late in January which would restore mammography screening every two years, 38 days of home health care for the seriously ill, and up to 80 hours of respite care for caretakers of totally dependent patients. The mammography screening alone would save 4,000 lives each year; the home health and respite care would enable many patients to be cared for at home.

Seniors should note that the Stark-Gradison Bill is not a revival of catastrophic health care. An 80-cent increase per month in the Medicare Part B premium would finance the addition of these desperately needed benefits to Medicare coverage. A letter to one's representative in the House or the Senate urging support of this bill would help to ensure its passage. Statistically, one letter from a constituent represents response from 100 voters to a representative in Congress or the Senate. By remaining within "the silent majority" citizens allow legislators to govern according to their own wishes.

Medicare clients would do a great service to themselves and fellow senior citizens by writing to their legislators and requesting support for the Stark-Gradison Bill and the addition of these vital services to Medicare coverage.

Jeanette M. Wright, Palmetto A present for the '90s

Will capture of Noriega be worth the price?

Something for the '90s and beyond - a brand new state constitution.

One that would represent us and free us also from the present "special interest" one we are using now, full of shadows, smoke and haze laws that don't work, can't work, won't work, adventurism with rights, etc.

A catacomb of mirrors. A new constitution that is aware of our real needs and responsibilities.

Calvin J. Ries, New Port Richey For a free Lithuania

Re: What kind of Soviet Union is best for the U.S.? Jan. 14.

Robert Pittman states that "... dangers raised by the Lithuanian independence movement are especially difficult for Americans who have come to this country from Balkan (sic) states." Even after making the geographic correction (Baltic, not Balkan), the idea makes no sense in theory or reality. Thousands of Lithuanian immigrants living in the United States, together with their American-born families, are as diverse a group as any. Yet it's difficult to find any who aren't encouraged and excited by the prospect of a free, independent Lithuania.

Pittman's suggestion that the United States would be better off if the Soviet Union held on to its illegally occupied "ethnic fringes" is a much greater cause for concern than granting freedom to those republics. Fortunately those opinions did not prevail 200 years ago when a group of scattered colonies decided to break away from England in pursuit of the same freedom.

Economics, governmental structure, national defense, diplomatic relations - these are the challenges to the Lithuanian people. On all fronts Lithuanians thirst for the opportunity to accelerate into the future, after being held back for almost 50 dark years. The policy for the United States should be one of encouragement to the Lithuanian people and their desire for regained freedom, without direct confrontation or interference with Mikhail Gorbachev.

The United States will have ample opportunity for diplomatic and economic posturing when Lithuania is independent. Denying a return to freedom for these spirited and determined people is an un-American suggestion.

Al Karnavicius, St. Petersburg Help for the uninsurable

In response to the recent letter with the positive view of capitalistic health insurance. It is true that the insurance industry has been around for decades. However, it's affordability and availability to the general population is rapidly declining.

Does the letter writer have a suggestion for those working members of society who have a pre-existing condition and therefore are uninsurable? These individuals are often denied basic health care and accessibility

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to a very costly medical system. Most insurance carriers refuse to cover these individuals, therefore most physicians refuse to accept new patients who are uninsured.

This creates a cycle whereby complications and problems often develop which could have been lessened or avoided altogether had proper medical care been available.

Also, along with the rapid rise in cost of physician and hospital care, there is an escalating rise in pharmaceutical drugs and supplies which are often essential for proper disease management. For the uninsured, this cost is often prohibitive for them.

Thereby a vicious cycle is created and ultimately, the quality of life is lessened for many. Does this segment of the population not deserve the same quality of life as those without a pre-existing condition?

Linda Himmel, Hudson A pleasant trip

May I express my total delight regarding the Jan. 13 column, Why,

we made do just fine by Niela Eliason.

Her descriptive trip down memory lane was a walk through a softer and gentler time.

To read about the practice of medicine 40 years ago was nostalgia at its very best.

She wrote concerning nursing school, medical students, wages, hours of work, standards and procedures in a less automated and less computerized time. She made it sound as if there was caring, dedication, hard work, dignity for the patient, yes, even fun, involved with this very special art.

Progress is, of course, a necessity. We live in a remarkable medical period - and we are most grateful and appreciative.

But while we advance, we do remember that some things never change and it was an extreme pleasure to pause and reflect on how the art of medicine used to be.

Greta Myers, R.N., St. Petersburg Beach New vocabulary

The world is changing at a rate never before experienced. These changes necessitate a new vocabulary. Being thoroughly confused by this new lexicon, I consulted individuals on the cutting edge of these changes. I thought your readers might benefit from the definitions I got, so here is a glossary.

Will capture of Noriega be worth the price?

Arbitrage. A scheme that allows you to sell a stock you never owned while simultaneously buying stock you will never see and making a bundle in the process.

At this point in time. Bureaucratese for "Now."

Executive privilege. An alternative available to the chief executive which keeps the skeletons from escaping from the closet.

Golden parachute. Pull the rip cord and land in a bed of roses.

In the interest of national security. If the press ever gets hold of this one, kiss the next election goodbye.

Leveraged Buyout. Taking two healthy, profitable companies and combining them into one large, debt-ridden fiscal basket case.

No comment. I don't have the foggiest notion what this guy is talking about, but I can't let him know that.

Off budget. Let's let our grandchildren pick up the tab for this one.

Revenue enhancement. Raising taxes while not raising taxes. A form of legislative legerdemain.

Sound bite. The noise one makes eating celery.

Trial Balloon. An updated synonym for "Run it up the flag-pole and see who salutes."

User friendly. An amicable relationship between a junkie and his supplier.

Thank you for allowing me to perform this small but important public service.

Andy Johnson, Largo Drug suggestion

Re: The legalization - or decriminalization - of drugs.

It is not necessary to go all the way and make drugs as available as soda. No one wants kids sticking coins in a crack dispensing machine.

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Rather, let doctors skilled in drug therapy be given a special license to treat addicts. The addict goes to the M.D. so qualified and is given a prescription for heroin or whatever licensed drug, now manufactured and distributed in the normal way, by the drug companies.

The addict gets a little advice with his drugs, and help if he wishes to quit. The addict gets his drug at a reasonable price (this is essential for the scheme to work). The drug is good quality, the pharmacists make money.

The doctors make money. The pushers and dealers close up shop and enter some other field of endeavors.

If the profit is taken out of the hands of the dealers, and the addict has his/her drug at a low cost under medical guidance, gradually, education will win the users over, as it is doing already with alcohol and tobacco. The addict can now afford his hit without mugging someone, or knocking over a convenience store.

I rest my case.

B. Stott, Holiday Share your opinions

We invite readers to write to us. Letters for publication should be addressed to Letters to the Editor, P.O. Box 1121, St. Petersburg, 33731. They should be brief and must include the handwritten signature and address of the writer.

Letters may be edited for clarity, taste and length. We regret that not all letters can be printed.

Graphic

BLACK AND WHITE CARTOON, Don Addis; Woman sitting on the steps of a women's shelter, with obvious injuries and wearing a purple heart, is reading a newspaper which has a story about women in service being protected from combat duty. A sign on the door behind her says that 1 of 3 women get hit by hubby.

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At the Movies

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Body

'True Love': The Movie

If anyone wants to call "True Love" a labor of love, it's probably all right.

First the labor part. Nancy Savoca, the director of the popular, highly praised little sleeper about Italian-American romance and marriage in the Bronx, was in labor when she found out that her film had won the jurors' prize last winter at the United States Film Festival in Park City, Utah.

As for love, Ms. Savoca and her husband, Richard Guay, who co-produced the film with Shelley Houis, had to love the idea to stick with it for six years. "We got rejected by every studio and production company not just once or twice but maybe three times," Ms. Savoca said.

The story of "True Love" could begin at various times. Maybe when Ms. Savoca, who is now 30 years old, was growing up in the Bronx in places like Soundview and Morris Park, where the movie was shot. Or maybe when she was watching movies like "The Graduate," "Midnight Cowboy" and "Mean Streets," or admiring the films of Robert Altman and John Cassavetes.

But if it's necessary to select a specific time, it was clearly 1980, when Ms. Savoca and Mr. Guay were married. "We had a small wedding," she said. "We went to a lot of weddings that year. It seemed like everybody got married that year, and going to all these weddings and stuff, we realized what an incredible, emotional, amazing period in people's lives that is. We turned to each other and said there's a movie in this. It's outrageous, and at the same time, it's really scary."

A week after her wedding, Ms. Savoca entered New York University's film school. By the time she graduated, she and Mr. Guay had been talking about their idea for two years. "By the time we sat down," she said, "we wrote it in one week, it was so ready to be written."

But rejection gave them the luxury of time to rework their first draft. "Every half year or so, we'd go back to it," Ms. Savoca said.

In order to pay the rent, Ms. Savoca and Mr. Guay began working in the film business and got to know film makers like John Sayles, Susan Seidelman and Jonathan Demme, and Mr. Demme's producer, Kenny Utt.

"And in 1985, I believe," said Ms. Savoca, "we did a nine-minute trailer in which we got a bunch of scenes from the script to show people. That was rejected again. But what we did, we invited a lot of our friends to the screenings."

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And, Ms. Savoca said, Mr. Sayles told her, "If you ever want to make this movie, low budget, no budget, down and dirty, I will invest." Ms. Seidelman, Mr. Demme and Mr. Utt said they would help, too.

In the summer of 1988, with enough money raised and practically everyone's salary deferred, filming began on a 10-week schedule. "When we finished shooting, we ran out of money," Ms. Savoca said. But investors who saw the film put up more money, she added, and a soundtrack deal with MCA produced additional income to enable her to rush "True Love" to completion in time for Park City. As independent film makers, she said, she and her associates "knew we needed the festivals."

"The night that it won the prize, I was in labor," she recalled. "So Shelley Houis went to Park City to represent us, and she called us to let us know. I was puffing. I said, 'I'll call you.' " The baby, Ms. Savoca's second boy, is named Kenny - for Mr. Utt.

After the Park City prize for "True Love," doors that had been closed to Ms. Savoca opened. "We got a lot of phone calls," she said. "It gave us a long list of distributors who were interested. That got whittled down. Some felt it was too specialized. Some smaller companies felt it was too big. A couple wanted to change it they loved it so much. So in a way our choice was made simpler and simpler by having conversations with these people." And eventually MGM/ UA gave her the right to make the final cut of the film, and it opened at the end of October.

By next year, Ms. Savoca hopes to be filming again, perhaps one of the screenplays that she and Mr. Guay have been working on, perhaps a script by someone else.

If there is a lesson for other independent film makers in the difficult ascent to triumph of "True Love," Ms. Savoca says it is this: "What I really hope is they stick true to what it is they want to make. In the end, it is worth it. There are people in the business who will tell you how original and wonderful you are and then try to figure out a way to make you and your project look like all the other stuff."

Spike Lee's Latest

Meanwhile, another graduate of N.Y.U.'s film school - a fellow named Spike Lee - is at work on his new movie on locations in New York City. Its title is "Variations on the Mo' Better Blues," and if everything goes according to plan, the nine-week shoot will end next Friday.

The movie stars Denzel Washington (Steven Biko in Sir Richard Attenborough's "Cry Freedom") as a jazz musician named Bleek Gilliam, who is trying to balance his career and his relationships. Mr. Lee, who wrote the film, plays Bleek's best friend, Giant. And the cast includes Cynda Williams as Bleek's love interest; Mr. Lee's sister, Joie, and such other actors from previous Spike Lee films as Bill Nunn, Giancarlo Esposito and John Turturro. There will be cameo appearances by Ruben Blades and Abbey Lincoln.

Music for the film is being written by Mr. Lee's father, Bill, and by Branford Marsalis. "The fact that my father's a musician has a lot to do with the story," Mr. Lee said. "But it's all fiction."

And, he pointed out: " 'Variations on the Mo' Better Blues' is about relations. It's not a love story."

Mr. Lee said he starting thinking about his new movie while in postproduction on "Do the Right Thing." But he said it would be a mistake to look for a link between the two. "I think all my work is a departure from the previous films," he said. "They're all very different. This film is not as angry as 'Do the Right Thing.' That doesn't mean I'm less angry. I'm feeling a little better now that David Dinkins is the new Mayor."

Mr. Lee said he believed that "Do the Right Thing," which opened at the end of June with its story of volatile race relations in New York, had a bit of an impact on the political contest that brought the city its first black mayor in the Nov. 7 election. "I think we helped put the focus on it."

Mr. Lee said he expects that "Variations," once titled "A Love Supreme" after a John Coltrane composition, is to be released by Universal Pictures late next summer. By then, he expects to be at work on his fifth feature.

'New York Woman'

At the American Museum of the Moving Image, today is opening day of "Projections of the New York Woman," designed as an annual event to celebrate the image of New York women in film, television and video and to explore the contribution of women to these arts.

"The Best of Everything: The New York Woman 1947-61," running through Dec. 15 at the museum at 35th Avenue and 36th Street in Astoria, Queens, will examine the image of the post-World War II working woman in New York City.

The opening attraction, at 7:30 tonight, is to be the 1953 film "How to Marry a Millionaire," starring Betty Grable, Marilyn Monroe and Lauren Bacall. Information: (718) 784-0077.

'Quiet Man's' Actress

Maureen O'Hara is to appear on Monday night when the Film Society of Lincoln Center presents a screening of "The Quiet Man," the perennially popular 1952 John Ford film starring the actress and John Wayne in a romantic contest of wills in the west of Ireland.

The event, at the Bruno Walter Auditorium at the Library and Museum of the Arts at 111 Amsterdam Avenue, near 65th Street, is part of a screening series open only to the Film Society's sponsor members. Screenings of "The Quiet Man," in a print restored by the U.C.L.A. Film and Television Archive, are scheduled for 6 and 9 P.M., with a reception between.

Mackenzie Update

When it comes to busy directors, there's John Mackenzie, probably best known to American moviegoers as the man who introduced Bob Hoskins to them in the role of the London gangster overlord in "The Long Good Friday."

With one movie finished and another on the horizon, Mr. Mackenzie - whose films also include two Michael Caine vehicles, "The Honorary Consul" and "The Fourth Protocol" - gazed over the idyllic English countryside at his cottage in Sussex and chatted about his work.

Until recently, the Orion film he has finished was known as "Street Legal," he said. But conflict over rights to the title led to a change. Now it's "Point of Impact," with a release date yet to be determined. In any event, the film features Brian Dennehy as a policeman who feels he has to turn in his badge to continue to do his job properly.

Mr. Mackenzie said that when Orion first approached him about the film a year and a half ago, he felt that it held the germ of an idea. After revisions, he said, "We turned it from what was really a basic cop-drug picture into something deeper and a little less straightforward."

"It really now is a political thriller," Mr. Mackenzie said. "It seemed to me it would be interesting to make a film relevant to what's been happening in the States recently - the element where the drugs-for-arms consideration could come into it, with a lot of money as well. It's not so much drugs for money but an ideological thing about arms for freedom fighters in various parts of the world, basically Central America. It's got Iran-contra, echoes of that."

Come spring, in London and in Boston, Mr. Mackenzie expects to be filming "Dead Ground," another project for Orion - this one dealing with the Irish Republican Army, seen from an American perspective. Mr. Mackenzie said he was approached about "Dead Ground" while he was preparing to film the property then known as "Street Legal."

"I saw it had a great entertaining element in it," said Mr. Mackenzie, who was born in Edinburgh. "It was a very strong suspense film, almost Hitchcockian. That interested me straightaway; and the fact that it was also connected

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with the I.R.A. and would give one hopefully a perspective on the whole thing to see it from their point of view as well as a British point of view seemed important.

"In Britain, you get soldiers being killed. It seems like mayhem and murder. When you go into it, you see there's an awful lot more to it."

After that, Mr. Mackenzie, who divides his time among London, Sussex, Los Angeles and New York, said, there are several scripts that interest him, especially one titled "Bikini."

"And it doesn't refer to the bathing costume," he said. "It refers to the atoll. It's something which is a political satire, full of irony, which the British do an awful lot and the Americans tend not to. It's a great story about young people from the 50's, from totally different social backgrounds, who meet. Two men fall in love with a girl and mature from college to going into Government in those times of McCarthy, the bomb, the atoll and this very human love story."

If there seems to be a pattern to the films that attract Mr. Mackenzie, there is. "I think the idea of making pure entertainment films doesn't interest me," he said. "I think I always look for something that has a point to make, that has humor and humanity."

"I like to have some form of central theme which is very relevant to the time in which we live."

Graphic

Photo of Spike Lee

End of Document

Christmas in N. Ireland: the spirit of resilience

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Body

On a cold, wintry day in late November, more than 5,000 Ulster Loyalists gathered outside Belfast's statuesque city hall to hear their leader, the Rev. Ian Paisley, hurl defiance at the British government for its failure to stop the outlawed ***Irish Republican Army's*** killings. They shouted against the setting up of a government council to help deal with cross-border problems arising from the Northern Ireland crisis. At the city hall rally the loyalists seemed to be embarking on a course that could lead to open confrontation with the forces of law and order.

Yet only three days later, thousands of Protestants and Roman Catholics gathered together on the same spot at the city hall to witness the switching on of the lights on a huge Christmas tree and to share in prayers and carols. These two scenes within the same week illustrate vividly the two sides of Ulster -- the potential for war and the desire for peace.

The history of Ulster's war is already well known. For 12 years the story has been broadcast around the world by journalists working for national and international newspapers, magazines, radio, and television. Since 1969 nearly 2,200 people have been killed. There have been more than 7,200 explosions. The British government has paid out around \$800 million in compensation for damaged property, plus another \$136 million for personal injury. Last year the figures were worse -- at 98 dead.

Yet there is a side to life in Ulster which rarely makes the national or international headlines. Despite the violence, the gloom and political stalemate, Protestants and Roman Catholics in this province continue, as far as they can, with the business of ordinary living. There is the continued back-drop of violence this Christmas, as there has been for 12 long years but life goes on.

Heaters and cinemas are open, stores have geared up for the Christmas rush, and colored lights pierce the darkness in Belfast and in towns and villages across the province. Bravely, indeed miraculously, a large banner across the capital city's main shopping street proclaims "Happy Christmas, Belfast." It is a cry that goes out to the 1.5 million people throughout Northern Ireland.

Over at the Grand Opera House in Belfast, Michael Barnes, the artistic director, reports "most encouraging" bookings for the annual pantomime "Jack and the Beanstalk." Last year there was a near-capacity audience in the 1,000-seat auditorium for the pantomime. This year the reservations for the seven-week run should be as good, despite the poor shape of the economy.

Christmas in N. Ireland : the spirit of resilience

The Grand Opera House itself is a symbol of the people's resilience. Earlier in the troubles the Opera House was devastated by an IRA bomb and for several years lay empty and forlorn. But it was refurbished at a cost of nearly \$5 million and is widely regarded today as one of the very best and most elegant of its kind in the British Isles and farther afield. Originally built in 1895, it embodies the best of Victorian music-hall atmosphere and architecture. Since its reopening on Sept. 15, 1980, it has regularly attracted capacity audiences for every kind of entertainment from puppetry to drama to variety and, naturally, full-scale opera.

Despite the troubles, cultural life in Ulster is flourishing, though this is not well-known outside Northern Ireland. This year the 19th Belfast Festival at Queens University attracted such performers as violinist Yehudi Menuhin and New York jazz musician Zoot Simms. The Court Dance Theater of Okinawa, after a highly successful tour of the United States, began its European season at the Belfast Festival.

For this year's festival, which ran for 17 days, 189 performances of 100 different events were staged at a cost of about \$400,000. Bookings ran at roughly 60 percent as compared with 80 percent for the previous year. But this was partly due to the recession.

Mr. Barnes, who combines the job of festival director with his duties in the Grand opera House, is an Englishman who first came to Belfast in the early '60s as a university lecturer. His attitude to living in Northern Ireland is that "If things seem to be improving, one never becomes too optimistic. Similarly, if the situation looks worse, one is not too pessimistic. People try to get on with their lives as best they can."

The same can be said of the business community. This year there are more Christmas lights in Belfast, there will be daily carol services and concerts by children from Roman Catholic and Protestant schools, and a massive fireworks display is planned. Women dressed in Victorian bonnets and bustles will distribute gifts among the shippers. The lord mayor of Belfast, Councillor Grace Bannister, summed up the mood: "At Christmas I believe that we can show the world the good and positive side of our much-maligned city."

Local traders are quietly optimistic, despite a year that has known the disruption of many hunger-strike demonstrations and more recent Loyalist rallies in the city center. Ken Lunn, chairman of the Large Stores Association, said: "The stores, small and large, seem to have a good atmosphere. They seem in themselves to be a refuge from the troubles. In business terms it has not been an easy year, due to the recession and other factors, but we can see the light at the end of the tunnel. We are looking forward to a "good" Christmas."

Another man looking forward to a "good" Christmas, albeit in a different way, is the Anglican dean of Belfast, the Very Rev. Samuel Crooks. Dean Crooks is a folksy, larger-than-life figure who has undertaken a collection for charity each Christmas for the past six years. During the week before Christmas he stands outside his church, St. Anne's Cathedral, accepting donations from passers-by for a wide range of charities. Each time he has surpassed his goal, and this year he is confident that he will be given more than \$30,000 -- a sizable sum in Ulster, where there is 19 percent unemployment.

"One of the most encouraging things is that the money comes from Roman Catholics and Protestants," Dean Crooks says. "We go across the divides. This year I took part in the switching-on ceremony at the city hall Christmas tree. I stood there and looked at the thousands of people singing carols in the rain, and I said to myself, 'Look at these people, and all they've come through, and still they are singing carols.' That's what the spirit of resilience is all about."

One person well qualified to observe this spirit of resilience is Mary Peters, who won a gold medal for Britain in the women's pentathlon in the 1972 Munich Olympic Games. Miss Peters originally came from Liverpool, but she has lived in Northern Ireland for 20 years and has no intention of leaving. She now runs a health studio near Belfast, and she is the manager of the British women's athletic team for the Los Angeles Olympics.

Earlier this year, at the height of the crisis during the Bobby Sands hunger strike, Miss Peters made a nationwide television appeal in Britain to encourage leading athletes to attend a scheduled amateur athletics championship in Antrim, about 14 miles north of Belfast. The appeal was successful and the championships were deemed a

Christmas in N. Ireland : the spirit of resilience

success. Mary Peters won a special award from the tourist board for her efforts to encourage people to come to Northern Ireland.

She said: "I am well placed to encourage people to come, because I was originally an outsider. My family no longer lives in Northern Ireland and I could literally go anywhere in the world. But I have chosen to stay here deliberately. I like the people and their warmth and sense of humor, and the countryside is absolutely beautiful."

Despite worldwide publicity of the hunger strikes, street demonstrations, and violence, there were 710,000 visitors to Northern Ireland last year, and the Tourist Board anticipates only a 4 percent drop in tourism for 1981. This year, for example, the Society of American Travel Writers held its annual 10-day convention in Northern Ireland.

"The irony is that when people actually do come here, they have a good time," said Shane Belford, chief executive of the Tourist Board.

It would be misleading to suggest that the much-publicized troubles are merely a veneer of unrest and that the people of Northern Ireland are moving toward peace and reconciliation. The divisions are wide, real, and tragic. But it would be equally wrong to suggest that there is no hope and that there aren't any signs of reconciliation, long-term peace, and understanding.

The Rev. John Morrow, leader of the Corrymeela Community, a Christian-based organization, has been working throughout the strife to build bridges between the two communities and to point out the hard-headed realities of peacemaking. This Christmas, as in previous years, some 60 young Roman Catholics and Protestants will meet at Corrymeela to study and ponder "the nature of Christian commitment and human need."

John Morrow is a realist who points to the depth of the crisis now facing Northern Ireland, with the possibility of Loyalist armies confronting the security forces, already hard-pressed combating the Provisional IRA. Mr. Morrow, however, also notes the growth of small groups of Roman Catholics and Protestants who are meeting regularly to pray and to share, and to begin to live out what he calls "the alternative society."

"I have been surprised by the numbers who are forging ahead quietly and who are working for peace and reconciliation," he said. "Many of them do not want a high profile, but are anxious to go on with what they are doing. In the alternative society, people are beginning to recognize that they share much in common, despite the differences between them, and these differences are very real. As the crisis deepens, more people are being forced to work out for themselves exactly where they stand. Small groups are beginning to actually live out this alternative society, though the majority may not be ready for it. . . One of my problems is not to find members for Corrymeela, but on the contrary, that I have too many applications from those who want to join. For all sorts of reasons we do not want the community to become too large."

The Belfast Christmas tree, with its shared carols and prayers, is a symbol of what might be, just as the vociferous Loyalist marches and earlier Republican hunger-strike demonstrations were evidence of a less encouraging and grim reality. The message of Christmas is hope, and hope really does abide even in the worst moments for Northern Ireland.

Seamus Close, a Belfast accountant, is chairman of the middle-of-the-road Alliance Party, which is still very much in existence despite the political extremism evident elsewhere. Recently Mr. Close, who is a Roman Catholic, visited California with last year's Alliance chairman, Alex Boyd, who is a Protestant.

"People in California could hardly believe that they were listening to a Roman Catholic and a Protestant from Northern Ireland who were saying the same things," Mr. Close said. "It is not easy to get across this picture of the other face of Northern Ireland, but it does exist. Deep down the majority of people do want peace but they gather around a Christmas tree to share the spirit of goodwill and peace, the symbolism is very real. It is a picture of what might be, what could be -- and hopefully -- what will be, some day.

Graphic

Picture 1, Belfast's Grand Opera House, For Belfast, the message of Christmas is hope, and hope really does abide even in the worst moments, Northern Ireland Tourist Board; Picture 2, 'We can show the world the positive side of our city', Belfast Lord Mayor, Councillor Grace Bannister with daughter, grandchild

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Hard Times Hit Home In 1982

The Associated Press

January 1, 1983, Saturday, BC cycle

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Section: Domestic News

Length: 4195 words

Byline: By EILEEN PUTMAN, Associated Press Writer

Body

Hard times hit home in 1982. Twelve million Americans were out of work, businesses failed on Main Street and Broadway, and thousands resorted to public shelters and soup lines for the first time. Children asked Santa to bring jobs for Mom and Dad.

Wars raged in the Mideast and the South Atlantic, a poisoner made everything on store shelves suddenly suspect and terrorists dealt out death and destruction with bombs, grenades and guns.

It was a time to look for heroes, and to find them.

There was 28-year-old Lennie Skutnik, plunging among chunks of ice in the Potomac to rescue a woman after the crash of Air Florida's Flight 90, which claimed 78 lives. And there was the man _ his identity was never positively established _ who drowned after repeatedly passing a dangling helicopter life ring to fellow passengers.

The nation pulled for Barney Clark, a tough-willed 61-year-old retired dentist who made medical history and chose a chance at life even though it meant being permanently tethered to hoses and the bulky compressor pumping his artificial heart.

Spirits soared when plucky U.S. Brig. Gen. James L. Dozier emerged from 42 days of Red Brigades captivity in Italy in January asking for a shave, a haircut and a cheeseburger.

And there was big-eyed, long-necked little E.T., the extra-terrestrial film star who won hearts everywhere with his determination to get home.

They brought joy, laughter and tears in a year in which there was much to cry about.

Like war. Israel marched into Lebanon in June to drive out the Palestine Liberation Organization, and succeeded in ousting thousands of guerrillas. But thousands of civilians and soldiers were killed, and the invasion provoked controversy at home and abroad.

As order began to be restored, Lebanon's Christian president-elect, Bashir Gemayel, died in a Sept. 14 bomb blast. Three days later, Christian militiamen slaughtered hundreds of Palestinian and Moslem men, women and children in Beirut refugee camps. Israel was widely condemned for letting the militia into the camps, but disclaimed responsibility for the massacre.

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Britain and Argentina fought a 74-day undeclared war over the tiny Falkland Islands, home to 1,820 people and 600,000 sheep and claimed by both nations. The fighting some 250 miles off the Argentine coast cost more than 1,000 lives, and showed that one French-made Exocet missile could sink a British warship.

Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher grimly led Britain into its biggest military conflict since World War II in the fight to recapture the islands 8,000 miles away, sending out a Royal Navy task force that included a son of Queen Elizabeth II. When Argentina gave up, Mrs. Thatcher declared, "We have put the Great back into Britain."

But it was the Great in Depression that had many Americans worried in a year when unemployment reached 10.8 percent, the highest since the waning days of that deprived era. The Reagan administration, as it had all year, promised recovery was on the way at year's end _ and could point to a slowing of inflation, lower interest rates and an exuberant rally on Wall Street as hopeful signs.

That was little comfort to those without jobs, and charities and welfare officials said they couldn't bear the strain of feeding, housing and caring for the needy. And unions _ which avoided strikes and backed down at the bargaining tables in 1982 _ reported some unemployed members were cutting down on food to make house payments.

Nationwide, authorities estimated 2 million people were homeless _ twice as many as a year ago and the most since the height of the Great Depression. Many were newly poor: An estimated one-third of the homeless once had been part of the middle class. Some 300 of the homeless and unemployed took up residence in a tent city outside Houston, cooking their meals over campfires.

People compared 1982 to the Great Depression, although they were told that economic safeguards now will prevent another era where so many would lack for so much. But the statistics still were harsh.

More businesses failed than in any year since 1933, and factories were running at 67.8 percent of capacity _ the lowest level since the government began keeping records 35 years ago. Wages grew at the smallest rate in 15 years, and the value of farmland dropped. Auto production was at its lowest point in 25 years; the steel industry had its worst year since the Depression.

It was a time for holding on to pocketbooks. Braniff International, Altair Airlines and Laker Airways were casualties of a money-conscious, stay-at-home people. President Reagan expressed annoyance at the spate of news stories on jobless families, but he conceded unemployment was a "continuing tragedy."

Fall brought a different kind of tragedy: Seven people died in the Chicago area after taking capsules of Extra-Strength Tylenol containing cyanide. Copycat product tamperings surged nationwide, and Halloween trick-or-treating was called off in at least 40 communities.

Johnson & Johnson, the parent company of the Tylenol manufacturer, spent \$100 million to withdrawn the aspirin-free pain reliever capsules from store shelves. It reintroduced the capsules in tamper-resistant packaging, vowing not to be destroyed by a "terrorist act."

Terrorism. The word did not go away in 1982.

The mostly Roman Catholic ***Irish Republican Army*** and their Protestant foes did their deadly work in Northern Ireland, culminating at year's end in a nationalist bomb attack on a Ballykelly disco that killed 11 off-duty British soldiers and five civilians. In London, IRA bombs killed nine men on July 20, including members of the Queen's Household Cavalry. Seven horses also died.

In Paris, U.S. Lt. Col. Charles Robert Ray was fatally shot Jan. 18, a bomb killed a PLO leader in July, and a wave of bombings and attacks on Jews included a bloody assault that claimed six lives at a kosher restaurant.

Other anti-Semitic attacks occurred across Western Europe, including a grenade and machine gun assault on a Rome synagogue in October that killed a 2-year-old Jewish boy and wounded 34 people.

And in Tehran, Iran, a bomb killed at least 60 people and injured 700 others in September.

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Leftist guerrillas in El Salvador, however, did not discourage voters from turning out in that country's March elections, hailed by U.S. officials as "an important beginning to the democratic process." Political strife was the rule in much of Central America, with leftist rebellions also sparking violence in Guatemala and Honduras and bloody border clashes between Honduras and Nicaragua.

There were no elections but big changes in the Soviet Union, where Leonid I. Brezhnev, the Communist Party leader for 18 years, died in November at age 75. Leaders from 100 nations attended the funeral, and KGB chief Yuri V. Andropov took over as top man in the Kremlin.

For millions of Poles, the dream of independence died in 1982.

Lech Walesa, leader of the banned independent union Solidarity, spent 11 months in detention until authorities released him, announcing he was not so dangerous anymore. Shortly thereafter he was detained just long enough to prevent his speaking at a rally.

On Dec. 13, a year after it was begun amid Soviet pressure for a crackdown on Solidarity, the Polish government announced martial law would be suspended at the year's end. But many Poles believed civil restrictions would prevent any revival of Solidarity.

There were many deaths to mourn in 1982, including 77-year-old Henry Fonda, the all-American hero of films; Princess Grace of Monaco, 52, who gave up movie stardom to marry a prince; Oscar-winning actress Ingrid Bergman, 67; zany comedian John Belushi, 33; and piano virtuoso Arthur Rubinstein, 95.

In Washington and Kenner, La., bad weather was deadly for air travelers and some on the ground below.

A Pan American jetliner went down in Kenner after taking off in a thunderstorm July 9, claiming 154 lives. Air Florida's Flight 90 took off in a snowstorm from Washington on Jan. 13 and crashed into a Potomac River bridge, killing 78 people.

The weather also proved fatal for the 84 crew members of the oil rig Ocean Ranger _ they died in February when the rig sank in 90 mph winds and waves up to 50 feet off the coast of Newfoundland.

Hurricane Iwa roared into Hawaii in November, causing up to \$200 million damage in the island state's first major hurricane in 23 years. In the Atlantic, the hurricane season passed uneventfully, with only five storms strong enough to warrant a name _ the fewest in 50 years.

Ronald Reagan, meanwhile, weathered foreign travel, problems with Congress and an off-year election that saw the Democrats gain 26 seats in Congress. Early in the year, internal problems with his foreign policy operations eased with the resignation of Alexander M. Haig Jr. as secretary of state.

And a potential problem for Reagan evaporated when Sen. Edward M. Kennedy announce he would not seek the Democratic presidential nomination in 1984 because of his children's wishes and his impending divorce.

The president and the Republicans were blamed by Equal Rights Amendment supporters when the proposal to ban discrimination based on sex died in June after a 10-year fight for ratification. The GOP worried about winning support from women and minorities, and the "gender gap" was born.

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The year 1982 was also a time of anti-heroes, as crime stories across the nation's front pages showed.

John W. Hinckley, Jr., 27, the brooding loner obsessed with actress Jodie Foster, was acquitted by reason of insanity when a jury found he was not criminally responsible for his attempt to assassinate President Reagan. The verdict set off outraged calls to abolish the insanity defense.

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After a soap opera-style trial with an aristocratic twist, socialite Claus Von Bulow was found guilty in Newport, R.I., of twice trying to murder his heiress wife _ now in an irreversible coma. At year's end, the 56-year-old von Bulow was free pending appeal.

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And in a crime footnote, the year brought the largest cash robbery ever in the United States: Nearly \$11 million stolen from an armored car company by robbers who entered by punching a hole in the roof.

Pope John Paul II, meanwhile, escaped an assassination attempt by a bayonet-wielding Spanish priest in Portugal, a year after he survived an assassin's bullets in St. Peter's Square. The attack in Portugal failed to deter the voyages of history's most traveled pope, who later visited England, the first visit there by a Roman Catholic pontiff.

The British endured a series of spy scandals and crimes that had them doubting their nation's security system. Even the queen seemed at risk _ an intruder found his way into her Buckingham Palace bedchamber and chatted with the monarch for 10 minutes, a broken ashtray in his hand, before help arrived.

The birth in June of Prince William, now second in line to the throne after his father, Prince Charles, provided a welcome distraction for Britons, as did his mother, Princess Diana. The queen's second son, Andrew, stirred up a fuss by vacationing in the Caribbean with an erotic movie star.

But other countries had little diversion from their troubles.

Iran and Iraq were locked in an expensive stalemated war that has cost up to 60,000 lives over two years. Mexico had to devalue its peso repeatedly and take other drastic action to stave off fiscal ruin and 100 percent inflation. Brazil grappled with a burgeoning foreign debt.

In Afghanistan, as many as 700 Soviet troops and 2,000 Afghan civilians were killed in a tunnel in an explosion and fire in October, but the figures were never confirmed by the Soviet or Afghanistan governments.

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An earthquake in Yemen killed more than 1,000 people. An Aeroflot jetliner crashed on takeoff from Moscow, killing 90 people, and a Chinese plane went down near the southern Chinese city of Guilin, killing 112 people. At home, new health worries emerged over herpes, an incurable venereal disease, and over AIDS, or acquired immune deficiency syndrome, in which the body loses its ability to fight disease.

Some said herpes, which causes painful genital sores, was changing sexual patterns across the country, but others said that was all talk and no action. The immune syndrome, first identified among homosexuals, was later reported among Haitian refugees, drug users and blood transfusion recipients, and researchers said it might be on the verge of a "huge outbreak."

Football was no help in relieving the worries of 1982, what with the National Football League strike that idled players for eight weeks. And Garry Trudeau, the Pulitzer Prize-winning cartoonist, put his fans in the doldrums when he announced his Doonesbury characters were "confused and out of sorts" and would take a 20-month break.

Was there anything left to cheer and laugh about? Consider:

"We deliver!" said jubilant astronauts aboard the space shuttle Columbia, as it logged its fifth flight, 10 millionth mile and first commercial venture, launching two communications satellites for paying customers.

From the San Fernando Valley came the Valley Girls, with their funny "gag me with a spoon" and "fer sure" lingo that updated the "gross" and "right on" of a generation earlier.

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And Deely Bobbers, the glittery styrofoam balls, stars or hearts that bounced on springs attached to headbands, went from inventor Stephen Askin's kitchen to nationwide distribution with one marketer acknowledging they served no purpose except to "uplift your spirits."

For 1982, the street-vendors' price was right: \$1, no taxes _ and no questions _ asked.

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ALICE, THE RADICAL HOMEMAKER

The New York Times

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Section: Section 7; Page 3, Column 1; Book Review Desk; Review

Length: 1982 words

Byline: By Denis Donoghue; Denis Donoghue is the Henry James Professor of English and American Letters at New York University. His most recent book is "The Arts Without Mystery."

Body

THE GOOD TERRORIST By Doris Lessing. 375 pp. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. \$16.95.

DORIS LESSING has returned to Earth, after years of voyaging in space in her "Canopus in Argos" series of novels. But it is not clear whether she is here to stay or only passing through. The London her new novel describes is not a place I would even want to visit.

Mrs. Lessing's good terrorist, otherwise soothed as "the poor baby" on the last page of the book, is Alice Mellings, 36, a college graduate with a degree in politics and economics, daughter of upper-middle-class parents in Hampstead. She maintains a liaison blanche with Jasper, whose interests are resolutely homosexual. While he goes out cruising, the poor baby tries to turn an abandoned house into a home fit to be inhabited by a floating group of radicals. Alice and her companions call themselves the Communist Centre Union, and they plan to join the **Irish Republican Army** in some vague capacity as an "England-based entity." But most of the novel is concerned with Alice's struggle to live in the house, at 43 Old Mill Road, and save it from demolition. In the process she discovers, not surprisingly, that a middle-class background is immensely helpful when you have to deal with bureaucrats.

"The Golden Notebook" gained critical attention by questioning the assumptions of the realism Mrs. Lessing has variously preached, practiced and disavowed. Normally, we think of realism as art that keeps up the pretense of being life. But "The Golden Notebook" issued from Mrs. Lessing's intuition, provisional and belated indeed, that realism isn't in a privileged relation to nature; it is a convention like any other. Indeed, one of the problems with her new novel is that the scene it tries to evoke has already been lodged in our minds by television programs and newspaper photographs. The book rehearses images long congealed in our memories, and tries to make us imagine afresh what journalists and cameramen have so often delivered. Words are not, however, the most memorable form in which images of mess and riot are projected.

In her novels and stories, Mrs. Lessing is alert to the capacity of some people to live, for a moment, a decade or a lifetime, inside an idea; and live there with insistence enough to make the idea stand for the world. She knows, too, the cruelty practiced by people who live within an idea and deceive themselves into taking it for a conviction. In "The Good Terrorist" she gives Alice a small idea and forces her to live in it. The idea is simply to hate the middle classes - "bloody filthy accumulating middle-class creeps" - and to be a daily nuisance to them. When Alice can spare a few hours from the chores of homemaking, she joins her friends in a demonstration against Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher - "Queen Bitch Thatcher" with her "pink-and-white, assured, complacent Tory face." But Mrs. Lessing doesn't let Alice discover that the idea in which she lives is a blatant stereotype, and that her life is merely an imitation of the lives of others. In "A Proper Marriage" Mrs. Lessing's heroine, Martha Quest, discovers herself

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"in the grip of the great bourgeois monster, the nightmare repetition." But Alice isn't given the grim satisfaction of knowing as much: she is allowed to regard her life as her own project of inventions and spontaneities.

It is not that Alice is really stupid, but - as John Crowe Ransom said of Scarlett O'Hara - the author "enforces her upon us frequently in that light by reading her mind." Alice's mind, an unquestioned rigmarole of reactions and prejudices, makes it hard to care about her fate. About some of Mrs. Lessing's characters - Mary Turner in "The Grass Is Singing," Susan Rawlings in "To Room Nineteen," for instance - it is easy to care. But Alice exercises such a preference in favor of herself and her friends that any further tenderness on my part would be redundant. A selective camaraderie is the only value these characters hold, and that intermittently. They live on social security, and get whatever money they need by having Alice steal it from her father and mother. No visionary sense of life is fulfilled in these gestures.

"The Good Terrorist" is bound to give comfort to the middle classes, if only because their enemies, Alice and her friends, are so ludicrously inept. Bourgeois liberalism is safe if these are the only opponents it has to face. I don't know why Mrs. Lessing has committed such a libel upon hippies. She has sent them back into the world with nothing in the way of imagination to keep them going or enhance their drift, and she has withheld from them the only imagination in their vicinity - her own. The withholding wouldn't matter if any of these characters had, as Henry James said of Fielding's Tom Jones, so much life that it almost amounts to his having a mind. But they have only the life of borrowed routine and inherited whim. At one point Jasper and his pal Bert go to Dublin and offer their services to two I.R.A. men in a pub. They evidently think that the I.R.A. has some interest in an international Communist revolution. In fact, the Provisional I.R.A. consists of hard-nosed Roman Catholics of the right, who would spot a Communist at 100 yards. But in any case Alice's friends are so incompetent that they can't even time a bomb.

The fame of Mrs. Lessing's novels has been a response not to their style but to their themes - Africa, black and white, women in love and dread, men in power, the fragmentation of one's life. The themes have been found not only germane but stirring. Yet Mrs. Lessing is not a stylist. Perhaps because she hasn't decided whether words can be trusted or not, she is sullen in their company. In "The Golden Notebook" Anna refers to "the thinning of language against the density of our experience," a predicament equally bewildering to her creator. Sometimes Mrs. Lessing treats words as servants, and finds that servants so treated respond with ill will. Sometimes she writes as if to imply that reality best inscribes itself by remaining indifferent to the blandishments of eloquence. Mostly, her style is a prose without qualities, as if it refused to consort with the corrupt glory of Shakespeare's tongue. The words on the page are there to be seen through, not regarded. They seem to want to be rid of themselves even before their sentences come to the ordinary gratification of ending. IN "The Good Terrorist" the pervading style is insistently drab, presumably in keeping with the dreariness of the life it depicts: "Cedric Mellings was the youngest of several children. The family came from near Newcastle. There were Scottish connections. Cedric's grandfather was a clergyman. His father was a journalist and far from rich. All the children had had to work hard to become educated, and launched. Cedric had been just too young for the war, and for this he had never forgiven Fate."

It must be difficult to write such nondescript, dispirited sentences in English, a language notoriously sumptuous in echoes and reverberations. Mrs. Lessing's characters remind themselves that they are English when their overtures to Dublin and Moscow are spurned. Far into the novel, Alice has an argument with a revolutionary who introduces himself, implausibly, as Gordon O'Leary, "third-generation American. An old Irish-American family. Like the Kennedys." "We are English revolutionaries," Alice says, "and we shall make our own policies and act according to the English tradition." But no English tradition sanctions the penury of her speech. O'Leary answers: "It is of course understandable that you owe first loyalty to your own situation. But we are dealing with a struggle between the growing communist forces in the world, and capitalism in its death throes. That is an international situation, which means that policies must be formulated from an international point of view. This is a world struggle, comrade." B UT it doesn't matter that Alice is English and O'Leary ostensibly American, because they are types rather than individuals, exemplars of aging youth, inheritors of an experience that asserted its international character, 15 years ago, in clothes, language, attitude, music and gesture. References to Mrs. Thatcher don't conceal the fact that Alice's feelings are dismally posthumous. The young people in London today who hate Mrs. Thatcher express their hatred in other forms. The slogans are different, relations between workers and the unemployed are different, the divisions between classes are even more extreme than they were 10 or 15 years ago. Eggs are still thrown at

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Cabinet ministers, but the trajectory of the sentiments engaged is not the same. The differences are matters for a novelist's imagination.

The problem is not that in "The Good Terrorist" Mrs. Lessing has had an off day, but that she has taken a day off from her planetary assignments without enjoying it. She can hardly be supposed to have written the novel in defense of Mrs. Thatcher. But she hasn't worked her imagination or played it to the point of deciding whether Alice and her friends are the salt of the earth or its scum. Perhaps these decisions are easier to make on Canopus.

TIME OUT FOR REALISM Throughout her career, spanning three decades, Doris Lessing has been pigeonholed by readers and critics. "I've been stereotyped differently at different times. I can't remember them all," she says. "When my first books came out I was called a writer about race problems, then I was described as a political writer about Communism, then a women's writer, then a mystic writer." Her recent five-volume "Canopus" series, set on fantastic planets, may have left an indelible trace of otherworldliness on her public image, but when she is reached by phone in London it is the common-sensical Doris Lessing who appears, describing her latest work precisely. Although its subject is terrorism, "it's not a book with a political statement. It's a novel about a certain kind of political person, a kind of self-styled revolutionary that can only be produced by affluent societies. There's a great deal of playacting that I don't think you'd find in extreme left revolutionaries in societies where they have an immediate challenge. You wouldn't have found this playacting in guerrillas fighting for a black government in Zimbabwe." Alice Mellings, the fictional "good terrorist," is so contradictory that she produces a "quietly comic" effect, says her creator. "Alice is a woman - though she's not adult -who is very caring and into sheltering people, but at the same time she's quite prepared to blow the whole city up. I think this is a pretty common contradiction in this type of person." Focusing on a common character type caused Mrs. Lessing to return to realism, and she cites some real-life sources for her novel. "The immediate thing was the Harrods bombing [in December 1983]. Here the media reported it to sound as if it was the work of amateurs. I started to think, what kind of amateurs could they be? I got completely fascinated by this line of thought. Also, I happened to be in Ireland when they bumped off Mountbatten. I was just across the water from where it happened, and all the little boys, aged about 10 to 15, were rushing about, delighted, because of course they admire the I.R.A. I thought how easy it would be for a kid, not really knowing what he or she was doing, to drift into a terrorist group." Whatever the reception of "The Good Terrorist," all her fiction exists under the shadow of "The Golden Notebook," usually considered her masterpiece. But this stereotype, too, she resists. "As I travel around I discover a lot of younger people have read the 'Canopus' series and are not interested in anything else I've written. They say, 'Oh, realism, I can't be bothered with that.' " - Caryn James

Graphic

photo of Doris Lessing (Camera Press/Lionel Cherrault)

How the IRA ships arms into Ulster

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Highlight: *The Provisional IRA's reliance on American support is no accident. The transatlantic connection that links US guns and money to IRA fighters extends back to the 19th-century Fenian movement and continues today. This report examines these links.*

Body

It is the Ulster equivalent of the Ho Chi Minh Trail.

But in the case of Northern Ireland, the trail of money and guns stretches all the way from Belfast's Falls Road and Dublin's Parnell Square back to the streets of New York City and Boston.

The American connection is said to account for roughly 50 percent of the weapons and ammunition smuggled to the outlawed Provisional wing of the ***Irish Republican Army***. Donald J. McGorty, head of the section on international terrorism of United States Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in New York, says the Provisional IRA's dependence on American support and supplies is "tremendous."

Guns, ammunition, explosives, and money, aimed at keeping snipers and bomb-throwers as active as possible in Northern Ireland, have been regularly smuggled out of the United States during the past 15 years by a handful of determined supporters of the Provisional IRA, according to Irish, British, and US law-enforcement officials.

These IRA supporters are working quietly in America in small, loosely organized "cells" to do as much as they can to help undermine British rule in Ulster.

The American connection is of the utmost importance to the Provisional IRA. It plays an integral role in the organization's military and political strategies.

The IRA's current campaign of violence began in 1969, soon after British troops moved in, and - unlike previous IRA campaigns in Northern Ireland, which did not have a British presence to target - there are no signs of it petering out. The hit-and-run nature of guerrilla, terrorist warfare and the promise of a steady source of arms, money, and moral support from the US have virtually ensured the longevity of the IRA's military struggle.

The Provisional IRA's military strategy: To attempt to convince the British through a series of seemingly never-ending assassinations and bombings that their interests would best be served by following the example of the Americans in Vietnam and withdrawing.

How the IRA ships arms into Ulster

British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who narrowly escaped an IRA bomb blast in Brighton, England, last October, has been adamant in her position: Northern Ireland will remain a part of the United Kingdom for as long as a majority of the residents of Northern Ireland wish to remain a part of the U.K. The British do not draw parallels between Vietnam and Northern Ireland.

While the IRA's war of attrition has taken its toll in terms of killed security personnel (722), it has also exacted a price on the country as a whole. Since 1969, some 2,400 people have been killed and roughly 26,700 others (18,000 of them civilians) have been injured in the fighting in Northern Ireland, according to police statistics.

There have been 7,979 explosions or bomb attacks in the past 15 years. And American money and guns continue to flow into the country.

Joe Cahill, a former senior IRA leader and one of the founders of the Provisional IRA, acknowledged the value of American support to the IRA. In an interview in Dublin, he said: "Support seems to be growing in America, and that's very, very important." He added that the IRA receives a "continual, small flow of arms from the States, and it is one of their main sources of supply."

But guns aren't all the Provisionals receive from the US. Money raised in pub collection plates and at testimonial dinners held by pro-IRA groups throughout the US is regularly sent to Ireland and plays an important role in maintaining the conflict.

Estimates are that it costs between \$1.5 million to \$3 million a year to run the Provisional IRA and its associated organizations, including the legal political wing, Sinn Fein, and the prisoner relief organization, An Cumman Cabhrach.

According to security officials, most of the IRA's funding has historically come from bank robberies, extortion, protection rackets, and kidnappings in Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic. In 1983, police say, IRA-sanctioned bank robberies in Northern Ireland netted some 300,000 British pounds.

Funds from the US - most notably from the Irish Northern Aid Committee (Noraid) of New York City - have totaled between \$120,000 and \$300,000 each year, according to Noraid officials. Noraid founder and director Michael Flannery, a former IRA man in the 1920s, says that all Noraid's funds are earmarked exclusively for charitable relief projects to help the wives and families of political prisoners in Northern Ireland.

The British and Irish governments contend that even if all or most of Noraid's funds are channelled into prisoner relief programs, which they doubt, the US contributions simply free up other IRA funds for weapons and explosives purchases.

Mr. Flannery agrees. "Of course that's true," he said in an interview in New York. "If we're taking care of these people, surely it takes the burden off the IRA."

Flannery explained that one of the reasons Noraid was organized was to enable the IRA to continue to fight a protracted guerrilla war against the British. The Noraid director said that at the time the Provisional IRA was formed in 1969, he met in Ireland with representatives of the outlawed group. He said they told him: "We are going to build up and fight out of this. Can you help us?"

Flannery says he gave them some advice: "Don't start a fight, get the best of your people killed, and then stop. Don't start a fight until you are ready to continue it, until you are able to get something."

He adds: "They said, 'We'll give you our word that we will continue this fight . . . but there's only one thing necessary - that you feed and cloth our people, so they don't starve us into submission again like they did in 1956. They starved us right out. Our people were penniless, and we had to stop (fighting). We couldn't continue.' "

Flannery said that he told the Provisionals: "I can't guarantee anything. But we'll do our best." Thus was the Irish Northern Aid Committee born.

How the IRA ships arms into Ulster

How has it done in the years since?

"Well, we had phenomenal success," Flannery says with a broad smile.

On the surface it may seem ironic that the Provisional IRA's supply lines should originate in the United States, a close friend and ideological ally of Britain. But the US is also home to 44 million Americans who claim at least some Irish heritage, with roughly 10 million direct Irish descendants. There are fewer than 5 million Irish men, women, and children in all of Ireland, both North and South.

Thus, the US is seen from the IRA's point of view as a vast reservoir of potential Irish Roman Catholic supporters, whose various levels of commitment to the cause of "Brits Out" and a united Ireland could, if not actually win the Northern Ireland conflict, then at least help to draw it out into a protracted war of attrition.

Politically, the IRA and others in the Republican movement are seeking to gain support in the US Congress by raising the awareness of Irish-Americans on the Northern Ireland issue and organizing an Irish-American voting bloc. They seek to emulate the success that Israeli-Zionist groups have had in the US in both mobilizing American Jewish support and translating that support into political influence on Capitol Hill.

While their success in the political sphere has been spotty, their smuggling and fund-raising operations have more than made up for any setbacks.

"It is important to the Provisionals themselves to feel they have a fairly well-oiled machine in America," says a Northern Ireland security official.

Mr. Cahill says: "The fact that the IRA can still carry on operations, despite the losses they have from time to time, proves beyond all doubt that they have a constant source of supply, and American is probably one of the main sources."

Since 1969, more than 8,000 weapons have been seized or captured by security forces in Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic.

Of those, 2,843 of the weapons seized in Northern Ireland were believed to have been smuggled originally from the US, and 1,357 of the weapons seized in the Republic were thought to have come from America, according to the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), Northern Ireland's police force.

"There is no need to send 5,000 weapons over there. They don't need that many. If you can keep a constant flow of small numbers, maybe 50, 60, or 100 a year, they will have enough to do what they want to do," say the FBI's Mr. McGorty.

We can always tell when they get a resupply," says an RUC spokesman. Ballistics tests and detailed records enable the RUC to keep track of how many different weapons were involved in various attacks in Northern Ireland and how often the same weapons are used.

From this the RUC has concluded that at some point last year the Provisionals received a resupply of weapons.

"Certainly there has been one resupply -- possibly from America. It wasn't huge, but it was larger than the usual trickle of eight," the RUC source says.

But the overall picture as related by security sources here is that the Provisionals are beginning to feel the pinch in terms of the American source of supply. In addition they say the Provisionals are strapped for money.

"When you see one firearm turning up in four, five, or six jobs, you can be sure they are not doing well," says an Irish official in Dublin.

It is not for lack of trying.

How the IRA ships arms into Ulster

The seizure of the Irish trawler Marita Ann off the Kerry coast Sept. 29 is seen by security officials in Dublin and Belfast as a major setback for the IRA.

The fishing trawler was intercepted by Irish Navy vessels after Irish authorities received a tip that a large arms shipment was on its way from the United States.

The Marita Ann was found to be carrying seven tons of rifles, ammunition, and other military-related equipment.

The arms are believed by security officials to have been smuggled from the Boston area via a Gloucester, Mass.-registered trawler, the Valhalla. The US Customs Service and the FBI are investigating the Boston end of the Marita Ann smuggling plan.

According to the FBI's McGorty, US law-enforcement officials expected IRA gunrunners to attempt to diversify their operations outside of New York City. He says successful prosecutions and in-depth investigations in the early 1980s in New York may have convinced the gunrunners to relocate.

"They got tired of getting hit here, and we were just waiting for some incident to show that they had smartened up a little bit and moved their act out of town," Mc.Gorty says.

"So the Boston episode (the Valhalla and Marita Ann) really didn't shock us that much."

The American connection to the IRA is nothing new.

Irish rebels have maintained underground societies, fund raising, gunrunning, and support groups in the US ever since 1857, when the Fenian Brotherhood (the forerunner of the IRA) organized secretly in Paris and New York City.

By the mid-1860s there were said to be 45,000 members of the Fenian Brotherhood in the US, many of them battle-hardened from service in the American Civil War. Fenians fought on both sides of that conflict -- sometimes against each other.

They mounted two disastrous invasions of Canada in the late 1860s in an effort to take a swipe at Britain. And several large gunrunning operations failed, in part because of infiltration into the Fenian groups by British spies.

Fund-raising efforts were sporadic. But the American connection was maintained.

After the Irish civil war in the 1920s the defeated IRA leaders decided to send a lanky, 24-year-old IRA man from Tipperary to New York to organize Irish immigrants and to raise funds to support the re-arming of the IRA. That young man was Michael Flannery.

Today, Flannery, as director of Noraid, supervises the collection of what is said to be the Provisional IRA's largest source of overseas funds.

Next: Noraid vs. the laws and courts of the United States.

Graphic

Picture 1, IRA 'provos' in Ulster display US M-60 machine gun in August 1982; weapon was later taken by security forces, FILE PHOTO; Map 1, Flow of funds from US to IRA; Map 2, ARMS SEIZED; Picture 2, Trawler Valhalla tied up at Boston pier after seizure by US authorities, PETER MAIN -- STAFF

Ulster blase about violence after 14 years of 'The Troubles'

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Body

Even punk rockers cannot escape the stamp of Northern Ireland's sectarian warfare.

A shock of green hair, shellacked to stand 5 inches high like a dinosaur's spine, denotes a staunch Irishman -- and hence a Roman Catholic.

Vivid orange hair is for the Protestant "Orangeman," spiritual follower of the 17th century William of Orange who triumphed on the battlefield over Britain's Catholic King James.

"We live in tribes, really, in Northern Ireland, cut off from each other, with no idea of how Protestants live or they us," observes a Catholic cabdriver, who approaches the idea of a Protestant like some newly discovered African tribe.

"Did you know the Protestants want to build a wall between us and southern Ireland?" he asks. A gentle Irish grin lets you know a bit of blarney is at play.

There is no Berlin-style border wall yet. But in Belfast 14 years of riots and bombings have left the Protestant majority and the Catholic minority separated by a brick wall that replaced a corrugated steel fence once incongruously dubbed the "Peace Line."

The communities are polarized, imprisoned in their own neighborhoods, their own pubs, their own cultures.

West Belfast today is almost completely Catholic.

It is a place of graceless housing projects and antiquated homesteads turned into scorched slums, "fortress-style" police stations with 25-foot concrete walls topped by barbed wire, soldiers in flak jackets hiding in armored Range Rovers, walls scrawled with "Maggie the Murderer" slogans and streets with lyrical Gaelic names.

East Belfast is Protestant.

It is full of nice suburban homes, peopled by descendants of English and Scottish immigrants who subjugated the Irish. Many Protestant policemen live here, mostly in terror of Catholic attacks. The once-proud Protestant shipyards are now in decay, and so is the textile industry.

Ulster blase about violence after 14 years of 'The Troubles'

The downtown shopping district is shut off by 10-foot-high green steel gates. Before permitting access, police rifle women's purses, search cars for bombs, sometimes perform a discreet body frisk. At store entrances, women flash open their coats by habit.

The Forum Hotel, Belfast's "finest" accommodation, is fenced in, too. Guests enter through a creaky log cabin to be eyed by wary security guards -- it's been hit by 28 bombs. Catholic turf is out back, Protestant out front.

In the past 14 years, yet another period in Irish history known as "The Troubles," nearly 2,400 people have died in sectarian warfare between Catholic and Protestant, with the police and British army providing the latest targets for gunmen.

So far this year, the Royal Ulster Constabulary lists 18 deaths, compared to 16 in the same period last year. Shootings are down to 65, compared to 110 last year. But explosions are nearly double -- 75 compared to 40. Army bomb squads have defused only half as many devices - 16 compared to 30.

Protestants are still the majority with about 62.5 percent of the population. They still send their sons off to fight for Britain. Most still pledge fealty to the queen of England.

The Catholics, representing 37.5 percent of the population, still fight for union with the Irish Republic.

The two sides rarely mix. Protestant children go to state schools, Catholics to church ones. One side learns Irish traditions, Irish dancing, history with the Irish slant on the 1921 partition. The other side learns British traditions, the British version of history.

"My 13-year-old was astonished when he met his first Protestant," Christina Moira McCulloch told a mixed group of Catholic and Protestant mothers. "I remember he stared and said, 'They look the same as us.'"

Sitting around an open stove to keep warm, the mothers from Protestant Tigers Bay and Catholic New Lodge worry together about the future. Then they go home and wait for gasoline bombs to fly each weekend between the "wee lads" of their separate neighborhoods.

Both sides are angered by the world's perception of Belfast.

"There are fewer murders in Belfast than any large American city," Chief Inspector Jerry Sillery said. "Why, by comparison to Dade County, Miami, we're small beer to what's going on there. Fewer people are killed by terrorism here than by road accident."

"Belfast is a very safe city," Inspector Brian McCargo said. "There are more bombs in London and Paris than here. Spain has a worse terrorism problem, yet tourists flock there."

"I actually feel safer in Belfast than Dublin," accountant Noel Stewart said. "I'm afraid of getting mugged there, but that just wouldn't happen here. The U.S. media annoys us immensely by always showing burning buildings -- even ... when there were no burning buildings."

Yet this has been Northern Ireland's longest period of trouble in its bloody history.

It has been under direct rule from London since 1972. Of the original 24,000 British army troops sent to control sectarian warfare, some 9,500 are still on duty -- 3,500 men above regular strength.

Soon police will patrol West Belfast's fiercest Catholic strongholds in a Simba baby tank, the Rolls Royce of armored police vehicles.

The character of violence has changed. Police are the declared targets now, not people in pubs. Ten years ago there was street rioting; now there is none -- "just the odd assassination now and again," as one cabbie said. While the southern countryside is dangerous, Belfast seems oddly safe.

Ulster blaze about violence after 14 years of 'The Troubles'

People confidently go to the Grand Opera House, bombed by terrorists six years ago but now hailed as one of the best Victorian theaters in Europe. Pat's Bar on the waterfront is jammed, as is Laverys bar on Shaftesbury Square.

"It's not like Lebanon, where there's an overt conflict," said social worker Bill Hughes of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. "At least in Lebanon there's a healthy identification with both sides, Moslem and Christian. But in Northern Ireland, there's a continuum of violence, covert, unexpected.

"It's not a question of shells exploding. There's no enemy in sight. It may be your car exploding today, my car tomorrow."

Northern Ireland's people seem to have "gotten used" to the violence.

"We used to go help when we heard an explosion, at least to rubberneck. Now we walk the opposite way. We're abnormal," Hughes said.

Dr. Liz McWhirter, a psychology lecturer at Queen's University of Belfast, agreed.

"Unarguably we've all been affected," she said in her placid academic office. "It's blind madness to claim otherwise. Car searches, troops on the street, pedestrian zones where no cars are allowed for fear of bombs -- all are permanent fixtures now.

"Our social lives have been drastically altered, too. In the '70s, we went to houseparties instead of the pubs because of the bombings. Now pubs are back, but pubs for Catholics and pubs for Protestants. We've been polarized in our communities, but ironically that what's helping us cope with day-to-day life.

"Our threshold for violence has shot up. We've been desensitized. It takes something far worse to make us sit up and notice now.

"We're more exposed to potentially stressful events, but we're interpreting them as less and less as stressful ... After 14 years, abnormality has become normal. It's sad and tragic but it's less trying and stressing. It means we're coping."

Even without the violence, coping isn't easy in Northern Ireland because of grinding poverty. Social and economic conditions are the worst in the Common Market. It has the worst housing in Britain, and the highest cost of living.

Unemployment has soared to 21.5 percent -- double in just four years. In some Catholic neighborhoods it's as high as 50 percent.

Fifteen percent of Ulster's homes do not have toilets. More than a quarter of the average take-home pay goes for food, a third for electricity, gas or coal. That does not leave much for rent, taxes or pleasure. Surprisingly, people in Northern Ireland spend less on alcohol than the British do, government researchers report.

The great "hope" for Northern Ireland this year was supposed to be the New Ireland Forum, the brainchild of moderate Catholic politician John Hume, whose idea was to come up with a blueprint for peace that would appeal to both the British and the Irish.

The committee consisted of nationalist leaders from the Irish Republic and from Northern Ireland -- the main Protestant parties of Northern Ireland refused to participate. After more than a year of deliberation in Dublin, on May 2 the Forum presented a report calling for a reunited Ireland and laying out three options.

One option was a united Ireland ruled from Dublin -- an idea the Protestants flatly reject. Second was joint sovereignty with London and Dublin assuming joint control over the northern six counties. The final option was a federal Ireland, with separate parliaments in Belfast and Dublin.

Ulster blaze about violence after 14 years of 'The Troubles'

Britain's Northern Ireland Secretary James Prior said his government would be "making a constructive response" to the report but Northern Ireland Protestants, such as the fiery Rev. Ian Paisley, dubbed it "the joke of the century" and warned London in no uncertain terms against considering a united Ireland.

For Hume and his moderate Social Democratic and Labor Party, the Forum might well be a last gasp. Sinn Fein, the political wing of the outlawed **Irish Republican Army**, has been making steady headway with a "ballot bomb" strategy mixing electoral politics with violence.

The Sinn Fein challenge is the brainchild of Gerry Adams, 35, who took over from the party's old guard in November.

Adams, who sports a trim scholarly beard, herringbone-jacket look and soft broad Ulster accent, is believed by the British to be the man behind the bloody IRA campaigns in Belfast in the 1970s.

He swept to victory in West Belfast last June, earning a seat in the British Parliament with 43 percent of the Catholic vote. He has never taken his seat because Sinn Fein does not recognize Britain's supremacy.

The IRA has been plagued in the last year by shrinking money sources, informers and an American administration out to cut off the supply of arms and money.

Increasingly it has been forced to try kidnappings in the Irish Republic to finance its \$6 million annual operation. Armed robberies help, but they are "small beer to the IRA's needs," police say.

American fund-raising efforts produced about \$140,000 in 1981, but the amount has been diminishing since. Adams calls it a "shoestring".

The FBI has stopped IRA arms shipments in Europe and the United States.

"The whole logistical trail has been cut off by the FBI in the last two years," a police spokesman said. "It's a trickle situation of arms. The really big shipments are prevented from getting through."

Britain's informer or "supergrass" system -- informers who turn on former colleagues -- has hurt, too. So far, 31 people have turned, resulting in 490 people arrested on 1,350 terrorist charges. More than 130 people have been convicted and some 250 are awaiting trial.

The opposition Ulster Defense Association, the country's largest Protestant paramilitary group, commanded by Andy Tyrie, has been suffering, too.

Police crow that Tyrie's group and the illegal Ulster Volunteer Force have been "literally decimated" by informers, yet the UVF still tried to assassinate Adams in February.

Because Tyrie is on probation and forbidden to associate with known criminals at his old headquarters in East Belfast, the plump UDA commander with a cherubic face simply moved down the street and put the entrance on a side street.

"There's great confusion in the Protestant community now," Tyrie said in his swank new security-laden office equipped with TV and video.

"They don't want to get out on the streets. They say, 'Let's wait 'til the crisis comes.' But with the British and their 'drip method' of solving things, the crisis will never come.

"Adams doesn't have to look for reason to be. He's shooting members of the security forces. Shooting security forces is clean. They're seen as evil. I'm convinced that 90 percent of the Catholic community supports the idea.

"But who is the Protestant community going to attack? We can't shoot the police -- 97 percent of them are Protestant. Besides we're seen as right-wing supporters of law and order. We get easily embarrassed about breaking the law."

Ulster blase about violence after 14 years of 'The Troubles'

Britain's top minister in Northern Ireland, James Prior, is carefully optimistic as required, but he scoffs at suggestions that the Catholic population will soon reach parity with Protestants -- and that Britain can soon withdraw its troops.

"Anyone who believes there will be a unitary state in 20, 30, 40 years is not facing up to life in Northern Ireland," Prior said. "Protestants will simply not join the Republic. They would rather fight. Don't be under any illusion -- we would have a most bloody war."

Protestants on the street agree.

"Oh, maybe the IRA would win the first few days, but then the Prods (Protestants) would rip them apart," one professional said. "Remember, the Protestants have the economic power -- we hold the plug for the TV, the sewers, the electricity.

"If we have to pull in our belts, so bloody be it. We'll pull it in two notches. I'm British and you'll never convince me of a united Ireland."

GOODBYE 1990

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Body

Troubles, tragedies, the collapse of communism, peace awards and the threat of war in the Gulf — John Wright looks at the momentous events of 1990. WHEN United States President George Bush said early this year that 1989 had marked the start of a new era in world affairs, he could not have imagined to what extent or how quickly the world was about to change — for good and bad. A year ago, the world was gasping at the breaching of the Berlin Wall, the end of a bloody regime in Romania and the general collapse of communism in Eastern Europe. A year later, the world is still breathless, but this time with worry over the threat of war. It's been a breathless year in many respects, one dominated internationally by political events that were unimaginable in the 1980s, and, in Australia, by a painful slide into recession and the end of the entrepreneurial boom. The year saw Germany reunited after 45 years of division; it saw an era in British politics end with the resignation of Margaret Thatcher; it saw the world's most famous political prisoner, Nelson Mandela, freed after 27 years behind bars; it saw a deserving man honored with the Nobel Peace Prize and another lead his people against the world on a seemingly inexorable journey towards war. The political changes in Eastern Europe and in other parts of the world in 1990, including the end of the Cold War, were not achieved without pain.

QNP Mikhail Gorbachev's role in bringing the Cold War to an end earned him the 1990 Nobel Peace Prize, but his domestic reforms were accompanied by bloody ethnic conflicts in Armenia, Azerbaijan and other parts of the Soviet Union and the year ended with the Soviet economy close to disintegration, its traditional political institutions and regional affiliations in chaos. German unification, achieved incredibly less than a year after the Berlin Wall was breached, had its cost in the numbers of former East German businesses closed and jobs lost. There was economic and physical pain in other parts of Europe, too, as totalitarian communist regimes crumbled in Yugoslavia and Romania, Czechoslovakia and Poland. For everything, a price. The price of reform in South Africa in 1990 was increasing bloodshed. Nelson Mandela was released in February and the African National Congress was no longer banned in the country's accelerating march out of apartheid. But while the world talked about easing sanctions, black-on-black factional violence left hundreds slaughtered and not only white South Africans nervously pondering that country's future under black majority rule. Indian Prime Minister V.P. Singh paid the price in 1990 when continuing ethnic violence in the world's largest democracy helped force him out of office after less than a year in government. At least his demise was democratic. Rebels, revolutionaries and the generally disaffected sought less democratic solutions to their political differences in Romania, Sri Lanka, Liberia, Ethiopia, the southern Sudan, Angola, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, Israel's occupied territories and in scores of lesser-known armed conflicts around the world. The world does not yet know what price will be paid, and by whom, for Iraqi President Saddam Hussein's decision to invade Kuwait in August and his implacable determination ever since to hold on to it. On the domestic political scene, 1990 was a year of unforgettable hellos and goodbyes, a year that saw eras end both in Queensland and nationally. In February, the 46th Queensland State Parliament met with Labor occupying the government benches for the first time in 32 years. As if to emphasise the massive decline in National Party fortunes, Sir Robert Sparkes retired as party president early in the year and former National Party Premier Mike

GOODBYE 1990

Ahern left politics in May after 22 years in State Parliament. Former National Party Ministers Don Lane, Brian Austin and Leisha Harvey ended their political careers in disgrace when courts convicted them of misappropriating public money. Those who study Queensland political history will have to start a new chapter, if not a new book, with 1990. It will be seen as the year when accountability and responsibility returned to government in Queensland, a year in which the groundwork was laid for political and other reforms now introduced or yet to come: freedom of information, the end of the gerrymander, rights for homosexuals and, perhaps, four-year parliamentary terms. Federally, one of the closest general elections on record saw Labor claw its way back into power for a fourth successive term in what amounted to a massive public rejection of then Opposition Leader Andrew Peacock and his Liberal Party's policies. In a remarkable night in Australian politics, the Liberal and National parties both lost their federal leaders (Peacock resigned, Charles Blunt was defeated at the polls), and the Australian Democrats picked up support but lost its head with Janine Haines' ill-fated bid for a seat in the House of Representatives. Treasurer Paul Keating, a political high-roller, seemed destined early in the year for Bob Hawke's job, but threw the wrong dice when he told a parliamentary press gallery dinner early in December that Australia had never had a great leader. He apologised to Mr Hawke, but the damage was done. Mr Keating finished the year wondering about what might have been. In April, Australian banks started to lower their interest rates but the damage was done there, too. The following month, banks warned that worse was ahead for Australia, but it took another six months for Mr Hawke and Mr Keating to admit, finally, that the country was in a recession _ a recession, the Treasurer said, Australia had to have. By the end of the year, home loan interest rates had dropped to their lowest levels for two years _ not that that was any comfort for the 500,000 Australians out of work or for countless others whose jobs the deepening recession had put in jeopardy. Australia farewelled 1990 wondering whose predictions on the economy to trust. It was a year in which women made big news both in Australia and overseas. The Church of England voted for the ordination of female priests, Ireland got its first female president and Australia its first female state premiers in Dr Carmen Lawrence (Western Australia) and Joan Kirner (Victoria). In Belgium, eight elderly nuns made an unconventional break for freedom by selling their convent and buying a chateau and a limousine in the south of France. Pop stars Cher and Madonna said goodbye to the conventional with some ridiculous costumes and on-stage antics, Dame Joan Sutherland gave her first final farewell performance at the Sydney Opera House and Kylie Minogue's love affair with the British public took a definite downward turn. So did Margaret Thatcher's long hold on power in Britain, which came to an end in late November. In Pakistan, Benazir Bhutto also fell from power amid allegations of corruption. In Queensland, Leisha Harvey was jailed for dipping her fingers into the public till, but Imelda Marcos, on more serious fraud charges in the United States, was dealt a kinder hand in the name of justice. Along the way, the Queen Mother turned 90, Fergie lost some weight and the Queen, after knighting New Zealand cricketer Richard Hadlee, decided to cancel imperial honors for Australians, reportedly because the honors system had degenerated into an "'unseemly lottery". Her son, Prince Charles, broke an arm playing polo; Australia's richest person Kerry Packer almost lost his life doing the same thing. It was not a happy year for Australian entrepreneurs, all in all. West Australian businessman Robert Holmes a Court died aged 53, Alan Bond's empire crumbled, Christopher Skase returned from Spain to face the courts and prominent businessman George Herscu was jailed in Queensland on official bribery charges. Perth businessman Lawrie Connell topped a bad year when he was charged with corporate offences in the wake of the Rothwells bank collapse. Young Warwick Fairfax, in the year Bugs Bunny turned 50, made Australian Bunny of the Year for landing the John Fairfax media group in the hands of receivers, and international media tycoon Rupert Murdoch's News Corp group was given a vote of no confidence by worried shareholders late in the year. With television networks Seven and Ten also in receivership, it wasn't the best year for the Australian media. In 1990, the world reached a technological milestone with the launching of the US\$1500 million Hubble space telescope . . . and was promptly reminded of human fallibility with the revelation that there was a serious flaw in the main mirror, rendering the telescope virtually useless. The British marvelled at the tunnelling technology which connected their country to mainland Europe for the first time since the last Ice Age, but they resorted to a Stone Age solution to settle poll tax disagreements in the so-called Battle of Trafalgar. Queensland could have grabbed a chance to upgrade its technological profile by taking on the much-vaunted multi-function polis, but pulled out of the project in favor of South Australia. No one in Queensland cared very much since few had understood anything about the MFP concept. Queenslanders perhaps prefer technology they can come to physical grips with. They got it with red light cameras late in the year. Nature, human error and human folly exacted their inevitable and often tragic price in the world in 1990, as they do every year. In 1989, coach smashes, ballooning accidents, floods and the Newcastle earthquake dominated the local disaster news. This year, the floods returned, and they were far worse than any seen before in western Queensland and New South Wales. What

GOODBYE 1990

happened to Charleville in 1990 will never be forgotten. Australia said hello to the Christmas festive season and goodbye to 1990 with a fierce cyclone in north Queensland and bushfires in New South Wales, both reminders of nature's unpredictability and occasional random cruelty. Further afield, storms killed scores in Europe early in the year, 159 died in Scandinavia's worst ferry disaster, an estimated 50,000 died in an earthquake in north-western Iran, 1400 Moslem pilgrims perished when a tunnel collapsed in Mecca and another earthquake _ this one in the Philippines _ claimed another 1650. In May, a so-called error on the part of **Irish Republican Army** murderers left Australians Nick Spanos and Stephen Melrose gunned down in a Dutch town square. In South Africa, factional differences were blamed for the continuous, violent and utterly senseless loss of life in that nation's black townships. In the United States, 1990 was the year in which an expensive pair of jogging shoes became a death sentence for some who wore them. Not all that came out of America was bad. It gave the Soviet Union its first McDonalds store to entertain queuers in Moscow, and it gave the world four pizza-eating turtles with a penchant for martial arts. Take-away pizza restaurants liked them at least. The sporting year began on a high note with the 14th Commonwealth Games in Auckland _ the excitement and wonder of which Australian television did its best to destroy by wiring swimmer Lisa Curry-Kenny for sound in the opening and closing ceremonies. Australia's astonishing dominance of the swimming events was marred by some embarassingly uninhibited victory displays by its athletes and by countless, ""What does it feel like to win?" questions by inexperienced television reporters who should never have been allowed to conduct live poolside interviews. Australia's sporting domination over England in rugby league continued late in the year with a demolition tour by the Kangaroos, who returned home with only one loss against their name. The Wallabies made news in rugby union, too, beating the All Blacks in Wellington to end a 50-match unbeaten run by the New Zealanders. In cricket, Queensland didn't win the Sheffield Shield but local lovers of the game had something to smile about at the end of the year when Graham Gooch's England team was humiliated in a three-day thrashing by Australia in the First Test at the Gabba. There wasn't much fun in 1990 for Wally Lewis, who finally lost his rugby league crown, or for Formula One racer Alain Prost, whose last chance of winning the 1990 world championship ended in a first lap prang with arch rival and bitter enemy Ayrton Senna in the Tokyo Grand Prix. Boxer Mike Tyson came to grief in Tokyo, too, when James ""Buster" Douglas got up from the longest count in boxing history to knock him out for the world heavyweight title. There was better news in Tokyo for five-year-old gelding Better Loosen Up, which put an Australian name on the Japan Cup for the first time. Queensland's famous galloper Vo Rogue, on the other hand, had some bad luck early in the year, breaking down just a few thousand dollars short of \$3 million in career earnings. Australian golfer Wayne Grady boosted his career winnings by taking out the United States PGA championship, and a 14-year-old American, Jennifer Capriati, signed herself up for multi-million-dollar deals in a year which saw her become the youngest ever Wimbledon seed. In Italy, soccer referees bound by strict new rules for the World Cup helped reduce the event to one of the most boring competitions in international soccer history. Australia, unrepresented in the finals of the world's biggest sporting event, awarded the local television rights to SBS, the country's least accessible national broadcaster. It was a funny old world in 1990, all right. Making news in 1990, at top from left, Margaret Thatcher, Nelson Mandela, Saddam Hussein, Mikhail Gorbachev and Wayne Goss. CHEERING Germans celebrate their official reunification at the Brandenburg Gate.

Graphic

PICS OF THATCHER, MANDELA, HUSSEIN, GORBACHEV AND GOSS, AND PIC OF FLOODS AT CHARLEVILLE

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COLD-BLOODED BUTCHERY ON PARADISE ISLAND

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Body

EVEN in this blood-soaked land, where butcherings and massacres have become so commonplace that it's difficult to shock people any more, something happened this month which has sent a chill wind through the one-time paradise of Sri Lanka. Already the incident has set off a series of savage reprisal killings which people here fear might have doomed the country to a future of political violence.

Late on the afternoon of June 11, as the sun set over the Indian Ocean, whose waters lap this island nation the size of Tasmania, guerillas from the Tamil Tigers, some believed to be as young as 11, stalked through the jungles along the east coast.

Their commanders, bunkered in well-organised camps through the island, had ordered a new offensive: attacks on police stations.

It was the cold-bloodedness of what occurred at Kalmunai, a small, tranquil village which nestles among coconut palms, which has haunted many Sri Lankans

The Tigers blindfolded all 115 police, removing their watches and wallets. One by one they took them outside and made them lie face down in the dirt. One by one, each policeman was shot in the head.

According to Piyeratna Ranaweera, one of only two survivors, the women cadres laughed mockingly as each man cowered in fear as his turn came. After each one was shot, the women applauded.

Ranaweera survived only because "his" bullet passed through his earlobe. For the next two hours he lay among the pile of bodies feigning death.

Although the exact number is not yet known, because hundreds of bodies were burnt, as many as 1,000 policemen might have met a similar fate that night.

Next day, the Tamils' ethnic rival, the Sinhalese, hit back. At nearby Ampara, 28 Tamils, including children, were doused with kerosene and set alight. As they burnt, they were hacked with hoes.

In response to this, the Tamils slaughtered 32 Sinhalese at Kinniyai. Then the Sinhalese responded by forcing 39 Tamils out of a nearby hospital, with medical workers saying they believed the patients had been "necklaced" - the technique made infamous in South Africa, where a tyre is placed around a person's neck and set alight.

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In January, leading playwright Lakshman Perera disappeared, presumed dead, after he wrote a play critical of President Premadasa.

In February, popular broadcast journalist, Richard de Zoysa, was dragged from his home at 3 o'clock one morning by six men who had been drinking, including two in police uniform. The others wore black T-shirts. Government officials had suspected him of having a role in writing Perera's play.

De Zoysa's bloated body was fished out of the water near a tourist resort the next day. His mother, a respected doctor, has publicly identified a Colombo police superintendent as leader of the death squad. She has received a letter that if she pushes for charges she will also end up in the Indian Ocean.

Last December soldiers wiped out a village of 175 people suspected of sympathising with the Marxist People's Liberation Front (JVP).

Last October, a 73-year-old doctor, Gladys Jayawardene, was assassinated by a JVP death squad as she waited at traffic lights. She had defied a strike to stop supplying medicine to hospitals.

In November, television host, Sagarika Gomes, Sri Lanka's Jana Wendt, was gunned down by a death squad after becoming engaged to an army officer. Her death squad also was JVP, an organisation which employs tactics as brutal as Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge and which has declared open season on the families of soldiers.

Last year, some Tamil Tigers met in downtown Colombo for negotiations with moderate Tamil leaders. While eating biscuits, one of the Tigers became upset- he stood up and shot through the head the secretary of the Tamil United Liberation Front, Pillal Amirthaliam. In turn, bodyguards outside the house shot dead the Tiger assassin.

This week, about 100 bodies were discovered near Trincomalee. They were difficult to recognise because dogs had begun eating them. Authorities were not sure whether they were Tamils or Sinhalese.

All this in bargain-priced paradise.

Australian officials in Sri Lanka, formerly the British colony of Ceylon, have begun using a rather disturbing phrase - they talk of their fear of a series of "salutary massacres".

Salutary? The Oxford Dictionary says it means producing a beneficial or wholesome effect. Salubrious, even.

Under this scenario, they are warning of the possibility of the Tamil Tigers wiping out three or four entire villages in the north to spark a backlash in the capital, Colombo, of Sinhalese against Tamils. The world would then see images of Tamils being slaughtered, causing pressure, the Tigers would hope, for Government troops to back off from the military campaign in the north and east.

This would be a re-run of 1983, when Colombo was convulsed by racial violence - buildings were burnt, people were murdered and bombs exploded. There was effectively tacit Government support for Sinhalese vigilante mobs.

There is a long history of bloodshed in this sad country. The basic conflict is between the majority Sinhalese, who are Buddhists, and the Tamils, who make up 18 per cent of the 17 million Sri Lankans and who are Hindu.

The Sinhalese dominate the central Government and over the years have been unsympathetic to the Tamil culture - the Sinhala language has been forced on them and education and employment opportunities denied.

Until three weeks ago, there had been a cease-fire of sorts for the past year in this 18-year guerilla war. Tamil groups, including the hardline Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam - the Tamil Tigers - had been negotiating with Colombo for a political solution.

Essentially, the Tigers want an autonomous region, called Eelam, in the north and east, where Tamil communities dominate, so they can administer their own affairs.

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But peace was fragile. While the Government offered greater Tamil representation on provincial councils, it simultaneously oversaw a major transmigration program, moving thousands of Sinhalese to the north and east to dilute the Tamil majority. This heightened tensions.

There seemed some hope in March when a 50,000-strong Indian "peacekeeping force" departed after failing to crush the Tigers. Like the Americans in Vietnam, the Indians found manpower and resources do not win guerilla wars.

Even the Sri Lankan Army had begun to resent the Indian Army which arrived in 1987, and to an extent the Tigers and the Sri Lankan military had found a common enemy.

Late last year, President Premadasa softened his earlier line, which had been that negotiations could not be conducted until the Tigers laid down their arms.

Likewise, the Tigers appeared to give ground. In December they said they would renounce violence and contest elections, but only after the Constitution was amended to remove a provision that candidates swear an oath of allegiance to a unitary State. This created suspicions among Sinhalese that the Tigers still harboured ambitions of a separate State.

Negotiations foundered on this, and after yet another cease-fire broke down three weeks ago, the Government changed strategy. It declared an all-out military attack on the Tigers.

This has plunged Sri Lanka into a chasm of violence - at week's end there were estimated to be 200,000 refugees fleeing the war. At least 30,000 people were killed last year, a year in part covered by patchy cease-fires.

The human cost in this war that the world has forgotten is already staggering. Amnesty International says reports of human rights violations by Government forces reached unprecedented levels last year.

Amnesty says thousands of people "disappeared" or were executed by uniformed security forces and death squads believed to be associated with them or politicians of the ruling party. This mirrored the "criminal violence" of the JVP. Recently Amnesty has condemned the atrocities of the Tamil Tigers.

It is believed there are up to 14,000 political prisoners in Sri Lanka. One can understand therefore, why many Sri Lankans braced with fear when Defence Minister, Ranjan Wijeratne, said of the Tigers last week: "We will annihilate them."

"Annihilation" of the Tigers will not be easy. Few guerilla forces anywhere in the world are as well organised, as well supplied or as fanatical.

With up to 5,000 fighters, the Tigers come under the command of 36-year-old Velupillai Prabhakaran, described by some here as the second most powerful man in Sri Lanka next to the President.

Damascus-trained Prabhakaran said in a recent interview the Tigers had defeated the Indian Army with a combination of **Irish Republican Army** tactics in the cities and Maoist tactics in the country.

The Tigers employ a classic guerilla strategy - the stay-behind theory. The moment you are militarily overwhelmed you bury your weapons and blend in with the people.

As one of the Sri Lankan Army's top commanders, Alfred Gurusinghe, told the Herald during a tour of the front line this week: "We don't know who our enemy is. We only know once we are attacked."

In recent years the Army has sometimes levelled entire villages suspected of harbouring Tigers - but this often swelled Tiger ranks as bitter relatives vowed revenge on the Army.

For this reason, and because of enormous pressure from foreign diplomatic communities, this time the Sri Lankan Army appears, at least for the moment, to be trying to minimise civilian casualties.

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And this time, the Government is trying to win an international public relations battle, with the Army having been ordered to play it by the rules -that is, no atrocities.

While Prabhakaran is the military brains of the Tigers, Dr Anton Balasingham, is the political strategist. A former tutor at the London Polytechnic, he and his Australian wife, Adele Wilby, provide political guidance to the Tigers. Ms Wilby, a one-time nurse in Melbourne, met Dr Balasingham while she was studying in London. As with all the Tiger leadership, they have gone into hiding in the Jaffna area in the north.

Many of the Tigers are as fanatical as they are well-trained. Most wear cyanide pills around their necks in case they are cornered - young Tigers delight in pointing them out to foreign journalists as they say "Four seconds| Four seconds |"

The Tigers' arms come mainly by boat from southern India, home for 52 million Tamils, while funds come from Tamils abroad - both volunteered and forced donations, the latter particularly in London - and "taxation" levied on shopkeepers in Tiger areas.

They have built an elaborate system of bunkers, hospitals and communication networks through the jungle - around Jaffna the military for some years has effectively been confined to its barracks unless it gets Tiger approval for travel.

The Sri Lankan military, with about 35,000 troops, is having to quickly hone its guerilla-war skills. While casualties are difficult to estimate because both sides burn bodies, it appears in the past three weeks that the military has been suffering far higher casualties than the Tigers.

So where to for the land which so enchanted Portuguese, Dutch and British traders from the 16th century?

Most locals seem grim. They expect a prolonged war which will involve great costs. One diplomat predicted the Tigers would turn Jaffna into "the Stalingrad of Eelam".

If 50,000 Indian troops alongside 35,000 Sri Lankan troops could not defeat the Tigers, there are serious doubts about the impact the Sri Lankans alone will make.

Sadly, Sri Lankans seem to have accepted that violence is here to stay. One said this week that the relative peace of the cease-fire had been abnormal. "Sri Lanka is now back to normality," he said of the new violence.

Outsiders are shocked by a culture of savagery which has grown up here.

There is a South American feel to Sri Lanka - the fear people have travelling along the roads at night, the fear that the police and soldiers they see in uniform during the day may visit them as death squads at night.

Most people whose relatives disappear never take it any further - how can you go to the authorities when it is often the authorities committing the murders?

There is also a Haiti-type atmosphere here - some Canadian tourists were shocked recently when on a day trip they came across 47 human skulls on poles beside the road.

Few people are any longer seduced by the once-touted gentleness of the locals.

Says Sri Lankan journalist, Rita Sebastian: "The gentleness is a facade."

Much of Sri Lanka has been crippled. The Tigers have mined many roads, making travel treacherous, and tourism, which had been helping the troubled Sri Lankan economy, is also facing a bleak future.

The Sri Lankan Tourist Commission has been running an advertising campaign describing the country as "The Next Best Thing to Paradise".

It's unlikely to be able to use this much longer.

COLD-BLOODED BUTCHERY ON PARADISE ISLAND

WHO'S WHO IN THE CIVIL WAR

President Ranasinghe Premadasa Elected 1988.

64, from Ceylon Labour Party.

Initially, conciliatory to Tamil Tigers but in recent weeks has abandoned negotiation for military solution.

Ranjan Wijeratne, Defence Minister Like defence establishment, believed to have been critical of the President over trying to accommodate Tigers.

Has declared "all out war" on the Tigers.

Velupillai Prabhakaran 35, Supreme Commander of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (Tamil Tigers).

Acknowledged by all sides as a military genius.

Personally directs all Tiger operations.

Described as personally shy and somewhat politically naive.

Dr Anton Balasingham Chief Tiger political strategist.

A Tamil Marxist scholar who wrote his thesis on Freud and socialism.

Married to Australian nurse, Adele Wilby.

KEY DATES

1983 State of emergency declared as Tamils clashed with Singhalese across the country.

Press censorship imposed.

1987 50,000 Indian troops arrive to assist Government to defeat Tamil Tigers in the north and east.

Indians came as "peacekeeping force" but soon realised the military capabilities and aggression of the Tigers.

March 1990 Indian troops withdraw after losing more than 1,200 soldiers.

June 11, 1990 Tamil Tigers break cease-fire.

Colombo, the capital, scene of racial violence.

Jaffna, predominantly Tamil city.

Tamil territory, the area (north and east) the Tamils are seeking as an autonomous region.

Kalmunai, scene of Tamil massacre of police.

Kinniyai, where 32 Sinhalese were murdered by Tamils.

Trincomalee, 100 bodies discovered, partly eaten by dogs.

Graphic

Illus: A young Tamil Tiger contemplates the poison capsule he will swallow if captured. Two Tables: WHO'S WHO IN THE CIVIL WAR and KEY DATES Map: Places of violence

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End of Document

FILM:
For Brian Dennehy, Character Tells All

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Byline: B ALJEAN HARMETZ

Dateline: HOLLYWOOD

Body

Like a stranded whale, Brian Dennehy lies helplessly behind two trash cans, blood pouring down his arm. The bad guys with their big guns are only one muddy field away, but - since this is make-believe -they must wait while half a dozen people squat on quilts in front of the wounded actor, spraying new blood and shoving measuring tapes in his face.

What is surprisingly, emphatically, not make-believe is the fact that a movie studio, Orion, has decided to risk \$13 million on Brian Dennehy as the sole star of a new movie called "Street Legal."

The face is more familiar than the name. He was the agonized father whose son joins a cult in "Split Image," the bartender who consoled Dudley Moore in "10," the corrupt but good-natured sheriff who was gunned down by Kevin Kline in "Silverado," the benign leader of the aliens in "Cocoon."

Character actors are rarely at the center of the screen, and Mr. Dennehy has dreams but few illusions: "No one is saying to me, 'Brian, here's \$15 million. What do you want to make?' There's a common denominator to that kind of power. It's a fraternity, the entrance requirements to which can be found in the weekly box-office reports and nowhere else. I get a bunch of last-minute choices. 'This movie is going in six weeks. Let's try to get Dennehy.' Usually my kind of career gets to a certain point and levels off."

But the career of the New York-born actor keeps climbing. He has starred or co-starred in such \$4 million to \$6 million movies as "Belly of an Architect" and "Best Seller," in which he played a writer who was menaced by James Woods. A month ago, he got top billing and the best reviews as Gen. Leslie R. Groves, head of the Manhattan Project, in "Day One," a three-hour CBS television movie about the creation of the atom bomb. Now, as the sole star of "Street Legal" -the title is tentative - he plays a cop who refuses to be corrupted.

There is often a big difference between actors who could play a certain role and actors who would want to play it. Scripts of "Street Legal" were sent to Sean Connery and Harrison Ford, but those stars were otherwise engaged. Although a number of leading men, including Mark Harmon, were interested in the part, John Mackenzie, the director, requested Mr. Dennehy. "I needed someone of weight and authority and ambiguity," says Mr. Mackenzie, who gave Bob Hoskins his first major role in "The Long Good Friday." To everyone's surprise, Orion said yes. "Brian has a real likability factor," says Mike Medavoy, executive vice president of Orion. "He was waiting to happen. Also, women find him attractive."

FILM; For Brian Dennehy, Character Tells All

It was, however, a qualified yes. Mr. Mackenzie wanted an \$18 million budget and would have got it with Harrison Ford as his star. At \$13 million, about average for most major studio films these days, he had to tighten his belt. But, with a tight budget, Mr. Dennehy would be an asset. "Brian is ultimately dependable," says Mr. Mackenzie. "When the chips are down and you absolutely need to get the last shot of the day, Brian comes through."

It is midnight, and Mr. Dennehy stands, massive, in the shadows outside the baseball diamond on which the final shootout in "Street Legal" will take place. Earlier in the day, he was invited to a screening of scenes filmed the night before, but he didn't go.

"To be 50 years old and 40 pounds overweight and vain keeps you away from the dailies," he says.

In terms of his appeal, Mr. Mackenzie calls Mr. Dennehy "the thinking woman's actor." Silent in the moonlight, he seems as monolithic and dominating as a tree.

A few years ago Mr. Dennehy was competing against Paul Sorvino, Charles Durning and Kenneth McMillan. Now the actors who bar his way up the ladder are Bob Hoskins, Robert Duvall and Gene Hackman.

"Brian would have been better off if Gene Hackman hadn't been born," says his friend Larry Brezner, the producer of "Good Morning, Vietnam." "It would have been Brian in 'Mississippi Burning.' "

"Hackman beat me out for 'Hoosiers,' " Mr. Dennehy says. "If I was the producer and had the choice between him and me, I'd hire him every time. When you get to this stage of the ball game, you no longer have the luxury of being jealous. I can't be angry because Gene Hackman got 'Mississippi Burning.' You couldn't see a better performance. I idolize Gene Hackman. He is not a natural star, not an incandescent personality like Jack Nicholson, but he makes luminous the problems of being an ordinary man in an extraordinary situation."

Irish to the bone, Mr. Dennehy uses language the way another man might use a harp, playing arpeggios with words, spiraling syllables into the air. A history major at Columbia and a self-described "voracious reader," he all but bursts with ideas and opinions expressed in waves of perfect, parallel clauses.

Almost helplessly gregarious, he will arrange to meet a friend for dinner at a restaurant and arrive with seven people he has met along the way. "And two of those are people he's never seen before," says Mr. Brezner. "Brian's a magnet. The next thing I know he has the head waiter sitting there for the entire meal. And he'll always pick up the check."

Mr. Dennehy's St. Patrick's Day parties are legendary. He once rented a 40-foot mobile home with a driver to ferry his friends from saloon to saloon. He does not give "your typical L.A. parties where everyone sips a little white wine and goes home at 10 o'clock," he says. "At my parties, the sheriff's department comes three or four times a night."

But he is most often drunk on words. "I love having a conversation so long as it doesn't turn into a monologue which, with me, it tends to do," he says. His widowed mother puts it more matter-of-factly: "Brian was always a talker."

One of his two brothers is an F.B.I. agent, and at the moment Mr. Dennehy is enraged because of the backlash against "Mississippi Burning," a movie that fictionalizes the murder of three civil rights workers in 1964. "The director, Alan Parker, should have gotten script approval from Coretta Scott King just as Martin Scorsese should have had his script for 'The Last Temptation of Christ' approved by all the proper right-wing groups," Mr. Dennehy says caustically.

"In 1962, I was stationed in the South. What Parker did so beautifully was to re-create the emotions and passions of the time on both sides. Yes, J. Edgar Hoover was a racist, and the Kennedys wanted no part of the civil rights movement, but that's another movie. 'Mississippi Burning' is a cop story." "Street Legal" is also a cop story. "Cops and drugs have been done interminably," says Mr. Mackenzie. The Scottish director, whose gritty melodrama "The Long Good Friday" brought the Irish Republican Army into the story of a Cockney crime boss, told Orion and John Davis, the movie's producer, "No thanks unless there's a drug connection with politics and, more specifically, with arms trading and, more specifically, with Iran-contra."

FILM; For Brian Dennehy, Character Tells All

The final script, which has the fingerprints of several writers, includes all those things. At the movie's climax, Mr. Dennehy's honest cop tells the ex-naval officer who is the chief villain: "Don't give me that patriotism junk. Every time you jerks muck around with the Constitution, you call it patriotism." (Several words have been changed to make the speech printable.) "I wrote that line," says Mr. Dennehy. "I think we have lost something in this country, the sense that there is such a thing as objective good and objective evil. Today, corruption is when you get caught. If everything is subjective, there cannot be any such things as cruelty, as ingratitude or selfishness. Call me old-fashioned, but I believe that morality is not just a matter of opinion."

A lapsed Catholic, he mourns the sense of order and the sense of sin that religion brought, although he does not mourn the rigidity. "I'm one of the lucky ones," he says. "I have a replacement, and that's art."

"I like living well. I'm an American, too. I want to get paid as much as I can, but if my work had become a way to make more and more money and finding more exotic ways of spending the money, I'd be bored out of my skull."

It is usually only in the theater that he is allowed to "scratch that particular itch" of art, in challenging roles such as "Galileo" at the Goodman Theater in Chicago and Lopakhin in Peter Brook's recent production of Chekhov's "Cherry Orchard" at the Brooklyn Academy of Music. Mr. Dennehy has probably made his biggest impression on film as Walter in "Cocoon." He says he played the brilliant alien as "Mr. Rogers writ large, the most benign kindergarten teacher" for earthlings, who has carefully taken human form "but missed details like the fact that humans don't wear jackets during the day in Florida."

Mr. Dennehy came late to acting. "To be an Irish Catholic kid in Queens in the 1940's meant acting wasn't a possibility," he says. So he spurned the idea, even though one of his teachers at Chaminade High School had encouraged him.

"You went to a high school where Senator Joe McCarthy was the hero, and then you went to work which didn't mean knocking on doors with photographs in your hands."

His father was a correspondent for the Associated Press. "An extremely curious child in an environment that didn't appreciate curiosity," Mr. Dennehy made himself into a football player. "Periodically in my life I like to submit myself to some kind of test that is not self-imposed," he says. "At 13, I was a big, totally uncoordinated, hopeless football player. I responded to somebody else's rules, and I stayed just good enough to get a scholarship to Columbia, which was looking for scholar-athletes."

Decades later, when Mr. Dennehy won a role in "Gorky Park," the movie's star, William Hurt, told him that he had too much talent to be so casual about acting. "I had fallen into a pattern of being honorable mention," says Mr. Dennehy, who was an honorable mention all-Ivy League tackle. What should go on my gravestone is 'Brian Dennehy: Honorable mention, third string.' "

At 21, with no vocation, he "needed a place where I could be lost for a while" and found it in the Marine Corps. "I knew I had become flabby, though not in a physical sense. Why not take the big test?"

He joined the Marines, married, had a few kids and went to Vietnam. "I was furniture over there," he says. "I was lucky furniture. My wounds were superficial and my experience in Vietnam was superficial. I had no war to speak of."

Recovered from a concussion and shrapnel wounds, he came home to three daughters and a job as the driver of a meat truck. "From 1965 to 1974 I served the best possible apprenticeship for an actor," he says. "I learned firsthand how a truck driver lives, what a bartender does, how a salesman thinks. I had to make a life inside those jobs, not just pretend."

In 1974, he separated from his wife. A few years earlier, he had decided that since he was never going to be a success at anything else, he might as well be serious about acting. He did luncheon theater and Off Off Broadway, and he came to California in 1977 for his first movie role, as a football player in "Semi-Tough," for \$1,000 a week for 10 weeks.

FILM; For Brian Dennehy, Character Tells All

"I thought it was all the money in the world," he says. "I had a very simple goal: to make enough money to put my kids through college, through good colleges. They had made too many sacrifices over the years."

Now one of his daughters is an actress "between jobs." His oldest daughter has a role on the soap opera "Guiding Light." The youngest is getting her doctorate in psychology. He has married again, a costume designer he met when he did a movie in Australia a few years ago.

A few weeks later, he sits in his condo overlooking the Pacific Ocean behind a wall of glass. He should be in Moscow. But three weeks of bad weather put "Street Legal" behind schedule, and he lost the chance to go to the Soviet Union with "The Cherry Orchard."

He shrugs off the loss. "I've learned never to count on anything until you're getting off the plane at the location," he says, dwarfing the wicker armchair in which he sits.

His wife, Jennifer, sits on the floor, sealing cartons. They are trading in the sands of the beach for the sands of the desert - two acres and an adobe house in Santa Fe, N.M. "You get to the point when you don't want to deal with cities anymore," he says.

There is a movie role he wants and will probably get - Horgan, the corrupted district attorney in "Presumed Innocent," to be directed by Alan J. Pakula. If there is one advantage to being a character actor, it is the richness and constancy of the work. "Every few months you begin an entirely new life in an entirely new place," he says. "You look different and you sound different." During those years of Catholic boyhood, the priests talked a lot about "the importance of surrendering to your vocation," he says, "and I was serious about becoming a priest until I discovered sex." Now his vocation has found him.

Graphic

Photo of Brian Dennehy as an upright cop in "Street Legal" (Gale M. Adler)

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COUNTERING THE THREAT OF TERRORISM

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Byline: Series by Rushworth M. Kidder

Series: UNMASKING TERRORISM. Part 5 of 5 part series. First of two articles appearing today.

Highlight: Success in reducing terrorism will involve a consistent, multifaceted strategy that includes broad-based international cooperation, efforts at resolving the domestic and international tensions that stimulate terrorism, and widespread refusal to give in to terrorists' demands.

Body

European Community nations aren't selling any more surplus butter to Libya.

Business executives abroad are turning in their highly visible limousines for modest sedans. Engineers in Massachusetts are developing a "sniffer" that can detect even the tiniest scent of explosives. United States Army bases in Germany are being guarded against intruders by loud-honking geese.

In these and other ways, Western nations are learning to counter the threat of international terrorism.

But terrorist attacks are on the rise worldwide. And few terrorists have been brought to justice. A report from the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies at Tel Aviv University in Israel notes that terrorists were captured or killed in action in only about 1 of every 10 incidents in 1984.

Authorities on terrorism generally reject the notion that terrorism can be wiped out entirely. For the immediate future, they see it as a problem to be managed, not solved. But they insist that much more can be done to control it.

From scores of interviews with terrorist experts in recent months, the following broad conclusions emerge about countering terrorism:

Diplomatic measures

"The single most important step," says Italian authority Franco Ferracuti, "is international cooperation." But such cooperation is difficult, he cautions, because nations have different traditions, laws, and economies. Intelligence services hesitate to share information, fearing leaks abroad. Courts are concerned that extradition could help bring a foreign government's political enemies home for punishment. Politicians fear that sanctions against nations backing terrorism could disadvantage their own economies.

There are differences, too, in the definition of terrorism. European nations, with a history of domestic terrorism, tend to see it as a criminal problem. But Israel, which is at war with its Arab neighbors, sees it as a form of warfare demanding a military response - a view increasingly prevalent in America.

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An international consensus is growing, however, about ways to deal with the problem. For example: the six-point statement issued earlier this month by the heads of the seven industrial nations at the Tokyo summit. Galvanized by the US bombing of Libya April 15 and the European Community decision April 21 to impose sanctions against Libya, summit leaders agreed to ban arms sales to terrorist-sponsoring nations, deny entry to suspected terrorists, improve extradition procedures, impose tougher immigration and visa requirements, and improve cooperation among security organizations.

They also agreed to impose size limits on diplomatic staffs from offending nations. Since the US bombing of Libya, Libyans have been expelled from Britain, West Germany, France, Italy, Spain, Denmark, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg.

Experts, in fact, pinpoint embassies and consulates as an essential link in the terrorism support system. "The European Community generally has been far too weak in using its rights under the Vienna Convention," says Paul Wilkinson of the University of Aberdeen.

That convention, dating from 1815, establishes rules concerning diplomatic immunity and the diplomatic pouch. Under those protections, Libya, Iran, Syria, and other terrorist-sponsoring nations have harbored terrorists, stored and transported weapons, provided false documents, and operated networks of agents ready to commit terrorist acts within a host country. There are increasing calls for rethinking these provisions.

Intelligence gathering

"The only effective way of beating terrorist activities," says Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) assistant director Oliver (Buck) Revell, "is to have intelligence on their operations, their organizations, their membership, their motives, their philosophies, their ideology."

The word intelligence, however, is an umbrella for everything from a whispered comment to a super-computer.

It covers an informer's tip in September 1984 that the Valhalla, a 77-foot trawler, would shortly leave Boston carrying seven tons of arms destined for **Irish Republican Army** (IRA) terrorists. It also covers the US spy satellites and British Royal Air Force Nimrod aircraft that tracked the ship and the transfer of arms to an Irish boat, the Marita Ann, before the Irish Navy made the interception.

Most observers agree that effective counterterrorism requires human intelligence gathering - and that overemphasis on electronic means has hampered efforts to build an effective network of human agents. Because of emphasis on the use of computers, says Reinhard Rupprecht of West Germany's Ministry of the Interior, "we are in danger of neglecting the police on the beat."

But since terrorist organizations tend to be small and highly secretive, some of the best leads come from the simplest measures. "You pay a lot of little ladies to keep their ears and eyes open (and) to send you information," says former Central Intelligence Agency chief Stansfield Turner. "The false alarm rate will be tremendous," he adds. "Hopefully, we're skilled in sifting data."

Some of that sifting is now being done through Interpol, whose central computer facility in Paris is proving useful in tracking the movements of terrorists and weapons.

Security measures

From his office in Rome, Judge Rosario Priore can look out his window at the Tiber River - through thick, bulletproof glass. One of several magistrates responsible for cracking down on the Red Brigades and other Italian terrorist groups, Judge Priore, a bachelor, lives under constant threat.

"You get used to doing everything with a bodyguard" he says, "(because) in every hideout of the Red Brigades, (the magistrates) found maps of their own houses and streets."

COUNTERING THE THREAT OF TERRORISM

Terrorism experts, while noting that physical protection by itself is not sufficient, agree that it is an essential part of the formula.

At its most expensive, protection can involve reconstructing entire buildings: The US State Department is, for example, asking Congress for \$4.4 billion to build 79 new embassies and renovate 175 others.

Airports are beefing up security measures. Once situated in open fields, they are now increasingly surrounded by high fences, sometimes illuminated (as in Belfast) by bright lights every few yards. Baggage checks, too, are becoming more thorough, with some security forces using dogs trained to sniff out explosives. New kinds of X-ray and low-level neutron radiation scanners are being pioneered for hand-luggage searches. Israeli officials routinely pass checked baggage through a low-pressure chamber, to trip pressure-sensitive bomb detonators on the ground rather than at 30,000 feet.

But with factories, airline offices, communications facilities, and power and water distribution points added to the list of possible targets, the problem of providing physical security becomes vast. Rand Corporation analyst Brian M. Jenkins, a highly regarded observer of trends in terrorism, estimates that \$21 billion is spent annually in the United States for security services and hardware - a number he sees rising to as high as \$60 billion by the end of the century.

Some experts offer a suggestion for the future: Require new facilities to take security issues into account just as they do environmental issues. "We ought to have a security impact statement on what kind of security the site offers," writes Neil Livingstone in a recent issue of *Terrorism: An International Journal*. "We do that for defense contractors, but we do not do it for basic infrastructure targets."

Legal and social measures At bottom, many observers agree that terrorism is a highly mental phenomenon. "If we're going to prevent terrorism movements from re-creating themselves in the jails, in the universities, in the society at large," says Professor Wilkinson, "we have to win the battle of ideas."

To do that, he says, Western societies need to undertake "a strengthening of democracy in all its various ramifications."

One often-cited example is the Green party in West Germany, which has a number of former terrorist sympathizers in its ranks. Party affiliation allows them to pursue their sometimes radical political philosophies through nonviolent, democratic means.

Such channels, Wilkinson says, give some people an alternative to violence, because they provide "legitimate and potentially effective (means for) altering and reforming the conditions of their own lives."

He and other scholars see several phases to countering terrorism. The first involves cutting off the recruiting process. Jerrold M. Post, a Washington-based psychiatrist, observes that "one should have a broad-ranging program designed to make the terrorist career less attractive for the alienated youth. A great deal in a constructive way could be done to demythologize (terrorism). I'm really not talking about propaganda (but about) available information."

A second phase involves what Professor Ferracuti calls "a way to redirect terrorists." Amnesty programs, used effectively in Italy, have enabled hard-line terrorists to reenter society rather than continue in the only life they may have known.

Public awareness

The central bus station in Tel Aviv is awash with humanity: old women with shopping bags, young men in short jackets, Israeli soldiers with automatic weapons, Palestinian laborers, rabbis. They have one habit in common, however: When they board a bus, they glance under the seat and in the overhead rack - checking for suspicious packages.

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Officials of the Israeli Defense Forces say that more than 80 percent of bombs in public places are dismantled, "because of the awareness of the public that there is such a thing as a suspicious object."

Such awareness is growing across Europe as well. Signs on London subways urge riders to watch for abandoned packages. Pierre Verbrugghe, director general of the National Police in France, tells of a passenger who, finding such a package on the Paris Metro recently, hurled it out the window. He did the right thing: It contained four pounds of explosives and two pounds of nails.

Such awareness extends to individuals as well as packages. Italian officials note that, after the murder of Prime Minister Aldo Moro in 1978 by the Red Brigades, terrorism in Italy began its steep decline - in part because the public, repulsed by that act, no longer kept quiet about suspicious activities.

Military and police actions

Rescuing hostages held by terrorists requires small, fast-acting commando units, such as West Germany's GSG-9, Britain's Special Air Services (SAS), and the US Delta Force.

Preempting terrorist incidents can require actions ranging from the arrest of would-be terrorists to the invasion of terrorist-sponsoring nations. Such measures rely heavily on sound intelligence, and demand sophisticated military and police operations carried out by experienced personnel.

Such measures work with varying degrees of success. The freeing of the hostages from a Lufthansa airliner hijacked to Mogadishu, Somalia, in 1977 was a stunning success for the GSG-9. But the 1980 effort to rescue US hostages held in Tehran, Iran, was a disaster, as was the attempt by Egyptian troops to recapture an EgyptAir airliner hijacked to Malta last fall.

The best sort of police action, authorities agree, is the successful preemptive measure. Ambassador Robert B. Oakley, head of the State Department's counterterrorism activities, notes that more than 120 terrorist attacks against US citizens at home and abroad were foiled in 1985.

Military and police measures, however, can also be used for retaliation - a use drawing criticism from some terrorism specialists. One difficulty, says Dr. Post, is that terrorist groups often consist of "troubled individuals who have a hard time working together cooperatively." Retaliation, far from deterring future action, may solidify a previously unstable group.

Controlling arms and explosives

Terrorism requires weaponry. Sometimes, as in continental Europe and Northern Ireland, the devices are homemade. Royal Ulster Constabulary officials note that bombings by IRA terrorists could be drastically reduced by one step: finding a new sort of fertilizer. Because of its high nitrogen content, the powdered fertilizer commonly used in Ireland is explosive. Packed into milk cans, it forms the powerful bombs placed by terrorists under culverts and in cars. Scientists in Britain and Ireland are said to be searching for new, nonexplosive fertilizers.

But sometimes the weapons are highly sophisticated. According to Edward C. Ezell, a weapons specialist with the Smithsonian Institution, materiel captured from the various Palestine Liberation Organization factions during a sweep into Lebanon by the Israeli Defense Forces in 1982 included 150 antiaircraft weapons; 1,193 antitank weapons; 7,507 rockets; and 51,637 mortar bombs.

So far, US, European, and Israeli security officials say they have seen little evidence of terrorist involvement in chemical or biological warfare. And while they are alert to the threat of nuclear terrorism, they see it as improbable. Nuclear devices are hard to build and almost impossible to test secretly, and their use could call forth immediate retaliation against nations suspected of sponsoring terrorism. Nor do such weapons serve the terrorists' purposes very well. "Terrorists want a lot of people watching," says Mr. Jenkins, "not a lot of people dead."

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Media self-regulation

When Muhammad Sadiq al-Tajir was discovered safe and well at a south London address Jan. 17, it was the first the world had heard about his kidnapping.

But it was not the first the press had heard of it.

Mr. Tajir, the brother of the United Arab Emirates' ambassador to London, was ransomed for \$3 million after having been kidnapped Jan. 7. But under a 10-year-old agreement between Scotland Yard and the British press, no word of his kidnapping was published until it was resolved, although editors were kept informed along the way.

Keeping kidnappings out of the news, both editors and police officials say, seems to help keep the crime from spreading. Britain's rate of kidnapping for ransom, eight cases in 11 years, is very small compared with rates for West Germany, Italy, or Spain.

Such regulations can backfire, of course. When British television stations carried a picture of a Greek child returned unharmed after a kidnapping, one woman phoned the British Broadcasting Corporation to say that the picture should have been broadcast earlier: She had seen the child playing outdoors at a neighboring house, where there were usually no children.

Most observers feel strongly that state censorship is an anathema. Many, however, feel that the media must engage in self-regulation. Television journalists and news executives interviewed for this series spoke of common problems in covering terrorism. So far, however, no international forum has been devised to bring journalists together to discuss them.

Maintaining public composure

Finally, experts point out that terrorism needs to be kept in perspective. "Don't panic," says the FBI's Mr. Revell; "don't let the notoriety reach a state of hysteria. (Terrorism) is an important phenomenon. But it is not threatening the American way of life or the Western democracies, and it won't as long as we don't let it. But if we let it, it causes us to develop a siege mentality and almost unilaterally curtails our own freedom." Wilkinson, after years of teaching university students who have been roughly the same age as many terrorists, puts the emphasis on prevention rather than cure. "We have to win the battle in the classrooms and in the seminars, just as we have to in the political hustings - not by crude propaganda and counter-ideology, but by opening people's minds to other ideas and showing them how to criticize and how to grow intellectually." "The open society," he concludes, "is the best antidote to terrorism."

NEW BOOKS ON TERRORISM

* Cline, Ray S., and Yonah Alexander. *Terrorism as State-Sponsored Covert Warfare*. Fairfax, Va.: Hero Books. 1986. Two well-known terrorist experts at Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies detail the reasons for looking at terrorism as a form of war.

* Hubbard, David G. *Winning Back the Sky: A Tactical Analysis of Terrorism*. Dallas: Saybrook Publishers. 1986. A short study of skyjacking in layman's terms, written by a psychiatrist who has interviewed scores of terrorists.

* Livingstone, Neil C., and Terrell E. Arnold, ed. *Fighting Back: Winning the War Against Terrorism*. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books. 1986. Sixteen well-documented essays by various authors on ways that the United States can respond to state-sponsored terrorism; includes studies of legal, moral, diplomatic, military, and media-related issues.

* Netanyahu, Benjamin, ed. *Terrorism: How the West Can Win*. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux. 1986. Assembled by Israel's ambassador to the United Nations, these 38 mini-essays are by such well-known public figures as George P. Shultz, Daniel Schorr, Eugene Rostow, and William H. Webster.

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* Ra'anan, Uri, Robert L. Pfaltzgraff Jr., Richard H. Schultz, Ernst Halperin, and Igor Lukes, ed. *Hydra of Carnage: The International Linkages of Terrorism and Other Low-Intensity Operations*. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books. 1986. Five Tufts University professors have drawn together 18 essays by various authors, followed by 300 pages of captured documents and testimony by defectors showing the extent of state (especially Soviet) sponsorship.

* Wright, Robin. *Sacred Rage: The Crusade of Modern Islam*. New York: Simon & Schuster. 1985. A former correspondent for the Monitor, CBS News, and the Washington Post, Wright draws on her Middle East experience to paint a probing and highly readable study of the terrorism inspired by Islamic fundamentalism.

Graphic

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DE LOREAN MAY HAVE OFFERED STOCK HE DIDN'T OWN IN DEAL;

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Body

John Z. De Lorean, who former associates say used deceptive methods to build his now-shattered trans-Atlantic automotive empire, may have tried to obtain millions of dollars worth of cocaine from Federal undercover agents with stock that he was not legally entitled to transfer.

According to the Justice Department, Mr. De Lorean, who was arrested Oct. 19 and is to be arraigned Monday on nine counts of racketeering and drug trafficking, turned over 100 percent of the stock in the De Lorean Motor Company Inc. to an agent posing as a crooked bank officer.

But according to official documents and former company executives, Mr. De Lorean owned only 84 percent of the company, and there were legal restrictions that made it unlawful for him to transfer the shares to anyone.

"There was no way he could do it -he knew that he couldn't do it," asserted C. Richard Brown, who, as a vice president of the company and president of its American subsidiary, worked with Mr. De Lorean on the automobile project almost seven years before he was discharged last March.

"De Lorean," he said, "was conning the con men."

LOS ANGELES, Nov. 7 - John Z. De Lorean, who former associates say used deceptive methods to build his now-shattered trans-Atlantic automotive empire, may have tried to obtain millions of dollars worth of cocaine from Federal undercover agents with stock that he was not legally entitled to transfer. Will Plead Not Guilty

The Justice Department contends that, in an effort to save his foundering automobile company, the 57-year-old former General Motors Corporation executive agreed to serve as financier of a scheme to import 220 pounds of cocaine. Later, the Government contends, additional cocaine and heroin were to be smuggled into the country, and Mr. De Lorean was to earn a profit of \$60 million from the deal.

Mr. De Lorean, who is free on \$10 million bond, has not commented publicly about the charges, but his lawyer, Joseph Ball, said Mr. De Lorean would plead not guilty.

Mr. Ball is expected to assert that Mr. De Lorean was entrapped illegally by Federal agents who enticed him into a drug conspiracy with promises of huge profits, and then acted out an elaborate plan contrived to make him implicate

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himself. The Government denies entrapping him and says it videotaped four meetings at which Mr. De Lorean discussed the drug deal.

Mr. De Lorean and Mr. Ball declined to respond to repeated requests to discuss assertions by Mr. De Lorean's former associates.

Events Leading to Arrest

As pieced together from investigative authorities, court documents and interviews, what follows is the trail that led to Mr. De Lorean's arrest on drug charges.

The first tentative inquiries that were to end in the purchase of 220 pounds of cocaine were made in a Newport Beach, Calif., hotel on July 11, according to court documents.

Mr. De Lorean sat at the Marriott Hotel discussing his financial problems with a sympathetic friend. Mr. De Lorean, Federal officials said, had a sense that the friend, James T. Hoffman, a neighbor from Pauma Valley, a community near San Diego where the auto maker has a \$5 million home, was involved in trafficking cocaine. The sources said Mr. De Lorean approached Mr. Hoffman about the possibility of setting up a drug deal in which Mr. De Lorean would be an investor.

What Mr. De Lorean did not know was that Mr. Hoffman had become an informant for Federal narcotics agents after he was indicted by a Federal grand jury in February 1981 on charges of conspiring to import and distribute cocaine. For some time, in fact, Mr. Hoffman had been assisting agents on the trail of William Morgan Hetrick, a Mojave, Calif., pilot who the Government suspected was using his small fleet of planes to haul large amounts of cocaine and cash on a 6,000-mile circuit between California and the Cayman Islands in the Caribbean.

Mr. Hoffman took his information about Mr. De Lorean to the authorities and then introduced Mr. De Lorean to Mr. Hetrick, according to court documents and other sources.

Watched by Task Force

Mr. Hetrick, who is 50 years old, ran an aircraft service company, Morgan Aviation, out of a hangar near Edwards Air Force base, the huge flight test center in the Mojave desert. For more than two years, a joint Federal Bureau of Investigation and Drug Enforcement Administration task force had been watching him in the belief that he was a major cocaine supplier in southern California.

In that period, investigators believe, Mr. Hetrick had a passing acquaintance with John De Lorean. Federal task force members were eager to move in on Mr. Hetrick. And they were not alone in their suspicions of him. The police in the city of Ventura started their own investigation of him after receiving an anonymous tip last March that someone was transporting large sums of money to the Cayman Islands. The trail led to Mr. Hetrick and his aviation business. United States Customs agents were alerted, and when they learned of the Federal drug authorities' interest, the two investigations were merged.

Undercover Agent at Bank

The Federal Bureau of Investigation had placed an agent, Benedict J. Tisa, in an undercover role at a small savings and loan institution in the town of San Carlos, south of San Francisco. Mr. Tisa, portraying a crooked banker, James T. Benedict, had been "cooperating" with Mr. Hetrick since spring in hiding the profits from a cocaine smuggling business.

In mid-June, according to a court affidavit, Mr. Hetrick confided in "Mr. Benedict" that he was worried about inquiries the Internal Revenue Service was making into a bank account in the name of a friend, Debbie Fox. He boasted, in the words of the affidavit, that he had "a high-placed Colombian cocaine source" who was supplying him wholesale lots of 400 to 650 pounds of cocaine that he and his employees shuttled in late-night flights to Mojave. But the weak

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spot of the business was his lack of American bank contacts "who can handle cash movements and fraudulent financial transactions to conceal the true source" of the profits, the affidavit said.

Bank accounts he held on Grand Cayman Island were not adequate for his needs, Mr. Hetrick complained to the agent, adding that he had transferred \$500,000 directly to the aviation business in the last year.

PICK UP 1ST & LAST ADD

COCAINE

Meeting With Informant

By Sept. 4, the team of Federal investigators was steadily expanding the network of undercover agents that would close in on Mr. De Lorean. Mr. De Lorean met with Mr. Hoffman in Washington and was told that a "Mr. Vicenza," an established cocaine distributor, would contribute more than \$3 million toward a proposed \$5 million purchase. Mr. Vicenza was an agent of the Drug Enforcement Administration.

Mr. Hoffman proposed that a banker, "James T. Benedict," assist in the transactions. Mr. De Lorean arrived in Los Angeles Oct. 19 and went to a meeting with a "banker," a "cocaine distributor" and a friend. All were undercover operatives, and the meeting was videotaped by the authorities. On being shown a suitcase with 60 pounds of cocaine, Mr. De Lorean, according to Federal prosecutors who have seen the tape, blurted out, "This is better than gold."

After the meeting, Mr. De Lorean was arrested and taken to prison. Mr. Hetrick and another man, Stephen Lee Arrington, had been arrested the night before. Mr. Hetrick was being held in lieu of \$20 million bail; Mr. Arrington was being held on \$250,000 bail.

Achiever and Dreamer

The son of a Detroit auto worker, John Z. De Lorean rose almost to the top of one of the world's largest corporations. Then, in 1973, he spurned the money and trappings of executive success, asserting that General Motors was not socially responsible and saying he wanted to fulfill a dream of creating an innovative car outside the stifling world of Detroit.

Before long, Mr. De Lorean had become almost a mythic figure in American business, an achiever who had reached the top and had then given it up for principle and a dream.

He traveled and partied with the famous and the wealthy and persuaded the British Government to advance more than \$140 million to finance a new manufacturing plant in economically depressed Belfast, Northern Ireland, to build a sports car bearing his name.

With his achievement came money, mansions, beautiful women, private jets and an avalanche of publicity.

Associates Cite Deceptions

But like his face, which he had re-sculpted by a plastic surgeon to satisfy an obsession with youth and beauty, many things about Mr. De Lorean were not what they appeared to be, according to many people who knew him.

In lawsuits, some former associates have accused him of defrauding them of millions of dollars. Others, including former executives of De Lorean Motor, assert that he diverted money from the company for his private use. At least two former executives said that their lives were threatened by Mr. De Lorean's associate, Roy S. Nesseth, when they raised questions about what they felt were improprieties.

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Mr. Brown, the vice president of the De Lorean Motor Company and the head of its American subsidiary, along with others who were interviewed, said that if the charges of Mr. De Lorean's complicity in a drug deal were true, they did not believe that Mr. De Lorean was trying to raise money to keep the company operating. Instead, they suggested that he might have been trying to raise money to finance his style of living, which included expensive estates in California and New Jersey and an apartment on Fifth Avenue in Manhattan valued at \$3 million.

Those who doubt the Government's assertion that Mr. De Lorean was trying to save the automobile company said that if any money had been generated in a drug transaction, it would have done little to keep the company afloat. The British Government, they said, would have demanded to know where the money had originated, as would the United States Internal Revenue Service. Moreover, they said, even if the source of the any illegal revenue had been concealed effectively, creditors would have quickly lined up to put liens on the money.

In any case, the matter became moot when the British Government ordered the plant closed a few hours before Mr. De Lorean's arrest.

Money Dealings Questioned

Company documents, as well as interviews with former executives of the company, indicated that Mr. De Lorean was frequently under fire within the company for what some aides considered to be improper diversion of company money for his private use.

Harold DeWitt, who was a senior accountant at the company for three years ending in early 1980, asserted in an interview that reports filed by the De Lorean Motor Company with the Securities and Exchange Commission were "less than honest."

Although he did not say the reports were fraudulent, Mr. DeWitt asked rhetorically: "Where do you cut the fine line between 'legal' and 'not legal?' " He said that some company reports were "on the fine line." Some reports filed with the commission by De Lorean Motor, he said, listed expenditures for the company that in fact had been spent for private business projects undertaken by Mr. De Lorean.

On Dec. 26, 1980, one executive of the company sent a memo to Mr. De Lorean in which he noted that a senior financial officer of the company, Walter Strycker, had asserted that Mr. De Lorean was "milking the company for his private profit." The memo went on to say, "I am worried about what a Parliamentary inquiry will uncover about our expenditures on both sides of the ocean."

The writer of the memo, William Haddad, criticized what he said was the use of "hidden Swiss bank accounts" in the handling of the company's funds and asserted that on at least one occasion the company's books had been "altered" so that expenditures on a home used by company executives were listed as expenditures on the automobile project subsidized by British taxpayers.

Political Uproar Feared

Mr. Haddad, in his memo to Mr. De Lorean, warned that if news of Mr. De Lorean's purported diversion of British funds for his personal use reached the public it would set off a political uproar in a country beset by economic woes and might also invite an attack by the **Irish Republican Army**.

"The I.R.A. could put us on the list," the memo said. "They won't go for the factory, they will go for you. In Belfast or, just as easily, and more dramatically, here in New York. These are the stakes. That is what worries me."

All of the former executives who were interviewed attributed many of the company's problems to Mr. De Lorean's close association with Mr. Nesseth, a one-time Los Angeles used-car salesman who rose to a \$180,000-a-year position as Mr. De Lorean's right-hand man.

'Unequivocal Answer'

DE LOREAN MAY HAVE OFFERED STOCK HE DIDN'T OWN IN DEAL;

Mr. Brown called Mr. Nesseseth "John's muscle man," although "John pretends not to know anything about what he does." Mr. Brown said that when Mr. Nesseseth was hired, "I wrote John a letter and said that if Roy Nesseseth was in, I'm out; he gave me his personal, unequivocal answer that Roy Nesseseth would have no part of the company."

"If we had kept Nesseseth out, we would have survived," Mr. Brown said. He said that Mr. De Lorean left much of the day-to-day operations of the company to Mr. Nesseseth and that Mr. Nesseseth made costly decisions that helped spoil the company's chance of success. Meanwhile, Mr. Brown said, a large amount of the money that Britain had made available for the manufacturing plant was flowing out of the company's coffers without explanation, and the company's professional staff could not determine where it was going. "Between August of 1980 and February of 1982, we were doing just fine," Mr. Brown said. "We sent back (to Mr. De Lorean in New York) \$6 million, but I don't know what ever happened to it."

Says Life Was Threatened

He asserted that last March, aides to Mr. De Lorean sent agents to a New Jersey storage lot operated by the company and, without authorization, took a number of new De Lorean automobiles that Mr. Brown said were legally owned by the Bank of America because they were collateral under the company's line of credit with the bank. Mr. Brown asserted that an employee at the lot called him in California and warned him that a similar raid on cars at a company lot in Irvine, Calif., also legally owned by the bank, was planned.

Mr. Brown said he called the police in nearby Santa Ana, who prevented Mr. De Lorean's agents from taking another group of the \$26,000 cars.

Afterward, he asserted, Mr. Nesseseth called him and said: "I want you to cooperate. If you want to continue living and if you want your wife and kids to stay healthy, you'll cooperate."

Mr. Brown said that he replied: "Is that a threat, Roy?" and that Mr. Nesseseth replied, "You can call it anything you want to, and you know I can back it up."

Mr. Brown, who was dismissed two days later, said he interpreted the remark as a threat on his life. J. Bruce McWilliams, who was vice president in charge of marketing for the De Lorean Motor Company until last May, also asserted that his life had been threatened by Mr. Nesseseth.

"I couldn't work with Nesseseth," he said. "I was endeavoring to operate the company in an ethical manner. I was demanding that he (Mr. Nesseseth) not be involved in the operation of the company. John promised to remove him several times, but he never did."

Tough Language Called Bluff

Mr. Nesseseth has refused to speak to reporters who have approached him to discuss his role in operation of the automobile company. A neighbor and one of his former lawyers, however, said that they did not believe he would make a death threat seriously.

"He threatens everybody," said Jack Satterthwaite, an occasional employee of Mr. De Lorean and a neighbor of Mr. Nesseseth in Huntington Harbour, a community of expensive waterfront homes south of here. "He threatened to kill a woman in a store over rental skis; that's just his nature. He threatened to kill me for burning a steak on the barbecue."

Bernard Minsky, a Los Angeles lawyer who said Mr. Nesseseth was once one of his clients, called Mr. Nesseseth "one of the best automobile men, from the point of view of representing agencies, I've ever known in my life. He knows how to merchandise, how to advertise the cars. He's made a lot of people a lot of money. The problem with Roy is, he's hard to handle."

Notable Paperbacks

The New York Times

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Section: Section 7; Page 90, Column 1; Book Review Desk

Length: 3435 words

Byline: By GEORGE JOHNSON

Body

This list of paperbacks is a selection from the New & Noteworthy column since the December 1987 Christmas issue. It includes novels, stories, biography, memoirs, history, essays and science.

AFTER THE GARDEN, by Doris Jean Austin. (Plume/New American Library, \$7.95.) A rich black girl from Jersey City falls in love with a boy from the wrong side of the tracks.

AN ADULTERY, by Alexander Theroux. (Collier/Macmillan, \$8.95.) When Christian Ford embarks on an affair with a lost soul named Farol Colorado, he sets off a chain of betrayals that, in the end, leaves him among its victims.

AND A VOICE TO SING WITH: A Memoir, by Joan Baez. (Plume/New American Library, \$8.95.) "A peculiarly poignant and American story of how an artist addicted to the adoration of the public endeavors to recut her values and become sophisticated, if not cynical," our reviewer said.

AND THE BAND PLAYED ON: Politics, People, and the AIDS Epidemic, by Randy Shilts. (Penguin, \$12.95.) How the Government, the communications media and the leadership of the gay community let a disease become a pandemic.

ANTONIA SAW THE ORYX FIRST, by Maria Thomas. (Soho, \$8.95.) After Tanzania gains independence, the daughter of a white colonial coffee planter stays behind to work as a doctor in disintegrating Dar es Salaam.

ANYWHERE BUT HERE, by Mona Simpson. (Vintage, \$6.95.) Adele August flees a boring life in Wisconsin to make her daughter a star.

THE ARABS: Journeys Beyond the Mirage, by David Lamb. (Vintage, \$8.95.) Contrary to American stereotypes, the author writes, most Arabs are not wealthy and Palestinians are generally politically moderate members of the middle class.

Notable Paperbacks

BANDITS, by Elmore Leonard. (Warner, \$4.95.) An ex-con, an ex-cop and an ex-nun become involved with contras, Sandinistas and a Miskito Indian.

BEARING THE CROSS: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, by David J. Garrow. (Vintage, \$10.95.) "The fundament of fact on which future King biographies must rest," our reviewer said.

BECOMING A DOCTOR: A Journey of Initiation in Medical School, by Melvin Konner. (Penguin, \$7.95.) An anthropologist finds the stressful, rigorous training of medical school reminiscent of that experienced by healers in a Kalahari tribe.

BEING INVISIBLE, by Thomas Berger. (Penguin, \$6.95.) An advertising copywriter with the power to disappear exacts retribution for the assorted indignities of modern life.

BELOVED, by Toni Morrison. (Plume/New American Library, \$8.95.) A young black woman finds that after Emancipation she is still enslaved by memories of an earlier time.

BERLIN DIARIES, 1940-1945, by Marie Vassiltchikov. (Vintage, \$8.95.) A White Russian emigre's diary of the Third Reich tells of a plot to assassinate Hitler.

THE BLIND WATCHMAKER: Why the Evidence of Evolution Reveals a Universe Without Design, by Richard Dawkins. (Norton, \$7.95.) To show that God is unnecessary, a biologist programmed a computer to demonstrate a crude but spectacular form of evolution.

THE BONFIRE OF THE VANITIES, by Tom Wolfe. (Bantam, \$5.95.) An investment banker takes a wrong turn on the expressway and ruins his life.

BOTTOMS UP! A Pathologist's Essays on Medicine and the Humanities, by William B. Ober. (Perennial/ Harper & Row, \$8.95.) Historical disquisitions on such kinky arcana as flagellation and sadomasochistic influences in 16th-century madrigals.

THE BOYS OF WINTER, by Wilfrid Sheed. (McGraw-Hill, \$5.95.) A novel about literary politics and baseball in a writer's colony.

THE CHILD IN TIME, by Ian McEwan. (Penguin, \$7.95.) One Saturday morning, on a trip to the supermarket with her father, 3-year-old Kate Lewis disappears.

THE CLOSING OF THE AMERICAN MIND: How Higher Education Has Failed Democracy and Impoverished the Souls of Today's Students, by Allan Bloom. (Touchstone/Simon & Schuster, \$7.95.) Is creeping relativism eroding American society?

THE COLOR OF BLOOD, by Brian Moore. (William Abrahams/Dutton, \$7.95.) An Eastern European cardinal becomes caught in a dangerous political balancing act.

Notable Paperbacks

CONSPIRACY OF SILENCE: The Secret Life of Anthony Blunt, by Barrie Penrose and Simon Freeman. (Vintage, \$10.95.) The story of the art historian whom Prime Minister Thatcher exposed as a spy.

THE COUNTERLIFE, by Philip Roth. (Penguin, \$4.95.) Literary twists are used in this novel to explore the relationship between life and art.

CROSSING TO SAFETY, by Wallace Stegner. (Penguin, \$8.95.) Two couples, who met during the Depression, are brought back together when one of the wives is dying of cancer.

CULTURAL LITERACY: What Every American Needs to Know, by E. D. Hirsch Jr. (Vintage, \$6.95.) The author adds to his list of indispensable data.

DAM-BURST OF DREAMS: The Writings of Christopher Nolan. (Ohio University, \$9.95.) A collection of poems, short stories and plays by Christopher Nolan, the young neurologically afflicted Irishman who wrote "Under the Eye of the Clock."

THE DIARY AND LETTERS OF KAETHE KOLLWITZ. Edited by Hans Kollwitz. (Northwestern University, \$15.95.) The life of Kaethe Kollwitz (1867-1945), the German Expressionist artist.

THE ELIZABETH STORIES, by Isabel Huggan. (King Penguin, \$6.95.) In one of these stories, Elizabeth is forced to play the only male role in a ballet recital and discovers that her father really wanted her to be a boy.

ELLEN FOSTER, by Kaye Gibbons. (Vintage, \$5.95.) A novel about an abused 11-year-old girl who sets out to find a new family.

EMILY DICKINSON, by Cynthia Griffin Wolff. (Merloyd Lawrence/Addison-Wesley, \$15.95.) This psychological biography casts Emily Dickinson as a lonely woman engaged in a personal war with God.

THE END OF IDEOLOGY: On the Exhaustion of Political Ideas in the Fifties, by Daniel Bell. (Harvard University, \$10.95.) In a new afterword, the sociologist finds still more signs of the dangers that come when ideas enslave minds.

ENEMY IN THE PROMISED LAND: An Egyptian Woman's Journey Into Israel, by Sana Hasan. (Schocken, \$8.95.) A young Egyptian woman decides to see for herself what life is like in enemy land.

THE FATAL SHORE, by Robert Hughes. (Vintage, \$10.95.) Australia's vast story told with style.

FEMALES OF THE SPECIES: Sex and Survival in the Animal Kingdom, by Bettyann Kevles. (Harvard University, \$10.95.) Throughout the animal world, **females** have taken far more active roles in the evolution of the species than many scientists have assumed.

Notable Paperbacks

FIRST LIGHT, by Charles Baxter. (Penguin, \$6.95.) In a novel whose plot moves backward in time, Charles Baxter traces the lives of Hugh Welch, a car salesman, and his sister, Dorsey, an astrophysicist.

FREEDOM, by William Safire. (Avon, \$5.95.) Historical fiction about the political maneuvering behind the Civil War and the Emancipation Proclamation.

FREEDOM SONG: A Personal Story of the 1960s Civil Rights Movement, by Mary King. (Quill/Morrow, \$12.95.) A reminiscence of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

GARDENING FOR LOVE: The Market Bulletins, by Elizabeth Lawrence. Edited by Allen Lacy. (Duke University, \$9.95.) The masterwork of a celebrated garden writer.

GOING TO MIAMI: Exiles, Tourists, and Refugees in the New America, by David Rieff. (Penguin, \$7.95.) An eccentric, somewhat self-indulgent approach to an increasingly common subject.

"GROWN-UPS": A Generation in Search of Adulthood, by Cheryl Merse. (Plume/New American Library, \$8.95.) Why do so many baby boomers feel like oversized children, forever awaiting the moment when they will magically become adults?

HANDEL, by Christopher Hogwood. (Thames and Hudson, \$14.95.) "The clear biography of choice for anyone interested in one of the great figures of music," our reviewer said.

A HISTORY OF THE JEWS, by Paul Johnson. (Perennial/Harper & Row, \$10.95.) "A remarkable achievement" in chronicling how a beleaguered religion continues to triumph.

HOW I GREW, by Mary McCarthy. (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, \$8.95.) In recalling what high school and college were like, Mary McCarthy produces fact-filled "confessional writing of an intense order," our reviewer said.

HUNGER STRIKE: The Anorectic's Struggle as a Metaphor for Our Age, by Susie Orbach. (Avon, \$4.50.) A feminist analysis of anorexia.

IDOLS OF PERVERSITY: Fantasies of Feminine Evil in Fin-de-Siecle Culture, by Bram Dijkstra. (Oxford University, \$14.95.) In the 19th century, when **women** began to rebel against their roles as baby-makers, men waged psychological warfare with misogynist art and literature.

ILLUMINATION NIGHT, by Alice Hoffman. (Fawcett, \$3.95.) In a tale that begins with a mysterious annual celebration called the Grand Illumination, six denizens of Martha's Vineyard interact in unpredictable, often irrational ways.

Notable Paperbacks

IMAGINING ARGENTINA, by Lawrence Thornton. (Bantam, \$7.95.) An Argentinian discovers he has the power to imagine what has happened to the country's growing population of people who have "disappeared."

IN THE SKIN OF A LION, by Michael Ondaatje. (King Penguin, \$7.95.) A surreal, unruly novel about immigrant laborers in Canada.

INDIAN COUNTRY, by Philip Caputo. (Bantam, \$4.95.) A Vietnam veteran finds life in Michigan's remote Upper Peninsula as frightening as in "Indian Country" - G.I. slang for an area under enemy control.

INVISIBLE FRONTIERS: The Race to Synthesize a Human Gene, by Stephen S. Hall. (Tempus, \$8.95.) An intense scientific competition for knowledge, profits and fame.

INWARD BOUND: Of Matter and Forces in the Physical World, by Abraham Pais. (Oxford University, \$17.95.) A history of particle physics by the author of "Subtle Is the Lord."

THE LAST OF HOW IT WAS, by T. R. Pearson. (Ballantine, \$4.95.) The completion of T. R. Pearson's trilogy about a mythical North Carolina town called Neely.

LILLIAN HELLMAN: The Image, the Woman, by William Wright. (Ballantine, \$4.95.) Lillian Hellman's creative, adventurous, unembellished life.

THE LOCKED ROOM: The New York Trilogy, Volume Three, by Paul Auster. (Penguin, \$5.95.) The latest of Paul Auster's self-reflexive, metafictional whodunits.

LOOK HOMEWARD: A Life of Thomas Wolfe, by David Herbert Donald. Fawcett Columbine, \$12.95.) A Pulitzer Prize-winning biography.

THE MAKING OF THE ATOMIC BOMB, by Richard Rhodes. (Touchstone/Simon & Schuster, \$12.95.) This definitive history of the development of nuclear weapons won both a National Book Award and a Pulitzer Prize.

MAN OF THE HOUSE: The Life and Political Memoirs of Speaker Tip O'Neill, with William Novak. (St. Martin's, \$4.95.) A master politician tells how he learned the trade.

MANY MASKS: A Life of Frank Lloyd Wright, by Brendan Gill. (Ballantine, \$12.95.) The biography of a man who was as inventive a self-promoter as he was an architect.

ME AND DIMAGGIO: A Baseball Fan Goes in Search of His Gods, by Christopher Lehmann-Haupt. (Dell, \$3.95.) A New York Times critic contemplates the uneasy relationship between those who play baseball and those who write about it.

Notable Paperbacks

THE MEDIA LAB: Inventing the Future at MIT, by Stewart Brand. (Penguin, \$10.) Among the projects being pursued by the zealous denizens of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's Media Laboratory is an artificially intelligent newspaper.

MEMOIRS OF AN INVISIBLE MAN, by H. F. Saint. (Dell, \$4.95.) A New York securities analyst finds insider trading an easier game after a mishap in a Government-financed laboratory makes him invisible.

MEN'S LIVES, by Peter Matthiessen. (Vintage, \$7.95.) Our reviewer called this a "magnificent and somber portrait" of the fishermen of Long Island's South Fork.

MIAMI, by Joan Didion. (Pocket, \$7.95.) A meditation on Miami's community of Cuban exiles and the connections that some conspiracy theorists draw between the Bay of Pigs fiasco, Watergate, the financing of the Nicaraguan contras and the assassination of President Kennedy.

MISERY, by Stephen King. (Signet/New American Library, \$4.95.) When a best-selling author is held captive by a psychotic nurse, he discovers that torture is an effective cure for writer's block.

MORE DIE OF HEARTBREAK, by Saul Bellow. (Dell, \$4.95.) Despite his vast learning, a world authority on lichens is a miserable failure at love.

MOTHERS IN THE FATHERLAND: Women, the Family, and Nazi Politics, by Claudia Koonz. (St. Martin's, \$14.95.) Women played a disturbingly important role in the rise of the Third Reich, the author argues.

MRS. CALIBAN, by Rachel Ingalls. (Laurel/Dell, \$6.95.) An unhappy California housewife has an affair with a 6-foot-7-inch amphibian humanoid named Larry.

THE NAZI DOCTORS: Medical Killing and the Psychology of Genocide, by Robert Jay Lifton. (Basic, \$12.95.) How medical euthanasia led to Nazi genocide.

A NIGHT AT THE MOVIES: Or, You Must Remember This, by Robert Coover. (Collier/Macmillan, \$7.95.) Absurd cinematic parodies by a master of strange fiction.

A NOT ENTIRELY BENIGN PROCEDURE: Four Years as a Medical Student, by Perri Klass. (Signet/ New American Library, \$4.50.) Essays about life at Harvard Medical School.

THE OBJECT OF MY AFFECTION, by Stephen McCauley. (Washington Square/Pocket, \$6.95.) When an aspiring psychologist becomes pregnant she asks her homosexual roommate to help her raise the child.

OF LOVE AND SHADOWS, by Isabel Allende. Translated by Margaret Sayers Peden. (Bantam, \$4.50.) A novel about the terrors of Gen. Augusto Pinochet's Chile.

Notable Paperbacks

OIL & HONOR: The Texaco-Pennzoil Wars, by Thomas Petzinger Jr. (Berkley, \$4.95.) How Pennzoil, the jilted suitor in a would-be merger, exacted financial revenge.

ON GLORY ROADS: A Pilgrim's Book About Pilgrimage, by Eleanor Munro. (Thames and Hudson, \$10.95.) A writer re-enacts the pilgrimages of the Hindus, Buddhists, Jews and Christians.

ORPHANS: Real and Imaginary, by Eileen Simpson. (Plume/New American Library, \$8.95.) Combining reminiscence with psychoanalysis, Eileen Simpson writes about what it is like to feel abandoned.

PARADISE, by Donald Barthelme. (Penguin, \$6.95.) In this novel, three homeless lingerie models move in with a 53-year-old architect.

PATRIOT GAMES, by Tom Clancy. (Berkley, \$4.95.) A former Marine begins his vacation to London by saving the Prince of Wales and his family from an attack by a Maoist offshoot of the *Irish Republican Army*.

THE PEOPLING OF BRITISH NORTH AMERICA: An Introduction, by Bernard Bailyn. (Vintage, \$5.95.) The beginning book in a grand plan to trace the cultural roots of American life.

THE POLITICAL LIFE OF CHILDREN, by Robert Coles. (Houghton Mifflin, \$10.95.) How children around the world develop political and moral consciousness.

PRESUMED INNOCENT, by Scott Turow. (Warner, \$4.95.) A deputy prosecutor investigates the murder of his beautiful colleague.

PSYCHOTIC REACTIONS AND CARBURETOR DUNG, by Lester Bangs. Edited by Greil Marcus. (Vintage, \$9.95.) Essays on rock by "one of the most distinctive voices in modern popular criticism."

REBECCA WEST: A Life, by Victoria Glendinning. (Fawcett Columbine/Ballantine, \$10.95.) This biography of the novelist and journalist Rebecca West tells of her long liaison with H. G. Wells and her feud with their son, Anthony West.

THE RISE OF THE COUNTER-ESTABLISHMENT: From Conservative Ideology to Political Power, by Sidney Blumenthal. (Perennial/Harper & Row, \$9.95.) The intellectual origins of Reaganism.

SAINTS AND STRANGERS, by Angela Carter. (King Penguin, \$5.95.) The characters in these eight stories include Edgar Allan Poe, Lizzie Borden and Jeanne Duval, the alienated mistress of Charles Baudelaire.

SENT FOR YOU YESTERDAY, by John Edgar Wideman. (Vintage, \$6.95.) The third book in a trilogy about the Homewood district, a black neighborhood in Pittsburgh.

Notable Paperbacks

THE SONGLINES, by Bruce Chatwin. (Penguin, \$7.95.) The author of "In Patagonia" goes to Australia to learn the secret of invisible, mythological trails that the aborigines see running everywhere.

A SOUTHERN FAMILY, by Gail Godwin. (Avon, \$4.95.) A writer tries to understand her brother's violent death.

A SPORT OF NATURE, by Nadine Gordimer. (Penguin, \$7.95.) A powerful novel about a white South African woman who marries a black revolutionary.

STARING AT THE SUN, by Julian Barnes. (Perennial/ Harper & Row, \$7.95.) According to our reviewer, this novel about a transcendent flight to the sun is "a marvelous literary epiphany."

STORMING THE MAGIC KINGDOM: Wall Street, the Raiders, and the Battle for Disney, by John Taylor. (Ballantine, \$9.95.) How the disciples of Roy Disney, Walt's brother, won in the end.

STRAIGHT ON TILL MORNING: The Biography of Beryl Markham, by Mary S. Lovell. (St. Martin's, \$10.95.) The story of a **female** aviator whose lovers included Leopold Stokowski and Antoine de Saint-Exupery.

TENDING TO VIRGINIA, by Jill McCorkle. (Fawcett, \$4.95.) A therapeutic conversational marathon between three generations of a fictional Southern family.

THE THANATOS SYNDROME, by Walker Percy. (Ivy/Ballantine, \$4.95.) In a metaphysical thriller, a psychiatrist's patients begin acting like computers.

THAT NIGHT, by Alice McDermott. (Perennial/ Harper & Row, \$6.95.) A novel of violence in suburbia.

THIS FAR AND NO MORE: A True Story, by Andrew H. Malcolm. (Signet/New American Library, \$4.50.) With Lou Gehrig's disease crippling her muscles, Emily Bauer decided to exercise her right to die.

THURSDAY'S UNIVERSE, by Marcia Bartusiak. (Tempus, \$8.95.) An authoritative account of the quickly developing field of astronomy.

TIME WITH CHILDREN, by Elizabeth Tallent. (Collier/Macmillan, \$7.95.) Short stories about emotional kleptomaniacs, stealing affection wherever they can.

THE TOMMYKNOCKERS, by Stephen King. (Signet/ New American Library, \$5.95.) Evil comes to a small town in the form of Tommyknockers, nasty little creatures that live in a spaceship buried for eons in a writer's backyard.

TO THE SARGASSO SEA, by William McPherson. (Washington Square/Pocket, \$7.95.) A playwright finds himself less interested in the dramas he is writing than in the pornographic movie that is being filmed in a nearby apartment.

Notable Paperbacks

VEIL: The Secret Wars of the CIA 1981-1987, by Bob Woodward. (Pocket, \$4.95.) Our reviewer called this book "a penetrating, profane and sometimes brilliant portrait of what textbooks dryly call 'the intelligence community.' "

VELAZQUEZ: Painter and Courtier, by Jonathan Brown. (Yale University, \$35.) A biography that reaches "a depth that is uncommon even in the finest art criticism," our reviewer said.

THE VIRTUOSI: Classical Music's Legendary Performers From Paganini to Pavarotti, by Harold C. Schonberg. (Vintage, \$12.95.) Portraits of the giants of classical music.

WALKING DISTANCE, by Marian Thurm. (Penguin, \$6.95.) Laura, who has a seemingly happy marriage and life, finds herself falling in love with a dying man who has been watching her from afar.

WALTZING WITH A DICTATOR: The Marcoses and the Making of American Policy, by Raymond Bonner. (Vintage, \$11.95.) A journalist documents the symbiotic relationship between the Philippine dictator and American military and business interests.

WEAVEWORLD, by Clive Barker. (Pocket, \$4.95.) In a universe woven entirely in a carpet, a people called the Seerkind hide from their enemies in the outside world.

WHO GOT EINSTEIN'S OFFICE? Eccentricity and Genius at the Institute for Advanced Study, by Ed Regis. (Addison-Wesley, \$10.95.) Expert science writing about the home of Einstein, Oppenheimer, Godel and other luminaries.

WILBUR AND ORVILLE: A Biography of the Wright Brothers, by Fred Howard. (Ballantine, \$12.95.) How the Wright brothers convinced a skeptical world that their Wright Flyer was not a crackpot invention.

WILLA CATHER: The Emerging Voice, by Sharon O'Brien. (Fawcett Columbine, \$12.95.) A biography of the author whose best-known novels include "O Pioneers!" and "Death Comes for the Archbishop."

THE WISE MEN. Six Friends and the World They Made: Acheson, Bohlen, Harriman, Kennan, Lovett, McCloy, by Walter Isaacson and Evan Thomas. (Touchstone/Simon & Schuster, \$12.95.) The interwoven life stories of six powerful men.

A WOMAN NAMED DROWN, by Padgett Powell. (Owl/Holt, \$7.95.) In a novel by the author of "Edisto," the son of a millionaire manufacturer drops out of graduate school and wanders across the South.

THE WORLD AS I FOUND IT, by Bruce Duffy. (Ticknor & Fields, \$8.95.) A "sweeping arrangement of fact and fancy" about the philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein.

Notable Paperbacks

A YELLOW RAFT IN BLUE WATER, by Michael Dorris. (Warner, \$7.95.) The thrice-told tale of a Montana Indian family and its dying culture.

ZERO DB: And Other Stories, by Madison Smartt Bell. (Penguin, \$6.95.) In one of these stories, a surreally rendered college dining hall is the setting for a disconcerting encounter with a blind student.

End of Document

A case of hate // Attack on N.Y. girl, and reaction to it, stirs racial tensions

St. Petersburg Times (Florida)

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Length: 3153 words

Byline: SUSAN TAYLOR MARTIN

Dateline: WAPPINGERS FALLS, N.Y.

Body

WAPPINGERS FALLS, N.Y. - It was the Saturday after Thanksgiving, one of the busiest shopping days of the year, and few people were around when Dutchess County Sheriff's Deputy Eric Thurston pulled up at the Pavillion condominiums. Someone had reported that a person was acting strangely, and now Thurston had come face-to-face with a bizarre sight indeed.

It was a young black woman curled up in a dark green garbage bag, lying on the cold ground near Apartment 19A. The bag was pulled up to the bottom of her nose and her eyes were tightly shut. When the deputy asked what had happened, she didn't utter a sound but simply stared at him. Then her eyes rolled far back in her head.

"I've never seen a case like it," he told the Poughkeepsie Journal.

The deputy tugged at the bag and the stench from inside nearly overwhelmed him. The girl was smeared with dog feces. Big clumps of her hair had been hacked away. "KKK," "nigger" and other racial slurs had been scrawled on her body in charcoal or marker.

Over the next few days, through grunts, scribbled messages and disjointed statements, 15-year-old Tawana Brawley told a shocking story. She claimed she had been abducted at a bus stop by a young white man wearing a badge and a shoulder holster. She said she had been forced into a car and driven to the woods where six white men had raped, beaten and sodomized her over a four-day period. When a black Poughkeepsie policeman asked who had attacked her, she tugged at his badge and scrawled "white cop" on a piece of paper.

And then Tawana Brawley, on the advice of her lawyers, stopped cooperating with authorities.

In the void left by her silence has exploded one of the ugliest racial controversies of the decade. "The endless case of Tawana Brawley," as the New York Times called it last week, has become a national cause celebre, dividing white and blacks, blacks and blacks and even members of Brawley's own family. The case has rocked

A case of hate // Attack on N.Y. girl, and reaction to it, stirs racial tensions

New York's political establishment, raised questions about the fairness of the press and the criminal justice system, and further inflamed racial tensions at a time when "hate" crimes are on the increase in many parts of the country.

As the months drag on and Brawley's silence persists, her account has increasingly come into question. In many eyes, she has become a victim all over again.

"The sad part of all this is that the central issue of what happened to Tawana Brawley, her welfare, has been misplaced in the distraction caused by the political maneuvering and political posturing by everybody involved," says George Hairston, an NAACP lawyer who believes Brawley in fact was the victim of an awful crime. "The skepticism and the speculation about it will in the end diminish any chances of someone being indicted or made responsible."

With the changing seasons, physical evidence to support Brawley's story may have been lost forever. Potential witnesses may have forgotten key details or been frightened into silence. At least one suspect has died.

But if there is a lack of evidence to support Brawley's claim, there is no lack of nastiness in the rhetoric that has followed: A black minister called Gov. Mario Cuomo a "racist" and compared New York's attorney general to Adolf Hitler.

The editor of a "pro-American" newspaper in Dutchess County says Brawley is "a damn liar."

Brawley's lawyers, who have refused to let her speak to investigators, told Cuomo that "we come to you with hate in our hearts." The lawyers - both of whom are black - denounced the NAACP as the "National Association for the Advancement of Coon People."

At various points, offering little evidence to support their claims, the lawyers have charged that Brawley was attacked by a corrections officer, a part-time policeman, a mechanic, the **Irish Republican Army** and even an assistant district attorney.

"It's almost like a game show," says Lt. William McCord, acting chief of the Wappingers Falls Police Department. "People wonder what's behind the next door."

Dutchess County, home of Vassar College and birthplace of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, hardly seems the "hotbed of racism" it has been called in the past few months. Bordered on the west by the scenic Hudson River, it lies 50 miles north of New York City, far enough to retain a bucolic air yet close enough to be a weekend or vacation retreat for a growing number of city dwellers trying to escape the rat race. Housing prices have doubled in the past few years, but wages and employment are also high, thanks largely to IBM and its two giant local manufacturing plants. The company employs 22,000 of Dutchess' 261,000 residents, Tawana Brawley's mother among them.

There are no "black sections"; blacks live next to whites in the finest residential areas as well as in modest apartment complexes. The NAACP held many of its first organizational meetings in Dutchess, and Thurgood Marshall, first black justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, once lived here.

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"My feeling is that there's no (race) problem here," says McCord. "Black and whites live together and work together. These outsiders are almost trying to move civil rights back 30 years, they're trying to drive a wedge between black and white people."

But look a little further and a different picture emerges. There is not a single black or Hispanic in the 98-member sheriff's department.

There is but one black on the county's 35-member governing body. Young blacks are imprisoned at a rate 15 times higher than whites, a study found, and are far less likely to get probation if convicted of a crime.

Dean Chapman, a 26-year-old black college graduate who works for IBM, doesn't have much use for Brawley's lawyers or their tactic of noncooperation. But he doesn't have much use for the criminal justice system either.

"I think those guys are jerks but I'll be the first to criticize the system," he says. "When you look at the proportion of blacks - something like 6 percent - and you take a walk through the Dutchess County Jail, you realize the criminal justice system is geared to people who have money and the poor guy does not get justice."

Whatever happened to Tawana Brawley also took place against a backdrop of racial mistrust that stretches far beyond Dutchess County.

Blacks remember Howard Beach, the 1986 tragedy in which a black man was killed by a car as he tried to flee from a gang of whites who had attacked him and two friends.

They recall the 1984 case of the black grandmother who was shot to death by a white policeman trying to evict her from her New York City apartment. They remember other cases in which blacks and Hispanics died at the hands of white New York cops in suspicious circumstances.

And they'll never forget Bernhard Goetz, the white man who shot four black youths on a Manhattan subway train and was convicted only on minor weapons charges.

"The lack of citizenship for black America has reached a point where we can't lie about it anymore," says Dr. John Henrik Clarke, a professor of African world history at New York's Hunter College. "We cannot tell the world anymore about our great democracy and melting pot theory when there is an African nation existing within the United States that is still lacking full citizenship."

In light of such feelings, what happened in the aftermath of last Nov. 24-28 perhaps should come as no surprise.

All that is known for sure is this: On Nov. 24, Brawley, a bright, popular student at R. C. Ketcham High, skipped school to visit her boyfriend. They had met while she was a cheerleader and he was a basketball player

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for another school; now he was serving a six-month sentence in the Orange County Jail at Goshen for having fired a gun at another youth.

That night Brawley caught a bus in nearby Newburgh and asked the driver to drop her off near her family's new apartment in Wappingers Falls, a small town on the other side of the Hudson River. To those who believe Brawley's story, that is an important point because, they say, it shows she clearly intended to go home that night.

The bus driver, though, told her he couldn't deviate from his route because he had other passengers. He let her out instead on busy Route 9 about a mile from her home.

Four days later she was found dazed and filthy near the empty apartment from which her family had been evicted a few weeks earlier.

She was taken to a Poughkeepsie hospital where, her mother Glenda later complained, the staff seemed reluctant to touch her, didn't run tests to see if she had been drugged, and released her the next morning without offering any psychological counseling. All of the investigators who interviewed her were men and none was trained in dealing with alleged rape victims.

Saying they distrusted local police, her family called WCBS-TV in New York City and other media the same day she was released from the hospital. The press almost never uses the names of minors or victims of sex crimes, but in this case a 15-year-old girl quickly became one of New York's most recognizable figures.

Although it went against the paper's long-established policy, the Poughkeepsie Journal used both Brawley's name and picture in its first story on the incident. Assistant Managing Editor Mimi McAndrew said identifying the girl was "the toughest decision" she ever made, one that has been questioned since by many readers.

"My understanding was that the family felt that in order to get the real truth it was necessary to use her name," McAndrew says. "That was the major reason I said all right." But McAndrew, who has a teen-age daughter herself, said she continued to worry because "I've probably been the strongest supporter of protecting people's privacy.

Once this is all over, if it ever is, a lot of newspapers ought to sit down and figure out why they did some of the things they did."

From their comments in the Journal, local law enforcement authorities clearly seemed to doubt Brawley's account from the start.

Lt. J. J. Thompson of the Dutchess County Sheriff's Department said the hospital told him there was no evidence of semen in her body - although authorities later acknowledged that tests would not show sexual activity that had occurred a few days before.

Sheriff Frederick Scoralick said he found it "awfully odd" that her family hadn't reported her missing until the day she was found - although it turned out a report had been filed three days before.

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And Scoralick, noting that KKK had been scrawled on Brawley's chest, said "we haven't been able to find out whether it was self-inflicted."

But most people who saw Brawley soon after the incident are convinced she was the victim, not the perpetrator, of a terrible crime.

"When I did broach the subject of what had happened she immediately showed the pain of the experience through the expressions on her face," says Hairston, the NAACP attorney first called into the case by the family. "You felt like she was going to cry - I got a sense she had a deep sense of shame and it was very painful for her to talk about it."

As for the family, "it was very clear they felt the police did not take their complaints of abduction seriously, they (the police) were very skeptical and insensitive toward Tawana and they felt they were being accused themselves of being responsible for her condition."

It quickly came out that Brawley's mother had once been convicted on a grand theft charge. That her common-law husband had served seven years in prison for killing his first wife. That Brawley herself had been picked up for shoplifting although she had never been charged.

That Brawley and her stepfather had quarreled violently when she stayed out late one night, and that police had been called to the family's apartment twice since the alleged abduction when neighbors reported loud arguments.

Despite their misgivings, Hairston advised the family to cooperate with investigators but suggested that interrogations be done only under the supervision of a team of psychiatrists. But a few weeks later the family dumped Hairston and retained two other lawyers who were to change the direction of the case.

C. Vernon Mason and Alton H. Maddox had won national acclaim for their role in the Howard Beach case in Queens, N.Y. Concerned that the Queens district attorney's office would be less than vigorous in its prosecution of the whites involved, the lawyers withheld the cooperation of their clients, the two black survivors of the attack.

The gambit paid off when Gov. Cuomo agreed to appoint a special prosecutor who eventually won convictions against three white men.

Mason and Maddox felt the Dutchess County District Attorney's office had a similar lack of enthusiasm for pursuing the Brawley case, especially since the allegations involved law enforcement officers.

They noted that a 23-member county grand jury empaneled to hear evidence had not a single black woman and only two black men. They also questioned why Brawley had not been shown photos of every police and corrections officer in Dutchess County.

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("Where are you going to come up with all the pictures?")

Sheriff Scoralick asked.) The lawyers advised Brawley and her family not to cooperate with investigators. Though the tactic is controversial, one expert says they are legally and ethically justified in forcing authorities to develop evidence without relying on Brawley's testimony.

"It has happened that prosecutors not enthusiastic about handling a case simply call the victim to the stand, let him or her tell a story and let the jury decide without making any effort to bolster the victim's story with independently credible evidence," says Stephen Gillers, a professor at New York University Law School. "If there is independent, credible evidence, it helps the jury credit the victim's story. I think that's a legitimate thing to insist upon - they wanted to avoid having Tawana Brawley be the only source of her claim."

Dr. Calvin O. Butts III, pastor of the Abyssinian Baptist Church in Harlem, praises Mason and Maddox for trying to force "a new standard of justice" for black Americans.

"Howard Beach looms as an ever-present example of what must be done in order to get even a semblance of justice," Butts says. "We remember the tactics of both Mr. Mason and Mr. Maddox in that case and we now know that if it had not been for their adamant position the sentences that were handed down would not have been."

But Hairston of the NAACP sees a major difference between Howard Beach and the Brawley case. In Howard Beach, there was no question about the identity of the alleged attackers or even details of what happened; in the Brawley case, there are huge questions about both. "You can't claim (the police) aren't going to do an investigation if you are withholding evidence from them, and that's what they're doing," Hairston says. "Their approach has legitimacy only as long as they do their part in permitting Tawana to speak out and tell her part of the story. She is the only one who can tie together all the bits of evidence that have accumulated at this point."

The case dragged on through December and most of January. The Dutchess County district attorney and two special prosecutors he appointed all withdrew from the probe, citing unspecified conflicts of interest.

On Jan. 25 Brawley wrote to Cuomo: "Please help, me, governor, please help me." Two days later Cuomo appointed Attorney General Robert Abrams as special prosecutor. But her lawyers also refused to cooperate with Abrams when he appointed an assistant who, they charge, lacks experience in civil-rights cases.

Many black leaders, including presidential candidate Jesse Jackson, have expressed faith in Cuomo and Abrams. The governor has refused demands by other black leaders that he dump Abrams and appoint yet another special prosecutor. Cuomo has accused Brawley's lawyers of "a disrespect for the process of the law." The lawyers, for their part, say Cuomo "is down in the gutter."

Meanwhile, questions have arisen about Brawley's account. The New York Times discovered that she was wearing different clothes when she was found than when she disappeared. Neighbors said they heard voices coming from the family's former apartment during the time Brawley was reported missing. Her mother said she stopped by the apartment to pick up some mail shortly before Brawley was discovered there, yet, curiously, had not seen the girl.

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Dr. Lenora Fulani, a black psychologist running for president as a member of the New Alliance Party, is outraged by what she considers the blatant attempts to discredit Brawley.

"Women all over this country recognize in her the many rapes and attacks that have occurred on women that were turned inside out and the victim ended up being blamed," Fulani says. "I think the case represents the millions of women raped and brutalized by men."

Fulani has organized a march supporting Brawley to be held in Poughkeepsie today. Heavyweight boxing champion Mike Tyson, who grew up in the area, gave Brawley his diamond-encrusted Rolex watch and says he will pay for her college education. Actor Bill Cosby and magazine publisher Ed Lewis offered a \$ 25,000 reward for information on the case. A state grand jury, which replaced the disbanded county grand jury, has begun to take testimony.

As for Brawley, it's uncertain where she is. She had been staying with her uncle Matthew Strong, a police officer in Monticello, N.Y. But after Strong reportedly criticized her lawyers, the Rev. Al Sharpton - another adviser to Brawley's family - spirited her away to a still-undisclosed location.

"She's doing fine," is all the uncle will say.

Not so the people of Dutchess County. An initial wave of shock and sympathy has turned into anger and frustration that the case appears no closer to an end than it was 3 1/2 months ago. 6 "People in Dutchess are really upset," says Barbara Long, a white resident of the Pavillion apartments. "It's a nice community and it's getting a bad rap. That's what annoys me - everybody else is being bugged and she's the only one who knows anything."

Graphic

BLACK AND WHITE PHOTO; BLACK AND WHITE PHOTO, Susan Taylor Martin; BLACK AND WHITE MAP; BLACK AND WHITE PHOTO, Associated Press; Tawana Brawley; former apartment of the Brawley family in Wappingers Falls; locates Wappingers Falls in New York State; Vernon Mason, Glenda Brawley and Rev. Al Sharpton

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Thatcher Puts a Lid On Censorship in Britain

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Body

Charter 88 arrived on the newsstands of Britain with the rhetorical force of a Tom Paine tract.

"We are losing our liberties - because they do not belong to us as citizens," read the text in colorful bold print on the cover of the New Statesman & Society last December.

Inside was a two-page manifesto: The untrammelled mandate of Margaret Thatcher, the most powerful Prime Minister in England since the end of World War II, had enabled her "to menace the independence of broadcasting; to threaten academic freedom in the universities and schools; to tolerate abuses committed in the name of national security." What was urgently needed, the charter's authors declared, was a bill of rights, a written constitution that would guarantee the basic liberties on which democracy is founded: "The time has come to demand political, civil and human rights in the United Kingdom."

Among the supporters of this fiery proclamation were the novelists Martin Amis and Julian Barnes, the philosopher Sir Alfred Ayer, the playwright Michael Frayn and 250 other highly recognizable names - a significant proportion of the English intelligentsia, in fact.

But Charter 88 was more than a left-wing magazine's isolated protest. To hear people talk, England in 1988 was Prague in 1977. There was the 20th of June Group, founded last summer by a cadre of disaffected writers who convened for dinner at the home of the playwright Harold Pinter to form what the eminent barrister and novelist John Mortimer described as "a strong and sensible Opposition." There was a special issue of Index on Censorship, featuring contributions from Stephen Spender, Richard Hoggart and other distinguished commentators on the cultural scene, dedicated to the proposition that freedom was being "diminished" in the United Kingdom. There was Samizdat, a newsletter established to "challenge the divisiveness of the Government and the fear of the new of so many of its opponents."

The people may not have been ready to storm Parliament and exile Thatcher to France, as they did James II. Freedom of the press is an issue that excites the press and intellectuals more than anyone else. Yet it wasn't only the "chattering classes" (as disdainful Tory columnists refer to the Charter 88 constituency) who were up in arms. Even the glossy Illustrated London News published an article by the novelist Ludovic Kennedy in its December issue chronicling the Government's authoritarian drift: the British Broadcasting Corporation, long the showcase of British culture, was being brought to heel by attempts to censor programs hostile to Thatcher's policies; a ban on live radio or television interviews with terrorists was in effect, and Parliament was considering a revision of the Official Secrets Act that would essentially do away with the "harm," or public interest, defense, making the disclosure of Government information a crime - no matter what kind or whether disclosing it would pose a danger.

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The remarkable thing about Kennedy's enumeration of grievances was the ideological diversity of the politicians he enlisted on their behalf: Roy Hattersley, deputy leader of the Labor Party; Richard Shepherd, a Conservative Member of Parliament; even J. Enoch Powell, a former Member of Parliament not known for his liberal sentiments.

None of Kennedy's deponents was prepared to say that totalitarianism loomed on the horizon, but clearly something had gone wrong. "Liberty is ill in Britain," warned the American legal philosopher Ronald Dworkin, a professor of jurisprudence at Oxford, writing in *Index*. "The very concept of liberty - the universal, seamless idea at stake in all these separate and diverse controversies - is being challenged and corroded by the Thatcher Government."

CERTAINLY "THE INTENSIFICATION OF AUTHORITARIAN rule" that the authors of Charter 88 detected in contemporary Britain was more than a reflexive protest against the growing political power of Thatcher's "regime" - as her long tenure in office is often and without irony described, even by the Prime Minister herself. In the last few months, newspapers of every political persuasion have been obsessed with the new measures her Government has put forth, especially the Official Secrets Act reform and the protection of privacy bill now before Parliament, an attempt to crack down on the excesses of England's gossip-mongering tabloid press.

The biggest furor was over "Death on the Rock," a Thames Television documentary about three Irish terrorists who were gunned down by the Special Air Services regiment in Gibraltar in 1988. In Parliament, Thatcher denounced the program as "trial by television," and tried to have it suppressed, even threatening to suspend the network's license. After an independent inquiry largely vindicated the program's findings this winter, Thatcher rejected the report as biased and inaccurate. By the end of January, even the normally conservative Sunday Times of London was warning that "the defense of personal freedom has now slid alarmingly low in the priorities of Mrs. Thatcher's Government."

The press wasn't the only constituency under assault. Civil libertarians could point to the Public Order Act, designed to restrict the public's right to engage in political demonstrations; and, perhaps most sinister of all, a change in legal procedure that would limit a defendant's right to not testify. The purpose of this proposed amendment was to make it easier to convict terrorists unwilling to testify on their own behalf - but Home Secretary Douglas Hurd would like to see it become law throughout England, and in the end it probably will.

To an American, accustomed to the defense of individual rights afforded by the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, the power concentrated in the hands of the British Government is extraordinary. Thatcher has often expressed her belief in the rule of law; but it's Parliament that makes the laws. The right to freedom of speech can be found in England's Bill of Rights of 1689 - parliamentary free speech. One axiom I heard a lot when I was over there in December: "We're subjects. You're citizens." This difference is fundamental, inscribed in the two nations' divergent histories. The opposition to censorship affirmed by John Milton and John Stuart Mill, those classic defenders of liberty, is "sewn into Britain's banner," notes Oxford's Ronald Dworkin. But so is official tyranny. Milton's "Areopagitica" was written as a protest against a 1643 Order of Parliament requiring a license to publish. "There is, in fact, no recognized principle by which the propriety or impropriety of Government interference is customarily tested," Mill observed two centuries later.

And so it still is in England. Freedom of the press, freedom of speech - what Dworkin calls "the culture of liberty" - is just that: a culture, not a legal code. There is nothing like our First Amendment, nor does Thatcher feel the need for one. In her view, measures such as the Official Secrets Act and the protection of privacy bill are essential to the maintenance of an orderly society. "The Prime Minister does not believe that people have a right to know," contends Kevin Boyle, director of Article 19, an international organization devoted to monitoring censorship.

"The White Paper [on the Government's proposed reform of the Official Secrets Act] is talking about information on any subject," objected Richard Shepherd, writing in *The Times* of London. "E.E.C. proposals on taxation, consumer affairs, acid rain or the allocation of airline routes would be caught." In other words, only the Government can determine what constitutes a threat to it.

But what makes Thatcher so powerful has less to do with any legislation she has put forward than with the sheer force of her personality and her determination to implement her beliefs - "conviction politics," she calls them.

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England must become competitive; socialism must be "killed" (Thatcher's word); the **Irish Republican Army** must be stopped.

Indeed, it's the doings of the I.R.A., I suspect, that have impelled the Prime Minister to strengthen her hand. Governments have always been obsessed with national security: Witness the Reagan Administration's persistent attempts to subvert the Freedom of Information Act. What is happening in England now is a response to an actual enemy within. There's a war on. When Amnesty International announced its intention to monitor the I.R.A. shootings in Gibraltar, Thatcher told the House of Commons, "I hope Amnesty has some concern for the more than 2,000 people murdered by the I.R.A. since 1969." And when "Death on the Rock" was shown, she was asked by a foreign journalist if she was furious; her response, she said, went "deeper than that." The I.R.A. bombed a Brighton hotel during a Tory conference in 1984, and several Government officials were killed; Thatcher herself nearly died in the attack. England, to her way of thinking, is under siege.

WHY HAS RESISTANCE to Thatcher's repressive policies suddenly erupted with such vehemence? After all, they're nothing new. In 1983, a Government clerk who leaked to The Guardian a memorandum from the Minister of Defense that United States cruise missiles were about to be installed in England was sentenced to six months in jail. A year later, there was the notorious trial, and subsequent acquittal, of Clive Ponting, a Ministry of Defense official who gave Parliament details of a Government memo that raised questions about the sinking of an Argentinian battleship during the Falklands War.

But these were misdemeanors compared with "Spycatcher" - a synecdoche for the disastrous effort to suppress Peter Wright's best-selling memoir of his life as a spy in the British Security Service. The Crown sued to prevent publication on the ground that the book contained state secrets. The court vindicated Wright, but the Government obtained an injunction enjoining newspapers in England from any mention of the case. Last October, after years of litigation, the Law Lords - England's Supreme Court - found against the Government. The book had already been widely read all over the world, they reasoned. Thanks to this bit of legalistic casuistry, "Spycatcher" could finally be published in England.

What was it about Wright's memoir that provoked such stringent measures? To be sure, it does contain some embarrassing revelations, among them an account of the campaign (since substantiated by David Leigh in "The Wilson Plot") to discredit Prime Minister Harold Wilson as a Soviet agent and drive him from office. But, in the end, as Wright's collaborator, Paul Greengrass, says in his introduction, "Spycatcher" is "just a book," war stories "told by the fire, a drink in hand."

The Government saw it otherwise. To publish state secrets - or what were perceived as such - violated an ancient unwritten code of ethics. From the Privy Counsellor's Oath of Confidentiality, drafted in 1250 and still sworn by Cabinet ministers on bended knees before the Queen, to the Official Secrets Act of 1911, Government has required blind fealty of those in its service. The notion that a public official could be answerable to some higher authority, either moral or religious, is simply - in the English phrase - not on.

Government employees aren't the only ones who've been singled out for prosecution. Duncan Campbell, one of the most zealous investigative journalists in England, was virtually put under house arrest after he did an episode for the BBC television series "Secret Society" about an \$800 million spy satellite that the Thatcher Government had developed without informing Parliament. The Government seized film from BBC offices in Glasgow and raided Campbell's North London home.

Donald Treford, editor of The London Observer, has also run afoul of the Government. "We're a bit beleaguered," said Treford when I spoke with him in The Observer's offices. Dapper in a well-tailored dark suit, Treford scarcely seems the beleaguered sort, but he has been dragged into court on a number of occasions.

"Knowledge is an offense now," Treford lamented. "Information is Government property." It's not unusual, he says, for the Treasury Solicitor to demand that he promise not to publish certain information, otherwise he'll be served with an injunction. It has made for a contentious atmosphere: "When the Government threatens, I say, 'Well, sod them, we'll publish.'"

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If newspaper editors feel a chill in the air, television is braced for a storm. In November, the Government issued still another White Paper, on "Broadcasting in the 90's," which put forth a series of proposals that could utterly transform the "culture of television."

No one is more aware of television's potential influence than Thatcher, who has called it "the most powerful form of communication known on this planet." But until now, control of this ubiquitous medium has eluded her grasp, especially the BBC, which Roy Jenkins, the Chancellor of Oxford, includes among the nation's "four great institutions" -the others being the Church of England, the House of Lords and "the ancient universities, Oxford and Cambridge."

Even though it is subsidized by the Government, the BBC is supposed to be an independent entity, with its own editorial policy and its own board of governors. Virtually since she took office, Thatcher has struggled to subdue the network to her purposes. A decade ago she was scolding the BBC for giving publicity to Irish terrorists; when the Falklands War broke out, she objected to certain broadcasters who didn't know it was "their duty to stand up for our boys."

What exasperates Thatch-er about the BBC isn't just its independence. The way it's financed, by a licensing fee in the form of a tax on television sets, contradicts her "pay-your-own way" philosophy. In 1988, she summoned the nation's leading broadcasters to Downing Street and unveiled an innovative plan. Her vision, as The Times of London described it, was "new channels, more competition, and more efficiency." Deregulation, or "privatization" - a system of private financing - would make for "a more open and competitive broadcasting market," contended the Government's White Paper on Broadcasting.

John Birt, who took over as deputy director general of the BBC last year with a mandate to overhaul the system, was at first widely viewed as the Government's man, a television apparatchik. Despite his corporate demeanor, Birt is no company man. A few weeks earlier, he had published a stern article in The Independent opposing the ban on televised interviews with terrorists. To deny journalists the right to cover events as they saw fit, Birt argued, would undermine "some of the most cherished elements of a democratic society."

During a visit to Broadcasting House, I noted my surprise that he had come out with such a strong denunciation of the Home Office. It was "a departure," Birt conceded, but not the only instance. He reminded me that he had also resisted a Government injunction against another controversial program, "Spy in the Sky," about Zircon, the Government's controversial spy satellite. The BBC, he made it clear, would continue to be "very vigorous in wanting to assert its independence."

Whether it would be allowed to do so is another matter. As described in the recent White Paper on Broadcasting, the role of advertising would be greatly expanded. There will be open bidding for commercial television franchises, and the "eventual" replacement of the BBC licensing fee with some form of self-generated subsidy.

The networks reacted vehemently, predicting an era of game shows and soap operas. For Stuart Prebble of the Campaign for Quality Television, the White Paper was "a detailed epitaph for the television which has been the envy of the world."

But in a way, it was too late to do much more than mourn. Satellites had already been launched that would soon give viewers access to as many as 25 channels, compared with the four they receive today. For England, like it or not, the age of cable has begun. It promises to be a commercial free-for-all, but with an Independent Television Commission to oversee the "liberalized commercial television sector," and a Broadcasting Standards Council to "reinforce standards of taste and decency." Deregulation, in other words, will mean more regulation for the independents.

IT IS HAPPENING,"

Harold Pinter, a founding member of the 20th of June Group, said with quiet emphasis. We were talking in the comfortable, book-lined study of his Holland Park house. Pinter was troubled with ominous premonitions. "The country is in a much more extreme situation than is commonly realized. The power of the police to do whatever they

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like is extraordinary." England today, he maintained, has "a McCarthy period feel to it. The people are bewildered, fearful, undermined. Lost."

"Mountain Language," Pinter's new play, is a terse political allegory. The title refers to the dialect of the peasant women in the play, who have been forbidden by the authorities to speak their own language. It's a play, Pinter acknowledged, that says a good deal about what is happening in his own country.

But wasn't he himself allowed to write and say whatever he pleased? Well, yes, but there was a kind of unconscious self-censorship at work, he explained. One felt the Government there . . . lurking: "Phones are bugged. I know people who are under surveillance."

No doubt, there is an official vindictiveness emanating from Whitehall. But is it (Continued on Page 97) "the death knell of a democratic society," as Pinter contends, or merely a squabble between factions of the ruling class? To find out, I called on Lord Rees-Mogg, chairman of the Broadcasting Standards Council and former editor of The Times of London, at his antiquarian bookstore, Pickering & Chatto on Pall Mall. Lord Rees-Mogg, who is empowered to preview and prevent the showing of programs that he finds offensive, professed not to find the political climate "so very sinister. I can't remember when it wasn't so."

Indeed, what did all these dissenting writers have to complain about? They were making lots of money, Tory columnists were quick to note. They wrote whatever they pleased. Perhaps; but events of recent weeks have given renewed urgency to their cause and made it distinctly more real. Acting in response to the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's death edict against Salman Rushdie, the author of "The Satanic Verses," members of Article 19, Charter 88 and other writers' organizations convened to form an international committee for the defense of Rushdie. If there had ever been an instance of intolerable censorship, this was it.

For once, a conflict was unambiguous. When it came to the media-Thatcher feud, which side you were on seemed to matter less than whether you had a visible byline. Paul Bailey had at John Mortimer, who had at The Spectator's Paul Johnson, who had at the whole British press. Writing in The Observer, Donald Treford ended a vigorous editorial deploring the Official Secrets Act reform with a little anecdote: "Over the strawberries at Wimbledon last week, Lord Armstrong" - the Attorney General who tried the Government's case against "Spycatcher" - "said to me: 'The test of a new act is whether it is better than what went before.' " Over the strawberries at Wimbledon. . . .

I THINK THERE'LL BE massive public indifference and ridicule to the whole thing," predicted a Thatcher spokesman, responding to a question about Charter 88. The press simply doesn't have the power in England that it does in the United States; it doesn't go about its business with the same investigative zeal. The practice of leaking information from Government sources is virtually unknown. Without a mandate to challenge the information it receives, the press has become a courier between the Government and the public. The Telegraph itself, in a recent editorial, noted that journalists were "probably the most unpopular section of the community." So why bother about their problems? "Thatcher is an extremely shrewd judge of what the public cares about and what it doesn't," says Max Hastings, editor of the right-wing Daily Telegraph. "These are issues it doesn't care about."

I wondered if he wasn't right. One night, I attended a rally sponsored by the Campaign for Freedom of Information at the Friends Meeting House on Euston Road. I arrived early, expecting a noisy, passionate crowd. The auditorium was half-empty. The oratory was firm but polite. Paddy Ashdown, leader of the Social and Liberal Democrats, declared: "We have a Government that believes in 'need to know' and never in 'the right to know.' "

"Hear, hear," muttered the audience.

Listening to speech after speech in the drafty hall, I remembered something the American columnist Anthony Lewis had told me before I left: "The issues that make us rise in passion don't move the English." Which doesn't make them any less important, I thought. The essence of a democratic society, Mill argued in "On Liberty," is the right of its citizens to express unpopular beliefs, unfettered by "the moral coercion of public opinion." And freedom of the press is the means by which that right is guaranteed. Whether or not a majority of the people care about it is beside the point.

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ON MY LAST NIGHT in England, I had a drink with Bill Buford, the editor of the literary magazine Granta. We met in the Groucho Club on Dean Street, a chic-seedy bar and restaurant straight out of an Anthony Powell novel. Black-stockinged waitresses circulated among the novelists and book reviewers lounging on sofas and plush chairs. Buford, a bearded, intense American who has made Granta a significant force on the Anglo-American literary scene, recounted how it came to pass that the summer 1988 issue carried on its cover the terse headline: "Her Majesty's Government Does Not Want You to Know About the Life of Anthony Cavendish."

Cavendish was a former agent in MI6, Britain's Secret Intelligence Service (if MI5 is Britain's Federal Bureau of Investigation, MI6 is its Central Intelligence Agency). He had written a memoir about his clandestine life and submitted it to MI6, only to be threatened with a fine - perhaps even a prison sentence - if he went ahead with publication. After a long court battle, his publisher, Cassell, gave up on the project, discouraged by mounting legal fees.

A year later, Cavendish self-published 500 copies of his book as a "Christmas card" to friends and associates. The Times of London acquired a copy and reported on the contents, upon which the Government obtained an injunction against any further printing of the book in any form.

It was hard to understand what all the fuss was about. Cavendish was the prototype of the British spy, at once upper-class and faintly decadent. The story of his exploits in Germany and the Middle East was fascinating and vividly written, but largely innocuous.

The Crown was adamant. The book couldn't appear. "I testified before a Q.C. [Queen's Counsel]," Buford said, "and he completely panicked. He'd been attending the Spycatcher hearings, and he was afraid the Government would sue Viking Penguin for illegal profits on 'Spycatcher.' Basically, what he said was: 'They will go for you. They will kill you.' "

In the end, Buford went ahead and published excerpts in Granta.

As I was leaving, he gave me a copy of the Cavendish issue, and I read it on the bus out to Heathrow. Or tried to read it. Phrases, paragraphs, whole pages were blacked out. On others was a single word: CENSORED.

Graphic

Photos of Clive Ponting (John Sturrock/Network) (pg. 36); Peter Wright wrote the words to "Spycatcher" (AP) (pg. 36); Lord Rees-Morg, chairman of broadcasting Standards Council (Jonathan Player/NYT) (pg. 37); censored issue of Granta, featuring Anthony Cavendish's "Inside Intelligence" (Ted Morrison) (pg. 37)

ULSTER'S LOST GENERATION

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Body

John Conroy is a Chicago-based freelance writer. He received an Alicia Patterson Fellowship to report on the troubles in West Belfast, where he lived for more than a year. By John Conroy The first killing Sean Nolan remembers took place about 1 o'clock of an August morning 12 years ago when police opened fire on the Divis Flats housing project in Belfast. Sean was 6 years old. He remembers mattresses against the windows of the family's flat and the noise of machine-gun fire. He crept under his bed and wept. Later he learned that his playmate Patrick Rooney had been killed when a bullet passed through his head.

Today, Sean Nolan - his name has been changed so as not to incriminate him - is embarrassed to recount his childhood terror. He has seen more deaths, more shootings and many riots since then. He is part of a generation now coming of age in working-class, Roman Catholic districts in Northern Ireland that grew up throwing stones at police vans and army vehicles, taunting soldiers as they hauled off fathers and brothers in dawn raids. It is a generation without hope - with little prospect of employment and no stake in normal society. Many, like Sean, have taken to petty theft; they are known locally as the hoods.

John Conroy describes lives of generation of Northern Irish Catholics who have grown up with death and violence

Northern Ireland is not a country consumed by war. The fighting for the most part has been limited to Catholic ghettos like West Belfast, and even in such pockets, there have been occasional small reminders over the past decade of a more peaceful time. Just a year ago, for example, members of the Royal Ulster Constabulary - at least 90 percent of whom are Protestant - were able to get out of their armored jeeps and patrol parts of West Belfast without being the targets of sniper fire or petrol bombs. And last fall, for the first time in years, Educational Welfare Officers began taking truant youngsters to court.

But any such developments have been swept away in the waves of anger since last May, when Bobby Sands became the first of the ***Irish Republican Army*** inmates in the Maze Prison to starve himself to death. As successive hunger strikers died, their demands for a liberalization of prison rules refused, the Catholic populace became enraged, and riots flared.

At the center of the riots, as always, were the young hoods. They are afflicted with a very special bitterness. They are lawless, but with a moral code that accepts the disciplinary kneecappings meted out by the I.R.A. They are deeply apathetic, but they show a reckless courage, barreling through army checkpoints in stolen cars. And, in the view of some psychiatrists, they may actually have a lower incidence of mental illness than ghetto children in many other nations. The hoods of West Belfast are a dramatic illustration of the extraordinary adaptability of human beings under pressure.

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Sean Nolan is 5 feet 6 inches tall, slim, a natty dresser with a crew cut. He comes from a family of 16, two of whom have been members of the I.R.A. and have done time in jail for the movement.

Unlike many of his pals, Sean has not scarred himself with a homemade tattoo ("Mum" and "UTH" - short for "Up the Hoods"- are popular). He doesn't smoke, and he gets drunk only rarely; he sleeps 11 hours a day. By his own account, he has stolen 200 cars for the fun of it and has twice been shot at by the army in the process.

Sean's steady income is from the dole, which amounts to about \$40 a week, of which he gives \$30 to his mother for room and board. He supplements that with petty thievery. The most money he has ever had was \$160, the proceeds from the sale of whisky and cigarettes he stole from a parked car last Christmas. "I sold them in Divis," he says. "Everybody dives for things in the flats."

Some 363,000 people live in Belfast, almost a quarter of the population of all of Northern Ireland. The central shopping area, patronized by Protestants and Catholics alike, is surrounded by tall, steel fencing. Every man, woman and child who enters is frisked. Divis Flats, a housing project of gray, concrete buildings, is a few hundred yards away. It is home to 2,700 people. Many of the apartments have been vandalized and the windows boarded up. Rats scamper around the rubbish chutes late at night. Soldiers long ago put out the lights in some passageways to thwart snipers. Drunk men urinate in the dark stairwells.

Male unemployment is 22 percent for Ulster as a whole, and in Catholic ghettos like Divis Flats, the figure is twice that. According to a recent survey, 7 out of 10 heads of household are jobless. Alcoholism is rampant and child abuse is increasing. Fathers often don't know how to cope with their errant sons. "Sometimes they go overboard and beat them badly," says Colette Davison, a Belfast school psychologist, "and then they get scared and back away." Some fathers are taken off to prison, and the young boys start to act up when they are left alone with their mothers. By the time the fathers reappear, the psychologist says, the children have become teen-agers, and by then it is too late.

According to Frank Shiels, who runs a youth club in the flats, "The sense of morality has crumbled. People have virtually no drive. They take the easy way out - thieving or watching while it's done. If your friend steals something and sells it to a fence, then there are a few drinks in it for you."

Sean Nolan says he has tried getting work as a motor mechanic, but has been turned down. "When they hear you're from Divis Flats," he says, "when they hear you're a Catholic, you're hammered." He has spent little time in school over the years, but he doubts that makes much difference. "I know a whole lot of lads with good educations," he says, "and they still can't get jobs."

And so Sean joined the ranks of the hoods. They range in age from 14 to 25. A few of the older ones try armed robbery, but most go in for breaking into homes, warehouses, cars and shops. They don't indulge in the muggings and rapes so typical of many urban ghettos; women can walk the streets of Belfast without fear at all hours of the night, even in areas where the police have not dared to walk for years. It is the local shopkeeper, no longer able to get insurance, who suffers most from the hoods; one liquor store has been hit 53 times, and the proprietor ruefully suggests that he might apply to the Guinness Book of World Records.

"Invariably," says Shiels, "they get caught. Virtually every kid I work with, and I could name 70 to 80 off the top of my head, is up in court. A lot are facing long sentences. But their attitude toward life is, 'Here today, no concept of tomorrow.' It shows in everything.

"They do the most stupid things. One tried to steal the lead from the roof of the Queen Street police barracks. It wasn't that he set out to get the barracks as some sort of political act or anything like that. Kids had been stealing the lead from all the buildings up to it, and the police station was just the next in line."

Sean Nolan doesn't watch much television, but he says his favorite program is "Starsky and Hutch." He explains: "I like the way the two try to be good cops, but they're con men as well." There's one thing he doesn't like about them, though. "They never get shot dead. They're like Tom and Jerry - all kinds of things happen to that cat, but you never see that cat gettin' killed. That's what I like about John Wayne. I've seen him get killed."

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One real killing that stands out in Sean's memory happened when he was 10 years old: Four British soldiers on a routine patrol in Divis Flats were blown up in a stairwell. "Their legs were lyin' here and there," he recalls. "One was squashed against the wee railing. I felt sorry for them soldiers. Everybody felt sorry for them; a whole lot of people were crying. But they shouldn't join the army if they know things like that's gonna happen." Today the site is called the Crying Stairs. "People has seen things on them," Sean says. "Spirits or something like that. They feel different from other stairs, far different."

For the hoods, violence and danger have a special attraction. They steal cars, not for profit, but simply to relieve their boredom, and they drive the cars through army checkpoints without stopping. The soldiers, afraid that the vehicle bearing down on them contains a terrorist out to kill them, sometimes shoot at the occupants. Ten people have died in such joy rides in the last 18 months, some from bullet wounds, some in accidents. Many more have been seriously hurt.

"I think death and injury is a normal thing," says the Rev. Matt Wallace who serves a parish in West Belfast. "It is not a significant event in their lives." When a proposal to involve joy riders in a stock-car racing program was put forth last year, one Catholic bureaucrat said he didn't think the race track would provide enough excitement. "I think you'll have to have someone shooting at them as well," he said.

Sean reflects that view. "You spot a car and you want to steal it," he says. "If a car is good enough, you can't resist." And that goes even for someone who has been shot at. "It was a good lot of shots - machine-gun fire," Sean recalls. "When you see them pointin' a gun, you be scared, but when you hear the gun, you're not afraid. It's all over in five seconds." Many of his friends have been less fortunate: "We hanged about with half them ones that was shot dead. Paul Moan - 'Big Hippo' his nickname was - he was shot dead. We used to hang about with him. Another wee lad, Chico - Seamus Magill - we hanged about with him. He was shot in the shoulder; now he has a wee hump in the shoulder. You know Egger? He was shot in the lung. He got the last rites twice. Georgina Maguinness was shot dead. A wee girl like she was."

According to police reports, 1,850 cars were stolen in West Belfast last year. Sean says there may be 100 car thieves from Divis alone. He learned the technique - he says he can steal any car with a single key and a penknife - at age 15. Often, he says, he and his mates stole six or seven cars in a single night. They traded in slow cars if they saw a parked one that looked faster. When they ran out of petrol, they just lifted another car. If there was something of value in the car, so much the better; they could sell it down in the flats. They stole cars that belonged to policemen and cars that belonged to I.R.A. members. They stole cars out of parking lots near the city center and out of the driveways of houses. The only cars that were relatively exempt were Raleigh sports cars, the RS 2,000, painted white. "Those cars are unlucky," says one of Sean's pals. "A wee lad and a girl were shot in one. Once I had one and I knocked a woman down."

Adult responses to the joy riding - as to the hoods in general - have been varied. Community leaders in West Belfast have denounced the shooting of teen-agers as "summary execution," too severe a punishment for car theft. The police have tried to ram the stolen cars with armored Land Rovers and arrest the occupants, but the Land Rovers are cumbersome and slow. The joy riders often elude them and head for Divis Flats, where they are home free. They know the police don't dare leave their vehicles to give chase on foot for fear of being ambushed.

By bringing the stolen vehicles into the flats, the hoods enter the bailiwick of another armed authority, the Provisional I.R.A. The Provos, as they are called, don't care whether the hoods steal cars; they do care about actions that bring the police nosing about in West Belfast. Yet, night after night, despite being threatened with the traditional I.R.A. punishment of being shot in the knee, the hoods whizzed around the district. If death didn't stop them, why should a mere kneecapping?

Jim (Gangster) Devlin, 18, was shot in both knees and both elbows on June 8. A Provo spokesman explained: "Gangster Devlin was shot for activities that included armed robbery, hijacking cars, breaking and entering, and beating people. No one I know in Andersonstown (a West Belfast district) shed one tear when he was done."

Sean Nolan remembers "another wee lad" he used to hang about with who was shot in two elbows and two knees. "The only thing that's wrong with him now," says Sean, "is he's very thin, because he was shot that many times. He

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wasn't just shot for stealin' cars, he was shot for other things as well, but he still stole cars after that, so he did. He was a wild one. See, if I got shot, I wouldn't steal cars again."

According to police, there were 834 kneecappings in Ulster between 1973 and 1980. Most of them took place in Belfast, and roughly threequarters of them were done by Republicans, the rest by the Protestant paramilitaries, the Ulster Defense Association. It is a private matter: Catholics shoot Catholics, Protestants shoot Protestants. Some police authorities believe that the frequency of kneecappings in West Belfast varies with the attitude of the community toward the I.R.A.; when the acceptance of the Provos is high, the people have a greater tendency to bring their complaints to the organization to mete out punishment.

According to Richard McCauley, press officer of the Provisional Sinn Fein, the I.R.A.'s political wing, there are firm rules governing kneecapping. "No one is kneecapped who is below the age of 16," he says. "If he is under 16, he might get a beating. I'm not talking about breaking his arms or legs, but a beating is a beating." Before anyone is kneecapped, the press officer says, he is given a series of warnings.

McCauley says that most people are actually shot not in the knee but in the thigh. "They're in the hospital for a day or two," he says, "and they hobble around for a week after. It's more the scare that's effective than the injury itself. It's awfully frightening to sit and watch a man pointing a gun at your leg. You have to be very bad to be shot in the knee, and if you are very, very bad, you are shot in the kneecaps and elbows."

Kneecap victims have little choice but to go back to their neighborhoods, where they are intended to be limping examples for those who would stray from the straight and narrow. In a study conducted six years ago of 86 punishment shootings, Dr. James Nixon, an orthopedic surgeon at Belfast City Hospital, found that amputation occurred in about 10 percent of the cases. He estimates that one in five kneecap victims will walk with a limp for the rest of his life.

"It always crosses your mind when you see a young man on crutches," says the Rev. Matt Wallace of West Belfast. "He may have a football injury or some other problem, but you always wonder what he's been kneecapped for."

Eamon Kelly (not his real name) is a 25-year-old hood, the older brother of one of Sean's mates. Accused of theft, he was offered the choice of being kneecapped or cleaning the walkways in Divis Flats. Cleaning sidewalks was a humiliating prospect, he says, and so he chose to be shot. Eamon received compensation of \$7,400 under a British Government program that provides payments for terroristconnected injuries. Many hoods, knowing that Belfast's hospitals are world-famous for their expertise in these repairs, see a clean, nocomplications kneecapping as money in the bank.

For Eamon, there were complications. The damage to his leg was considerable, and the Government confiscated half of the ga?nt to pay what he owed in back rent and utilities. He says he and his pals drank the remaining \$3,700 in six weeks. Eamon mentions that he was punished for theft even though many I.R.A. families were buying the stolen goods from him and even though his brother had recently done time in the Maze Prison for the movement, but he supports the Provisionals, nonetheless. "Put it this way," he says. "They must have thought I needed it to keep me in line. And when you get a guy who starves himself to death, my kneecapping is nothing compared to that."

Sean Nolan says he once escaped a kneecapping only after his father pleaded for mercy. An I.R.A. man, whom Sean describes as "very polite," released the teen-ager with the promise that if Mr. Nolan didn't look after his son, the next time around both of them would be shot. Yet Sean says he doesn't fear the Provos. "Are you afraid of the American Army?" he asks. "They're your own people, aren't they? Well, I'm not afraid of the I.R.A."

Nor does Sean see much wrong with kneecapping. He even wishes it on some hoods he thinks have gone too far. "The ones I would like to see kneecapped is the young ones," he says, "because them wee ones is picking up car thieving and they can't even see over the steering wheel. They're stealing cars and running them into a wall for pure badness. They're giving us a bad name."

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Some hoods hate the Provos and are quick to point out that, while the I.R.A. defends its own right to steal cars and rob people, hoods are kneecapped for doing the same things. Clergymen and politicians also denounce the Provos whenever a young man is kneecapped. And even some I.R.A. members disapprove of the practice, but, lacking their own prison facilities, they claim they have no alternative - and some form of crime control must be exercised.

Says the Sinn Fein's McCauley: "We're talking about thousands of kids. In Divis Flats, you're talking about 9-year-olds. I've seen them sitting on the balconies absolutely drunk. You can bring them to their families and talk to their parents about it, but you're often talking about a family with six or seven children in a two-bedroom flat. Inevitably there is conflict between the parents, partly because they can't make ends meet. Despair is the only thing they really know, and the will to control their kids is just not there. What do you do?"

"The way these hoods see it, if you were kneecapped, that's something to be proud of, and if it's been done twice, that's better. They're looked up to by other hoods. It's not a very happy state of affairs because we are not dealing effectively with the problem. But you've got to do something. Our people demand that we do something."

In the other Belfast, Protestant paramilitary groups face similar demands. But while Catholics go to the Provos because they don't like or trust the Royal Ulster Constabulary, Protestants go to Andy Tyrie, head of the Ulster Defense Association, because they believe his group is sometimes more effective than the R.U.C. "A lot of times," Tyrie says, "the police can do nothing because the situation is too complicated or because they can't get the guy to sign a statement admitting he committed the crime."

Kneecappings are far less frequent in East Belfast. Tyrie inclines to give the Protestant hoods "the same punishment they gave someone else. Say they beat up somebody, the same might happen to them. For a very serious offense, say a rape or if they really beat somebody badly, they might be kneecapped." Like his I.R.A. counterparts, Tyrie professes not to like the job. "This is not a normal society," he says. "You have to instill fear in those sorts of people, but it never works if it occurs over a long period of time."

There are similarities between the hoods of the two Belfasts. They have taken to glue sniffing in about equal numbers. The truancy rates are comparable. The Protestant lads might have a little better chance of getting a job, but not by much. (The shipbuilding industry, for example, which once employed 25,000, now supports fewer than 7,000 jobs.) And hatred of the police is hardly limited to Divis Flats. The legend "SS-RUC" is scrawled on walls in Protestant areas, and the police admit that, when they go out to maintain order at soccer matches between Protestant and Catholic teams, they suffer far more abuse from the Protestant mob.

The difference between the hoods of East and West Belfast is most clearly seen in the kinds of crime they commit. The Protestant hoods don't go much beyond burglary and theft; according to Alan Darnbrook, a senior probation officer, they may have a worse record in this regard than their Catholic counterparts. But the hoods of West Belfast are singular in their devotion to danger - stealing cars, hijacking and burning trucks, rioting.

The third force for law-and-order in Belfast, the Royal Ulster Constabulary, has nothing but criticism for its irregular competitors. "Kneecappings," says a police spokesman, "originate in kangaroo courts." Yet many Protestants and Catholics who would agree with that judgment also find the constabulary's version of justice unacceptable. They point to charges of brutality made by the Police Surgeons Association and by Amnesty International. Interrogation techniques alleged to have bordered on torture have apparently been pretty much abandoned, yet controversy continues over police practices under the Emergency Provisions Act.

In Northern Ireland it is legal, under that act, to arrest someone, deny him access to a solicitor and release him at the end of a week or more without ever charging him with a crime. In fact, according to Government figures, 65 percent of the 25,000 people arrested under the act between 1970 and 1978 were never charged.

Moreover, the legislation requires that those arrested under its provisions must have some connection, at least as witnesses, to a terrorist offense. But in a recent survey conducted by the London-based National Council for Civil Liberties, two-thirds of a group of 48 people arrested under the act in the preceding six months said they had never been asked about any specific incident. They said they'd been asked, instead, about their families, about their political views and the views of their neighbors, and about where they drank and with whom. Dermot Walsh, who

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conducted the survey, has concluded that the R.U.C. never had any intention of charging these people, that its chief objective was to build up a dossier on those arrested and their neighbors.

More than a third of those in the council survey said the security forces had tried to enlist them as informers. Some said they were offered money, others that they had been threatened. A teen-ager claimed he was told that soldiers would approach him as he stood in his local pub with his friends and that the soldiers would say, "Are these the lads you were telling us about?"

These arrests, called screenings, usually occur at 6 A.M., and are made by large numbers of police in bulletproof jackets, often backed up by army units. Some people have been arrested repeatedly, presumably to keep their files up to date. A Protestant whom Walsh interviewed said he had been arrested 27 times and held for a week on several occasions, yet had never been charged.

Sean Nolan says that he has been arrested seven times, always at 6 A.M., and that he spent occasional nights in prison along the way. In the flats, such incidents are so common that they are hardly remarked upon the following day. Provisional spokesmen and community leaders claim that, once arrested, some hoods have agreed to provide information about the Provisionals in exchange for freedom from prosecution. "If the kid agrees to be an informer, the police protect him and pay him," says the Rev. Desmond Wilson, a West Belfast priest paid by the city council to work as a community organizer. "For the I.R.A.," Father Wilson says, "every young fellow brought in for a crime is a possible informer, so it is in their interest to control crime."

On June 17, the R.U.C. picked up Vincent Robinson, 29, a father of two, from his Andersonstown home. Nine days later he was shot through the head by the I.R.A. His body was found in a rubbish chute in Divis Flats. The I.R.A. claimed that Robinson had agreed to give the police information on local Republican activists, and that he was being paid \$11 per day for his services. "We would remind the public that, if arrested and taken to Castlereagh or any of the other interrogation centers, the R.U.C. will attempt to recruit them as informers," said the I.R.A.'s statement on the killing. "We would also remind the public of the inevitable and very serious consequences for anyone who agrees to cooperate with the enemy."

The Provos have very strong views on all behavior that has political implications, and hoods like Sean ignore them at their peril. It is permissible, he says, to steal from stores within the security cordon that surrounds Belfast's center - but stealing in Castle Street, a street just outside the security barriers that is patronized almost entirely by Catholics, will land you in big trouble.

Similarly, only certain kinds of hijacking are countenanced. The hoods hijack a vehicle by pretending to have a gun or by waving bricks menacingly at the driver while blocking the path of the truck. If the vehicle is commandeered in order to station it across a road as a barricade during a riot, says Sean, no Provo will complain. The problem arises with any suspicion that you are hijacking for profit.

"You can't steal anything off them," Sean explains. "You can't drive it around. Say you stole a big lorry full of bikes - you have to burn it all. The Rah (the I.R.A.) would shoot you for looting. They want to show that the lorries are not being stole out of greed."

Sean is not convinced of the wisdom of this policy. "See some of those lorries," he says, "the owners make money. Say a bus comes up here and you hijack it. Think of the money that's on the bus, all the money people paid to ride it. The driver will say you hijacked the money as well, and he'll keep it for himself. There's plenty of people that have gotten claims who put their own lorries in the middle of the road. He says, 'You can burn that one there,' and he walks away, and he tells the cops, 'They hijacked my lorry.' See, everybody is making money except for the ones that is doin' all the hijacking."

Given the limited police presence in West Belfast and other Catholic ghettos and the difficulty of separating terrorist crime from what the army calls "ordinary decent crime," the dimensions of the crime wave in Northern Ireland are hard to assess. But the increase clearly has been enormous. Between 1969 and 1980, for example, the number of offenses reported to the police rose 230 percent and the prison population quadrupled. According to the

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Government, there are some 2,500 people now in prison, 220 of them in young-offender centers. Northern Ireland, which 13 years ago had the lowest prison population per capita in Western Europe, now has the highest.

Larry Murtagh, a welfare worker in West Belfast, offers one explanation of what those figures mean: "Nearly every house we go into has someone inside one of the prisons, and their week may be geared to getting on the mini-bus and going for the visit. Years ago, I'd go into these houses and they'd have just a picture of the Sacred Heart hanging on the wall. Now the place is covered with plaques and homemade crafts made in prison. When you walk in and see them, you know immediately that there's someone inside."

According to recent Government figures, two-thirds of those now serving long-term prison sentences in Northern Ireland were under the age of 15 in 1969 when the troubles broke out; one-third of them were under 9. The hoods of West Belfast recognize that they may also be in line to spend large chunks of their lives in a prison cell. They're willing to take the risk.

Psychologists say that a chief reason for emotional disturbance in children is a sense of not belonging, of not fitting into their community. The children who have grown up throwing stones in riots, facing the common foe in the shape of a soldier or a policeman, belong. They may have given up regular church attendance, a major break with tradition in this very religious land, limiting themselves to attending funerals. They may have made aggression, in the words of the psychiatrist Morris Fraser, their "major means of dealing with all problems." But in the opinion of some authorities, they have found a way to deal with their world that produces a minimum of mental illness - considerably less, for example, than in many of the ghettos of the United States.

Those parents whose children have not yet become hoods devise their own strategies. "Yes, I am keeping him at home," one mother told a school psychologist who was investigating her son's truancy. "I know where he is when he is at home. He is not with the I.R.A., he is not hijacking cars, he is not playing in derelict buildings. He is watching television, and I have a fire, and he is warm."

The daughter of the house is not really part of the drama. The sexes keep to their traditional roles in Northern Ireland: Women have the entire responsibility of raising a family. No man ever does the laundry, makes the dinner or goes to the grocery. Men drink, gamble, steal, go off to jail, or get involved in paramilitary groups. The wives are left behind to cope.

What the visitor to Northern Ireland finds most amazing is that very capacity to cope. Tony Spencer, a member of the Belfast school board and professor of sociology at Queen's University, puts it this way:

"Everyone has adapted very well. There are certain areas people will not go into, certain things they will not do, but that is no different from the United States. The paramilitaries have adapted. The security forces have adapted - the death rate is far higher in Germany on the autobahn, and the training the troops get here is excellent. The fire service has adapted: We have people from all over the world coming to look at it to see how it works. Medicine has adapted: We have doctors coming from all over to study the way we deal with high-velocity gunshot wounds. Public administration has been strained, but it has adapted, and you haven't seen anything approaching the breakdown you saw in Italy during the earthquake, for example. The political system goes on, after a fashion. Unemployment is bad, but lower than in Latin American states. The milk keeps arriving in the morning. The bread is in the shops everyday. We can go on like this indefinitely, for generations."

Sean Nolan, however, is ready for change. About three months ago, after the death of another joy rider and the capture of many of his pals, he decided to go straight. Of course, he helped in the rioting after the deaths of the hunger strikers, and he took part in hijacking a few vehicles at the time, but other than that, he says he's stolen hardly anything at all. He doesn't particularly like this new way of life, but he thinks he'd like jail less. "Since I stopped stealin' cars, it's really boring," he says. One of his brothers works in a Belfast factory, and Sean thinks he may get a job there sooner or later.

For he is dreaming about getting married and having 15 kids. "With these troubles," he says, "you need plenty of big sons to back you up." He'd like to raise the family in Andersonstown. "My sister lives there. It's very quiet, clean,

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spotless like. Around here it's paint bombs everywhere. As long as my family would be away from this here." Sean pauses. "Then," he resumes, in a more familiar mode, "I could just travel down here for the action."

Graphic

Illustrations: photos of masked youths photo of children in West Belfast with kitchen knives photos of the children of Divis Flats photo of a Catholic ghetto riot photo of a Belfast youth's "kneecapping" scar

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THE HARD CODE OF THE SUPERCHIEFS - Correction Appended

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Byline: By Barbara Gelb; Barbara Gelb is a regular contributor to The New York Times Magazine. This article is adapted from the book "Varnished Brass: The Decade After Serpico," to be published early next month by G.P. Putnam's Sons.

Body

THE POLICE FOUNDATION BALL, HELD every January at headquarters in lower Manhattan, is an incongruous social event eagerly attended by the Brass, by local politicians and by private citizens who actively support their police. It is the one time when cops pretend not to be aliens and the rest of the partygoers pretend they are perfectly at ease among the gun-bearing men they acknowledge as guardians of their society.

For most of the year, the high-ranking members of the department keep their customary distance, self-imposed when they first come on the force. Everyone starts at the bottom in the New York Police Department. Even the four-star chief of operations - the top uniformed cop of the biggest police department in the United States - has to begin as a rookie, walking a beat, and slowly work his way up through the ranks.

And having chosen policing, these men are burdened with - indeed, they embrace - the isolating symbols of their trade: the dark blue tunic that renders them anonymous; the arrogant shield, the mandatory gun, the club, the manacles; and the unspoken law of Brotherhood to protect the deficient and the twisted among them. They inhabit a region of the mind that, like shrouded Tibet, is largely impenetrable to outsiders. You step across the close-guarded borders of the Police World at your peril.

FTC begins radio ad campaign to warn consumers of their rights and of salesmen's tactics in used car sales (S)

Police commanders, with reason, *prefer* not to be known. Traditionally, the police operate behind closed doors where mismanagement and misbehavior often go undetected, where instances of brutality, racism or thieving can be quietly contained and covered up, just as in the real world.

That is why the Police Foundation Ball is special - one of the rare occasions when the moat is bridged, civilians mingling at tables and on the dance floor with cops. At the ball, the Emerald Society pipers pipe, the Police Commissioner dances with his wife, guests receive door prizes donated by business organizations and, ordinarily, a spirit of great bonhomie prevails.

But the celebration on Jan. 27, 1983, was different. It was marred by a recently revealed corruption inquiry involving two precincts in lower Manhattan, and Assistant Chief Milton Schwartz, a guest at the ball, who was the overall commander in charge of those two precincts (as well as the eight others that made up the Manhattan South Area) was in trouble. Schwartz, known to his colleagues and friends as Mickey, was one of the most popular and

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respected members of the high police command, and his plight was a cause for concern that evening both to his peers and to the civilian guests attending the ball.

Seated at a table with Arlene Wolff, whom he planned soon to marry, Mickey Schwartz was bravely trying not to look as crushed as he felt. At the same table sat the department's three-star chief of organized-crime control, Daniel J. Courtenay, with his wife, Mary. Schwartz, about four years earlier, had succeeded Courtenay as the Manhattan South Area commander - the most consequential job a two-star chief could hold in the N.Y.P.D. - and had hoped soon to become a headquarters bureau chief, a full three-star chief, like Courtenay. There were only five such Superchiefs in the frantically competitive 23,553-member department.

Schwartz and Courtenay had been friends and rivals since the early 1970's, when both had begun their climb into the appointive ranks. Though they were nearly the same age - Schwartz would be 56 that April, Courtenay would turn 57 in June - Courtenay had always been at least one rank ahead. Rank was determined by Civil Service examinations up to captain. (See box on page 34.) Above captain, promotions were bestowed at the pleasure of the commissioner. Courtenay had joined the department at 21, while Schwartz had not joined until 24, and so Courtenay had a three-year headstart.

I met both men in the summer of 1976 when Courtenay, then a two-star chief, had just been named to head the department's security operation for the first national Presidential convention to be held in New York for 52 years. Schwartz, then an inspector, was one of Courtenay's handpicked commanders. While protective of his own edge in seniority, Courtenay had always kept a benign eye on Schwartz's advancing career. He was pleased when Schwartz succeeded him as Manhattan South Area Commander. And he was distressed at Schwartz's present predicament.

I had been following the careers of both men while doing research for a book on the high command of the New York Police Department, which had recently emerged, somewhat humbled, from a nationally publicized corruption investigation. I began my research in 1973, three years after a rebel cop named Frank Serpico exposed a pattern of entrenched corruption and cover-up in the department. The scandal led to the celebrated Knapp Commission inquiry and brought in a reform commissioner, Patrick V. Murphy, who purged the department, set up machinery to keep it clean, and declared it "open" to inspection, thereby reversing a century-old policy of evasion and secrecy.

The years I spent with Courtenay and Schwartz, among other top police officials who remained after Murphy completed his purge - observing them in action and interviewing them - had convinced me of their dedication to keeping the N.Y.P.D. as clean as their most vigilant efforts could make it. New York, by the mid-1970's, had become the fountainhead of American policing. Between 1972 and 1982, it evolved from one of the most corrupt and brutal police forces into one of the cleanest and most judicious. But the effort involved was costly in terms of the human spirit. No one in high command was spared being measured against the sternest standards of conduct, and sometimes the very best commanders cracked under the strain. Now it was Mickey Schwartz's turn.

THE CORRUPTION INQUIRY involving the two precincts under Schwartz's command centered on 13 police officers and a sergeant. According to the United States Attorney's office, the investigation was an outgrowth of an earlier one into possible mob connections to certain after-hours clubs. Schwartz had known nothing about this allegedly corrupt activity or about the inquiry, which was conducted not by the department's own internal affairs unit but by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The suspect cops had been subpoenaed by a Federal grand jury, trying to determine whether after-hours club owners were paying off the police. During the initial investigation, the F.B.I. had placed a couple of undercover agents in the area, and they had stumbled on the crooked cops, who were said to be taking bribes to allow the clubs to operate illegally. The 14 targeted cops were placed on modified duty, pending the findings of the grand jury.

The events that ultimately were to decide Schwartz's fate had begun a week earlier when The New York Post, with ill-concealed glee, came out with a page-one story claiming that the grand jury was looking into "widespread graft and stealing" and that "the probe, according to sources, could mushroom into one of the largest corruption scandals

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to shake the Police Department since the highly publicized Knapp Commission corruption hearings of the early 1970's."

While neither of New York's other major newspapers made much of the story, Police Commissioner Robert J. McGuire was nonetheless stung into instant Pavlovian defensiveness.

There was no comparison, McGuire protested, with the Knapp Commission inquiries. The Knapp Commission had "uncovered institutionalized corruption, pervasive corruption, city-wide corruption which existed throughout all the ranks of the New York City Police Department," he said, adding, "The department has purged itself of that corruption. . . . I think the public should be reassured that to the extent that corruption exists in any large police department, as it will exist to a greater or lesser extent, there are agencies in place to go after it." McGuire hastened to say that he did view the probe "very seriously," and he promised "a quick shakeup of the manpower" in the 10th Precinct, where most of the cops under suspicion were assigned (one of the 14 worked in the adjoining Ninth).

What no newspaper had alluded to, but what caused McGuire to take the matter more seriously than an isolated case of misconduct, was the fact that, 18 months earlier, there had already been a corruption incident in the 10th Precinct. In that instance, five cops had been sent to jail for taking bribes, and 11 supervisors had received departmental discipline for not being aware of the corrupt activity in their precincts. McGuire, familiar with Chapter 19 of the Knapp Commission's report - the one headed "Departmental Disciplinary Action in Corruption Cases" - believed it imperative that Schwartz, despite his otherwise impeccable record, accept responsibility for the instances of corruption in his precincts.

McGuire felt that a message had to be sent throughout the department: Manhattan South Area Commander Schwartz would be Held Accountable for the misconduct of men under his command. At the least, he would have to forgo promotion. The New York Police Brass would not be tarnished. It was a warning to all the other area commanders - and to the Superchiefs, as well - to increase their vigilance. And it was a signal to the whole criminal-justice community that the New York Police Brass treasured the spotless image it had struggled to maintain throughout the past 10 years.

Courtenay thought it profoundly unfair that Schwartz was being blamed for a low-level problem that had surfaced in his precincts. The same sort of thing could, Courtenay knew, have happened to him when he held the job. Courtenay advised Schwartz to hang in, predicting that the episode would blow over. Courtenay himself had been through some rough times in the department, times when he had felt like quitting, rather than continue to confront the acid scrutiny from above, the unrelenting, deadly pressures of the day-to-day job of policing in a slithering, heaving city like New York. "Did it ever occur to you," he once asked me, "that if we weren't the police, *you* would have to be?" Courtenay stayed because he loved the highs of the job, and he reminded Schwartz there would be highs again for him, too.

IN THE PICTURE I CONJURE OF COURTENAY AS he was in the early months of our acquaintance, I see him on patrol in the city he loves, the symbol of a proud Police Department that just a few years earlier was locked in scandal. He is a youthful 50. Appointed not many months since to the rank of assistant chief, Courtenay wears his cap, its licorice-black peak gleaming with gold braid, cocked ever so slightly to one side. He is Top Brass, his rank trumpeted by twin golden stars pinned to his broad navy blue shoulders. In the United States, the police go armed, always, and Courtenay does not feel fully clothed unless his service revolver rides his hip, snug in its well-worn leather holster.

Unlike the British police, who mostly go weaponless, the American police do not conceal their alienation. They need to feel armed, conscious that ours is a society founded on violence. His loins thus girded, Courtenay, a strapping man - tall, brawny, and gun-barrel straight - is a presence. Street-bred, he is ever aware of his beginnings and does not mind being called "a big s.o.b.," as long as the tone is respectful (he would really prefer reverential). Imperious, like Trollope's Prime Minister, he carries his empire in his eye.

Dan Courtenay smiles but keeps his distance, like the sun in winter. In the street, commanding his troops during a political demonstration, the kind of massive protest for which his city is famous, he strides up to a subordinate

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commander, claps him on the back, winks, shows his teeth in an ironic grin and issues his standard greeting: "You're doing a helluva job, I've been watching you!"

The phrase condenses his philosophy of policing and also satirizes it. Courtenay is serious about his work though never solemn. He holds few illusions about The Job, but he never has outgrown the tug of its romance. To him, policing *is* romance, although it would embarrass him to say so.

SCHWARTZ WAS DIFFERENT, SEEMINGLY MORE approachable, and yet wary. It was his habit to carry with him from one command post to another a large framed reproduction of a sad-eyed Bernard Buffet clown, a symbolic self-portrait. He had hung it in his Manhattan South office when he was still an inspector. Occasionally, I would run into Schwartz on the opening night of a Broadway musical, the kind of show that attracted huge crowds and television cameras. Schwartz, a trim 5 feet 11 inches, with a head of thick, dark hair (Courtenay's was receding) would be walking the streets in civilian clothes, checking on the dispersal of his mounted, motorized and ambulatory troops and on the presence of properly placed police barriers. A theatergoer himself, he felt at home on Broadway. Area commanders and their aides quickly developed a possessive attitude toward their territorial enclaves.

Schwartz's youth was shadowed by his mother's tragic life. An orphan, abandoned as a child to distant relatives in England and abused by them, she finally made her way to America, arriving illiterate and with hands crippled permanently by arthritis, to marry a widower considerably older than she. Schwartz's father, who had two sons by a former marriage, was 50 when Schwartz was born. A cutter in the garment industry, he did not encourage his youngest son to seek an education. Schwartz's mother died when he was 19, and her sad life still haunted him. "She was some kind of saint," he said.

Policing was not a traditional career for urban American Jews, as it was for Irish Catholics. (Courtenay, a mixture of German, Canadian and Irish, was a practicing Roman Catholic.) But New York's Police Department had turned out a surprising number of top-ranking Jewish commanders, including, in recent years, Chief Inspector Sanford D. Garelik and Chief of Detectives Albert A. Seedman (who, in his autobiography, "Chief," confessed to having had a problem with his image of himself as a Jewish cop).

In the closed world of the police, the Jewish ghetto-consciousness was heightened, and Jewish cops of Schwartz's generation probably were the most alienated cops of all. Not only were they separated culturally from their fellow cops, they were in opposition to their own American Jewish traditions in having adopted the bellicose calling of law enforcement. Mostly, they kept all this trauma to themselves.

Schwartz was, in ways more subtle than Courtenay, a guarded man. Not only was he of the wrong religious and ethnic background, but he also bore the stigma of divorce. The Police Department - always trailing culturally - was still strongly swayed at the top by rigid taboos (and ponderous tolerances). Heavy drinking was no more than a good man's failing. Fooling around was frowned upon. Divorce was unacceptable.

Yet Mickey Schwartz was personable and self-assured, took great care with his dress, had none of the visible rough edges common to nearly all of the high-ranking Brass. He was as comfortable with command as Courtenay, and as knowledgeable a street cop, if not quite so dominant a presence. He was clear about the goals of policing in the big city and he could, even more articulately than Courtenay, expound on them. But now, commanded to assume the blame for misconduct he could not possibly have prevented, he felt cornered and vulnerable.

BEFORE THE BALL, SCHWARTZ HAD spent much of the afternoon at headquarters, summoned before the First Deputy, the chief of operations and the three-star chief of personnel who, with the Commissioner, comprised the promotion advisory board. They asked him to explain why he should not be held responsible and disciplined for the exposed misconduct under his command. By all accounts, his defense was exemplary. He reminded the board that after the first corruption incident in June of 1981, he had brought into the 10th Precinct a tough, trustworthy captain to maintain strict discipline and tight supervision. Also, Schwartz pointed out, he had regularly filed reports specifying possible areas of corruption and enumerating the "measures being taken to reduce those hazards," as was mandated in the Knapp Commission recommendations. Writing such reports, the Knapp recommendations stated, was yet "another step toward hold spread three third spread ing (commanders) to account for the conditions in their commands." The promotion advisory board acknowledged that Schwartz was a commander who had

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contributed valuably to the department over many years and was the two-star chief who most deserved promotion to the next three-star job that fell open. Nevertheless, the board members recommended that he be barred from promotion to full chief and perhaps even be relieved of the command of Manhattan South. In fact, First Deputy Commissioner William J. Devine implied, Schwartz might even be asked to resign from the department. He was shattered.

Devine was taking the stringent and uncompromising position laid down by the Knapp Commission. During the 1950's and 60's, he had been so repelled by the tolerated crookedness surrounding him that he had evolved into one of the department's strictest disciplinarians. The Accountability Principle was paramount to him.

THE BALL THAT EVENING, Schwartz's friends and supporters both within and outside the department sensed a tragedy in the making. If he were forced to leave, it would be not only a dreadful personal blow, but a deprivation for a police force that badly needed men of his caliber. Schwartz had received his master's degree from John Jay College of Criminal Justice at the age of 49. Five years earlier he'd been valedictorian and summa cum laude of his graduating class at John Jay, studying after work at night.

"My breadth of thinking was no wider than a pencil until I went back to college," he once told me.

A number of people spoke to Commissioner McGuire on Schwartz's behalf that evening, among them Gerald Schoenfeld, chairman of the powerful Shubert Organization, owner of many Broadway legitimate theaters.

Schoenfeld said he spoke as a concerned citizen who had worked with Schwartz on the problems of the theater district. "Mickey has the support and good will of the community," Schoenfeld said. "He's doing a wonderful job."

McGuire replied to Schoenfeld, as he did to a number of others that evening, that he knew Schwartz had done nothing wrong, that in fact, prior to the discovery of the 10th Precinct bribery incident, he had definitely decided to make Schwartz chief of detectives - the most coveted of all the Superchiefdoms - when the incumbent chief, James T. Sullivan, left, as he was scheduled to do shortly, for a job in private industry. He appreciated Schwartz as "the Enlightened Policeman," McGuire said. Gravely, he added, "It was important to the department to have Mickey in that role." He felt terrible, he said, about having to hold Schwartz responsible, but the department's past history of corruption and the Knapp Commission's recommendations made it mandatory.

The next day, Schoenfeld, unpersuaded, telephoned the Rev. George W. Moore of St. Malachy's Church, in the theater district, and told him the story of Schwartz's difficulties; Schoenfeld thought that Father Moore might pass on the message to Terence Cardinal Cooke, who, in turn, might say a persuasive word in the ear of the Police Commissioner. Schoenfeld was convinced that his message had been delivered when, about a week later, he encountered the Cardinal at a private viewing of the Vatican collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

"The Cardinal greeted me by name," Schoenfeld recalled, "and asked me how things were on 42d Street."

It was doubtful, though, if even the Pope could have turned McGuire aside from what he regarded as his stern duty.

"Before Knapp and Commissioner Murphy," McGuire said, "the Police Department was rotten to the core. The fact that everyone turned their backs, all the way to the top, that they said entrenched corruption would always be there, that was the real scandal. Murphy reversed that, and if I don't take the same measures, if widespread corruption sets in again, I'll be held morally responsible."

To Mickey Schwartz, McGuire said, "There's just no way I can promote you now." McGuire added that he would not ask Schwartz to resign from the department. Nevertheless, Schwartz was severely shaken. Former Commissioner Patrick Murphy, now president of the Police Foundation in Washington, attended the ball, as he did every year. He, too, had heard about Mickey Schwartz's trouble. "This kind of thing is always painful," he told me the day of the ball. "Corruption problems can get out of hand because it's so easy to be overwhelmed by the pressure of everyday planning." Murphy had promoted Schwartz from captain to deputy inspector. "I know that Mickey is an able administrator," he said. "And I have no doubt he has always understood the police dictum: 'My own career could topple if something breaks in any of my precincts.'" Murphy described the method he had introduced: "We had a

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system where every field commander, once or twice a year, submitted a report which was his estimate of integrity in his command. Even if there wasn't a *hint* of anything wrong, he was expected to take the temperature every now and then. And if you don't take the temperature around the 10th Precinct, there's something wrong with *you*, because if you had all *angels* in an area like the 10th. . . ." He let the thought trail off. "I mean, you go out and try to something wrong, just go out and pose as an organized- crime type or a drug pusher or whatever.

"We should all know from the history of this city that money flows like wine around a lot of activities like after- hours places."

Murphy acknowledged that in his day, with a much larger force, more men could be allocated to field commanders for integrity testing. Even so, the Accountability Principle caused "an uproar from all the Brass and right down to the sergeant's level," he said. "They said, 'You *can't* hold us accountable.' The argument was, 'We can't follow every police officer eight hours a day when he's working, or the 16 hours when he's off, when he could be into corruption in his own command or another command. That's impossible for us to do.' "

Murphy's response was, "We won't assume you are automatically guilty if something happens under your command. But *we will thoroughly investigate the methods you used to prevent it*, and make a judgment as to whether you were careless, or not using your resources effectively."

A few days after the Police Foundation party, while Mickey Schwartz was still awaiting word of his fate, I asked Mayor Koch what *he* thought of the draconian measures that were likely to be applied against one of the department's acknowledgedly outstanding chiefs.

"I want it known that I will expose and prosecute corruption in *all* of my departments," he said. "And the severest measures must be taken with the police. I thoroughly endorse the Knapp Commission's findings. The police are a military group and rigid accountability, for them, is a must."

With the police, the one thing you could always expect was the unexpected. On Feb. 2, McGuire let Schwartz know he could stay on as commander of Manhattan South. The "corruption scandal" that was going to "shake the Police Department" had failed, after all, to "mushroom." The day after the Police Foundation Ball, the United States Attorney for the Southern District held a news conference to announce that there was, in fact, "no evidence of widespread corruption in the Police Department." Someone in his office had misjudged the scope of the case.

Not until nearly three months later were any indictments handed down by the grand jury. Then, on April 28, nine cops - one of them retired - were charged with taking bribes, ranging from \$300 to \$5,000 from illegal after-hours clubs. The payments were made so the cops would overlook double-parking, illegally sold liquor and patrons' complaints.

Commissioner McGuire, while relieved that the investigation was considerably smaller than at first appeared, did not feel he had initially overreacted.

"The press makes things real," he said. "And, in any case, there *is* evidence of some corruption, and I don't ever want to minimize that danger or fail to act against it."

Schwartz, while still anguished by his near-dismissal, seemed outwardly to recover his spirit. He had other potentially troublesome precincts under his command and he was grateful *they* had caused him no recent grief.

Meanwhile, he came up with a plan to assign a senior supervisor to every midnight tour in his area. "It's a little like shutting the stable door after the horse has been stolen," he admitted. He and 19 members of his staff - captains, inspectors, and deputy chiefs - would alternate on these tours.

"Some of these guys haven't been out in the street in 25 years," Schwartz said, chuckling. "They were looking all over for pieces of uniform." He performed his first night patrol on Feb. 23.

A week later, suffering from an attack of bleeding ulcers, Schwartz was hospitalized. Dan Courtenay telephoned him as soon as he heard the news.

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"Listen, Mickey," he said. "We *give* people ulcers, we don't *get* them." But he was concerned.

Schwartz was released six days later, still weak, and advised by his doctor not to go back to work for a while. But he insisted on monitoring the March 17 St. Patrick's Day parade. "He shouldn't be working," said Courtenay, who was planning to march.

Courtenay sympathized with Schwartz's pain and disappointment. But he could not suppress a reflexive hope that he himself now had a chance to become chief of detectives, since no other assistant chief was as strong a contender for the job as Schwartz had been. Twice before, Courtenay had been a leading candidate for the job, and been disappointed when someone else was named. And while he was happy as chief of organized-crime control, which was just as high a rank, he still yearned for the more glamorous job.

Transfers from one three- star bureau chieftaincy to another, while not routine, did occur. And the five Superchiefdoms had their own pecking order: The chief of patrol, because he commanded the most men, was regarded as No. 1; then came chief of detectives, followed by chief of organized-crime control, then chief of inspectional services and chief of personnel.

Now that Schwartz was out of the running, the prevailing rumor in the department once again named Big Dan Courtenay as the likeliest candidate for the job. But, as Courtenay said, "This is at least the third time I've been up for chief of detectives, and I'm not counting on it."

Schwartz was out in the street at 11 A.M. on St. Patrick's Day, which was raw and gray. He looked drawn and, throughout the morning, police and parade officials came over to greet him and inquire after his health. They said such things as, "You should have stayed home a few more days."

This particular parade happened to be embroiled in political controversy, and Schwartz, though acknowledging he was still a bit shaky, felt compelled to see it through. (He had time for small jokes. "Arlene packed me a lunch," he told me, "so I can stay on my ulcer diet: a piece of plain, broiled chicken and Maalox.")

The controversy was over the selection of Michael Flannery, a vocal supporter of the *Irish Republican Army*, as the parade's grand marshal. A number of prominent political figures had refused to march, a number of bands had withdrawn from the parade, and it was believed that Terence Cardinal Cooke would stay behind the closed doors of St. Patrick's Cathedral until after the grand marshal had passed by. Since the Cardinal, standing on the steps of the cathedral, was one of the enduring symbols of any St. Patrick's Day parade, his pointed absence, it was feared, might lead to some sort of disruptive demonstration.

Schwartz was at pains to keep the front of the cathedral and the steps cleared of *everyone*, including police officials, so that there would be no target for protesters.

He was still in the street when Courtenay, marching in step with Chief of Detectives Sullivan, went by. "You look pale," Sullivan called to Schwartz. Schwartz smiled. "I *like* parades," he said, sincerely. His vigilant policing of *this* parade was appreciatively acknowledged by his superiors and the public; it was one of Schwartz's highs.

Courtenay, as he had promised himself to do, asked Sullivan, as they marched, when he was planning to leave the department. He got a shock; Sullivan had changed his mind and wasn't leaving after all.

When Mickey Schwartz got over the worst of his ulcer condition, he went on his second post-midnight tour, and this time I accompanied him:

Schwartz picks me up at my apartment building at 12:40 A.M. one night in early May, which has been unseasonably chilly. The cop on his personal staff who always drives him, Joseph Morello, is at the wheel of the unmarked, radio-equipped car that goes with the command of Manhattan South. Morello is in uniform and wears his bulletproof vest. Schwartz, in deference to Arlene Wolff's concern, usually wears a vest, too, on this kind of patrol, but he has wrenched his back lifting furniture in his apartment, which is being painted, and has decided a vest would be too uncomfortable tonight. He is in uniform, though, and carries his nightstick, a mean-looking cudgel. And, of course, he wears his holstered service revolver.

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"The last time I went on night patrol," Schwartz says, "I asked the driver of a suspicious-looking car for his license and registration, and I kept my hand on my gun. When he handed me his papers, I had trouble with the small print out there in the dim street light. I needed a third hand to put on my reading glasses." He laughs at his own awkwardness. He was a police officer for nine years, but that was a long time ago.

His main objective on these night tours is to monitor the behavior of his own cops, he says.

"Routine patrol, especially late at night, can get terribly boring," Schwartz says, "and it's hard for the cops not to nap or, after a while, to look for trouble. I remember I used to devise games when I was on the night shift. I'd pick different blocks each night and test the door handles of all the parked cars. When I found one unlocked, I'd write a note warning the driver to be more careful and put it on the seat."

We pull up across the street from one of the more notorious discotheques, its neon lights glaring. Bouncers guard its entrance. Waiting limousines and taxicabs stretch out for several blocks, many of them illegally double-parked. We watch as a small police van bearing three uniformed cops, supervised by a sergeant, pulls up, and the men start ticketing the cars - another of Schwartz's innovations.

Along 11th Avenue, at the approaches to the tunnels the prostitutes are out in force, and on one corner a small group of pimps are gathered, keeping a wary eye on them. Many of the "working girls," as Schwartz sometimes calls them, are actually transvestites, and he points them out. I tell him that I recently had a tour of this area from Dan Courtenay. "Dan can't tell the difference between a female pross and a guy dressed as a woman," says Schwartz, who likes to needle Courtenay about his lack of sophistication.

At 2:40 A.M., we cruise through the Ninth, which runs from 14th Street to Houston. "Make sure your door is locked," Schwartz says, locking his own. "This is a very bad junkie neighborhood." We glide past crumbling, abandoned buildings on Avenue B and East Fifth Street, as the junkies, spotting the uniforms, eyeball Schwartz and his driver, and they eyeball back.

On our way to the Midtown North Precinct on West 54th Street, we pass a suspicious-looking man leaning against a dark building. Schwartz instructs Morello to turn around and cruise by again. The man looks like a car booster, Schwartz says, and Morello agrees. We pull alongside a patrol car, and the cop in the passenger seat says they're tracking the same man. The driver of the patrol car steps through his door, hatless. Suddenly he sees the stars on Schwartz's shoulders, the braid on his cap. He dives back into his car and slaps his own cap on his head, then comes around to Schwartz's car and salutes smartly.

After a brief exchange both cars move slowly down the block, seeking the suspected auto thief. The two cops in the patrol car spot the suspect, toss him, find a bent coat hanger on him, confirming their suspicions. But the man is stoned and apathetic, and they leave him, after confiscating the coat hanger. This is the most exciting thing that has happened all night. "You see what a safe city this is?" Schwartz says.

The next two precinct houses Schwartz visits report arrests for robbery - *good* arrests, with reliable witnesses - three suspects in all, one a prostitute. Schwartz is feeling buoyed and hungry and decides to stop and buy some apples. By now, it's 4:30 A.M. The Manhattan South Area is dotted with fruit-and-vegetable stands that seem never to close. They are brightly lit and their tidy mounds of gleaming oranges, melons, tomatoes are never depleted. They are brilliant oases in the grubby streets.

Officer Morello and I watch from the car as Schwartz insists on paying for the apples that are being offered free. The beaming proprietor is delighted by the police presence in his neighborhood and wants to show his appreciation. Schwartz knows he is hurting the proprietor's feelings by not accepting the token gift. Accepting a free apple

would be symbolic corruption. How could he then discipline a street cop for accepting a free drink? Or a \$25 Christmas present from a shopkeeper? Or a \$300 bribe from an after-hours club owner?

On the way to our last stop, we hear a radio call, a signal 10-34: A male is beating a female at 11th Avenue and 42d Street. "Probably a pimp beating up a pross," says Schwartz. We pull up before the Midtown South Precinct

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house at 35th Street between Eighth and Ninth Avenues, a few blocks from Madison Square Garden. The precinct, commanded by a deputy inspector, is the busiest in the city - "probably in the world," says Schwartz. It gets over 50,000 complaints a year. Tonight, though, it is quiet.

Dawn is breaking and Morello is beginning to yawn. Schwartz, while he believes he has recovered from his recent illness, nevertheless doesn't want to overdo it. He has worries he hopes to keep secret. He decides to call it a night.

Having once again swallowed his disappointment at not moving into the chief of detectives' seat - when, at last, it had seemed so closely within his grasp - Dan Courtenay, ostensibly cheerful, settled back into his job and renewed his attack on organized crime. (With habitual bluntness, he once asked me, "Who else would deal with the sewage of the city?")

Courtenay's major area of concentration was on getting rid of street-level drugs, particularly around the schools - "For the young people's sake," he said. This area, he tried to make himself believe, was one in which he could have "a real impact."

In August of 1981, he set up a closely supervised street-enforcement unit composed of 100 police officers.

"We use very young cops, sometimes right out of the Police Academy, males and females, who can pass for students," Courtenay explained. "That way we can get in close."

He deployed his troops throughout the five boroughs in the immediate vicinities of several hundred elementary, secondary and parochial schools, as well as some colleges. His teams were in the streets three or four days each week, and in 144 days they made 5,489 arrests, 71 percent of them for selling narcotics, the rest for possession.

"If we can get these dealers locked up and off the street for from three to five years at a time," he said, "it can be a big deterrent." He thought there should be mandatory sentences for drug dealers, but the courts, he said, were not cooperative.

Courtenay believed in mandatory sentencing for firearms possession and he believed in the death penalty, on the ground that a life sentence could always be mitigated by the courts. (He had little faith in the backbone of judges.)

"There are people who should be permanently removed from society to guarantee its survival," he said. "Every human should have the right to protect himself from predators."

Dan Courtenay was the sum of his 30 years of Police Experience; like Tennyson's Ulysses, he was a part of all that he had met. He had started as a street cop just after World War II, fresh from a two-year tour on a naval destroyer in the Atlantic. He studied nights, on his days off, and once in a while, guiltily, on the job, in order to pass the Civil Service exams for sergeant, lieutenant and captain. That took him 18 years. And then, nearly 40, he went to college at night to earn the degree that as a youth he hadn't known he wanted. Even now, he wasn't sure what had impelled his quest for a higher education. "I honestly don't know why I decided to get my degree," he explained. "Maybe ego." Nonetheless, he went on, like Schwartz, for his master's degree - in labor management. And he still believed that for police work, "street knowledge is, in many ways, more important than a college degree." With all his laboriously earned rank and his late-acquired education, he was still the tough street cop from Queens, where he grew up, with his inherited working-class values, his unflinching belief in Family, Service, God and the Democratic way of life.

True, he had *unlearned* some of the traditional prejudices cherished by cops. He accepted the fact of high-ranking blacks on the police force. When he joined in 1947, a black police chief was unthinkable; just recently he had been outranked by a black three-star chief of patrol. Courtenay had to swallow the idea of women patrolling the streets and confronting the same hazards he confronted. He'd been raised to feel *protective* toward women, not to use coarse language in front of them, to shelter them from precisely the sort of besmirching experiences that lurked in the streets, that only men (or prostitutes) should have to deal with.

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And finally, courageously, he had accepted the possibility of homosexuals on the force, probably the greatest cultural wrench of all. He taught himself to use the officially sanctioned word "gay" and could say it almost without choking.

"I'm not concerned about gay cops," he said. "Some cops may be concerned, because it challenges their masculinity to be shown that a homosexual can do the same job as they can; we've already seen that women can do the job, though - why not qualified homosexuals?"

Courtenay also had learned how to stride past a police barrier that bounced with pot-smoking Yippies and feel hardly any urge at all to smack them around. Coolness and a sense of proportion had to be worn with a New York police chief's stars. Despite Schwartz's needling, Courtenay regarded himself as a man of the world.

And yet, within the broad, proud, navy blue breast, hung with its discreet rows of commendatory ribbons, lay a slumbering street cop, one eye open - a police animal, the best kind of cop. It was possible to hunger for power without being greedy, and possible to hold the kind of limited power a police commander could attain in libertarian, urban America, without being corrupted. It was possible, and Courtenay managed nicely. He enjoyed his life. And he tried not to think too much about the darker side of the Police Experience. It took a lot of surviving out in the street - off duty, too.

As a young cop, he had soon grown aware of how hard it was to leave behind the stresses of the street; career frustrations and anxieties spilled over into a cop's personal life. At the end of his daily or nightly tour, a cop slipped back to his closed world (most often a heavily mortgaged house in Queens), where frequently his household held a wife who was having a nervous breakdown, delinquent children, a checkbook that didn't balance. The grinding isolation and daily tensions of The Job often impelled cops to drink too much, drive too fast, gain too much weight, have illicit love affairs, blow up, blow away a kid with a toy gun who happened to be the wrong color in the wrong street at the wrong time, blow their own brains out. Was it the stress of The Job that resulted in marital discord, panic-shooting, suicide? Or did the Police Department, like prisons and psychiatric hospitals, attract men whose psychic systems were programmed for anger and hostility?

Divorce was high among the police and so were the other symptoms of alienation: alcoholism, rage, cunning, suicide. A survey by the New York Police Academy revealed that between 1973 and 1982, 37 cops took their own lives, most of them shooting themselves with their service revolvers. Was it the good guy in them trying to annihilate the bad guy? Or the other way around?

Courtenay had long since taught himself not to dwell on such matters. He made it a point not to carry home the burdens of his job. As the three-star chief of O.C.C.B., he put in his habitual long, vigorous hours, just as he had done as an assistant chief, and he seemed, to his colleagues and his family, to be his usual sanguine self: a solid and enduring rock of a man, a man whom Mickey Schwartz, despite his bantering competitiveness, admired deeply as a cop-commander and even, in a way, as a role model. Courtenay was a man who could acknowledge a plague of dragons, and yet return to do battle year after year, his hope undimmed. More than once, I'd heard him say, "If I didn't have hope, I wouldn't be in this job. If I thought nothing could be done, I'd be living a lie." I saw him as a man who had learned to keep his integrity, his faith - and even his rich sense of humor - playing a game that had no rules. But something was gnawing at Courtenay.

Late in May of 1983, the chief of patrol announced he was leaving, somewhat ahead of his mandatory retirement date. For reasons related to his pension, he would continue to hold the rank until the end of June; meanwhile, Commissioner McGuire asked Courtenay to serve as acting chief of patrol, in addition to running the organized-crime control bureau.

Courtenay couldn't help thinking back to the time, six years earlier, when then Commissioner Michael J. Codd had made him acting chief of patrol to fill the gap left by a sudden retirement. And he remembered his chagrin when he learned that Codd did not intend to make the appointment permanent. Courtenay *thought* he had heard McGuire say that the appointment would be permanent once the incumbent's retirement became official, but he was so nervous about it, he wasn't sure, and he couldn't bring himself to broach the subject again; he would just have to

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sweat it out once more. McGuire, in fact, *had* told Courtenay the job would be officially his at the end of June; Courtenay had simply not allowed himself to hear it.

Courtenay was gripped by a sense of altogether unfamiliar anxiety. He saw himself going around in circles. He had already achieved his third star. And suddenly he found himself wondering if he even *wanted* to be chief of patrol. With expert area commanders below him, would he have any scope for his own style of operation? And there was little chance of making it to the very top, for the chief of operations was well regarded, vigorous and younger than Courtenay. Somehow, Courtenay's optimism seemed to have deserted him.

He was getting older, and his elasticity, his buoyancy were depleted. After all these years, all his seniority, all his service and vast experience, Courtenay couldn't help feeling demeaned. He had always been a Team Player and a Good Soldier; but he was also a proud man. There just might come a time when his pride was too hard pressed.

"You can spend your career praying and wishing for your next promotion," he said. "You know you're qualified, and sometimes you get the job you're entitled to, sometimes you don't. After a while, you begin to wonder if the anxiety is worth it."

Courtenay recalled the time, not quite four years earlier, when First Deputy Commissioner Devine had interviewed him for the job of chief of organized-crime control.

"He bluntly told me I was one of a number of candidates he was talking to. I *knew* I was the best qualified man for the job, from every point of view, and I felt that should have been recognized. I resented the interview, and I found myself overselling my qualifications. It was humiliating. I really thought I might not get the job. I shouldn't have had to go through that." He grinned ruefully. "You can find yourself wishing your life away."

In May, a sudden, serious illness, requiring major surgery, forced Devine to take what threatened to be an extended leave of absence from the department. McGuire, unsure if Devine would recover sufficiently to resume his duties, but not wanting to further demoralize a critically ill man, did not replace him. Instead, he asked Chief of Operations Patrick J. Murphy - not to be confused with former Commissioner Patrick V. Murphy - to take over some of Devine's duties, in addition to his own. The department trembled on the brink of change.

Would Courtenay become chief of patrol? If so, who would replace him as chief of organized-crime control? Would it be Mickey Schwartz? Or was it still too soon for Schwartz to be forgiven? Would Devine return, or would McGuire be obliged to select a new first dep from among his headquarters chiefs (or elsewhere)? The possibilities were open-ended enough to furnish endless speculation at headquarters.

"I'm not going to look into the future," Courtenay said, with apparent sang-froid. "I've got more than enough to occupy me right now." Perhaps he himself did not realize that a wound of the soul had opened. That was in May.

On Friday, June 3, Courtenay arrived at his headquarters office as usual at 7:30 A.M. He had been conscious of a vague malaise when he kissed Mary goodbye, but had pushed the feeling aside. By 9:30, however, an increasing sense of what he later described as "discomfort" was making it impossible for him to concentrate on his work. It was a not clearly definable sensation of being "boxed in."

"My stomach was in a knot," he said later. He had noticed, recently, that he couldn't sit at his desk for more than half an hour at a stretch, without having to get up and move about. He thought it might be a back strain - not an ache, exactly, but more like a tensing-up that begged for relief. At the same time, he was aware that the tension was not confined to his spine. For the first time in his police career, he felt uncomfortable at headquarters, ill at ease in the police role for which he had cast himself during the past 35 years.

Telling his exec that he wasn't feeling well, Courtenay went to see the police surgeon, Dr. Clarence G. Robinson. He began to describe his symptoms to Dr. Robinson, and suddenly he heard himself saying, "I want to leave the department. I don't want to do what I'm doing anymore. I'm going to quit."

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Dr. Robinson pressed for more details, and listened sympathetically. He made a preliminary physical examination, found nothing to cause immediate concern, but suggested that Courtenay go on sick leave and undergo a comprehensive medical checkup, including a stress test and an orthopedic examination of his back.

Courtenay agreed. But he insisted he was leaving the department. He would put in his papers, regardless of the medical results, at the end of June. He would not wait to be formally offered chief of patrol, he didn't want it. Dr. Robinson advised Courtenay not to make such a harsh decision, but Courtenay said he didn't need to think it over, and he would tell the Commissioner immediately that he was leaving.

Courtenay and Dr. Robinson had a long lunch together, during which Courtenay continued to unburden himself. He knew in his bones, he said, that he'd made the right decision. Having made it, he already felt better, felt that a crushing weight had been lifted from his shoulders.

After lunch, he returned to his office, calmly told his exec he was going on sick leave until the end of the month and would not be coming back, collected his personal belongings and drove home, arriving a little before 4 P.M. Mary was surprised to see her husband back so early. Normally he arrived home at about a quarter to 7. Courtenay told his wife, with a mounting sense of euphoria, that he had quit the department. She was stunned.

On the following Monday, Courtenay telephoned Commissioner McGuire to inform him of his decision. McGuire tried to persuade Courtenay to stay, reassuring him that the job of chief of patrol would be Courtenay's at the end of June. Moreover, McGuire told Courtenay that if he preferred to stay on as chief of organized-crime control, he had that option, as well. Courtenay thanked McGuire, but said he had made up his mind to leave. McGuire said to think it over, he'd hold both jobs open until June 30.

Despite his offer, McGuire had to consider the probability that Courtenay meant what he said. Illness and defection had invaded the Top Brass, and the Commissioner found himself in the unusual situation of having two Superchiefdoms to fill, as well as an incapacitated first dep to worry about.

Had the Brass become so heavily varnished that cracks were beginning to surface? Was the stress of living up to the new draconian image becoming self-destructive? Robert McGuire was the son of a retired New York police commander, but he himself had gained his criminal-justice experience as an assistant United States attorney and a criminal defense lawyer, not - like his recent predecessors - as a cop. Was McGuire turning out, after all, to be too much of an outsider to truly grasp the police psyche, to deal with the subtleties of the Police Experience? Or had he, alternatively, come too strongly under the influence of the unbending former cop, William De= vine? Undeniably, the Top Brass was showing sudden and alarming signs of disarray. Worse was yet to come.

The furor over the 10th Precinct had died down, and McGuire decided that enough time had now elapsed for Mickey Schwartz to be forgiven. Courtenay had suggested Schwartz to McGuire as his successor, and McGuire was considering that possibility. He was also thinking of Schwartz for the even more important job of chief of patrol, and feeling very pleased about it; he knew what such a promotion would mean to Schwartz, and how it would wipe away the pain he had suffered in January.

Dan Courtenay listed, among the reasons for his decision to retire, his acute concern for his health.

"I have to think of myself now," Courtenay told me. "I always said, when the job wasn't fun anymore, I'd leave. I suddenly realized it wasn't fun." With pain in his voice, he added, "I faced the fact that, with all our best efforts, there are more narcotics in the street today than when I took over O.C.C.B. And being chief of patrol wouldn't be any better, just more of the same. I've had all that. I've gone higher than I ever expected. When I came on the force, I thought that if I ever made sergeant, that would be a dream come true. What's the point of waiting, now, until I'm forced out?"

He was aware that forced retirement, within a few months, was a strong possibility. It was widely believed that Commissioner McGuire had already made up his mind to leave in December, the end of his sixth year in the job. And with the appointment of a new Commissioner, all or most of the Superchiefs - regardless of age or competence

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- might be ousted, as had happened when McGuire succeeded Michael Codd. The Police Department was as political as any other government agency.

"I've known chiefs who just couldn't accept the fact that they had to get out," Courtenay said. "I remember one, who simply refused to give up his shield. They had to go to his home and take it away from him. I don't plan to get to that point. I want to leave on *my* terms, in my own time."

Approaching his 57th birthday, Courtenay felt he had only a few more "good years" left, and he wanted to enjoy them. Intimations of mortality strike different men at different ages, and a sense of his own transience had suddenly overtaken him. Like many members of the Top Brass, he felt a nagging sense of guilt at having devoted less time than he would have liked to his family. He and Mary were expecting their first grandchild in October. Courtenay's abrupt departure caused shock waves throughout the department. Mickey Schwartz, in particular, was incredulous. It had been Courtenay, after all, who - less than six months earlier - had advised him *not* to quit the department when his career seemed threatened over the 10th Precinct corruption episode. Courtenay had always been, for Schwartz as for others, a symbol of unflappable durability.

Rumors began to circulate: Courtenay had actually been pushed out; Courtenay was having a nervous breakdown; Courtenay was secretly planning to take a better job. But his manner and appearance gave no credence to any of these rumors. He had pushed *himself* out. Perhaps he was a bit anxious about his health and mortality, but he seemed relaxed and happy. He insisted he had no immediate plans to take a new job, but he didn't deny that he might, after a while, look around for one. Meanwhile, he was assured of an annual pension of around \$48,000. Courtenay was surprised and touched by the "outpouring of feeling and concern."

Mickey Schwartz continued to brood over Courtenay's precipitate resignation. "Dan's leaving really disturbed me," he said. "It left a void. I started reassessing my own life." But Schwartz, in truth, hungered more than ever for that third gold star. And now, with Courtenay's departure, there were two Superchiefdoms available. He had to have one of them, had to prove he could rise as high as Courtenay. He would not accept being branded an outsider who never made it quite to the top. He wanted it so much, and he had come so ominously close to losing his chance at it.

The first corruption incident in the 10th Precinct, back in June of 1981, had so unnerved Schwartz that he began worrying about the possibility of police misconduct in another precinct under his command. There was a topless bar in midtown that held a compelling allure for some cops. An ugly episode had originated there that ultimately resulted in the dismissal of two men under his command, and Schwartz was deeply concerned about how to keep cops from making surreptitious visits to similar establishments in the area. He could not afford a scandal in yet another precinct under his command. Confronted with a problem that continued to plague him, he took an ill-considered step to safeguard his career and - he truly believed - the integrity of the department as well. But the action, however well-intended, was a mistake, and now it was about to boomerang.

By mid-June, the P.C. had accepted the fact of Courtenay's retirement and was studying various options. In addition to Schwartz, he was considering two other highly regarded assistant chiefs for promotion. First Deputy Commissioner Devine, partially recovered, but undergoing outpatient treatment, returned to the department on a part-time basis June 21 and consulted with McGuire about the impending promotions. A full-scale promotions ceremony was scheduled for June 30.

By Wednesday, June 22, Commissioner McGuire had decided to make Mickey Schwartz chief of patrol. Schwartz knew he was the leading candidate for the job and expected to get it. His euphoria did not last long.

The following day, the department was given a bizarre piece of secret information about Schwartz. The handful of high police officials privy to the information considered it to be potentially very embarrassing to the department and they agreed it ended Schwartz's usefulness as a high-level commander. The information was conveyed - in strictest confidence - by another law-enforcement agency and involved a case being investigated by that agency. If revealed prematurely, the agency's case would be compromised, and therefore the information had to be handled with extreme delicacy.

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It appeared that Schwartz - through his private acquaintance with a local businessman, who he knew had connections to organized crime figures - had passed a word of warning to the owner of a particularly noisome topless bar in the midtown area: Keep off-duty cops out of the place. Schwartz, it seemed, had been so desperately anxious to keep his territory clean that he had been unaware he would compromise the Police Department by seeking help from mobsters.

Chief of Inspectional Services John Guido, after meeting with Commissioner McGuire, confronted Schwartz on Friday, June 24. Schwartz admitted the truth of the information. He attempted to justify his action on the grounds that the pressure he had brought to bear was good for the department and an effective way of solving what had been a messy problem. He seemed, at first, unable to grasp the Commissioner's view that his venture - however well intended - was a patently unacceptable collaboration between the police and organized crime. Very likely, Schwartz's name would surface when the case involving the owner of the topless bar came to trial. Schwartz had suffered an aberration under agonizing pressure. His offense was relative. He did not, for example, abandon a woman trapped underwater in a car. Had he been a United States Senator, he could have continued to serve his government.

Fifteen years earlier he could have stayed on in the department, where many of his fellow commanders were doubtless committing far worse indiscretions and yet rising higher. Even today on most other big city police forces he could have committed a similar indiscretion, very likely with no fuss made at all. He had done nothing illegal, nothing corrupt and his rationale, however askew, was in his view honorable.

But this was the Varnished Brass of New York, the rigidly clean and upright hierarchy that was Frank Serpico's legacy to the Police Department. Sturdy and dependable cop that Schwartz had been for 32 years, he would now have to go. He had overcome the hostility to his religious background, the stigma of his divorce, the trauma of his childhood, only to be brought down by a single, tragic misjudgment. His high position, the department insisted, was a particular trust; an assistant chief of the N.Y.P.D. had to be above suspicion.

It was Chief of Operations Patrick J. Murphy who suggested that Schwartz put in his papers. Angry at being punished so harshly, Schwartz argued the unfairness of it, but he could not be forgiven.

Only a few top police officials knew that Schwartz was being asked to retire and why. McGuire could not publicly reveal how the details of Schwartz's indiscretion had come to his attention, and he was constrained to refuse any comment about his commander's departure. By his silence he let it appear that Schwartz was leaving voluntarily because he had been bypassed for promotion, with the implication that the 10th Precinct episode was still being held against him. Privately, McGuire grieved over the loss. And Schwartz himself, without actually saying so, allowed the same implication to be read into his action. He made himself unavailable to reporters and they assumed - recalling the widely publicized trouble in the 10th Precinct - that he had, indeed, resigned in a huff over having been bypassed. There was no hint in their stories that he had been asked to leave.

To me, too, Schwartz implied that he was leaving the department of his own accord. "I have absolutely no animosity against the Police Department," he said. "Bob McGuire is a gentleman. Another commissioner might have fired me for the 10th Precinct episode; he did, after all, let me keep my command."

A few days later, I found out through other sources why Schwartz had left the department, but he would not discuss the matter with me, being under the same constraint of confidentiality as the other high officials in the know. Although he could not admit it to me, I understood that he had accepted his mistake, had resolved to live with the consequences, and was, understandably, trying to salvage his reputation.

The appointments of the two new Superchiefs were announced on the afternoon of Wednesday, June 29: Assistant Chief Robert J. Johnston Jr. to be chief of patrol; Assistant Chief Raymond L. Jones to be chief of organized crime control. Neither had held two-star rank as long as Schwartz, nor jobs as important as his. That same day, Schwartz began the involved process of filing his papers of retirement; he packed his personal office gear, including his Buffet clown, which now, more than ever, seemed to be a soulful symbol of his own doomed striving.

"This is the single most terrible day in my life," Arlene Wolff told me.

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Mickey Schwartz kept his silence. He was ready for a new career, ready now to put policing behind him.

Dan Courtenay knew *he* would be part cop forever.

"It's like being a priest," Courtenay said. "Once a priest, always a priest. Once a cop, always a cop." He would continue to carry a gun, he said. Partly it was because he would feel naked without it, could simply not imagine himself *not* carrying a gun. But also, he said, "I feel I might some time be in a position where I could protect someone." He would never retire to Florida, a dream fulfilled by many New York police commanders. "I'll always live in this city," he said, "and I'll always be policing it, even as a civilian."

In mid-July, Courtenay drove to headquarters to turn in his three-star shield. He submitted his worn identity card to the property clerk and it was returned to him, stamped "Retired." That gave him a small wrench.

He stopped in for a chat with the P.C. and found him in a low mood about the recent series of illnesses and departures. There were new casualties: Chief of Detectives Sullivan had suffered a mild stroke; it had passed quickly, but for a few hours he had lost part of his vision and feared for his life. Dr. Robinson was being kept very busy. And James B. Meehan, a former chief of patrol, who now reported to McGuire in his capacity as chief of the Transit Authority Police, had suffered a heart attack and was in the hospital under intensive care.

Courtenay and McGuire talked about the pressures of police command, the awful responsibility, the virtually unrelieved anxiety.

"The pressure, of course, increases as you go up," McGuire says today. "But the department is not draconian. It simply has an enormous commitment to integrity. And people do survive the pressure. Dan Courtenay, after all, survived 35 years."

McGuire himself - pointing out that the commissionership offered "no future benefits, no retirement pension" - implies that he is to be congratulated if he lasts until the end of his own sixth year with the police this December. The Mayor, he says, has asked him to stay beyond, on into 1985. But, McGuire says, "it's not a forever job." Clearly, he is torn.

McGuire agreed with Courtenay that while it was sad to see so many of the old guard departing, the new Top Brass was just as able, just as honest, just as dedicated.

And why not? After all, Courtenay himself had initiated many of them into the intricacies of high command, had inspired them with his own sense of commitment and optimism, his own dedication to The Job.

Correction

Under this heading, The Times amplifies articles or rectifies what the editors consider significant lapses of fairness, balance or perspective. Corrections, also on this page, continue to deal with factual errors.

An article in The Times Magazine today about the New York police describes Chief of Detectives James T. Sullivan, on page 66, as having had "a mild stroke" that "passed quickly." This information was confirmed by top officials at police headquarters, but Chief Sullivan says his condition was later diagnosed at Bellevue Hospital as a reaction to an overdose of vitamin A. The reference to the diagnosis was not checked with Chief Sullivan as it should have been under The Times's policy.

Correction-Date: October 9, 1983, Sunday, Late City Final Edition

Graphic

THE HARD CODE OF THE SUPERCHIEFS

photo of insignia, p.1; photo of 1979 ceremony for Assistant Chief Milton Schwartz ; photo of First Deputy William J.Devine p.24; photo of Chief of Organized Crime Control p.25; photo of Comm. McGuire with new Chief of Organized crime

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Sikh in British Army Is Lured To a Belfast Flat and Is Killed

The New York Times

September 6, 1981, Sunday, Late City Final Edition

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Section: Section 1; Part 1; Page 19, Column 6; Foreign Desk

Length: 101 words

Byline: Reuters

Dateline: BELFAST, Northern Ireland, Sept. 5

Body

The **Irish Republican Army** took responsibility for the fatal shooting today of an off-duty British soldier who was killed after being lured to an apartment by two **women**.

Irish Republican Army claims responsibility for fatal shooting of off-duty British soldier after being lured to apartment by two **women**

Another soldier who had gone to the apartment with the **women** was seriously wounded in the ambush, the police said. Soon after they arrived, four gunmen burst in and opened fire at close range. The army identified the dead soldier as Schan Singh Virdee, a Sikh of Indian origin, from Birmingham, England.

End of Document

British Soldier Shot by the I.R.A. Dies of Wounds in Ulster Hospital

The New York Times

January 26, 1981, Monday, Late City Final Edition

Copyright 1981 The New York Times Company

Section: Section A; Page 5, Column 1; Foreign Desk

Length: 118 words

Byline: AP

Dateline: BELFAST, Northern Ireland, Jan. 25

Body

A British soldier, shot in the head yesterday by **Irish Republican Army** guerrillas, died in a Belfast hospital today. Phillip Barker, British soldier shot by **Irish Republican Army** guerrillas, dies in Belfast hospital

The I.R.A. Provisionals took responsibility for the attack yesterday, in which three gunmen presented themselves for a body search at a security gate in downtown Belfast, then fired several shots and disappeared into a crowd of shoppers.

Surgeons at the Royal Victoria Hospital worked through the night to save the life of the soldier, Cpl. Phillip Barker, 25 years old, a member of the Royal Regiment of Fusiliers who had been on routine search duty with two **women** from the **Women's** Royal Army Corps.

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Quote of the Day

United Press International
August 28, 1988, Sunday, PM cycle

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Section: International

Length: 54 words

Body

Annette Mahon, the mother of a 2-year-old boy whose neck was grazed by an IRA bullet in the latest wave of violence in Northern Ireland by the outlawed *Irish Republican Army*:

"Are babies to die now? Thank God he is alive. I don't think the IRA cares who gets hurt now -- men, women, children, old people. They just don't care."

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Ulster Rebels Kill Soldier

The New York Times

September 23, 1985, Monday, Late City Final Edition

Copyright 1985 The New York Times Company

Section: Section A; Page 14, Column 6; Foreign Desk

Length: 60 words

Byline: UPI

Dateline: BELFAST, Northern Ireland, Sept. 22

Body

Two Irish nationalist guerrillas shot and killed an 18-year-old British soldier who was walking two young women home from a dance early today. In a telephone call to local radio stations, the outlawed *Irish Republican Army* took responsibility for the killing of Pvt. Martin Patten in the city of Londonderry. Another soldier with Private Patten was not attacked.

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2 BRITISH SOLDIERS KILLED BY GUNMEN

St. Louis Post-Dispatch (Missouri)

May 28, 1990, MONDAY, FIVE STAR Edition

Copyright 1990 St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Inc.

Section: NEWS; Pg. 28B

Length: 94 words

Body

ROERMOND, Netherlands (AP) - Three masked gunmen in a car shot two British soldiers to death with a burst of automatic gunfire in the city's cafe district Sunday night, police said.

Dutch radio quoted Roermond police as saying they suspected the **Irish Republican Army** in the attack. The IRA has claimed responsibility for other attacks in the area on British soldiers. The two soldiers were with two unidentified **women** in a parked car with British license plates at the time of the shooting, Police Chief J. Kuijpers told The Associated Press. The **women** were unhurt.

Load-Date: October 14, 1993

World News Summary

United Press International
April 30, 1981, Thursday, PM cycle

Copyright 1981 U.P.I.

Section: Domestic News

Length: 80 words

Dateline: BELFAST, Northern Ireland

Body

IRA hunger striker Bobby Sands spurned the pleas of a papal envoy to break his death fast, and Catholic groups today mapped plans for a mass evacuation of women and children from potential battle zones if Sands dies.

Sands, 27, serving 14 years for breaking firearms laws and in the 61st day of his hunger strike, has wasted into a "grotesque parody" of a man in his bid to gain improved prison conditions for Irish Republican Army prisoners, says his family, who sees him daily.

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IRA Appeals For Tens of Thousands To March Sunday

The Associated Press

June 23, 1981, Tuesday, PM cycle

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Section: Domestic News

Length: 61 words

Byline: AP News Summary, By The Associated Press

Dateline: BELFAST, Northern Ireland

Body

Members of the **Irish Republican Army**, in a letter smuggled out of prison, are calling on supporters to march on Belfast by the tens of thousands Sunday to support the IRA hunger strike.

Sinn Fein, the legal political arm of the outlawed IRA's Provisional Wing, said the letter was signed by 450 inmates at the Maze prison outside Belfast and the **women**'s jail in Armagh.

IRA Bombs Government Minister's Home

The Associated Press

November 14, 1981, Saturday, PM cycle

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Section: Domestic News

Length: 86 words

Byline: AP News Summary, By The Associated Press

Dateline: LONDON

Body

The ***Irish Republican Army*** claimed responsibility today for a bombing that ripped the home of Attorney-General Sir Michael Havers, 58, just hours after the British government threatened "ruthless eradication" of IRA guerrillas.

Three police officers suffered minor injuries in the Friday night blast and a ***female*** officer was treated for shock, said Cmdr. Mike Richards of Scotland Yard's anti-terrorist squad. The officers were part of a team that maintains a round-the-clock guard on prominent British political figures.

End of Document

Taxi Driver Killed by IRA

The Associated Press

April 22, 1989, Saturday, AM cycle

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Section: International News

Length: 101 words

Dateline: BELFAST, Northern Ireland

Body

The **Irish Republican Army** on Saturday claimed responsibility for killing a 26-year-old taxi driver in North Belfast.

Police said two **women** in the cab were not injured.

William Thompson of Belfast was believed to have been slowing down to drop off his passengers Friday night when he was overtaken by another taxi and a masked man inside fired at him, police said.

In a statement delivered to news media, the IRA said it had information that the driver had been involved in sectarian murders.

It was the 25th death this year in sectarian violence in Northern Ireland, where the IRA is fighting to end British rule.

End of Document

A Luxury Hotel West of Belfast Burned Out by Terrorists' Bombs

The New York Times

September 21, 1980, Sunday, Late City Final Edition

Copyright 1980 The New York Times Company

Section: Section 1; Part 1; Page 6, Column 6; Foreign Desk

Length: 71 words

Byline: UPI

Dateline: BELFAST, Northern Ireland, Sunday, Sept. 21

Body

Masked terrorists armed with machine guns exploded three bombs at the luxury Ortime Hotel in Lisnaskea, County Fermanagh, late last night, causing a fire that burned out the building, the police reported.

The ***Irish Republican Army*** said it was responsible for the action, 75 miles west of Belfast, the police added. There were no reports of injuries but more than 30 women at a discotheque in the hotel were treated for shock.
AN-A

End of Document

AROUND THE WORLD;
7 Injured in Bomb Blast;
Near Ulster Police Station

The New York Times

October 13, 1980, Monday, Late City Final Edition

Copyright 1980 The New York Times Company

Section: Section 1; Page 7, Column 6; Foreign Desk

Length: 67 words

Byline: Reuters

Dateline: WARRENPOINT, Northern Ireland, Oct. 12

Body

Two elderly women, a teen-age girl and four policemen were injured last night in a car bomb explosion outside a police station here.

It was the first major incident in this town near the Irish border since August 1979, when 18 British soldiers were killed in a bomb attack by Irish Republican Army guerrillas fighting for British withdrawal from the province. The I.R.A. said it planted the bomb here.

AN-A

IRA pair gets 30 years' jail

Herald Sun

December 7, 1990 Friday

Copyright 1990 Nationwide News Pty Limited

Length: 117 words

Body

LONDON - TWO **Irish Republican Army** terrorists who plotted to murder the entire British Cabinet in a Christmas bombing blitz were jailed for 30 years yesterday.

Damien McComb and Liam O'Dhuibhir cried "Tiocfain ar la" - "Our day will come" - after sentence was passed in London's Old Bailey.

The two men were found guilty of conspiring to cause explosions after just 90 minutes' deliberation by a jury of eight **women** and four men.

Suspected IRA member Donna Maguire will be extradited from Belgium to the Netherlands today in connection with the murder of Australian tourists Stephan Melrose, 24, of Brisbane, and Nick Spanos, 29, of Sydney, this year.

HERALD-SUN BUREAU

END OF STORY

Load-Date: September 24, 2003