

Date and Time: Friday, May 3, 2024 3:50:00 PM EEST

Job Number: 223444060

## Documents (99)

1. Feature - New year's struggles; John Haylett sends a New year message to Star readers

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

2. <u>RESPECT? YOU'RE An MP in the house - He's taken on Tony Blair and won a seat in Parliament for the anti-war Respect Party. He's taken on a US Senate committee and emerged victorious. But has George Galloway's decision to go on the reality television show 'Celebrity Big Brother' damaged his reputation irreparably? Terry Kir by reports</u>

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

3. G2: From the Ashes to zealots - test your memory of the past 12 months with our Quiz of the Year: Answers

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

4.\_12 ISRAELIS DIE; SHEIK THREATENS TO BOMB TEL AVIV

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

#### 5. Musharraf vows to end load-shedding, price-hike

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

6. Confusion in court -it's the messy matter of whose human rights you want to guard today, m'lud

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

7. Jill Carroll: finally free

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

8. <u>G2</u>: 'Why depict Israel as a chamber of horrors like no other in the world?': This week's Guardian report on the parallels between Israel and South African apartheid was muddled and disappointing, argues Benjamin Pogrund. Overleaf, we publish reaction from other experts and from readers. I

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

9. Strange Bedfellows

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

10. <u>G2: 'We're tired of blood': In November, a former Moroccan trade unionist was elected leader of Israel 's Labour party. Since then the political landscape has changed beyond recognition. Ariel Sharon founded a new party in response - then fell into a coma. As Israelis prepare to go to the polls, Linda Grant reports from a country losing faith in the old political certainties: 'My dream is the dream of Greater Israel, from the Jordan to the sea, but I don't think many will join me' Eli Moyal: 'We need a prime minister who will start a war to put an end to the Palestinians' violence' Yossi, Sderot resident</u>

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

11. <u>Middle East crisis: A new war, but both sides recall old ones: Exodus from Beirut as Israel tightens vice and vows to disarm Hizbullah</u>

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

#### 12. METROPOLITAN NEW YORK

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

## 13. Pointing the finger of blame in Middle East

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

14. <u>Guardian Weekly: Weekly Review: The unlikely first lady: Israel</u> 's prime minister, Ehud Olmert, is a rightwing nationalist: Married to Aliza, a leftwing artist who openly criticises his policies. Rachel Shabi profiles an unconventional political wife

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas



Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

15. <u>THE DEMONS THAT HAUNT SRI LANKA Civil war in the jungle The deserted beaches are littered with</u> rubbish. The jungles are burning, torched by troops trying to flush out the Tamil Tigers. Eighteen months after the tsunami, Justin Huggler reports from Trincomalee on the disaster confronting a seeming paradise

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

16. This man's young disciples, trained in the cause of martyrdom, wrap themselves in explosives and blow up innocent Jewish civilians

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

17. Farmers suffering a variety of blows

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

18. Making of Muriel the suicide bomber

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

19. ISRAEL PUSHES ON DESPITE AGREEING TO AIRSTRIKE LULL

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

#### 20. Debate on the crisis in the Middle East

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

### 21. LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

#### 22. 'Clash of civilizations' orchestrated: Global protests were anything but spontaneous

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

## 23. Orchestrated 'clash of civilizations': Global protests were anything but spontaneous

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

## 24. A New Face in Iran Resurrects an Old Defiance

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

25. <u>G2: The unlikely first lady: Ehud Olmert is the rightwing nationalist who has just become Israel 's prime</u> minister. His wife Aliza is a leftwing artist who is openly critical of his policies - and had never voted for him until this year. Rachel Shabi on the world's least conventional political wife

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

26. Asbos do work and the public support them

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

27. MIDDLE EAST SPECIAL: Land of my fathers It took David Baker 40 years to get to Israel. But when he did he found peace in the most surprising of places

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

28. LETTERS

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

29. What makes a martyr? The wave of arrests of British Muslims suspected of plotting to destroy passenger jets over the Atlantic again raises the question posed after 7/7 last year: what tips religious fundamentalism into murderous intent? Olga Craig and Alasdair Palmer report

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

30. Bernard-Henri Levy

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

31. Insurance problems for homeownersgrow more frustrating

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

32. WAR CAPITALISM Vladimir Putin sends the nation to the front

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

33. THE RUSSIAN SECRET SERVICES ARE MOVING IN THE WRONG DIRECTION A non-government

report: does international terrorism really need Chechnya?

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

34. The Cabinet

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

#### 35. Identifying the real basis for responsibility

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

36. <u>FOCUS: ISLAM AND CENSORSHIP: SPECIAL REPORT: How cartoons fanned flames of Muslim rage:</u>
<u>Embassies burning. Riots and demonstrations across the globe. Journalists in hiding. Presidents and</u>
<u>preachers joining the furious debate. But just how did a series of second-rate cartoons buried deep inside the</u>
<u>pages of a small Danish newspaper produce such an incendiary dispute?</u>

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

37. FOCUS: ISLAM AND CENSORSHIP: SPECIAL REPORT: How cartoons fanned flames of Muslim rage:

Embassies burning. Riots and demonstrations across the globe. Journalists in hiding. Presidents and preachers joining the furious debate. But just how did a series of second-rate cartoons buried deep inside the pages of a small Danish newspaper produce such an incendiary dispute?

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

## 38. Looking forward, and backTHE MUSLIM MALAISE

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

39. Wimmin at war

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

40. Extremism is not the way to assure safety

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

41. Observer Magazine: Cover story: IN A LEAGUE OF HER OWN: Though best known as Sven's girlfriend, Nancy Dell'Olio also plays a beautiful game. From a corner of Claridge's tea room, she talks to Tim Adams about giving up law, sticking with her Swede and the car crash that almost killed her.

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

42. THE CHANGING FACE OF IRAN

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

43. How Iraq 's Ghost of Death was cornered

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

44. In 1979, followers of Ayatollah Khomeini seized 66 Americans in Tehran and held them for 444 days. The crisis marked the start of a conflict that continues to this day. Here, for the first time, hostage takers explain their actions

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

45. Age of terror, age of illusions: Part One: I remember the anger I felt watching the endlessly repeated images of the towers collapsing. But there's another kind of anger -- a more cerebral one toward the intellectuals of our time who contributed to all that destruction through their hostility toward the mores and traditions of western civilization.

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

46. Pious people with lost souls

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

47. G2: From the Ashes to zealots - test your memory of the past 12 months with our Quiz of the Year

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

48. MIXED BLESSINGS - This Jewish child is alive and well today because of a kidney taken from an Arab boy killed by Israeli soldiers. So why has this extraordinary "gift of life" sparked such controversy? - HEARTS AND MINDS

Client/Matter: -None-



Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

49. A mixed blessing

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

50. The World According To China

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

51. Views of the world Who is the most influential commentator in China? Or the most powerful voice in Iran?

Or Britain? FT foreign correspondents gave us their picks, and came up with a revealing list that says as much about the world's political elites as the media that analyse them

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

52. Hamas passes plate around

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

53. Letter: Hamas and struggle against theocracy

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

#### 54. LETTERS TO THE EDITOR Women under Hamas

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

## 55. Reply: Letter and emails: Hamas, Palestine and the prospects for peace

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

#### 56. Bomber left Hamas before attack

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

### 57. ISRAELIS CELEBRATE.. .. AS HAMAS DIG IN

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

## 58. Letter: Obstacles to peace in the Middle East

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

59. ISRAEL TROOPS ON GAZA BLITZ STANDBY

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

60. New union hopes to end sanctions

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

61. Palestinians protest loss of salaries

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

62. Gaza pullback is temporary, Israelis say

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

63.\_*NEWS* 

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

64. NEWS

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

65. Reply: Letters and emails: Shelling beaches prospects for peace

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

66. Letter: Short ponts - IF blowing innocent

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

67. NEWSTRACKER | UPDATES ON CONTINUING STORIES

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

68. Exchange prisoners

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

### 69. PALESTINIANS FLATTENED

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

70. Israel shuns soldier deal

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

71. Isn't retaliation justified?

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

72. Saudis are in no position to preach

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

73.\_Isn't retaliation justified?

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

74. Letter: Briefly... - Different song

Client/Matter: -None-



Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

75. Israelis snub ultimatum

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

76. Militants issue new demands

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

77. Gaza strike is imminent warns Israel

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

78. LETTERS TO THE EDITOR Lebanon and Israel

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

79. Olmert promises 'broad' offensive after kidnapping

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

80. PICK OF THE DAY

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

81. Israeli forces renew attacks in Gaza Strip

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

82. Reply: Letters and emails: Little space left for Israels critical friends

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

83. Begin freeing Palestinians prisoners

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

84. Letter: YourSay - Karren's views so naive

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

85. No Headline In Original

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

86. Börsebericht Warten auf die Zinsentscheidung

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

87. No Headline In Original

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

88. No Headline In Original

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

89. No Headline In Original

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

90.\_Meldungen

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

91. No Headline In Original

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

92. No Headline In Original

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

93. No Headline In Original

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

94. No Headline In Original

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

95. Humus - gèèn homo's! 'Arab-Americans' spotten met vooroordelen op festival

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

#### 96. DEBAT: FANGER: PALAESTINENSISKE KVINDER OG BOERN I ISRAELSKE FAENGSLER

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

## 97. No Headline In Original

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

## 98. <u>UMFRAGE Mehr als zwei Drittel gegen Gesamtschule</u>

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006

### 99. No Headline In Original

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Dec 02, 2005 to

Sep 30, 2006



# Feature - New year's struggles; John Haylett sends a New year message to Star readers

Morning Star

December 31, 2005

Copyright 2005 People's Press Printing Society Ltd

**Length:** 1679 words **Byline:** John Haylett

# **Body**

After celebrating the 75th year of our paper's existence, 2006 offers the opportunity of a new stage of struggle that will unite the labour movement for peace and progress and consign new Labour to the dustbin.

New Labour has dragged Britain's name in the mud for too long, as it has trailed behind the Bush administration in support of its imperialist programme of war, occupation, torture and denial of democratic rights.

Although a majority of the people in Britain are opposed to this disgraceful submission to the most reactionary US presidency in living memory, Tony Blair has, hitherto, been able to rely on a compliant majority on his back benches to give him a free hand.

But this could change, given the necessary political will and determination by the labour movement.

It is an open secret that, in the run-up to the 2005 general election, Blair was viewed as an albatross round the neck of the Labour Party. His association with a disastrous war and the web of lies spun to cover up its reality made him deeply unpopular.

Despite his intention to sideline Gordon Brown during the campaign, the Prime Minister had to ditch this plan and pitch his sales pitch at increased expenditure on public services rather than on war and "radical reform" of the public sector.

However, with Labour's re-election, albeit with a reduced majority, has come reinforced arrogance and self-importance.

He tells Parliament that "I won the election" and is intent on driving through what he calls a radical agenda in his remaining but undefined period in office.

The Chancellor, who is still seen as his heir apparent, backs every extremist position adopted by the Prime Minister, for fear of being seen as "disloyal" to his new Labour partner in crime and of being superseded as preferred candidate.

There are many in the trade union movement who view Brown as more in tune with "old Labour," although his role in the government agenda of privatisation, Civil Service job cuts and failure to develop a state-supported industrial strategy suggests that this is based more on wishful thinking than reality.

Feature - New year's struggles; John Haylett sends a New year message to Star readers

But, in any case, his failure to challenge a Prime Minister who feels unconstrained by virtue of handing in his notice while leaving the effective date blank leaves him tarred with the same neoliberal extremist brush and makes him a less attractive proposition the nearer we are to an election.

Brown's impotent fretting is at odds with the growing restiveness on the back benches, which inflicted a unique defeat on the Cabinet's Terror Bill and which threatens further revolts on education and other issues.

However, important as Parliament is, it cannot be the sole forum for resistance to the neoliberal agenda.

The labour movement and the left, in its broadest sense, must face their responsibility to effect a speedy change in both government personnel and, more importantly, of policy.

As former Cabinet minister Tony Benn wrote in the Morning Star's November 11 edition, the process of electing Blair's successor must be based on whether candidates "want to continue with new Labour policies or come forward with different policies that meet the needs of the time and the wishes of the party."

Benn went on to say that "the programme that we want and need should be drafted now, before any candidate offers himself or herself by accepting nomination."

Such a programme will be meaningless if it is not discussed as widely as possible and is taken up by trade unions, MPs, groups such as the Labour Representation Committee and organisations outside the Labour Party that are prepared to work for the election of a Labour government.

In this category, the Communist Party of Britain has published its own proposals for a left-wing programme, which mirrors many of the points made by Mr Benn and policies proposed by the LRC.

It is understandable that there should be widespread agreement on these issues, since many of them have been fully discussed at trade union conferences, including last September's TUC, and some have actually been agreed at Labour Party conference but have been vetoed as government policy by the new Labour leadership.

Essentially, there must be a change of direction from the profits-obsessed, deregulatory policies of neoliberalism to an approach which recognises that collective effort and ownership have a role to play in fostering a productive economy, working for social justice and strengthening intergenerational solidarity.

Without being prescriptive, which trade unionist, socialist or Labour voter could disagree with the following policies?

- Taking our railways back in public ownership
- Extending public ownership into the energy and transport sectors
- Backing the Trade Union Freedom Bill
- Restoring the link between the state pension and earnings
- Ending the scourge of privatisation
- Lifting the burden of debt from university students caused by tuition fees and loans instead of local authority grants
- Compulsory pay audits to enforce equal pay for women
- Chopping the insidious extension of an internal market into state education and health services
- Stopping council housing stock transfers and beginning a new wave of construction of local authority homes for rent
- Introducing selective price controls, especially in areas subject to profiteering, such as energy

Feature - New year's struggles; John Haylett sends a New year message to Star readers

This list is not conclusive. Nor is it pie in the sky or unaffordable.

Since 1997, new Labour has treated big business and the rich with kid gloves, placing the burden for taxation on working people and the poor through increases in national insurance and indirect taxation.

An alternative left-wing programme could be financed by a change in priorities, from war to peace and from rich to poor.

The government is, at present, biding its time before announcing a US-supplied replacement for the Trident nuclear weapons of mass destruction system. Scrapping this could save commissioning costs of GBP 20 billion and GBP 1 billion-a-year maintenance.

Bringing our troops home from Iraq would not redeem the GBP 6 billion already squandered there, but it would mean not throwing good money after bad. In addition, savings could be made by reducing our bloated military expenditure to the level of other European states and by ending state subsidies to the merchants-of-death arms exporters.

Imposing a windfall tax on the mega-profits of energy and banking corporations would provide an immediate cash injection, while raising the top level of income tax, introducing a wealth tax for the richest 5 per cent of the population and raising corporation tax on big business would provide higher government revenue.

New Labour apologists will sneer at such proposals as ministers already have done, rejecting out of hand the decisions of Labour Party conference.

But they would be sneering on the other side of their face if the movement that provides the finance, the political backing and activist core that put them into Parliament in the first place were to take a united stance in demanding change.

No-one should accept the old Thatcherite claim that "there is no alternative."

Faced with that assertion, Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez replied: "Socialism is the alternative" and, throughout Latin America, people are demanding an alternative to decades of domination by a local plutocracy in thrall to US imperialism.

The election of Evo Morales in Bolivia is the latest expression of progressive regional unity in opposition to neoliberalism and exploitation after decades of Cuba being the lone state bearing the anti-imperialist banner.

Solidarity with the struggling masses of Latin America in 2006 will be vital, as it is with the people of Iraq who are still battling for their independence against imperialism's occupation.

Iraq's oil reserves are being plundered by the occupiers without even a record kept of their plunder, while US transnational corporations close to the White House, such as Halliburton, see their profits fattened up by "reconstruction" contracts that have had no effect on a shattered economy, where unemployment is rife and there are still acute shortages of clean water and fuel.

And the question of Palestinian self-determination will continue to be key next year in the face of collusion by the US and its allies with the cunning plan of Ariel Sharon to throw Palestinians the scrap of Gaza while incorporating most of the West Bank into Israel.

The European Union has nailed its colours to the mast by suppressing its own report into Israel's apartheid wall for fear of upsetting Tel Aviv, while threatening the Palestinians with sanctions over the role of <u>Hamas</u> in forthcoming parliamentary elections.

When western Europe and north America, with a handful of honourable exceptions, lined up with apartheid South Africa, democrats all over the world organised to impose people's sanctions against the dictatorship.

Feature - New year's struggles; John Haylett sends a New year message to Star readers

Nothing less is needed now to prevent Israel's imposition of its own version of a one-state solution.

The urgency of the situation dictates maximum support for the special Palestine Solidarity Campaign trade union conference taking place in London on Saturday March 11.

The voice of the labour movement must be heard on this issue, as it must be over Northern Ireland, where recent revelations indicate that security elements opposed to democratic change falsely accused Sinn Fein of activities that they themselves were responsible for.

The movement was silent when the IRA was exploding bombs in Britain. In light of IRA disarmament and its declaration that its war is over, it is essential that Britain's unions throw their weight behind the Good Friday Agreement.

The Morning Star's masthead declaration For Peace and Socialism makes clear where our paper stands.

Its growing influence in the months to come will be crucial not only for individual struggles but also to draw together the experiences of working people and to generalise them.

This is vital in building the mass movement that is necessary to force the Labour government to change direction.

- John Haylett is Morning Star editor.

Load-Date: January 3, 2006

**End of Document** 



RESPECT? YOU'RE; An MP in the house - He's taken on Tony Blair and won a seat in Parliament for the anti-war Respect Party. He's taken on a US Senate committee and emerged victorious. But has George Galloway's decision to go on the reality television show 'Celebrity Big Brother' damaged his reputation irreparably? Terry Kir by reports

The Independent (London)

January 11, 2006 Wednesday

First Edition

Copyright 2006 Independent Print Ltd All Rights Reserved



Section: FEATURES; Pg. 12

**Length:** 1553 words **Byline:** Terry Kir

# **Body**

It is a busy week in the deprived but vibrant inner-city community of Bethnal Green in east London. Yesterday was the important Islamic feast day of Eid al-Adha, which was being observed by the majority-Muslim population while tomorrow sees a major Parliamentary debate on the cross-London rail link, a crucial factor in the economic future of such a deprived area. And many local people are still gravely concerned about the implications of the Department of Health's decision just before Christmas to put a hold on plans to re-build the prestigious but crumbling Royal London Hospital on the White chapel Road.

Meanwhile, the area's MP has chosen to insulate himself from this time of both celebration and discussion and spend his days instead on a television reality show, in the company of two cross-dressers, a Paris Hilton lookalike, a glamour model, an ex-star of Bay watch and a former television entertainer whose fall from grace involved sex, drugs and a death in his swimming pool. It is a fairly rich mix, even by the normal standards of Celebrity Big Brother.

When he was elected as the Right Honourable Member of Parliament for Bethnal Green and Bow in May after a bitterly fought contest, George Galloway promised that he would provide a powerful voice for the area's Muslim community. They were the people whose opposition to the Iraq conflict had given him the support he needed to defeat the incumbent and Blairite Labour MP Oona King, whom he accused of backing the war and ignoring the needs of locals.

Yesterday, instead of- as some Muslim leaders might have preferred - making courtesy visits to neighbourhood mosques, he was wearing a white coat as "Big Brother's Lab Assistant" and taking part in a strange task designed to test some scientific theories - such as "Does spinach make you strong?" - which involved his follow housemates

RESPECT? YOU'RE An MP in the house - He's taken on Tony Blair and won a seat in Parliament for the antiwar Respect Party. He's taken on a US Senate committee a....

all wearing purple, including the one sporting fishnet tights, high heels and showing his rear to the audience. But at least Mr Galloway is being paid - a rumoured pounds 60,000 - for the privilege of being involved.

"On a day like today, which is an important day for the local Muslim community, one would have expected him to at least have visited the local mosque to show his respect. Instead, he appears to be in some kind of brothel," said Abdal Ullah, a member of the local Metropolitan Police Authority and chair of its community engagement committee. "This is an area that needs strong representation and he was elected because that was what he promised. But now we are seeing his true colours. This is all about George Galloway."

Mr Ullah is not the only Muslim leader to attack Mr Galloway: "Frankly, it is bizarre. His work should be here, not in the Big Brother house," said Sirajul, Islam, a member of Tower Hamlets Council for Bethnal Green. Muhammad Bari, chairman of the East London Mosque, could not be contacted yesterday because of the holiday, but has been reported as saying that many Muslims would find Mr Galloway's actions "unpalatable". His view is significant: during the election, it was the non-political Mr Bari who urged Muslims to vote, despite a campaign by extremists urging them to avoid the ballot box.

A substantial groundswell of opinion against Mr Galloway now appears to be building up in the constituency. Last Friday, as he enjoyed his second day in the Big Brother house, the MP's constituency surgery was taken by colleagues from his Respect party against a backdrop of protesters marching up and down outside carrying banners saying "Get back to work, Galloway" and "Where Are You?"

An online petition has also been set up by a body calling itself the United Residents of Bethnal Green and Bow. Their website calculates the amount it has so far cost local taxpayers to have their MP in the house: yesterday afternoon it stood at pounds 812.46.

In Brick Lane yesterday, down which Mr Galloway was carried shoulder-high on the morning after his victory, there were also critics: "He shouldn't be on Big Brotherbecause there's a lot that needs to be done here. There are huge community concerns about housing and cleaning," said Ak-thar Hussain, 23. There was, however, one voice of support: "It's a good opportunity to get the anti-war message across. George can't actually do much on a local level here anyway as Labour control the council. Celebrity Big Brother allows him to wake people up to what is happening," said Azmal Hussain, 53, who also happens to be a committee member of Respect.

Criticism extends beyond the constituency itself and Mr Galloway's political opponents have not been slow to exploit it. Jim Fitzpatrick, Labour's Minister for London accused him of being a "C-list politician with an A-list ego" while Meg Hillier, who represents the neighbouring Hackney South and Shoreditch constituency for Labour, said she was considering making a complaint about Mr Galloway's absence to the Speaker of the House of Commons. And Tony Blair himself indicated yesterday (as if he really had to), that he would disprove of any Labour MP entering the Big Brother house.

Mr Galloway could have ridden out the furore had he established a decent record as a local MP. But since the election, he has had one of the worst attendance records in the Commons, coming 643 out of 645 MPs. He has spoken in only four debates since the election, putting him 556th out of 645 MPs. "He didn't even turn up for the debate on the anti-terror legislation," says Murad Qureshi, a member of the London Assembly.

"Gorgeous" George Galloway is, as they say, no stranger to controversy. Formerly Labour MP for Glasgow Hillhead, he was dismissed by the party in 2003 for his outspoken comments over the Iraq conflict. He was later accused by a US Senate inquiry of taking backhanders, through charities he backed, from the Iraq government. He won a libel case against the Daily Telegraph over similar accusations, receiving pounds 150,000 in damages.

He was widely criticised when he visited Iraq in the wake of the first Gulf war and was filmed alongside Saddam Hussein. His personal life is equally colourful: twice married, he is being divorced by his Palestinian second wife for alleged infidelity.

RESPECT? YOU'RE An MP in the house - He's taken on Tony Blair and won a seat in Parliament for the antiwar Respect Party. He's taken on a US Senate committee a....

The MP says his reasons for doing the show are twofold. First, it will raise money for the British-based Palestinian charity, In-terPal, which he supports and which the US Treasury has, in the past, accused of raising money for the Palestinian militant group <u>Hamas</u>. (Money for the chosen charities of BigBrother participants comes via a percentage of charges for the text and telephone votes for evictees.)

Second, Mr Galloway says he wanted the opportunity to talk to an audience of millions - particularly the "politically untouched" young people who form a large part of its viewers, about the problems of his constituency, and about "war and peace, about Bush and Blair".

But the man who even his critics admitted triumphed in the face of a US Senate sub-committee and whose instincts for political survival are pretty well-honed, may have made a wrong call, misjudging not only Channel 4's ability to give him a platform but also the level of interest of his celebrity housemates in subjects like the Iraq conflict and the Palestinian question.

Channel 4 stresses it was made clear to Mr Galloway beforehand that it would have to abide by the restrictions of the Broadcasting Act. Anything vaguely polemical is thus edited out, thanks to the time delay used to prevent anything libellous or legally difficult being broadcast - a move that has led to a formal complaint by Respect about "censorship".

Not that Mr Galloway appears to have actually spent much time attempting to discuss the politics of the Middle East with such individuals such as cross-dressing basketball star Dennis Rodman or Traci Bingham, a former Baywatch actress. "He seems to have expected a more intelligent level of conversation," said one Channel 4 source.

Instead Mr Galloway has complained that no one shows any interest in him or what he does and has been reduced to muttering in the corner with actress Rula Lenska about the other, younger contestants. "Someone of my age and class is not used to young <u>women</u> talking as they do in here, with no orifice left unopened," he confessed. "There's only so much about plastic surgery and genital humour I can take." Clearly, the company of Saddam Hussein must have been considerably more stimulating.

He later added, somewhat pompously: "When you see people coming on to each other in a grotesque way I have a duty to step in. The public who know me would expect it."

Some ob servers point out that his low-key, unconfrontational demeanour is exactly the right tactic for winning the show - previous winners such as comedian Jack Dee and former Take That member Mark Owen succeeded precisely because they declined to be outrageous. Perhaps "Gorgeous George" is simply playing a long game.

However, salvation maybe at hand. Yesterday, he was named as one of this week's potential evictees, alongside Jodie Marsh, the glamour model, and Pete Burns, the transvestite former singer of 1980s band Dead or Alive, who boasts a surgically enhanced pout. On Friday, Mr Galloway will learn whether he will be evicted from the house. Whether he gets evicted from the other House at the next general election is another matter.

Load-Date: January 12, 2006



# G2: From the Ashes to zealots - test your memory of the past 12 months with our Quiz of the Year: Answers

The Guardian - Final Edition
December 23, 2005 Friday

Copyright 2005 Guardian Newspapers Limited All Rights Reserved

Section: GUARDIAN FEATURES PAGES; Pg. 2

Length: 1364 words

# **Body**

A for Ashes

1 a). 2 b). 3 Merlin. 4 Gary Pratt. Ponting was annoyed that Pratt was being used as a specialist substitute fielder. 5 c).

B is for Blair and Brown

1 b). 2 b). 3 Time magazine listed him as one of the 100 most influential people in the world. Tony Blair was not included. 4 a). 5 b).

C is for Celebrities

1 b). 2 A stingray. 3 Guy Ritchie's movie Revolver.

4 Richard Gere. 5 Usher. And Mariah Carey is reported to have done so.

D is for Disease

1 53 Taiwanese mesia finches, as well as a blue-headed parrot from Surinam, developed avian flu

at the Pegasus Birds Centre in Finchley. 2 False. They were split five for and five against. But the committee's report made the recommendation. 3 He/she is at increased risk of obesity.

4 Homeopathy, according to the Lancet medical journal, which said it was no better than a placebo. 5 b).

E is for Election

1 Hard-working families. 2 Tim Collins. 3 Craig Murray, the former UK ambassador to Uzbekistan, where he denounced the human-rights abuses of President Islam Karimov, and who went on to contest Blackburn as an independent. 4 Sir Sean Connery, the former James Bond, recorded a phone message for the Scottish Nationalist party to play when cold-calling voters. 5 Labour MP Bob Marshall-Andrews, who said he had lost his Medway seat and then promptly won it.

F is for Film

G2: From the Ashes to zealots - test your memory of the past 12 months with our Quiz of the Year: Answers

1 Pride And Prejudice. 2 The Lion, The Witch and The Wardrobe. Skandar Keynes plays Edmund. 3 Team America: World Police. They were puppets.

4 The Descent. 5 Ewan McGregor and Scarlett Johansson in The Island.

G is for Gladrags

1 d). 2 a). 3 i and c, ii and b, iii and a. 4 c). 5 Tucked in.

H is for Harry

1 d). 2 d). 3 A minesweeping mini-submarine. When he contacted the Royal Navy, it denied any of its submarines were missing. Two weeks later it admitted that maybe one had disappeared. 4 Harry Hallowes was granted squatter's rights to the land on which he built a shack on Hampstead Heath. The land was estimated to be worth £2m. 5 b).

I is for Inventions

1 c). 2 Scientists at the world's largest tea research facility in Assam are developing a tea pill that can be sucked, chewed or dropped into boiling water. 3 The new strain of South American manteca bean produces much less gas when eaten, prompting Colin Leakey to spot a commercial opportunity. 4 Prof Lawrence Rome built a rucksack that generates power as the wearer walks. The invention could mean hikers, soldiers and disaster-relief workers will not have to rely on batteries to power torches, night-vision goggles and GPS equipment. 5 c).

J is for Jeremiahs

1 d). 2 William Rees-Mogg 3 3-1 4 Melanie Philips, on her web diary 5 d).

K is for Kitchens

1 Heston Blumenthal's restaurant, the Fat Duck. Its selection as the best restaurant in the world did not impress the reviewer of the German newspaper Die Zeit. 2 Documents released under the Freedom of Information Act showed all had been criticised by health inspectors. 3 a). 4 b). 5 All contain fish on the Marine Conservation Society's endangered list.

L is for Law

1 The US Supreme Court (John Roberts succeeded William Rehnquist; Samuel Alito is likely to be confirmed to succeed Sandra Day O'Connor). 2 BCCI versus Bank of England. 3 Tony Blair, Jack Straw, Alistair Darling. 4 Cherie Booth QC - the state paid her university tuition fees. 5 It is to be the home of the new UK Supreme Court.

M is for Memoirs

1 a). 2 b). 3 c). 4 b). 5 a).

N is for Newspapers

1 b). 2 Three: Dominic Lawson of the Sunday Telegraph, Martin Newland of the Daily Telegraph and Andrew Gowers of the Financial Times. 3 None.

4 c). 5 Richard Littlejohn.

O is for Opposition

1 All of them except Ed Matts, whose doctored photo-gaffe helped the sitting MP, Jim Knight, achieve a 1.7% swing to Labour 2 They were all once special advisers to cabinet ministers. Only Mr Osborne did not work for Gordon Brown. 3 a). 4 d). 5 c).

G2: From the Ashes to zealots - test your memory of the past 12 months with our Quiz of the Year: Answers

P is for Painters

1 Edvard Munch, whose Self-Portrait, portrait of

Strindberg and portrait of a woman in blue were stolen early this year from a hotel near Oslo. They were rapidly recovered. 2 Damien Hirst, whose exhibition of photorealist paintings at Manhattan's Gagosian gallery, entitled The Elusive Truth, got terrible reviews. 3 Gillian Carnegie, whose black-on-black paintings of forests were nominated for this year's Turner prize. 4 Caravaggio, whose late paintings, done when he was on the run after killing a man in a duel, were a hit at the National Gallery in the spring. 5 Titian, whose Portrait of a Young Man is being sold after a long period on loan to the National Gallery, which is unlikely to be able to keep it in the country.

Q is for Quarrels

1 c). 2 b). 3 d). 4 a). 5 d).

R is for Royals

1 d). 2 d). 3 d). 4 b). 5 b).

S is for Soap

1 a). She was pushed off the Arran ferry by erstwhile pal Steph Turner, having previously faked her own death. b). He was battered to death by his wife, Chrissie, with Pauline Fowler's Scottie dog doorstop, having previously faked his own death. c). After killing her dad - who had tricked her into having an abortion - Katy, a diabetic, deliberately overdosed on sugar, sending her into a coma. Unimaginatively, she had never previously faked her own death. d). She died in her sleep, after Mary Wimbush, the actor who played her died in November. 2 Mel Hutchwright whose bodice-ripper novel, Hard Grinding, was pored over by the Street book group. But it was all a scam - Hutchwright was really conman Lionel Hipkis. 3 Will is George's dad, though Emma left him for his brother, Ed, thinking him the father. Phoebe's mum is Kate Madikane, who returned briefly from South Africa in November. Adam was adopted by Roger Travers-Macy but his biological father was Paddy Redmond, Phil Archer's cowman. Hazel was played by Annette Badland, who played one of the Slitheen in Doctor Who. 4 Grant has been in Rio running a bar with his wife, Carla. 5 Jack Ryder, who played Jamie Mitchell in EastEnders, was to join Family Affairs as policeman Nathan but reconsidered when Five announced the soap was to be axed after more than eight years.

T is for Terror

1 2,880 (90 days divided by 45 minutes). 2 Charles Clarke told MPs it was "obscene" to oppose the terror bill the day after the memorial service for those who died in the July 7 London bombings. 3 A soldier stopped videoing the doorway of a terrorist suspect's block of flats to have a pee just as de Menezes appeared. 4 Stansfield Turner, former head of CIA, describing Dick Cheney. 5 By employing Sir Ian Blair in aid of his 90 days in the terror bill, Tony Blair laid the police open to the charge they were getting involved in partisan politics.

U is for Underdogs

1 On a Christian internet chat room. 2 1,000-1.

3 Fly fishing. 4 Four. 5 d).

V is for Vitriol

1 George Galloway to Christopher Hitchens.

2 Joan Rivers to Darcus Howe. 3 Doctor Who to the last Dalek. 4 Roy Keane about his (then) team-mates at Manchester United. 5 Maureen Dowd about her (then) New York Times colleague Judith Miller.

W is for Writers

- G2: From the Ashes to zealots test your memory of the past 12 months with our Quiz of the Year: Answers
- 1 Jane Fonda. 2 Zadie Smith and Nick Laird (On Beauty, Utterly Monkey and To A Fault). 3 Joan Brady and Alexander Masters.
- 4 John Lennon. 5 Kazuo Ishiguro.

X is for the X-chromosome pair

- 1 a). 2 a). Laura Bush b). Cherie Blair, during a joint interview with her husband c). Doreen Davis d). Ludmila Putin 3 Meg Munn,the new **women**'s minister, who was told her job was unpaid.
- 4 Eileen Collins, commander of the Discovery. 5 The thong, sales of which dropped from 31% of underwear sold in 2003 to 23% this year.

Y is for Youth

1 Charlotte Church: one bottle WKD Blue and 25ml of port. 2 d). 3 a). Danny. b). Tom. c). Dougie. d). Harry. 4 c). 5 b).

Z is for Zealotry

- 1 For "immoral behaviour". They went on to beat up her fiance, Ziad Zaranda, his brother, Rami, and Yusra's sister, Magdalen, who was engaged to Rami. Ziad and Yusra were returning from a walk. Later <u>Hamas</u> said the murder was a mistake.
- 2 He is the US deputy under-secretary of defence for intelligence. 3 Geoffrey Wheatcroft in the Daily Mail. 4 American Anglicans who supported the right of gay men to be clergymen were the target of Anglicans from Africa and Asia, especially, who threatened the Anglican communion with schism over the issue. 5 Pat Robertson of President Hugo Chavez of Venezuela.

Load-Date: December 23, 2005

**End of Document** 



The New York Times
August 4, 2006 Friday
Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2006 The New York Times Company

Section: Section A; Column 6; Foreign Desk; Pg. 1; HOSTILITIES IN THE MIDEAST: THE OVERVIEW

Length: 1649 words

Byline: By RICHARD A. OPPEL Jr. and STEVEN ERLANGER; Hassan M. Fattah and John Kifner contributed

reporting from Beirut for this article, and Warren Hoge from the United Nations.

Dateline: MAALOT-TARSHIHA, Israel, Aug. 3

## **Body**

The Lebanese militia Hezbollah killed 12 Israelis -- 8 civilians and 4 soldiers -- on Thursday, making it Israel's deadliest day in more than three weeks of conflict.

As Israeli troops tried to create a narrow buffer zone inside Lebanon and bombed southern Beirut, Hezbollah's leader, Sheik Hassan Nasrallah, warned that he would send his long-range missiles into Tel Aviv if the airstrikes continued.

"If you bomb our capital Beirut, we will bomb the capital of your usurping entity," he said on Lebanese television. "We will bomb Tel Aviv." But he also offered to halt Hezbollah's missile barrage into Israel if it stopped bombing Lebanon.

The Israeli defense minister, Amir Peretz, told the army to begin preparing to push to the Litani River, some 15 miles north of the border, according to the newspaper Haaretz, a move that could mean a further call-up of military reservists. That would expand the security zone Israel is trying to create. But it is not clear whether he will receive government approval to do so.

Hezbollah launched more than 100 rockets on northern Israel in less than an hour, with most of the damage on the western edge, in Maalot, its associated Arab Israeli village of Tarshiha and the town of Acre.

Five Israelis, including a man and his daughter, were killed in Acre and another three, young Arab Israeli men, were killed when a rocket exploded in Tarshiha. Thirteen people were seriously wounded. Lebanese security officials said an Israeli missile killed a family of three in the border village of Taibe.

In Gaza, Israeli forces killed five Palestinian militants and three civilians in fighting on the edges of the southern town of Rafah as Israeli troops searched for tunnels to Egypt.

Israeli airplanes struck again at Hezbollah strongholds in southern Beirut, in the Bekaa Valley and in Nabatiye, while four Israeli soldiers were killed and four wounded in intermittently fierce fighting. Three were hit by an antitank missile fired by Hezbollah fighters near the southern village of Rajmin, and one was killed by an antitank missile in

Taibe, the Israeli military said. The Israelis said they moved to take over new positions along the border and now control some 20 villages.

The Israelis are trying to create a new defensive line about four to five miles north of the border, recreating a security zone Israel intends to occupy until a multinational force can take its place. The zone is similar to that held by Israel in an occupation that ended in 2000. The government is debating whether to extend that zone north to the Litani River.

Maj. Zvika Golan, a spokesman for the northern command, said the zone would be expanded. "We are looking to clear 15 kilometers into Lebanon within the next few days," he said. "We're going to need more brigades, probably two more, and that will depend on government authorization."

Adding two brigades could bring the number of Israeli soldiers in Lebanon to more than 12,000.

But Israeli troops have run into stiff resistance from Hezbollah fighters. One Israeli military official, who was not authorized to speak publicly, said that it had taught Israeli forces a "lesson" about the resolve, skill and discipline of the guerrillas.

Prime Minister Fouad Siniora of Lebanon said in a televised speech to an emergency meeting of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, meeting in Malaysia, that 900 people had been killed, 3,000 wounded, and more than a million, a quarter of Lebanon's population, displaced.

Mr. Siniora's figures for deaths, like the Lebanese Health Ministry's, appear to include those who are missing, and not just the 548 confirmed deaths, according to The Associated Press. The United Nations estimated last week that 500,000 Lebanese had been displaced.

At the United Nations, France and the United States stepped up negotiations on the text of a Security Council resolution calling for an end to hostilities and establishing a path for a political settlement. Diplomats said the talks centered on two issues, which would take some time to resolve.

One, according to Jean-Marc de la Sabliere, the French ambassador, was how to characterize the halt in fighting. A French-drafted resolution calls for "an immediate cessation of hostilities" while the Americans are insisting on a broader measure.

The other is the nature of the force in southern Lebanon once a truce begins. The French resolution suggests that it could be made up of the existing United Nations force and the Lebanese Army. The Americans favor Israel's proposal to leave its own military there, with some restrictions on its power to conduct offensive operations but the right to respond if attacked.

Under this plan, Israeli troops would leave only when a new international force arrives. The international force would be authorized by a subsequent resolution that would also create a buffer zone in southern Lebanon, set up a way to disarm the Hezbollah militia, establish Lebanon's borders and extend the Lebanese Army's authority throughout the south.

One difficulty will be to persuade Hezbollah to accept any United Nations resolution. Its chief spokesman, Hussein Rahal, said Hezbollah would not agree to a cease-fire until all Israeli troops left Lebanon, a condition unacceptable to Israel.

"Declaring a cease-fire is not the concern of the people of Lebanon as long as there is one Israeli soldier on Lebanese soil," he told Al Jazeera television.

Israeli aircraft dropped leaflets over parts of southern Beirut on Thursday warning residents to leave immediately, signaling attacks on the battered southern suburbs.

"Do it!" the leaflet warned.

[Israeli warplanes bombed the southern suburbs of Beirut early Friday. The Israeli Army said it had aimed at offices of Hezbollah, the house of a Hezbollah official and a building used by the Palestinian group <u>Hamas</u>, Reuters reported.

[Hours later, Israeli aircraft struck several bridges linking Beirut to the north of the country, Reuters and Agence France-Presse reported, based on security sources and witnesses. Previously, Israel had focused on Lebanon's east and south and Beirut's southern suburbs.]

In a television appearance, Sheik Nasrallah spoke in a measured tone, occasionally peering at notes before him, flanked by a Lebanese flag on one side and a signature yellow Hezbollah flag on the other.

"You are victims, like the Lebanese and Palestinian people, of a personality complex in your Prime Minister Olmert," he said, addressing the Israeli public directly. "The only choice before you is to stop your aggression and turn to negotiations to end this folly," he said.

Sheik Nasrallah also taunted Arab leaders, calling on them to "be men for just one day" and work for an end to hostilities.

And he accused the United States of complicity in Israel's attacks, saying, "the blood of children and <u>women</u> and civilians smear the faces of Bush, Condoleezza Rice, Cheney and Rumsfeld. This is the U.S. administration, which is supposed to be the friend of Lebanon and which wanted to make Lebanon an exemplary democratic country."

The eight Israeli civilian fatalities represented the highest number of Israeli dead in a rocket attack since eight people were killed in the port city of Haifa on July 16.

The barrage of Hezbollah rockets -- 120 for the day -- displayed the continued ability of the militia to keep northern Israel paralyzed. Cars screeched to a halt as motorists ran for cover at the sound of explosions. Smoke rose over Maalot-Tarshiha and a nearby forest.

Tarshiha is a village of 4,000 Israeli Arabs, both Muslim and Christian, legally attached to the Jewish city of Maalot, which contains roughly 20,000 people, half of them immigrants from the former Soviet Union. The three young men, Muslim Arabs, were killed when a rocket struck next to the rock where they had taken cover.

"They had just parked to go to work," said Capt. Gabby Elyahu of the Israeli border police, as he stood near the foot-deep crater left by the rocket. "They left their car and went to go hide behind the rock, and they were killed."

In Milya, a Christian Arab village nearby, at least 10 people suffered slight wounds when rockets fell Thursday afternoon, said the mayor, Fathi Assaf. In Acre, five people died as they went out from a shelter to look around after an initial wave of rockets. The dead included Shimon Zaribi, 44, and Mazal, his 16-year-old daughter. One body lay on the front lawn by a small stone fence topped with a white-picket extension, covered with a blanket.

"People have been holed up in shelters," said Mayor Shimon Lancry of Acre to Israeli television. "It's difficult, but people understand that soldiers are still fighting in Lebanon, and we will get through this period."

The area of southern Beirut that Israel attacked is the center of Hezbollah's presence in the city. Much of the area is deserted, a ruin of crushed buildings and burned-out cars and trucks. Some of the rubble was still smoking at midday. Most of the residents have fled.

The Israeli Army also released the conclusions of its inquiry into the bombing on Sunday in Qana that resulted in the deaths of 29 civilians sheltering in a basement. The Israelis, in a brief announcement, said that more than 150 rockets had been launched since July 12 "from within the village of Qana itself and the immediate surrounding area" and repeated that "the residents of Qana and the villages surrounding it were warned several times, through various media, to evacuate." The report did not assert that rockets had been launched before the bombing.

The report said that the army did not know there were civilians in the building. "Had the information indicated that civilians were present in the building, the attack would not have been carried out." The army said it regretted the loss of life.

http://www.nytimes.com

# **Graphic**

Photos: Israeli warplanes destroyed a building in the Lebanese border town of Khiam yesterday. The Israeli Army says it now has control of about 20 Lebanese villages. (Photo by Joao Silva for The New York Times)(pg. A9)

A woman and two children at the scene of an attack in Acre, Israel. Five Israelis, including a man and his daughter, were killed there yesterday. (Photo by Yonathan Weitzman/Reuters)(pg. A1)Map of Israel highlighting Maalot: More than 100 rockets landed around the Israeli town of Maalot. (pg. A9)

Load-Date: August 4, 2006

**End of Document** 



# Musharraf vows to end load-shedding, price-hike

The Nation (AsiaNet)
July 20, 2006 Thursday

Copyright 2006 The Nation All Rights Reserved

Section: NATIONWIDE INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Length: 1814 words

Dateline: ISLAMABAD JUL 20

# **Body**

President General Pervez Musharraf Thursday said the government is determined to overcome power shortage in the country and would add 28850 MW by 2016 through short, medium and long-term strategy. In his radio and television address to the nation, President Musharraf spoke about Pakistan's relations with India and Afghanistan, Lebanon crisis and highlighted the success of the government in improving law and order in FATA, the strategy to impede Talibanisation, restoring the writ of government in Balochistan and improvement in economic situation.

He termed electricity shortage in the country a development related problem as a number of new industries have been set up during the past few years and all new and old industries are working at 100 per cent capacity due to market demand. He said the government has prepared a comprehensive short, medium and long-term strategy to overcome the electricity shortage. Under the short-term strategy, 1100 megawatt of electricity would be added up to December 2007. In the medium-term strategy 8600 MW would be added through gas turbine, wind power projects and hydropower projects in 2008-2011.

About 19150 MW will be added in the national grid through the long-term strategy between 2011 and 2016 by installing 31 hydro and nuclear power projects, he said. He appealed to the nation to face this difficulty for some time. However, he directed the government and WAPDA that whenever there is power shortage load shedding should be in an organized manner.

On Lebanon, President Musharraf appealed to the world to achieve a negotiated settlement of Lebanon crisis and termed Israel's bombing on Lebanon as an "open attack." He also urged the international community to help resolve the lingering Palestinian dispute, which was at the heart of the crisis in the Middle East. "The conflict has escalated and the fear is that Syria or Iran may be dragged in the conflict."

"I appeal to the world to intervene and move towards ceasefire," he said, adding, "Israel was already in conflict with <u>Hamas</u> and Hizbullah but now it has openly attacked Lebanon that has serious repercussions." President Musharraf also feared that the escalating violence in the Middle East could have an impact on Pakistan. "It could have an impact on Pakistan. So we need to ensure our own security that can only be achieved by exhibiting national solidarity."

Unveiling the new strategy to tackle "Talibanisation" of Waziristan area, the President said that to achieve peace in the area the Grand Jirga and Maliks would be strengthened and Army would be pulled back gradually. The President asked the foreigners either to leave the area or they will be killed."If the foreigners want to stay in the area, they must surrender and ensure a peaceful stay there."

He also categorically stated that no Pakistani would be allowed to enter Afghanistan for ulterior motives and Talibanisation of Pakistan's area bordering Afghanistan would be thwarted. President Musharraf urged India and Afghanistan not to resort to blame game."This is the first sign of defeat to level unsubstantiated allegations." The President expressed sympathy and solidarity with families of the victims of Mumbai blasts and assured the Indian government and people of Mumbai that Pakistan would fully cooperate in finding out the real culprits of the blasts.

"We condemn the heinous act. Pakistan itself is a victim of terrorism and extremism. We are successfully fighting the menace and ready to help our neighbours." He expressed his disappointment over Indian attitude towards the ongoing peace process. "This amounts to playing in the hands of terrorists," he added. Talking about Afghanistan, the President said the situation has changed after we succeeded in breaking the network of al-Qaeda. They are now on the run. "A transformation from al-Qaeda to Taliban has taken place. Taliban are operating in Southern Afghanistan and Qandahar under Mulla Umer and that is creating problems for Pakistan."

He said there are some elements connected to Taliban in Waziristan area and our forces are very effectively operating against them. The President said the government took an action against terrorism and the focus was at Al-Qaeda. Six to seven hundred al-Qaeda members were arrested in cities and government took an action against others in mountains and succeeded. Now focus has shifted to Taliban.

General Pervez Musharraf said the government has decided to reinforce the institutions of political agents; maliks and FATA secretariat under the new governor has been reorganized. He said the governor has full support of the government in his strategy for the formation of grand jirga. He categorically stated that no foreign terrorists will be allowed on Pakistani soil and no person will go from Pakistan to Afghanistan for any terrorist activities.

He said we have launched operations against certain elements that are active on our side of the border. President said we are partners in the fight against terrorism. On price hike, the President said the main reason of the price-hike was the gap between demand and supply. He said there has been an upsurge in economic activity, per capita income doubled and with increased resources, people are spending more.

This price-hike must be controlled and the government is taking all actions to check inflation, which has been brought down from double digit to less than eight percent. He said the prices of pulses and sugar have come down considerably, he added. President Musharraf also underlined the efforts of the government that have resulted in bringing the inflation rate down to single digit and added that the government will take steps to provide essential items on controlled prices through the chain of Utility Stores across the country.

The President promised to establish Utility Stores in 6000 union councils and at tehsils' level. All essential food items will be available on these out-sourced stores at subsidized rates and the prices of these items will be publicized in newspapers and on TV regularly with telephone numbers of the price control magistrates to complain about any over charging.

He said the government is extending a subsidy of 104 billion rupees on electricity, fuel, food items and fertilizers as well as provision of assistance to the needy through Bait ul Maal. All these subsidies are aimed at facilitating the masses. He said prices in Pakistan of essential items are still lower than the entire region. He, however, assured the nation that he and the government would take all actions not only to control prices but also bring them down.

President Musharraf said that the new budget is a people friendly with maximum allocation for development works that is Rs 415 billion. The PSDP allocation reflects the economic turnaround and a massive increase in revenue collection that touched 710 billion rupees during last financial year as against 304 billion rupees in 1999, he added.

On poverty and unemployment ratio, President Musharraf referred to the reports of World Bank, Asian Development Bank, UN Poverty Centre in Pakistan that corroborate with the poverty figures of Pakistani government that the poverty has come down from 34 to 24% in the last five years."The situation is still not good and poverty will go down further every year," he said.

## Musharraf vows to end load-shedding, price-hike

The President said that there was sharp decline in unemployment as big sectors like telecom, IT, construction industries are expanding rapidly. Several hundred new industries have been set up while others are now running into two and three shifts thus providing more jobs.

He also talked about the increased production of motorcycles, cars, refrigerators, air-conditioners, tractors and said this was also an indication of economic activity and more job opportunities. Giving break-up of jobs generated by different sectors, the President said, 1.5 million people are employed in IT sector, 8 lakh got direct employment opportunity in government initiated mega development projects while 1.6 million got jobs indirectly.

As such, poverty and joblessness have been brought down and the government has taken care of the salaried people and increased their pay by about fifty percent during the last three to four years. He said the Rozgar Pakistan Programme has been launched which will create 1.9 million self-employment jobs. Under the programme, people would get special credit at low interest rates.

On Balochistan, the President said writ of the government had been restored in most parts of troubled areas in Balochistan and FC and the intelligence agencies did the wonderful job as they successfully dealt with the situation. The President said the situation has improved considerably and in a period of short time normalcy would be fully restored. He said mega projects are being implemented to end the sense of deprivation and bring prosperity to the people of the province.

He said in Balochistan three Sardars out of 77 are anti-development, anti-democracy and they want their own dictatorship in their areas. These Sardars were maintaining private armies to blackmail the government and subjugate their people. He said they had established forty Ferrari camps in different parts of the province for sabotage activities that included mine blasts, gas pipeline blasts and damaging railway lines, pylons and killing foreigners including our Chinese friends.

He said these Sardars had even forced their own sub-tribes to leave their homes and these people are now returning to their homes. He said there was only one clash in Dera Bugti, which was due to firing by the supporters of Akbar Bugti aimed at forcing his people to leave the area. He said out of 9000 population of Dera Bugti, 5000 have returned home including his cousin Ahmdan Bugti. All military commanders of Bugti have surrendered with their arms.

He said the situation has become peaceful and there are no bomb blasts, rocket fire or sabotage of railway lines, electricity pylons. He said the main actor is now on the run. He said even several bomb blasts in Karachi, Lahore and Quetta were the handiwork of the people of Akbar Bugti.

He rejected misperception in the media of human rights violations in Bugti and Marri areas. He said the Government is taking action against those who killed their own people and forced their sub-tribes to leave along with their families including <u>women</u> and children and stay in Punjab and Sindh.

The President asked the people raising hue and cry over violations of human rights that where they were when these sardars threw out almost fifteen thousand people from their homes. In the end, President Musharraf urged the nation to fight the menace of extremism as it is tainting the image of Pakistan and Pakistani nation in the world."We cannot progress until we leave the path of intolerance. We must promote tolerance and show the world that ours is tolerant society."

Load-Date: July 21, 2006



The Sunday Times (London)
May 14, 2006

Copyright 2006 Times Newspapers Limited All Rights Reserved

Section: FEATURES; News; Pg. 14

**Length:** 1682 words **Byline:** Peter Millar

## **Body**

We Brits invented 'human rights' but the application of the law has become an abuse of common sense. It is time to rebalance the scales, writes Peter Millar

The situation was explosive. The hardmen of the SAS were lurking in readiness, armed police surrounded the Boeing 727 as it sat on the runway at Stansted airport. Inside, armed hijackers held passengers and crew to ransom.

When, after 70 hours of tense negotiations they gave up, it was seen as a classic operation, a victory for common sense. And so it turns out to have been: for the hijackers.

Mr Justice Sullivan's ruling last week that the nine hijackers can stay in this country indefinitely because to return them home to liberated Afghanistan would be an abuse of their human rights suggests that crime pays after all.

The prime minister, for once in tune with the majority of the electorate, thought otherwise: "It is an abuse of common sense."

But then common sense -as it is commonly understood -doesn't seem much in demand of late. As witness drugaddicted prisoners from jails across Britain suing the Home Office for violating their human rights by subjecting them to the "cold turkey" of enforced withdrawal.

They were encouraged by £ 2,400 awarded Robert Napier, an armed robber in Barlinnie prison, Glasgow, who complained the practice of "slopping out" his cell degraded his human rights.

The case of the paedophile John Callison, who demanded compensation because prison was boring, was rejected. But not before running up large sums in legal aid.

All this pales before the case of the rapist Anthony Rice, who despite psychiatric reports recommending he be kept incarcerated was freed from jail by a probation panel convinced that his human rights were being abused -and within months murdered a woman. But then that's par for the course, with a parole and probation service in chaos while the Home Secretary is forced to resign because more than 1,000 foreign prisoners who could -and in most cases should -have been deported were released, often to offend again.

Everybody's whipping boy is the Human Rights Act, hailed in 1998 as one of this government's great achievements not only by the prime minister but also, more tellingly, his wife, a lawyer whose Matrix chambers have benefited massively by its introduction.

Now even Tony Blair, a lawyer, professes not to understand its working or implications. So is it the law that is an ass, or just the lawyers?

Some of the press has gone into overdrive, proclaiming that Britain has once again fallen victim to foreign diktat and political correctness. Why don't the French or the Germans have these problems? Max Hastings, writing in the Daily Mail, said: "As ever, Britain is the most scrupulous adherent to this law."

But this popular belief that Britain is the good citizen in a corrupt Europe embodies two fallacies: first -that we alone apply the rules when sometimes it is our own officials who interpret them bizarrely; second -that there is one Europe out there, rather than 24 other countries.

The tension between human rights and the rule of law is as old as the concept of individual freedom. Which is not all that old.

The first modern code of laws was the Codex Maximilianus laid down in Bavaria in 1756, based on ancient Roman law. It went on to become the German Burgerliches Gesetzbuch (citizens' law book) hailed in 1900 as the most liberal in Europe.

Despite temporary corruption by the Nazis, it remains the basis of law in Germany, but also Japan, South Korea and Taiwan.

The Code Napoleon introduced in post-revolutionary France in 1804 became the basis for legal systems also in Spain, Portugal, Italy, Belgium and the Netherlands.

British common law began as a collection of Anglo-Saxon customs and traditions homogenised by the Normans and modified by parliament and countless courtroom decisions (similar to much of Scandinavia).

A key difference with France is that because the Code Napoleon was drawn up after the revolution the judiciary was seen as much more a branch of the "people's government". Or as one influential British human rights lawyer has it, "more inclined to bend to the wishes of the executive".

Britain, by contrast, as Margaret Thatcher uncomfortably reminded President Francois Mitterrand at the 200th anniversary of the French revolution in 1989, had cut off its king's head more than a century earlier.

The 1689 Bill of Rights, which ended the tumult of the English civil war and subsequent royal succession squabbles, established the judiciary as an independent bulwark against the potential tyranny of government.

The fact that it was intended initially to keep the king in check in no way diminishes its basic function when the powers that the monarch then had are now held and exercised by a prime minister with a commanding majority.

The US Bill of Rights, a century later, was based on the English original -it still is, including the citizen's right to bear arms which we have written out -- and in turn gave birth to the French revolution's famous declaration of the rights of man and the citizen.

That was the model for the United Nations universal declaration of human rights in 1948, and then the European convention on human rights in 1952. In other words, if we want to know where all this fuss started, the answer is on our own doorstep.

The 1998 Human Rights Act is merely the adoption of the convention into British law, meaning cases no longer have to go to Strasbourg. In fact, the two cases on which the controversial Afghan decision was based were dealt with in Strasbourg before 1998.

The first, in 1989, concerned a German citizen living in the UK who successfully fought extradition to the US for a murder he admitted on the grounds that death row conditions in Virginia were inhumane.

The decision, widely seen as indicating European disapproval for the death penalty, was made under article 3 of the convention which forbids torture or "inhuman or degrading treatment", and by extrapolation prevents suspects from being deported to any country where this might be expected to happen to them.

The second case, in 1996, concerned an illegal Sikh immigrant into the UK, later regularised under an amnesty, whom the home secretary wished to deport after serious criminal charges were brought against him.

The case went to Strasbourg where the court ruled -on a hotly disputed majority verdict -that he would be liable to "mistreatment" if returned to India.

Significantly, the judgment stated: "In the circumstances the activities of the individual in question, however undesirable or dangerous, cannot be a material consideration."

That wording sent shockwaves down Whitehall, and through the interior ministries of other European signatories. It was not binding, but such is the moral force of the Strasbourg court that it has been widely adhered to.

Martin Howe, who has written on the act for the centre-right think tank Politeia, maintains that "states signing the convention at the time would have been horrified if they'd been told this document deprives you of your right to remove people who are a threat to your security".

In other words, it's all in the interpretation, precisely where British legal tradition and history come into play, with judges seeing themselves as not just an arm of the state but a check on its powers. And more than a few see the Blair government as rampantly authoritarian. It was the same Mr Justice Sullivan who ruled in the Afghan hijack case who said the Home Office's "control orders" on terror suspects amounted to house arrest and were incompatible with the Human Rights Act's guarantee of a fair hearing.

In the Afghan case he called the Home Office's defence a "transparent attempt to find a form of words" to justify itself. The Home Office's response to the control orders ruling was to say it would appeal and meanwhile ignore it.

France's lack of similar embarrassment can be attributed not just to a different judicial history and attitude but also the system of putting investigating magistrates in charge of a case from the outset. Dismissed by some libertarians as a "fig leaf", it nonetheless establishes a framework for detaining suspects legitimately.

It is a framework that some MPs and judges favour introducing here. David Cameron, the Tory leader, has said he would reform or repeal the Human Rights Act. But seriously abandoning it is hardly an option for the country that first enshrined its principles. One option might be to withdraw and sign up again with new "reservations", such as those chosen by France which exempts its military discipline. But then given the scandals at Deepcut barracks, that option might not be attractive.

Part of the problem is that the human rights convention was drawn up in a different world, in the aftermath of cataclysmic war, by countries anxious to protect their citizens from future despotism, domestic or foreign.

But the universal principles, based originally on the 18th-century French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau's vision of humanity, suggest the same rights must be accorded to everyone, whatever their nationality.

Howe has called this a "form of moralistic imperialism: seeking to impose European convention notions of human rights on those with other traditions and cultures".

Its proponents would not deny this but hold that it is time that humanity as a whole recognised universal rights although many, notably the rights accorded **women** in Europe, are flouted in much of the rest of the world.

What might be necessary is to take a leaf from the German book where judges are required to interpret the spirit -or intention -of the law, rather than the letter.

It is easy to talk of our belief in human rights in the same breath as that in democracy, but we don't like it when democracy gives us <u>Hamas</u> or Nazis. The reality is that the society we call the West rests on a conservative-liberal consensus, in effect a high-wire balancing act, performed simultaneously by both judiciary and government.

The representation of justice as a blindfolded figure holding scales is idealistic; what matters is keeping them balanced.

Load-Date: May 14, 2006

**End of Document** 



Christian Science Monitor March 31, 2006, Friday

Copyright 2006 The Christian Science Publishing Society All Rights Reserved

Section: WORLD; Pg. 1

Length: 1603 words

Byline: Dan Murphy and Scott Peterson Staff writers of The Christian Science Monitor

Dateline: CAIRO AND BAGHDAD

# **Body**

Katie Carroll went from a deep sleep to instantly awake when she saw the Iraq country code on her caller ID.

She grabbed the phone. It was 5:45 a.m and the ringing heralded the news about her twin sister, Jill, who had been held hostage in Iraq for nearly three months. "Katie, it's me," said the voice on the other end of the line. "I'm free."

It was Jill herself, safe after 82 days.

"Then she burst into tears and I did, too," says Katie.

Journalist Jill Carroll was freed in Baghdad Thursday ending a period of captivity marked by an enormous global outpouring of support and calls for her release.

"I'm just really grateful. The overwhelming emotion is gratitude. I am glad this day has arrived and thank whatever forces, divine and otherwise, that helped bring about this day," says Jill.

On Jan. 7, Monitor freelancer Carroll traveled to interview Sunni Arab politician Adnan al-Dulaimi in Baghdad's western Adil neighborhood. He was not in his office, and, after waiting some 20 minutes, Carroll and her Iraqi driver and interpreter left.

After traveling about 300 yards, they were attacked by gunmen. Carroll was seized, and her interpreter, Allan Eniwya, was killed.

Thursday, Carroll's captors simply drove her to Amariyah, stopped the car, pointed her in the direction of the Iraqi Islamic Party (IPP) office at about 12:20 p.m. local time and then drove off.

Carroll, who was on assignment for the Monitor when she was kidnapped, gave a short interview to Baghdad TV, which is owned by the IIP, before being transported to the Green Zone by the US military. She was told the interview was for internal party uses only, and didn't realize it would be broadcast. In that interview Carrroll said that for most of her ordeal she was kept in a darkened room which she later described as a "cave."

"I really don't know where I was. The room had a window but the glass you know, you can't see," she said, making a motion with her hand as if the window was blocked, "and you couldn't hear any sound, and so I would sit in the room."

"If I had to take a shower I walked, you know, two feet, to the next door to take a shower or go to the bathroom and come back." From time to time, she says, she had contact with Iraqi <u>women</u> and children in the house which she found comforting.

She was only allowed to watch television and read a newspaper once and had little information about what was going on in the world at large.

"I was treated well, but I don't know why I was kidnapped," Carroll told the TV station about her kidnappers. In videotaped statements her captors had implied they would kill her if Iraqi prisoners held by coalition forces weren't released. But Carroll said, "They never hit me. They never even threatened to hit me."

Carroll says she asked an IIP official to call the Monitor's Baghdad hotel. He refused, and called the Washington Post's Baghdad office. Carroll is close personal friends with two of the Post's Iraqi staffers.

Her next call was to twin sister Katie. She then called her parents, Jim and Mary Beth.

The first thing she told me today was, 'I love you," says Mary Beth. "She said, 'Every single day I was in captivity, I cried over how worried you must be, and what a burden this must be for the family.'

In fact, the day before release, Katie Carroll had appeared on the Arab TV station Al Arabiyah, where she had talked of the effect of the kidnapping on the family and pleaded for information that might lead to her sister's release.

"I was dreaming that this would be the way I'd find out - that she'd call me in the middle of the night like this," says Katie. "She sounded great. I just want to thank everyone who's prayed and given us support through this time, and we're obviously looking forward to some private time with Jill."

Monitor Editor Richard Bergenheim said Thursday: "This is an exciting day, we couldn't be happier. We are so pleased she'll be back with her family. The prayers of people all over the world have been answered."

President George Bush had said Carroll's release was a top priority for his administration, and her freedom was welcomed by Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice at a press conference in Berlin. Ms. Rice spoke of the "great delight and great relief of the United States, the people of the United States and, I'm sure, the people of the world at the release today of Jill Carroll."

Carroll's release followed half a dozen false leads in the effort to free her - people who contacted the Monitor or the Carroll family. Some demanded exorbitant ransoms, but never managed to produce a "proof of life." One scam artist, calling himself a repentant member of the kidnapper group and seeking a payoff, turned out to be a young Nigerian and was arrested in Germany. Other would-be players said they had contacts and could free her, but never delivered.

Her support among Iraqis appeared to be quite strong. Several Iraqi newspapers and television stations took up her cause. They reported her story, editorialized for her freedom, and donated public-service announcements designed by the Monitor's Baghdad correspondents that pleaded for Carroll's release.

Even the mother of a young Iraqi woman detained for months by the government without charges and finally released in late January was willing to speak publicly on Carroll's behalf. Politicians across the Iraqi political spectrum, especially leaders from the Sunni sect also spoke out emotionally on Carroll's behalf.

Across the Muslim world, voices not normally heard on behalf of an American, called for Jill's release: <u>Hamas</u> in the Palestinian territories, the Muslim Brotherhood in Cairo, and many others.

Hope rose with the release of the remaining three Christian Peacekeepers hostages last week. But it had been nearly two months since Carroll's last video was dated, and many experts were privately beginning to express discouragement about her status. It had been quiet too long, and without a single confirmed attempt to negotiate.

For the Monitor's "Team Jill" - an informal group of editors and writers who worked on her case, each assigned separate tasks - it was a difficult time.

Washington bureau chief David Cook every day passed a photo of Carroll taped to the door of the bureau's building. "You'd come in the door and see her picture and think, 'have I done everything I could today to help get her out?" says Cook.

Monitor editor Bergenheim said no money had been exchanged for Carroll's release.

Following Carroll's arrival at the IIP office Thursday, the party's Secretary General Tariq al-Hashimi led a ceremony in which he handed the freed journalist gifts, and praised her release.

Mr. Hashimi is a rival for influence among Iraq's Sunni Arab minority of Adnan al-Dulaimi's, the politician Carroll had sought to interview on the morning of Jan. 7. Mr. Dulaimi has repeatedly denied involvement. Dulaimi has said that his political rivals - both Shiite and Sunni - were trying to hurt his political standing.

Leading IIP member Naser al-Ani said her appearance at their office, in a blue Islamic robe and wearing a light green headscarf identical to the one she wore in a Feb. 28 video issued by her captors, was completely unexpected. He said guards at the office "thought she was a party member - dressed Islamically like that, they thought she worked in [the Iraqi government's] **Women**'s Affairs department."

Mr. Ani said she was dropped off near the office, in a Sunni stronghold in Western Baghdad. In a press conference, Hashimi said she bore a letter from her captors that she gave to the IIP guards.

A measure of the extent to which she was cut off from the outside world was that she didn't know if her driver had escaped on Jan. 7 during the abduction. News of his safety was a great relief to Carroll, her father Jim Carroll said.

"She knew about Alan, but did not know about [the driver]," Mr. Carroll says. "She started to break down when we were talking about it, so I didn't pursue that too much."

Shortly before her release, her kidnappers also warned Carroll about talking to the US or going to the Green Zone, alleging to her that it was "infiltrated by the Mujahideen" and that she might be killed if she cooperated with the Americans, her family says.

When the US military arrived at the IIP offices to escort her to the Green Zone, she was at first reluctant to go. But in a brief phone call the Monitor's staff writer Scott Peterson in Baghdad, he persuaded her that was the best and safest course of action.

Kidnappers in Iraq have tried to scare former hostages like this in the past. When Italian journalist Guiliana Sgrena was released by her captors in February last year, they told her there was a CIA threat to kill her, and that she should rush to the airport rather than go to the Green Zone. As her car sped down the airport road, at the time one of the most dangerous stretches of Iraq, the US military opened fire on the car, killing Nicola Calipari, the Italian intelligence agent who helped secure her release.

Italy's Corriere della Sera newspaper said the kidnappers had phoned the US military with an anonymous tip and the cars description, warning that it was a car-bomb.

At the time of writing, Ms. Carroll is receiving medical attention in the Green Zone.

Fully in character to all those who know her, Jill has repeatedly expressed concern for Allan and his family, and all the friends and family who've been worrying about her through her ordeal - particularly her parents and her sister.

- \* Staff writer Peter Grier contributed to this report from Washington and Awadh al-Taee contributed from Baghdad.
- (c) Copyright 2006. The Christian Science Monitor

Load-Date: March 30, 2006

**End of Document** 



G2: 'Why depict Israel as a chamber of horrors like no other in the world?':

This week's Guardian report on the parallels between Israel and South

African apartheid was muddled and disappointing, argues Benjamin

Pogrund . Overleaf, we publish reaction from other experts and from readers. I

The Guardian - Final Edition February 8, 2006 Wednesday

Copyright 2006 Guardian Newspapers Limited All Rights Reserved

Section: GUARDIAN FEATURES PAGES; Pg. 14

Length: 1610 words

Byline: Benjamin Pogrund

## **Body**

Nearly three years ago I underwent an operation in a Jerusalem hospital. The surgeon was Jewish, the anaesthetist was Arab. The doctors and nurses who looked after me were Jews and Arabs. I lay in bed for a month and watched as they gave the same skilled care to other patients - half of whom were Arabs and half of whom were Jewish - all sharing the same wards, operating theatres and bathrooms.

After that experience I have difficulty understanding anyone who equates Israel with apartheid South Africa. What I saw in the Hadassah Mt Scopus hospital was inconceivable in the South Africa where I spent most of my life, growing up and then working as a journalist who specialised in exposing apartheid. It didn't happen and it couldn't happen. Blacks and whites were strictly separated and blacks got the least and the worst. And this is only one slice of life. Buses, post offices, park benches, cinemas, everything, were segregated by law. No equation is possible.

That is what came to my mind as I read the Guardian's two-part report this week about Israel and apartheid. The writer, Chris McGreal, is an outstanding reporter. I admire his dispatches from Israel/Palestine. Day by day he honestly and correctly portrays the conflict. But these articles are disappointing. He has lost his way in thickets of information. He has been unable to untangle the confusion and complexities of group relations here. He is muddled in distinguishing between the situations of Israeli Arabs and West Bank Arabs and Jerusalem Arabs.

It is not that he is wholly wrong. Arabs suffer severe discrimination. Israel is in occupation of the West Bank and is responsible for oppressive and ugly actions. But he fails to explain the why and the wherefore. He had a choice in deciding how to decipher the situation. He could have adopted the approach of Heribert Adam and Kogila Moodley, well-known Canadian academics specialising in South Africa and the Middle East. In their book, Seeking Mandela, published last year, they say: "Although Israel and apartheid South Africa are often equated as 'colonial settler societies', we argue that the differences outweigh the similarities." They warn that the "simplistic assumption that the South African model readily lends itself to export may actually retard necessary new solutions by clinging to visions or processes of negotiation that may not work in another context". That assessment is surely far more relevant than quoting the debased views about South Africa and Israel of the late Hendrik Verwoerd, a father of apartheid, as McGreal has strangely done.

G2: 'Why depict Israel as a chamber of horrors like no other in the world?': This week's Guardian report on the parallels between Israel and South African apart....

McGreal had to decide whether the glass is half-full or half-empty. His approach could have been that here is a tiny country which came into being, in the shadow of the Holocaust, less than 58 years ago. It has been under continual attack since the start and is still beset by enemies sworn to its destruction, whether Islamic Jihad and <u>Hamas</u> through suicide bombings, the Arab states through their refusal to recognise its existence, the recent "wipe-out" call by Iran's president, or the actions and declarations of a mixed bag of malevolent forces, anti-semites and semi-Jews. That induces a siege mentality among Israel's Jews. They fight to live and do not always do it pleasantly. They make horrible mistakes and inflict suffering on others. It is not secret. I do not know why Chris McGreal says the Israeli public is unaware of what is happening: newspapers publish the details in profusion, provoking discussion and action.

Yes, racism does exist in Israel - directed against Arabs, and also among Jews. Amir Peretz, new leader of the Labour party, is said to be having problems with western-born Ashkenazi voters because he is Moroccan-born and Sephardic. An explanation offered for the police violence in clearing the Amona outpost last week was the antagonism between the protesting young people, who were mainly religious Ashkenazi, and the police, who were a mixture of Moroccan and Russian immigrant stock, Bedouin and Druze.

Is Israel so different from other countries that struggle to come to terms with their minority groups? Why depict this country as a chamber of horrors like no other in the world?

The glass is indeed half-full. In South Africa, change for the better was simply not possible: the apartheid system had to be eradicated. In contrast, change is possible in Israel. An accusation by a member of the Knesset, Ahmed Tibi, who is Arab, that the central Bank of Israel had a discriminatory employment policy with no Arabs among its 800 staffers, drew the assurance from the bank's then governor that tenders would be advertised in the Arablanguage press. He added: "Bank of Israel hires according to criteria of merit, and ignores differences in religion, sex, race or nationality." Tibi also complained that the state monopoly Israel Electric did not employ Arabs; a start has since been made with the hiring of six Arabs. There is continual progress: the evidence is there if you want to see it. The first Arab was appointed to the high court of justice two years ago. Last year, for the first time, an Arab was appointed director-general of a government ministry.

McGreal notes that inside Israel, 93% of the land is reserved for Jews while South Africa's whites kept 87% of the land for themselves. Thus Israel and apartheid South Africa are the same. But the QED is not as straightforward as his citing of these figures would have us believe. In law, land in Israel is open to everyone but, yes, in practice, through legal stratagems, 93% of the land has been only for Jews. This, however, has been breached by the Arab Ka'adan family: in a 10-year legal struggle, they have established their right to buy land and build a home in the "Jewish" community settlement of Katzir in northern Israel. The high court of justice has given a precedent-setting decision that the state cannot discriminate on the basis of religion or nationality when allocating state land to Israeli citizens. The case has dragged on but final success is in sight. Other court actions are underway. Land exemplifies both the negative and positive aspects of the lives of Israel's Arabs: it conveys the discrimination - and the movement towards change; slow, slow, but underway.

On education, McGreal states that separate and unequal education systems were a central part of the apartheid regime's strategy to limit black children to manual and service jobs - something I observed firsthand and fought against in South Africa. But I have to question his reference to what he says is the current belief among Arab parents that their children's schools are deliberately starved of state resources so that Arabs will be doomed to lesser jobs. Every government school, whether Jewish or Arab, gets identical funding; differences, and hence resources, arise through what parents pay and what local authorities pay (most local authorities in Israel are in poor financial shape; Arab local authorities are even worse off with problems in collecting local property taxes). The Jewish schools are Jewish day schools. The Arab schools are Muslim and use Arabic, which is an official language in Israel. There is no bar to Arabs attending Jewish schools, and some do.

I am also puzzled by the health ministry figures that McGreal has chosen to use about state spending on development of health facilities in Arab areas (the clear implication being that Arabs are starved of health care). Contrary to the picture painted, health is a visible indicator of the differences between apartheid South Africa and

G2: 'Why depict Israel as a chamber of horrors like no other in the world?': This week's Guardian report on the parallels between Israel and South African apart....

Israel. In South Africa, the infant mortality rate (IMR) in 1985 was 78 per 1,000 live births. Among colour groups: whites 12, Asians 20, coloureds 60, blacks 94 to 150. In Israel, in the 1950s, the IMR among Muslims was 60.6 and among Jews 38.8. Major improvements occurred in health care during the 1990s and by 2001 the IMR among Arabs was 7.6 (Muslims 8.2, Christians 2.6, Druze 4.7). Among Jews, 4.1. According to the health ministry, the higher Muslim figure was due mainly to genetic defects as a result of marriages between close relatives; poverty is also a factor. Other countries in 2000: Switzerland, 8.2, and 12.3 for Turks living there; United States, whites 8.5, blacks 21.3.

He is also mistaken in saying that Arabs have been singled out for discrimination in getting reduced child allowances. They are the same as Jewish ultra-Orthodox families. These two groups have the largest number of children and have suffered equally from cutbacks in allowances, especially for the fifth child and beyond.

Here in Jerusalem on Monday, I watched the BBC's Auschwitz on television. The episode dealt with French collaboration in delivering Jews to the Nazis for destruction, and how British policemen on Guernsey handed over three Jewish <u>women</u>. It was a reminder, if any be needed, of why Israel exists: to fulfil the centuries-old dream of a homeland for Jews and as a sanctuary for Jews. It's not a perfect society. It struggles to find itself as a Jewish state (with no consensus about what that means), and it struggles to evolve as a democratic society with full rights for minorities. It deserves criticism for its flaws and mistakes. It also merits sympathy and support in facing unfounded attack \*

Benjamin Pogrund was born in South Africa and was deputy editor of the Rand Daily Mail in Johannesburg. He is the author of books on Robert Sobukwe, Nelson Mandela and the press under apartheid. He has lived in Israel for more than eight years and is founder of Yakar's Centre for Social Concern in Jerusalem, which encourages dialogue across political and ethnic lines.

Load-Date: February 8, 2006

**End of Document** 



The Chronicle of Higher Education

April 21, 2006 Friday

Copyright 2006 The Chronicle of Higher Education All Rights Reserved

Section: THE CHRONICLE REVIEW; Pg. 7; Vol. 52; No. 33

Length: 3870 words

**Byline: GEORGE MICHAEL** 

# **Body**

Americans, stunned by the 2001 terrorist attacks in New York and on the Pentagon, asked themselves, "Why did this happen?" The denizens of the extreme right in America believed they knew why. While mainstream commentators and public officials claimed that it was our values of freedom and democracy that made us targets, shortly after the attacks, extremist Internet discussion groups buzzed with a far different message: The United States had been attacked because of its support for the state of Israel.

That sentiment was shared by many followers of what is generally referred to as militant Islam.

Indeed for years, going back to the Third Reich in Germany, these two seemingly different groups have not only agreed on a common enemy. Jews and, after it was formed, Israel but they have increasingly cooperated to forge a narrative of propaganda against their enemy. Last year, when President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad of Iran stirred worldwide condemnation by dismissing the Holocaust as a "myth," purportedly used as a pretext for the creation of a Jewish state in the heart of the Islamic world, one of the voices that rose to his defense was David Duke, the former Klan leader (and Louisiana representative) who says he "has dedicated his life to the freedom and heritage of European American peoples."

The collaboration of Islamic militants and the extreme right cries out for further study. For there are some indications that the narrative they tell could become more mainstream.

At first glance, there would seem to be little common ground between right-wing extremism and militant Islam. After all, the segment of the right concerned about the racial survival of white people generally tends to be derisive of nonwhites; they would not consider Muslims the majority of whom trace their ethnic ancestry to third-world countries to be part of the ideal, exclusively white community. For their part, Islamic fundamentalists tend to look askance at non-Muslims, whom they sometimes designate as "infidels" and a threat to the ummah, the universal community of Muslims.

Yet, as I found out in studying the linkages between the two movements, they have some strikingly similar characteristics. For example, both evince a high degree of exclusivity as they endeavor to create their own utopian versions of homogeneous societies. More and more, they have a meeting of the minds on several important political issues for one, the cause of Palestinian independence. The two groups also offer similar critiques of American foreign policy in the Middle East, the American news media, modernity, and globalization. And both see the U.S. government as hopelessly under the control of Jews or Zionists.

Right-wing extremists and Islamic radicals have actually made strange bedfellows for quite some time. Adolf Hitler maintained a cordial relationship with the grand mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin al-Husseini, who spent several of the World War II years in Berlin, where he was received as a foreign dignitary after fleeing British-occupied Palestine.

Hitler's war against the British and French electrified many Arabs, as Germany's struggle dovetailed with their own anticolonialist aspirations in the Middle East. In Egypt a protofascist organization, Young Egypt, also known as the Green Shirts, attracted many army officers, including a young lieutenant colonel, Anwar el-Sadat, who was involved in a failed scheme to provide Rommel's Afrika Korps with secret information on British strategy and troop movements. The grand mufti was instrumental in the group's formation. To support Hitler's war efforts, al-Husseini also helped organize the Waffen-SS Handschar division in Yugoslavia, which was composed of Bosnian Muslim volunteers. Other Wehrmacht units included Muslims who wanted to fight the repression of Islam in various Soviet republics.

For his part, Hitler was proud of his stature among Muslims. According to private conversations he had with staff members, which were later published, near war's end he regretted that he had not done more to take advantage of the alliance, lamenting that his association with Italy had alienated some people in the Muslim world, who looked on Mussolini's invasion of North Africa as imperialistic aggression. "All Islam vibrated at the news of our victories," Hitler said. "We had a great chance of pursuing a splendid policy with regard to Islam. But we missed the bus, as we missed it on several other occasions, thanks to our loyalty to the Italian alliance."

After the war, several former German military officers and Nazi party officials, such as Otto Skorzeny, Johann von Leers, and Otto Remer, were granted sanctuary in Arab countries, most notably Egypt. German National Socialism continued to appeal to many of the early pan-Arab leaders, like Gamal Abdel Nasser, as an attractive model for nation building in the Middle East. At this stage, both camps cooperated out of expediency. It was not until later that they would develop a similar critique of their shared enemies: Jews and Zionists.

The rise of Palestinian terrorism in the early 1970s caused some elements of the extreme right in Europe to once again take interest in the Middle East. Members of a small German neo-Nazi group, Hoffmann-Wehrsportgruppe, for example, sought to develop an operational alliance with Middle Eastern terrorist groups. Some of the neo-Nazi groups received paramilitary training in Al Fatah camps in Jordan and fought alongside Palestinians during Black September, when the Jordanian army launched an assault on Palestinian guerilla groups in 1970. François Genoud, a leader of a Swiss far-right organization, financed Palestinian groups such as the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, Fatah, and Black September. And a Belgian, Jean-François Thiriart, served both as an adviser to the PLO's Fatah organization and as the secretary for a neo-Nazi group called La Nation Européene. The Palestine Liberation Front and a small neo-Nazi group, the VSBD, also carried out joint attacks on Israeli and Jewish targets in Europe.

Libya's Muammar el-Qaddafi was frequently involved in international terrorism during the 1970s and 80s. To forge a broad anti-imperialist coalition, Qaddafi developed an ideology known as the Third Position an alternative to Communism and capitalism that took a strong anti-Zionist and anti-American posture. Qaddafi's defiance of the U.S. government, which was increasingly becoming the bte noire of the international extreme right, appealed to, for example, members of Britain's National Front, an extreme right-wing political party. Qaddafi invited members of that group and other right-wing organizations to conferences in Libya to create a coalition against the United States. But like earlier attempts to forge alliances between militant Islam and the extreme right, his efforts were ephemeral.

Throughout the late 1970s and 1980s, however, both the extreme right and militant Islam became more radical. As each escalated its denunciation of its enemy, they found more common ground.

In 1979 the success of the Iranian revolution and the establishment of a theocratic regime further strengthened the legitimacy and appeal of militant Islam as a means by which to effect change in the Middle East. That same year, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan sounded the clarion call for jihad throughout the Islamic world, making Afghanistan the incubator of the major jihadist organizations that would go on to bedevil the United States in the years to come. The intifada, which began in the occupied territories of Palestine in 1987, set off a similar kind of "Islamicization" of the Palestinian resistance movement. While, before the rebellion, Palestinian militants had

generally been secular and left wing, the new militants sought inspiration from Islam and used it as an organizing principal for resistance. Most notable was <u>Hamas</u>, whose charter contained elements of the notorious anti-Semitic Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion.

During that same period, the extreme right also went through a process of radicalization. Characteristic of that trend was a small underground group in the United States led by Robert Jay Mathews: the Order. Starting in 1983, the Order conducted a campaign of terror in the Pacific Northwest that included several armored-car heists, bank robberies, bombings, and homicides declaring war against the United States, which it believed was controlled by Jews working for the destruction of the white race. According to the accounts of some of its members, the group reached out to Egyptian Islamists in an effort to forge an anti-Zionist terrorist alliance. Although strategically the Order did not accomplish much by early 1985, virtually all known members had been arrested, and many would subsequently be given long prison sentences its campaign crystallized the increasingly revolutionary orientation of the American extreme right. The tragedies at Ruby Ridge, when government agents killed family members of a purported sympathizer with the Aryan Nation, and Waco, when an FBI raid ended with the burning of a Branch Davidian compound, contributed further to that trend. More and more, the far right in the United States viewed the government as irrevocably lost, an implacable enemy. Consequently its rhetoric became more extreme, revolutionary, and millennial.

Moreover, increasingly the chief target of the extreme right's animus crystallized as well. Although anti-Semitism had loomed large in the extremist subculture for many years, Jews had shared the right's animus with other groups like Communists, liberals, "insiders" (a term John Birch Society members used to refer to shadowy plutocrats who allegedly ruled America), the Illuminati, the Trilateral Commission, the Council on Foreign Relations, et al. What intensified in the 1980s was the identification of Jews as the primary enemy, indeed the puppet master of all the extreme right's enemies. That notion was expressed in the acronym "ZOG," which stands for Zionist Occupational Government. The focus on ZOG attained great currency in the international far-right movement and did much to link together disparate groups in the West. As that happened, ZOG began to be viewed as a global Leviathana Pax Judaica, as it werewith tentacles reaching into the innermost recesses of government and society.

Ideological developments in both the extreme right and militant Islam thus contributed to the convergence in their worldviews. Both Jews and the U.S. government were seen as the principal enemies with Jews pulling the strings.

That meeting of the minds has continued. Shortly after September 11, 2001, the Bush administration accused a Swiss national and convert to Islam, Ahmed Huber, of being an important cog in Al Qaeda's global financial network. According to Huber himself, he has been an intermediary between right-wing extremists and radical Islamists in Europe. Over the past 40 years, he says, he developed ties with major figures in the Middle East, including the Grand Mufti Haj Amin al-Husseini, Egyptian President Nasser, and the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini of Iran; he claims to have been the first European Muslim to speak before the Iranian Parliament (which he did for the first time in 1983).

Still other European extreme rightists have been drawn to the dynamism of militant Islam. While the right has often appeared as a caricature of ineffectuality, militant Islam seems disciplined, resolute, and strong. Chief among the admirers is David Myatt, arguably England's principal proponent of the contemporary neo-Nazi ideology and theoretician of revolution. Several years ago, he converted to Islam, assumed the nom de guerre "Abdul Aziz," and openly announced his support for Osama bin Laden and his declared war against the United States and Israel. Myatt's articles on the World Wide Web exhort his Aryan followers to make common cause with the Islamists. The primary battle against ZOG, he says, has shifted from the West to the Islamic world, in areas such as Afghanistan, Palestine, and Iraq.

Despite the episodes of cooperation in the past, an enduring terrorist alliance has yet to be established. Several obstacles militate against that happening. For one, there is no real extreme-right terrorist infrastructure in place. Leaderless resistance by individuals or small cohesive groups accounts for the vast majority of acts of right-wing violence. Thus, even if Middle Eastern terrorists were willing to collaborate with American right-wing terrorists, they would be hard pressed to find a viable network to work through. What's more, the extreme right is closely monitored

by law-enforcement agencies and private groups, such as the Anti-Defamation League and the Southern Poverty Law Center, which would make cooperation a risky proposition for both parties.

However, in the area of propaganda, a greater potential for collaboration exists. Indeed, there appears to be increasing cooperation between the two movements on a rhetorical level. Traditionally such efforts tended to move only in one direction—the extreme right voicing support for Islamic radicals, with the latter being less reciprocal. Anecdotal evidence suggests that could be changing, as right-wing extremist propaganda is being acquired and recycled by Islamic radicals.

For example, the Holocaust denial of so-called "revisionist historians" in the West has gained currency in the popular newspapers and magazines in the Arab world. In fact, in the summer of 2001, revisionists planned a conference on "Revisionism and Zionism," scheduled for late March in Beirut. It was organized by the American Institute for Historical Review and the Swiss-based Vérité et Justice, and was to have included lectures in English, French, and Arabic. The Swiss organizer, Jürgen Graf, had fled in November 2000 to Iran a country where other revisionists in the last few years have received a warm welcome after his appeals of a Swiss conviction for hate-speech violations were denied. The conference incited fierce opposition from the Jewish defense organizations like the Simon Wiesenthal Center, the Anti-Defamation League, and the World Jewish Congress, which put pressure on the Lebanese government to cancel the event. The U.S. State Department weighed in against it as well. After a last-minute cabinet meeting on the subject, the Lebanese government did cancel the conference, although a smaller meeting was eventually held in Amman, Jordan, sponsored by the Jordanian Writers Association. Both the aborted and final conferences were evidence of a growing cooperation between the Western revisionists and Islamic sympathizers.

The cross-fertilization of rhetoric between the two parties reached new heights in 2005 when the Iranian president, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, made his claim that the Holocaust was a myth. A few weeks before his pronouncement, he had called for the destruction of Israel. Although Ahmadinejad's comments were condemned by officials in the West, they drew praise in some quarters in the Muslim world. A spokesman for *Hamas*, Khaled Meshal, commended the Iranian president for his "courage"; Muhammad Mehdi Akef, leader of the Muslim Brotherhood, the largest opposition force in Egypt, reiterated that the Holocaust was a myth (although his office later said he wasn't suggesting it had never happened). For their part, representatives and organizations of the extreme right in the West including David Duke and the Institute for Historical Review expressed satisfaction that a head of state had publicly impugned the generally accepted version of the Holocaust. In March 2006, Iran played host to a seminar entitled "The Holocaust: Myth or Reality." Revisionist historians from the West participated. Later in the month, on an interview program with Charlie Rose, President Bashar Assad of Syria remarked that the six-million figure of the number of Jews who had perished in the Holocaust was "exaggerated."

In recent years, Duke has been in the forefront of the effort to reach out to the Islamic world. In the fall of 2002, he presented two lectures in Bahrain on "The Global Struggle Against Zionism" and the "Israeli Involvement in September 11." Duke claims to have found a receptive audience in Bahrain. That same year, he appeared on a talk show, Without Borders, which is broadcast by the Qatar-based Al Jazeera satellite network. More recently, in November 2005, he traveled to Syria, where he held a news conference expressing support for the Syrian people and pledging to do his best to convey to the world the "real peace-loving Syrian" positions. Attendees at the event included several members of the Syrian Parliament and Arab and foreign correspondents.

Another factor drawing the extreme right in the West and militant Islam together is that both increasingly see their struggles in global terms: Both are searching for an identity in an era of globalization. Just as Osama bin Laden encourages Islamists around the world to view their regional conflicts not as isolated, parochial battles, but rather as theaters of a larger war in the defense of Islam against the West and Zionism, some elements of the extreme right view their individual nationalist movements as part of a larger struggle for white racial survival against a rising tide of nonwhite demographic expansion, said to be orchestrated by the forces of globalization and international Judaism. Here the Internet has been important, allowing disparate groups to spread their message and exchange ideas.

In his study Globalized Islam: The Search for a New Ummah (Columbia University Press, 2004), the noted French scholar of Islam, Olivier Roy, argued that Muslims in the West often experience a trauma of "deterritorialization" because they feel estranged from their native lands. To overcome their anomie and alienation, young Muslims, in particular, look for solace in a new, purified Islam and attach themselves to a "virtual ummah," a Muslim community built on the World Wide Web. In similar fashion, Jeffrey Kaplan and Leonard Weinberg observed, in their study The Emergence of a Euro-American Radical Right (Rutgers University Press, 1998), that scattered elements of the extreme right in the West, faced with declining white birth rates, sweeping third-world immigration, diminishing life opportunities for working-class youths, and perceived cultural decadence, have come to feel like strangers in their lands. Communicating through chat rooms and other Internet media, they have found solace in the slogan "white power" and sought to develop a new pan-Aryan identity based on race and civilization that transcends national borders.

To be sure, anxiety about immigrants inhibits cooperation between the extreme right and militant Islam: The former, after all, fears demographic inundation by the latter. But despite their concern with nonwhite immigrants, extremists on the right still see Jews as the principal enemy of the Aryan peoples. And although militant Islam generally eschews racial themes, its version of anti-Zionism in many ways parallels that anti-Semitism.

Both the extreme right and militant Islam charge that a Jewish conspiracy is undermining their societies through "cultural poisoning." According to the standard extreme-right narrative, the chief aim of the Jewish conspiracy is to defile the white race through miscegenation, thus ultimately leading to its extinction as a distinct racial group. (Jews are said to see whites as their most dangerous "rivals.") Using a similar narrative, but in the framework of religion, militant Islamists argue that Jews seek first and foremost to destroy Islam because it constitutes the strongest moral challenge to perceived Jewish perfidy. Both right-wing extremists and Islamists also often invoke the status of the Palestinians as a symbol of what awaits them if they do not act swiftly. Thus David Duke, Kevin Alfred Strom (of the white-separatist organization National Vanguard), and the late William Pierce (leader of the National Alliance) have expressed admiration for the dedication and valor of Palestinian militants. Pierce even went so far as to eulogize Wafa Idris, the first *female* Palestinian suicide bomber.

Both movements are also very critical of the Bush administration's decision to wage war against Iraq. The fact that several of President Bush's neoconservative advisers who were among the most adamant in clamoring for the war also happened to be Jewish was not lost on either group. What does that presage?

If the situation in Iraq continues to deteriorate, it is conceivable that the extreme right's critique of American foreign policy in the Middle East, and its focus on Israeli influence on it, could become more mainstream. Recently two prominent academics John J. Mearsheimer, a professor of political science at the University of Chicago, and Stephen Walt, a dean at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government released a working paper on "The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy." In it, they asserted that the various interest groups lobbying on behalf of Israel have subverted foreign policy in the Middle East to the detriment of the national interests of the United States. The report has occasioned considerable controversy. Critics like Harvard Law School's Alan M. Dershowitz have been quick to point out the stylistic parallels between the study and traditional anti-Semitic canards of Jewish dual loyalty and malfeasance. Dershowitz, according to The Harvard Crimson, has gone so far as to aver that the authors culled information for their report from "hate sites" on the Internet. Although such allegations appear spurious, the paper did contain motifs about, for example, the power of Jews in the news media and Jewish manipulation of the political system—that have formed the basis of classic anti-Semitic narratives. The report, indeed, has been enthusiastically received by representatives of the extreme right, including Duke, who expressed satisfaction that his criticism of Israel has been vindicated by such esteemed academics.

It is difficult to predict how the unexpected and alarming convergence between militant Islam and the extreme right will unfold in the future. Over the past two decades, several countries have imploded due to centrifugal ethnic rivalries. The extreme right is worried that large-scale immigration, the ascendance of multiculturalism, and the decreasing popularity of the assimilationist ideal could one day foreshadow a similar situation in the United States. The September 11 attacks and their consequences have the potential to amplify their fears. If the "war on terror" should falter, more people in the United States and Europe could become receptive to their views.

The meeting of the minds among what are now just some groups and individuals could presage strange alliances in the future.

George Michael is an assistant professor of political science and administration of justice at the University of Virginia's College at Wise. Next week the University Press of Kansas will publish his book The Enemy of My Enemy: The Alarming Convergence of Militant Islam and the Extreme Right.

Load-Date: April 18, 2006

**End of Document** 



G2: 'We're tired of blood': In November, a former Moroccan trade unionist was elected leader of Israel's Labour party. Since then the political landscape has changed beyond recognition. Ariel Sharon founded a new party in response - then fell into a coma. As Israelis prepare to go to the polls, Linda Grant reports from a country losing faith in the old political certainties: 'My dream is the dream of Greater Israel, from the Jordan to the sea, but I don't think many will join me' Eli Moyal: 'We need a prime minister who will start a war to put an end to the Palestinians' violence' Yossi, Sderot resident

The Guardian - Final Edition March 22, 2006 Wednesday

Copyright 2006 Guardian Newspapers Limited All Rights Reserved

Section: GUARDIAN FEATURES PAGES; Pg. 10

**Length:** 3323 words **Byline:** Linda Grant

# **Body**

From a small hill in southern Israel, about an hour and a half south of Tel Aviv on the edge of the Negev desert, the political geography of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict is apparent in one sweeping vista. Immediately ahead is the Mediterranean Sea, sometimes described as "Israel's only good border". To the left are the dense towers of Gaza City. In the centre is a sandy gap, where, until last August, three northern Israeli settlements stood, now demolished. To the right of them is a power station, which serves the city of Ashkelon, itself visible on the edge of the horizon. Far behind is the private farm of Ariel Sharon, known in these parts as "our neighbour", though he is unlikely ever to return there or emerge from the coma into which he slipped in December. Immediately to the rear is the small town of Sderot, the nearest town in Israel to the Gaza Strip, on one of whose streets is a small memorial commemorating the names of two Ethiopian children killed two years ago by primitive Qassam rockets, launched from Gaza.

In front of the municipality, lounging before a row of run-down shops, a crowd of unemployed men hangs about with nothing to do. The place smells of the monotony of poverty and despair. The people of Sderot may be richer than their Palestinian neighbours, but it is hard to feel wealthy when you cannot get to the end of the week without running out of food. Like Gaza, Sderot is propped up by welfare, but instead of the UN or NGOs, it comes from private dona tions from the Jewish community of Italy. Small workshops and factories have been built to provide jobs, but even these are subsidised by rich Israeli philanthropists.

On Tuesday, Israel goes to the polls, voting in a political landscape almost unrecognisable from last summer, when the last Israeli settler was forcibly removed from Gaza. In November, the country awoke to learn that the centre-left Labour party had ousted as its leader the veteran politician Shimon Peres and replaced him with the Moroccan-born head of the Histradut, the Israeli TUC. Modelling himself on the Brazilian president, Lula, Amir Peretz said he wanted to place welfare, unemployment and health at the top of his agenda. "Within two years of taking office I will

have eradicated child poverty in Israel," he told the media. This was earth-shattering enough, in a country where national security has been the number one issue in every election since the founding of the state in 1948. But his surprise victory signalled an even greater revolution: it was the first time that a Sephardi (non-European) Jew had been elected head of what most Israelis regard as the party of the middle-class Ashkenazi elite.

Peretz's win was quickly overshadowed by Sharon's response to it: the formation of the centrist Kadima party a couple of weeks later, which stole leading politicians, including Peres himself, from both Labour and the rightwing Likud party. A month after that, Sharon had the massive stroke from which he has not recovered. The pundits pronounced the death of Kadima by the end of the week, but it survived, under the new leadership of Ehud Olmert, Sharon's number two at Likud, which he too had abandoned. Three weeks later, the Palestinian elections were won by *Hamas*. The once mighty Likud, meanwhile, which until a few months ago seemed like Israel's natural ruling party, has been reduced to a rightwing rump.

Nowhere represents this election in microcosm better than Sderot. This is the town where the Peretz family was placed when they arrived in Israel in 1956 from Morocco and where the Labour leader still lives, commuting to his Tel Aviv office every day. It was here that he laid the foundations of his political career, as mayor in the 1980s. Founded in 1951 as a tent city for new immigrants, Sderot has achieved the dubious status of "development town" - a depressing, run-down place of high unemployment. Roughly half the 16,500 population is Moroccan, just under half are recent Russian immigrants, and the remainder come from Ethiopia. As the town's Likud mayor, Eli Moyal, says, "We have here the whole catastrophe."

Election banners are all over town, but the little shops with their cheap goods are plastered with Peretz posters. Eliyahu Biton, prematurely aged, his face sunken, his jaw toothless, is voting for the town's most famous son. "When Peretz was mayor of Sderot, he helped me a great deal," he says. "When my daughter graduated from high school, Amir told me to bring her school records and he found her a job at the ministry of defence. She worked there for 10 years and now she has a villa and four children. Because of this I am going to repay him with my vote. If he gets elected, he'll help the little man."

When Peretz won the Labour leadership, the question everyone asked was whether he could deliver to the party the one-million-strong working-class Moroccan vote, which has traditionally cast its ballots for Likud or the Sephardi religious party, Shas. Biton insists that is not the reason the former mayor is getting his vote. "I'm Moroccan, but I'm not voting for him because of that, but because he's a decent human being."

Indeed, along the street just a few minutes earlier I had spoken to another unemployed Moroccan, Claude. His brother had lost his job at a local factory and had gone to Peretz for help. "I don't believe Peretz," he said. "He's a liar. I know him in person. He said he'd help my brother and he didn't. He lied to him, he lied to me, he lied to my family. How can I trust him?" Claude was thinking of voting for the far-right racist party Yisrael Beytenu. "We can't make peace with the Arabs," he said. "I don't believe in peace any more. Bombing is their mentality."

One problem for Peretz will be if his votes really do rely on what he did for people in the past, whether as mayor or later head of the Histradut - a practice widespread in Israeli politics known as protekzia or patronage. The other question is whether Israelis can really be persuaded by Peretz to consider the economy more important than what, in Israel, passes for security. Biton thinks Peretz might be bluffing: "There's no question that the economy is important, but if he becomes prime minister, he'll be even more hard-line on defence than (Menachem) Begin was," he says, referring to the former prime minister who is considered to be the visionary of the Greater Israel movement. "People need to remember that he's a Moroccan, and when you slap a Moroccan he won't wait for the Americans' green light to go in. The Palestinians know what a Moroccan is."

These are the standard views of the poor of Sderot. "Arabs are animals, all of them," says 26-year-old Yossi, half Moroccan, half Egyptian, who runs a cafe. "Did you see the pictures from the lynching of our soldiers in Ramallah (in October 2000)? If an Arab came here we wouldn't treat him the way Arabs treated Israelis. Business here sucks, but Peretz only says he'll help the poor so he can get elected; once people like him get in, they do nothing. They're all corrupt, they only care about themselves. Peretz is a populist who isn't respected on the international stage."

Instead, he says, he is going to vote for Binjamin Netanyahu, the hardline former prime minister who is now once again leader of Likud. "We need a prime minister who will start a war to put an end to the Palestinians' violence."

The current mayor of Sderot, Eli Moyal, is a celebrity in Israel. He grew up in a small town north of Marrakech, the son of a rabbi and an illiterate mother. Like Peretz, his family came to Israel in the mid-50s when he was a child, and was placed in Sderot; his mother would later win the Israel prize, the most prestigious award the country offers, for sending all 11 of her children to university and into the professions. After nearly 50 years in Israel, she still speaks to the children in her native Moroccan Arabic and has only limited, broken Hebrew; their Sderot house remains, inside, a typical Moroccan home. Moyal studied law at Brandeis University in Boston and opened a law office in Jerusalem. Peretz has a similar biography: he was born in the Moroccan town of Boujad, where his father was the leader of the Jewish community and owned a petrol station, but where Peretz's ideology is working-class solidarity, Moyal represents something akin to Thatcherism: success through individual effort.

Israelis like these, originating in Arab countries, have not historically shown a greater affinity with the Palestinians. The anger of the Moroccans at their treatment by the Ashkenazim when they arrived in Israel in the 50s, the racism they experienced, the menial jobs they were obliged to do, has festered for decades. In the early 70s, radical Moroccans formed a Black Panther party, fighting for civil rights and class struggle against the Ashkenazi elites. Seen from outside, the Moroccans ought to be heavily represented in any leftwing opposition party, and some Palestinians, such as the late Edward Said, have seen in the Sephardim a natural constituency which would join with Palestinians to press for a single state. What has happened is the exact opposite.

While the history of the Jews in Arab and Muslim countries was considerably less bloody than in Christian eastern Europe, it has been far from untroubled, certainly not recently. Most Moroccan Israelis have first-hand tales about life before they came to Israel, or at least the stories their parents have passed down to them. "I can testify about the feelings of my parents," Moyal says. "We lived quietly and in peace as long as we obeyed the rules. We had no political power, no say. It was against the law for a Jew to be involved in politics. It was a ghetto we lived in. . . We know the Arabs better than the Ashkenazim. We obeyed Arab regimes for centuries; we know their traditional and cultural way of life - we ran away from the Arabs."

Although ethnically Ashkenazi, many of the million-strong Jewish immigrants who came from the former Soviet Union in the early 90s share their opinions and prejudices with the Sephardim. Moyal explains that the Russian Jews of Sderot come from the eastern, Muslim republics: Chechnya, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan. They call immigrants from Moscow and Ukraine the "white Russians", he says. Like the Moroccans, they say they know Muslims, having lived among them and having fought as Soviet soldiers in the war against the mujahideen in Afghanistan, and later in Chechnya.

Nor do Peretz's economic policies appeal to them. For those who lived for nearly 70 years under Soviet communism, a socialist as prime minister is not necessarily an attractive proposition. Even his large moustache (which keen-eyed political students have noted is getting smaller as the campaign advances) is said to be a major factor in the Russians' alienation. As Moyal jokes, summing up the prevailing view of Russian attitudes to Peretz: "If he looks like Stalin, and he walks like Stalin, and he talks like Stalin, then he must be Stalin."

For some voters, Peretz's leadership victory was a breath of fresh air, a return to the country's socialist roots. They see this election as at last putting economic issues to the front of the agenda, and Peretz as the only politician who cares about the poor and wants to reverse Netanyahu's Thatcherite economic policies. They describe him as inspirational, clear about what he wants and how to do it - an honest man in a country with notoriously corrupt politicians. But even among those planning to vote for him in Sderot, Peretz has a reputation of being stubborn, of not taking advice, of bullying his way into getting what he wants. Some say Ashkenazi voters are leaving Labour for Kadima because they can't bear the idea of a Moroccan prime minister. Older Labour voters bear a grudge against him for snatching the leadership from Peres. His meagre army experience is held up by some as evidence of his weakness in defence. Others describe him as inspirational, clear about what he wants and what needs to be done, the only politician who cares about the poor and who wants to reverse Netanyahu's Thatcherite economic policies.

"I agree he's very politically unripe and has a lot to learn," one Labour voter concedes, "but he has a pretty good team and maybe that's the advantage."

On a Saturday afternoon at the park on the Hayakon river, outside Tel Aviv, families are picnicking in the spring sunshine. Labour activists have said that there would be a tent, with food, and I am expecting that it will become a political meeting point, where Israelis will intensely argue the issues of the campaign. But there is no tent - the campaign can't afford it. The activists decide to fan out across the park and approach the picnickers to hand out mock \$1,000 bills which Labour has printed, in an attempt to illustrate Peretz's key campaign promise: to increase the minimum wage from \$600 to \$1,000 a month (Israel's minimum wage is expressed in dollars rather than shekels). First, though, they discuss how to deal with questions about an interview the previous day in Ha'aretz in which Peretz conceded that he did not expect to become prime minister but would form part of a centre-left coalition with Kadima. They are stuck with a leader who does not even believe his own propaganda.

A large group of Palestinian-Israeli <u>women</u> in hijabs, 30 or 40 of them, have laid out blankets under the trees along with their children. They go over to a group of activists from the Hetz party and collect some balloons which they give to the children - not, I suppose, because they are supporters of a secular party overwhelmingly voted for by Ashkenazim. A free balloon is a free balloon to a child, whatever is written on it.

A young, bare-headed woman says she is voting for Da'am, a new party led by a 32-year-old Palestinian-Israeli woman - the only party in the elections led by a woman. The number two on the list is a Jewish leftwing activist. The party's programme is defiantly communist: "We consider ourselves part of the worldwide anti-war and anti-globalisation movement," its website proclaims. "We seek to advance a new alternative that will replace the do-nothing Arab leadership inside Israel, the Palestinian Authority which has integrated the Palestinian national movement into the American system, and the Islamic current, which seeks to lead the Arab masses toward a dead end of otherworldly extremism. Our alternative will be closely connected to the regeneration of the global working-class movement along socialist lines." In real life its aims are, more modestly, to advance the position of Palestinian-Israeli <u>women</u>, two-thirds of whom are unemployed and vulnerable to abuse at home. The party is trying to defeat the hamullah - the delivery of votes en bloc by the clans.

Later that night I go to a Kadima rally in Nes Tziona, a small town south of Tel Aviv whose main employer is its winery. The rally is held in a banqueting hall, normally hired out for weddings. Twelve hundred people have squeezed in to hear Peres and the new rising star in Israeli politics, the new foreign minister Tzipi Livni, who has an impeccable rightwing family heritage and has made a long journey to the centre. Kadima has inherited the opaque vision of Sharon; no one knows what his plans were before his stroke.

Kadima, Moyal had told me, will self-destruct within three years. It has no core ideology, no vision; it was an opportunistic construct, he says. But it is self-evident that Kadima is merely a mirror that reflects what is called in Israel the national consensus, expressed succinctly by a friend who has previously voted Labour. "Peretz is a thug," he says. "He doesn't know about politeness, what to say or how to behave. As far as I'm concerned, the only issue in this election is the final borders, and when I think about who is going to make up the coalition it will be Kadima and Labour, and that's my choice. I liked last summer's pullout and I'm looking forward to the next one. I don't want to lose the momentum of the pullout." Peretz, he says, wants to talk, but "there's nobody to talk to . . . I don't want to do any more talking, I'm for doing."

I say that I don't think that Kadima's vision of a final settlement, which would mean retaining settlement blocks around Jerusalem, would ever be acceptable to the Palestinians. My friend's response is forthright. "I don't give a shit what the Palestinians don't want. I don't think anything will ever be acceptable to them and I received that message with the results of the last Palestinian elections (in which <u>Hamas</u> were elected)."

Inside the hall, the activists are well dressed and of a large spread of ages. I notice that there is a disproportionately large number of Ethiopians, the men in suits and neat kippahs, the <u>women</u> in dreadlocks. On screens around the hall, scenes from the history of Zionism are projected, featuring Israel's great national heroes, from Theodor Herzl, the father of Zionism, to Ariel Sharon.

Peres, startlingly young for his 82 years, delivers a speech in English to new immigrants from what he calls the Anglo-Saxon world. It is a political history of Israel so babyish that it makes Leon Uris's Zionist novel Exodus sound like a Fatah lecture. Then Livni appears, to huge applause. In a black trouser suit, her blonde hair reaching to her shoulders, she has the oratorical force of Margaret Thatcher and the looks of Hillary Clinton. It is clear that the toothless unemployed man on the poverty-stricken streets of Sderot and the Arab woman in the park are being pushed aside by the Kadima juggernaut.

And yet the voices on the stage are anxious. They fear that the polls are telling the voters that the election is won already, and that people will stay at home. When Kadima was formed last November, it said it would sign up 100,000 new members; it has got only a tenth of that.

What will happen on Tuesday? Pollsters are predicting a record low turnout. Forty-five per cent of voters between 18 and 32 say they that will not vote; this figure rises to two-thirds among the secular young. The Green Leaf party, which campaigns on the single issue of legalising marijuana, might even get a seat in the Knesset. And this is the real story of this election: that in the most contested vote, in the most controversial, most closely scrutinised and most argued-about country in the world, in the place that declares itself "the only democracy in the Middle East", many have given up altogether on democracy. The frontline soldiers of occupation will spend election day chilling out, or conducting business as usual, at the other end of a gun. Voting has never seemed so meaningless.

"We are at the end of ideology," says Moyal. "My dream is the dream of Greater Israel, from the Jordan to the sea, but I don't think many will join me. If you're looking for justice, you're talking about ideology, and justice can only be achieved with blood, and we're tired of blood. It's now definite that the Israelis will stay here and the Palestinians will stay here. The old slogans brought us seven wars." But there used to be other slogans, ones that Moyal's vision of a Greater Israel have obscured and gradually destroyed. The election should be about a question: why a society which enshrined Jewish values in its declaration of independence, and which promised "complete equality of social and political rights to all its inhabitants irrespective of religion, race or sex", should have abandoned the poor, the old and the sick, and left its Arab citizens feeling much as the Moyals and the Peretzes did when they were a minority in Morocco.

Last Monday, Peretz's battle bus visited what should be his natural constituency, a kibbutz - once the heartlands of Israeli socialism. They showed him its industry - not agriculture, but the largest printing press in the Middle East. It was spewing out cheque books for every bank in Israel

Load-Date: March 22, 2006

**End of Document** 



The Guardian - Final Edition
July 15, 2006 Saturday

Copyright 2006 Guardian Newspapers Limited All Rights Reserved

Section: GUARDIAN INTERNATIONAL PAGES; Pg. 16

Length: 1840 words

Byline: Brian Whitaker, Rory McCarthy, Conal Urquhart, Wendell Steavenson, Oliver Burkeman

## **Body**

The three Syrian guest-workers arrived before dawn yesterday, as they did every morning, to set up their coffee stall beneath the flyover, hoping to catch the breakfast trade from early risers in the southern suburbs of Beirut. That was when the bomb blew them away, along with a large section of the road above their heads. Nobody seemed to remember their names: they were just Syrians.

Kaseem Moqdad, who lives nearby, had woken in darkness to the sound of jets overhead. By the time the overpass was bombed he was out in the street in a crowd of people, looking up at the sky. In addition to those killed, he said, 20 people were injured by flying glass and rubble.

A former corporal in the Royal Fusiliers, Mr Moqdad had been back in his native Lebanon for only a year and a half, and Israel's assault on its capital left him with a sense of torn loyalties. "I don't like Hizbullah and I don't hate Hizbullah," he said, in an accent that was half Lebanese, half north London. "We have to fix why people get mad, and we're not treating the cause." He was proud to be British, he said. "But you do get angry with the west. The Israelis don't see that they kill children and <u>women</u> and innocent people."

The Israeli rockets and bombs that struck southern Beirut yesterday appear to have hit their intended targets, mainly roads. Most of those roads, though, are yards away from shops and homes. In the Shia neighbourhoods where the damage was worst some residents sought to salvage what they could, while others just gaped, looking shellshocked.

"I thought they might hit (the Hizbullah TV station) al-Manar," said Ahmad, a barber, standing amid broken glass and torn metal in his shop. "I didn't think they would hit people's homes."

Al-Manar later reported that Israeli warplanes had destroyed the building housing the headquarters of Hizbullah guerrillas in south Beirut. Late last night, an Israeli missile ship off the coast of Lebanon was crippled by an unmanned Hizbullah aircraft rigged with explosives. The ship, which was carrying several dozen sailors, was set ablaze and had to be towed back to Israel. Although there were no official reports of casualties, the Arab satellite channel al-Jazeera said four Israeli sailors were missing following the attack.

A mass exodus from Beirut, mainly of young families, was gathering pace, but the options for escape from Lebanon were evaporating. The capital's airport has been bombed, its sea routes blockaded by warships, and the main highway into Syria is impassable. Air attacks have left 53 people dead so far, as part of an Israeli campaign to win

the release of two soldiers captured by Hizbullah militants in cross-border raids on Wednesday. Hizbullah's counter-assault continued yesterday, with dozens of rockets reaching into northern Israel, and deep into the Israeli psyche.

#### Civil war reminder

On both sides of the border the recent crisis has fuelled a powerful sense of deja vu. For the Beirut residents frantically hoarding food, candles, batteries and petrol, the atmosphere recalled the country's 15-year civil war, and the 18-year Israeli occupation they thought had ended in 2000. For some in Israel the historical parallel was with the run-up to the war of 1967, and the prospect of direct military conflict between Israel and neighbouring countries-although some diplomats have voiced the view that the current actions are restrained compared with some Israeli military oper ations, for example in the 1982 war. For most of the day roads in northern Israel were empty, most people apparently obeying official instructions to stay inside. Many of the houses and apartment blocks have underground bunkers used in past conflicts. In mid-afternoon, in the almost-deserted centre of Nahariya in northern Israel, a Hizbullah rocket landed in the middle of a normally busy avenue, shattering windows in a shopping centre.

"We will continue suffering like this until the military makes them stop," said David Shevli, 32, who closed his grocery store on Thursday and spent yesterday fielding calls from worried friends. "We hope they will terminate them. People who criticise our attacks on Lebanon should come and live here themselves at a time like this. Then they will see." He added: "There will be no peace as long as Hizbullah is there on the border. They say they want Jerusalem. Then they will take Haifa. Give them a finger and they'll take your whole body. Let's erase Hizbullah and everything connected to them."

Israel is still reeling from the double assault on its military prestige by separate attacks from Hizbullah and <u>Hamas</u>, which captured an Israeli soldier, Gilad Shalit, a month ago. Not only was the strongest army in the Middle East taken by surprise, but its assailants managed, through capturing soldiers, to prolong the pain.

Most Israelis could ignore the rocket attacks on Sderot and the farming communities that surround the Gaza Strip. The bombardment of northern Israel, home to 300,000 people, is physically much further from Tel Aviv than Sderot is, but psychologically much closer. Many Israelis have visited Haifa, or holidayed in Galilee. While there is little criticism in the media or on the street of Israel's attacks across the border, under the surface there are fears that Lebanon could again become a graveyard for its soldiers.

"This reminds me of a period before the 1967 war that was also characterised by mutual humiliations," said the Israeli historian Tom Segev. "From a military point of view the abduction of the soldiers should not have happened, but instead of admitting this the army uses it as a pretext to destroy the delicate political balance that exists in Lebanon . . . (Hizbullah leader Hassan) Nasrallah is a nasty guy. He's a bit like Saddam. So it's similar to the Iraq situation. We find it easier to relate to war in Lebanon than in Gaza."

#### Condemnation

The international response to the situation in Lebanon has been broadly condemnatory of Israel, but the US has given cautious backing to the attacks, and the issue seems likely to dominate the G8 summit in St Petersburg, starting today. In New York the UN security council was also expected to discuss the emergency, following an appeal from Lebanon's prime minister, Fouad Siniora, for it to intervene. Kofi Annan, the secretary general, has dispatched a three-person delegation to the region, and the EU's foreign policy chief, Javier Solana, was expected to follow.

But the immediate and longer term impact of the crisis will be measured inside Lebanon. As George Bush cautioned on Thursday, the attacks could destabilise the Beirut government and tear apart a fragile society made up of Shia and Sunni Muslims, Christians, and Druze. Just as problematically, it could also unite the population behind Hizbullah.

In Lebanon, unlike Israel, Hizbullah cannot be dismissed simply as a terrorist organisation. It has two seats in the coalition government, and essentially controls a swath of the south of the country.

If Israel's aim is to drive a wedge between Hizbullah and the rest of Lebanon there are signs it may not be succeeding. The patriotic music now playing on some of the Christian channels is one indication of the way the wind is blowing. Initial anger at Hizbullah has become more muted as attention focuses on the severity of the Israeli bombardment.

Israel's attempt to hold the Lebanese government responsible has also caused resentment. In remarks quoted by the Beirut Daily Star yesterday, the Druze leader, Walid Jumblatt, condemned "the use of violence against a state that did not wage war and does not assume the responsibility for it".

In Beirut yesterday Amal, seeing off relatives on a specially chartered coach to Syria, said she was not a Hizbullah supporter, but did not blame them for the current tragic turn of events. "They've been killing people in Gaza without anybody even raising a voice," she said. "That's why I don't see that Hizbullah is doing something wrong." Asked if the Lebanese government should hand Mr Nasrallah to Israel, her nephew Salah chipped in: "Nasrallah is like your annoying little brother. It is right to punish him, but he's still part of the household."

The Foreign Office last night warned against all travel to Lebanon and urged the 10,000 Britons who live there to "get ready for departure at short notice". The US state department also warned the 25,000 US citizens who live in Lebanon to consider leaving - if they could find a way out - while the Pentagon said it had ships in the region which could be used in the event of an evacuation.

Israel says its blockade of the country is, in part, an attempt to stop the captured soldiers being moved to Iran. The prime minister, Ehud Olmert, yesterday, vowed the offensive would continue until Hizbullah was disarmed. Ronnie Bar-On, the interior minister, said Mr Nasrallah had "issued his own sentence. I doubt if he would be able to find a life insurance agent these days".

The scale of the operation may also be an attempt by Mr Olmert and his defence minister, Amir Peretz, to establish military credibility in the eyes of the Palestinians and other states in the region: neither man has a long track record of military experience, and neither has been in power for more than a few months.

"I believe the current (Israeli) government will see this through, not because they are strong but because they are weak," said Israel Harel, a settler leader. "Neither the prime minister nor the defence minister has a security background, and the army has made tactical mistakes. They all have to prove that they can do what previous governments, who were led by stronger personalities such as Ariel Sharon and Ehud Barak, can do . . . on the surface this is all about freeing captured soldiers. But underneath it is about the prime minister ensuring that he can carry out the next phase of disengagement."

Whatever the logic of the attack, it was playing itself out with painful repercussions yesterday in, among other places, the now inaccessible Lebanese coastal village of Doueir. Israeli planes had been dropping leaflets in Hizbullah strongholds warning residents to evacuate.

"There are air raids all over," said Ahmed Ali, Doueir's supervisor of civil defence. A family with 10 children died just outside the village when missiles hit their home on Thursday night, he said. "Now, in Yater village, there has been a similar attack," Mr Ali said. "We don't know the casualties, because the bodies are still under the rubble."

Not many miles away, at an agricultural community in northern Israel, Amit Bar-on, a computer systems engineer, stood watching smoke from Hizbullah rockets rise into the sky. "It is a very bad situation that Israel has got into," he said. "We don't have a problem with Lebanese society, most of the Lebanese are good Christian people. We have a problem with Hizbullah. We got out of Lebanon six years ago and that was a good strategy. We thought there might be peace, not immediately but perhaps in 20 or 30 years. Now we don't see peace at all."

**Load-Date:** July 15, 2006

**End of Document** 



The Forward June 9, 2006

Copyright 2006 The Forward Association, Incorporated All Rights Reserved

Section: Calendar; Pg. 16

Length: 1818 words

## **Body**

#### **Exhibit**

Artful Communication: Vision /Action: Designers of the Next Generation is an exhibition featuring works by students and faculty of the Neri Bloomfield WIZO Academy in Haifa, Israel. The multi-media show reflects the ways in which such mediums as graphic design, digital communication, photography, architecture and video are used to promote tolerance, community and a global society. Founded 30 years ago by the <u>Women</u>'s International Zionist Organization, the academy has some 750 students of diverse backgrounds, including Jews, Christians, Israeli Arabs and immigrants from countries around the world. Hebrew Union College -- Jewish Institute of Religion Museum, 1 W. 4th St. (between Broadway and Mercer St.); through Sept. 22; Mon.-Thu. 9 a.m.-5 p.m.; Fri. 9 a.m.-3 p.m.; free. (212-824-2205 or <a href="https://www.huc.edu/museum/ny">www.huc.edu/museum/ny</a>)

## Films

Odets: Set in New York in 1938, John Jacobs's made-for-television-film adaptation of Clifford Odets's play "Rocket to the Moon" (1986) focuses on the life of Ben Stark (John Malkovich), a 40-year-old dentist who falls in love with his young assistant, Cleo (Judy Davis), and faces the unraveling of his marriage and career. The film probes human feelings of failure, lost dreams and loneliness. Presented by the Center for Jewish History and the American Jewish Historical Society, the screening is part of the Clifford Odets Centennial Film Retrospective. A post-screening discussion follows. Center for Jewish History, 15 W. 16th St. (between Fifth and Sixth Aves.); June 14, 7 p.m.; \$10, \$5 for students. (212-294-8301 or <a href="https://www.cjh.org">www.cjh.org</a>)

Forum: Documentaries that reflect different perspectives on the relationship between people living in the Middle East and the United States are featured in Hadassah's New York Film Forum. The four films, which are presented in two programs, were selected by graduates of the Hadassah Leadership Academy. "Program A" includes Michael Grynszpan's "The Forgotten Refugees" (2005), which examines the exodus of 1 million Jews from such Arab counties as Egypt, Yemen, Libya and Iraq and includes personal stories and footage of rescue missions. "Program B" includes Pierre Rehov's recent "Suicide Killers," which presents an inside look at the pathology and motivations of suicide bombing and includes interviews with members of *Hamas* and with Israelis and psychologists. Panel discussions and question-and-answer sessions with the directors follow each program. Center for Jewish History, 15 W. 16th St. (between Fifth and Sixth Aves.); June 15; Program A: 4:30 p.m.-7 p.m.; Program B: 7:30 p.m.-10 p.m.; \$20 per program. (212-575-8193, ext. 232)

Lectures and Discussions

Roth: Kenneth Libo discusses the career and works of renowned contemporary writer Philip Roth, a controversial figure in American Jewish literature. A prolific, award-winning writer, Roth was selected by the Library of America for publication. He is the author of the recently published book "Everyman" (Houghton Mifflin). Libo is a professor of American Jewish history at Hunter College. The talk is part of a series of events sponsored by the Hevesi Jewish Heritage Library of the Central Queens YM & YWHA. Central Queens YM & YWHA, 67-09 108th St., Forest Hills; June 13, 1:30 p.m.; \$4. (718-268-5011, ext. 151)

Arab Kingdom: Have you ever wondered, "Who are the Saudis?" Ralph Buultjens and Rachel Bronson discuss Saudi Arabian society and America's connections to the Arab kingdom in a conversation presented as part of the 92nd Street Y's series with Buultjens on world politics and foreign policy. An international affairs expert, Buultjens is author of some 10 books and holds positions at New York and Cambridge Universities. Bronson is a senior fellow and the director of Middle East and Gulf studies at the Council on Foreign Relations. She is the author of the recent "Thicker than Oil: America's Uneasy Partnership With Saudi Arabia" (Oxford University Press). 92nd Street Y, Lexington Ave. and 92nd St.; June 15, 8:15 p.m.; \$25. (212-415-5500 or <a href="https://www.92Y.org">www.92Y.org</a>)

#### Music

Coffee House: Rabbi Leyzer Abarbanel performs "Hassidic Songs, New and Old" at a kavehoyz (coffee house) concert presented by the Congress for Jewish Culture. Congress for Jewish Culture at the Atran Center, 25 E. 21st St.; June 15, 7 p.m.; \$8.

Klezmer: Head to Park Slope for a chance to see Yale Strom & Hot Pstromi, a klezmer group led by violinist, composer and writer Yale Strom, a leading figure in the contemporary revival of klezmer. The ensemble includes vocalist Elizabeth Schwartz, reed player Norbert Stachel and accordionist Peter Stan. Percussionist David Licht and bassist Nikki Parrott are featured as special guests. Barbes, 376 9th St. (corner of Sixth Ave.), Brooklyn; June 15, 8 p.m.-9:30 p.m.; \$10. (718-965-9177)

## Performance

Love Fest: Everyone loves a good Jewish wedding. Celebrate Gay Pride Month with "Queer Wedding Sweet," a musical love story that blends Yiddish songs, juggling, poetry, jazz and humor. The production, which features renowned trumpeter and composer Frank London, Yiddish vocalist Adrienne Cooper, singer and accordionist Lorin Sklamberg, jazz pianist Marilyn Lerner and master juggler Sara Felder, explores the history, emotions and politics associated with queer Jewish culture. The multidisciplinary performance piece is presented in its United States premiere by the JCC in Manhattan. JCC in Manhattan, 334 Amsterdam Ave. (at 76th St.); June 14, 8 p.m.; \$20, \$15 for members.

#### Tour

Word on the Street: Oh, how the East Village has changed. Once the center of New York's punk rock scene and now overtaken by trendy cafés and deluxe apartment buildings, the neighborhood was known in the 19th century as Kleindeutschland (Little Germany) and was home to a significant number of German Jews. The JCC in Manhattan explores the history of the East Village on a walking tour that includes stops at forgotten synagogue buildings and the former Yiddish theater row. Meeting place: Sol Goldman Y, 344 E. 14th St.; June 11, 1 p.m.; \$15, \$10 for members. (646-505-5708 or <a href="https://www.jccmanhattan.org">www.jccmanhattan.org</a>)

#### **CALIFORNIA**

Sudan: Journalist, novelist and poet Gabriel Meyer, author of "War and Faith in Sudan" (Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2005), discusses his book at an event presented by the Skirball Cultural Center. The work offers a personal account of the second civil war in Sudan, and focuses on the experiences of the Nuba people. In 2005, Meyer traveled through the countryside in central Sudan and lived in several Nuba villages. The book includes a number of photographs by James Nicholls. A book signing will follow the discussion. The event is presented in association with Town Hall Los Angeles and in conjunction with Skirball's exhibition Rwanda/After, Darfur/Now: Photographs by Michal Ronnen Safdie. Skirball Cultural Center, 2701 N. Sepulveda Blvd., Los

Angeles; June 20, 7:30 p.m.; \$12, \$10 for Skirball and Town Hall Los Angeles members, \$6 for students. (866-468-3399 or <a href="https://www.ticketweb.com">www.ticketweb.com</a>)

Withdrawal: The events in Israel that led to last year's highly emotional Gaza withdrawal are the topic of "The Rule of Netzarim," part four of Chaim Yavin's controversial five-part documentary, "The Land of the Settlers." A renowned journalist and leading figure in Israeli television news, Yavin has made a film that presents a deeply personal and critical examination of the Israeli settlements. A discussion will follow the screening, which is presented by the Workmen's Circle/Arbeter Ring and by the Los Angeles Chapter of Brit Tzedek v'Shalom. Refreshments will be served. The Workmen's Circle/Arbeter Ring, 1525 S. Robertson Blvd., Los Angeles; June 21, 7:30 p.m.; \$5 suggested donation. (310-552-2007 or <a href="www.circlesocal.org">www.circlesocal.org</a>)

#### **ILLINOIS**

Amazing Grace: Do you have two left feet? Never fear! Move your body to the beat at the 10th annual Chicago SummerDance series. The 11-week festival features one-hour dance lessons by professional instructors, followed by live music and dancing on an open-air dance floor. Learn Mediterranean and Balkan dances, including devetorka, chichovata, halay, debki, chocek, pharo and sota, with instructor Paul Collins. Show off new moves after the dance lesson, when Balkan Beat Box takes over the stage and plays Israeli Gypsy punk and electronica. Spirit of Music Garden, 601 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago; June 22; dance lesson: 6 p.m.-7 p.m.; live music: 7:30 p.m.-9:30 p.m.; free. (312-742-4007 or <a href="https://www.chicagosummerdance.org">www.chicagosummerdance.org</a>)

#### **MASSACHUSETTS**

Multicultural Sounds: Formed in 1977, Israeli musical ensemble Habrera Hativeet is a true testament to the possibility of bridging cultures and embracing diversity. The group features musicians of Sephardic, African, Indian and Middle Eastern backgrounds, and performs songs from Andalusian Spain, Yemen and Morocco. The band's repertoire, which is inspired by biblical tales and by contemporary life in Israel, also includes Hasidic chants from Eastern Europe and modern Israeli poetry. Led by composer and singer Shlomo Bar, the group performs at a concert presented by Boston's Museum of Fine Arts and the Boston Jewish Film Festival. Museum of Fine Arts, Remis Auditorium, Huntington Ave., Boston; June 18, 1 p.m.; \$25-\$30; \$20-\$25 for MFA and BJFF members, students and seniors. (617-369-3306 or <a href="https://www.mfa.org">www.mfa.org</a>)

Coming of Age: The classic tale of a nice Jewish boy who is not athletically inclined is told in Paul Morrison's film "Wondrous Oblivion" (2003). Set in London in 1960, the film focuses on David Wiseman, an 11-year-old boy who loves to play cricket but is terrible at the game. The son of a Polish man and a refugee woman, David befriends his new neighbor, Dennis, a black Jamaican man who becomes his mentor and cricket coach. As their friendship develops, David becomes aware of race, cultural differences, religion, and the meaning of tolerance and loyalty. National Yiddish Book Center, Hampshire College, 1021 West St., Amherst; June 18, 2 p.m.; \$7. (413-256-4900 or www.yiddishbookcenter.org)

#### WASHINGTON, D.C.

Comical: On first glance, comedian Sarah Silverman appears to be a sweet, wide-eyed Jewish girl. But then she opens her mouth and speaks. As Silverman is known for her merciless, politically incorrect humor, the film "Jesus Is Magic" (2005), which she wrote and in which she stars, is not for those who are easily offended. The movie, which was directed by Liam Lynch, blends footage from a live stand-up comedy show in California with over-the-top musical numbers. When it comes to Silverman, nothing is taboo, so whatever your ethnicity or sexual orientation, you won't feel left out. The film is presented by the Washington Jewish Film Festival. The Passion of Sarah Silverman After Party follows the screening. The Washington Jewish Film Festival, 1529 16th St. N.W.; June 26, 7:30 p.m.; advance tickets: \$8.50; \$7 for seniors, students and members; tickets at the door: \$10, \$9 for seniors, students and members. (202-777-3248 or <a href="https://www.wiff.org">www.wiff.org</a>)

Load-Date: June 14, 2006

**End of Document** 



Yorkshire Post August 14, 2006

Copyright 2006 JPIMedia Publishing Ltd All Rights Reserved

Length: 1867 words

## **Body**

From: G Ambler-Shaw, Carleton Drive, Boston Spa, Wetherby.

THE whole tumult in the Middle East has its origins in 1948 when the British Labour government, newly elected and callow, washed its hands (reminiscent of Pontius Pilate, some 2,000 years before) of the British Mandate and the State of Israel was born, under the auspices of the United Nations.

This sudden wrench and uprooting resulted in the displacement of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians that formed the vast majority of the people who lived in the land and who, from then on, did not have a country to call their own. Since then justified resentment has been born and bred in each generation with widespread sympathies in Arab stock in the Middle East and elsewhere.

The tragedy of Palestine, and the suffering of its people for nearly 60 years, has made its indelible mark and while moral injustice prevails there can be no peace and Israel will continue to be an unhappy state. Ironically, a finger has long pointed at the "promised land". Israel accuses (as do some others) Hezbollah and <u>Hamas</u> of being terrorists, but what function did the Jewish Stern Gang and Irgun Svei Leumi perform, during the period 1945-48, in Palestine, at whose hands hundreds of British Palestine Police and civilians alike met barbaric deaths?

I speak as a former member of the Palestine Police, who saw the death of Palestine, and as an historian.

From: Ken Fraser, Dacre Banks, Harrogate, North Yorkshire.

"Cry havoc! And let slip the dogs of war!" Conflicts such as the Middle East war profit nobody but inflict pain and suffering on countless innocent people.

The human psyche is capable of creating great works, of finding the technology to put a man on the moon and split the atom. It can cure countless awful diseases and find the tenderness to nurse sick children.

Yet the psyche can also find the cruelty to kill thousands of fellow humans in pursuit of religious bigotry. It makes you wonder if mankind will ever learn from the past, or whether existence is just a vicious circle.

Promotion of senior police is on merit

From: David Wright, Little Lane, Easingwold, North Yorkshire.

THE report about the senior Muslim police officer (Yorkshire Post, August 8) who claims that discrimination and prejudice had blighted his attempts to secure a top job, after three attempts to become a chief constable, is another example of someone from the ethnic minorities wanting special treatment instead of accepting that a vacant appointment should go to the best person irrespective of sex, religion or ethnicity.

The Channel 4 programme on August 7, presented by Jon Snow, clearly showed how a growing number of British Muslims are rejecting the host country's traditional liberal, tolerant beliefs and, more worryingly, consider themselves to be Muslims first and British citizens second.

No, it is not right to manipulate any further our over-tolerant attitudes and laws; but we should expect newcomers and immigrants of all races and religions to assimilate and not expect special treatment over the indigenous population as this will only cause even more problems for all of us.

From: Donald Leach, Shaw Street, Holywell Green, Halifax.

SO Britain's most senior Asian police officer thinks that tougher anti-terror laws are discriminating against Muslims (Yorkshire Post, August 9).

I know mistakes were made over the Stockwell shooting when an innocent man was shot and killed, but circumstances were on a knife-edge then over the London Tube and bus bombings.

We are living in a terrorist

age and all people, irrespective of their creed and religious beliefs, are, at times, under suspicion.

I am afraid that it is a sign of present day situations, not a sign of criminalising innocent British Muslims.

From: Richard Michael, Scalebor Square, Burley in Wharfedale.

I am amazed that no one is pointing out the lack of

rights for women under fundamental Islam. Where

have all the women's libbers gone?

And why isn't Peter Tatchell shouting about the lack of any gay rights under Islam?

Travellers welcomed

From: Coun Mike Gardner, leader, Harrogate Borough Council.

In response to the letter

from Stella Harrison (Yorkshire Post, August 3), I do not need

to take up her invitation to

visit Leeds Art Gallery to visit the exhibition Paranoia.

Travellers in our district are made welcome, which is why

we are one of the few local-authority areas in the region

to have provided static sites which are very well run and managed.

What we will not tolerate

is travellers who illegally

break into and set up site on private and publicly owned land.

If they want to be treated as part of our community, then they have to be bound by the same laws.

We accept only one standard of behaviour for all, including matters such as anti-social behaviour and fly-tipping, and travellers are no exception.

I would invite Ms Harrison to visit us in the days after these travellers have upped sticks for their next site.

The mess they leave behind is disgusting and has to be cleared by either council staff, at council taxpayers' expense, or by companies who pay their taxes only to have their profits diminished by having to clear up unlawful fly-tipping.

I have no apology to make regarding urging residents not to employ itinerant travellers. And as regards setting an example to the work-shy, I would remind Ms Harrison that there is less than one per cent unemployment in the Harrogate district - way below the national average.

Toll roads deeply unfair

From: John McGoldrick, National Alliance Against Tolls, Hambledon Drive, Greasby, Wirral.

YOUR report on predicted gridlock on the M62 suggests that road pricing may be a possibility (Yorkshire Post, August 10).

The report also quotes the views of the Freight Transport Association and the RAC Foundation. Both those bodies have elsewhere made clear that they support road pricing or tolls.

We believe that their views do not represent those of the majority of Britain's drivers.

All tolls will do is force some

of the poorer drivers off the road, with little effect on traffic levels.

Drivers already pay £1bn a week in taxes on road use, but only one pound in seven is spent on the roads.

The lack of adequate roads frustrates drivers, increases accidents and damages the economy.

Road users are already

in effect voting with their money for better roads, but, unfortunately, the politicians not only fail to provide

them, they want us to pay

even more.

Of lonely windfarms and weaving sheds...

From: J Toothill, Ryefield Avenue, Clayton, Bradford.

A NEW report suggests that wind farms should be kept away from homes (Yorkshire Post, August 7).

All the wind farms I know about are situated on lonely hill tops, or moorland well away from homes of any kind.

My thoughts went back to my boyhood days when coming home from school, I passed the open doors of the local weaving shed.

The clatter of 40 or 50 machines was deafening. The girls who tended these machines developed a form of lip reading to communicate with each other.

No mention was ever made of any damages to the health of these girls being subject to eight or nine hours of deafening noise every day. But then, they were only mill girls and had to put up with it.

One of them was my mother who went deaf long before old age.

It is our social duty to recycle as much as we can

From: Ben Bradshaw, Environment Minister, Department for the Environment, Food and Rural Affairs, Nobel House, London.

I make no apology for describing people who fail to make use of the ever expanding recycling services provided by local councils as behaving anti-socially and irresponsibly (Yorkshire Post, August 9).

A lot of people (perhaps including your editorial writer) still don't realise that recycling helps to reduce climate change. First, because landfill - where most non-recycled waste goes - creates methane, one of the most potent of greenhouse gases.

And second, because recycling uses less energy than making new products from raw materials. Recycling also saves local authorities' - and hence council taxpayers' - money because it reduces the amount of waste that councils have to send to landfill. This means that they pay less landfill tax.

Also, it helps councils, and the UK as a whole, to meet our obligations under European Union law to send less waste to landfill, avoiding costly fines which would otherwise fall ultimately on the taxpayer.

So people who fail to recycle when they could easily do so are contributing unnecessarily to climate change - the biggest threat the world faces - and are adding unnecessarily to the council tax bills of their neighbours.

Your readers can judge whether such people are behaving irresponsibly and anti-socially.

You also describe the idea of people paying depending on how much non-recycled waste they produce as "laughable". But most of the rest of Europe and North America operate such systems and they have been shown to have a marked effect in reducing waste and increasing recycling.

Given the ever increasing amounts of waste that councils are having to deal with, plus the serious climate-change impacts of the way we treat our waste, to suggest that the Government should not look seriously at innovative policies that have proved a success overseas is itself laughable.

**Points** 

A match made in heaven

From: IR Bolton, Knightsbridge Walk, Bradford.

I may have missed any suggestion about a cricket match in Fred Trueman's memory but, just in case, I would like to suggest a four-day match, hopefully with first-class status, between 11 Yorkshiremen and 11 Lancastrians.

This offers the prospect of Darren Gough, Chris Silverwood and Ryan Sidebottom back in the same side and a certain Michael Vaughan playing for the opposition.

If my pipe-dream is a starter, how about a trophy named the Trueman-Statham Trophy? Maybe Dickie Bird could be persuaded to come out of retirement to umpire such a match?

A face which

fits the bill

From: CM Watson,

Norman Road, Hatfield, Doncaster.

#### Pointing the finger of blame in Middle East

REGARDING Jayne Dowle's article about "New faces of Yorkshire" (Yorkshire Post, July 27), I must nominate Ian McMillan. Despite his Scottish surname, he is the epitome of the down-to-earth Yorkshireman. He speaks his mind, he knows what he likes and he's obviously as proud as Punch to have been born in God's own country and, what's more, close to Barnsley. What more could anyone want?

I would also like to add that I read Jayne Dowle's article sitting at the breakfast table opposite exactly the type of Yorkshireman that she describes.

Р

ower to people

From: Michael McGowan, Town Street, Leeds.

WHEN so many good friends have left the Labour Party because of Tony Blair and New Labour, it is great as a member to be able to vote for Walter Wolfgang, the veteran peace activist, to join the National Executive Committee of the party after he was thrown out of the party's conference last year for heckling the then Foreign Secretary, Jack Straw.

Calling it quits

From: Ruthven Urquhart, High Hunsley, Cottingham, East Yorkshire.

I'M a shade older than the Prime Minister, but, despite having worked hard for over 44 years, if I'd made as many mistakes and aged as rapidly as he, I'm sure I'd bow to public opinion and step down gracefully - that is, if my meagre pension would allow such an action.

Load-Date: August 14, 2006

**End of Document** 



Guardian Weekly: Weekly Review: The unlikely first lady: Israel's prime minister, Ehud Olmert, is a rightwing nationalist: Married to Aliza, a leftwing artist who openly criticises his policies. Rachel Shabi profiles an unconventional political wife

Guardian Weekly May 26, 2006 Friday

Copyright 2006 Guardian Newspapers Limited All Rights Reserved

## *The*GuardianWeekly

Section: Pg. 16

**Length:** 1899 words **Byline:** Rachel Shabi

## **Body**

Just before the Israeli election in March, a photograph of prime minister Ehud Olmert's wife Aliza was circulating on the internet. It pictured her hugging Muhammad Abu Tir, the henna-bearded <u>Hamas</u> leader. Apparently the rightwing Jewish National Front party was behind the spoof photo, intending to use it in a campaign pamphlet alongside the text: "Aliza Olmert's friends", while suggesting that "the Olmert family will tear Israel apart". At that time, Efraim Inbar, a political science professor at Bar-Ilan University, described Ehud Olmert's domestic background like this: "It would be the equivalent of George W Bush running for election with a family full of communists."

In Israel it is widely known that Olmert's wife is a lefty - as are their children. The new prime minister, however, has always been rightwing, a nationalist allied to the settler movement. Olmert, who took over the reins of the new Kadima party following Ariel Sharon's stroke in January, only recently moved toward the centre, first as deputy prime minister within the rightwing Likud party when he backed disengagement from Gaza, now with the Kadimaled coalition that speaks of further pull-outs from the West Bank. Aliza Olmert has always been open about her leftist views and had never voted for her husband until the recent election. Even then, she told the press, her vote was cast "with a certain amount of hesitation".

An accomplished artist, photographer, writer and social worker, Aliza Olmert has her own life, causes and career. She does not seem to belong to the world of parliamentary politics. She is not a smilingly compliant trophy wife to be wheeled out at public engagements. The 59-year-old is quiet and unaffected. Now that her husband is prime minister, many are wondering how she will play the role of Israel's first lady.

She is unlikely to embrace it with open arms. When America's Frontline/World programme asked her how she felt about the prospect of her husband becoming prime minister, she replied: "It has been imposed on me in many ways and it's not my choice." Is her role any fun, she was asked. "No, it's not fun at all. None of it."

Guardian Weekly: Weekly Review: The unlikely first lady: Israel 's prime minister, Ehud Olmert, is a rightwing nationalist: Married to Aliza, a leftwing artist ....

She recalled the night that the then prime minister, Ariel Sharon, fell into a coma and her husband, as deputy, was asked to stand in for him: "When we came home we realised the house had turned into a fortress, surrounded by security people . . . by media, by curious people . . . and I said, 'Bye bye, freedom.'"

Her apparent dislike of the political arena has led some friends to believe that she will do the absolute minimum required of her as PM's wife. While her 60-year-old husband seems to revel in the company of Israel's rich and powerful, she avoids it. "She hates bullshit, which means that she hates to go to cocktail parties and is annoyed by being recognised in the street and aghast at losing her privacy," says Tommy Lapid, former head of the secular, free-market liberal party Shinui and a close friend of the Olmerts. "If this had been on a lower level, she would shun it, but she understands that she can't." Lapid thinks that, in terms of attending functions, the first lady will "cooperate" with her husband, "but only to a limited degree, and when her absence will be more meaningful than her presence".

And yet the Israeli premier - and by extension his wife - is a critical international figure. Isn't there a chance, once she steps on to the White House lawn, as she was scheduled to do this week, that this new level of influence will go to her head? No, say her friends.

"For many years, she remained modest and never took advantage of the possibilities offered when [Ehud] was minister of health and then mayor of Jerusalem," says Savyon Liebrecht, an Israeli author who has known Aliza since they were both eight years old. "There is no reason why that would change now. She is not dazzled by anything, neither money, nor names, nor power."

Olmert herself admits that her husband's tenure as Jerusalem mayor from 1993 until 2003 was their most difficult time. His period of office was characterised by a strongly nationalist line and his support for Jewish expansion in the Old City and East Jerusalem. "He was actually creating realities that I disagreed with," she told the Frontline programme. "So this was really our worst time as a couple."

One of the most testing moments came in 1996, when Olmert, along with the then prime minister, Binyamin Netanyahu, opened a tunnel in Jerusalem's Old City. It was a politically charged move: the tunnel lay close to the Temple Mount or Haram al-Sharif. It is a site that Muslims hold sacred and they felt that Olmert's actions had desecrated a holy site. Stones were thrown and the Israeli army fired shots in retaliation. Within three days 80 people were dead. "I could see the consequences. I completely disagreed with it," she said.

"I know that, politically, [Aliza] was totally opposed to it and very upset by this act," says Edna Sobol, a set and costume designer who, along with her playwright husband, Joshua, had been a long-time friend of the Olmerts. Appalled, the couple broke off social relations with the Olmerts, although the two <u>women</u> remained in contact (and they have all recently been reconciled). "My husband and I could not accept what Ehud did, which was quite painful because we like him as a person and Aliza is very dear to me," says Sobol. "But she is much more tolerant, more accepting than I am."

When Ehud was elected mayor of Jerusalem, Aliza found another good friend in Michal Smoira-Cohn - her husband's political opponent. Cohn was elected to the city council at the same time as Ehud, but as a candidate for Meretz, the leftwing party that stands for an Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories. "Ideologically, Aliza is quite close to me," she says.

The widow of Haim Cohn, the famously liberal Israeli supreme court judge and keen defender of human rights, Michal recalls: "When I first met Aliza, she said, 'Invite us to your home. Maybe Haim can have some influence on my husband." Today, the issue of influence is still pertinent. Many wonder if, after 35 years of marriage, it was Aliza's sway that pulled her husband towards the centrist position that he now holds, where he is prepared to concede at least some Israeli settlements in the occupied West Bank.

The couple met in 1970, while both were students at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, he studying politics, she social sciences. According to Amnon Dankner, a family friend and the editor of the Israeli tabloid Ma'ariv, Ehud did not impress her. "She couldn't stand him at first," he says. "She remembers seeing him at some political activity, a

Guardian Weekly: Weekly Review: The unlikely first lady: Israel 's prime minister, Ehud Olmert, is a rightwing nationalist: Married to Aliza, a leftwing artist ....

debate or something, and he seemed too pushy." Ehud persisted, tailing Aliza to the Jerusalem cafe where she worked as a waitress. "Reluctantly, she agreed to see him," says Dankner. After spending just a few weeks together, the couple decided to marry. "Ehud can be very charming," says Liebrecht. "There were no other assets then, apart from his personality."

Though the Olmerts will now move into the prime minister's official residence in Jerusalem, they have lived for years in the Arab suburb of Katamon in west Jerusalem. They have five children, one of whom is adopted. The eldest son, Shaul, lives in New York and signed a petition refusing to do reserve duty in the occupied territories. The younger son, Ariel, did not serve at all and currently studies in Paris. One of their daughters, Danna, was involved with Machsom Watch, the all-<u>female</u> organisation that monitors the conduct of Israeli soldiers at checkpoints. None of the children is on their father's side, politically.

Those who know the family speak of a warm, tolerant home without tensions, and an obvious love between husband and wife. On election night, as his party emerged the winners, Olmert gave a speech worthy of an Oscar acceptance, in which he thanked his family: "Your patience, your wisdom, your ability to disagree with me frequently and your understanding in agreeing with me infrequently - all these gave me strength, enthusiasm, faith and hope." For his wife, he added: "With her, everything becomes possible, right and reachable. This moment, more than anyone else, is all yours."

Political influence on the PM has also come from the couple's social circle. "[Aliza] was organising the social life of Olmert, so it was her friends he was meeting," says Lapid. "Her friends were more leftwing than his." But commentators insist that Ehud's gradual move to the centre has been shaped as much by Israel's new reality as by his domestic circumstances. "The most important influence [on Olmert] was the reality of things here, a reality that is coercing itself on to our political beliefs," says Dankner. According to this view, Olmert changed tack because he thought his political survival depended on it. Tellingly, when interviewed recently, he said of his family's politics, "I never questioned their right to be wrong."

She attributes the ideological differences between them to their very different backgrounds. He was born into an ultra-nationalistic Jewish community in the small town of Nachalat Jabotinsky, near Hadera in central Israel. His parents were members of Irgun, the militant Zionist organisation that was defined by the British and the Jewish mainstream at the time as a terrorist group. She was born in a displaced persons camp in Eschwege, Germany in 1946, the daughter of Holocaust survivors who were, she says, grateful to find in Israel a tiny bit of land to call their own.

This background inevitably shaped Olmert's art as well as her politics. As a writer, her work includes Slice of the Sea, a television drama about a Holocaust survivor returning to her home village in Poland, and Synonym/Dead Line, another TV drama, this time about the relationship between a Holocaust survivor and her children. She has also written both novels and plays.

Much of her visual art makes use of fragmented materials - bits of wire, strips of measuring tape, broken eggshells. Currently, her work can be seen at the Museum on the Seam, located on the boundary of East and West Jerusalem. Entitled Dead End, the exhibition deals with violence as a feature of Israeli life. Her contribution is a series of photographs depicting graffiti on the walls of Jerusalem's Old City. "The writing on the wall is not always verbal but it does chronicle the spirit of time," read the artist's accompanying notes. "It pictures the erosion of the continuing war, the weariness in the eyes of the people, the impatience with solutions far off on the horizon, the tide of escalation, the shout for calm and identity."

When not busy painting, she is also involved with several charities. These include Orr Shalom, which cares for children of all religions from troubled backgrounds, and others that focus on children or poverty.

While some Israelis, with typical cynicism, insist that deeper digging would be certain to unearth some dirt, her friends are clearly incredibly loyal. "I know that I am talking in superlatives," says Sobol, "but I really don't know anyone else like Aliza. She is very, very special." Alas, she is not currently talking to the press, though Dankner,

Guardian Weekly: Weekly Review: The unlikely first lady: Israel 's prime minister, Ehud Olmert, is a rightwing nationalist: Married to Aliza, a leftwing artist ....

who ran one of her last interviews in Ma'ariv, now says: "Our reporter was amazed that this woman has no enemies - even her husband's bitterest enemies sing her praises."

Load-Date: June 2, 2006

**End of Document** 



THE DEMONS THAT HAUNT SRI LANKA; Civil war in the jungle The deserted beaches are littered with rubbish. The jungles are burning, torched by troops trying to flush out the Tamil Tigers. Eighteen months after the tsunami, Justin Huggler reports from Trincomalee on the disaster confronting a seeming paradise

The Independent (London)

May 3, 2006 Wednesday

First Edition

Copyright 2006 Independent Print Ltd All Rights Reserved



Section: NEWS; Pg. 32 Length: 1826 words Byline: Justin Huggler

## **Body**

The guide books say the beach at Uppuveli is the finest on Sri Lanka's east coast. The setting is the stuff of tropical island paradise, a graceful curve of white sand with palm trees leaning over it, and emerald water as far as the eye can see. But today the beach is covered in discarded rubbish. The hotels and beach huts are empty and boarded up, no tourists come here any more. As evening falls menacing packs of dogs roam the empty beach.

It has nothing to do with the tsunami that devastated Sri Lanka's beaches a year and a half ago. A different disaster is looming over Sri Lanka: a man-made disaster. The tourists are not coming here any more because Sri Lanka seems to be slipping inevitably back into civil war.

Tourists still flock to the other side of the islands, to the beaches of the south and west. You can still eat freshly grilled fish at a table on the water's edge, while the waves wash over your feet, or drink the water from a bright orange king coconut while you float in the Indian Ocean, or doze under a palm tree as the sun slowly sinks into the waves. The tsunami is a thing of the past, and paradise is back in business. But all the while there is an air of impending disaster.

If you drive through the jungle in the east, you can see herds of wild elephants crossing the road. Long-tailed monkeys watch you go by from the trees. At night, fireflies hang by the roadside, and green snakes are caught in the car's headlights as they slither across the tarmac. This is the unspoilt Sri Lanka tourists flock from around the world to see.

But these days even the elephants are on edge. They watch as Sri Lankan soldiers set fire to the foliage they feed on. The fires burn through the night and send blinding columns of smoke into the sky. The army is trying to clear the roads of hiding places for Tamil Tiger guerrillas, so they are burning the unspoiled jungles of Sri Lanka.

THE DEMONS THAT HAUNT SRI LANKA Civil war in the jungle The deserted beaches are littered with rubbish. The jungles are burning, torched by troops trying to flu....

The tsunami on Boxing Day in 2004 was a defining moment. There was no compassion fatigue, the world shared in Sri Lanka's tragedy. The relief camp built for tsunami survivors just outside Sampoor village is full again. But this time it is sheltering people who fled air strikes on their village last week, more than 10,000 of them, using the makeshift lavatory facilities put up by international NGOs for those made homeless by the tsunami.

"I was in my house with my husband," says Nadaraja Parthipillai. "I heard a huge noise. My neighbour's house was hit, the Nahaiyas, and the whole family was killed, all 10 of them. Four of them were children. After we saw that we just started running and came here." Ms Parthipillai and her husband sleep in the open under the shelter of a palm tree. Like everyone else here, they say they are too scared to return home, afraid of more air strikes. At least 12 people died in the village last week. But Sampoor is not just any Sri lankan village. It lies inside territory controlled by the Tamil Tigers, right on the frontline.

At least 64,000 people died during the two-decade war between the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and government forces, before an uneasy ceasefire was negotiated in 2002 by Norwegian mediators. That ceasefire has been slowly crumbling this year, until this week the European mission that monitors it admitted that while it is still technically in force, on the ground there is no longer a ceasefire.

The air strikes came after months of attacks on Sri Lankan security forces using remote-controlled mines and grenades, which culminated in the attempted assassination of the army chief by a <u>female</u> suicide bomber last week. The heavily pregnant woman entered the army headquarters in Colombo with explosives strapped to her body. Once inside, she detonated the bomb. At least eight people were killed, and the army chief is still in a serious condition.

Though they have strenuously denied responsibility, suicide bombing is the calling card of the Tamil Tigers. Long before Osama bin Laden or <u>Hamas</u> got in on the act, the Tamil Tigers were the militant group that first used suicide bombers deep inside their target's territory.

The attack was just the biggest in a series of strikes on Sri Lankan security forces. Last month, two British tourists were injured during a mine attack on a navy bus. The driver of the bus was killed, and it veered out of control into the minibus in which the Britons were travelling.

Every time the violence has begun to calm, there has been a new attack. Sri Lanka called off air strikes on Sampoor last week under intense pressure from its giant neighbour, India. But within days there were new attacks. On Monday, a remote-controlled mine exploded in Trincomalee's city centre. The target was a naval patrol, but a tuk-tuk auto-rickshaw bore the brunt of the blast, and four civilians were killed, as well as one sailor. It seems someone wants the violence to keep intensifying.

The Tigers deny responsibility for the attacks, but everyone in the diplomatic and aid community in Sri Lanka is convinved they are behind them. The international community has been trying all year to bring the two sides together for talks. At one point, they met in Geneva, in the first serious peace talks for years. But the Tigers have been refusing to travel to a second round of talks, citing government restrictions on their commanders travelling to meetings.

Crossing from government-held territory to the Tiger areas is a tense affair. At the front lines, barbed wire snakes across dusty fields. There is a government checkpoint with nervous soldiers. Then a short no-man's land, and you are inside Tiger territory.

There are only dirt roads inside the Tiger enclave at Sampoor, and there is little food - Sri Lankan journalists insist on loading up on biscuits before making the crossing. But the tiny enclave, only a few square miles, is fully administered by the Tigers - including a courthouse and government offices. And, amid the fields and bomb-damaged buildings, fighters in the tiger-stripe camouflage of one of the most effective guerrilla forces in the world. The Tigers have been fighting for more than two decades for a separate homeland for Sri Lanka's Tamil minority in the north and east of the country, saying they are discriminated against by the Sinhalese majority. At its height

THE DEMONS THAT HAUNT SRI LANKA Civil war in the jungle The deserted beaches are littered with rubbish. The jungles are burning, torched by troops trying to flu....

during the civil war, the LTTE controlled large areas of Sri Lanka, including the cities of Jaffna and Bat-ticaloa. That is now reduced to a portion of the north, plus small enclaves, such as this, in the east.

The Tigers have carefully nurtured their mystique. Every guer-rilla fighter is issued with a cyanide suicide capsule the day he is accepted into the Tigers' military ranks - to take if he is ever captured alive. Suicide bombings, carried out by an elite unit known as the Black Tigers, have been at the heart of the Tigers' extraordinary effectiveness as querrilla fighters.

Puli Kutty's ambition in life is to become a suicide bomber. Just 22 years old, he already wears the tiger-stripe uniform of the LTTE. He joined the Tiger ranks as a child soldier, at 14 - the Tigers say they do not recruit children any more, but international NGOs have accused them of continuing to do so. He says his three brothers were killed by Sri Lankan government forces. Puli Kutty is not his real name, it means Son of the Tiger. "I am ready for death," he says. "When I die I expect Tamil Eelam for our people one day." Tamil Eelam is the name the Tigers have given to the homeland they seek.

Talking to Puli Kutty is unsettling. There is none of the talk of a guaranteed place in heaven for martyrs you hear from Muslim suicide bombers. He says he is not religious and believes that there is nothing after death. "When I make a suicide attack, only one person can inflict major losses on the enemy," he says calmly. "If we fight conventionally, we will lose several people to inflict the same losses.

There is a sort of fanaticism to the young man, he is utterly devoted to the cause. The only proviso he makes is that he would not want children to die in any suicide bombing he carries out.

The head of the Tigers' political wing in Sampoor, S Elilam, does not shed any light on why Sri Lanka is lurching back towards civil war. He sticks to the official line: the Tigers have not been involved in any of the attacks. "We have not broken the ceasefire," he insists, "we are maintaining the ceasefire agreement. It was broken by the Sri Lankan government. One army commander was injured and the Sri Lankan government is tar-getting the entire Tamil people with these air strikes," he says. "The LTTE has a right to defend the lives of Tamils. The government is there to defend the Sinhalese, so who is going to defend the Tamils?" On the drive back from Sampoor, a huge tree is burning, the victim of a grenade attack only minutes before I passed by.

Jehan Perera of the National Peace Council, a widely respected Sinhalese peace campaigner, says there is "absolutely no doubt" the Tigers are behind the attacks on the Sri Lankan military. "The slide back towards war is primarily because of the LTTE's loss of confidence that it can achieve its objective through peace talks," he says. "They say they have met six or seven times with the government but the talks have yielded nothing. So they have gone back to what brought them the best results: military strength." The Tigers have reduced their original demand for an independent homeland to autonomy within a federal Sri Lanka, but the government has refused to countenance it. Mahinda Rajapaksa, the Sri Lankan President, was elected last year on a promise not give in to Tiger demands.

"What the LTTE is trying to achieve from the current violence is either to provoke a full-scale war, or to make the cost of a military campaign so high for the government that it will give in to their demands," says Dr Perera. In particular, the Tigers are demanding the government reins in the activities of a breakaway Tiger faction led by Colonel Karuna - it is an open secret in Sri Lanka that the government is supporting his renegade faction against the Tigers. Col Karuna, which is the nom de guerre for Vinayagamoorthi Mu-ralitharan, is formerly the Tigers' most senior field commander and represents a real threat to Tiger security.

In a full-scale war, the Tigers may well believe they can win back the major towns they once controlled, Jaffna and Batticaloa.

"The present situation can't continue," says Dr Perera. "The only option the government has is to strike the LTTE at its roots, and that means war. I guess there is another option, for the international community to find some way to put pressure." With the violence intensifying by the day, the future looks bleak for paradise. The repercussions of

THE DEMONS THAT HAUNT SRI LANKA Civil war in the jungle The deserted beaches are littered with rubbish. The jungles are burning, torched by troops trying to flu....

the violence in the east are already being felt along the beach resorts of the south and west. As the sun sets and the tourists order another round of drinks, the party is still going on. But it may not be for much longer.

## **Graphic**

A Tamil rebel guards his territory in Sampoor, the eastern port of Trincomalee. Above, one of the idyllic beaches that bring thousands of tourists to Sri Lanka BUDDHIKA WEERASINGHE/REUTERS

Load-Date: May 3, 2006

**End of Document** 



The Sunday Times (London)

June 11, 2006

Copyright 2006 Times Newspapers Limited All Rights Reserved

Section: FEATURES; Sunday Times Magazine; Pg. 46

Length: 3800 words

Byline: Christine Toomey

## **Body**

Christine Toomey was invited to lunch with one of Israel's most wanted and implacable enemies to discuss the politics of murder

The black cloud of minute shrapnel shard shrouding much of Zakaria Zubeidi's face, including the whites of his eyes, is so surreal and sinister-looking that I am momentarily mesmerised as he approaches me to take a seat by my side for lunch.

Even before we start talking I unconsciously strain a little closer to make out the full extent of the disfigurement. When I realise I am staring and may cause offence, my eyes drop to waist level and I catch sight of the man on Israel's list of most wanted terrorist suspects adjusting his belt before sitting down. There is a large revolver - a 9mm Smith & Wesson, I later learn - prominently tucked into the top of his jeans.

This is not someone, I remind myself, anyone would want to upset in a hurry. Suddenly I no longer feel hungry. "Just a little for me, please," I whisper to the wife of our host, a neighbour of one of the safe houses used by this head of the al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigade in the Jenin refugee camp on the Palestinian West Bank.

As far as the Israelis are concerned, this man is a chief strategist of suicide bombers in the camp they refer to as "the capital of suicide terrorism". Over the past four years, according to Israeli government sources, at least 83 Israelis have been killed and 686 more wounded in suicide attacks for which the al-Aqsa brigades have claimed responsibility.

But to those in Jenin, who call him simply by his first name, Zakaria is both a godfather of the Palestinian resistance movement and a Robin Hood figure to the poor. To the children of the camp, raised amid the gun culture of so many years of warfare, he is a cross between a superhero and a pied piper, a man they idolise and yearn to follow.

In seeking a rare interview with Zakaria I am fully expecting that, if he does agree to see me, the meeting will last only a few minutes. "Zakaria never stays in one place for long," my interpreter warns me more than once.

So when he does come, I constantly anticipate he will cut off our interview and leave. As the photographer zooms in on his face, I motion her to back off again to avoid rankling him prematurely. This is much to the later chagrin of my editors.

Yet Zakaria seems relaxed. He is dressed in a much more casual manner than I've been led to expect. Instead of the usual combat gear, semiautomatic M-16 rifle and lines of ammunition strung across his chest, he is wearing Fila trainers, jeans and a cream-coloured T-shirt with the logo "13lbs of denim attitude" printed across the right breast. He is in a reflective mood and not only stays to finish lunch but, once the plates have been cleared away, eases his tall, lean frame back in an armchair to sip strong, sweet tea and carry on talking.

Just before he appears in the room, a tall, gaunt figure identifying himself only as "Ramsey" takes a position on a sofa opposite me. As we exchange greetings, I notice that Ramsey keeps eyeing the open door behind my back. I calculate that he must be some sort of scout making sure the coast is clear. But as we await the arrival of the man described by one prominent Israeli politician as an "accomplished and proud terrorist", Ramsey seems happy to answer questions. So, if Zakaria is such a prime target, I ask, how is it he has not been arrested or assassinated in one of the Israeli security forces' "targeted killing" operations?

"There have been intense campaigns to get him. But so far he has been lucky. The people who move around Zakaria are extremely intelligent and, up until now, no collaborator has managed to get into his circle," Ramsey replies cautiously. "Usually the people who get killed have weaknesses," he adds. "They love money or they love **women**."

Yet Zakaria, just 29, clearly loves the latter. When he does slip behind me with feline agility a few minutes later, to be greeted by outstretched arms from Ramsey and our host, one of the first things he mentions is he has become a father for the second time. His son, aged two, now has a sister.

And two years ago a 29-year-old Israeli woman, accused of being Zakaria's girlfriend, was arrested and charged with "contact with a foreign agent in a time of war". Both the woman, a former legal secretary called Tali Fahima, and Zakaria have denied their friendship was romantic. But the allegations stuck with the Israeli public, for whom the "Fahima affair"

became a national scandal. As a result, Fahima, who openly boasted her admiration for the man "who does so much for his nation! yet cannot even remain in the same place for half an hour", is still sitting in an Israeli jail.

Before speaking to me for the first time, Zakaria smiles to acknowledge congratulations on the birth of his daughter. Apart from his disturbing facial disfigurement - the result of fragments of shrapnel embedded in his flesh as he mishandled a bomb three years ago - I see that, when he smiles, he could be described as handsome. His smile bares a perfect set of teeth in a curiously symmetrical crescent moon, a feature that has led some to describe him as clownish. But Zakaria is no fool, despite his education being interrupted at an early age by a lengthy spell in prison for throwing stones and Molotov cocktails.

Unlike me, Zakaria has a healthy appetite. As we start to talk he tucks into a large plate of makloobeh - a mix of rice, roasted cauliflower and chicken flavoured with cinnamon, cumin and cardamom. He smothers dollops of yoghurt on top of the mix before spooning it into his mouth and chewing thoughtfully, considering each question before answering. For most of the hour we sit talking, he speaks in quiet, measured tones. He displays little emotion until he mentions the death of his mother, killed in the spring 2002 Israeli offensive against the refugee camp. The army raid followed a suicide bombing by a Jenin resident in which 29 Israelis died. As tanks rolled into the camp, hundreds of homes were reduced to rubble, leaving 2,000 Palestinians homeless. At the end of 10 days of fighting, 23 Israeli soldiers and 52 Palestinians, including <u>women</u> and children, were dead.

As the call to prayer echoes through the narrow, winding and still battle-scarred streets of Jenin, Zakaria talks about the special affinity he feels he has with its children, and the loss of childhood, including his own. He recalls being sent to a prison as a boy of 14 at the outbreak of the first intifada uprising against Israeli occupation. The previous year he had been shot in the leg by an Israeli soldier for throwing stones.

Despite six months in hospital undergoing four operations, he was left with one leg shorter than the other and a slight limp that is still noticeable.

"I had already been injured by soldiers, then I was sent to prison for six months; there they made me the representative of the other child prisoners and I started taking their problems to the head of the jail," he explains.

Soon after his release, he was sent back to jail; this time for 41/2 years for throwing Molotov cocktails. "I was transferred from the child area to the adult area of the prison, and the adults dealt with me as a child. I could not absorb what was happening. In the children's section I was looked upon as a leader. How could I be demoted to a child again after so much experience as a leader?" While in prison he was recruited to the ranks of Yasser Arafat's Fatah movement. After he was released from jail in the wake of the 1993 Oslo peace accords, he joined the Palestinian Authority's (PA)

police force. But disillusioned by the PA's nepotism and rife corruption, he soon left and got a job, briefly, as a construction worker in Tel Aviv.

Arrested again for failing to possess a work permit, he was sent back to Jenin, where he took a job as a truck driver transporting flour and olive oil. He lost this job when the occupied territories were sealed off by the Israelis at the beginning of the second intifada in September 2000. It was after witnessing the killing of a close friend by Israeli soldiers the following year that he turned to armed militancy and bomb-making.

But it is what happened before he was jailed the first time as a child, and what happened after the outbreak of the latest intifada, to which Zakaria returns again and again. It is this that holds the key to the man he is today. It is here that his bitterness and buried pain lie. "I was injured at 13, put in jail at 14. Where is my childhood? Where has my childhood gone?" he repeats with self-pity. "Did you know we had a children's theatre in the camp before that? Arabs and Israelis. They used to come to my house to practise," he says with a sudden, sour laugh.

The theatre group he talks of was the initiative of an Israeli peace activist called Arna Mer-Khamis, who married a Palestinian and became a prominent human-rights campaigner. During the first intifada in the late 1980s and early 1990s, when Israel closed all Palestinian schools in the occupied territories for a time, she started a series of learning centres for Palestinian children in the West Bank and Gaza. As part of an initiative to foster understanding between Palestinians and Israelis, she opened a children's theatre in Jenin called Arna's House, run by a group of dozens of Israeli volunteers. The rehearsal space for the theatre troupe was the top floor of Zakaria's house. It had been offered by his mother, Samira, a widow struggling to raise eight children alone, who believed peace between the two warring sides was possible. Zakaria's father had been an English teacher prevented from teaching by the Israelis because of his membership of Fatah. To support his family he became a labourer in an Israeli iron foundry until he died of cancer.

At the core of the troupe were six boys: Zakaria, then 12, his older brother Daoud, and four others around the same age. There was Ashraf, an extrovert who dreamt of becoming a professional actor; Yusuf, whom Zakaria described as "the most romantic and sentimental of all of us"; Yusuf's neighbour and best friend, Nidal; and Ala'a, a withdrawn boy traumatised by the demolition of his home by Israeli forces as collective punishment for the actions of an older, jailed brother. Zakaria talks of the time he spent with the troupe as one of the happiest of his life. A time when the children "felt like real people, people who mattered".

As the boys acted out their fantasies and frustrations in this room in Zakaria's house, Arna's son, the Israeli actor Juliano Mer-Khamis, started making a documentary about their lives. Over a decade later, following the 2002 Israeli incursion into Jenin, he returned to find out what had happened to the boys and complete his documentary, Arna's Children, released in 2004 to critical acclaim. Zakaria was by then a member of the al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades. His brother Daoud had been sent to jail for 16 years for terrorist activity. The other four - Ashraf, Nidal, Ala'a and Yusuf - were all dead (see box on page 51). Also dead was Zakaria's mother, killed a month before the incursion, when Israeli forces had already started staging lightning raids on the camp. Samira had sought refuge in a neighbour's home, but had briefly popped her head out of a window and was shot by an Israeli soldier and bled to death. Zakaria's brother Taha was killed by Israeli soldiers shortly afterwards.

But it is not just the deaths of his mother, brother and friends that have embittered Zakaria. It is the deafening silence afterwards of those in Israel's peace camp who he had thought were his friends. "Not one of those people

who came to the camp and were our guests as part of the theatre group, fed every day by my mother, called to say they were sorry my family had died," he says. "Not one of them picked up a phone."

Perhaps I have not spent long enough with the Israeli families of those killed by suicide bombing attacks, although I have spent many hours sitting with them. But in these moments, before Zakaria adopts a more bravura performance, what I hear are the words of a still wounded child. "That is when we saw the real face of the left in Israel; the left who later joined the Sharon government," Zakaria continues. "So anybody talking about the peace camp in Israel does not convince me. I have no more confidence in the left, and this is a scary development. When you lose hope, your options are limited," he says with a deep sigh, slumping back in his chair again. "So this is how suicide attacks happen. When people lose hope. When a suicide bomber decides to carry out an attack, he's fully convinced there is no more hope."

"Look," he says, "there is a war being waged against us on every front, including economic. What else can we do? How can we pit our strength against the power and military capabilities of the Israelis? How can we fight on the same level? If you use Apaches (helicopters) and F-16s (fighter jets) against me, of course I am going to use a suicide attack against you."

As he fixes me with his gaze, I consciously try not to look away before he does, as a challenge to what he says. But he outstares me. So how can this bloody cycle of violence on both sides ever come to an end, I ask, fully expecting the pat answer he duly returns: "It will only end with the establishment of a Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital, and with making sure that Palestinians have their rights."

Unlike the recent victors in the Palestinian election - the radical Islamic movement *Hamas*, which refuses to recognise the right of Israel to exist - those allied to Fatah, such as al-Aqsa (see box on page 49), still support a two-state solution of an independent Palestine alongside the state of Israel. Within this context, the power and influence of extremists such as Zakaria cannot be overestimated. In the run-up to the election of Mahmoud Abbas as Palestinian president in early 2005, Abbas travelled to Jenin to pay court to Zakaria. When crowds chanted Zakaria's name, not that of Abbas, as the gun-toting militant hoisted the 69-year-old former schoolteacher onto his shoulders to carry him through the streets, the message was not lost on the elderly politician. Even Arafat paid homage to the young firebrand, Zakaria recalls, once patting him on the back and saying: "Zakaria, buddy, I love you. We're marching to Jerusalem!"

"Look," Zakaria says. "Whoever thinks we can live under occupation is mistaken t-o-t-a-l-l-y," drawing out the last word for emphasis. "We are present and we have the right to live. Our children have the right to live, and if we feel we have come to the point where Palestinian children don't have the right to live, then childhood and the whole concept of childhood in the world is finished." So we return to childhood. But what about those whose childhood is cut short by Palestinian suicide-bombing atrocities, I badger him. And it is here our discussion enters the realm of fantasy. "I have not in all my resistance hurt a child. I am against hurting children.

In the Aqsa-brigade suicide attacks never did a child die. Most of the acts I've been involved in are shooting acts," insists the man sat before me with a gun at his hip.

Exactly what he has and has not been involved in should be a matter for the courts to decide. According to Israeli sources, at least six children have been killed and many more injured in suicide attacks for which al-Aqsa have claimed responsibility. Yet it will almost definitely never come to a court appearance. If Zakaria does not himself become a shahid, or martyr, as suicide bombers call themselves, he faces the near certainty that he will be targeted and killed by Israeli security forces, as have previous heads of the al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades.

Zakaria admits he does not expect to grow old and seems resigned to the prospect that his children will grow up without their father. There have been numerous attempts to assassinate him. One, by an elite unit of Israeli border police two years ago, left five Palestinians, including a 14-year-old boy, dead in a shoot-out. Soon after we meet, Israeli security operations are again stepped up throughout the West Bank. Nine Palestinians are killed close to Jenin and nearby Nablus, and Zakaria is again on the run.

When I dismiss his claim about avoiding child targets as nonsense, Zakaria starts to backtrack. When a suicide bomber walks into a shopping mall or cafe or onto a crowded bus and blows himself up, he is oblivious as to whether or not there are children among those he intends to murder, I insist. "When kids are targeted, that's a mistake," Zakaria blusters, before cranking his political posturing up a gear. "Every time we have a suicide attack it is a reaction to an aggressive Israeli attack. Our attacks are not strategic attacks. All the attacks of the Aqsa brigades have been reaction to big Israeli aggressive attacks. Since we all feel that we are targeted, we follow an Arabic saying, 'Don't die before showing you're a strong opponent.' We have no problem with Israel. We have a problem with the occupation. We in Palestine have the highest level of independence and integrity of thinking."

From here our discussion descends to absurdity. When I challenge him about the fundamental barbarity of the act of suicide bombing and the waste of the young lives of the suicide bombers, he insists the al-Aqsa brigades have never used a child in attacks. The case of a 16-year-old boy who, four years ago, positioned himself alongside a group of elderly people playing chess before detonating the bomb he was carrying, killing himself and two others and wounding 40 more in an attack attributed to al-Aqsa is ignored.

And what about even younger boys, I argue, caught at checkpoints with bomb belts strapped to their waists? "Ah yes," Zakaria concedes. "But they were intending to be caught. A true suicide bomber will never be stopped by any checkpoint. These boys you are talking about go to the checkpoint desiring to be caught to escape their bad economic situation. They want to go to prison - they can study better there."

The idea that teenage suicide bombers are deliberately allowing themselves to be caught by the Israelis so they can get a bit of peace and quiet to do their schoolwork behind bars is clearly preposterous. But when I laugh out loud, Zakaria tries to drive the point home, gesticulating with his finger in the direction of my pen and notepad. "I would like you to know. Write it down! We do not use children for such acts."

As the tension in the room rises, the curtain billows away from the window again to reveal the wide-eyed children gathered outside, clearly listening to what is going on inside. Glancing at the innocent faces pressed against the tilted glass slats at the window, Zakaria muses on his attraction to the children of the refugee camp. "They like me because I can talk to them.

I always come down to their level. They are proud to know me. Other kids will ask, 'Do you know Zakaria? Have you spoken to him?' Kids look up to me as a fighter. I am a symbol of resistance. It is important they see I am not too big to pay attention to them, that I care about them. I want them to know Zakaria is easy to reach. Zakaria is there to speak to. These things make kids come near to you."

So, pied piper? Manipulator of innocence? Terrorist? Wounded child? Resistance fighter? Superhero? To understand is in no way to excuse, but Zakaria Zakaria is no enigma. Following the arc of his life in this extraordinary encounter, I conclude it little wonder he is all of these.

Then, just as he had entered with no warning, little ceremony and children following in his wake, the man who has been compared to a cat with nine lives slinks quietly from the room

#### AL-AQSA MARTYRS' BRIGADES

The al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades emerged at the start of the second intifada.

The intifada was sparked by Palestinian outrage that Ariel Sharon and 1,000 armed guards had entered their holy site - the Haram al-Sharif, or "Noble Sanctuary" containing the al-Aqsa mosque - in east Jerusalem. The brigades consist of local clusters of armed activists believed to be affiliated with Fatah - the political organisation founded by Yasser Arafat that ruled the Palestinian Authority until *Hamas* won an overwhelming majority in January's elections. Fatah leaders claim there is no supervisor-subordinate role between Fatah and al-Aqsa, and that they have never been able to exercise effective control of the martyrs' brigades. Local al-Aqsa brigades are believed to be loosely structured and driven by charismatic personalities such as Zakaria Zubeidi. When I try to confirm with Israeli authorities the charges Zubeidi is wanted on, I am stonewalled. I am instructed to trawl through government records

of 135 suicide and other bombing and shooting attacks carried out in Israel since September 2000 to see how many the al-Aqsa brigades have claimed responsibility for. Total: 20.

#### THEATRE OF WAR: THE CHILD ACTORS WHO BECAME KILLERS

In 1989 the Israeli peace activist Arna Mer-Khamis opened a children's theatre group in Jenin called Arna's House. Zakaria is one of the few members still alive

#### YUSUF SWEITAT

After graduating from high school, Yusuf became a homicide investigator with the Palestinian police. But in 2001, after witnessing the killing of a 12-year-old girl by an Israeli tank, he joined the Islamic Jihad extremists. At 22, after making a video of himself and a friend reading the Koran, the two drove into an Israeli town and opened fire, killing four, before being shot dead by Israeli police.

#### ASHRAF ABU EL-HAJE

Ashraf (above, with a friend from the theatre group) joined the al-Aqsa brigades in early 2002. He and Yusut's cousin Nidal died at the age of 22, at the height of fighting during the Jenin incursion. They were killed by an Israeli helicopter missile after hacking out a hole to make a firing position in a wall of Zakaria's house (the same room he and the other child actors used as a rehearsal space).

#### ALA'A SABAGH

After Arna's theatre group disbanded, Ala'a dropped out of school and joined the al-Aqsa brigades. During the Jenin incursion he was captured by the Israelis. On his release, after giving a false name, he returned to Jenin and became head of the camp's al-Aqsa brigade. In 2002 an Israeli aircraft fired a missile into the house he was hiding in with the leader of the Islamic Jihad. Both were killed.

#### ZAKARIA ZUBEIDI

Juliano Mer-Khamis, who made the documentary Arna's Children, calls Zakaria "a charmer, who always took care of his appearance". While few of those in Israel's peace camp, hosted by Zakaria's mother, took any interest in what happened to his family after she was killed, Mer-Khamis stayed in touch and is now founding a theatre in Jenin: <a href="https://www.thefreedomtheatre.org">www.thefreedomtheatre.org</a>

Load-Date: June 30, 2006

**End of Document** 



## Farmers suffering a variety of blows

Yorkshire Post August 12, 2006

Copyright 2006 JPIMedia Publishing Ltd All Rights Reserved

Length: 2184 words

## **Body**

From: Gordon Downey, Upper Halstead, Thurstonland, Huddersfield.

WE have a smallholding here of 40 acres (16 hectares) and submitted our claim to the Rural Payments Agency for the Single Payment Scheme. The 35-page application form was duly completed by the requested date in May 2005.

There followed lengthy correspondence for errors in measurement for various fields and the fact that another farmer had apparently claimed for two fields from this property - name withheld by RPA on grounds of confidentiality.

Further validation checks are still required but entitlement may result in payment of 220 euros. No payment has yet been made although application has been made for 2006.

This scheme is an administrative nightmare and the only purpose seems to be to provide employment for more public servants. Why not make a flat payment for any farmer with less than 30 hectares?

From: NDN Welford, Sandhutton, Thirsk.

I WAS delighted that you gave pride of place to the "disgraceful piece of bureaucratic blundering" as described by Lord Haskins, when referring to the Rural Payments Agency (Yorkshire Post, August 5).

It is a year since we bought our farm and in that time have spent many hours, either on the telephone or writing letters to the RPA.

None of our efforts has produced either a returned telephone call as promised, nor a letter in reply to our concerns as to when we can expect payment of monies due.

From: I Miskin, Clotherholme Road, Ripon.

I WOULD like to add my voice to the protests about the closure of the sugar beet factory in York. The poor farmers are suffering so much through lack of trade, and growing sugar beet and selling it for the production of sugar must have been a great encouragement for them.

I lived in York for seven years and got used to the smell from the sugar beet and was glad to think that the farmers were receiving some recompense for their labour.

So much of the local trade in the North is suffering from a reduction in the sugar trade.

May public opinion bring pressure to bear on those who are influencing this decision so that the factory is able to stay open.

#### Farmers suffering a variety of blows

Striking the right balance in Middle East

From: John Richmond, Harrogate Road, Ripon.

THE letter from Rev Richard Kayes (Yorkshire Post, August 4) prompts me to put forward a much different view relevant to Israel and the Palestinians.

I, too, visited Israel back in 1995 when there was at least an element of peaceful co-existence between the two, owed mainly to Yitzhak Rabin, Israel's then premier. Unfortunately, a few weeks after my visit, he was murdered by one of the Jewish fanatics of the day, and it is fair to say that things have gone downhill since Rabin's death.

However, it did appear to me at that time that when we travelled through areas like Bethlehem, Jericho and the area that is now called the West Bank, it was very obvious that on reaching land that was Israeli it was well tended... with every inch of soil used to grow as much as possible, whether it was fruit, vegetables and the like, whereas the Palestinian areas were unkempt and residents were quite happy to sit under a palm tree and hold out a begging bowl.

Richard Kayes says he is in no position to offer a solution to the Middle East problem, yet at the same time shies away from Old Testament records. That, I'm afraid, is his dilemma.

Until Hezbollah and <u>Hamas</u> and others who support terrorism accept that Israel has a right to its land, the fighting and war will continue.

The Palestinians deserve land and have had Gaza handed back, but still have little idea how to use such a prime site for peaceful co-existence.

From: MP Hellawell, Cross Lane, Scarborough.

THE Rev Mark Madeley is absolutely right in his statement about Israel and its neighbouring states (Yorkshire Post, August 8). Also, he is to be admired for standing up to be counted.

It is now time for a concerted effort by all peace-loving nations to combine and wipe the forces of evil off the face of the earth. Until they are seen off, there will be no lasting peace anywhere.

Let's have an end to ignorance and interfering from those who think they know it all when they know nowt, and an end to skewed media reporting.

From: B Bates, Fairways, Keighley.

SOME of the recent anti-war, anti-USA letters are becoming more extreme and hysterical.

It would have been quite easy for this country to have ignored the danger of Islamic fundamentalism and left it for others to combat. Much less expensive, no immediate problems for the government and no loss of life among our Armed Forces.

The difficulty is that if everyone adopted this attitude we would at some point pay a greater price when the fanatics became stronger through support from countries in the Middle East and Afghanistan, unhindered by any Western resolve.

The current President of the USA may not be everyone's cup of tea but we and the West have a lot to thank the United States for over the last 50 years.

The world is a dangerous place and history reminds us that a pacifist approach to dictators and fanatics is a path to disaster.

Threat of immigration

From: G Ambler-Shaw, Carleton Drive, Boston Spa, Wetherby.

THAT shortages in manpower, or insufficient growth of home population, always calls for increased immigration to satisfy demand - as Labour proclaims - is mistaken for such a swell in population automatically re-creates shortages in manpower: one moment immigration makes up for shortfall, the next it is negated.

The proverbial dog tries to catch its tail, vainly going round and round in circles, expending more muscle and energy, but it can never catch up.

Without curbs, too much immigration can and does cause serious problems, with compound effects on housing, water supply, the NHS and other essentials for the country's well-being, thereby putting the economy off balance.

The bottom line is: cheap labour and low prices may sound attractive, yet damaging side effects will inevitably occur in its wake.

Next year still more countries of Eastern Europe will be joining the EU (and perhaps Turkey later on) with the prospect of yet more migration to Britain.

Governments have allowed Britain to become very vulnerable (more than any other EU country) to immigration, and this does not augur well for the future.

Too soft on crime

From: BJ Cussons, Curly Hill, Ilkley.

THE trial of the killers of Damilola Taylor has finally come to an end after huge emotional cost to his parents and astronomical cost to the taxpayer.

When is our society going to wake up to the fact that the softly, softly approach to crime is never going to solve its problems? Surely we have enough proof that it actually turns amateur baddies into professional criminals and creates anguish and destroys the future life of victims and/or their relatives.

For my money every liberal campaigner, every magistrate, juror, judge and lawmaker that has been responsible for the advancement in crime of the Preddie boys are equally responsible for this terrible waste of life and resources.

When the Government wants to inflict yet more bureaucracy on the Home Office, it runs pilot schemes.

Let us have three areas of pilot schemes where young people receive corporal punishment in proportion to their crime and monitor what happens to them and to their communities.

Airport bus 'success'

From: JR Thomas, Huby, Leeds.

I WRITE about Brian Dooks's article (Yorkshire Post, August 3) regarding the so-called success of the 767 Harrogate-Leeds Bradford Airport bus service.

To get the success into context, the summer of 2005 produced 1.5 passengers per journey. In the same period this year, the average was 2.9.

It amazes me how these success stories are trotted out when it suits North Yorkshire County Council and the bus company.

Only last month NYCC withdrew funding for the 904 Harrogate-Otley evening and Sunday bus service.

Passenger numbers on this service were at least three per journey and as many as 10 at weekends.

NYCC could easily have arranged to run the journeys to the airport via Otley (taking just four minutes longer).

#### Farmers suffering a variety of blows

Because they have not done this, some 200 passenger journeys have been lost overnight, hence the local service provided by the current airport bus from Harrogate to Pool (West Yorkshire) is of limited value.

**Points** 

Control hospital visiting hours

From: J Greenwood, Low Town, Kirkburton, Huddersfield.

HAVING sensible and commonsense controls on visitors to hospital wards is long overdue.

I would suggest the following should be implemented as soon as possible throughout the country, although children's wards may require special consideration.

- 1. Restrict the visiting hours so that nurses and staff can perform their duties more effectively.
- 2. Only two visitors allowed at the bed-side at any one time.
- 3. No sitting on beds.
- 4. Use of the ward toilets by visitors should be forbidden.

In other words, a return to the situation which existed some years ago before MRSA became such a problem.

Taxing times

From: J Bennett, Taptonville Road, Sheffield.

PEOPLE often refer to the fact that inheritance tax is a double tax - you are taxed on your earnings from when you pay your mortgage and then taxed on death.

In fact, there is a third tax - the VAT you pay on the maintenance work and improvements to your house - which is often a considerable amount. Without such expenditure, the property would be worth much less and the Chancellor would get less.

Stop and search

From: Jack Kinsman, Stainton Drive, Grimsby.

I AM absolutely livid that the Assistant Commissioner of Scotland Yard can make derogatory remarks about the stop and search policy being carried out on his Muslim brothers by our over-worked policemen and <u>women</u> (Yorkshire Post, August 8).

His actual words were: "The search is often led by the physical appearance of the suspect, rather than by specific intelligence."

Could I please be allowed to point out to this high ranking officer that there is no "intelligence" on every suspect. If he acts guilty, he's "pulled". End of story.

Road plan

From: Arthur Quarmby, Underhill, Holme.

A NEW motorway from South Manchester to the M1 through Longdendale and taking in the (half-a-motorway) Stocksbridge bypass is the only way to relieve the pressure on the most congested section of the M62.

At opposite ends of the social spectrum

#### Farmers suffering a variety of blows

From: Carol Vaines, Spen Lane, Gomersal, Cleckheaton.

HOW will I compare thee?

Two pictures on page 2 of the Yorkshire Post (August 10) speak volumes.

The fabulous 19-year-old heroine, Michelle Norris, who risked her life under fire to save her colleague in Iraq. And the spineless 28-year-old, Craig Moore, who blew up a speed camera to dodge a road ban.

Say no more?

Trying to see the funny side over a load of rubbish

From: Philip Walls, Priestley Avenue, Heckmondwike.

OKAY - I admit it - I'm guilty. On Wednesday, I deposited some greenery in the dustbin, and a sticker was placed on the bin by a waste disposal operative telling me why it had been left unemptied.

The offending material? Tops from two spring onions. My wife had already tied the bag up ready for me to place in the bin, and I pushed the leaves into the opening. I did not push them down far enough, obviously.

When my wife, later that day, telephoned the appropriate department and told them what had happened, the lady who took the call at least had the decency to laugh, and said maybe it WAS going a bit too far, but staff were only carrying out government instructions.

Accepting garden refuse as part of general refuse could result in the withdrawal of funding. However, we could leave the dustbin out again the following day, just in case the waste could be collected on Thursday.

I dutifully wheeled the bin to the front of the house again and, out of curiosity, looked inside. I couldn't see any greenery at all. But wait a moment - yes - there is some greenery there. The container was only half full, and I had to really peer inside to see clearly. After all, it was such a small opening in the bag. Well done, eagle-eyed operative.

Now, what do I do the next time I buy my wife a bunch of flowers, and when I need to dispose of them? Do I secretly push them to the bottom of a bag and hope that nobody notices? Or do I ring the appropriate department and ask them to collect my wife's dead flowers? I really do not wish to be publicly humiliated again.

HAVE YOUR SAY...

Letters to: The Editor, Yorkshire Post, Wellington Street, Leeds LS1 1RF. Fax: 0113 238 8537. e-mail: yp.editor@ypn.co.uk. Phone: 0113 238 8910 (after 4.30pm, max 150 words please).

Please include your full postal address and the publication date if referring to a Yorkshire Post article or a previous letter. Please print as well as signing your name. The Editor reserves the right to shorten letters.

The Yorkshire Post adheres to the newspaper industry's voluntary code of practice, issued and administrated by the Press Complaints Commission. If you have a complaint, please write to: the Editor, Yorkshire Post, Wellington Street, Leeds, LS1 1RF. A copy of the PCC code can be obtained from the following address: The Press Complaints Commission, Halton House, 20/23 Holborn, London EC1N 2JD. Their website is: <a href="https://www.pcc.org.uk">www.pcc.org.uk</a>

Load-Date: August 12, 2006



## Making of Muriel the suicide bomber

The Sunday Times (London)

December 4, 2005

Copyright 2005 Times Newspapers Limited All Rights Reserved

Section: FEATURES; News Review; Pg. 3

Length: 1849 words

Byline: Nicola Smith and Francoise Tihon

## **Body**

Her school friends and neighbours remember her as 'a good little girl'. So what made her turn into the first *female* European suicide bomber. Nicola Smith reports.

On the quiet streets of Charleroi, a bleak industrial city in southern Belgium, residents are in a state of shock. Just as the city was starting to recover from playing unwitting host to the crimes of the child murderer Marc Dutroux, it woke on Thursday to news of another horror.

Muriel Degauque, a pretty blonde 38-year-old brought up in a modest redbrick house in the shadows of the coal tip, had become the first European <u>female</u> suicide bomber. Her parents, a crane driver and hospital secretary, had known nothing of her violent mission.

On November 9 Degauque detonated explosives she had strapped to her body in an attempt to wipe out a convoy of American soldiers north of Baghdad. According to conflicting reports, she either killed six people or succeeded merely in blowing up herself.

Early last Wednesday, after being informed by police, her mother Liliane knocked on her best friend's door in tears. "I've lost my daughter," she wept. "I now have no children."

There were more tears as residents of the social housing complex where Muriel spent her formative years struggled to understand how the little girl who had played with their children had chosen to end her life so brutally in the name of jihad.

"I feel sick when I think about it," said one. "It's so sad for all her old friends and I can't imagine what it must be like for her parents," said another.

Serge Beghin, a local councillor, knew her well as a child. Muriel had celebrated her first communion with his sister and he had been in her brother's class at school. "She was just like all the other girls, dreaming I suppose about becoming a teacher or a nurse," he said.

In fact, the general consensus in Charleroi was of a "lovely, good little girl" who adored to play in the snow. She had, it was said, perhaps fallen in with a bad crowd in her adolescent years.

Andrea Dorange, who had known Muriel from the age of five, said: "She was an adorable little girl, smiling all the time. But then, later, everything became ...

different. She was really weak and very easily influenced."

By the time she had left school at 16, Muriel was experimenting with drugs and often running away from home, one time disappearing to the hilly Ardennes region 100 miles away without her parents' knowledge. One neighbour recalled how she had found Degauque sleeping on the doorstep of the local community centre, having spent the night out in the open.

Like some teenagers, she had a turbulent and distant relationship with her parents, who found her difficult to control. She was pretty, her mother says, and so popular with boys she wasn't even sure how many boyfriends she'd had.

Those who knew her best believe a defining moment was the death of her brother in a motorbike accident in 1989. Jean-Paul Degauque died on his 24th birthday when a car crashed into him after running past a stop sign.

It was Muriel who had to break the news to her parents, and friends say the family never quite recovered from his death.

Muriel was very close to her "charming" brother, who was the first-born and adored by their parents and everyone who knew them.

Andrea Dorange said the young girl broke down at her brother's funeral, consumed with grief and guilt.

"When Jean-Paul died, she completely changed. She was always sad and she told me that it was unfair that her brother had died and that she should have died in his place," she said.

A downward spiral began. She worked for a short while in a bakery, where she was remembered mostly for her frequent absences and displaying signs of drug abuse. Later she had a job in a cafe, but that was the only employment that people remember her ever having. Her mother said she had an irregular work history and was claiming state benefits.

Her childhood friends seemed to lose track of her when, in her early twenties, she moved to Brussels. She married a Belgian man of Turkish origin but later divorced him. She converted to Islam four years ago when she struck up a new relationship with an Algerian man.

It was the beginning of a new life.

Her former school friend Manuela, 39, remembers her last meeting with Muriel more than eight years ago at a bus stop. She failed to recognise her because her face was concealed by a veil.

"She called over to me and asked if I still knew her. It was a shock to see her like that but she seemed to be happy,"

she said.

But Degauque's apparent happiness soon came to an end when she married Moroccan-born Issam Goris, seven years her junior. She changed her name to Myriam and her parents began to worry about the radical turn her Muslim faith had taken, fearing she had been brainwashed.

Goris tried to impose his own rules when visiting her parents, insisting the <u>women</u> and men ate separately and banning beer and television.

"The last time we saw them we told them that we had had enough of them trying to indoctrinate us," said Liliane. Her outstanding memory of her daughter's increasing remoteness was when she spent two weeks in a hospital just a few hundred yards from where Muriel was working.

"She did not come to see me once," said Liliane. "When I got out I asked if she still remembered she had a mother. She looked at me and I said, 'Well, you didn't come to see me'."

#### Making of Muriel the suicide bomber

In Brussels the couple were keeping a low profile in their rundown apartment block on Rue de Merode in the heart of an immigrant quarter near the main railway station. Muriel cloaked herself in a burqa, wearing gloves that concealed her pale hands. Last week many of her neighbours were astonished to learn she had been the suicide bomber who was dominating headlines. Most had not even realised the unassuming woman next door was a white Belgian.

One neighbour, a 22-year-old woman from Sierra Leone, said she had not got to know the couple, but every week noticed a pile of shoes in the hallway when many people came to their flat to pray.

Neighbours of Muriel's parents rarely saw the young couple, but were taken aback when they did: on a couple of occasions they arrived at the family home in a luxurious white Mercedes.

"I had to ask myself where they got the money from," says Christiane Calwaerts, the next-door neighbour. The last time the Mercedes was seen on the street was in August, shortly before Muriel headed to the Middle East with her husband.

The couple gave no indication to Muriel's family that they would not be returning, though they told the local postman to deliver their mail to a postal box without leaving any forwarding address.

Their landlord believed they were heading to Kenya. A local cafe owner said Goris had "said goodbye and that they were going to Morocco, to Meknes, where he apparently came from".

"The last time I spoke to my daughter on the telephone was a month ago. She told me she was in Syria," said Liliane. She tried her mobile on several occasions but the calls went through to voice mail. She tried on Tuesday at 10.30pm, again without success.

"I had a bad feeling when I was watching the news on television and they were talking about a Belgian," she said.

Her fears were realised when police officers turned up at the doorstep at 6am on Wednesday. They broke the news of their daughter's suicide bombing at Baquba, 30 miles northeast of Baghdad.

Muriel herself had not died immediately after detonating the bomb. Her husband had suffered a less painful end, a single shot to the head fired by American soldiers in a separate incident on the same day.

At her local mosque in Monceau sur Sambre, imam Fadel Abdallah did not fear a backlash against Muslims.

"We have good community relations," he said. "This was caused by her own problems and those who pushed her to do this." Nevertheless, Belgium, home to many thousands of immigrants of north African descent, is now asking itself if it can expect more tragic stories like Muriel's.

Claude Moniquet, from the Brussels-based European Strategic Intelligence and Security Centre, admitted Muriel Degauque could become a "model"

for other fanatical young women to follow.

"She had a classic profile for a convert to radical Islam," he said. "She had a drug problem when she was younger, she had no real job, and was not very close to her family. Maybe she thought that she had no future and she was clearly under the influence of her husband who was a radical. What is surprising is that she was a young European woman, but we could maybe expect more cases."

Public fears are growing that this was not an isolated incident after police swooped on several households in Charleroi, Antwerp, Tongres and Brussels last week. Five north Africans are still in custody. One couple in Antwerp, of Moroccan origin, were reportedly arrested before they headed on a similar journey of death.

Mohamed Reha, a Belgian of Moroccan origin who was arrested earlier in November, told police there were several wives of imprisoned Islamic extremists who were also prepared to take their own lives, and others with them.

#### Making of Muriel the suicide bomber

It was revealed on Friday that Pascal Cruypennick, also a white Belgian of European origin, had been arrested on suspicion of having sent suicide bombers to Iraq. He too had suffered a troubled childhood through the divorce of his parents and being beaten by his father. He later spent time in prison before finding work as a kitchen hand and marrying, then divorcing an African woman.

Cruypennick converted to Islam three years ago. His neighbours never suspected this quiet man may have harboured deadly intent.

Meanwhile, the distraught parents of Muriel Degauque have been left to mourn. By Thursday morning Liliane was too exhausted to talk. Looking defeated and haggard, with the door only slightly ajar, she said she had just returned from hospital and the police had told her not to talk to anyone else.

"She's broken, crying, ill and seems close to a nervous breakdown," said her neighbour Andrea Dorange. "They are good people and they never deserved this to happen."

#### THE DEADLY **FEMALES**

In conflicts around the world, the stereotype of the suicide bomber as male is changing.

#### **IRAQ**

In September this year a woman in her early twenties became the first <u>female</u> suicide bomber to strike successfully against the coalition forces. Disguised as a man, she killed six and wounded 30 in Tar Afar.

#### **CHECHNYA**

During a four-month period in 2003, six out of seven Chechen suicide attacks were carried out by **women**. Rebel commander Shamil Basayev spoke proudly of his regiment of Black Widows.

#### **ISRAEL**

Palestinian mother of two Reem Raiyshi, 22, became <u>Hamas</u>'s first <u>female</u> suicide bomber in January 2004. She killed four Israelis at a checkpoint.

#### **TURKEY**

Kurdistan separatists have used <u>female</u> suicide bombers, reasoning they are less likely to be searched. It was believed to have been a woman who bombed the tourist bus in the resort of Kusadasi last July, killing a British holidaymaker.

#### **SRI LANKA**

The Tamil Tigers have recruited <u>women</u> for suicide missions. Most dramatically, one delivered the bomb in the 1991 killing of former Indian prime minister Rajiv Gandhi.

Load-Date: December 5, 2005



The New York Times
August 1, 2006 Tuesday
Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2006 The New York Times Company

Section: Section A; Column 6; Foreign Desk; Pg. 1; HOSTILITIES IN THE MIDEAST: THE OVERVIEW

Length: 1886 words

**Byline:** By CRAIG S. SMITH and STEVEN ERLANGER; Craig S. Smith reported from Metulla for this article, and Steven Erlanger from Jerusalem. Helene Cooper contributed reporting from Washington, Hassan M. Fattah from

Beirut, and Mona el-Naggar from Cairo.

Dateline: METULLA, Israel, July 31

## **Body**

As Israel poured soldiers and artillery shells into southern Lebanon, it vowed Monday to press ahead with its war on Hezbollah and made a number of airstrikes after promising a 48-hour pause in its air campaign.

"The fighting continues," Prime Minister Ehud Olmert said. "There is no cease-fire, and there will not be any cease-fire in the coming days."

Israel promised Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice on Sunday that it would halt air operations for two days, except to respond to "imminent threats," like rocket-launching teams, and to support ground forces.

Ms. Rice said she had accepted Israel's explanation for resuming airstrikes barely 12 hours after the suspension was announced.

Before leaving Jerusalem, Ms. Rice said she believed that a cease-fire and a United Nations Security Council action on it were on the immediate horizon. "I am convinced we can achieve both this week," she said.

On her flight to Washington, she appeared a little less assured, and aides said the timing had slipped to the end of the week. "I can't tell you when to pack just yet," she told reporters on board. "We're working very hard to make it this week."

Meanwhile, Hezbollah held its fire, with the Israeli Army counting only three mortar shells landing in Israel on Monday and no rockets, compared with a record 156 rockets launched on Sunday and about 100 daily before. More than a million Israelis are in bomb shelters.

Israel's defense minister, Amir Peretz, told a special session of Parliament that the army "will expand and deepen its operations against Hezbollah." He suggested that the fighting would not stop until a multinational force was ready with a mandate to use its weapons against Hezbollah if the group breached any eventual cease-fire agreement. He said Israel would demand outside supervision for the border crossings between Syria and Lebanon.

Israel said it began a 48-hour suspension of airstrikes in Lebanon at 2 a.m. Monday after it fired at a rocket-launching team in Qana on Sunday and killed dozens of civilians in a nearby building.

While bombs did fall across Lebanon on Monday, they came at a slower pace and struck at more limited targets, Israeli officials said.

"It's reduced compared to regular days," said Capt. Jacob Dallal, an Israeli Army spokesman, adding that the military was not bombing roads, bridges or structures that might interfere with civilian movements.

But he said the airstrikes were aiming at "immediate threats," including rocket launchers and other weapons, as well as providing air support for ground troops. On Monday, Israeli forces hit a Lebanese Army jeep that Israel said it had mistakenly thought was carrying a senior Hezbollah commander, killing a Lebanese soldier and wounding three others.

The air force also destroyed a truck full of weapons near Lebanon's border with Syria, the army said.

And the Israelis made a ground raid into Lebanon in the Aita al Shaab area. Hezbollah said its fighters were resisting the advance.

In an interview with Reuters on Sunday after the Israeli airstrikes on Qana, Khaled Meshal, a <u>Hamas</u> leader based in Syria, called for "an acceleration of the resistance in Lebanon and Palestine" and asked, "Is there anything left for our people except resistance to protect our **women**, children, land and honor in this Zionist-American age?"

Some Lebanese civilians took advantage of the bombing lull to move north out of southern Lebanon, and aid agencies drove convoys of food and medical supplies into the south. Lebanese rescue workers retrieved at least 49 bodies from destroyed buildings, Reuters said.

An Israeli Foreign Ministry official said Israel had agreed to the suspension and a 24-hour safe-passage period for civilians heading out of southern Lebanon as a way to "take the steam" out of Sunday's bombing in Qana. But he also said the fight against Hezbollah would continue until there was a diplomatic solution that stopped the rocket fire against Israel and that deployed an international force on the border. "We couldn't ignore Qana," the official said, speaking on condition of anonymity, as is customary. "And if we want to continue to get the full cease-fire we want, with an international force, it was important to change the tone and the conversation."

Vice Prime Minister Shimon Peres, speaking at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York, said the bombing in Qana was aimed at rocket launchers 300 yards from where the civilians were, a distance commanders considered large enough to avoid the risk of hitting them. He said Israel was investigating what had gone wrong.

On Monday, President Bush appeared to back the Israeli position of continuing the war, repeating his insistence that any cessation of hostilities must be "sustainable."

"A multinational force must be dispatched to Lebanon quickly so we can help speed the delivery of humanitarian aid to the Lebanese people," he said in Miami. "Iran must end its financial support and supply of weapons to terrorist groups like Hezbollah. Syria must end its support for terror and respect the sovereignty of Lebanon."

Meanwhile, Israel continued to call up reserve troops and move fresh soldiers to its northern border, to reinforce troops already fighting and to "prepare for any eventuality," a military spokesman said. While the military has not said how many troops are involved, the maneuvers have led some analysts to suggest that it is planning an accelerated push on the ground before diplomacy closes the window for action.

"I think the only way that they can get in under the wire here is by launching a major ground offensive in southern Lebanon," said Michael Oren, senior fellow at the conservative Shalem Center. "Otherwise they have no leverage, no tangible gains."

In Beirut, Iran's foreign minister, Manouchehr Mottaki, whose country is a main supporter of Hezbollah, arrived from Syria and was dining at the Iranian Embassy on Monday with Foreign Minister Philippe Douste-Blazy of France, a French diplomat said. It was unclear what they discussed, but Mr. Douste-Blazy said earlier Monday that Iran was "a great country" that "plays a stabilizing role in the region," a view at odds with the American one.

Israel has come under heavy criticism for what many abroad see as a disproportionate response to the July 12 Hezbollah attack that started the fighting. Yet Israelis are critical of their government for failing to strike more swiftly on the ground to push Hezbollah back from the border.

The battles on Monday gave a startling demonstration of how far Israel is from creating an effective buffer between northern Israel and Hezbollah fighters in southern Lebanon; after more than two weeks at war, much of the fighting still took place within sight of the border.

The Israeli leadership has favored air power with guided munitions, which minimizes casualties to its troops but can lead to civilian casualties, as in Qana, when civilians were sheltering in the basement of a building that collapsed after the Israeli strike. The result has been slow progress on the ground and growing international condemnation.

"Israel started this crisis with the most favorable diplomatic position it has ever had in its history, and over the course of three weeks the Olmert government has managed to squander that advantage," Mr. Oren of the Shalem Center said.

The fighting Monday focused on the villages of Taibe, Al Adeisa and Kafr Kila across the border from Metulla, which is near the Golan Heights. Israeli military officers said the villages were the source of repeated recent rocket barrages on northern Israel, in particular the town of Kiryat Shimona, which was hit Sunday by more than 80 rockets.

Airstrikes may have slowed over Lebanon, but they continued apace over the Gaza Strip, the other front in this war. Five Palestinians were wounded when Israeli aircraft bombed a house in the Sheik Radwan neighborhood of Gaza City. For days now, Israel has targeted homes in residential areas where it suspects weapons are being stored.

One of the major questions remains the timing of any cease-fire. The sentiment of much of the world, including crucial members of the Security Council like France and Russia, is that a cease-fire should begin no later than the passage of a Council resolution authorizing an international force for southern Lebanon.

But that force may not be on the ground for weeks. Israel, Mr. Olmert said, wants a cease-fire only when the international force arrives, so there is no vacuum. An immediate cease-fire with no international presence, the Israelis argue, would allow the rearmament of Hezbollah through the Syrian border and even its reinfiltration to the Israeli border.

"If there's a cease-fire tomorrow and no international presence, how do you prevent the rearming of Hezbollah?" asked a senior Israeli official. "And if you can't control that, how can you move to disarm Hezbollah?"

Israel is asking for more time to hit Hezbollah and is asking those like the French, who want an immediate ceasefire, to take concrete actions to help create the conditions for a sustainable peace, the official said.

Another senior official said he expected that a Council resolution could take a week and be capped by a session with foreign ministers, perhaps next Monday. If a resolution, with an acceptable political package, resulted in a cease-fire, Israeli forces would remain in southern Lebanon until an international force arrived, he suggested.

In such a cease-fire, to which Hezbollah would have to agree through the Lebanese government, the official said, Israeli forces would only fire if fired upon, or if rockets continued to be launched against Israel.

The Council extended the mandate of the United Nations observer force in Lebanon for one month to allow more time to formulate a new peacekeeping force.

Israeli reaction to Qana was largely one of sorrow, mixed with determination not to end the fighting too quickly and for what many here consider the wrong reasons.

But the country's most influential columnist, Nahum Barnea, writing in Yediot Aharonot, raised questions about Israeli tactics and leadership. Mr. Barnea wrote about the government's decision to allow the army to attack civilian houses if Hezbollah rockets and war materiel were stored inside and the population was warned in advance to leave.

In an interview, he said the policy, however justified, courted the Qana bombing, and he criticized Mr. Peretz for being "stupid enough to make it seem like a moral statement."

In his column, he said Israel had to respond to Hezbollah's attack with military action, but added, "The question is how and at what cost." He criticized Mr. Peretz for describing "proudly how he relieved the army of restrictions on harming civilian population that lives alongside Hezbollah operatives."

"I can understand accidentally harming civilians in the course of combat," he wrote. "But a blanket directive regarding the entire civilian population of southern Lebanon and the Shiite neighborhoods of Beirut is a hasty and lightheaded act, which courts disaster. We saw the outcome of this yesterday, in the bodies of the <u>women</u> and children that were taken out of the bombed house in Qana."

http://www.nytimes.com

## **Graphic**

Photos: A Gaza home destroyed by Israel yesterday. The Israeli Army called the homeowner to warn him about the attack, and his family was evacuated. (Photo by Michael Kamber for The New York Times)

An Israeli soldier provided cover for soldiers evacuating a tank damaged by Hezbollah missiles yesterday near the village of Kafr Kila. (Photo by Rina Castelnuovo for The New York Times)(pg. A8)Chart/Map: "Moving Aid Into the South"Relief agencies took advantage of the lessened violence yesterday by moving more food, water and medical assistance into southern Lebanon.STAGING AREA -- Several convoys have moved from Beirut to Tyre, a 50-mile trip that now takes nine hours.RESCUE -- One Red Cross convoy reached Qana.NO ACCESS -- In Aitarun, a Red Cross convoy was halted because of ongoing violence.EVACUATION -- One Red Cross convoy reached Bint Jbail to evacuate wounded and stranded residents. Doctors Without Borders sent medical supplies by taxi.CANCELED -- On Sunday, a convoy was canceled here because of airstrikes.Map of Israel and Lebanon highlighting the areas listed above.(Sources by World Food Program, Red Cross, Doctors Without Borders)(pg. A8)

Load-Date: August 1, 2006

**End of Document** 



The Irish Times

August 3, 2006 Thursday

Copyright 2006 The Irish Times All Rights Reserved

Section: LETTERS; Pg. 17

Length: 2056 words

## **Body**

Madam, - While confusion still surrounds the precise series of events which led to the deaths of over 50 civilians in Qana last Sunday, an Israeli bomb will almost certainly prove to have been the tragedy's proximate cause - an indication that the IDF, while never intentionally targeting civilians, must do more to minimise non-combatant casualties.

However, this cannot be allowed to obscure the fact that ultimate responsibility for the killings in Qana lies not with the IDF but with Hizbullah, which is waging its war against Israel from behind the double-sided shield of Lebanon's civilian population and UN personnel. In what are just the latest examples, residents fleeing Ain Ebal angrily told the New York Times last weekend that Hizbullah was using the town as a rocket-launching base, firing them "from between houses" while a former south Lebanese Shia, writing in Berlin's Der Tagesspiegel, described Hizbullah's concealment of a weapons depot under a school in his village. Qana itself has been similarly exploited. The IDF has released footage of both the arrival of rocket launchers into the town and their subsequent firing from neighbourhoods including Hariva, in which Sunday's air strikes took place.

This "cowardly blending. . . among <u>women</u> and children" (as the UN's Jan Egeland described it last week) inevitably results in heavy Lebanese non-combatant casualties which are then adduced as evidence of Israel's "disproportionate" response. But Israel's response to Hizbullah's offensive is not disproportionate to the threat which it faces.

The principle of proportionality in war relates, not to provocation-reprisal ratios of scale, but to the proportion between the amount of force employed and the amount of force required to achieve legitimate military objectives, which must be determined with reference to the conflict's broader contexts. The objective of Israel's current operation in Lebanon is not solely the rescue of its two captured soldiers but the termination of the Iranian-sponsored cross-border campaign by Hizbullah, to which they and scores of other Israelis have fallen victim since May 2000.

Israel is determined to defeat this campaign because it represents not a mere localised terrorist assault but the front-line battle in Iran's 27-year war of annihilation against the Jewish state. Since its foundation in 1979, the Islamic Republic has officially held that the very existence of Israel "humiliates Islam, the Qu'ran, the government of Islam and the nation of Islam" and that it must be "eliminated from the pages of history". The present Supreme Leader, Ali Khamenei has stated that "setting Israel on fire" topped Iran's foreign policy agenda while ex-President Rafsanjani has pledged that the Islamic world will "vomit it out from its midst". Most recently, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad has repeatedly demanded that Israel be "wiped off the map."

Those dismissing these statements as mere rhetorical sound and fury overlook the fact that Iran has spent the past 15 years working to achieve its ambition through the sponsorship of Palestinian terrorism, completely bankrolling Islamic Jihad, channelling significant logistical and financial support to *Hamas* and, since September 2000, increasing its associations with the Fatah-affiliated militias to the extent that, before the declaration of last year's "ceasefire", it had a hand in almost all of Al-Aqsa Martyrs' attacks. With regard to Hizbullah, Iran has spent around \$100 million a year transforming it into an anti-Israel military force more like a national army than a terrorist militia.

This Jerusalem can no longer be expected to endure. On withdrawing from Lebanon six years ago, it warned that any future attacks from this territory would be met with a forceful response "based upon the pure, simple and compelling right to self-defence". Israel's current action is a legitimate and proportionate exercise of that right. - Yours, etc,

SEAN GANNON, Chairman, Irish Friends of Israel, Ontario Terrace, Dublin 6.

Madam, - Cathal McCann (August 1st) concludes his defence of Israel with the question: "What would you do in Israel's position?"

If I were prime minister of Israel, I would have proclaimed publicly to the world that Israel has no interest whatever in any territory beyond the 1967 borders. I would have offered to share Jerusalem with my Palestinian neighbours. I would have committed my country to the development of a truly democratic secular state; and I would have formally recognised Islam as being of equal status within the state as Judaism.

Having done all this, I doubt if "my citizens" would be dying in the street of Haifa, and I imagine that terrorist rhetoric and action would have been consigned to history.

But the government of Israel, in its wisdom, has not chosen this path. Instead, it insists that it has the right to retain some of the occupied territories in any peace treaty. It demands the right to develop a Jewish State for a Jewish people. It continues to build settlements in the occupied territories. It routinely assassinates and abducts persons it suspects of being members of militias; and it reacts to any resistance to these measures with the indiscriminate slaughter of civilians.

May I respond to Cathal McCann's question with one of my own: "What would you do in this situation if you were a Palestinian?" - Yours, etc,

JOHN McGRATH, Kilbride, Co Wicklow.

Madam, - Given that in recent days those who have found it difficult to condemn the actions that have led to so many civilian deaths have stopped just short of declaring the inevitability of a war between civilisations and belief systems, or more specifically between the West and Islam, it might be useful to recall the words of Prof Benjamin Barber in his book Jihad vs McWorld (1996):

"Jihad forges communities of blood rooted in exclusion and hatred, communities that slight democracy in favour of tyrannical paternalism or consensual tribalism. McWorld forges global markets rooted in consumption and profit, leaving to an untrustworthy, if not altogether fictitious, invisible hand issues of public interest and common goods that once might have been nurtured by democratic citizenries and their watchful governments. . . Today. . .we seem intent on recreating a world in which our only choices are the secular universalism of the cosmopolitan market and the everyday particularism of the fractious tribe. "

We desperately need a moral and intellectual commitment that does not lock us into such a desperate and arid choice. Cllr John McManus (August 1st) would be better seeing the task of the left in such a project rather than tacitly accepting the bogus inevitability of the clash of civilisations. Those of us who believe in undertaking the task of developing a position for the left in relation to the Middle East and the task of building peace are not offering a knee-jerk anti-Americanism. We do, however, regard it as an act of moral honesty to condemn the indiscriminate loss of civilian life.

Falling back on the cheap option of the easy accusation of anti-Americanism is something one might expect from Mr Alan Shatter, but not from a member of the left, even the revised left. - Yours, etc,

MICHAEL D. HIGGINS, Dáil Éireann, Dublin 2.

Madam, - John McManus (August 1st) has it about right when he says that there is an "unfortunate tendency on the left to identify all who oppose America as objectively progressive".

The present situation across the Middle East is clearly very complex, but the left is too ambiguous about those who want to bring the region back to the Middle Ages, and, as in Iraq, those who attempt to foment civil war to create a viciously repressive state. That war is over: there is a UN-recognised regime in place and the Iraqi people have voted far more frequently in recent years than we have. In their opposition to the US and the Bush regime in particular, many on the left turn a blind eye to what my party colleague, Mr McManus, has correctly identified as the rise of "theocracy and fanaticism".

The left has been indolent in the face of a number of international issues in recent years. Lazy cries for UN reform excuse international inaction in the face of atrocities from Bosnia to Darfur. We on the left were not even united in support of the Nato campaign to prevent further genocide in Kosovo.

On questions such as Cuba, a state which, according to Human Rights Watch, has an "undemocratic government that represses nearly all forms of political dissent" and in which a dictator of 40 years and more has just handed power to his brother, the left remains hopelessly soft.

John McManus says: "It is the job of all those on the left to be clear where they stand on the basic principles of liberty and equality". To state it more baldly, the Left must support democracy, respect for human rights, and the rule of law. - Yours, etc,

Cllr AIDAN CULHANE, Meadow Grove, Dublin 16.

Madam, - In the aftermath of the second Israeli massacre of innocent civilians at Qana, we read Charles Krauthammer lecturing us on how the world has lost its moral bearings by criticising Israel for its attacks on Lebanon (Opinion, August 31st).

Mr Krauthammer persists in his apologia for murder by asserting that Israel has no desire to kill Lebanese civilians. As proof of this, he says that if it really wanted to, Israel could flatten all of South Lebanon and Beirut. A moral stance indeed.

Mr Krauthammer and his ilk persist in demonising Hizbullah and blaming "Islamic terrorism" for the current crisis, thereby avoiding discussion of the fundamental cause of instability in the region: the injustice done to the Palestinian people at the creation of Israel. Similarly, they refuse to recognise that Hizbullah began as a defensive reaction to the 18-year illegal occupation of South Lebanon by the Israelis.

If there is to be peace in the region, Israel must recognise the validity of the claims of the Palestinians and allow the displaced to return. Israel must also recognise that its neighbours have a right to security that is equal to its own. Instead, Israeli actions create the impression that its attitude to its neighbours is that "two of ours are worth a thousand of yours". In other words, racism. - Yours, etc,

BARRA Ó DONNABHÁIN, Aghabullogue, Co Cork.

Madam, - Alan McPartland (August 1st) asks two questions that deserve a reply. The first amounts to an appeal to observe the same standards of criticism in matters concerning Israel as applied to other countries. The reply is that in order to do that one would have to study the fairly recent history of the region, say 100 years, as it is obvious that most of your correspondents are totally ignorant of that history. The second question was his wondering when "we" are going to stop feeling guilty about the Holocaust? I presume that the "we" in question are Christians and the answer to that is another question. Do you know how guilty you are? If you do I hope that you never forget it.

He then goes on to accuse "Israelis and Zionists" of using the Holocaust as a stick to beat public opinion as a cover for Israeli atrocities. What he really means to say is not Israelis or Zionists but Jews, but he lacks the courage to use the dreadful world. Let me assure Mr McPartland that we Jews do not use the Holocaust to remind you of your sins but to remind our fellow Jews that never fighting back against the murder, humiliation, rape and banishment we suffered for 16 centuries almost led to our obliteration. - Yours, etc,

MONTY ROSS, Templeogue Road, Dublin 6W.

Madam, - The national outcry over the Israeli bombing of innocent children and civilians in Lebanon must be matched with equal concern at the use of Irish-manufactured weapons support systems in the current military conflict.

As a long time republican and civil rights campaigner I am calling on the 26-county administration to ban the export of computer systems by Irish firms which assist American arms companies.

It is time for this Fianna Fáil-PD coalition to back up their words of condemnation with firm action against the Irish weapons industry. It is no use crying crocodile tears over the awful deaths of young children in Lebanon if Irish computer expertise is being used by American companies to make the weapons that cause these deaths. - Yours, etc,

DES LONG, Corbally, Limerick.

Load-Date: August 3, 2006

**End of Document** 



Weekend Australian

June 10, 2006 Saturday

All-round Country Edition

Copyright 2006 Nationwide News Pty Limited All Rights Reserved

Section: FEATURES; Letters; Pg. 16

Length: 2086 words

## **Body**

**MATP** 

No doubt Iraq has many Zarqawis ready to fill the vacancy

MOST TALKED ABOUT

DEATH OF A TERRORIST

IRRESPECTIVE of whether we should be in Iraq or not, the world is a better place with the elimination of Abu Musab al-Zarqawi. This individual used the Islamic religion for his own ends and was prepared to murder at complete random, including public executions. This was demonstrated by his attack on a wedding reception in Jordan killing more than 50 people who had no involvement whatsoever in the Iraqi war.

Whether Zarqawi's removal from the scene decreases the insurgent attacks in Iraq is another question altogether and only time will tell. Without a doubt, there are probably many Zarqawis ready to fill the vacancy.

But the real issue in Iraq is still what happens over the longer term. The ill-conceived planning of the invasion in the first place is the reason for the current mess, and this will be much enhanced if the US and its allies leave prematurely. Zarqawi's demise in no way relieves George W. Bush and his fellow travellers of responsibility for the decision to invade in the first place.

Richard Slater

Berowra Heights, NSW

ZARQAWI'S supporters and fellow terrorists claim that as a martyr he is enjoying the pleasures of "Heaven". When will the Muslim world declare that as a murderer of innocent people he is actually in their equivalent of the "other place"?

Peter McDougall

Townsville, Qld

FORTUNATE, isn't it, that all coalition troops had not been withdrawn from Iraq by June 7, 2006? Otherwise, Zarqawi would be leaving his farmhouse today after a good night's sleep, ready for another day of making hell on earth.

George Alexander

Balmain, NSW

US Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, on radio yesterday morning, proclaimed Zarqawi as the person responsible for the highest number of civilian deaths in the world over the past three years. I'd put Zarqawi at number five -- behind Bush, Rumsfeld himself, Blair and Howard. There is no limit to their blind hypocrisy.

David Goldstraw

East Fremantle, WA

IF Donald Rumsfeld or Condoleezza Rice had been wiped out by jihadists, the Muslim world would have displayed scenes of unbridled glee -- dancing in the streets and firing weapons in the air. While the majority of Americans and Australians take the death of Zarqawi with sombre dignity, the Left will whine that he should have been captured, given a long, expensive and pointless trial (like Saddam Hussein) and finally interred in a holiday camp. I don't know the cost of the two 220kg bombs used for the raid that killed Zarqawi, but whatever the cost we got a bargain.

Graham Egan

Chermside, Qld

LET'S pay tribute to the humanity of Michael Berg, whose son was killed by Zarqawi, for refusing to rejoice at the execution of his child's killer ("A tragedy: Berg's dad", 9/6). Killing an enemy may be justifiable but no one's death justifies celebration.

Norm Neill

Leichhardt, NSW

THE targeted assassination of a terrorist leader in Iraq -- Zarqawi -- by US and Iraqi forces and the international community approves. When Palestinian terrorist and <u>Hamas</u> leader Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, responsible for hundreds of suicide bomb attacks against civilians, was assassinated by the Israelis, there was worldwide condemnation and demands for UN Security Council resolutions against Israel. What hypocrisy.

Michael Burd

Toorak, Vic

IT'S a sad sign of the times when the good news from Iraq is that another person has been murdered.

**David Walker** 

Somerton Park, SA

FOR all the back-slapping, spin and media hype triggered by the US-sanctioned execution of Zarqawi, the point conveniently forgotten is that the invasion of Iraq created the breeding ground for the thousands of Zarqawis who are more than willing to carry on the fight and ultimately become martyrs. No amount of 220kg "smart" bombs will stop the madness that has been unleashed in Iraq.

G.Unwin

Gold Coast, Qld

THE unapologetic rejoicing in the death of Zarqawi by world leaders, including George W.Bush and, to a lesser extent, John Howard, devalues human life. What is more, the triumphalism surrounding the death of Zarqawi negates any potential benefit to be gained from the death of a terrorist leader.

While there may be some counter-terrorism benefits to be had from incapacitating an operational leader, to celebrate his destruction as a victory in the global war on terror is to elevate Zarqawi to hero-status and to martyrdom. A preferable approach is to treat terrorists as criminals, allowing them a fair trial and, if convicted, a term of imprisonment. An opportunity to transcend the cycle of violence has been wasted.

**Emily Camins** 

Claremont, WA

CAN I ask that those claiming the war on terror is not a conflict of cultures, civilisations and religions go and personally explain that to the terrorists?

Chris Horn

Summer Hill, NSW

Why should any marriage

need government approval?

I DON'T understand why gay people are fighting so hard to be "allowed" to marry in the same way that heterosexual people are allowed to do so. Why, instead, are we as a society not protesting in our millions for government to get its pesky collective nose out of our personal lives? Why does anyone require a licence from a faceless bureaucrat before they are permitted to marry? Surely a marriage is an agreement between two people (or three or four, if that's what you believe).

Frankly, I hope that government-sanctioned gay marriage is never a reality. I dream instead of a world in which we as a society have developed enough intestinal fortitude to dismiss the need for any marriage to be legitimised by any government.

Bernadette Bean

Payneham South, SA

LEGAL marriage of heterosexuals carries with it the role of propagation of the species, plus the responsibility of rearing those so created. Logically, then, those participating in this contract should be required to prove they are fertile. If not, then heterosexual contracts are more a partnership agreement and not "marriage" in its intended meaningful state.

In like manner, all non-heterosexual contracts are basically partner agreements. Such couples proclaim their allegiance to one another and contractually become "one". Call it a civil marital contract or whatever, but the right to express one's allegiance to another person should not be disqualified based on a definition restricting marriage to fertile propagating heterosexuals.

**Boyd Granzow** 

Coburg North, Vic

Find a way to make it work

SADLY, the republic debate continues to suffer from experts such as Greg Craven always finding a reason why something won't work ("Cowen 'wrong over republic", 9/6).

Surely, if a majority of Australians want a directly elected president, as polls tell us they do, people such as Professor Craven should be trying to find ways of making that work. There are enough opponents getting away with outrageous arguments against a republic without the legalistas continually chucking in a few more barriers. Come up with some positive ideas to make it happen, Greg.

James Mahoney

McKellar, ACT

Mini cultural revolutions

PERHAPS young Australians "have little enthusiasm for storming the ramparts and occupying the vice-chancellor's office" ("Cultural cringe", Editorial, 9/6) because social inequalities have already been righted by their parents.

For example, <u>women</u> can choose a career or motherhood because their mothers fought to create a society that allows it and people can be openly homosexual without being ostracised because of gay activism. You continually sneer at the cultural activists of the Left without acknowledging the good created by these mini cultural revolutions.

Rob Findlay

Highgate, WA

THANK you for your editorial "Cultural cringe". It is the best I have read in years.

Paul Francis

Carina, Qld

Neglect of rural healthcare

THE death of a baby delivered by the roadside in central Queensland reflects the appalling state of rural healthcare across this nation ("Dead baby born at roadside after hospital turns parents away", 8/6). The state and federal governments stand condemned for more than a decade of neglect.

The provision of safe birthing services is a fundamental right in a first world country such as Australia. The facts are, though, that birthing services in many parts of rural Australia are worse than a generation ago and lives have been lost as a result.

In the case of Steven and Sharon Walker, their baby never had a chance. To imagine what this couple went through on the side of the road alone is beyond comprehension.

As well as the neglect of our governments, we should not forget the role predatory plaintiff lawyers have played in driving doctors out of practising obstetrics everywhere. We need a solution to our healthcare crisis but, sadly, no politician, federal or state, seems to have a clue.

Dr Stewart Jackson

Ingham, Qld

Brendan Nelson 'didn't ask'

IN his story "Singapore open to request for troops" (8/6), Greg Sheridan reported incorrectly that Australian Defence Minister Brendan Nelson, in private talks with Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong, had raised the possibility of Singaporean troops going to East Timor. In fact, Mr Nelson voiced concerns about East Timor and his hopes that more Asian countries would send troops to help in a public speech at the Shangri-la Dialogue in Singapore. He made the same points in private with Mr Lee but the issue of sending Singapore troops to East Timor was never discussed.

#### LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Sheridan's statement that the Singapore and Indonesian governments have been discussing the sensitivities of sending ethnic Chinese troops to East Timor is also incorrect. The two governments have never discussed this matter.

Eddie Teo

Singapore high commissioner, Canberra

Sounds worth hearing

KIT Moodie's letter (8/7) on the need to introduce children to classical music at school is timely. I believe that the state orchestras should have a responsibility to give concerts for schoolchildren in both city and regional areas. If children are not exposed to classical music and only ever hear pop, how can they make choices? Children deserve better.

Marguerite Webber

Buderim, Qld

Standard procedures

IN reaction to your story "Vizard in spin over claims of perjury" (9/6), I feel that I must apologise for following what used to be standard journalistic procedures.

Yes, I had lunch with Steve Vizard. I was hoping to get an on-air interview. I failed. Sorry for trying to do my job. I should have been content to snipe from the sidelines.

Yes, I am a friend of Mike Smith and declared that after interviewing him as Vizard's spokesman. Sorry for being honest with my audience.

Neil Mitchell

Presenter, 3AW, Melbourne

FIRST BYTE

# letters@theaustralian.com.au

With the divorce rate so high, we straight people are not doing a very good job of marriage, so maybe it's time for the gays to have a shot at it.

Todd McLennan

Coorparoo, Qld

Jonathan Whybird (Letters, 9/6) wants referendums on some of the more pressing issues of the day. I'm all for it, just as long as we can have one on daylight saving here in Western Australia.

Mark Fisher

Mosman Park, WA

There is much mention of Mark Viduka and Harry Kewell in the lead up the World Cup, but I'd like to point out that without Mark Schwarzer -- the goalkeeper, if anyone has forgotten -- the Socceroos would not be in Germany.

Hans Sander

Ashmore, Qld

#### LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

You have to hand it to the spin doctors at Cricket Australia. After its dismal performance at the box office last week, CA has had the gall to email members of the Australian Cricket Family and describe the Ashes series ticketing debacle as a "mixed experience". Although the email went on to say that CA has a 1300 Help Line, it didn't mention whether counselling was available.

Col Shephard

Yamba, NSW

I'm not interested in John Cahill (First Byte, 9/6). Sophie Delezio is special to most of us and her name should not have appeared on his list.

Bill Brooks

Camp Hill, Qld

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

GPO Box 4162, Sydney, NSW, 2001Fax: 02 9288 3077

E-mail: letters@theaustralian.com.au (no attachments)

Emails and letters should bear a full postal address and day and night telephone numbers.

Letters to the Editor of The Australian are submitted on the condition that Nationwide News Pty Ltd as publisher of The Australian may edit and has the right to, and license third parties to, reproduce in electronic form and communicate these letters.

Prints of Leak cartoons For information on buying prints of any Bill Leak cartoon go to <a href="mailto:leakcartoons@theaustralian.com.au">leakcartoons@theaustralian.com.au</a> Prints of Nicholson cartoons To buy a print of a Nicholson cartoon go to <a href="http://www.nicholsoncartoons.com.au/print">http://www.nicholsoncartoons.com.au/print</a>

Load-Date: June 9, 2006

**End of Document** 



National Post (f/k/a The Financial Post) (Canada)

February 9, 2006 Thursday

National Edition

Copyright 2006 National Post All Rights Reserved

Section: WORLD; Pg. A16; Peter Goodspeed

Length: 2116 words

Byline: Peter Goodspeed, National Post; with files from news services

# **Body**

When a dozen deliberately provocative cartoons of the Prophet Muhammad appeared in a Danish newspaper four months ago, they barely raised a ripple.

Now, with riots convulsing continents, embassies aflame, people dying in the streets and world leaders pleading for tolerance and calm, pundits are depicting the conflict created by the cartoons as a "clash of civilizations."

In reality, it may be nothing more than a carefully orchestrated protest that spiralled out of control through a combination of authentic religious outrage and cynical political manipulation.

Flemming Rose, cultural editor of Jyllands-Posten, which first published the cartoons, says he believes the crisis was stoked by a small group of radical Danish imams who toured the Middle East this winter inflaming religious passions after they were unable to meet Anders Fogh Rasmussen, Denmark's Prime Minister.

The imams took the Jyllands-Posten cartoons with them, along with three drawings from other sources that included images depicting the Prophet as a pig and having sex with animals and children.

"All that gratuitous rubbish was trumped around to trigger a campaign of senseless hatred," Mr. Rose said yesterday.

He insists something that began as a commentary on self-censorship has been turned into a global crisis because radical religious leaders tried "to stir up the crowds by telling lies."

Ahmed Abu-Laban, the Danish Muslim cleric who helped instigate the worldwide protests against the cartoons, admits to touring the Middle East, saying he felt compelled to do so after the Danish Prime Minister refused to meet Muslim leaders and the ambassadors of 11 Muslim nations who objected to the cartoons.

"We were running a campaign, trying to create pressure," Mr. Laban, head of Copenhagen's Islamic Cultural Centre and one of Denmark's most prominent Muslim clerics, said yesterday.

He was at the forefront of a campaign to demand an apology from the Danish government.

A political activist who once hosted Omar Abdel Rajman, the blind sheikh jailed for life for the 1993 World Trade Centre bombing in New York, Mr. Laban has had ties to other radical Islamists and once served in the 1990s as translator for Osama bin Laden's top aide, Ayman al-Zawahri.

On Sept. 30, at the beginning of the Muslim holy month of Ramadan, Jyllands-Posten published the 12 cartoons under the headline "Muhammeds ansigt," ("The Face of Muhammad").

Mr. Laban said he regarded them as an insult to his religion and a smear against all Muslims in Denmark.

"This protest is not about the cartoons, offensive as they are," he said. "The cartoons are merely the final drop that caused the cup to overflow. We have heard Western politicians relate our faith to terrorism, over and over again, and it is too much. This was the response."

The Koran does not explicitly prohibit the depiction of human figures, but Muslim tradition and interpretations of certain of its verses suggest Allah and his Prophet cannot be captured in an image drawn by a human hand, lest this lead to idolatry or blasphemy.

The cartoons were commissioned after Jyllands-Posten's editors heard that a local author was having difficulty finding an illustrator for a children's book on Muhammad. They decided artists were turning down the commission for fear of reprisals and set out to explore the issue of self-censorship by inviting 25 cartoonists to "Draw Muhammad as you see him."

Twelve responded and their work was published in the newspaper, including caricatures that depicted Muhammad with a bomb in his turban and with a broken halo that looks like satanic horns. There was also a cartoon in which he meets some suicide bombers at the gates of heaven and tells them to stop because "We've run out of virgins."

Mr. Rose now says he regrets he "didn't know more beforehand" about Islamic taboos, but he refused to apologize, insisting it's an issue of free-speech.

Danish Muslims were infuriated by the images. They launched street protests and complained to the newspaper and the government.

During a demonstration in Aarhus, home to the newspaper's main offices, a local Muslim leader reminded Mr. Rose of what happened to Theo Van Gogh, a Dutch film maker who was murdered in 2004 after making a film on violence against **women** in Islamic societies.

Danish Muslim leaders formed the European Committee for Honouring the Prophet and, along with ambassadors from 11 Muslim nations, demanded to meet the Danish Prime Minister.

When Mr. Rasmussen refused, insisting he had no right to intervene in an issue touching free speech, the group decided to internationalize their protests.

In the meantime, a Dutch newspaper, De Volkskrant, published the offending cartoons.

After consulting diplomats from Egypt and Saudi Arabia, the Danish imams decided to send a delegation to the Middle East to drum up support.

"We went there because the Danish government turned a deaf ear to our protests," said Ahmed Akkari, a spokesman for the group .

Landing in Cairo in December in the midst of that country's first-ever free multi-party elections, in which the outlawed Islamic fundamentalist Muslim Brotherhood played a major role, the group's protests rapidly became much more than a simple bid to defend the Prophet's dignity.

Egyptian officials furious over the perceived indignity of the Danish cartoons were also conscious of the fact their Islamist political opponents were attacking them for not being pious enough.

They hurried to support the protest and seethed with indignation when they studied a 43-page portfolio prepared by the Danish group, which included all 12 published cartoons as well as the three other offensive caricatures.

Mr. Akkari says the additional images were included as examples of anti-Islamic propaganda that circulated in Denmark.

He said the images, while never published or distributed publicly, were e-mailed to some Danish Muslims in the wake of the cartoon controversy.

Copies of the portfolio were distributed all over the Middle East as the Danish delegation toured the region in December and January meeting top government officials, academics and religious leaders.

News of the offensive material spread rapidly over the Internet and became the topic of enraged religious discussions on Islamic chat rooms.

At the end of December, the Arab League's foreign ministers publicly condemned the Danish publication and on Jan. 26 Saudi Arabia announced it was withdrawing its ambassador from Denmark.

As the Danish delegation continued its tour, visiting Jordan, Lebanon and Syria, pressure grew to mount a worldwide Muslim boycott of Danish goods.

Meanwhile, other European newspapers republished the offending cartoons and Muslim indignation erupted as rioting protesters hit the streets from Iraq to Indonesia.

In Britain, protesters waved signs reading "Massacre those who insult Islam" and "Freedom of expression go to hell." One dressed provocatively as a suicide bomber.

In Syria and Iran, government officials exploited the protests and encouraged demonstrators who attacked Danish embassies in Damascus, Beirut and Tehran.

Iran's spiritual leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei was quick to declare the Danish cartoons a "conspiracy by Zionists who were angry because of the *Hamas* victory" in last month's Palestinian elections.

The controversy has triggered profound debate about freedom of expression and religious sensibilities. It has allowed extremists to vent their violence and pose as defenders of their faith.

It has also tapped the seething resentments that lie just below the surface in many Muslim immigrant communities in Europe -- the kind of resentment exposed by last year's riots in France.

While some commentators demand to know why non-Muslims should pay attention to Muslim concerns in their own countries, their Muslim neighbours complain of being treated as second-class citizens and potential terrorists.

"The cartoons are only the fuse that set off a combustible mixture of pressures and tensions anchored in a much wider array of problems," Rami Khouri, editor of the Beirut-based Daily Star, wrote yesterday.

"These problems include the cartoons themselves, provocative and arrogant European disdain for Muslim sensitivities about the Prophet Muhammad, attempts by some Islamist extremists and criminal-political elements to stir up troubles, the Europeans' clear message that their values count more than the values of Muslims and a wider sense by many citizens of Islamic societies that the West in general seeks to weaken and subjugate the Muslim world."

In Britain, however, columnist Jasper Gerard, writing in The Sunday Times, saw things differently.

"Islam is protected by an invisible blasphemy law," he said. "It is called fear."

PREVIOUS INCIDENTS

There have been several instances in recent years in which Muslims have denounced publications or artworks as blasphemous. Some examples:

1989 Iranian leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini called on all Muslims to kill British author Salman Rushdie for blasphemy against Islam in his book The Satanic Verses.

1994 Taslima Nasreen fled Bangladesh for Sweden after a court charged her with "maliciously hurting Muslim religious sentiments." Some Muslims demanded she be killed for her book Lajja (Shame), and banned for blasphemy and suggesting free sex.

1995 An Egyptian court branded academic Nasr Hamed Abu Zaid an apostate because of his writings on Islam and annulled his marriage on grounds that a Muslim may not be married to an apostate. Mr. Abu Zaid and his wife moved to the Netherlands.

2002 Nigerian journalist Isioma Daniel incensed Muslims by writing in ThisDay newspaper that the Prophet Muhammad would have approved of the Miss World contest and might have wed a beauty queen. Muslim-Christian riots in the northern city of Kaduna killed 200. Ms. Daniel fled Nigeria after a fatwa urged Muslims to kill her.

2004 Dutch filmmaker Theo van Gogh was murdered after release of his film Submission about violence against **women** in Islamic societies. Ayaan Hirsi Ali, a Somali-born member of the Dutch parliament who wrote the script, plans another film about Islam's attitude to gays. She has received death threats.

2005 London's Tate Britain museum removed the sculpture God is Great by John Latham from an exhibition for fear of offending Muslims, citing the "sensitive climate" after the July 7 suicide bombings in the capital. The piece consists of three sacred religious texts -- the Koran, the Bible, and the Talmud -- embedded in a sheet of glass.

2005-06 Denmark's Jyllands-Posten newspaper published several cartoons depicting the Prophet Muhammad. Since late January, Muslims in the Middle East, Asia and Africa have protested, sometimes violently, over their publication. Newspapers in more than 20 countries have now published the cartoons.

SOURCE: Reuters

# PROTEST TIMELINE

SEPT 30 Jyllands-Posten publishes 12 crude drawings of the Prophet Muhammad. Several of them explicitly associate Islam with terrorism and suicide bombings.

OCTOBER First street protests over the images in Denmark. Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen refuses to meet ambassadors from 11 Islamic countries wanting to complain.

NOVEMBER Dutch newspaper De Volkskrant publishes the cartoons.

DEC. 29 Arab League foreign ministers issue a statement condemning publication of the drawings.

DECEMBER/JANUARY Danish imams travel to the Middle East to publicize their complaints about the drawings.

JAN. 10 Magazinet, a small Christian paper in Norway, publishes the cartoons, saying it is doing so to defend press freedom.

JAN. 26 Saudi Arabia withdraws its ambassador from Denmark.

JAN. 30 Jyllands-Posten apologizes to Muslims for running the cartoons, but defends its right to do so. Protests grow across the Islamic world, including consumer boycott of Danish products.

FEB. 1-3 Newspapers in other European countries publish some or all of the cartoons, citing freedom of expression. French daily France-Soir runs its own drawing of the Prophet on its front page.

Page 5 of 5

'Clash of civilizations' orchestrated: Global protests were anything but spontaneous

FEB. 4 Crowds in the Syrian capital Damascus set the Danish and Norwegian embassies on fire.

FEB. 5 One person is killed and 50 injured when a crowd burns down the Danish embassy in the Lebanese capital

Beirut.

FEB. 6 At least four people are killed and several injured in protests in Afghanistan and Somalia, with other protests

from Bangkok to Algiers.

FEB. 7 More protests in Islamic countries, and nations with large Muslim populations. At least four more people die

in riots in Afghanistan.

FEB. 8 French satirical newspaper Charlie Hebdo publishes the cartoons, infuriating the French government and angering French Muslims. Three more people die in Afghanistan. United States accuses Syria and Iran of stoking

Muslim anger.

SOURCE: Agence France-Presse

# **Graphic**

Black & White

Photo: Hazem Bader, AFP, Getty Images; Palestinians throw stones at the offices of the Temporary International Presence in the West Bank city of Hebron yesterday. A team of European observers pulled out of Hebron after its offices were attacked in riots over the publication of cartoons of the Prophet Muhammad.; Black & White

Photo: Rushdie.; Black & White

Photo: Theo Van Gogh.; Black & White

Photo: Newspaper.

Load-Date: February 9, 2006

**End of Document** 



National Post (f/k/a The Financial Post) (Canada)

February 9, 2006 Thursday

All but Toronto Edition

Copyright 2006 National Post All Rights Reserved

Section: WORLD; Pg. A12; Peter Goodspeed

Length: 2116 words

Byline: Peter Goodspeed, National Post; with files from news services

# **Body**

When a dozen deliberately provocative cartoons of the Prophet Muhammad appeared in a Danish newspaper four months ago, they barely raised a ripple.

Now, with riots convulsing continents, embassies aflame, people dying in the streets and world leaders pleading for tolerance and calm, pundits are depicting the conflict created by the cartoons as a "clash of civilizations."

In reality, it may be nothing more than a carefully orchestrated protest that spiralled out of control through a combination of authentic religious outrage and cynical political manipulation.

Flemming Rose, cultural editor of Jyllands-Posten, which first published the cartoons, says he believes the crisis was stoked by a small group of radical Danish imams who toured the Middle East this winter inflaming religious passions after they were unable to meet Anders Fogh Rasmussen, Denmark's Prime Minister.

The imams took the Jyllands-Posten cartoons with them, along with three drawings from other sources that included images depicting the Prophet as a pig and having sex with animals and children.

"All that gratuitous rubbish was trumped around to trigger a campaign of senseless hatred," Mr. Rose said yesterday.

He insists something that began as a commentary on self-censorship has been turned into a global crisis because radical religious leaders tried "to stir up the crowds by telling lies."

Ahmed Abu-Laban, the Danish Muslim cleric who helped instigate the worldwide protests against the cartoons, admits to touring the Middle East, saying he felt compelled to do so after the Danish Prime Minister refused to meet Muslim leaders and the ambassadors of 11 Muslim nations who objected to the cartoons.

"We were running a campaign, trying to create pressure," Mr. Laban, head of Copenhagen's Islamic Cultural Centre and one of Denmark's most prominent Muslim clerics, said yesterday.

He was at the forefront of a campaign to demand an apology from the Danish government.

A political activist who once hosted Omar Abdel Rajman, the blind sheikh jailed for life for the 1993 World Trade Centre bombing in New York, Mr. Laban has had ties to other radical Islamists and once served in the 1990s as translator for Osama bin Laden's top aide, Ayman al-Zawahri.

On Sept. 30, at the beginning of the Muslim holy month of Ramadan, Jyllands-Posten published the 12 cartoons under the headline "Muhammeds ansigt," ("The Face of Muhammad").

Mr. Laban said he regarded them as an insult to his religion and a smear against all Muslims in Denmark.

"This protest is not about the cartoons, offensive as they are," he said. "The cartoons are merely the final drop that caused the cup to overflow. We have heard Western politicians relate our faith to terrorism, over and over again, and it is too much. This was the response."

The Koran does not explicitly prohibit the depiction of human figures, but Muslim tradition and interpretations of certain of its verses suggest Allah and his Prophet cannot be captured in an image drawn by a human hand, lest this lead to idolatry or blasphemy.

The cartoons were commissioned after Jyllands-Posten's editors heard that a local author was having difficulty finding an illustrator for a children's book on Muhammad. They decided artists were turning down the commission for fear of reprisals and set out to explore the issue of self-censorship by inviting 25 cartoonists to "Draw Muhammad as you see him."

Twelve responded and their work was published in the newspaper, including caricatures that depicted Muhammad with a bomb in his turban and with a broken halo that looks like satanic horns. There was also a cartoon in which he meets some suicide bombers at the gates of heaven and tells them to stop because "We've run out of virgins."

Mr. Rose now says he regrets he "didn't know more beforehand" about Islamic taboos, but he refused to apologize, insisting it's an issue of free-speech.

Danish Muslims were infuriated by the images. They launched street protests and complained to the newspaper and the government.

During a demonstration in Aarhus, home to the newspaper's main offices, a local Muslim leader reminded Mr. Rose of what happened to Theo Van Gogh, a Dutch film maker who was murdered in 2004 after making a film on violence against **women** in Islamic societies.

Danish Muslim leaders formed the European Committee for Honouring the Prophet and, along with ambassadors from 11 Muslim nations, demanded to meet the Danish Prime Minister.

When Mr. Rasmussen refused, insisting he had no right to intervene in an issue touching free speech, the group decided to internationalize their protests.

In the meantime, a Dutch newspaper, De Volkskrant, published the offending cartoons.

After consulting diplomats from Egypt and Saudi Arabia, the Danish imams decided to send a delegation to the Middle East to drum up support.

"We went there because the Danish government turned a deaf ear to our protests," said Ahmed Akkari, a spokesman for the group .

Landing in Cairo in December in the midst of that country's first-ever free multi-party elections, in which the outlawed Islamic fundamentalist Muslim Brotherhood played a major role, the group's protests rapidly became much more than a simple bid to defend the Prophet's dignity.

Egyptian officials furious over the perceived indignity of the Danish cartoons were also conscious of the fact their Islamist political opponents were attacking them for not being pious enough.

They hurried to support the protest and seethed with indignation when they studied a 43-page portfolio prepared by the Danish group, which included all 12 published cartoons as well as the three other offensive caricatures.

Mr. Akkari says the additional images were included as examples of anti-Islamic propaganda that circulated in Denmark.

He said the images, while never published or distributed publicly, were e-mailed to some Danish Muslims in the wake of the cartoon controversy.

Copies of the portfolio were distributed all over the Middle East as the Danish delegation toured the region in December and January meeting top government officials, academics and religious leaders.

News of the offensive material spread rapidly over the Internet and became the topic of enraged religious discussions on Islamic chat rooms.

At the end of December, the Arab League's foreign ministers publicly condemned the Danish publication and on Jan. 26 Saudi Arabia announced it was withdrawing its ambassador from Denmark.

As the Danish delegation continued its tour, visiting Jordan, Lebanon and Syria, pressure grew to mount a worldwide Muslim boycott of Danish goods.

Meanwhile, other European newspapers republished the offending cartoons and Muslim indignation erupted as rioting protesters hit the streets from Iraq to Indonesia.

In Britain, protesters waved signs reading "Massacre those who insult Islam" and "Freedom of expression go to hell." One dressed provocatively as a suicide bomber.

In Syria and Iran, government officials exploited the protests and encouraged demonstrators who attacked Danish embassies in Damascus, Beirut and Tehran.

Iran's spiritual leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei was quick to declare the Danish cartoons a "conspiracy by Zionists who were angry because of the *Hamas* victory" in last month's Palestinian elections.

The controversy has triggered profound debate about freedom of expression and religious sensibilities. It has allowed extremists to vent their violence and pose as defenders of their faith.

It has also tapped the seething resentments that lie just below the surface in many Muslim immigrant communities in Europe -- the kind of resentment exposed by last year's riots in France.

While some commentators demand to know why non-Muslims should pay attention to Muslim concerns in their own countries, their Muslim neighbours complain of being treated as second-class citizens and potential terrorists.

"The cartoons are only the fuse that set off a combustible mixture of pressures and tensions anchored in a much wider array of problems," Rami Khouri, editor of the Beirut-based Daily Star, wrote yesterday.

"These problems include the cartoons themselves, provocative and arrogant European disdain for Muslim sensitivities about the Prophet Muhammad, attempts by some Islamist extremists and criminal-political elements to stir up troubles, the Europeans' clear message that their values count more than the values of Muslims and a wider sense by many citizens of Islamic societies that the West in general seeks to weaken and subjugate the Muslim world."

In Britain, however, columnist Jasper Gerard, writing in The Sunday Times, saw things differently.

"Islam is protected by an invisible blasphemy law," he said. "It is called fear."

#### PREVIOUS INCIDENTS

There have been several instances in recent years in which Muslims have denounced publications or artworks as blasphemous. Some examples:

1989 Iranian leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini called on all Muslims to kill British author Salman Rushdie for blasphemy against Islam in his book The Satanic Verses.

1994 Taslima Nasreen fled Bangladesh for Sweden after a court charged her with "maliciously hurting Muslim religious sentiments." Some Muslims demanded she be killed for her book Lajja (Shame), banned for blasphemy and suggesting free sex.

1995 An Egyptian court branded academic Nasr Hamed Abu Zaid an apostate because of his writings on Islam and annulled his marriage on grounds that a Muslim may not be married to an apostate. Mr. Abu Zaid and his wife moved to the Netherlands.

2002 Nigerian journalist Isioma Daniel incensed Muslims by writing in ThisDay newspaper that the Prophet Mohammad would have approved of the Miss World contest and might have wed a beauty queen. Muslim-Christian riots in the northern city of Kaduna killed 200. Ms. Daniel fled Nigeria after a fatwa urged Muslims to kill her.

2004 Dutch film maker Theo van Gogh, right, was murdered after release of his film Submission about violence against <u>women</u> in Islamic societies. Ayaan Hirsi Ali, a Somali-born member of the Dutch parliament who wrote the script, plans another film about Islam's attitude to gays. She has received death threats.

2005 London's Tate Britain museum removed the sculpture God is Great by John Latham from an exhibition for fear of offending Muslims, citing the "sensitive climate" after the July 7 suicide bombings in the capital. The piece consists of three sacred religious texts -- the Koran, the Bible, and the Talmud -- embedded in a sheet of glass.

2005-06 Denmark's Jyllands-Posten newspaper published several cartoons depicting the Prophet Muhammad. Since late January, Muslims in the Middle East, Asia and Africa have protested sometimes violently over their publication. Newspapers in more than 20 countries have now published the cartoons.

SOURCE: Reuters

# PROTEST TIMELINE

SEPT 30 Jyllands-Posten publishes 12 crude drawings of the Prophet Muhammad. Several of them explicitly associate Islam with terrorism and suicide bombings.

OCTOBER First street protests over the images in Denmark. Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen refuses to meet ambassadors from 11 Islamic countries wanting to complain.

NOVEMBER Dutch newspaper De Volkskrant publishes the cartoons.

DEC. 29 Arab League foreign ministers issue a statement condemning publication of the drawings.

DECEMBER/JANUARY Danish imams travel to the Middle East to publicize their complaints about the drawings.

JAN. 10 Magazinet, a small Christian paper in Norway, publishes the cartoons, saying it is doing so to defend press freedom.

JAN. 26 Saudi Arabia withdraws its ambassador from Denmark.

JAN. 30 Jyllands-Posten apologizes to Muslims for running the cartoons, but defends its right to do so. Protests grow across the Islamic world, including consumer boycott of Danish products.

FEB. 1-3 Newspapers in other European countries publish some or all of the cartoons, citing freedom of expression. French daily France-Soir runs its own drawing of the Prophet on its front page.

Page 5 of 5

Orchestrated 'clash of civilizations': Global protests were anything but spontaneous

FEB. 4 Crowds in the Syrian capital Damascus set the Danish and Norwegian embassies on fire.

FEB. 5 One person is killed and 50 injured when a crowd burns down the Danish embassy in the Lebanese capital

Beirut.

FEB. 6 At least four people are killed and several injured in protests in Afghanistan and Somalia, with other protests

from Bangkok to Algiers.

FEB. 7 More protests in Islamic countries, and nations with large Muslim populations. At least four more people die

in riots in Afghanistan.

FEB. 8 French satirical newspaper Charlie Hebdo publishes the cartoons, infuriating the French government and angering French Muslims. Three more people die in Afghanistan. United States accuses Syria and Iran of stoking

Muslim anger.

SOURCE: Agence France-Presse

# **Graphic**

Black & White

Photo: Hazem Bader, AFP, Getty Images; Palestinians throw stones at the offices of the Temporary International Presence in the West Bank city of Hebron yesterday. A team of European observers pulled out of Hebron after its

offices were attacked in riots over the publication of cartoons of the Prophet Muhammad.; Black & White

Photo: Salman Rushdie.; Black & White

Photo: Newspaper.

Load-Date: February 9, 2006

Photo: Theo van Gogh.; Black & White

**End of Document** 



The New York Times

January 30, 2006 Monday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2006 The New York Times Company

Section: Section A; Column 2; Foreign Desk; Pg. 1; IRAN'S NUCLEAR CHALLENGE: TEHRAN

Length: 2076 words

Byline: By MICHAEL SLACKMAN; Nazila Fathi contributed reporting for this article.

Dateline: TEHRAN, Jan. 29

# **Body**

Since he took office as Iran's president nearly six months ago, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad has been the subject of many jokes sent via text messages on cellphones across Iran. He has been spoofed on television and radio, here and abroad, as a bumpkin and a bigot for declaring the Holocaust a "myth" and causing international outrage over Iran's nuclear program.

One joke has the president combing his hair in a mirror and saying, "O.K., male lice to the left, *female* lice to the right," ridiculing him as a religious extremist who wants to separate the sexes in public places.

But that is just part of the picture.

Beyond the prosperous tree-lined hills of northern Tehran, Mr. Ahmadinejad appears to be solidifying his support. He has traveled around the country, doling out promises of economic aid in some of the poorest regions, sticking with the humble clothing and religion-infused language that attracted his voters in the first place.

"He is leading a simple life," said Zabiollah Baderlou, 18, as he worked in a bakery in the city. "TV showed us his house. It was very simple. He is making these efforts for the people and all he wants is Iran's dignity."

Most of all, despite the limited powers of Iran's presidency, Mr. Ahmadinejad, an ultraconservative former militia member, has used Western opposition to Iran's nuclear program to generate national unity and purpose.

Those dynamics have compelled even people who oppose him to give him room to maneuver. Stop Iranians on any street in any neighborhood and they are likely to demand that Iran be allowed to pursue a nuclear energy program, a sentiment that has served as a launching platform for Mr. Ahmadinejad's firebrand politics.

"You get the feeling that Iran, under the present leadership, is looking for isolation and to go it alone," said a Western diplomat based in Tehran who spoke on the condition of anonymity so as to be able to continue working here. "They want to show their way is the right way, and the former guys were wrong."

While the top leadership had decided to take a more confrontational approach with the West even before Mr. Ahmadinejad was elected, the new president began with such a harsh style that many officials were initially unnerved. But when the West failed to stop Iran from defiantly restarting its nuclear program, or to punish it, some opponents reluctantly accepted that Mr. Ahmadinejad was right and they were wrong.

"First we thought he is not right," said a senior government official who consults frequently with the ruling clergy. "Now we understand he is right. You need us more than we need you," he said of the West.

The nuclear issue has provided fertile ground for the president to try to cultivate a new political class, one that is ideologically driven to provide a new, and at the same time reactionary, face to Iran.

After years of reformers controlling the government, Mr. Ahmadinejad is doing exactly what he promised, resurrecting the priorities of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, chastising the West at every turn and striving to forge a distinctly anti-Western national identity while re-establishing Iran's revolutionary influence across the Muslim world.

At a conference in October titled "The World Without Zionism" he effectively called for wiping not just Israel off the map, but America, too.

"Many have tried to disperse disappointment in this struggle between the Islamic world and the infidels," he said. "They say it is not possible to have a world without the United States and Zionism. But you know that this is a possible goal and slogan."

While sprinkling like-minded people into positions of power across the country, Mr. Ahmadinejad and his allies have demonstrated that they are undeterred by the complaints of the establishment, whether liberal or conservative.

They have instead taken their appeal directly to the poor and middle-class masses who are generally disgusted with a system widely viewed as corrupt and uncaring.

For the time being, they also have the quiet support of the nation's ultimate ruler, the supreme leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei. Even those members of Parliament who charge that the president's foreign and domestic policies are sending the nation hurtling toward disaster find there is little to do but watch from the sidelines.

"Right now, Ahmadinejad is an individual representing a new body in the whole Iranian political system that had been marginalized and disorganized," said a political professor who has close ties to many people in the government and was afraid he would suffer retaliation if identified. "They are in the process of making their identity - and making history."

Mr. Ahmadinejad was largely unknown when he ran for office in June. He was the mayor of Tehran, the son of a blacksmith who had served in the hard-line Basiji militia -- a volunteer Islamic vigilante force -- and the Revolutionary Guard, and he was not expected to win. When he was elected, he was expected to fall into lockstep with the conservative forces that controlled every other institution of government.

Instead, he has charted his own course.

From the start he alienated many hard-liners by ignoring their nominees for important cabinet posts, turning to people he knew well, but who were largely unknown. Most of his choices had backgrounds in the military, the Basiji or the security services.

Mr. Ahmadinejad has come to represent a generational split among conservatives, some political analysts said. They said he belonged to a group of ideologically conservative veterans of the Iran-Iraq war who effectively parked themselves among the so-called hard-liners. With Mr. Ahmadinejad's election, they have begun to coalesce into their own political force.

With his team around him, Mr. Ahmadinejad has become the public face of Iran: aggressive, provocative and heatedly anti-American. He has adopted the phrase "world oppressor," in place of Great Satan, and his speeches are laced with religious references, including an emphasis on one of the central principles of the Shiite sect of Islam: an appeal for justice.

Since ultimate power here is vested in the hands of appointed clergy, Mr. Ahmadinejad does not exert direct control over foreign affairs or nuclear policy.

But his ascension came at a time when the region was in turmoil, with Iraq bogged down in a violent insurgency, Islamic groups like *Hamas* in Gaza and the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt emerging as powerful political forces, and Iran itself determined to develop a nuclear program that it says is peaceful and the West charges is aimed at developing weapons. And that insulates him from criticism.

"If it wasn't for the foreign pressures, perhaps Mr. Ahmadinejad, and his ministers, would have been called to the Majlis many times to explain themselves," said Akbar Alami, a member of the foreign affairs committee of the Majlis, or Parliament, and an outspoken critic of the president. "As the pressure has increased, the safety margins for him to operate have widened."

Moreover, Mr. Ahmadinejad is looking beyond Iran, seeking to fashion himself as a pan-Islamic leader, much the way Ayatollah Khomeini did. His ideological framework has been heavily influenced by his mentor and spiritual leader, Muhammad Taqi Mesbah Yazdi, a senior hard-line cleric who runs a school in the religious center of Qum and who advocates a strict Islamic government.

It is not clear whether Mr. Ahmadinejad decided to push to make Iran a regional leader, or whether he is trying to carry out a decision made at a higher level. But that posture is increasingly part of Iran's defiant public statements.

"The nuclear challenge is a big deception in the West where they know we do not want nuclear weapons," Muhammad Javad Larijani, brother of the nation's chief nuclear negotiator said during a Friday prayer ceremony. "What they are really concerned about is an advanced Islam. They are concerned the Islamic expansion will be a success, following the same concern they had for Communism."

It is still very early in the president's term, and there is ample evidence that many powerful people within the establishment are still worried by the tone and direction Mr. Ahmadinejad has taken. And some people speculated that the supreme leader might in the end muzzle him, should consequences turn out to be too dire. But for now, hampered by nationalist reaction to the West's pressure on Iran, even some of his harshest critics are treading lightly.

"I am saying that we have reached a sensitive point," Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, the chairman of the Expediency Council, which has oversight of the executive branch, said in a recent speech, referring to Iran's relations with the West. "There is a need for prudence on both sides." Mr. Rafsanjani ran against Mr. Ahmadinejad in the election for president, emphasizing a platform of engagement with the West.

"We all agree in the country that we should have a peaceful nuclear program," said Kazem Jalali, a member of Parliament. "The difference is over how we can have an effective diplomacy. In the past months we have seen our officials use tough language in the foreign policy. They are adopting a confrontational approach, which does not seem to be acceptable by the international community. This is not balanced. We must pursue our interests in our foreign policy based on balanced relations with all countries."

From the sidelines, reformers are now trying to regroup. Many of them say that the best factor in their favor is the president himself. The feeling is that the president can not, ultimately, meet all his economic promises, and that his policy of confrontation will undermine rather than improve people's lives.

Abdullah Momenie, a leader within the student movement that called for a boycott of the presidential election, said: "We see the sensitivity of the world community as a positive thing. Although we think it is an unwise action of power which may take the country to destruction, this might produce an opportunity for a democratic movement."

But so far the president has the upper hand.

President Ahmadinejad's comments at an Islamic conference in Mecca about wiping out Israel brought him international condemnation -- and applause from his target audience.

"He raised the question in Mecca and he received a huge amount of praise," said Mehdi Chamran, the chairman of the Tehran City Council and a close adviser to the president who often travels with him. "The people living in these countries, within their hearts, they are happy to hear these statements. If we can strengthen ties with the

people that is most important. When we hear the Egyptians take him as a role model, this is a real sign he has reached the people."

In practical terms, the management of Iran has begun to change since the new government came to power. The Parliament has been fighting with the executive branch over a budget proposal, saying that its generous spending could threaten inflation. But the budget seems to reflect the president's campaign promise to spend more money on people's immediate needs. The president has taken a few swipes at tightening some social freedoms, banning Western music, for example, but that edict has hardly been enforced.

President Ahmadinejad is forging a distinct style. For the first time, an Iranian president is regularly holding cabinet meetings in provinces around the country. He has so far visited five provinces and one city with his cabinet, walking the streets, shaking hands, kissing local people and promising a bevy of development projects.

After a cabinet meeting in Hormozgan in the south, his aides announced that the government would allocate money to rebuild old buildings, install a gas pipeline, build and equip health centers, provide land for building a mosque, buy equipment for a hospital, build an athletic center for <u>women</u> and offer low-interest loans to families who lost their homes in an earthquake.

No one says where the money will come from, or when, but the retail politics has won him affection from the base he continues to cultivate.

"In my opinion, Ahmadinejad is a good person, a trustful person who believes in God, and I hope he is able to fulfill his pledges," said Morovat Asaadi, 36, a construction painter as he walked near Tajrish Square in Tehran. "I like him very much. He is a good person."

http://www.nytimes.com

# **Graphic**

Photos: Anti-American demonstrators in Tehran on Friday with posters of President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, left, and Ayatollah Ali Khamenei.

An anti-American painting in Tehran. Iran's leader is forging an anti-Western national identity while reaffirming Iran's role in the Muslim world. (Photographs by Lynsey Addario for The New York Times)(pg. A10)

Load-Date: January 30, 2006

**End of Document** 



G2: The unlikely first lady: Ehud Olmert is the rightwing nationalist who has just become Israel's prime minister. His wife Aliza is a leftwing artist who is openly critical of his policies - and had never voted for him until this year.

Rachel Shabi on the world's least conventional political wife

The Guardian - Final Edition
May 5, 2006 Friday

Copyright 2006 Guardian Newspapers Limited All Rights Reserved

Section: GUARDIAN FEATURES PAGES; Pg. 10

**Length:** 2196 words **Byline:** Rachel Shabi

# **Body**

Just before the Israeli election in March, a photograph of prime minister Ehud Olmert's wife Aliza was circulating on the internet. It pictured her hugging Muhammad Abu Tir, the henna-bearded <u>Hamas</u> leader. Apparently, the rightwing Jewish National Front party was behind the spoof photo, intending to use it in a campaign pamphlet alongside the text: "Aliza Olmert's friends", while suggesting that "the Olmert family will tear Israel apart". At that time, Efraim Inbar, a political science professor at Bar-Ilan University, described Ehud Olmert's domestic background like this: "It would be the equivalent of George W Bush running for election with a family full of communists."

In Israel, it is widely known that Olmert's wife is a leftie - as are their children. The new prime minister, however, has always been rightwing, a nationalist allied to the settler movement. Olmert, who took over the reins of the new Kadima party following Ariel Sharon's stroke in January, now heads the coalition government that was presented to parliament yesterday. He only recently moved toward the centre, first as deputy prime minister within the rightwing Likud party when he backed disengagement from Gaza, now with the Kadima-led coalition that speaks of further pull-outs from the West Bank. Aliza Olmert has always been open about her leftist views and had never voted for her husband until the recent election. Even then, she told the press, her vote was cast, "With a certain amount of hesitation."

An accomplished artist, photographer, writer and social worker, Aliza Olmert has her own life, causes and career. She does not seem to belong to the world of parliamentary politics, not even in a support role. She is not a smilingly compliant trophy wife to be wheeled out at state functions and public engagements. The 59-year-old is quiet, unaffected and apparently untouched by the glamour of her new position. And now that her husband is prime minister, many are wondering how she will play the role of Israel's first lady.

She is unlikely to embrace this new role with open arms. When, before the elections, America's Frontline/World programme asked her how she felt about the prospect of her husband becoming prime minister, she replied: "Well, I wish that he gets what he wants, what he always wanted, even though if it was for me I would give it up. It has been imposed on me in many ways and it's not my choice." Is her role any fun, she was asked. "No, it's not fun at all. None of it." She recalled the night that the then prime minister, Ariel Sharon, fell into a coma and her husband, as deputy, was asked to stand in for him: "When we came home we realised the house had turned into a fortress,

G2: The unlikely first lady: Ehud Olmert is the rightwing nationalist who has just become Israel 's prime minister. His wife Aliza is a leftwing artist who is o....

surrounded by security people . . . by media, by curious people. I was watching the house and I said, 'Bye bye, freedom.'"

Her apparent dislike of the political arena has led some friends to believe that she will do the absolute minimum required of her as PM's wife. While her 60-year-old husband seems to revel in the company of Israel's rich and powerful, she avoids it. "She hates bullshit, which means that she hates to go to cocktail parties and is annoyed by being recognised in the street and aghast at losing her privacy," says Tommy Lapid, former head of the secular, free-market liberal party Shinui and a close friend of the Olmerts. "If this had been on a lower level, she would shun it, but she understands that she can't." Lapid thinks that, in terms of attending functions, the first lady will "cooperate" with her husband, "but only to a limited degree, and when her absence will be more meaningful than her presence".

And yet the Israeli premier - and by extension his wife - is a critical international figure. Isn't there a chance, once she steps on to the White House lawn, as she is scheduled to do later this month, that this new level of influence will go to her head? No way, say her friends. "For many years, she remained modest and never took advantage of the possibilities offered when (Ehud) was minister of health and then mayor of Jerusalem," says Savyon Liebrecht, an Israeli author who has known Aliza since they were both eight years old. "There is no reason why that would change now. She is not dazzled by anything, neither money, nor names, nor power."

Olmert herself admits that her husband's tenure as Jerusalem mayor from 1993 until 2003 was their most difficult time. His period of office was characterised by a strongly nationalist line ("I couldn't cope with this rhetoric," she has said), and his support for Jewish expansion in the Old City and East Jerusalem. "He was actually creating realities that I disagreed with," she told the Frontline programme. "So this was really our worst time as a couple."

One of the most testing moments came in 1996, when Olmert, along with the then prime minister, Binyamin Netanyahu, opened an underground tunnel in Jerusalem's Old City. It was a politically charged move; the tunnel lay close to the Temple Mount or Haram al-Sharif. It is a site that Muslims hold sacred and they felt that Olmert's actions had desecrated a holy site. Stones were thrown and the Israeli army fired shots in retaliation. Within three days, 80 people were dead. "I could see the consequences. I completely disagreed with it," she said.

"I know that, politically, (Aliza) was totally opposed to it and very upset by this act," says Edna Sobol, a set and costume designer who, along with her playwright husband, Joshua, had been a long-time friend of the Olmerts. Appalled, the couple broke off social relations with the Olmerts after this event, although the two <u>women</u> remained in contact (and they have all recently been reconciled). "My husband and I could not accept what Ehud did, which was quite painful because we like him as a person and Aliza is very dear to me," says Sobol. "But she is much more tolerant, more accepting than I am."

When Ehud was elected mayor of Jerusalem, Aliza found another good friend in Michal Smoira-Cohn - her husband's political opponent. Cohn was elected to the city council at the same time as Ehud, but as a candidate for Meretz, the leftwing party that stands for an Israeli withdrawal from the Occupied Territories. "Ideologically, Aliza is quite close to me," she says. The widow of Haim Cohn, the famously liberal Israeli supreme court judge and keen defender of human rights, Michal recalls: "When I first met Aliza, she said, 'Invite us to your home. Maybe Haim can have some influence on my husband." Today, the issue of influence is still pertinent. Many wonder if, after 35 years of marriage, it was Aliza's sway that pulled her husband towards the centrist position that he now holds, where he is prepared to concede at least some Israeli settlements in the occupied West Bank.

The couple met in 1970, while both were students at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, he studying politics, she social sciences. According to Amnon Dankner, a family friend and the editor of the Israeli tabloid Maariv, Ehud did not initially impress her. "She couldn't stand him at first," he says. "She remembers seeing him at some political activity, a debate or something, and he seemed too pushy." Ehud persisted, tailing Aliza to the Jerusalem cafe where she worked as a waitress. "Reluctantly, she agreed to see him," says Dankner. After spending just a few weeks together, the couple decided to marry. "Ehud can be very charming," says Liebrecht. "There were no other assets then, apart from his personality."

G2: The unlikely first lady: Ehud Olmert is the rightwing nationalist who has just become Israel 's prime minister. His wife Aliza is a leftwing artist who is o....

Though the Olmerts will soon move into the prime minister's official residence in Jerusalem, they have lived for years in the Arab suburb of Katamon in west Jerusalem. They have five children, one of whom is adopted. The eldest son, Shaul, lives in New York and signed a petition refusing to do reserve duty in the occupied territories. The younger son, Ariel, did not serve at all and currently studies in Paris. One of their daughters, Danna, was involved with Machsom Watch, the all-<u>female</u> organisation that monitors the conduct of Israeli soldiers at checkpoints. None of the children is on the father's side, politically. Pre-election, one of the settler movement leaflets read: "Will you give the most extreme leftwing movements a foothold in the prime minister's office?"

Those who know the family speak of a warm, tolerant home without tensions, and an obvious love between husband and wife. "I am sure that she has quite an influence upon him . . . open people change their minds, even if they are politicians," says Yitzhak Livni, a family friend and chairman of the Israeli Channel 2 News Corporation. On election night, as his party emerged the winners, Olmert gave a speech worthy of an Oscar acceptance, in which he thanked his family: "Your patience, your wisdom, your ability to disagree with me frequently and your understanding in agreeing with me infrequently - all these gave me strength, enthusiasm, faith and hope." For his wife, he added: "With her, everything becomes possible, right and reachable. This moment, more than anyone else, is all yours."

Political influence on the new PM has also come from the couple's social circle. "(Aliza) was organising the social life of Olmert, so it was her friends he was meeting," says Lapid. "Her friends were more leftwing than his." But commentators insist that Ehud's gradual move to the centre has been shaped as much by Israel's new reality as by his domestic circumstances. "The most important influence (on Olmert) was the reality of things here, a reality that is coercing itself on to our political beliefs," says Dankner. According to this view, Olmert changed tack because he thought his political survival depended on it. Tellingly, when interviewed on the Frontline programme, he said of his family's politics, "I never questioned their right to be wrong."

She attributes the ideological differences between herself and her husband to their very different backgrounds. He was born into an ultra-nationalistic Jewish community in the small town Nachalat Jabotinsky, near Hadera in central Israel. His parents were members of Irgun, the militant Zionist organisation that was defined by the British and the Jewish mainstream at the time as a terrorist group. She was born in a displaced persons camp in Eschwege, Germany in 1946, the daughter of Holocaust survivors who were, she says, grateful to find in Israel a tiny bit of land to call their own.

This background inevitably shaped Olmert's art as well as her politics. As a writer, her work includes Slice of the Sea, a television drama about a Holocaust survivor returning to her home village in Poland, and Synonym/Dead Line, another TV drama, this time about the relationship between a Holocaust survivor and her children, written with Savyon Liebrecht. She has also written both novels and plays. In addition, much of her visual art makes use of fragmented materials - bits of wire, strips of measuring tape, broken eggshells. The notes for Tikkun (Repair, the Jewish concept of social justice), her exhibition at New York's Hebrew Union College last year, read: "Olmert's conceptual art offers impossible constructions that convey the fragility of existence, the obstacles to survival." She has exhibited widely, both in Israel and internationally.

Currently, Aliza Olmert's work can be seen at the Museum on the Seam, located on the boundary of East and West Jerusalem. Entitled Dead End, the exhibition deals with violence as a feature of Israeli daily life. Her contribution is a series of photographs depicting graffiti on the walls of Jerusalem's Old City. The museum's director, Raphael Etgar, says: "What makes her work suited to this exhibition is that she documented the art of graffiti in Israel, which is so different from the graffiti we know from around the world." It shows a style of graffiti where one artist paints on top of the work of another, thereby erasing the original. "The writing on the wall is not always verbal but it does chronicle the spirit of time," read the artist's accompanying notes. "It pictures the erosion of the continuing war, the weariness in the eyes of the people, the impatience with solutions far off on the horizon, the tide of escalation, the shout for calm and identity."

When not busy painting in the family cellar, she is also involved with several charities. These include Orr Shalom, which cares for children of all religions from troubled backgrounds, and others that focus on children or poverty.

G2: The unlikely first lady: Ehud Olmert is the rightwing nationalist who has just become Israel 's prime minister. His wife Aliza is a leftwing artist who is o....

While some Israelis, with typical cynicism, insist that deeper digging would be certain to unearth some dirt, her friends are clearly incredibly loyal. "I know that I am talking in superlatives," says Sobol, "but I really don't know anyone else like Aliza. She is very, very special." She is said to have a close coterie of mostly <u>female</u> friends; one of them urges me to speak with Aliza herself, in order to truly appreciate how wonderful she is. Alas, she is not currently talking to the press, though Amnon Danker, the editor of Maariv, which ran one of her last interviews, now says: "Our reporter was amazed that this woman has no enemies - even her husband's bitterest enemies sing her praises"

Load-Date: May 5, 2006

**End of Document** 



Yorkshire Post April 5, 2006

Copyright 2006 Johnston Press Plc

Length: 2384 words

# **Body**

From: Hazel Blears, Home Office Minister, Home Office, London.

YOUR leader article, "Get tough on the causes of crime", (Yorkshire Post, March 31) claims that Asbos are fundamentally flawed in tackling anti-social behaviour. I disagree.

Asbos offer protection, while reassuring victims, witnesses and communities that anti-social disorder is being addressed. In many cases, they have rescued communities from the menace of one individual's behaviour. Yorkshire Post

It is not the case that it takes months for action to be taken as interim Asbos can be issued overnight to deal with nuisance behaviour swiftly and effectively in response to communities' needs.

But Asbos are only one of a range of tools to deal with this problem; dispersal orders, fixed penalty notices and parenting orders all contribute to addressing anti-social behaviour.

Asbos are not a soft option. Breach of an Asbo carries a five- year prison sentence and ensures that the lives of ordinary decent people are not overtaken by the selfish behaviour of an inconsiderate minority

I know, from meeting many people across the country, that the public support Asbos and they have a vital role to play in strengthening communities.

From: Donald H Buxton, Radley Avenue, Wickersley, Rotherham.

I READ the article, "Asbos: wrong arm of the law", by Geoff Ogden (Yorkshire Post, March 31) with equal measures of relief and then deep profound regret.

Relief that here was a reasoned analysis from an experienced senior professional from the law-enforcement field who clearly understands the beginnings, the consequences and the solutions for law-breaking and law-enforcement.

Here were the words from a man with a wealth of experience of dealing with young criminals and his efforts to successfully deter them from descending into a life of perpetual, unsuccessful crime with its untold cost to the rest of the community.

My profound regret came when I read that Geoff Ogden is now a retired police officer, and a former drug action team co-ordinator. What a pity that a man with such an insight into how young people become criminals and how to deter them from their life of crime is no longer serving the public in his former role. The public are now more in need of expertise such as his than ever before.

The sense of regret was deepened when I reflected on how our Government now uses statistics and percentages to spin its way around our lives. They can lay claim to more "partnerships, stakeholders, inputs, outputs, outcomes, action plans, strategies, impact assessments, community support officers, neighbourhood wardens etc", but what they can't do is to convince the ordinary man and woman in today's Britain that their local neighbourhood is safer now than when Geoff Ogden and his colleagues were professionally engaged in the task of keeping the nation safe.

How nice it would be one day to read in a Home Office media report that a Government minister has been listening to the wise words and advice from someone with Mr Ogden's experience, and better still, decided to act on his recommendations.

In praise of post office pensions

From: Richard Riley, Dyke Bottom, Shepley, Huddersfield.

I READ Douglas Hartley's letter with interest (Yorkshire Post, April 1). We still have a local post office in Shepley run by a young couple who I always find very helpful.

My retirement pension is paid into a long-standing current account held in Huddersfield. I have access to cash through the cash-back scheme at Morrison's, but that will not be forever, as there will come a time when we are unable to drive to a supermarket.

I do feel guilty as I will be using the local post office as a fall-back rather than a first choice.

At a time when the changeover to the new payment system was being introduced, I was using the post office for its various other services quite frequently. The thing that struck me most was the amount of time and patience that was given to each customer to make sure that they fully understood the system and were able to make best use of it.

There were a number who had not had bank accounts before, some of whom were disabled or quite frail. Each one was given the help they needed, with no annoyance expressed despite requests to repeat instructions.

Balancing act

From: Lance Green, Haisborough Avenue, Newport.

A DAY or two ago a Christian friend of mine claimed that agnostics abandoned their belief and cried out to God when they are near death. I have heard that argument before. Promoters of capital punishment have asked me if my mother were murdered, would I want to kill the perpetrator?

Those people are saying that I would agree with them if my mind were completely unbalanced. That is hardly the point at issue, is it? Important matters must be considered when our minds are cool and clear and undistorted by trauma. Take no notice of death-bed conversions. True views are expressed when one is rational and dispassionate.

Pay query

From: Ann Clarke, Wold Croft, Sutton-on-Derwent, York.

I HAVE a problem which has puzzled me for some time. Perhaps your readers can help? Why is it that all employers these days persist in using the iniquitous system of giving their workers percentage pay rises across the board?

It does not require the brain of Einstein to work out that however small a percentage is offered to a hospital consultant (Yorkshire Post, March 31), the amount in his pay packet will be considerably more than that received by a nurse, and even less will find its way into the hospital porter's pocket.

Inevitably, the outcome for people who work in the same industry is divisive.

Could this be part of the reason that the gap between rich and poor is now greater than before this Government came to power?

Cheating facts

From: Mrs J Booth, Skipton Road, Keighley.

AFTER listening to Today on Radio Four, and reading the Yorkshire Post, as I have done for 60 years, one could be misled into believing that 27 per cent of children are cheating by using mobile phones and other gadgets in their GCSE exams (Yorkshire Post, March 27).

A very articulate woman came on to Today later on, to explain that last year 0.06 per cent of the candidates were caught cheating.

This means that the 27 per cent is based on last year's figure of 0.06 per cent. Some people only read the headlines and are therefore misled into believing that 27 per cent of children are cheating. I am 87 years of age, all my grandchildren are through the education system and thankfully, have all done well, but with all the bad news about our schools and about our young people, let's have the headlines giving us the true facts.

Rocky road

From: Graham E Hancock, Rosehill Drive, Birkby, Huddersfield.

IN this day of award ceremonies for anything, we are missing a trick - the Gordon Brown Team surely are worthy of a medal for the manner in which they extract money from us under the subterfuge that it is good for us.

The latest ploy is the introduction of an increase in road tax on gas guzzlers.

The reason given is to deter the use of 4x4s. The increase in the Budget was not large enough to do this, but see how the money rolls in.

At the same time there has been a shortfall of £1.6bn in the budget for highway maintenance. The idea is that the roads will deteriorate to such a state that only 4x4s will safely negotiate them, leading to a greater use of them and more money rolling in. So much for a green policy and encouraging the use of cycles.

Nearly the end

From: RC Curry, Adel Grange Close, Leeds.

THE Lord Chancellor, in stating his plans to cut through the legal system with more administrative penalties instead of allowing people justice, reportedly says that it takes 153 days to get a case dealt with by the magistrates. Whose fault is that?

Senior magistrates will recall plenty of cases which were dealt with in a few days, but successive governments, this one especially, have brought this on themselves by imposing tiers of administrative junk. The originally worthy, but now "free for all" legal aid system has been totally abused by those who think it worth having a go to prolong the process, only pleading guilty at the court door when all else has failed.

Handling offenders in a "bulk processing centre", as is now announced, treating people like lumps of meat, is just about the end and the final degradation of what used to be the world's finest legal system. The Lord Chancellor should resign in shame.

Protesters should remember rights of others

From: Mark Andrew, Manor Heath Road, Halifax.

THERE is an increasing problem with our relationship with the United States, and the recent visit to Blackburn and Liverpool by their excellent Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice, has provoked many to protest.

Can these people who carry banners and shout insults please remember that the US did not invite the terrorists to fly aircraft into New York and Washington and kill thousands of people on 9/11?

The US has always been a very open country tolerant to worldwide immigrants of all races and religions. Many from Yorkshire made their way there centuries ago and helped to found a great nation.

Where would we be now if the US had not become the free-world partner against Hitler? Not much chance to protest if there had been a different ending to the Second World War.

And please can these protesters remember the recent London suicide bombings and loss of lives of innocent civilians.

It is no good shouting about Palestine, that is being racist against Jews, while <u>Hamas</u> remains a terrorist organisation committed to the destruction of Israel.

It is no good shouting about Iraq without remembering the Kurds and Marsh Arabs murdered by Saddam's henchmen, or the fact that he took his country to war against his neighbours.

It is no good shouting about Afghanistan without recalling the days of Taliban rule and the way <u>women</u> were treated.

Protest if you wish, but be mindful about the rights of others.

Misreading of headline proved to be more appropriate

From: Keith Gaines,

Main Street, Kellington,

near Goole.

I was nodding in full agreement with your headline, "MPs get staggering two per cent pay rise" (Yorkshire Post, March 31), when I realised that I had mis-read it. It was, in fact, a "staggered" pay rise.

Years ago, I recall listening to Sir Keith Joseph, Mrs Thatcher's financial guru and Education Minister. He was addressing a teacher trade-union conference, at a time when strike action over teachers' pay was being threatened.

Sir Keith argued that there were only three valid reasons for a pay increase: to recruit, to retain and to motivate.

Applying his reasoning to MPs, each election shows no shortage of candidates for the jobs.

I don't see MPs resigning to take up more rewarding jobs and, as for motivation, our politicians seem to be causing enough chaos and waste without further encouragement.

I think my original mis-reading of your headline was more appropriate.

From: Mary Armstrong, Main Street, Thornton-le-Moor, Northallerton.

ALL politicians are now tarred with the same brush of mistrust.

Buying titles and getting into Parliament isn't democracy and nor is cronyism.

A Prime Minister can lead us into war for spurious reasons. A Chancellor can ruin the pensions industry. We are not allowed a vote on our future in the European Union. Council tax is increasing, as is the amount that the English pay to subsidise Scotland.

Meanwhile, Scots are allowed to vote on English matters. And isn't £40m a disgraceful amount to be spent by all parties before an election?

We could wipe the slate clean. How? Easy.

Before the next General Election we could limit each party to say £2m, or less, in election expenditure (they wouldn't have to scrounge so much then).

We could require each party to rely on its manifesto, which would be published by the media without comment or criticism.

We could limit appearances on TV and radio by each party leader to one pre-election broadcast.

We could limit appearances in a constituency to candidates only.

We could stop searching for charisma and look for statesmanship.

And we could bring in proportional representation instead of allowing a party with a minority vote to rule the country.

**Points** 

Beckett should be sacked

From: Patricia Schofield, Park Lane, Blaxton, Doncaster.

WITH reference to your "Farming fury" comment (Yorkshire Post, April 1), perhaps Prime Minister Tony Blair should consider sacking his Environment Secretary, Margaret Beckett, and Lord Bach because it is obvious that they are not going to resign.

He should replace them with a minister who understands the farm-subsidy payments (if there is anyone in the Government who does understand this subject).

It is high time that the farmers were paid their long-overdue payment.

Smoky pubs

From: Maurice Goddard, Exeter, Devon.

HAVING just spent most of the week in Leeds, I was struck by how smoke-filled your pubs are.

I'm not sure whether this is in keeping with the rest of the North, but I think the pub-goers of Leeds are going to have more difficulty than usual when the ban on pub smoking begins.

Pension poser

From: M Milne, Pocklington.

REGARDING John Prescott's quote in your Words of the Week column (Yorkshire Post, April 1), that he does not make any money out of politics, would the Deputy Prime Minister, as a starter, mind publishing the amount he will receive as his annual pension, please?

**Business view** 

From: Godfrey Bloom MEP (United Kingdom Independence Party, Yorkshire and Humber), Main Street, Wressle, Selby.

While your editorial on healthcare (Yorkshire Post, March 29) was spot on in many ways, I feel I must take issue with your rose-tinted view of Sir Derek Wanless.

His review of the National Health Service was woefully inadequate and wrong-headed, as is now beginning to show.

What is needed is a businessman with serious credentials to review out-of-control public spending on welfare, now more than £140bn. May I suggest Tim Martin, of Wetherspoons, or our home-grown Paul Sykes?

Unfair ruling

From: AF Holroyd, Westwood Court, Dark Lane, Huddersfield.

SO the police are told to let off offenders with a caution if they commit any one of more than 60 crimes ranging from assault to under-age sex.

These rules, of course, don't apply to the average honest, insured and fully-taxed motorist. No caution for him or her if two large men in blue catch them speeding at 35mph with not a pedestrian in sight.

Load-Date: April 5, 2006

**End of Document** 



# MIDDLE EAST SPECIAL: Land of my fathers It took David Baker 40 years to get to Israel. But when he did he found peace in the most surprising of places

Financial Times (London, England)

April 1, 2006 Saturday

Copyright 2006 The Financial Times Limited

Section: FT REPORT - FT TRAVEL:MIDDLE EAST SPECIAL; Pg. 1

Length: 2267 words

Byline: By DAVID BAKER

# **Body**

When I was growing up in the north-east of England in the 1960s, we had a little blue and white collecting tin on the shelf in our hallway. Printed on one side was a stylised map of Israel and the Hebrew letters for JNF, or Jewish National Fund. In the top was a slot for coins and, impressively as Pounds 1 was a lot in those days, a little hole you could push a rolled-up banknote through. The idea was that, even from faraway Middlesbrough, we could all contribute a little of what we had to the Jewish state.

I never saw much money put into the tin - I guess my parents sent a cheque instead - and I couldn't really understand why Israel needed our help. The pictures we were shown at the synagogue Sunday school were of happy children running around under bright blue skies, which looked a lot better than the rain-blasted, slate-grey days we endured for much of the year. In fact, even as I got older, I never really got to grips with the idea of Israel as a reality. In my mind the little strip of land along the eastern Mediterranean coast was much more suited to the role it had played in Jewish consciousness for 2,000 years: a symbol, a repository of the longing, regret, hope and introspection that for me made the Jewish faith so potent. I wanted the Israel of Abraham, Isaac, Rachel and Rebecca. After all, I could get falafel in Camden Market.

When I started travelling on my own I found there were other reasons not to visit Israel. Israelis I met abroad often seemed arrogant and ill mannered, tramping into Buddhist temples with their shoes on in south-east Asia or pushing to the front of queues forferries or planes. The political situation

in the region was, for a young liberal, at best problematic. And while I was, and am, happy enough in my Judaism - going to synagogue, celebrating the festivals, finding time for some theological reflection - loyalty to Israel seemed to come as some sort of obligatory extra that I hadn't asked for.

Yet Jews can escape Israel's spiritual pull and, for much of my 20s and 30s, I circled around it, travelling in the Islamic world, in Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt, Jordan, Iran. There, in a kind of pan-Semitic idealism, I found echoes of the synagogue service in the chanting of the Koran. There the landscape seemed more biblical than the greened deserts and kibbutz enclosures of Israel itself. And there I could pretend - or I thought I could - that much of the Arab world wasn't threatening to push the Jewish homeland into the sea.

I had developed a fairly voyeuristic habit of searching out synagogues in Islamic countries, only to run away in embarrassment when I realised how desperate the situation was of the Jews I met there. In Isfahan in the south of

MIDDLE EAST SPECIAL: Land of my fathers It took David Baker 40 years to get to Israel . But when he did he found peace in the most surprising of places

Iran I found a sorrowful, lonely community desperate for new blood or escape or both. Anyone who could afford it had emigrated to Israel. The Rabbi, tears running down his face, showed me his dusty, dying synagogue and almost forced his daughter's hand on me in a panicky attempt to get her out of the country. I was embarrassed, helpless and appalled and, as I made (yet another) hasty exit, stuffing money into his hand from the wad of useless Rial notes I had in my pocket, I knew I had to end all this prevarication and pay a visit to The Land, as it is invariably known in modern Hebrew.

Which was how, this February, I boarded an El-Al flight to Tel Aviv and five days of self-discovery.

Istanbul is usually held up as the archetypal mixture of east and west, but for me Tel Aviv was like a butterfly, constantly flitting between Europe and Asia, old and new, never quite settling down, always questioning its identity. It was Friday night when I arrived and while my hotel had a shabat lift that automatically visited every floor, so orthodox Jews wouldn't have to operate an electric switch on the sabbath, the city itself was revving up for a secular weekend. Sure, a few people were walking back from synagogue, but mostly it was groups of slightly Eurotrashy young clubbers bustling down the boulevards from bar to bar and their parents hailing cabs outside some very New York-looking restaurants.

But bars and restaurants I could get in Europe. As I walked the next morning in the glorious February sun, I realised that, like so many visitors to the Middle East, I had really come to Israel to find something of my God. And for that I needed to go back in time.

Take a stroll along the boardwalk that runs the length of Tel Aviv's golden-sanded beaches and in 5km you can cover 4,000 years. At its northernmost point is a brand new marina, with young families, open-air restaurants, European-style bars and an ultra-modern centre for <u>women</u>. But walk south, past the towering tourist hotels, the commercial centre and the city's Bauhaus downtown and in a blink you find yourself in the ancient port of Jaffa.

I had high hopes for Jaffa. Its origins lost in prehistory, this is where Jonah set off on his ill-fated voyage, where the cedars of Lebanon arrived to become the doors of Solomon's great temple, where thousands of pilgrims disembarked on their way to Jerusalem. Yet when I got there I found it strangely unsettling.

The old town, scrubbed up and restored, is home now to carefully selected artists and their galleries. Some fishermen still sell their catches on the dockside but theirs seem to be little more than a cameo role (the commercial port closed after the Arab Revolt of 1936). And for someone used to the bustle of Arab medinas, Jaffa is far too quiet. You do wonder where the Arabs live now.

In fact, signs of Israel's conflict with the Arab world are everywhere. Security guards scan you with a metal detector on the way in to almost every public place. About halfway down the seafront in Tel Aviv I found an open-air nightclub, padlocked and decaying, the scene of a particularly vicious suicide bomb attack in 2001. I was in the country just after <u>Hamas</u> had won power in the Palestinian Authority and in conversations in bars and cafes I was I was reminded of residents of a gated community peering anxiously over the fence. And everywhere there was the fear of being abandoned by the rest of the world. "You will write something nice about us, won't you?" said one woman I met on a downtown Tel Aviv walking tour.

For secular visitors to Israel Tel Aviv is a destination in itself but for those on something of a spiritual quest, it is just a stepping stone to perhaps the greatest sacred city in the world, Jerusalem. So the next morning I climbed aboard an air-conditioned Eged bus and headed south.

Like Los Angeles, Jerusalem is a city you feel you have arrived in long before you actually get there. Geographically, it spreads its suburbs far outwards in little white and off-white housing developments over low-slung hills. Spiritually, though, for almost four millennia its influence has filled the western world. This, for Jews, Muslims and Christians, was quite literally the centre of the world, the place where Abraham was ready to sacrifice his son, where Jesus rose from the dead, where Mohammed began his night journey. Like all great religious sites, it was a place where heaven and earth came a little closer - and if you stop to listen, you can feel it pulsing with the transcendent.

MIDDLE EAST SPECIAL: Land of my fathers It took David Baker 40 years to get to Israel . But when he did he found peace in the most surprising of places

As I pushed my way through the crowds outside the bus station - soldiers, Orthodox Jews, <u>women</u> overladen with shopping - I took a wrong turn and, instead of walking in the direction of the famous Old City and the Temple Mount, I found myself 180Degrees out, heading towards the suburbs. I turned around and went back past the bus station but, when I checked the map again, somehow I was still walking away from the centre. It turned out that my map had a misprint, but it felt as if the city was warning me not to approach too lightly, the streets turning under my feet. This was after all a place pilgrims came to in a state of ritual purity. Tel Aviv you can drop into, Jerusalem, I was discovering, requires more care.

The following morning I awoke before dawn to go to the Western Wall, the only remaining part of the Jewish temple destroyed by the Romans in AD70 and, according to rabbinical legend, the place where God's presence still resides.

There is a sense of sacred and the mundane at the Western Wall. You approach the site through an airport-style metal detector and down into a large honey-coloured plaza. Notices around the area ask you to respect the holiness of the place and, on sabbaths and festivals, not to use your mobile phone or camera. And then there stands the wall: sandy-coloured, oddly featureless, surprisingly low, one of those places that works better in photographs than in reality.

Clustered around little reading desks, groups of ultra-Orthodox Jewish men (the <u>women</u> are to one side behind a screen), dressed in that time-freezing, 18thcentury garb of long black coat and heavy suit, were swaying back and forth in prayer. Dotted about the place were little carts where you could pick up a prayer book and a skullcap.

Then there was the wall itself. This was, ostensibly what I had come for. I squeezed through, put my face up against the stone, shut my eyes and felt - precisely nothing. I looked around me. A couple of feet down, a young boy, maybe 11 or 12, was rocking back and forth in ecstatic devotion. To my left a man stared as if in rapture at the stones in front of us. A group of soldiers was saying the mourners' kadish in unison. A old man in a tight-fitting, shabby suit left the area walking backwards so as not to turn his back on the wall. But I felt nothing for the place. I am Jewish but, for the people around me, I knew, I was not Jewish enough; observant, but not observant enough. I left, as I had left so many synagogues before, unobserved, unfulfilled, incomplete.

That afternoon I finally found what I was looking for. I was walking through the Judaica section of Jerusalem's spectacular Israel museum, when I stumbled across something called the Horb Synagogue. I wandered in and found a treasure.

The Horb Synagogue is little more than the ceiling of a wooden barn that had been brought to Israel from southern Germany. No more than 10ft by 20ft, it had been built in 1735 as a synagogue, though later it had become just another agricultural building. The walls had been too damaged to restore but the ceiling was a delight. Painted in a rich, folkloric style, every square inch of it was covered with animals, trees, rivers, cities and sacred symbols.

I lay down on one of the benches to look at it more closely and heard a familiar sound. A speaker in the wall was playing synagogue music that would have been sung in Horb in the 18th century, music that by wonderful coincidence was still used every year at my own London synagogue's service on the Day of Atonement. Jerusalem-Horb-London: the connection suddenly seemed complete.

Thanks to a phenomenal level of security, Israel is a relatively safe place to travel around but you do get a sense of constant, low-level carping between the Jewish and Arab communities.

My guide in Jerusalem's Old City was keen to point out how much cleaner the streets were in Jewish quarter than in the Arab part of town. He was right but only because Arab old Jerusalem is a bustling marketplace, jammed with stalls selling fish, meat, fruit, vegetables and spices.

There is a danger that you can leave the country with a depressing sense of the impossibility of reconciliation. But in fact there are plenty of organisations working to bring the two sides together and one of them I stumbled across just north of the Old City's Damascus Gate.

MIDDLE EAST SPECIAL: Land of my fathers It took David Baker 40 years to get to Israel . But when he did he found peace in the most surprising of places

Perched on the cusp between Arab Jerusalem and the ultra-Orthodox Jewish district of Mea Sha'arim, in a small, bullet-scarred building that before 1967 was a military outpost on the line between Israel and Jordan, is the Museum on the Seam.

Established in 1999, the museum has a inspiring, semi-permanent exhibition of works by contemporary artists both from Israel and the Palestinian authority and from further afield, brought together under the theme of coexistence.

There is plenty of painting, collage and photography here, such as "Clonexistence" by Sarajevo artist Lejla Bulja (below), dealing with war, oppression, changing frontiers and displaced populations. But, perhaps appropriately in this modern country, the most powerful pieces are the video installations.

Near the entrance to the exhibition a monitor broadcasts looped footage of politicians shouting down their opponents - in television interviews, in staged debates, across the floor of the Israeli parliament - blocking out dissent and stifling dialogue. Israeli artist Miki Krazman's "The Reality of Roadblocks" (2002) features seven hours of juddery images filmed from inside a car as it negotiates the militarised labyrinth of the occupied territories. But for me the most affecting installation was Tali and Ziv Reif's "Love Thy Neighbour As Thyself".

You push a switch and three wall-sized video screens burst into action, enveloping you with cross-cut images of news footage of the 2000 intifada and the Israeli army's response to it. Men shout, throw stones, open fire, protest and attack. **Women** look on, scoop up children, weep and despair. Everywhere is chaos, explosions, gun fire and police sirens. Both sides are hurt. Both go on the attack. I watched the film through three times. For the the first time I began to understand how hard it is for those who live in the region to see a way out of the conflict they find themselves in.

The Museum of the Seam, 4 Chel Handasa Street, Jerusalem 91016. Tel: +972 2-628 1278; www.coexistence.art.museum

Load-Date: March 31, 2006

**End of Document** 



# THE AUSTRALIAN February 13, 2006 Monday All-round Country Edition

Copyright 2006 Nationwide News Pty Limited All Rights Reserved

Section: FEATURES; Letters; Pg. 9

Length: 2453 words

# **Body**

**MATP** 

Increasing the number of doctors will not solve the issue

MOST TALKED ABOUT

**HEALTH CRISIS** 

I AM concerned that two words -- "health" and "doctors" -- seem to somehow be used interchangeably in the recent media reports regarding health reform (11-12/2). Is this how Australians see their health care needs being addressed, by merely increasing the number of doctors?

It might certainly be one small part of the equation, yet the nursing professionals, who also experience a significant global shortage, outnumber the medical professionals five fold, and allied health professionals experience similar shortages, particularly pharmacists in rural and remote Australia.

I agree that what we need in health is a revolution. But it is a revolution in thinking. It should not just result in putting more expensive bums on seats. We need to start with the big picture of health and determine what is required for our ageing population and the projected impact of chronic disease for the year 2020. We then need to look at the scope of practice of each health practitioner and determine if this is the right fit for this population's needs --research tells us it is not. Then we need to look at each profession and determine if they could expand their scope of practice to take on certain skills of other professions, such as doctors or physiotherapists, and if there are any gaps. Then we need to develop strategies and national policy to bring about reform. This might include such things as: foundational programs for generic health workers, expanding nurse practitioner roles in general practice, shortening doctor training programs and developing interdisciplinary educational programs. We know that the biggest stuff-ups we have in health are often the result of poor communication within the health care team.

Janie Smith

Ocean Shores, NSW

THE premiers and prime minister are cannibalising what was once the best health system in the world. A policy of attrition has seen funding shortfalls reduce the numbers of doctors being trained. Currently 25 per cent of our GPs are poached from overseas.

The proposed solution will see doctors emerge at around 30 years of age after six years' study and four years' training with a massive debt of \$200,000 around their necks. On a personal level they will have little chance of buying a home and starting a family and on a professional level this debt will force them into high income luxury areas of medicine, not those providing healthcare to the rural or industrial sector or public medicine.

This deal is designed to take the heat off both state and federal politicians in the short term but offers no long-term solution to Australia's future health needs. At a time when there is more taxpayers' money sloshing through the federal coffers than ever before, it is a scandal that our Government would impose this financial burden on the next generation.

Pamela Curr

Brunswick, Vic

HOWARD was right -- there won't be \$100,000 university degrees under his Government -- we see this week that medical degrees will cost \$200,000.

Langford B White

Rose Park, SA

PETER Beattie is now a "born again" health minister. He has been enlightened to know that we need more doctors. Let's be grateful for small mercies. Two years ago he told us we had the best health service in the world, there were no problems with health portfolio in his care, the negative reporting on the health issue was a beat-up of a few "pests" that complained.

Praise God for whatever enlightened our Premier. We obviously need more doctors, but I still have trouble believing it took Beattie this long to wake up to that.

**Doug Belot** 

Yeppoon, Qld

THE national depression initiative, beyondblue, commends the Prime Minister and premiers for the \$1.1 billion injection of funds into health reforms with a focus on prevention. This recognises the desperate need for better support for people living with depression and mental illness in Australia.

While acknowledging the great leap forward by Council of Australian Governments, we are impatient to see significant changes and improvements in the health system.

With a million people in Australia living with depression and only a third getting appropriate help, this commitment to improving mental health services hasn't come a moment too soon.

Leonie Young

beyondblue

Hawthorn West, Vic

THE Prime Minister should know better than to suggest that people with mental illness should get on with life. This does nothing to inform the community who already have a similar viewpoint. People with mental illness struggle daily to get on with their lives.

Perhaps if governments put more money and resources into community care and support for people with mental illness, this could be achieved. Be assured that people with mental illness can and do recover and lead fulfilling and satisfying lives in the community. However, many need the help and support of mental health services and non-government agencies to achieve this outcome.

Talking about the need for re-institutionalisation and the mistakes of the 1960s is less than helpful. Peer support programs go a long way to achieving life in the community.

Helen Connor

Australian Mental Health

Consumer Network, West End, Qld

Privileges and penalties of batting first

MALCOLM Conn ("Caught short", 11-12/2) says the team batting first in Sydney usually wins. That the toss of a coin determines which team has a distinct advantage and which one a real handicap is ridiculous.

The only way to ensure a level playing field is to auction off the privilege to choose whether to bat or bowl first. If the first captain thinks the privilege is not worth more than 50 runs, whereas the second captain thinks it is worth more than 50 runs, the first captain will stop the bidding at 50 runs, and will get a 50-run headstart. This bidding process will add an interesting facet to captaincy.

Frikkie Maas

Kenmore Hills, Brisbane

Frontiers of freedom

WALEED Aly (Inquirer, 11-12/2) is right to object to the way in which legal action forbidding the "denial" of genocide and, in particular, the Holocaust prevents people from mounting certain arguments.

However, his assertion that "such arguments are uncivilised nonsense" is quite baseless. The dissident theses of many Holocaust revisionists are genuinely academic in both contents and style.

They are not claiming that there was no Nazi persecution of the Jews, but only that in some respects this has been very seriously exaggerated. There is nothing inherently unethical or absurd in taking up such a position.

Nigel Jackson

Belgrave, Vic

YOUR editorial (11-12/2) on the controversial cartoons puts things in perspective at both general and global levels.

Some Muslims are not capable of taking a joke, and Middle East clerical and secular dictators are using religion as a weapon against democracy and freedom. Publishing cartoons may offend, but does not infringe the freedom of others.

Regimes that repress freedom intellectually, religiously, socially and economically will ultimately fail. It is inevitable.

N. King

Cremorne, NSW

DESPITE its balanced approach, your editorial repeats two very dubious positions.

The first, the belief that there is nothing in Islam that is inimical to democracy, has been much debated. The defining activity of democracy is not voting, but tolerance -- hardly a noted aspect of fundamentalism. Regrettably, the cartoon affair only demonstrates how unready Islamism is for tolerance and therefore, democracy.

The second -- the notion that the real risk to peace does not come from ordinary Muslims but from the clerical and secular dictators who pervert the religion to protect their power -- ignores that fact that, perversion or not, extremism can infect an entire culture.

There was a time when Israelis, too, told each other that ordinary Palestinians wanted peace and it was only their corrupt unelected leaders who were benefiting from continued conflict. The popular handing of power to <u>Hamas</u> has finally buried the few remains of that idea.

Dov Midalia

Nedlands, WA

Hail democracy

THE Senate voting to overturn the ministerial veto on RU486 is good news for democracy and good news for <u>women</u>'s health. This reflects the broad community attitudes that politicians are not medical experts and these complex medical decisions must be referred to the TGA, as it is for all other drugs.

Now it depends upon the House of Representatives to get it right next week.

Incidentally, RU486 does not cause the abortion of pregnancies; it simply reduces the natural progesterone and makes the uterus respond to the second medication, prostaglandin (which is an approved drug). All this hysteria about RU486 is not relevant. However, we can't expect the politicians to know that. Besides, it gets in the way of a good media story.

Pieter Mourik

Wodonga, Vic

Victory on a platter

TRUE to his word, Kim Beazley spent last week attacking the Howard Government over the AWB scandal. Assisted by Kevin Rudd, he continued his relentless onslaught. When this attack failed to deliver the desired result, Beazley burst into a tirade against Howard and National Party ministers.

All week long, not a question on the economy, health or education. A week wasted on the AWB saga, which is being adequately addressed by the Cole Inquiry. If this is what the Australian people can expect from Labor, Howard may well be on his way to serve longer in office than Sir Robert Menzies.

Winston Coffey

Brisbane, Qld

UNDER the wheat deals negotiated, the Iraqis required the AWB to overcharge them for wheat delivered, disguising the overpayment as a freight charge to be returned to the regime via an Iraqi-controlled company.

While this contravened UN sanctions, it wasn't bribery, as American wheat interests were quick to label it.

John O'Hara

Mount Waverley, Vic

Rebuttal stuff of journalism

IF Christopher Pearson (Inquirer, 11-12/2) wants to defeat arguments contrary to his opinion with such rhetoric as "these [arguments] are barely worth the bother of rebutting", I'm afraid he's going to find himself out of a job rather quickly. Especially given that they still stand as cogent testimony.

For those of us who do view dogmatic servility to mythical beings as "a form of intellectual incapacity", his most recent article only serves as further proof that the enlightenment of our people still has some way to go, and that the media is rife with more hindrance than help.

Kane Wishart

Clayton, Vic

READING Pearson, I felt deep shame at the diatribe uttered by the feminist politicians. I cannot ever recall such concerted nastiness against a colleague.

I also cannot recall ever hearing of such ugliness spoken by a male colleague to his female colleagues.

It all centred around the fact that Tony Abbott happens to be a Catholic by religious belief. I wonder if he had been a Muslim or a Jew whether they would have spoken thus. I think not.

I am now to presume that these so-called enlightened <u>women</u> do not have a religious belief, because if they do then they are very dangerous hypocrites.

Anne Lastman

Melbourne, Vic

ONE of the most striking features of the Senate debate on ministerial control of RU486 was the very high standard of oratory from senators on both sides of the debate.

I heard some great examples of simple conviction and passion expressed in clear English.

Standout performances were those by Amanda Vanstone, usually an unpleasantly aggressive stonewaller, Andrew Bartlett, usually wishy-washy, and Nick Minchin, usually just silent.

I was dismayed, as apparently was Christopher Pearson at the apparent anti-Roman Catholic rhetoric aimed at Tony Abbott. However, the Catholic church's open and consistent anti-abortion philosophy will always make it an easily-identifiable target. Abbott's attackers should beware of the sympathy backlash for him if they get too personal.

This was and will always be an inter-gender debate, until such time as men accept and teach their sons that contraception and abortion are equally their responsibility.

H.Neill

Biggera Waters, Qld

I HAVE news for Pearson. Many educated people regard all forms of religion, not just Roman Catholicism, as one more form of intellectual incapacity.

Marie Wynne

Wembley, WA

Drawing the unseen

BILL Leak's cartoon showing the invisible Prophet Mohammed not wishing to be "drawn on the subject" certainly gave my friends and me a few laughs.

I. Yusuf

Ryde, NSW

#### FIRST BYTE

There seems to be a feeling abroad that Islamic fundamentalists do not understand satire. They understand it all right, and they recognise it as the most potent weapon against their campaign of hate. This explains the violence of the orchestrated reaction.

Cam Battersby

Kangaroo Point

The predominantly male letters writers on the abortion drug RU486 would do well to remember that all pregnancies have a male contributor. It seems to me that the solution to all these unwanted pregnancies is for the guys to either wear a condom or keep it zipped up, unless you are planning a pregnancy. Simple really.

Susan Ford

Busselton, WA

If Morris lemma thinks Graham Mulligan is a "dimwit" (or words to that effect), then where does that leave lemma and his Government in the stupidity stakes? After all, it was lemma's Government that endorsed the tunnel operators in the first place.

Jim Millett

Kippa-Ring, Qld

With the impending outcome of the AWB inquiry, it seems someone in the Government may soon be subjected to Biblical justice and feel "Coles of fire upon his head".

Roy Stall

Mount Claremont, WA

If Tony Abbott thought it was now the right time for him to leave politics maybe Howard could arrange for him to be the chief executive of the Australian Wheat Board.

Peter Guppy

Moruya, NSW

If criminalisation of cannabis is an appropriate response to health threats resulting from its use ("Health battle target marijuana", 11-12/2), is not similar action appropriate for that other weed, tobacco, which kills about 19,000 Australians each year and costs the nation \$21 billion in health care, business and other social costs?

Robert Ginn

Mermaid Beach, Qld

letters@theaustralian.com.au

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

GPO Box 4162, Sydney, NSW, 2001Fax: 02 9288 3077

E-mail: <u>letters@theaustralian.com.au</u> (no attachments)

Emails and letters should bear a full postal address and day and night telephone numbers.

#### **LETTERS**

Letters to the Editor of The Australian are submitted on the condition that Nationwide News Pty Ltd as publisher of The Australian may edit and has the right to, and license third parties to, reproduce in electronic form and communicate these letters.

Prints of Leak cartoons

For information on buying prints of any

Bill Leak cartoon go to

leakcartoons@theaustralian.com.au

Prints of Nicholson cartoons

To buy a print of a Nicholson cartoon go to <a href="http://www.nicholsoncartoons.com.au/print">http://www.nicholsoncartoons.com.au/print</a>

Load-Date: February 12, 2006

**End of Document** 



What makes a martyr? The wave of arrests of British Muslims suspected of plotting to destroy passenger jets over the Atlantic again raises the question posed after 7/7 last year: what tips religious fundamentalism into murderous intent? Olga Craig and Alasdair Palmer report

The Sunday Telegraph (LONDON)

August 13, 2006 Sunday

Copyright 2006 Telegraph Group Limited All Rights Reserved

Section: NEWS; Pg. 15

Length: 2534 words

Byline: Olga Craig and Alasdair Palmer

## **Body**

The shock, the disbelief, the utter inability to comprehend that their British-born sons and siblings might conspire to bomb their fellow citizens was, when it came, inevitable. "My brother loves fish and chips and Liverpool Football Club," said Safeena Zaman incredulously. "His favourite programme is Only Fools and Horses. He even wanted to join the police as a forensics expert when he finished university, for Goodness sake."

Ms Zaman could hardly have offered more credible, moderate or, indeed, British credentials on behalf of her brother, Waheed, one of the 23 who remain in custody after last week's alleged foiled terror attack. Her surprise was heartfelt, but it had a familiar ring. Only last summer, when 52 Britons were murdered in the 7/7 bus and Tube suicide attacks, the families of the British-born terrorists responsible were similarly incredulous: how, they asked, could our loved ones, brought up in this country to be law-abiding, respectful citizens, have turned to terrorism?

It is a year now since the streets of Walthamstow in east London, long known as fertile ground for Islamic extremists looking for recruits, reverberated to the shrill sound of al-Muhajiroun loud-hailers urging young Muslims: "Now is the time for jihad. Now is the time for all British troops to be slaughtered in Iraq."

The militant organisation's leader, Omar Bakri Mohammed, who openly recruited young Muslims to his chilling cause at a sprawling market stall in the district, is now in exile in Lebanon, still bleating that he should be safe in Britain with his children. His stall has long gone, his organisation now outlawed. But his magnetism, and that of the militant imams - 80 per cent of whom came to Britain largely from the Indian subcontinent, with little knowledge of the English language or British culture and society - is as strong as ever.

Today, however, it is an altogether more sophisticated network that casts its net wide over many hitherto-moderate Muslim youngsters. Its modus operandi is now a well practised, psychological approach aimed at brainwashing "clean skins" - those with moderate backgrounds. And, according to an NOP poll conducted last week, its influence is expanding. While a quarter of all Muslims surveyed said that they felt the 7/7 bombings were justified, that figure rose to a third among younger Muslims.

It is this group, many of whom are moderates, that is particularly targeted by the recruiters of terror. There are 1.6million Muslims in this

What makes a martyr? The wave of arrests of British Muslims suspected of plotting to destroy passenger jets over the Atlantic again raises the question posed af....

country - almost half of whom are born here - making them our largest ethnic minority. And, according to a dossier drawn up last year by the Home and Foreign Offices on young Muslims and extremism, intelligence reports estimate that almost one per cent of British Muslims who support terrorist activity. If that figure is correct, it represents about 16,000 Muslims who are sympathetic to or involved in terrorism.

Fed a diet of violent videos depicting the dead bodies of Muslim <u>women</u> and children in Iraq, Chechnya and Lebanon, their passions are swiftly inflamed. Islamist websites pour out vicious and violent anti-Western propaganda. In radical bookshops in London, Luton, Birmingham, Bradford and Manchester, they gather to read literature decrying the murderous infidels and glorifying jihad. For the disaffected seeking purpose in life, it is ravenously consumed.

But it is in British universities and in mosques that those vulnerable to "brainwashing" are particularly preyed upon, especially those specialising in engineering and information technology. In the halls of higher education, the lonely and vulnerable can be easily seduced.

Outside mosques, too, where increasing numbers feel no affinity with the reverential, old-fashioned imams and feel positively disfranchised by what many see as an elderly, hierarchical community, they are easily enchanted by the radicals who lurk at the gates with their militant talk once prayers are over.

As Shiraz Maher, once a member of the radical Hizbut-Tahrir, points out: "The mosques aren't able to offer any effective leadership to young Muslims and the vacuum that we see at the minute is really only being filled by extremists. Mosques can't really engage. Their committees are based on old tribal bradri systems that revolve around a concept of honour. Muslim youths can't question the wisdom of elders, so, at a time when they are crying out for leadership, the only people willing to come forward or who are in a position to do so are the radicals.'

It is little wonder that education has been singled out as a fertile recruitment ground. There are 110 Muslim schools in Britain - and university degrees are highly valued. While the Muslim community has the highest percentage of members without qualifications, it has churned out more post-graduates than any other ethnic minority. Both groups - the well-educated and the disaffected poor - are ripe for conversion, first to radicalism, sometimes then to terrorism: the former in our universities, the latter in mosque or prisons.

As the government report of last year points out: "Often disaffected lone individuals, unable to fit into their own community, will be attracted to university clubs based on ethnicity or religion, or be drawn to mosques or preaching groups in prison through a sense of disillusionment with their current existence."

Indeed, it was in Feltham Young Offenders Institution where Richard Reid, the shoe bomber, fell under the spell of terrorism. At first, he was attracted to Islam because he felt it offered succour to the disillusioned. But it was not long before devotion turned to obsessive extremism. As Madeline Reid, his aunt, has said: "He was a lonely lad with an empty life who found solace with his Muslim brothers. It became more than a religion - they became his family." Reid, it became clear at his trial, was a vulnerable, easily manipulated misfit with a grudge against what he saw as a cold and unjust society: a young man who latched on to a faith that, he believed, would give him the identity he lacked and the revenge he sought against the society in which he had been raised.

But the universities and mosques remain the recruiters' preferred territory. That way, it enlists youngsters who have never appeared on the security radar. Many are from well-to-do backgrounds or convert to Islam only in adulthood. As the government reports notes: "By and large, most young extremists fall into one of two groups: well-educated or under-achievers."

Last year, surveillance by MI5 and Special Branch consistently noted the targeting of middle-class, moderate students. Among those it has closely monitored was a group of postgraduates at Imperial College and others at Brunel University in west London. Highlighting the extent of the problem, the report noted that extremists argue: "It is not possible to be Muslim and British." They also "call upon Muslims to reject engagement with British society and politics and advocate the creation of an Islamic state in Britain".

What makes a martyr? The wave of arrests of British Muslims suspected of plotting to destroy passenger jets over the Atlantic again raises the question posed af....

For too long, such recruitment went unchecked. As one MoD official points out: "London is paying for allowing all those radical organisations, from Saudis to Pakistanis, to set up shop in London, put out newsletters, recruit and gather funds."

Many came to Britain during the 1990s to escape security forces in their home countries - particularly those from Algeria and Morocco, including members of Islamist armed organisations. They were granted asylum and many have since lived on welfare. Supporters of the Armed Islamic Group used mosques in Brixton and Finsbury Park to raise funds to buy guns and bankroll a terror campaign against the Algerian government. They engaged in blackmail, drug dealing and credit-card fraud to support their fundraising in London, Manchester and Birmingham.

Some older moderates in the Muslim community have long blamed the increase in Islamic terrorism directly on the Government's foreign policy. Even yesterday, in an open letter to the Prime Minister, signed by three Muslim MPs, three peers and 38 Islamic groups, it was claimed that Britain's policies abroad have put civilians at increased risk of extremism both in the UK and abroad. "The debacle of Iraq, and now the failure to do more to secure an immediate end to the attacks on civilians in the Middle East not only increases the risk to ordinary people in that region, but it is also ammunition to extremists who threaten us all," the letter said. Sadiq Khan MP, one of the signatories, insisted yesterday: "Whether we like it or not, such a sense of injustice plays into the hands of extremists."

Tony Blair has long argued that his support of America in both the Iraq war and the Middle East crisis has not been responsible for the increasing numbers of British Muslims supporting terror. Whatever the truth, there are those both outside and within the Muslim community who argue that it is time for the voice of moderate Islam to counteract the influence of firebrand, fanatical clerics. As one officer in the security services told The Sunday Telegraph: "It is impossible to tell why some people flip from being devout into being terrorists. The explanation has more to do with the individual's own psychological history than anything else. It is a bit like trying to explain why one individual falls in love with a particular woman or man - if you try to use general sociological theories to explain it, you will fail.

"So the Muslim community has a vital role to play in isolating those who are drawn to extremism, and in condemning the extremist ideologies within Islam. The trouble is - that isn't happening at the moment. There is, in parts of the Muslim community, such a strong hatred of the West and, indeed, of the whole secular, liberal society, that it helps to incubate the attitudes that breed terrorists. There can also be a reluctance to condemn terrorism in all its forms which helps to reinforce the conviction that terrorism is justified."

The Muslim Council of Britain (MCB) is one of the biggest, and most important, umbrella organisations for Muslim groups. It has close links with the Government - indeed, it owes its origins partly to Labour's eagerness, in 1997, to ensure that there was a group representing mainstream Muslim opinion that ministers could talk to and deal with. Its leadership is among those who have been criticised for failing to tackle the Muslim extremist element effectively.

When the BBC reporter John Ware investigated the council for a Panorama programme last year, he was surprised to discover that some of the groups affiliated with the MCB had distinctly unsavoury views. For instance, when Abdul Bari, then deputy general secretary of the MCB, opened an new Islamic centre in east London in 2004, he chose the prominent Saudi cleric Sudais as the guest of honour. Sudais has said that "the worst of the enemies of Islam are those whom he made monkeys and pigs - the aggressive Jews and the oppressive Zionists, and those that follow them. The callers of the Trinity and the Cross worshippers [by which Sudais meant Christians]... the poison of their ideas and the followers of secularism."

When Ware asked Abdul Bari about whether Sudais was a suitable person to have as a guest of honour, the defensiveness of Abdul Bari's response did not contain the ringing condemnation of Sheikh Sudais's views that might be hoped for. While Abdul Bari insisted that "denouncing any faith is not acceptable in Islam", he also made it clear that he was concerned that "character assassination of Muslims scholars and leaders is getting very widespread".

What makes a martyr? The wave of arrests of British Muslims suspected of plotting to destroy passenger jets over the Atlantic again raises the question posed af....

Ware also found that Ahl-e-Hadith, another another affiliate of the MCB - it has 41 branches across Britain - took a very hostile attitude. "Be different from the Jews and Christians," its website advised. "Their ways are based on sick or deviant views concerning their societies... imitating the Kuffaar [a derogative term for non-Muslims] leads to a permanent abode in hellfire."

Yet Sir Iqbal Sacranie, the former general secretary of the MCB, was surprisingly reluctant to condemn Ahl-e-Habdith, saying it was part of the "diversity... of the Muslim community in the UK... it may be an objectionable view, but the fact is that it exists within the community".

Sir Iqbal has also been very reluctant to condemn the claim, made by many of the more extremist Muslim preachers, that the "War on Terror" is actually a "War on Islam". Ware put it to him that it was his "responsibility, as leader of the Muslim community in effect in Britain ... to disabuse the Muslim population of Britain of the notion that, whatever is going on in Iraq, it is not a war against Islam". Sir Iqbal replied that "in terms of the motives ... nobody knows about it, we don't know about it".

Notoriously, Abdullah Jamal, who exploded a bomb on July 7, 2005, which killed 26 people on the Piccadilly Line, attended the Grand Mosque in Leeds. Although one imam there, Shayk Muhammed Taher, has condemned 7/7, some of his sermons have stated explicitly that "the war on terror is, in truth, a war on Islam".

The British Government, which has given the MCB almost pounds 150,000 over the past two years, continues to fund and aid Muslim groups that seem equivocal in their condemnation of terrorism. For example, last month, the Foreign Office funded a conference in Istanbul, flying 180 leaders from Europe, Egypt and Saudi Arabia to the city, and putting them up in a luxury hotel. The conference did produce an unequivocal condemnation of terrorism - one which stated that terrorism was "in direct contravention to the principles of Islam".

But it also featured Muslim clerics such as Dr Yusuf Qaradawi. Qaradawi is famous for insisting: "We must plant the love of death in the Islamic nation." He also supports <u>Hamas</u>'s suicide bomb attacks on Israel, which he does not classify as terrorism, but as "resistance". He is a leading member of the Muslim Brotherhood, which states that: "The Prophet is our leader. The Koran is our law. Jihad is our way. Dying in the way of Allah is our highest hope."

It hardly needs stating that most British Muslims condemn terrorism unequivocally. When The Sunday Telegraph sampled British Muslims in London and in High Wycombe last week, we found them all united in the conviction that terrorism "had nothing to do with Islam... People who kill innocent <u>women</u> and children are hated by Muslims."

Mahboob Hussein, who sits on High Wycombe's local council, insisted: "Every Muslim has a duty and responsibility to work with the police to stop such atrocities as could have happened if the police and intelligence services had not been so prompt in their actions on Thursday."

Saira Khan, who appeared on the television show The Apprentice, spoke for many Muslims in the UK when she wrote last week that: "I am tired of being represented by men with beards and <u>women</u> in the hejab. I believe you can wear Western clothing and even sit in a pub, and still be a good Muslim... It's about time that the moderate Muslim community woke up to the radicalisation that has been happening to British Muslims for the past 15 years, and started to do something about it."

Load-Date: August 13, 2006



# **Bernard-Henri Levy**

The New York Times
August 11, 2006 Friday
The New York Times on the Web

Copyright 2006 The New York Times Company

Section: Section; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg.; Questions For . . .

Length: 2513 words

# **Body**

Bernard-Henri Levy, a French philosopher and writer, is the author, most recently, of American Vertigo: Traveling America in the Footsteps of Tocqueville" and an essay in The Times Magazine about Israel and Lebanon. He recently answered readers' questions about the current state of the Mideast conflict.

Q. 1. Why do you only paint your story from the point of view of Israelis? Why do you assume that Hezbollah is an organization that is not wanted by the people of Lebanon, if they provide services, have elected representatives, and are the only ones able to defend their country? Cornelius Diamond, La Jolla, Calif.

A. Three questions in one, dear Cornelius. First, why the Israeli viewpoint? Because only the other viewpoint is seen and I do not like conformism, much less injustice. In other words, it's okay to criticize Israel and debate the strategy adopted by the military command, which is not necessarily the right one. But-a little equity, please let one begin by listening to what Israelis say and looking at what they are enduring: that's what I did in this reporting. Next: Isn't Hezbollah "wanted by the people of Lebanon"? Don't they "provide services" and "have elected representatives"? Yes, of course, there is no dispute about this, but since when would that be contradictory with the fact of being totalitarians and even perfect fascists? Wasn't Hitler even though it's not comparable democratically elected? Didn't Mussolini provide the Italian people every possible service? Indeed, isn't that in a general way the precise definition of fascist populism? Things get complicated with your third question and the idea that the people of Hezbollah are "the only ones able to defend their country." I hope you are joking! For in truth Hezbollah has been bleeding Lebanon and has literally taken it hostage and taken its own people hostage, turning them into human shields with mind-boggling cynicism a bizarre way to "defend" a country.

Q. 2. Why do you say "Inevitable War"? It is inevitable and endless because of your attitude. How do you feel about committing Israel to endless war? Mark Ravitz, Santa Barbara, Calif.

A. I do not say "endless." I say "inevitable," which does not at all mean the same thing as "endless." And I say "inevitable" for the simple reason that Hezbollah, and thus Iran, have decided on it. The arsenal on the Israeli border, the bunkers, tunnels and missile launchers, this entire offensive apparatus predicated on, as clearly proclaimed by Iran, the will to "wipe Israel off the map" means precisely that: one day or another, war - a war that Israel did no more than anticipate, for it knew that in a year or two such a war would be yet more difficult, yet more costly in lives, and yet more uncertain for an Israel threatened in its very existence. Forgive me for insisting on "threatened in its very existence," but that is what is at issue. And herein lies the difference between this war and a war linked to the Palestinian question. The latter would have the practical goals of war, and were Israel to come to some kind of agreement with its adversaries on the settlement of the Palestinian question, war would be avoided.

#### Bernard-Henri Levy

Hezbollah's war, on the other hand, is a war of a new kind, which no longer has any real tie to the Palestinian question or any concrete question whatsoever, and on that account is a war that I wish to say is non-negotiable.

Q. 3. Very simply, I have always wanted to know why the moderate Muslim voices have not been screaming full throttle against the fanatical stranglehold of these Islamic fascists? Is it really fear for their own safety, do they agree with there radical brethren, do they have any power to reign in the terrorists who threaten the entire planet? Many thanks for a clear and brilliantly written article. Anita Bensabat, Montreal, Quebec

A. There certainly is fear. There is the fact that a moderate Muslim or, worse, a secular Muslim is someone who is genuinely in mortal danger in some countries. Look at the number of Arab intellectuals and intellectuals in the Asian Islamic world who at the time of the Rushdie affair felt immediate solidarity with their English colleague but could not or did not dare say it! That's the reason, moreover, that it's so important for us Westerners to proclaim our solidarity with moderate Islam loud and clear, with this Enlightened Islam that does not dare declare itself in the face of the ambiant terror. For those Muslims who are faithful to this kind of Islam and do battle on the front lines, so to speak, against criminal fundamentalism, our support is vital. It is one of the last reasons they have for not falling into despair.

There's something else as well. It's the eternal rivalry between what in France we call the Girodins and the Montagnards, the moderates and the hardliners, the partisans of compromise and the apostles of violence or simply of radicality. We have known since 1789 that it is the latter who most often defeat the former. We know that there is a frightful prestige associated with the radical spirit. More precisely: we know that there is a terrible seductiveness, an ideologial and symbolic advantage, that goes with the Montagnard spirit. That, I think, is what is happening in the Muslim world today.

- Q. 4. It's clear that you believe Israel is at a crossroads, as it begins to see a new threat to its very existence unveil itself. I think that the Iranians should be credited for their incredible honesty. If your enemies wish to annihilate you, it's good to know that for a fact. My question to you is whether you believe Europe will at some point in the near future realize that it isn't only Israel that now finds itself at a crossroads, but the entire world? When I read that Mr Zapatero was overheard saying he understands why the Nazis did what they did to the Jews, I despair. But setting leaders with no backbone like Mr. Zapatero aside, what will the brighter minds of Europe do? James Basman, San Francisco, Calif.
- A. You are absolutely right. This war is not Israel against Hezbollah, but the democracies against neototalitarianism and, in particular, an Iran which is trying to take ideological and political leadership over it. That's what makes the war so important and makes it so crucial, for everyone, that Israel win or at least not come out of it weakened. This is what I meant at the beginning of my article when I evoked the Spanish Civil War. A war as a general rehearsal. A war where all must be done so that it not be for our generation what the Spanish Civil War was for our elders.
- Q. 5. I am struck by a common thread now emerging in reporting, that Hezbollah and similar movements feed upon shared feelings of anger and humiliation. There are thousands of references online and in print, many pointing out that such Muslim feelings are key to the rise of Islamic Fascism and Iranian President Ahmadinejad's call for Israel to be wiped off the map. Do you think this is correct? Janet Haigh, St. John, U.S. Virgin Islands

A. I am rather dubious when it comes to this longstanding, recurrent explanation in terms of Arab humiliation. Or, let's accept it on the condition of adding that Germans in the 1930s also felt humiliated (by the Treaty of Versailles). And on the condition of adding that that did not excuse, so far as I know, Nazism! For indeed there lies the problem, namely, the ulterior motives of people who tell us about humiliation and put it at the source of the fascism of Muslim inspiration. Someone who is humiliated has an excuse for what he does. Someone who is humiliated is only half guilty of his crimes. He is pitied not condemned. Now, Arab or Muslim fascism deserves, in my view, to be condemned just like any other fascism. It is, moreover, what Arabs themselves are expecting from us. It's what the antifascists of the Arab and Muslim world-and they are numerous-are hoping for. They, of all people, know that this discourse of humiliation is a red herring and an evasion of the real problems. See Paul Berman's theses. It's all there.

- Q. 6. Do you, as an intellectual in France, feel that you are afforded more credibility in speaking out and writing in support and understanding of Israel than other Jews who seem rather too intimidated by French anti-Semitism to speak out and be visible in French society? Deidre Waxman, Newton, Mass.
- A. I don't even understand what you are saying! For me, anti-Semitism is a form of terrorism and the very idea of letting myself be intimidated by any terrorism whatsoever completly horrifies me. Jewish or non-Jewish, intellectuals must speak out. Jewish or non-Jewish, they have a duty to truth. And, conversely, to tell them-or tell oneself-"A Jew has, because a Jew, a duty to reticence" would be to give into anti-Semitic terrorism. Not my style. I want to add that my defense of Israel is not so closely tied as you perhaps think to the fact that I am Jewish. There is an element of that, of course. But it is certainly not the essential. I defend Israel because I defend democracy. I defend Israel because I have a horror of all fascisms. I defend the Israelis in this war as in the past I have defended other peoples who have nothing to do with Judaism. Bosnia, for example. The Bosnian Muslims whom I defended, I believe, with no less ardor or passion.
- Q. 7. Yesterday, at a bat mitzvah, I was discussing the war with fellow peaceniks who had just returned from visiting their in Israel. What struck me was how confused they were about the war. That was the word they used, confused, to describe their feelings of ambivalence. No longer could they feel that Israel should put down its weapons. They felt conflicted because of the real threat from Iran. But my question as a child psychiatrist, a pacifist, and a Jew is: what about the effects, on both sides, on generations to come? Will we ever be able to have children, both Israel and Arab, grow up without trauma? My concern is that the traumatization leads to fear of, and therefore hatred of, the Other, so that future violence is guaranteed. How can we stop this cycle without putting Israel at risk of annihilation? Celeste Wiser, M.D., Napa, Calif.
- A. Everyone is "confused." Inevitably "confused." If only because this is a war of a new kind that is led by a historical actor that is itself different from what we have known in the past. Take a look at Hezbollah. It has the strength of a State without being a State. It has all the advantages of a terrorist State while simultaneously having the workings of a criminal NGO of the al Qaeda-type. In other words, its organization, including its military strategies and tactics, constitutes a relatively unprecedented synthesis. And that is inevitably disorienting.
- Q. 8. Has this war tipped the balance of European sympathy more to the Israeli side? Are people there preparing themselves for the possibility of a much larger conflict? Joshua Salafsky, Burlingame, Calif.
- A. This war is a bit like the developing solution used in the old darkrooms. At first the image is blurry. Pale and blurry. And then the shadows, contours, tints and half-tints, and contrasts gradually emerge, and the latent image that was seen without being seen is suddenly revealed and fixed. That's what is happening at this moment. Whether regarding the nature of Hezbollah; the state of moral and political corruption of a largely Hezbollized Lebanon; Iran and its geopolitical game and nuclear ambitions; or the slipping of moderate Islam toward fundamentalist Islam and, within this, at the heart of this sectarian international in the making, the slipping of the Arab zone of Islam toward the Asian, or Indo-European, zone where Iran aspires to be the hegemonic power-this war functions as a magnifier and revealer. At least, I hope so.
- Q. 9. I'd be interested in your view on a couple of issues: The confusion of the American/Israeli identities in France in light of rising anti-semitism, the interchangeable use of "Jew" and "Israeli" in the French media, the difference between the words "colon" in French and "settler" in English, and lastly your views on the difference between the representation of this "new" conflict in the French European and American medias. Don Device, Paris, France
- A. As with the media, I do not want to globalize. Contrary to the impression sometimes given by the American press, neither public opinion nor the political class in France is globally anti-Semitic. There are some limits that are being breached, to be sure. And there is a certain loosening of speech that one didn't feel ten or twenty years ago. It can even be said that we are witnessing in France as elsewhere the construction of a new anti-Semitic machinery based on the three pillars of anti-Zionism, historical revisionism, and the obsessive competition over victim status. But it cannot be said that France has for all that become a country unlivable for Jews. It cannot be said that the country's political institutions have yielded in the face of pressure. Quite the contrary. And I would even add that this mechanism I am speaking of, this new machinery, this way of saying that Jews are guilty of (1) supporting the

#### Bernard-Henri Levy

"criminal State" of Israel, (2) exaggerating the degree of their suffering through an alleged "religion of the Shoah," and (3) blocking, through their own tears and grief, the attention that the tears and grief of other peoples deserve-all this, I want to stress, you find in the United States at least as much as in France. That's right!

Q. 10. I wonder what impact you think <u>women</u>'s voices and feminism in its multiple forms have on the way our modern cultures are facing the terrorist/facist rage of Iran/Syria/Hezbollah/<u>Hamas</u>. Do you think their rage against "democracy," "the west," and "Jews" for all of these are in fact diverse and multiple is at all connected to how they view <u>women</u>? Freedom of choice? Dialogue? I do not mean this to be a simplistic question. Somehow, in the words of war and peace throughout time, but especially post-911, I see some connections. Jodi Tharan, California

A. Obviously yes. The question of <u>women</u> is at the heart of the problem. It is there, if I dare say, negatively in the sense that the hatred of <u>women</u> has always been at the heart of all the fascisms, including this fascism in particular (the phobia toward the feminine and its supposed impurity, the sexual panic, the fear of actual <u>women</u>: consider Mohammed Atta, the other 9/11 terrorists, or my portrait of Omar Sheikh, the organizer of Daniel Pearl's kidnapping). And it is easy to deduce that this question has an importance in the positive sense as well, in that <u>women</u> can be, and often are, a factor of resistance. Consider the democratization of Morocco: it happens via family laws and the rights that King Mohammed VI has courageously given <u>women</u>. Consider Algeria and the role that <u>women</u> played in the 90s in the resistance to the religious fanatics of the Islamic Salvation Front and the Armed Islamic Group. Consider the heroism of Afghan and Pakistani <u>women</u>.

http://www.nytimes.com

# **Graphic**

Photo (Photo by Alexis Duclos/Polaris)

Load-Date: August 12, 2006

**End of Document** 



St. Petersburg Times (Florida)

May 13, 2006 Saturday

0 Edition

Copyright 2006 Times Publishing Company All Rights Reserved

Section: NATIONAL; Pg. 13A

Length: 2591 words

## **Body**

Re: Florida's insurance solution: free puppies for everyone! by Howard Troxler, May 9.

We are one of the thousands of homeowners who are being dropped by our homeowner insurance company, and the company's reason is "reducing exposure to catastrophic hurricanes." We have filled out forms on the Internet to help us "find" a company willing to insure us. Either Florida, or Pinellas County, is red-flagged because reply after reply says they are sorry they cannot cover us at this time!

We are so frustrated with the insurance industry! Citizens Property Insurance will charge us \$3,500! We have never had to file a claim because we take care of our property, especially during the hurricane season.

We think one solution to this insurance fiasco should be that a company cannot drop you if you've never filed a claim no matter where you live. Also, those homeowners who abuse their insurance by filing frivolous claims constantly should be forced to be put into Citizens and pay those ridiculous premiums!

Pat Przyojski, St. Petersburg

Make sure companies can do the job

Re: Florida's insurance solution: free puppies for everyone! by Howard Troxler.

My question is what have the insurance companies done in other states with recurring natural disasters? In California there are mud slides and fires. Kansas, Oklahoma, etc. have tornadoes. There are snowstorms in the North and flooding in Louisiana.

These natural events sometimes occur annually at high costs to insurers for payoffs and to property owners for higher premiums. That is the process, I believe.

A lot of money is made and so far from what I've read, all these disasters do is lower the companies' profit margin. Which of course is unacceptable. What should be legislated is the financial ability to withstand such events without closing the office doors and leaving property owners in the cold having to scramble for aid from the state and federal authorities.

Before you can be licensed as a carrier in this state you should have the resources to cover what your customers pay you for. Let's at least try to ensure that the people we allow to perform such a vital service are capable of providing that service.

John M. Fonseca, Oldsmar

Immigration policies are sickening

I am literally becoming ill over the disintegration of our immigration policies. I am watching my country implode. Reportedly the flow of illegal immigrants from Mexico has increased, because the Mexicans sense that amnesty is a done deal. All they have to do is be here in our country, regardless of method of entry or status, and they believe they will be given citizenship without ever earning it.

Now it has been rumored that the gallant efforts of our undermanned Minutemen volunteers are being thwarted by some of our own U.S. agents who are giving the Mexicans information as to the positions of said volunteers, thereby abetting the Mexicans in the illegal act of crossing into America.

Where is it all going to end, and why in the world are we kowtowing to the president of Mexico? We are aware of the billions of dollars that are being sent to his country and what impact that has on the state of Mexico's economy, but that is a problem he should be striving to correct in his homeland and not by leeching off those funds that are exiting my country.

Neither the Republicans nor the Democrats have demonstrated the will to correct these absurd policies and uphold the laws of the land. Enforcement against those employers who are hiring cheap illegal labor to their greedy advantage is nonexistent. They are the magnet that continues to draw illegals across the border and it is time they be degaussed. This do-nothing Congress needs to be purged!

Orfeo Trombetta, Seminole

Put an end to remittances

Re: Work here, send the money home, May 10.

Some \$40-billion a year (not including the uncounted remittances) is being sucked out of our economy and reinserted into the economies of other nations, including many in Latin America. Immigration and Customs Enforcement needs to put a stop to this.

Mexico has oil, silver, tourism and agriculture to sustain itself. The Mexicans can afford to eliminate their poverty. Using the United States to do that task for them is an act of war.

Taking out \$40-billion a year? Attila and his Huns would be envious. Republicans should press President Bush to act forcefully or they will lose in November.

Miguel Berreradad, Tampa

Audacious extractions

Re: Work here, send the money home.

What audacity! Billions of dollars are being ripped out of our country by illegal aliens sending out remittances, and we're supposed to believe it's okay because some hotshot professor at a prestigious university says so?

If anybody believes that poppycock, I've got the Brooklyn Bridge to sell them .

Timothy Gagnon, Clearwater

Leaders have let us down

I can't make it any clearer to all Americans when I say that these idiots we all have elected to run our country have let us down and have been only interested in remaining in Washington on their ego trips and in financial paradise.

They have refused to face our oil and energy problems, our immigration problems and our national debt problems. They have abandoned the middle class. These problems are so immense that correcting them is almost impossible.

I believe that a mammoth backlash would shame them by actually voting them out, setting a precedent and starting anew with patriots instead of politicians. However, most Americans are puppets for their party, right or wrong.

Roy L. Schand, Pinellas Park

Let's have no more of Harris

Re: Katherine Harris.

Please institute a news blackout on this woman. She is a big reason our country is in the terrible shape it's in, and the voters are going to reward her for this by refusing to vote for her. I am tired of looking at her bad-taste clothes and overly made-up face.

This should not be hard for you to do. You did it to Ralph Nader. Enough already with her. Even her own party hates her. Consign her to oblivion.

Susan Ham, Dunedin

Stop the ridicule

I've written before about your poison-pen columns and editorials on Katherine Harris. Now I see in the Thursday Times that you are switching to "poison photos" as well as an editorial on this "terribly flawed" candidate. Rather than ridiculing Harris, let us readers have some facts and information on why you call her a "flawed candidate."

Your published photo of Harris with her arms outstretched looks pretty typical to me of when someone feels a few drops of rain. If you remember, on Tuesday morning we had a few showers, so perhaps Harris felt a few drops coming down. You could compliment her on her nice smile while perhaps getting a little wet.

Charles E. Macneill, Crystal River

Change the seats of power

A front-page story on May 4 about the last days of the Florida legislative session was highlighted with a picture of two legislators "at work" in Tallahassee, listening while a bill was read. They both seemed to be comfortably enveloped in oversized padded leather chairs.

The picture unintentionally captured the reason why some politicians acquire an unpopular reputation for being part of bureaucratic waste. While watching a televised Pinellas School Board meeting, I noticed that the board members, too, sit in large leather chairs.

Would our politicians work more efficiently if their chairs had a leaner design? Form follows function.

Jill Rommel, Oldsmar

'Jury' could be in for a fall

Re: Work is paean to democracy, May 11.

I was so happy to see that Pinellas County has \$90,000 to spend on giant steel chairs that are supposed to be art.

If, as the "artist" suggests, people "climb all over them," it will only be a matter of time until someone falls off and gets hurt. It would be ironic if a piece of "art" called Face the Jury causes the people who spent our tax money on it to "face the jury" in a lawsuit!

Jerry Pell, St. Petersburg

Evidence of excess

Re: Work is paean to democracy, May 11.

The next time our Pinellas County leaders want to raise our taxes, I will remember the \$90,000 spent on those red chairs.

Jim Callaway, Largo

Beware the false prophets

Re: Churches aim to debunk "Da Vinci" May 9.

I read with interest this article about the movie The Da Vinci Code. I can understand why churches would try to educate their flocks to the truth, but what I cannot understand is why it is necessary in the first place. Why any Christians already deeply rooted in their Christian faith and abreast of the "signs of the times" would even consider exposing themselves to things like The Da Vinci Code or The Gospel Of Judas defies all spiritual logic.

"False prophets will arise in great numbers and mislead many" (Matthew 24:11).

Len Vivolo, New Port Richey

There are threats more real

Re: The Da Vinci Code

People are so concerned over this movie. Don't they understand that it is just a work of fiction, and as such, its main objective is entertainment? It seems to me that these same Christian critics should be as aware of situations in real life as they are with movie plots. Case in point, Scientology buys into Plant City ... (April 14)."

As a Christian I am more concerned with a "religious cult" that stealthily takes over cities, towns and government in its attempt to preach its false doctrine.

Tom Hanks and The Da Vinci Code to challenge or change religious history? No more than Tom Hanks and Forrest Gump challenged or changed American history.

Now a real box office hit would be "Forrest Gump to Run for Florida Senator." Oh, wait...

Dave Ware, Oldsmar

Accentuate the positive

Re: Churches aim to debunk "Da Vinci."

Why? It's a story! It was written to entertain, just like any novel. How can you debunk something that isn't true? There are a lot of books in the marketplace that sound reasonably true. They make their stand and then disappear. Let this book follow that path.

I think the ministers in this town have a lot more on their plates than they can handle now. Let's pick something positive and push it to new heights. We have bad influences in our midst that need eliminating and go unaddressed. These ministers should concentrate on the truths they know and preach to those who are not familiar with these truths.

Taking a line from an old song: Let's accentuate the positive and eliminate the negative.

Hartley Steeves, Tampa

Of movies and Moussaoui

This concerns two letters on your May 6 Opinion page. First, in Film's profiting is unseemly, the writer bemoans the fact that someone is making money from a film whose subject is 9/11. Has this person completely forgotten the large number of films done on the Holocaust, the two world wars, or the Vietnam War, all of which involved the death of a large number of innocents? Should none of these films have been made? I think they all serve to educate those who come after, and this film is no exception.

And the writer of the second letter, An unsavory expense, doesn't want to foot the bill to incarcerate the terrorist Zacarias Moussaoui. It takes more of our tax dollars to execute someone than it does to imprison him for life. Besides, death is what Moussaoui wanted, so he could realize his dream of martyrdom. Personally, I'm glad he was denied his dream. I hope he goes "cage crazy" in prison, before dying in silent anonymity.

Sandra Furey, St. Petersburg

Iranian's letter was an opening

Re: Surprise letter from Iran gets cool reception from Washington; May 9.

Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice dismissed the letter from the Iranian president, but at this point, it doesn't matter what is in the letter or what was left out of it. The letter serves as an invitation for direct communication between the leaders of the two nations. I would hope George W. Bush could hold his own on this one.

Iranian leaders believe they have a right to build nuclear facilities that could be used to build a nuclear weapon (a position I also take).

Bush and Rice take issue with being spoken to about history, religion and philosophy by the letter's writer. But why? Those topics should be a part of any communications between the two countries. They are a few of the reasons we have such poor relations today.

Since Bush and Rice are so quick in dismissing things, I pray they will be as quick in dismissing any notions of attacking, invading or otherwise sending our servicemen and <u>women</u> into Iran. They should have been as quick in dismissing the notion of going into Iraq.

Bobby McGill, Valrico

A challenge for the president

Re: Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's letter to President Bush.

After my close reading of the 18-page letter written by the Iranian president to our president, I became convinced that this letter was not a personal attack as I had heard, but rather a challenge for President Bush.

The letter was centered around religion, and it challenged our president's Christian values, and even the entire country's. Ahmadinejad called into question the war in Iraq, the establishment and support of Israel, the oppression of Latin Americans and Africans, the handling of the Sept. 11 attacks, and lack of aid for our own citizens in poverty.

Ahmadinejad claims that Bush's policies and actions overseas and at home contradict Christian values, repeatedly asking, "How can these actions be reconciled with the tradition of Jesus Christ?" In the end Ahmadinejad recognizes that "All divine religions share and respect one word, and that word is monotheism, or belief in one God, and no other in the world." Ahmadinejad urges Bush to "return to the teachings of prophets" such as Moses and Jesus. By this Ahmadinejad hopes that Bush will move toward peace and away from war and deceit.

I do not agree with all of Ahmadinejad's accusations, but I do not find this an attack on Bush. Rather I applaud President Ahmadinejad. This letter may be an opening to new diplomacy between the United States and Iran, possibly with the entire world. Ahmadinjad has peacefully expressed his wishes for peace, and opened up a whole new playing field for diplomacy in which we all share something, monotheism, and a desire for peace.

James Lewis, Clearwater

Underscore terrorism faced by Israelis

Re: U.S. backs new Palestinian program, May 10.

Starting at paragraph six of this 10-paragraph article, it tells of the Israeli military intercepting more than a half-ton of TNT being shipped from Egypt to the Gaza Strip by boat.

Needless to say, this story buried within an entirely different story warrants more attention than just some insignificant mention suggesting a minor event. It is apparent that this captured TNT was going to be used in some way against Israelis and was probably condoned by the *Hamas*-led government of the Palestinians.

I believe your readers should be made more aware of how the Israelis have to live with a daily fear of terrorism supported by a government elected by a people who somehow do not get it. The people accept the responsibility for the government they elect, and they alone are the only ones who can change it. Humanitarian aid is essential, but so is responsible leadership.

Jesse Starr, Tampa

A wonderful outlook on life

I had recently mentioned to a friend how sad it is to pick up a paper like the wonderful St. Petersburg Times and read nothing but sad stories about crime and war.

Then I looked at the front page of the May 8 Times and saw the beautiful article about Lee Williams Jr. (He lost everything, but found a voice.) I was touched to tears.

I am a poet and in the International Poetry Hall of Fame, but nothing can exceed the wonderful outlook on life that Lee Williams has. I wish him the very best his whole life through.

Alma W. Hudson, Clearwater

# **Graphic**

PHOTO, JOHN PENDYGRAFT; PHOTO, CHERIE DIEZ

Load-Date: May 13, 2006

**End of Document** 



# WAR CAPITALISM; Vladimir Putin sends the nation to the front

What the Papers Say Part A (Russia)

May 12, 2006 Friday

Copyright 2006 Agency WPS All Rights Reserved

Section: PRESS EXTRACTS;; No. 82

Length: 2731 words

Byline: Konstantin Smirnov, Rustem Faliakhov

**Highlight:** The highlights of President Putin's address to parliament; For the seventh time, President Vladimir Putin has delivered his annual address to the federal parliament. In effect, he declared mobilization. At one time, Russia

had war communism - and now Putin is working on war capitalism.

# **Body**

For the seventh time, President Vladimir Putin has delivered his annual address to the federal parliament. In effect, he declared mobilization. At one time, Russia had war communism - and now Putin is working on war capitalism.

"Delivered" is a dull, formal term. What took place in the Marble Hall of the Kremlin's 14th Wing on May 10 should be described in entirely different words: a theater with more than one player. Putin's performance was a solo, of course. But a supporting actor also emerged: Deputy Prime Minister and Defense Minister Sergei Ivanov. He permitted himself to prompt Putin, out loud, with the most important word in Russia: "love." This interplay between the two of them suggests that the supporting actor may soon aspire to the leading role.

#### Mobilization

Evolution is unstoppable. It all began in 2003, with the arrest of Mikhail Khodorkovsky. That marked the start of Putinomics. Its distinguishing feature is reliance on the state. That's the difference between the Putin era and the Yeltsin era, when the situation was reversed. Having started by strengthening the state, however, Putin then broke several taboos, one after another. First: restoring social justice should not be to the detriment of private property. Second: the state should not replace private enterprise; its task is to establish conditions in which private companies can operate successfully. But Putin's approach is different. He knows only one way of solving the problems Russia faces: strengthening the state. Deep down, he still believes in the presumption of guilt for big business (his KGB years have left their mark). In the address, he repeated that "some" members of the business community "disregarded both laws and ethics in favor of enriching themselves at the expense of the majority of citizens, to an extent unprecedented in our country's history."

Mobilization for tycoons has been declared. In effect, their fortunes are being placed outside the law. Although Putin included the proviso that he will "support Russian business," he included a warning for billionaires and state officials or bureaucrats "of all ranks" (the final warning, apparently). "The state shall not turn a blind eye to their activities if they derive unlawful benefits from special relationships with each other." Such relationships are called corruption. But definitions are beside the point here. In effect, Putin identified corruption's main culprits: ex-oligarchs.

Then again, they aren't the only targets. Also under the gun are those who should be able to fire it: security and law enforcement agencies, federal and regional ministers, other bureaucrats, and even demographers.

#### Duality

Still, the federal government was fortunate. Its members (no names or titles mentioned) were praised for successful efforts to comply with Putin's directive from the address of 2003: doubling GDP. "Overall, we are succeeding in this task, and over the past three years average economic growth has been right on target, around 7%." Indeed, GDP growth of just over 7% per annum would suffice to double the GDP of 2000 by 2010, or (as the government has now decided) double the GDP of 2002 by 2012. In general, it's possible to play with the numbers indefinitely. But growth rates are slowing. GDP growth for 2005 wasn't 7%, as Putin seems to thin, but 6.4%. And Economic Development Minister Herman Gref's most optimistic forecast for this year is only 6% (or perhaps only 5%).

Then again, Putin also proposed a kind of prescription for faster growth. All measures come down to this: innovation. Putin expressed support for the government's measures aimed at introducing innovations into the raw materials economy. He approves of state investment - although he did warn that investment volume isn't as important as "the ability to choose the right priorities."

It's good that Putin isn't opposed to private investment. All investment (private and state) should, in his view, help the Russian economy to "develop its potential in high-technology fields like the modern energy sector, communications, and aerospace," as well as exporting intellectual services.

Since Putin considers these sectors to be Russia's traditional strengths, he is once again setting the objective of "using them as driving forces for development." Energy and aerospace will change the structure of Russia's economy and enable it to claim "a worthy place in the global division of labor."

It's interesting to note that Putin's "modern energy sector" includes not only nuclear power, but also Gazprom. The natural gas monopoly earned some special praise for its prize-winning performance in the global capitalization race.

Another of Putin's directives is to make the ruble fully convertible from as soon as July 1. Apparently, he hopes to cure Russia of the "Dutch disease." Indeed, before 1917, the international trade in furs (Russia's equivalent of oil, at the time) was conducted in rubles. And there was no "Dutch disease." However, although Russia's economy has always relied on exporting some form of natural resources, it was never as dependent on fur exports as it is now on energy exports.

In short, doubling GDP would only be detrimental for an economy of this kind.

#### Children

In President Putin's view, the economy is not the most important issue (although he did speak of the need to maintain macroeconomic stability). For him, it's more important to supply the regime with future voters and soldiers.

It has to be acknowledged that Putin did this quite artistically. Even the word "demography" in his address didn't sound dull; it was surrounded by sacred words like "love," "family," "motherhood," "children." According to Putin, children will get a great deal of money. In effect, he announced a fifth national project - more costly than any of the other four. Benefit payments for mothers with one child will more than double, from 700 rubles to 1,500 rubles a month, as soon as 2007. The benefit for a second child will be 3,000 rubles a month. And that's not all. Mothers who were officially employed will receive 40% of their average income from the state for 18 months after having a child (although the government will have to set an upper limit for these payments).

President Putin maintains that it's vital for families to have more than one child. Besides providing 3,000 rubles a month for a second child (payable until the child is 18 months old), Putin promised a one-time payment of 250,000 rubles - described as "primary, basic maternity capital." Not in cash, of course. According to Putin, this money could either be invested in a mortgage or saved for a rainy day by placing it in a personal pension account. VneshEkonomBank might well be glad of these funds. As Putin admitted, this project will be very costly. Judging by his expression, Finance Minister Alexei Kudrin was astonished (to put it mildly) by the scale of federal spending involved. Nevertheless, as an executive official, he calculated how much the President's Children will cost the federal budget: 30-40 billion rubles a year. And that's not counting the "primary maternity capital."

#### WAR CAPITALISM Vladimir Putin sends the nation to the front

Putin made no mention of how these large-scale payments will affect macroeconomic indicators. The word "inflation" only appeared once in his address - when he instructed the government to index the 250,000-ruble benefit "in line with inflation." Although inflation will eat up all his national projects, including the birth-rate project, Putin doesn't seem to give a damn - after all, the government will be held accountable for everything.

#### Asymmetry

Having announced mobilization, Putin went on to specify who is Russia's enemy. The major external threat to Russia is still the terrorist threat; what's more, "opponents" are artificially promoting localized conflicts. "I know that some would greatly prefer it if Russia... couldn't achieve any of the objectives of full-fledged development," said Putin. And he explained who stands to benefit from a weak Russia: the United States, and the West in general.

With unconcealed envy, Putin pointed out that the military budget of the United States is almost 25 times greater than that of Russia: "And good for them. Good for them!" Putin's voice grew stronger and more animated: "After all, we see what is happening around the world. As the saying goes, Comrade Wolf knows whom to eat. So he eats them, not listening to anyone else, and doesn't seem inclined to start listening."

Putin called for continued efforts to ensure Russia's national security "despite the financial disparity." He gave a detailed description of how the Armed Forces should be reformed, and what kind of weaponry should be purchased, so that Russia will be feared. "Over the next five years, the strategic nuclear forces will be equipped to a substantially greater degree with modern long-range aircraft, submarines, and launch facilities for the Strategic Missile Forces."

Putin didn't miss a saber-rattling opportunity.

"Successful efforts are already under way to produced unique precision weapons systems and maneuverable warheads that will not give the potential opponent a predictable flight trajectory." In Putin's opinion, since we can't afford to spend as much as the Americans on the military, "our responses should be based on intellectual superiority: they will be asymmetric and less costly, but they will certainly make our nucler triad more reliable and effective."

By mentioning the "nuclear triad," Putin killed two birds with one stone: threatening the West and scoring points with Russian voters. Maxim Dianov, director of the Regional Studies Institute, says: "There is a great deal of public demand for the symbols of a strong state, including a powerful military." So Putin's words about strengthening the Armed Forces are sure to be a hit with the public.

Putin seems to have taken note of how the West's attitude to Russia has been changing. The Western media have already expressed displeasure about a <u>Hamas</u> delegation being invited to Moscow and Moscow's indecision with regard to Iran's nuclear program. US Vice President Dick Cheney's speech in Vilnius could be the last straw: he criticized the Russian authorities for deviating from democratic values. Russia's critics seem to have received an asymmetric response in the presidential address.

A number of observers are saying that Putin's harsh remarks about "Comrade Wolf" might make some G8 leaders decide to stay away from the July summit in St. Petersburg.

Alexei Makarkin, deputy director of the Political Techniques Center, maintains that "the West will not break off dialog with Russia - that would be strategically disadvantageous." But the G8 summit will be a formality. "They'll talk about bird flu and see the sights in St. Petersburg," says Makarkin. "This conclusion is prompted by the address itself, since President Putin has aimed to reduce the level of expectations regarding the summit."

Vladimir Putin's address: the greatest hits

"What is the most important issue for us? The Defense Ministry knows what the most important issue is. Indeed, we shall speak about love, **women**, and children. About the family."

#### WAR CAPITALISM Vladimir Putin sends the nation to the front

"Millions of people held great hopes when the changes of the early 1990s began, but neither government nor business lived up to those hopes. What's more, some members of those communities disregarded both laws and ethics in favor of enriching themselves at the expense of the majority of citizens, to an extent unprecedented in our country's history."

"It's high time to stop managing nationwide construction of schools, bath-houses, and sewers from Moscow."

"There is a potential threat with regard to production and proliferation of low-powered nuclear weapons. What's more, the media and expert circles are already discussing plans to use ICBMs with non-nuclear warheads. The launch of such a missile could provoke an inappropriate response from nuclear powers, up to and including a full-scale retaliatory strike using strategic nuclear forces."

"All that pathos about the need to fight for human rights and democracy - wherever does it vanish when the talk turns to the need to pursue one's own interests? When it comes to that, it turns out that everything is permitted, no limits apply."

"After all, we see what is happening around the world. We see it. As the saying goes, Comrade Wolf knows whom to eat. So he eats them, not listening to anyone else, and doesn't seem inclined to start listening."

Is President Putin playing at war?

Yuri Glotser, vice president of the Entrepreneur Protection Federation: "He isn't playing at war, but attempting to reorganize the military, making it more combat-capable and professional. President Putin's actions are aimed at the quality of service in the military, not just getting through a compulsory period of military service. In order to make a soldier professional, it is necessary to reinforce material foundations as well as patriotic emotions. All armed forces in the West use this principle, so I don't believe President Putin is thinking up some sort of special Russian military."

Yevgeny Yasin, research director, Higher School of Economics: "We are seeing a certain trend toward muscle-flexing in the international arena, in imitation of the United States. The Soviet Union used to do the same kind of thing. Why did the presidential address mention that Russia's defense spending, as a fraction of GDP, is less than that of France or Britain? Their GDPs are greater than ours, but we have set ourselves the task of doubling GDP, or quintupling it - in order to make our international standing mean more than the quantity of our weapons. Yes, rearmament and strengthening the Armed Forces is a relevant task. But our primary tasks today involve economic growth and making Russia more competitive - and we have some unique opportunities to do so at present. So we shouldn't scatter our energies across all kinds of military objectives or excessive social security guarantees. And there is some danger of that, due to the heady aroma of oil."

Eduard Vorobiev, reserve colonel-general: "President Putin isn't playing at war, but the state of affairs in the military is such that declarations in support of the Armed Forces aren't enough: some practical steps need to be taken to get the Armed Forces out of their present condition. Yes, the situation in the military is somewhat better than it was five or six years ago. But morale and the psychological climate remain low, and the human factor has been neglected. Continuing to say that the president and the government support the Armed Forces, while not taking any practical steps - that amounts to undermining the credibility of the president and the government. What President Putin said in his address to parliament gives me hope that the situation in the military will improve."

Nikita Belykh, Union of Right Forces leader: "It's hard to argue with the idea that two-thirds of Armed Forces personnel should be serving under contract by 2008. Yes, there should be civil oversight for inreased spending on Armed Forces development - but can the 'civilian' Defense Ministry provide such oversight? Spending on the Armed Forces is already a substantial item in the federal budget, and it's not a question of how much - it's a question of effective spending. Our defense budget is a kind of mystery box, since it's impossible to determine how effectively the money is spent."

Anatoly Lukianov, former chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR (the Soviet Union's last parliament), now chairman of the Central Advisory Council for the Communist Party's Central Committee: "No, in this case President Putin is not playing at war. Some very important issues have been raised, and there is indeed a huge disparity

#### WAR CAPITALISM Vladimir Putin sends the nation to the front

between defense spending in the United States and in Russia. The Yeltsin regime did indeed destroy the military to a substantial degree, and Putin is right to be outraged about that - recalling that there weren't enough suitable troops to send to Chechnya. The president has to be concerned about that situation, as the public in general is concerned about it. And the people are somewhat nostalgic for the time when the Soviet Union used to flex its muscles, so to speak. If the president wishes to express the people's opinion, and considers it necessary, he does express it."

Source: Gazeta, May 11, 2006, pp. 1, 6-7

Translated by Elena Leonova

**Load-Date:** May 12, 2006

**End of Document** 



What the Papers Say Part A (Russia)

April 25, 2006 Tuesday

Copyright 2006 Agency WPS All Rights Reserved

Section: PRESS EXTRACTS;; No. 73

Length: 2706 words

Byline: Andrei Soldatov, Irina Borogan

**Highlight:** Suicide bombers, the global jihad, and the situation in Chechnya; An analysis of how the role played by Al-Qaeda in the Caucasus has changed over the years. Compiled by experts from the Institute of Defense and

Security Studies (Singapore) and Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies (Israel).

# **Body**

All experts agree that Al-Qaeda's presence in any given region is signified by public beheading of hostages, terrorist attacks on Western targets, and the use of suicide bombers (shakhids).

All this is evident in Iraq. Experts at the IDSS (Institute of Defense and Security Studies) say it will all be evident in Afghanistan as well in 2006. They point out that the Taliban wasn't exactly skillful from the military standpoint in the past, but interaction with foreigners enabled them too hone their skills. Some sources imply that Taliban activists are split into of groups 10 to 25 men each, and each group includes an Al-Qaeda member or a mercenary from the Persian Gulf countries who teaches the rest the tactics deployed in Iraq. Coordination of terrorist attacks has improved greatly as a result.

The Taliban started using suicide bombers in late 2005. These tactics were largely unknown in Afghanistan before September 11, because "istishhad" (the eagerness to become a suicide bomber) was alien to the Afghan culture. Not any more.

Beheading hostages is becoming a widespread tactic in Afghanistan. The Taliban is using these executions to emphasize its contacts with the global jihad movement.

All this is essentially absent in Chechnya. Chechen terrorists don't use suicide bombers nowadays (the most recent terrorist attacks of that kind took place in 2004), and don't attack American or British targets. Al-Qaeda leaders don't call Chechnya the third battlefield of the global jihad (after Iraq and Afghanistan). Moreover, Russian secret services have never uncovered any evidence that any act of terror in Russia was organized under Al-Qaeda's direct command.

And yet, the conflict in Chechnya retains its considerable role in propaganda for the global jihad. The Al-Qaeda suicide terrorists who hijacked passenger jets on September 11 had once intended to fight in Chechnya. These days, video recordings of battles in Chechnya are being viewed in Iraq.

In fact, experience in Chechnya is being widely used in other countries. Iraq's first suicide bomber blew herself up on September 28, 2005. Although some extremists had used <u>women</u> in this capacity in the past, it was in Chechnya that <u>women</u> first began blowing themselves up for religious rather than political motives.

The first <u>female</u> suicide bomber drove a KamAZ truck loaded with high explosives into the building of a federal forces commandant's office in Alkhan-Yurt in Chechnya in June 2000 - and that incident sparked a series of similar explosions worldwide. Israel's first <u>female</u> suicide bomber blew herself up in January 2002, and two <u>women</u> followed suit in Uzbekistan in March 2004.

However, it is highly unlikely that Al-Qaeda abandoned the actual Chechen front (not the propaganda front) only because of the absence of American military contingent there.

IDSS experts John Harrison and Rohan Gunaratna believe that Al-Qaeda is in decline nowadays. Yoram Schweitzer agrees. He maintains that Osama bin Laden's organization never succeeded in transformation from a group into a movement. Moreover, the second generation of fighters appeared in the global jihad now - from Iraq, Europe, and South Africa - and they pushed bin Laden's Afghani and Bosnian followers into the background. Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, the head of the Iraqi Al-Qaeda network, makes an emphasis on this new generation and is practically out of bin Laden's control now.

Bin Laden built his global terrorist network using Afghanistan, and al-Zarqawi is now using Iraq in the same manner. Aware of the fact that a great many Al-Qaeda ringleaders and senior officers are arrested, al-Zarqawi would not mind taking over its cells on the territory from North America to Asia.

Al-Zarqawi has enormously boosted his influence in Libya, Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt, and Persian Gulf states. Terrorist web-sites usually post information on al-Zarqawi's operations nowadays, leaving Al-Qaeda as such and bin Laden in the periphery of attention. Using his considerable skills in dealing with media outlets, al-Zarqawi is becoming the symbol of global jihad.

What information is available at this point indicates that emissaries of both structures (Al-Qaeda and al-Zarqawi's network) operated in the Caucasus until recently. Bin Laden was represented in Chechnya by Abu Omar al-Saif between 1995 and November 2005 when he was killed. Al-Zarqawi has been represented since 2002 by Abu Hafs al-Urdani.

Al-Saif of Saudi Arabia was an ideologue rather than field commander. He bears a lot of titles, all of them with religious undertones: legal advisor to Chechen mujahedin, member of the Shar'ah court, head of the Court of Appeals in Chechnya, etc. Al-Saif's opinion was not valued in the Caucasus alone.

Calling the war in Iraq "the third wave of Crusades against Muslims," al-Saif actually viewed peace as a neverending battle for the triumph of Islam. He did not really care about regional and cultural differences between Muslims from different countries.

Al-Urdani is a Jordanian. He represents al-Zarqawi and Chechen diaspora in Jordan. It is common knowledge that "Arab" Chechens have played a major role in the conflict in the Caucasus ever since 1995. The first Foreign Minister of Ichkeria Shamil Beno was a Jordanian Chechen. Zijad Sabsabi, representative of Chechnya in Moscow, was born in Syria.

US Secretary of State Colin Powell was the first to mention al-Urdani's name in his speech at the UN Security Council on February 5, 2003. It was Powell who called al-Urdani an emissary of al-Zarqawi's "terrorist network with Iraqi connections."

When Abu al-Walid was killed in Vedeno in April 2004, Al-Jazeera released a statement of the Majlis al-Shura to the effect that Abu Hafs succeeded to him as commander of foreign mujahedin in Chechnya.

Abu Hafs of Jordan became the first non-Saudi to command foreign mercenaries in Chechnya. When the school was seized in Beslan, Abu Hafs was blamed as the sponsor of the operation. By the way, the Federal Security

Service also said at first that al-Saif was involved in the Beslan attack. The investigation, however, failed to uncover any evidence of Al-Qaeda's or al-Zarqawi's involvement in the Beslan horrors on September 1-3, 2004.

In the meantime, the Jordanian's accession is hardly surprising. IDSS experts say that a new generation of foreign mercenaries is fighting in Chechnya nowadays. Mostly Arabs before 2001, they are mostly Turks and Chechens from Arab countries now.

Al-Urdani's promotion to foreign mujahedin commander may also mean a shift to new financial sources from Saudi trusts to the funds raised by organizations of Chechen diasporas.

It isn't hard to see that the influence wielded by Abu Hafs and the dead al-Saif is not a match to the influence wielded by Shamil Basayev. How the war in Chechnya should be viewed (as an element of the global jihad or as a war for independence) depends precisely on the latter.

Basayev in the meantime is not exactly logical in his statements.

He denounced any religious motives of his actions in the interview with Babitsky ran by ABC channel in July 2005. "No, this is first and foremost a war for independence for me," he said. "When I'm not free, I cannot live by my faith. I want to be free. Freedom is primary, that's what I think. Shar'ah is secondary."

In an interview with Caucasus-Center.org posted on January 9, 2006, Basayev called the attack on Nalchik "performing the duty to carry out the jihad." "Adopted at the majlis in 2002, the jihad expansion strategy is being successfully implemented," Basayev bragged. He even promised expansion of the hostilities to across the Volga in summer 2006.

Along with everything else, Basayev has been trying since last autumn to incorporate his struggle into the global jihad. The first non-Chechen video became available on Caucasus-Center.org in November 2005, the film was titled "Genocide in Indonesia." Films like that are perfect instruments of recruitment.

The so-called Caucasus Front was established in May 2005, when Aslan Maskhadov was already history and replaced with Abdul-Halim Saidullayev. It was established to organize the hostilities all over the Caucasus including Stavropol and Krasnodar. Gunmen chose guerilla tactic of attacks on military objects only, never on civilian targets. The federal forces all but accepted the rules of the game, responding with police and military measures - merciless raids, use of armored vehicles in towns, and so on. Armored vehicles have not been used in Stavropol on the scope of the operation in Tukui-Mekteb on February 6 since the capture of Budennovsk.

It follows that what gunmen are going is a war for independence on the scale of Chechnya and jihad on the scale of the Caucasus as such.

There is only one explanation possible. Al-Qaeda, the first truly global terrorist network, is putting its interests above interests of local movements. Separatists do not want foreigners attack Americans on their own territory. It interferes with their own struggle for their own political objectives: bargaining with the government, appealing to the international community, etc.

As for Al-Qaeda, its own view on political objectives is quite specific. Its spiritual guru Abdulla Azzam wrote article "Solid Basis" in April 1988 and formulated the group's central principle in it: transformation of the jihad from a means to the end. Azzam was killed, and new leaders of the organization (bin Laden, al-Zawahiri, al-Zarqawi) proved themselves perfect tacticians but weak ideologists. As a result, ideology of the group has not changed these last two decades: liberation of the Islamic world from Western-Jewish colonialism, establishment of a state by the divine laws of Islam.

That is why Al-Qaeda refused to participate in the election in Iraq and declared a war on the government of Saudi Arabia. Triumph in a single country is nothing compared to the global war on Crusaders.

All this doesn't really concur with interests of national-liberation movements. It explains Al-Qaeda's failure to penetrate the regions where local separatists are strong - first and foremost Palestine (even though the importance of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict to Islamists is undeniable).

Al-Qaeda attacks Western targets only wherever local terrorists themselves are weak - the way it was in Kenya and Tanzania.

Basayev is not going to give Chechnya over to global jihad zealots just like <u>HAMAS</u> is not going to hand Palestine over to Al-Qaeda. Basayev knows that he is not going to benefit politically or economically from it because for years already his war has been sponsored by Chechen diasporas who find the idea of a Chechen state dearer to their hearts than bin Laden's Apocalyptical ideology.

In the meantime, Basayev is eager to play the part of a "local bin Laden" for the as yet weak but promising Islamic movements of the Caucasus. In fact, he has a serious rival - al-Zarqawi's organization that may soon find itself capable of investing considerable sums in inflammation of the jihad in the Caucasus.

Paradoxical as it may appear, but the tactic of the Russian security structures is objectively playing into the hands of al-Zarqawi and Al-Qaeda. Tough response to the attack on Nalchik makes a political dialogue impossible. It means that the local Islamists have the example of their brothers in Egypt, Algeria, or Morocco to follow as the only option, and the brothers in question recognized priority of the goals of the global jihad.

\*\*

Yoram Schweitzer, an analyst at the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies (Israel). He spent ten years in Israeli army intelligence, where he headed a department dealing with international terrorism. He is a recognized authority on suicide bombers, and has interviewed failed suicide bombers in prison.

Question: Is there anything that distinguishes the use of suicide bombers by Al-Qaeda and others?

Yoram Schweitzer: Al-Qaeda's suicide bombers work in pairs. It helps terrorists, you know. It offers them support. Al-Qaeda made an emphasis on finding a pair for every terrorist used in terrorist acts including the ones on September 11. Al-Qaeda needs it to prevent would-be terrorists from thinking too much of the suicide they are about to commit. Besides, the pair lessens the discomfort of the isolation needed to keep the terrorist act a secret.

Question: But these are not the tactics used in Chechnya.

Yoram Schweitzer: If you mean the Beslan school hostage siege or the Dubrovka theater hostage-taking in Moscow, these terrorist acts required many more terrorists to be involved - just because of the size of the targets.

Question: Chechnya's suicide bombers are inactive at present. Why?

Yoram Schweitzer: The role of public opinion must be taken into consideration here. I don't think Chechen society supports suicide bombing.

Question: But it's unlikely that Chechen society would support the operation against children in Beslan more than a suicide bombing in Moscow.

Yoram Schweitzer: Correct, but there are also differences between terrorists. Al-Qaeda, for example, cares for public opinion as little as the Palestinians do.

Question: And meanwhile, propaganda materials from Chechnya are found in the possession of European Islamists.

Yoram Schweitzer: There is a difference between Palestinian suicide bombers and European Islamists. Videos of the Chechens' war on the Russians do have a considerable effect on the European youth, that's a major part of their recruitment and training. But the Palestinians do not care as they have problems of their own.

Adam Dolnick, senior instructor at the IDSS International Center of Studies of Political Violence and Terrorism (Singapore).

Question: How would you describe Al-Qaeda's presence in the Caucasus?

Adam Dolnick: Al-Qaeda does wield ideological and financial influence there, but its influence is not decisive. Basayev and his camp are purely anti-Russian, and the Chechens don't attack Western targets like terrorist groups infiltrated by Al-Qaeda throughout the world.

The absence of further suicide bombings since Beslan (there was but one attempt in Dagestan and even that was thwarted) corroborates Basayev's strategic decision to back Saidullayev's strategy of expansion of the conflict throughout the Caucasus. Should Basayev decide that it doesn't work, he may revert to using suicide bombers again.

There are fewer incidents corroborating foreign mercenaries' presence in Chechnya now, and we do not see Chechen instructors involved in other conflicts.

Reuven Paze, director of PRISM (Israeli Project of Islamic Movement Studies), ex-chief of Shabak Department of Research, one of the leading experts on Islamic ideology.

Question: Chechen guerrillas stopped using Al-Qaeda tactics after Beslan. When do you think Al-Qaeda's interest in Chechnya ebbed?

Reuven Paze: I'd say that Al-Qaeda never viewed Chechnya as a priority as a part of the global jihad. Khattab's Arab battalion came to Chechnya from Afghanistan or Bosnia in the middle of the 1990's but it was not following Al-Qaeda's orders. Al-Qaeda has never solved the ideological problem of how it should treat wars for independence like the ones in Chechnya or Palestine. I think that 2003 became a turning point for Chechnya, the period when volunteers started coming to Iraq. An emphasis on Iraq as an alternative to Afghanistan compelled Al-Qaeda to forsake its rapt attention to Chechnya. Arab volunteers go to Iraq nowadays, they are no longer interested in Chechnya. In the meantime, some Saudi Islamists like Yusef al-Ajiri [commander of the Al-Qaeda cell in Saudi Arabia and bin Laden's personal bodyguard killed in 2003 - Authors did try to view the Chechen conflict as a part of the global jihad. The impression now is, however, that Chechnya has faded into the background in Al-Qaeda's plans - at least for the time being.

Question: Can al-Zarqawi, unlike bin Laden, solve the problem of national-liberation movements Al-Qaeda cannot penetrate?

Reuven Paze: Unlike Al-Qaeda and bin Laden, al-Zarqawi is making a special emphasis on involvement in local and ethnic conflicts. His Jordanian origin may help him in establishment of contacts with Chechen Arabs.

Source: Novaya Gazeta, No. 32 (1152), April 24-26, 2006, pp. 10-11

Translated by A. Ignatkin

Load-Date: April 25, 2006



National Post (f/k/a The Financial Post) (Canada)

February 7, 2006 Tuesday

National Edition

Copyright 2006 National Post All Rights Reserved

Section: CANADA; Pg. A2

Length: 2706 words

Byline: Janice Tibbetts, Eric Beauchesne, Mike Blanchfield and Carly Weeks, CanWest News Service

# **Body**

#### GORDON O'CONNOR

Minister of National Defence

1 The new choice for Defence Minister immediately came under fire from opposition parties for his lobbyist ties.

Gordon O'Connor is an ex-general who later became a lobbyist for eight years with a major Ottawa firm, representing many companies in the military industry. On Feb. 23, 2004, Mr. O'Connor terminated his association with eight firms, including Airbus Military, a European consortium that is expected to offer up its A400 transport plane as the replacement for Canada's ageing fleet of Hercules transport planes.

Other clients included BAE Systems, an advanced military aerospace technology company; Stewart and Stevenson Services Inc., a Houston-based builder of armoured vehicles; and Alenia Marconi Systems, a European military electronics company.

Mr. O'Connor said he is not receiving any benefit from his old clients, saying, "just watch me," when asked whether he was in any conflict of interest.

He said he had no plans to recuse himself from any decisions on future government contracts that might involve old clients. "Years ago, I went and represented companies to find out what was involved in projects to advise them how to approach projects, how to bid, how to produce their documents, that sort of stuff," Mr. O'Connor said.

"No, I will not recuse myself from anything. I do not have any links to any company whatsoever."

Duff Conacher, of the public interest group Democracy Watch, said Stephen Harper made a bad choice given that a departing politician must have a cooling-off period of two years before taking a lobbyist job.

Source: Mike Blanchfield, CanWest News Service

**BEV ODA** 

Minister of Canadian Heritage and Status of **Women** 

2 Experience: Ms. Oda, first elected in 2004, is a former broadcaster who was the vice-president of CTV. The 61-year-old former schoolteacher was the heritage critic. Burning issues: Responsible for arts and cultural issues, including funding for the Canada Council for the Arts.

#### JIM PRENTICE

Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development

3 Experience: First elected in 2004, Mr. Prentice served as a commissioner on the Indian Specific Claims Commission of Canada for 10 years. Burning issues: Although Mr. Harper has promised to honour the objectives of a new \$5.1-billion deal, some native leaders remain wary of the Tories.

#### JOHN BAIRD

#### President of Treasury Board

4 Experience: A former Ontario Conservative Cabinet minister, he has experience in portfolios such as energy and social services. He also acted as the finance critic under former premier Mike Harris. Burning issues: Will assess and respond to Justice John Gomery's latest report on accountability following the sponsorship scandal.

#### MAXIME BERNIER

#### Minister of Industry

5 Experience: The newly elected Quebec City region MP and former vice-president of Standard Life of Canada holds degrees in finance and law. Burning issues: Faces a variety of challenges, including how to help the manufacturing industry, and how to wean the auto and aerospace industries off government subsidies.

#### LAWRENCE CANNON

#### Minister of Transport

6 Experience: The newly elected Quebec MP will likely draw on his experience with urban transit authorities. The 58-year-old was also a member of Quebec's National Assembly from 1985 to 1994 and served in Robert Bourassa's government. Burning issues: He will face calls for improving federal transportation infrastructure.

#### **TONY CLEMENT**

#### Minister of Health

7 Tony Clement brings intimate knowledge of federal-provincial relations to his post as Canada's new Health Minister.

A former health minister for Ontario, Mr. Clement credited the Liberals' health care accord with straightening out funding arrangements between the federal and provincial governments and said it will make negotiations easier.

"Now the issue is how do we make sure that that money is leveraged for the benefit of patients and Canadians generally," Mr. Clement said.

Mr. Clement said his top priority will be to implement the Tory election promise of working with provinces to develop nationwide guarantees on acceptable wait times for treatment. He also said he'll focus on a cancer care strategy. The Tories promised \$260-million over five years to improve cancer screening and prevention. Mr. Clement said Canada also has to prepare for the possibility of an avian flu pandemic.

Mr. Clement will have to contend with the fact Quebec and Alberta have indicated they're contemplating plans to introduce private health insurance plans.

His portfolio also includes responsibility for the Federal Economic Development Initiative for Northern Ontario.

Mr. Clement was an Ontario MPP from 1996 to 2003. He won his Parry Sound-Muskoka riding last month by 28 votes.

Source: Carly Weeks, CanWest News Service

JIM FLAHERTY

Minister of Finance

8 Tax cuts will be a top priority of newly appointed federal Finance Minister Jim Flaherty.

Immediately after the swearing-in of his new Cabinet, Prime Minister Stephen Harper said his new government will "move quickly to reduce taxes, starting with a cut to the GST."

But paying for those tax cuts and other election commitments will be one of Mr. Flaherty's major challenges, the head of the country's largest business group suggested.

"It's very good that the Minister of Finance has experience, albeit in a provincial government," said Canadian Chamber of Commerce president Nancy Hughes Anthony.

"He's got a big job pulling together the election commitments, and making that first budget is going to be the key," she said. "His experience and background is going to put him in good stead."

However, she added that it will also be important for Mr. Flaherty to work closely with newly appointed Treasury Board President John Baird, who will be in charge of federal government spending and who, through maintaining a tight grip on federal spending, holds one of the keys to keeping the Conservative platform affordable.

"To make that budget work, there's a commitment to expenditure reduction, so I think there's some teamwork going to be required," Ms. Hughes Anthony added.

Mr. Flaherty, a Greater Toronto Area lawyer, held several posts in the Ontario Conservative governments of Mike Harris and Ernie Eves, including minister of finance.

However, Mr. Flaherty dismissed concerns that he will not be able to meet the government's election commitments while still balancing the budget.

"Don't worry, we'll balance the budget," he said as he emerged from his first Cabinet meeting.

Mr. Flaherty is known for both his fiscal and his social conservatism.

Source: Eric Beauchesne, CanWest News Service

JOSEE VERNER

International Co-operation and Minister for La Francophonie and Official Languages

9 Experience: Ms. Verner, 46, is a former Speaker of the Quebec National Assembly. She has 20 years of experience in communications and public service. Burning issues: Ensuring Quebec plays an international role in UNESCO, as promised during the recent campaign.

MICHAEL FORTIER

Minister of Public Works and Government Services

10 Experience: A financing director in Quebec for TD Securities, he has worked as senior advisor at Credit Suisse First Boston. The 44-year-old lawyer ran and lost to Joe Clark for the PC leadership in 1998. Burning issues: Restoring credibility to Public Works after the sponsorship scandal.

#### **GARY LUNN**

#### Natural Resources

11 Experience: A former lawyer, mine superintendent and safety officer with a forestry company, Mr. Lunn was first elected in 1997. Burning issues: Outrage over rising gas prices has abated somewhat, but will remain a concern. Mr. Lunn will also hear from Alberta's oil giants if there is any talk of further reducing greenhouse gas emissions.

#### PETER MACKAY

#### Minister of Foreign Affairs

12 Canadians may best know the new Conservative Foreign Affairs Minister as the jilted ex-lover of defecting Liberal MP and billionaire Belinda Stronach.

But, as he heads out on the bigger stage, Peter MacKay will become Canada's face to the world, whether it is at international forums on Middle East peacebuilding or in the United States where fence-mending with Canada's closest neighbour and top trading partner will become a major preoccupation.

Mr. MacKay, 40, has no specific experience in international relations. But as a former Crown prosecutor and onetime leader of the former Progressive Conservative party, he brings both intellectual acumen as well as political sophistication to his role as Canada's leading international statesman.

"He's getting a high-profile post in part in recognition for his senior status within the party," said David Rudd, the executive director of the Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies in Toronto. "I don't think this is necessarily a hatchet-burying exercise between him and Harper."

While Prime Minister Stephen Harper and Mr. MacKay have had their differences in the past, Mr. Rudd said that would not interfere with Mr. MacKay's flexibility at the helm of Foreign Affairs.

At home, Mr. MacKay will preside over a major bureaucratic restructuring -- the reunion of Foreign Affairs and International Trade into one department. The Paul Martin Liberals disbanded the two departments when they took power in December, 2003.

Mr. MacKay will also play a leading role in whether Canada follows through on its commitment to fund economic and social development initiatives for the Palestinian Authority, a question that has become all the more thorny with the recent victory of terrorist group *Hamas* in the Palestinian elections.

The Nova Scotia MP was also made the minister responsible for Atlantic Canada.

Source: Mike Blanchfield, CanWest News Service

#### LOYOLA HEARN

#### Minister of Fisheries and Oceans

13 Experience: The 62-year-old former Newfoundland education minister was first elected as an MP in 2000. He served as fisheries critic in opposition. Burning issues: Drawing federal attention to the low-priority fishing industry that is not on the radar screen outside Atlantic and Pacific Canada.

#### STOCKWELL DAY

Minister of Public Safety

14 Experience: Held senior portfolios in the Alberta government, left in 2000 to become Canadian Alliance leader, but quit after party lost election. Was foreign affairs critic in opposition. Burning issues: Inherits a file critical to Tory pledge to mend U.S. relations. Responsible for counterterrorism, border security and disaster management, overseeing the RCMP and CSIS.

#### **CAROL SKELTON**

Minister of Revenue

15 Experience: Ms. Skelton, who was both social development and western regional development critic in opposition, was first elected in 2000. She formerly helped manage the family farm. Burning issues: Faces the task of collecting the revenues needed to pay for election promises. Ms. Skelton will also be Minister for Western Economic Diversification.

#### **VIC TOEWS**

Minister of Justice and Attorney-General

16 Vic Toews assumed the job as Canada's top lawmaker yesterday under the cloud of a conviction for breaking the law by spending more than the legal limit in his failed bid to win a provincial election.

While there is no legal impediment to Mr. Toews taking over the Justice post, Opposition leader Bill Graham said, "there's a moral and ethical problem that Mr. Toews will have to explain."

In appointing Mr. Toews, Prime Minister Stephen Harper went for a hard-line choice to oversee the Conservatives' ambitious law-and-order agenda that focuses on stiffer punishment for criminals, including youths.

Mr. Toews pleaded guilty last year to violating Manitoba's Election Finances Act by spending more than the law allowed during the 1999 provincial election campaign when he was the attorney-general. Mr. Toews was fined \$500 for overspending by \$7,500.

He defended himself yesterday, saying he didn't deliberately overspend and that he took responsibility for the actions of his campaign staff.

"I think that demonstrates some leadership that I am willing to take responsibility even when I am not personally involved."

Mr. Toews was not convicted under the Criminal Code. However, if he were fined for spending in a federal election, he would have been precluded from running again for another five years, according to the Canada Elections Act.

Mr. Toews opposes revamped laws for young offenders, saying they are too soft on youths who have broken the law. He wants more youths charged with serious crimes to be tried as adults. He is against prisoner voting. He favours tougher jail sentences, bail terms and conditions for release. He has called for parliamentary override of court decisions allowing same-sex marriage.

Mr. Toews has also frequently railed against "radical" and "activist" judges for having too much power over politicians.

Source: Janice Tibbetts, CanWest News Service

#### **RONA AMBROSE**

Minister of Environment

17 Experience: Led the offensive against the Liberals' child-care plan while also serving as intergovernmental affairs critic. Worked in Alberta bureaucracy before election in 2004. Burning issues: Nothing will burn hotter than

her handling of greenhouse gas emissions. Must juggle a commitment to the Kyoto accord with Tory opposition to it

#### MICHAEL CHONG

President of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada, Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs and Minister for Sport

18 Experience: Mr. Chong is a former information officer for the NHL Players' Association. At 34, he is the youngest Cabinet member. Burning issues: It is expected his priority will be to start talks with the provinces to settle the so-called fiscal imbalance.

#### **DIANE FINLEY**

Minister of Human Resources and Social Development

19 Experience: First elected in 2004, she was the Tory agriculture critic. She was an administrator at the University of Western Ontario's French immersion school before becoming an MP. Burning issues: She will have to contend with job strategies for Canada's multicultural population and strategies for youth employment.

#### **ROB NICHOLSON**

House leader, Minister for Democratic Reform

20 Experience: The 53-year-old lawyer from Niagara Falls had a short stint as science minister in the government of Kim Campbell. Burning issues: Walking a tightrope of managing a minority government. Overseeing compromise to keep the Conservatives from falling.

#### DAVID EMERSON

International Trade, Minister for Pacific Gateway and B.C. Olympics

21 Experience: First elected two years ago, he was re-elected as a Liberal this year. Mr. Emerson, an economist, has experience as a B.C. politician, and in the private sector as head of the Western and Pacific Bank of Canada. Burning issues: Working with trade ministers of other countries to try to salvage a deal from world trade talks.

#### JEAN-PIERRE BLACKBURN

Minister of Labour

22 Experience: The 57-year-old public relations consultant from Quebec's Jonquiere-Alma riding was a member of Brian Mulroney's Conservative government in the 1980s. Burning issues: Bringing profile to a portfolio that is not mentioned in the Tory election platform.

#### **GREG THOMPSON**

Minister of Veterans Affairs

25 Experience: Businessman and former schoolteacher. Elected five times in New Brunswick Southwest between 1988 and 2006. Held numerous critic posts. Burning issues: Will oversee implementation of a new veterans charter designed to help the soldiers transition to civilian life and support injured personnel.

#### MARJORY LEBRETON

Leader of the government in the Senate

26 Experience: One of Stephen Harper's most valuable advisors during the election. Senator LeBreton, 65, has served every Tory leader since John Diefenbaker. Burning issues: Mr. Harper has said his new government is committed to moving forward with the appointment of elected senators.

#### MONTE SOLBERG

#### Minister of Immigration

27 Experience: Has been one of the Conservatives' most effective voices in opposition, most recently as finance critic. Burning issues: Mr. Solberg will oversee a Conservative election platform that calls for the elimination of the \$975 per head landing fee for immigrants, as well as initiatives to recognize the foreign credentials of highly skilled immigrants.

#### **CHUCK STRAHL**

#### Minister of Agriculture

28 Experience: First elected to the House of Commons in 1993. Became deputy Speaker in 2004. Was a partner in a logging firm before entering politics. Burning issues: As cases of mad cow disease continue to pop up in Canada, food safety and associated trade issues will dominate the agenda.

# **Graphic**

#### Black & White

Photo: Chris Wattie, Reuters; The Cabinet.; Graphic/Diagram: (See hard copy for graphic/diagram.); Black & White

Photo: J.P. Moczulski, Reuters; Ben Harper, 9, got the day off school yesterday along with sister Rachel to watch with mother Laureen as their father's government is sworn in.

Load-Date: February 7, 2006

**End of Document** 



# Identifying the real basis for responsibility

Yorkshire Post February 9, 2006

Copyright 2006 Johnston Press Plc

Length: 2525 words

## **Body**

From: JG Riseley, Harcourt Drive, Harrogate.

LORD Ahmed (Yorkshire Post, February 4) appears to blame the kidnapping of a German backpacker on a Danish newspaper rather than on the Palestinian kidnappers.

I may be oversensitive, but I get the impression lately of a lot of veiled threats flying around.

I hear people say, "You need to be responsible about what you say", when I suspect they actually mean, "If we don't like what you say, we will become violent".

This is like an adolescent tantrum, an immature person saying, "I'm going to trash the house and it'll be your fault for upsetting me".

Yorkshire Post

There are people demanding respect who would do better to examine themselves, take responsibility for their own emotions and actions, and grow up.

Some may find this interpretation offensive, but they have the chance to disprove it by the way they now behave.

It makes no sense to rampage because you take offence at others saying you are the kind of person who goes on the rampage when offended.

It is reminiscent of the old joke: "I'm not violent and I'll punch anyone who says I am".

From: R Potter, Low Lane, Grassington.

LORD Ahmed of Rotherham remarked (Yorkshire Post, February 4) that he would like the opportunity to clear up some of the misconceptions people hold about the way Muslim <u>women</u> are treated (12 paces behind men, not allowed to drive cars in Saudi Arabia, etc etc). Well, if they can be cleared up, then surely they should be.

From: Phil Hanson, Idle, Bradford.

I AM British and have British values of democracy and free speech. I am ashamed of how politically correct we have allowed Britain to become, sensitive to anyone else's needs before our own.

I can only blame it for the failure of the London police to take action against the Muslim demonstrators who blatantly threatened and incited more acts of terrorism.

From: R Sharp, Beverley.

THE cartoon demonstrators have received high-profile press and media coverage, and 22 year-old Omar Khayam has publicly apologised by saying it was wrong, unjustified and insensitive for him to protest dressed as a suicide bomber.

It was also a stupid act, which fortunately for him and his family, did not result in tragic consequences.

If an armed police officer had a genuine belief he was a potential suicide bomber then he may wish to reflect on the fact that he may not have had a 23rd birthday.

No doubt the police officer would have been suspended, and there would have been demands for a public inquiry.

Let's hope the next time this young man demonstrates (having completed his prison sentence), he does so peacefully and with responsibility.

Test drivers more often to improve skills

From: Brian Ward, Broadlands, Shann Park, Keighley.

WITH regard to the letter from

D Uttley (Yorkshire Post, February 4), surely the answer to the problem of low standards of driving skills is to weed out those very many people who are incapable of handling the level of cars in today's traffic conditions by making them undertake regular re-tests?

In this day and age, they can be conducted, over say a two-hour test period, on computer simulators which allow every driver to be tested in every sort of traffic and weather condition.

I have held this view for some 20 years. Now that I am over 60 years of age, I still hold it. All drivers over that age should be re-tested every five years, as should those who have held a licence for, say, less than two years.

Over time, those in between could be drawn into the net. The test standard should be at least akin to that of the Institute of Advanced Motorists' test, and those who fail in any serious level should be barred from further driving until they can pass a new Department for Transport test.

This would be very unpopular and would not be a vote catcher. But I am willing to wager that it would achieve the desired result of reducing road accidents and the costs associated therewith.

In defence of bikers

From: John Fuller, Grange Cottages, Marsden.

REGARDING the letter "Kamikaze bikers" (Yorkshire Post, February 4), I should point out that many times groups are tarnished by the actions of a few within their midst.

I have been a keen motorcyclist for many years and am all too aware of the rogue element within our group. My contribution to help reduce the problem is to be involved with the Institute of Advanced Motorists and help guide people to a higher level of road craft. However, I admit we have rather an uphill battle.

To paint ramblers, horse-riders and pedal cyclists as shining elements of society hides any rogue elements in each of those groups. For example, what about all those "Kamikaze pedal cyclists" who flout red traffic lights, cycle on the pavements or choose to ride at night in dark clothing and without lights?

Being a keen walker, I'm incensed by the state of some hill and mountain tops where fellow walkers fail to carry their litter back home with them.

#### Identifying the real basis for responsibility

I have read several times now that our equestrian friends have a reasonable opinion of us motorcyclists, indicating that of all motorised road users, motorcyclists are generally the most courteous. So please don't let the actions of a few form your opinion of most; you would be surprised at how many otherwise decent people choose to ride a motorcycle.

Absolutely correct

From: C Horsman, Coppergate, Nafferton,

Nr Driffield.

BERNARD Dineen received some stick from class-conscious Messrs Don Burslam and Geoffrey Bryant (Letters, February 4). Of course, Dineen is absolutely correct.

I was a grammar school boy for my sins - but my parents were poor and I received free uniforms and school meals. Entry was on ability but what is often forgotten by the do-gooders is that a pupil could resit the test at 13 and transfer to grammar/high school. There was never any animosity between selective schools and secondary moderns.

Ours was academic where Latin, Greek etc were compulsory - the secondary modern was a practical school where skills were taught and from where many students went on to reach the top of their trade - eg building, plumbing, cookery.

A friend of mine there went on to become area manager of the electricity board. A plumber or builder now earns more than the average teacher - if you can get one.

As for my own school with its honour boards of achievement, it is now a comprehensive down near the bottom.

You can't make a silk purse out of a sow's ear.

US did not support IRA

From: John Patrick Murphy, Roger Road, Burton Grange, Barnsley.

I WOULD like to answer the undeserved anti-American criticism of Paul Emsley (Yorkshire Post, February 2). The United States government did not support the IRA, it was classed as an illegal terrorist organisation.

I lived and worked for many years among the Irish/American communities of New York City and Boston, and although they did contribute money towards the old country, that money was donated for all the victims of violence, Catholic and Protestant. Not a cent was knowingly contributed towards the IRA.

The ancestors of the 40 million-plus Irish-Americans had

bitter memories of the potato famine, and the "Troubles", but the descendants, my relatives, are sophisticated enough not to bear grudges, although they would like to see a united Ireland. Similarly, my relatives in the west of Ireland do not,

nor ever have, supported the IRA.

The United States government does not condemn all Palestinian people, all they ask is that <u>Hamas</u> renounces terrorism. The American people and their government do not wish to see "big piles of rubble and full cemeteries".

They wish to live in peace, and in spite of their imperfection, they are still the greatest society that this planet has yet produced.

#### Identifying the real basis for responsibility

Mr Emsley, and all other anti-Americans who regularly submit letters to the Press, never mention the savagery inflicted upon the American people on 9/11. Their response, in view of this, has been modest. Tony Blair is right in supporting President Bush. God bless America. Long live the Queen.

Draining of Ings is a disaster for the birds

From: D Waudby, Whitehouse Rise, off Tadcaster Road, York.

The recent and sudden draining of Wheldrake Ings ("Fears for migrating birds after water drained from reserve", Yorkshire Post, February 2) is a disaster of a magnitude that cannot be over-emphasised. Some 15,000 birds have been displaced. These are birds of several species that need the special habitat which Wheldrake Ings provided.

Michael Krause of Yorkshire Wildlife Trust is far too glib in trying to defend their incompetence. "It's a difficult site to manage and not an exact science," he is reported to have said.

Well, they really ought to be better at it than they are. This is not the first disaster inflicted upon Wheldrake Ings, and why were they letting water off when conditions were almost perfect? Consequences for the birds go far beyond losing a safe haven to feed and rest. Many duck species find mates at this time of year. This is a slow process but it means they arrive together at Northern breeding grounds already paired and can take full advantage of the short summer.

No doubt some of the displaced birds will find habitat locally but for many others it is only a matter of conjecture where they've gone.

Wheldrake Ings, which is part of a National Nature Reserve, is one of the premier sites for wintering wildfowl in Britain

Normally the concentration of so many birds is one of the finest avian spectacles in the UK. For the time being at least this is no more.

Character assassination of Lib Dem politicians 'unwarranted'

From: David Crowther, Oakdale Crescent, Lindley, Huddersfield.

I SEE the Yorkshire Post's resident reactionary, Bernard Ingham, has been at it again (February 1).

He has every right to offer his opinion on what he sees as the deleterious effects on British society of "liberal ideology". What he cannot be allowed to get away with is using this as an excuse to assassinate the characters of certain Liberal Democrat politicians.

Sir Bernard sees the last 40 years as the period during which the rot set in. Perhaps he needs to remember that the Liberal Democrats have not formed a government during that time, and can hardly take the blame.

He dismissively describes Sir Menzies Campbell as "ageing", but he is younger than Sir Bernard's beloved Margaret Thatcher was when forced from office by her own colleagues; younger, too, than Churchill when he began to lead Britain through the Second World War.

He also describes him as a "Scot", as if this were an opprobrious epithet. I wonder whether he considers the two young Scots servicemen killed in Iraq a few days ago, "too Scottish" to serve this country. Xenophobia has a foul odour however it is disguised.

Next, he makes a tasteless reference to Simon Hughes's bisexuality. Of course this is just a thinly-veiled attack on Mr Hughes's homosexuality as I am sure Sir Bernard has no quarrel with his heterosexuality.

Finally, he disparages Chris Huhne's lack of parliamentary experience at Westminster. He conveniently overlooks David Cameron's scarcely greater experience.

## Identifying the real basis for responsibility

Moreover, while Mr Cameron has spent his short time wholly in opposition, Mr Huhne has, for six years, helped in the decision-making process of the European Parliament, and so has some experience of actual government. I suggest Sir Bernard restricts his opinions to policies and issues and refrains in future from unwarranted personal attacks.

From: Coun Keith Wakefield, Leader of the Labour Group, Civic Hall, Leeds.

I WAS very interested to read Coun Stewart Golton's letter (Yorkshire Post, February 3) highlighting the achievements of the "Lib Dem-led" Leeds City Council. While Coun Golton and his Liberal colleagues are very happy to take the plaudits for any recognition that the authority may receive, they are less reluctant to tell the people of Leeds what a "Lib Dem-led" council actually is and how it works in practice.

A "Lib Dem-led" council is in fact a three-way party coalition made up of the Liberal, Conservative and Green parties. Despite having more elected councillors than either other party, the Liberals have simply sat back and allowed the Tories to take the driving seat in the policy-making decisions of the city since the coalition took charge in June 2004.

This unwillingness by the Liberals to stand up to the Tories has meant that the most vulnerable people of Leeds have been hit with a series of cuts and price rises in a number of vital services.

Rather than basking in the day-dream that Leeds City Council is "Lib Dem-led", I would suggest that Coun Golton and his colleagues finally wake up and begin to play a much bigger part in the city's policy making process so they can stop any more similar damaging cuts being undertaken in the future.

If not, then using Leeds as an example, I have to agree with Tom Richmond's view (Yorkshire Post, January 28) that they may find it hard to build upon their existing support levels in future elections.

I doubt Liberal voters in the city will be impressed, for instance, when they hear that their votes at the last election meant not a "Lib Dem-led" council but a Tory one in everything but name.

School's bun ban beggars belief

From: Jack Kinsman, Stainton Drive, Grimsby.

THE head of The Oaks primary school in Ipswich, Norfolk, has banned "hot cross buns" at her school in case it might upset people of other religions.

Not one person from any other religion has complained.

If this woman is not sacked immediately, it will not be very long before we will have to knock down all the churches and chapels along all the different routes taken by the children on the way to her school, in case they offend some other religion.

I would respectfully like to ask Tina Jackson: would this include mosques and Sikh temples? After all, they might offend the beliefs of British children, might they not?

When we have people like Miss Jackson in charge of our children it is time to give up hope.

Towns need room to grow

From: Coun Tony Wallis, Wakefield Council, Weetworth Avenue, Castleford.

MANY of the urban areas in Yorkshire are full of homes, and yet new homes are supposed to be built there. Almost any open space within the urban sprawl is considered to be suitable. The resulting increase in pollution, traffic and noise brings about stress that leads to tension, antisocial behaviour and even crime.

## Identifying the real basis for responsibility

That is why I am disappointed that there is an outcry when it is decided to build some new homes on a bit of Yorkshire's huge open countryside (Yorkshire Post, February 4).

Of course, we must have a lot of green areas to enjoy, but we cannot continue building in areas that are already well- populated.

After all, a large town or city is just a small village that has exceeded its growth in dwellings.

Status quo not good enough

From: Anna Chester,

Broom Lane, Rotherham.

JOYCE Blades seems a little confused in her letter about the EU Constitution (Yorkshire Post, February 2). There is no question of telling the French and Dutch that they "got it wrong".

On the contrary: what the French and Dutch voters did was to tell us that they were unhappy with some elements of the EU.

The solution, then, is to demonstrate that the EU has listened and put their fears to rest by making changes.

Load-Date: February 10, 2006

**End of Document** 



FOCUS: ISLAM AND CENSORSHIP: SPECIAL REPORT: How cartoons fanned flames of Muslim rage: Embassies burning. Riots and demonstrations across the globe. Journalists in hiding. Presidents and preachers joining the furious debate. But just how did a series of second-rate cartoons buried deep inside the pages of a small Danish newspaper produce such an incendiary dispute?

The Observer (London)
February 5, 2006

Copyright 2006 Guardian Newspapers Limited All Rights Reserved

# **The Observer**

Section: OBSERVER FOCUS PAGES; Pg. 23

Length: 2998 words

Byline: Jason Burke, Paris, Luke Harding, Berlin, Alex Duval Smith, Copenhagen, Peter Beaumont, Ramallah and

Bartle Bull, Damascus

# **Body**

If the consequences are global, the source is farcically local. You reach number 3 Grondals Street by taking the number 9 bus to the outskirts of the Danish city of Aarhus and getting off by the red post box halfway up the hill. The single-storey yellow brick building is the head office of Jyllands-Posten, a national newspaper with a circulation of 150,000. It is where Flemming Rose, the arts editor, decided that publishing a page of cartoons of the prophet Mohammad would provoke a debate on multiculturalism and spice up a paper whose highlight for many is the diamond wedding listing on page 18.

This weekend, the fallout from that editorial whim six months ago has left half the globe reeling. A week of violent rhetoric and action, of statements by scores of heads of state, of commercial boycotts and diplomatic intervention, of strife and anguish and emotion, has exposed deep tensions and fissures, tensions between the Islamic world and the West, between religion and secular society, between journalists and politicians, between conceptions of the role of faith and a free press in society, tensions that look unlikely to disappear soon.

Jan Lund, the Jyllands-Posten foreign editor, said there was little discussion when the decision to run the cartoons was taken. 'I don't remember anyone raising any objections. The idea seemed good. The intention was to provoke a debate about the extent to which we self-censor in our coverage of Muslim issues.'

Rose said the exercise had been inspired by a conversation with Danish comedian Frank Hvam, who said he did not dare make fun of the Koran, while children's author Bent Bludnikow, who had written a book about the Prophet Mohammad, had lamented the fact that all the illustrators he approached wanted to work anonymously. Rose said last autumn's Danish theatre season included three productions in which President George W Bush was criticised or ridiculed, but not one featured Osama bin Laden.

The result was 12 cartoons on page 3 of the second section of the paper on 30 September. One showed the prophet with a bomb as a headdress, another with either horns or half a halo growing out of his head, a third showed a ragged line of suicide bombers arriving in heaven to be greeted by an anxious-looking prophet telling them: 'Stop stop, we ran out of virgins!'

Crude in execution and thought, the cartoons offended not just because they breached the prohibition of representations of Mohammad, but because they depicted the prophet, a man of peace and justice, as a man of terror and violence. It is unclear whether Jyllands-Posten journalists recognised the significance of their act, but in an editorial Rose invoked the highest of justifications. 'Among writers, artists and theatre people, there is a trend for self-censorship,' he wrote. 'This means artists are avoiding the major issue of our time: the meeting of secular and Muslim cultures.'

Yet Rose's use of words - surely, one analyst said last week, he meant 'secular' and 'religious' - was revealing. In a continent struggling to integrate Muslim minorities, his designation of 'Muslim' as the 'other', the opposite pole to Europe's secularism, expressed a growing sense that the world faces 'a clash of civili sations'. Such sentiments, stoked in the Netherlands by the stabbing of a Dutch film director by a Muslim militant, in Britain and Spain by bombings in London and Madrid, and in France by riots, blamed erroneously on Islam by many. They are also on the rise in countries such as Denmark, known for tolerance. For many commentators, 'Muslim culture' is the opposite of the progressive heritage of European 'Judaeo-Christian' Enlightenment. Denmark has, like other countries, been marked by a xenophobic backlash against moves towards greater inclusivity.

If Rose's aim was to provoke debate, he succeeded. The initial publication of the cartoons brought no response other than some angry letters. But when in mid-October two of the artists received death threats, the menaces were widely reported and rekindled debate, prompting vicious, anti-Muslim comments on Danish talk shows. Coming soon after a series of new, strict laws relating to marriage and citizenship, enforcing obligatory Danish lessons and clamping down on imams, the row plugged straight into pre-existing tensions. A minor storm was on its way to becoming much bigger.

First came a demonstration by 5,000 Muslims in Copenhagen. A week later, diplomats from Islamic states complained to the Danish Prime Minister, Anders Fogh Rasmussen. A group of ultra-conservative Danish imams set off for a tour of Saudi Arabia and Egypt with a dossier of the cartoons and several other cartoons, unrelated to the Jyllands-Posten drawings, showing Muhammad with the face of a pig and as a paedophile.

A flurry of diplomatic activity ended in an 'explication' by the Danes to the head of the Arab League which was to be distributed throughout the Middle East. Then on 10 January a Norwegian Christian publication, Magazinet, published a selection of the cartoons. More diplomatic protests ensued, and Saudi Arabia and Libya recalled their ambassadors from Copenhagen. Suddenly, Danish goods were being boycotted and its national flags burnt.

Though still restricted to Scandinavia, the row was getting vicious enough for Rasmussen - who had earlier refused to meet ambassadors from 11 Islamic nations - to perform a U-turn, expressing his regrets and admitting the caricatures had hurt Muslim sensitivities. Separately, Carsten Juste, the editor of the Jyllands-Posten , issued his own apology. His paper had 'indisputably offended many Muslims', he admitted. If either thought this would defuse the row, he was mistaken.

For Roger Koppel, the cerebral, 40-year-old Swiss-German editor of the Berlin-based Die Welt newspaper, the Danish apologies amounted to a capitulation. Instead of standing up for freedom of expression, Denmark had succumbed to bullying, Koppel felt. He decided it was time for the rest of Europe to take a stand.

'The fact that a European country - "one of us" - had caved in was for us the trigger to say that this is a really important story,' Koppel said. 'It is at the core of our culture that the most sacred things can be subjected to criticism, laughter and satire. We also know that moral double standards sometimes guide certain reactions in the Arab world. If we start to stop using our right to the freedom of expression within our legal boundaries then we start to develop an appeasement mentality.'

The row moved up a gear. With the re-publication of the cartoons, European newspapers had drawn a line in the sand, resisting the theoretical extensions of strictures in the Islamic world over the West - and what they felt was their own governments' weakness in the face of intimidation. If the 1988 Salman Rushdie affair had been an attempt by a radical regime in Iran to extend authority over the West, the row over the cartoons could be seen as a similar, bigger, exercise.

Koppel ran the story on Die Welt 's front page under the headline 'Protests against Mohammad pictures successful', together with a blown-up version of the most provocative of Jyllands-Posten 's cartoons, the one of the prophet with his turban as a bomb.

There was little dissent among his staff. Koppel's front-page commentary asked: 'Is Islam. . . capable of satire?' This was not a 'clash of civilisations', Koppel argued. The Arab world couldn't have it both ways. Anti-semitism is rampant in much of the 'hypocritical' Middle East, he wrote, with Jewish rabbis depicted on prime-time Syrian TV as cannibals. In this context, he felt poking fun at Mohammad was fair enough. Three other newspapers in Germany also published the cartoons.

Analysts in Germany noted a rare consensus on the left and right, explaining the nation's solidarity with beleaguered Denmark by pointing to an institutional pro-Israeli bias among German newspapers dating back to the post-Second World War era. Earlier this year the Christian Democrat-run state of Baden-Wurttemburg introduced a 'Muslim' test, where Muslim applicants for German citizenship are questioned about their views on 9/11, gay relationships and whether their daughters should be allowed to join swimming lessons.

In Paris, as their counterparts at Die Welt were planning their own pages, journalists at the offices of France Soir, an ailing tabloid based in an industrial estate in the north of the city, were also deciding the cartoons should be published - for different reasons.

Arnaud Levy, 41, a senior editor, had realised from agency reports that the row over the cartoons was building into a major crisis - and a major story. Working late last Monday, Levy mentioned the story to the foreign editor. Very soon, the two were deep in a discussion about liberty of expression and religion, recalling other contentious cases in Europe such as the 2001 film Amen , by Costa-Gavras, a thriller which was highly critical of links between the Catholic Church and the Nazis and Martin Scorsese's The Last Temptation of Christ

The French approach was subtly different from that of the Germans. 'We recognised immediately that it was very sensitive,' Levy said. 'We knew we had to see the cartoons before making a decision and we wanted to know more about the newspapers that had published them.'

By the afternoon news conference last Tuesday, presided over by Serge Faubert, the paper's editor-in-chief, the background of the row had become clearer, though still no one had seen the cartoons. The debate between the half dozen men around the table was heated. Several journalists emphasised extreme caution. Others said that although they understood the dogma prohibiting the representation of Mohammad, they did not live in an Islamic society. One pointed out that there were different interpretations even within the Islamic world.

Without sight of the cartoons, no decision was taken, and France Soir 's own artist set about preparing a cartoon showing a variety of deities saying that 'we've all been caricatured'.

Then, at 5.30pm, the picture desk announced they had finally got the cartoons. The senior staff crowded around and, after further discussion, Faubert decided to publish. 'This was a considered, thought-out, informed decision. Freedom of expression was at stake and though we knew people might be hurt by what we were doing, we felt it was worth it,' said Levy yesterday.

The front page was cleared for the newspaper's own cartoon and the headline: 'Yes, we have the right to caricature God.' The 12 Danish drawings - carefully framed by comment from a cleric and a campaigner for freedom of expression - ran across two pages. Soon editions of the paper, like those of Die Welt and several publications in Italy and Spain, were on their way to the newsstands.

Across Europe, dozens more newspapers, though none in Britain, prepared to republish some or all of the cartoons and scores of TV channels, including almost all the major French stations and the BBC, to broadcast images of them. What had been a relatively localised crisis was entering its final stage.

The reaction was immediate. As the news spread of the re-publication of the cartoons, a wave of anger rolled across the Islamic world. Gaza and the West Bank saw the biggest protests, as crowds organised by both Fatah and *Hamas* turned out en masse.

An imam at the Omari Mosque in Gaza City told 9,000 worshippers the people behind the drawings should be beheaded. 'If they want a war of religions, we are ready,' Hassan Sharaf, an imam in Nablus, said in his sermon. In Ramallah, protesters burnt a Danish flag, chanting: 'Bin Laden our beloved, Denmark must be blown up.'

'These countries claim that they are civilised and that they are democracies,' complained Anwar Muhammad, 30, a fruit seller, 'yet they do not reflect civilised values. This is pure racism.'

Yesterday the German flag was burnt. Other groups took to the streets, from the Middle East to the Far East, from Indonesia to North Africa, often bending the offence to their own agendas.

In Pakistan, hundreds of activists from Islamic political parties set fire to French and Danish flags. Indonesian Muslims belonging to a hardline political group went on a rampage in the lobby of a building housing the Danish embassy in Jakarta. In Turkey, amid protests, a programme of Western opera was cancelled. In central London, angry crowds demonstrated outside the Danish embassy with <u>women</u> in burkas shouting that '7/7 was coming again'.

The Danish embassy in Damascus was a charred hulk last night. Crowds had streamed through the city's Abu Rumana district, waving banners calling for a boycott of Danish goods and chanting.

It was a warm afternoon and there were hints of a holiday atmosphere. Protesters - clean-shaven youths of fashionable, secular appearance, mullahs, <u>women</u> veiled and unveiled - were smiling and laughing. By 4pm, the picture was more menacing. At the three-storey embassy, 100 police linked hands as rocks began to sail out of the crowd. Cheers greeted every broken window and the crowd grew angrier as more groups arrived. 'We are they who come faster than fate, Vikings beware', read a banner. Another showed the logos of Lego, Bang and Olufsen, and other Danish brands inside a red circle with a line through it.

Police fired blank rounds, but protesters had soon entered the building. The Danish royal crest was ripped from the facade and soon flames were licking at windows. Next door the Roman Catholic Church of the Virgin Mary stood unmolested as smoke from the embassy swirled around its domed roof. 'Of course we do not touch the church,' said a man who identified himself only as Basim, a 50-year old lawyer. Muna Faham, a 60-year old primary school teacher, said: 'In Islam we believe in all the prophets, Moses and all the others as well as Mohammad, especially Jesus.'

But many recognised the incongruity of their new bogeyman. 'America makes the Europeans join its war against Islam,' said Mohamed al Ghazali, 49.

'I am sure there is a hand of Bush, Rumsfeld and the Zionists in this,' said another man. Yards behind him there was a large banner in the red and white colours of the Danish flags that protesters were burning: 'If you are courageous, criticise the killers of Jesus.'

But if the cartoons split the West, the Islamic world too was divided. In France, worshippers at mosques spoke of their hurt and, crucially, their hope that the laws of the French Republic should pro tect them. Leaders at all major mosques called for calm and dignity. A Jordanian tabloid, Al-Shihan, chose to publish three of the images, a move that led to copies being pulped and its editor, Jihad Momani, fired. 'Muslims of the world, be reasonable,' he had written in an editorial.

Most intriguing was the reaction of Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani, Iraq's most senior Shia cleric, who condemned the 'horrific' images but, in a posting on his website, criticised those who 'darkened' Islam's image. 'The problem with this issue,' said one Palestinian, 'is that. . . we should be demonstrating that we are strong and that this cannot damage Islam. Instead what we are showing is a sign of our extreme vulnerability.'

But such voices are being drowned out by those who shout louder. 'A great new spirit is flowing through the body of the Islamic nation. . . this world can no longer ignore this nation and its feelings,' said preacher Saleh bin Humaid in a televised sermon at the Grand Mosque in the holy city of Mecca.

Yesterday everyone - except those with a vested interest in keeping controversy boiling - tried to calm tempers. In France, President Chirac and Prime Minister de Villepin trod a careful middle path, talking both of free speech and respect for religious belief. Jack Straw, the Foreign Secretary, strongly condemned the re-publication of the cartoons, as did the US State Department.

'These cartoons are offensive to the belief of Muslims,' said State Department spokesman Kurtis Cooper. 'We recognise and respect freedom of the press and expression, but it must be coupled with responsibility. Inciting religious or ethnic hatreds in this manner is not acceptable.' Kofi Annan, UN secretary General, said: 'Freedom of speech is never absolute. It entails responsibility and judgment.'

But too many deep and troubling questions have been asked for calm to return easily. For newspapers, there are questions over the new responsibility bought by an interconnected, broadband world - where no images are without consequence. For broadcasters, there are questions about whether the representation of 1.3 billion Muslims by a few isolated violent images is fair. For nations such as France, Germany and Britain, there are questions about how the fundamentals of secular liberal democracy can be reconciled with religion and with growing minority communities for whom religion is a crucial part of their identity.

In the Muslim world beyond the West, there are profound questions, too. For regimes that endorse anti-Semitic propaganda and sentiment, last week's events show the risks of demagoguery. More broadly, it is clear the correlation of the prophet and terrorism touched a raw nerve, exposing a profound sensitivity at street level regarding Western societies that are economically and politically more powerful and an ambivalent mixture of shame and pride in young men who blow themselves up in Islam's name.

The profound sense in the Muslim world that the West is anti-Islamic - a key recruiter for terrorism - has been reinforced. The controversy has also revealed the growing role Islam plays in giving a voice to any sense of grievance, whether political, social or cultural.

But the real message of last week may be directed at moderates who believe compromise and rationality solve most problems. The question posed to these people is perhaps the hardest: how can one ensure one's own voice is heard in a world where, increasingly, it is the strident and the angry who dominate?

Load-Date: February 6, 2006



FOCUS: ISLAM AND CENSORSHIP: SPECIAL REPORT: How cartoons fanned flames of Muslim rage: Embassies burning. Riots and demonstrations across the globe. Journalists in hiding. Presidents and preachers joining the furious debate. But just how did a series of second-rate cartoons buried deep inside the pages of a small Danish newspaper produce such an incendiary dispute?

The Observer (London)
February 5, 2006

Copyright 2006 Guardian Newspapers Limited All Rights Reserved

# **The Observer**

Section: OBSERVER FOCUS PAGES; Pg. 23

Length: 2998 words

Byline: Jason Burke, Paris, Luke Harding, Berlin, Alex Duval Smith, Copenhagen, Peter Beaumont, Ramallah and

Bartle Bull, Damascus

# **Body**

If the consequences are global, the source is farcically local. You reach number 3 Grondals Street by taking the number 9 bus to the outskirts of the Danish city of Aarhus and getting off by the red post box halfway up the hill. The single-storey yellow brick building is the head office of Jyllands-Posten, a national newspaper with a circulation of 150,000. It is where Flemming Rose, the arts editor, decided that publishing a page of cartoons of the prophet Mohammad would provoke a debate on multiculturalism and spice up a paper whose highlight for many is the diamond wedding listing on page 18.

This weekend, the fallout from that editorial whim six months ago has left half the globe reeling. A week of violent rhetoric and action, of statements by scores of heads of state, of commercial boycotts and diplomatic intervention, of strife and anguish and emotion, has exposed deep tensions and fissures, tensions between the Islamic world and the West, between religion and secular society, between journalists and politicians, between conceptions of the role of faith and a free press in society, tensions that look unlikely to disappear soon.

Jan Lund, the Jyllands-Posten foreign editor, said there was little discussion when the decision to run the cartoons was taken. 'I don't remember anyone raising any objections. The idea seemed good. The intention was to provoke a debate about the extent to which we self-censor in our coverage of Muslim issues.'

Rose said the exercise had been inspired by a conversation with Danish comedian Frank Hvam, who said he did not dare make fun of the Koran, while children's author Bent Bludnikow, who had written a book about the Prophet Mohammad, had lamented the fact that all the illustrators he approached wanted to work anonymously. Rose said last autumn's Danish theatre season included three productions in which President George W Bush was criticised or ridiculed, but not one featured Osama bin Laden.

The result was 12 cartoons on page 3 of the second section of the paper on 30 September. One showed the prophet with a bomb as a headdress, another with either horns or half a halo growing out of his head, a third showed a ragged line of suicide bombers arriving in heaven to be greeted by an anxious-looking prophet telling them: 'Stop stop, we ran out of virgins!'

Crude in execution and thought, the cartoons offended not just because they breached the prohibition of representations of Mohammad, but because they depicted the prophet, a man of peace and justice, as a man of terror and violence. It is unclear whether Jyllands-Posten journalists recognised the significance of their act, but in an editorial Rose invoked the highest of justifications. 'Among writers, artists and theatre people, there is a trend for self-censorship,' he wrote. 'This means artists are avoiding the major issue of our time: the meeting of secular and Muslim cultures.'

Yet Rose's use of words - surely, one analyst said last week, he meant 'secular' and 'religious' - was revealing. In a continent struggling to integrate Muslim minorities, his designation of 'Muslim' as the 'other', the opposite pole to Europe's secularism, expressed a growing sense that the world faces 'a clash of civili sations'. Such sentiments, stoked in the Netherlands by the stabbing of a Dutch film director by a Muslim militant, in Britain and Spain by bombings in London and Madrid, and in France by riots, blamed erroneously on Islam by many. They are also on the rise in countries such as Denmark, known for tolerance. For many commentators, 'Muslim culture' is the opposite of the progressive heritage of European 'Judaeo-Christian' Enlightenment. Denmark has, like other countries, been marked by a xenophobic backlash against moves towards greater inclusivity.

If Rose's aim was to provoke debate, he succeeded. The initial publication of the cartoons brought no response other than some angry letters. But when in mid-October two of the artists received death threats, the menaces were widely reported and rekindled debate, prompting vicious, anti-Muslim comments on Danish talk shows. Coming soon after a series of new, strict laws relating to marriage and citizenship, enforcing obligatory Danish lessons and clamping down on imams, the row plugged straight into pre-existing tensions. A minor storm was on its way to becoming much bigger.

First came a demonstration by 5,000 Muslims in Copenhagen. A week later, diplomats from Islamic states complained to the Danish Prime Minister, Anders Fogh Rasmussen. A group of ultra-conservative Danish imams set off for a tour of Saudi Arabia and Egypt with a dossier of the cartoons and several other cartoons, unrelated to the Jyllands-Posten drawings, showing Muhammad with the face of a pig and as a paedophile.

A flurry of diplomatic activity ended in an 'explication' by the Danes to the head of the Arab League which was to be distributed throughout the Middle East. Then on 10 January a Norwegian Christian publication, Magazinet, published a selection of the cartoons. More diplomatic protests ensued, and Saudi Arabia and Libya recalled their ambassadors from Copenhagen. Suddenly, Danish goods were being boycotted and its national flags burnt.

Though still restricted to Scandinavia, the row was getting vicious enough for Rasmussen - who had earlier refused to meet ambassadors from 11 Islamic nations - to perform a U-turn, expressing his regrets and admitting the caricatures had hurt Muslim sensitivities. Separately, Carsten Juste, the editor of the Jyllands-Posten , issued his own apology. His paper had 'indisputably offended many Muslims', he admitted. If either thought this would defuse the row, he was mistaken.

For Roger Koppel, the cerebral, 40-year-old Swiss-German editor of the Berlin-based Die Welt newspaper, the Danish apologies amounted to a capitulation. Instead of standing up for freedom of expression, Denmark had succumbed to bullying, Koppel felt. He decided it was time for the rest of Europe to take a stand.

'The fact that a European country - "one of us" - had caved in was for us the trigger to say that this is a really important story,' Koppel said. 'It is at the core of our culture that the most sacred things can be subjected to criticism, laughter and satire. We also know that moral double standards sometimes guide certain reactions in the Arab world. If we start to stop using our right to the freedom of expression within our legal boundaries then we start to develop an appeasement mentality.'

The row moved up a gear. With the re-publication of the cartoons, European newspapers had drawn a line in the sand, resisting the theoretical extensions of strictures in the Islamic world over the West - and what they felt was their own governments' weakness in the face of intimidation. If the 1988 Salman Rushdie affair had been an attempt by a radical regime in Iran to extend authority over the West, the row over the cartoons could be seen as a similar, bigger, exercise.

Koppel ran the story on Die Welt 's front page under the headline 'Protests against Mohammad pictures successful', together with a blown-up version of the most provocative of Jyllands-Posten 's cartoons, the one of the prophet with his turban as a bomb.

There was little dissent among his staff. Koppel's front-page commentary asked: 'Is Islam. . . capable of satire?' This was not a 'clash of civilisations', Koppel argued. The Arab world couldn't have it both ways. Anti-semitism is rampant in much of the 'hypocritical' Middle East, he wrote, with Jewish rabbis depicted on prime-time Syrian TV as cannibals. In this context, he felt poking fun at Mohammad was fair enough. Three other newspapers in Germany also published the cartoons.

Analysts in Germany noted a rare consensus on the left and right, explaining the nation's solidarity with beleaguered Denmark by pointing to an institutional pro-Israeli bias among German newspapers dating back to the post-Second World War era. Earlier this year the Christian Democrat-run state of Baden-Wurttemburg introduced a 'Muslim' test, where Muslim applicants for German citizenship are questioned about their views on 9/11, gay relationships and whether their daughters should be allowed to join swimming lessons.

In Paris, as their counterparts at Die Welt were planning their own pages, journalists at the offices of France Soir, an ailing tabloid based in an industrial estate in the north of the city, were also deciding the cartoons should be published - for different reasons.

Arnaud Levy, 41, a senior editor, had realised from agency reports that the row over the cartoons was building into a major crisis - and a major story. Working late last Monday, Levy mentioned the story to the foreign editor. Very soon, the two were deep in a discussion about liberty of expression and religion, recalling other contentious cases in Europe such as the 2001 film Amen , by Costa-Gavras, a thriller which was highly critical of links between the Catholic Church and the Nazis and Martin Scorsese's The Last Temptation of Christ

The French approach was subtly different from that of the Germans. 'We recognised immediately that it was very sensitive,' Levy said. 'We knew we had to see the cartoons before making a decision and we wanted to know more about the newspapers that had published them.'

By the afternoon news conference last Tuesday, presided over by Serge Faubert, the paper's editor-in-chief, the background of the row had become clearer, though still no one had seen the cartoons. The debate between the half dozen men around the table was heated. Several journalists emphasised extreme caution. Others said that although they understood the dogma prohibiting the representation of Mohammad, they did not live in an Islamic society. One pointed out that there were different interpretations even within the Islamic world.

Without sight of the cartoons, no decision was taken, and France Soir 's own artist set about preparing a cartoon showing a variety of deities saying that 'we've all been caricatured'.

Then, at 5.30pm, the picture desk announced they had finally got the cartoons. The senior staff crowded around and, after further discussion, Faubert decided to publish. 'This was a considered, thought-out, informed decision. Freedom of expression was at stake and though we knew people might be hurt by what we were doing, we felt it was worth it,' said Levy yesterday.

The front page was cleared for the newspaper's own cartoon and the headline: 'Yes, we have the right to caricature God.' The 12 Danish drawings - carefully framed by comment from a cleric and a campaigner for freedom of expression - ran across two pages. Soon editions of the paper, like those of Die Welt and several publications in Italy and Spain, were on their way to the newsstands.

Across Europe, dozens more newspapers, though none in Britain, prepared to republish some or all of the cartoons and scores of TV channels, including almost all the major French stations and the BBC, to broadcast images of them. What had been a relatively localised crisis was entering its final stage.

The reaction was immediate. As the news spread of the re-publication of the cartoons, a wave of anger rolled across the Islamic world. Gaza and the West Bank saw the biggest protests, as crowds organised by both Fatah and *Hamas* turned out en masse.

An imam at the Omari Mosque in Gaza City told 9,000 worshippers the people behind the drawings should be beheaded. 'If they want a war of religions, we are ready,' Hassan Sharaf, an imam in Nablus, said in his sermon. In Ramallah, protesters burnt a Danish flag, chanting: 'Bin Laden our beloved, Denmark must be blown up.'

'These countries claim that they are civilised and that they are democracies,' complained Anwar Muhammad, 30, a fruit seller, 'yet they do not reflect civilised values. This is pure racism.'

Yesterday the German flag was burnt. Other groups took to the streets, from the Middle East to the Far East, from Indonesia to North Africa, often bending the offence to their own agendas.

In Pakistan, hundreds of activists from Islamic political parties set fire to French and Danish flags. Indonesian Muslims belonging to a hardline political group went on a rampage in the lobby of a building housing the Danish embassy in Jakarta. In Turkey, amid protests, a programme of Western opera was cancelled. In central London, angry crowds demonstrated outside the Danish embassy with <u>women</u> in burkas shouting that '7/7 was coming again'.

The Danish embassy in Damascus was a charred hulk last night. Crowds had streamed through the city's Abu Rumana district, waving banners calling for a boycott of Danish goods and chanting.

It was a warm afternoon and there were hints of a holiday atmosphere. Protesters - clean-shaven youths of fashionable, secular appearance, mullahs, <u>women</u> veiled and unveiled - were smiling and laughing. By 4pm, the picture was more menacing. At the three-storey embassy, 100 police linked hands as rocks began to sail out of the crowd. Cheers greeted every broken window and the crowd grew angrier as more groups arrived. 'We are they who come faster than fate, Vikings beware', read a banner. Another showed the logos of Lego, Bang and Olufsen, and other Danish brands inside a red circle with a line through it.

Police fired blank rounds, but protesters had soon entered the building. The Danish royal crest was ripped from the facade and soon flames were licking at windows. Next door the Roman Catholic Church of the Virgin Mary stood unmolested as smoke from the embassy swirled around its domed roof. 'Of course we do not touch the church,' said a man who identified himself only as Basim, a 50-year old lawyer. Muna Faham, a 60-year old primary school teacher, said: 'In Islam we believe in all the prophets, Moses and all the others as well as Mohammad, especially Jesus.'

But many recognised the incongruity of their new bogeyman. 'America makes the Europeans join its war against Islam,' said Mohamed al Ghazali, 49.

'I am sure there is a hand of Bush, Rumsfeld and the Zionists in this,' said another man. Yards behind him there was a large banner in the red and white colours of the Danish flags that protesters were burning: 'If you are courageous, criticise the killers of Jesus.'

But if the cartoons split the West, the Islamic world too was divided. In France, worshippers at mosques spoke of their hurt and, crucially, their hope that the laws of the French Republic should pro tect them. Leaders at all major mosques called for calm and dignity. A Jordanian tabloid, Al-Shihan, chose to publish three of the images, a move that led to copies being pulped and its editor, Jihad Momani, fired. 'Muslims of the world, be reasonable,' he had written in an editorial.

Most intriguing was the reaction of Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani, Iraq's most senior Shia cleric, who condemned the 'horrific' images but, in a posting on his website, criticised those who 'darkened' Islam's image. 'The problem with this issue,' said one Palestinian, 'is that. . . we should be demonstrating that we are strong and that this cannot damage Islam. Instead what we are showing is a sign of our extreme vulnerability.'

But such voices are being drowned out by those who shout louder. 'A great new spirit is flowing through the body of the Islamic nation. . . this world can no longer ignore this nation and its feelings,' said preacher Saleh bin Humaid in a televised sermon at the Grand Mosque in the holy city of Mecca.

Yesterday everyone - except those with a vested interest in keeping controversy boiling - tried to calm tempers. In France, President Chirac and Prime Minister de Villepin trod a careful middle path, talking both of free speech and respect for religious belief. Jack Straw, the Foreign Secretary, strongly condemned the re-publication of the cartoons, as did the US State Department.

'These cartoons are offensive to the belief of Muslims,' said State Department spokesman Kurtis Cooper. 'We recognise and respect freedom of the press and expression, but it must be coupled with responsibility. Inciting religious or ethnic hatreds in this manner is not acceptable.' Kofi Annan, UN secretary General, said: 'Freedom of speech is never absolute. It entails responsibility and judgment.'

But too many deep and troubling questions have been asked for calm to return easily. For newspapers, there are questions over the new responsibility bought by an interconnected, broadband world - where no images are without consequence. For broadcasters, there are questions about whether the representation of 1.3 billion Muslims by a few isolated violent images is fair. For nations such as France, Germany and Britain, there are questions about how the fundamentals of secular liberal democracy can be reconciled with religion and with growing minority communities for whom religion is a crucial part of their identity.

In the Muslim world beyond the West, there are profound questions, too. For regimes that endorse anti-Semitic propaganda and sentiment, last week's events show the risks of demagoguery. More broadly, it is clear the correlation of the prophet and terrorism touched a raw nerve, exposing a profound sensitivity at street level regarding Western societies that are economically and politically more powerful and an ambivalent mixture of shame and pride in young men who blow themselves up in Islam's name.

The profound sense in the Muslim world that the West is anti-Islamic - a key recruiter for terrorism - has been reinforced. The controversy has also revealed the growing role Islam plays in giving a voice to any sense of grievance, whether political, social or cultural.

But the real message of last week may be directed at moderates who believe compromise and rationality solve most problems. The question posed to these people is perhaps the hardest: how can one ensure one's own voice is heard in a world where, increasingly, it is the strident and the angry who dominate?

Load-Date: May 14, 2006



The Toronto Star

August 20, 2006 Sunday

Copyright 2006 Toronto Star Newspapers, Ltd.

Section: IDEAS; Pg. D01

Length: 3087 words

# **Body**

He who wrongs a Jew or a Christian will have me as his accuser on the Day of Judgment.

## - Prophet Muhammad

Contrary to the popular belief that the West is under siege from Muslim terrorists, it is Muslims who have become the biggest victims of the attacks of September 11, 2001, as inconceivable as that would have seemed in the aftermath of the murder of 2,900 Americans. Since then, between 34,000 and 100,000 Iraqis have been killed by the Americans or the insurgents. Nobody knows how many have been killed in Afghanistan. In the spots hit by terrorists - from London and Madrid to Amman, Istanbul, Riyadh and Jeddah, through Karachi to Bali and Jakarta - more Muslims have been killed and injured than non-Muslims.

None of this is to say that Muslims do not have problems that they must address. They do. But the problems are not quite what many in the West make them out to be.

One of the strangest aspects of the post-9/11 world is that, despite all the talk about Muslim terrorism, there is hardly any exploration of the complex causes of Muslim rage. Muslims are in a state of crisis, but their most daunting problems are not religious. They are geopolitical, economic and social - problems that have caused widespread Muslim despair and, in some cases, militancy, both of which are expressed in the religious terminology that Muslim masses relate to.

Most Muslims live in the developing world, much of it colonized by Western powers as recently as 50 years ago. Not all Muslim shortcomings emanate from colonialism and neo-imperialism, but several do.

As part of the spoils of the First World War, Britain and France helped themselves to much of the Ottoman Empire, including Syria, Iraq, Lebanon and what is now Israel, Jordan and the Palestine Authority. In later years, they and other European colonial powers created artificial states such as Kuwait and Nigeria. Or they divided peoples and nations along sectarian lines, such as bifurcating India in 1947 into Muslim Pakistan and largely Hindu India. In more recent years, the United States has maintained repressive proxy regimes in the Middle East to stifle public anti-Israeli sentiments, keep control of oil and maintain a captive market for armaments.

While the past casts a long shadow over Muslims, it is the present that haunts them. Hundreds of millions live in zones of conflict, precisely in the areas of European and American meddling, past and present - U.S.-occupied Iraq, U.S.-controlled Afghanistan, the Israeli Occupied Territories, and Kashmir, the disputed Muslim state on the border of India and Pakistan in the foothills of the Himalayas. Only the Russian war on Muslim Chechnya is not related to the history of Western machinations, but even that has had the tacit support of the Bush administration. These

conflicts, along with the economic sanctions on Iraq, have killed an estimated 1.3 million Muslims in the last 15 years alone. Why are we surprised that Muslims are up in arms?

In addition, nearly 400 million Muslims live under authoritarian despots, many of them Western puppets, whose corruption and incompetence have left their people in economic and social shambles.

It is against this backdrop that one must look at the current malaise of Muslims and their increasing emotional reliance on their faith.

#### **Economic Woes**

The total GDP of the 56 members of the Islamic Conference, representing more than a quarter of the world's population, is less than 5 per cent of the world's economy. Their trade represents 7 per cent of global trade, even though more than two-thirds of the world's oil and gas lie under Muslim lands.

The standard of living in Muslim nations is abysmal even in the oil-rich regions, because of unconscionable gaps between the rulers and the ruled. A quarter of impoverished Pakistan's budget goes to the military. Most of the \$2 billion a year of American aid given to Egypt as a reward for peace with Israel goes to the Egyptian military.

The most undemocratic Muslim states, which also happen to be the closest allies of the U.S., are the most economically backward.

The Arab nations, with a combined population of 280 million, muster a total GDP less than that of Spain. The rate of illiteracy among Arabs is 43 per cent, worse than that of much poorer nations. Half of Arab <u>women</u> are illiterate, representing two-thirds of the 65 million Arabs who cannot read or write. About 10 million Arab children are not in school. The most-educated Arabs live abroad, their talents untapped, unlike those of the Chinese and Indian diasporas, who have played significant roles in jump-starting the economies of their native lands.

A disproportionate percentage of the world's youth are Muslim. Half of Saudi Arabia's and a third of Iran's populations are younger than 20. There are few jobs for them. "Young and unemployed" is a phenomenon common to many Muslim nations.

A majority of the world's 12 million to 15 million refugees are Muslims, fleeing poverty and oppression. Europe's 20 million Muslims suffer high unemployment and poverty, especially in Germany and France. It was inevitable that many Muslims would find comfort in Islam.

#### Islamic Resurgence

Fundamentalism has been on the rise, and not just in Islam. There has been a parallel rise in Judaism, Christianity, Hinduism, Sikhism and Buddhism, with its inevitable political fallout - in the Israeli settler movement in the Occupied Territories, the politicization of the American conservative right (culminating in the election and re-election of George W. Bush), the rise to power of the Hindu nationalists in India, the Sikh separatist movement in the Punjab in India, and the aggressive nationalism of the Sinhalese in Sri Lanka.

That many Muslims have become "fundamentalist" does not mean that they are all fanatic and militant. Nor is the Muslim condition fully explained by the use of petro-dollars. First, Arab financial support for Islamic institutions around the world is still no match for the resources available for Christian global missionary or Zionist political work. Second, and more to the point, the rise of Islam is not confined to areas of Arab financial influence; it is a worldwide phenomenon.

Mosques are full. The use of the hijab (headscarf) is on the rise. Madrassahs (religious schools) are packed. Zakat (Islamic charity) is at record levels, especially where governments have failed to provide essential services. In Egypt, much of the health care, emergency care and education are provided by the Muslim Brotherhood, in the Occupied Territories by *Hamas*, in Pakistan and elsewhere by groups that may be far less political but are no less Islamic.

With state institutions riddled with corruption and nepotism, some of the most talented Muslims, both rich and poor, have abandoned the official arena and retreated into the non-governmental domain of Islamic civil society.

The empty public sphere has been filled with firebrands - ill-tutored and ill-informed clergy or populist politicians who rally the masses with calls for jihad (struggle) for sundry causes. The greater the injustices in Iraq, Afghanistan, the Israeli Occupied Territories, Chechnya or elsewhere, the greater the public support for those calling for jihad. Jihad has also proven to be good business for many a mullah (Muslim priest) who has become rich or influential, or both, preaching it. Meanwhile, unelected governments lack the legitimacy and confidence to challenge the militant clerics, and fluctuate between ruthlessly repressing them and trying to out-Islamize them.

To divert domestic anger abroad, many governments also allow and sometimes encourage the radicals to rant at the U.S. and rave at Israel, or just at Jews. Sometimes even the elected leaders join in, as has Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmedinijad, denying the Holocaust and calling for Israel to be "wiped off the map."

In reality, most Muslim states are powerless to address the international crises that their publics want addressed. They have neither the military nor the economic and political clout to matter much to the U.S., the only power that counts these days. Or, as in the case of Egypt, Jordan, and the oil-rich Arab oligarchies, they are themselves dependent on Washington for their own survival.

Feeling abandoned, the Muslim masses find comfort in religion. The Palestinian resistance to Israeli occupation was a secular struggle before it became "Islamic." The same was true of the Lebanese resistance to the Israeli occupation of southern Lebanon, and also of the Chechen resistance to Russian repression.

Similarly, domestic critics of authoritarian regimes have found a hospitable home in the mosque. Islam being their last zone of comfort, most Muslims react strongly - sometimes irrationally and violently - when their faith or their Prophet is mocked or criticized, as the world witnessed during the Danish cartoon crisis. They react the way the angry disenfranchised do - hurling themselves into the streets, shouting themselves hoarse and destroying property, without much concern for the consequences, and engendering even more hostility in the West toward Muslims and Islam. But, as the American civil rights leader Martin Luther King famously said, riots are the voice of the voiceless.

Muslims have developed a "siege mentality, which is what the screaming, dogmatic and atavistic clerics" appeal to, says Chandra Muzaffar, Malaysian Muslim human rights activist. As he was telling me this in Kuala Lumpur in 2005, Sharifa Zuriah, a founder of Sisters in Islam, an advocacy group for Malaysian Muslim <u>women</u>, intervened: "Muslims have developed a complex. They think they won't be heard if they don't shout. Every statement is like a war."

Then there is real war, the war of terrorism.

## Terrorism's Fallout

"That a majority of Al Qaeda are Muslims is not to say that a majority of Muslims are Al Qaeda, or subscribe to its tenets," Stephen Schulhofer, professor of law at New York University, told me in 2003. But it is also true that most terrorists these days are Muslims. That may only be a function of the times we live in - yesterday's terrorists came from other religions and tomorrow's may hail from some other. Still, terrorism has forced a debate among Muslims, who are divided into two camps. One side says that Muslims should no more have to apologize for their extremists than Christians, Jews or Hindus or anybody else, and that doing so only confirms the collective guilt being placed on Muslims. The other side believes that as long as some Muslims are blowing up civilians in suicide bombings, slitting the throats of hostages and committing other grisly acts, it is the duty of all Muslims to speak out and challenge the murderers' warped theology.

The latter view has prevailed. Terrorism - suicide bombings in particular - has been widely condemned. Just because an overwhelming majority of Muslims condemn Osama bin Laden and other extremists, however, does not mean that they feel any less for Muslims in Iraq or Palestine. Or that the internal debate that he has forced on

Muslims is new. Throughout their 1,400-year history, Muslims have argued and quarrelled over various interpretations of the Qur'an and religious traditions.

But it is a sign of the times that the most extreme interpretation of the Qur'an appeals to Muslim masses these days, and that far too many clerics are attacking Christians and Jews and delivering fire-and-brimstone sermons full of the imagery of war and martyrdom. This is contrary to the message of the Qur'an - Do not argue with the followers of earlier revelation other than in the most kindly manner (29: 46) - and the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad: "Do not consider me better than Moses," and, "I am closest of all people to Jesus, son of Mary."

For all the emphasis that today's clerics put on the Prophet's war record, he spent a total of less than a week in actual battle in the 23 years of his prophethood. He advised his followers to "be moderate in religious matters, for excess caused the destruction of earlier communities." A moderate himself, he smiled often, spoke softly and delivered brief sermons. "The Prophet disliked ranting and raving," wrote Imam Bukhari, the ninth-century Islamic scholar of the Prophet's sayings. Ayesha, the Prophet's wife, reported that "he spoke so few words that you could count them." His most famous speech, during the Haj pilgrimage in AD 632, which laid down an entire covenant, was less than 2,800 words.

Muhammad was respectful of Christians and Jews. Hearing the news that the king of Ethiopia had died, he told his followers, "A righteous man has died today; so stand up and pray for your brother." When a Christian delegation came to Medina, he invited them to conduct their service in the mosque, saying, "This is a place consecrated to God." When Saffiyah, one of his wives, complained that she was taunted for her Jewish origins, he told her, "Say unto them, 'my father is Aaron, and my uncle is Moses.'"

Yet angry Muslims, not unlike African Americans not too long ago, pay little heed to voices of moderation. This is partly a reflection of the fact that there is no central religious authority in Islam. Only the minority Shiites have a religious hierarchy of ayatollahs, who instruct followers on religious and sometimes political matters. The majority Sunnis do not have the equivalent of the Pope or the Archbishop of Canterbury. A central tenet of their faith is that there is no intermediary between the believer and God. This makes for great democracy - everyone is free to issue a fatwa (religious ruling) and everyone else is free to ignore it. But the "fatwa chaos" does create confusion - among non-Muslims, who are spooked by the red-hot rhetoric, and also among Muslims, who are left wondering about the "right answers" to some of the most pressing issues of the day.

#### Muslim Apologetics

There are two kinds of Muslim apologetics. The first is denial: there's little or nothing wrong with Muslims, when there clearly is. The second, seen among some Muslims in the West, takes the form of self-flagellation, of apologizing for their faith or distancing themselves from it. To wit:

"Yes, the problem is Islam, and we must fix it." (Why is Islam any more of a problem than any other faith? And how are they going to fix it?)

"I am a Muslim but I am not a fundamentalist Muslim." (Do Christians say, "I am Christian but not an evangelical Christian?")

"I am a Muslim but ashamed to call myself one." (Do all Hindus have to apologize for those few who, in 1992, went on a mosque-ravaging rampage in India?)

Some of these sentiments may be genuinely held. More likely, they reflect the immigrant pathology of catering to majority mores, a new twist on the past practice of immigrants to North America anglicizing their names.

Such defensiveness aside, Muslims do suffer from deeper problems. Many are preoccupied with the minutiae of rituals (Should one wash the bare feet before prayers or do so symbolically over the socks?) at the expense of the centrality of the faith, which is fostering peace, justice and compassion, not just for Muslims but for everyone. Many Muslims are too judgmental of each other, whereas a central tenet of their faith is that it is up to God to judge - Your Lord knows best who goes astray (53: 30) (also, 6: 117, 16: 125, 17: 94, 28: 56, 68: 7).

Some Muslims have taken to a culture of conspiracy theories. Hence the notion that Princess Diana did not die in an accident but was killed because the British royal family did not want her to marry Dodi Al Fayed, a Muslim. Or the canard that Jews working at the World Trade Center had advance notice of 9/11.

There is too much of a literalist reading of the Qur'an (a trait, ironically, also adopted by anti-Islamists in the West). There is too little ijtehad (religious innovation) as called for by Islam to keep believers in tune with their times. Theological rigidity and narrow-mindedness have led, among other things, to Sunni hostility toward the minority Shiites, as seen in the sectarian killings in Pakistan.

Muslims complain about the West's double standards, yet they have their own. While they often criticize the United States and Europe for mistreating Muslims, they rarely speak up against the persecution of non-Muslims by Muslims. They also show a high tolerance for Muslims killing fellow Muslims. The Sudanese genocide of the non-Arab Muslims of Darfur drew mostly silence. The killing of Shiites by the Sunnis in Iraq was shrugged off as part of the anti-U.S. resistance. The overt and subtle racism of the oil-rich Arab states toward the millions of their guest workers goes unmourned.

Muslims do not have much to be proud of in the contemporary world. So they take comfort in their burgeoning numbers. At the turn of the millennium in 2000, there were many learned papers projecting the rise in Muslim population. But if Muslims have not achieved much at 1.3 billion, they are not likely to at 1.5 billion, either.

To escape the present, many Muslims hark back to their glorious past: how Islam was a reform movement; how Muslims led the world in knowledge, in astronomy, chemistry, mathematics, medicine, natural sciences, philosophy and physics; and how the Islamic empires were successful primarily because, with some egregious exceptions, they nurtured the local cultures and respected the religions of their non-Muslim majority populations. This is why Egypt and Syria remained non-Muslim under Muslim rule for 300 years and 600 years, respectively, and India always remained majority Hindu.

As true as all that history is, it is not very helpful today unless Muslims learn something from it - to value human life; accept each other's religious differences; respect other faiths; return to their historic culture of academic excellence, scientific inquiry and economic self-reliance; and learn to live with differences of opinion and the periodic rancorous debates that mark democracies.

It may be unfair to berate ordinary Muslims, given that too many are struggling to survive, that nearly half live under authoritarian regimes where they can speak up only on pain of being incarcerated, tortured or killed, and that they are helpless spectators to the sufferings of fellow Muslims in an unjust world order. Yet Muslims have no choice but to confront their challenges, for Allah never changes a people's state unless they change what's in themselves (13: 11).

"Being Muslim" is scheduled to be released Sept. 15. For more information, visit www.groundwoodbooks.com

# Graphic

ERIC GAILLARD Reuters A Lebanese Shiite Muslim and her child last week: Living in an empty public sphere filled by 'ill-tutored and ill-informed clergy.'

Load-Date: August 20, 2006



The Sunday Times (London)
August 13, 2006

Copyright 2006 Times Newspapers Limited All Rights Reserved

Section: FEATURES; News Review; Pg. 1

**Length:** 3075 words **Byline:** Sarah Baxter

# **Body**

It is 25 years since the Greenham Common protests began. Sarah Baxter was there, but now asks why feminist ideals have become twisted into support for groups like Hezbollah

When Ann Pettitt, the mother of two young children, and her friends set off in August 25 years ago on a 120-mile trek from Cardiff to the little known American air base at Greenham Common in Berkshire, they gave themselves the ambitious name of "<u>Women</u> for Life on Earth". Their numbers were tiny but the stakes, they felt, were dauntingly high.

The cold war world was bristling with Soviet and American nuclear weapons, posing the threat of mutual assured destruction (Mad). In a dramatic escalation of the arms race between the superpowers, shiny new cruise missiles were due to be delivered to Greenham, placing Britain's green and pleasant land in the bull's eye for targeting by the Soviet Union.

The modest peace march was largely ignored by the media, so on arrival at the base the **women** decided to borrow the eye-catching tactics of the suffragette movement.

They chained themselves to the gates of Greenham and dared the police to remove them. Sympathisers began to turn up bearing makeshift tents, clothing and pots and pans. Many came and went but others stayed. Thus was the <u>women</u>'s peace camp born a quarter of a century ago this month and a new chapter in the history of feminism opened.

"I was motivated by fear and terror," Pettitt recalled last week. "I was the mother of a two-year-old and a four-year-old and weapons of mass destruction were the ultimate denial of the fact that I'd created life. There was such brinkmanship, I really thought that nuclear weapons might be used."

Mercifully, they weren't. President Ronald Reagan once blurted out in front of a live microphone that the bombing of Russia was going to begin in 15 minutes, but it was nothing more than a tasteless joke. In hindsight Reagan's hardline negotiating stance helped to bring about the collapse of the Soviet Union. By the end of the 1980s the Berlin Wall was down and the velvet revolutions in eastern Europe were under way.

The peace movement lost a foe in Reagan but has gone on to find new friends in today's Stop the War movement. **Women** pushing their children in buggies bearing the familiar symbol of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament marched last weekend alongside banners proclaiming "We are all Hezbollah now" and Muslim extremists chanting "Oh Jew, the army of Muhammad will return."

For Linda Grant, the novelist, who says that "feminism" is the one "ism" she has not given up on, it was a shocking sight: "What you're seeing is an alliance of what used to be the far left with various Muslim groups and that poses real problems. Saturday's march was not a peace march in the way that the Ban the Bomb marches were. Seeing young and old white <u>women</u> holding Hezbollah placards showed that it's a very different anti war movement to Greenham. Part of it feels the wrong side is winning."

As a supporter of the peace movement in the 1980s, I could never have imagined that many of the same crowd I hung out with then would today be standing shoulder-to-shoulder with militantly anti-feminist Islamic fundamentalist groups, whose views on <u>women</u> make western patriarchy look like a Greenham peace picnic.

Nor would I have predicted that today's feminists would be so indulgent towards Iran, a theocratic nation where it is an act of resistance to show an inch or two of <u>female</u> hair beneath the veil and whose president, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, is not joking about his murderous intentions towards Israel and the Jews.

On the defining issue of our times, the rise of Islamic extremism, what is left of the sisterhood has almost nothing to say. Instead of "I am woman, hear me roar", there is a loud silence, punctuated only by remonstrations against Tony Blair and George Bush -"the world's number one terrorist" as the marchers would have it.

<u>Women</u> are perfectly entitled to oppose the war in Iraq or to feel that Israel is brutally overreacting to Hezbollah's provocation. But where is the parallel, equally vital debate about how to combat Islamic fundamentalism? And why don't more peace-loving feminists regard it as a threat?

Kira Cochrane, 29, is the new editor of The Guardian <u>women</u>'s page, the bible of the Greenham years, where so many <u>women</u> writers made their names by staking out positions on the peace movement. She has noticed that today's feminists are inclined to keep quiet about the march of radical Islam. "There's a great fear of tackling the subject because of cultural relativism. People are scared of being called racist," Cochrane observes.

Whatever the merits of unilateral nuclear disarmament, <u>women</u> were a lot braver a quarter of a century ago. Pettitt remembers how "we tried to crash the top table at Greenham. You had to be rude to interrupt because you're never going to be invited to speak".

I had just left university in the early 1980s when I got swept up in the peace movement. My Saturday afternoons were often spent marching from Hyde Park to Trafalgar Square and on the day when cruise missiles arrived in Britain, I rushed to a protest outside the Houses of Parliament, was arrested by the police, dragged into a black maria van and shoved overnight into a south London police cell. It was nothing compared to what the <u>women</u> of Greenham Common endured, but I felt like a heroine when the next day my male boss at Penguin Books, where I worked as a junior copywriter, paid my fine.

I was a bit sniffy about the all-<u>women</u>'s peace camp because I was partial to men and disliked much of the mumbojumbo surrounding it. In her forthcoming memoir, Walking to Greenham (published by Honno), Pettitt writes about the "delightful irony" of liberated <u>women</u> using "emblems of conformist democracy" such as knitting needles and wool to protest against war, but I used to see the ghastly spider webs and children's mittens tied to the razor wire on the perimeter fence and shudder.

Nevertheless, I attended several "embrace the base" demonstrations in support of the <u>women</u> who had put the issue of nuclear disarmament so defiantly on the map. I went on to get a job at Virago, the feminist publisher, and marvelled at the way the "peace wimmin" had energised the brand new field of <u>women</u>'s studies, sparking lively debates on the virtues and vices of separatism from men and the extent to which nuclear weapons were "boys' toys" (a tricky one in the age of Margaret Thatcher, Britain's first woman prime minister).

Later, as a journalist, I broke into the base with a group of Greenham <u>women</u>, stood somewhat pointlessly on top of the silos where the cruise missiles were stored and went on to become friends with one of the peace campers, who had been abused as a child and had found comfort in the new "family" she had made living in the rough and ready "benders" constructed of branches and plastic sheeting.

It is now largely forgotten that Greenham inspired many <u>women</u> to free themselves from the narrow world in which they had been brought up to live instead in ways which we take for granted today.

Looking back I think I was wrong about Reagan and too sympathetic towards the Soviet Union. There were plenty of fellow travellers in the peace movement who were cheering on the Soviet Union under their breath. I can remember making a lot of silly excuses about it myself. But the fear of mutual assured destruction was genuine enough. As long as it worked, Mad was a plausible strategy. Were it to fail, the results would be catastrophic. As President Dwight Eisenhower said after the testing of the hydrogen bomb in the 1950s: "Atomic war will destroy civilisation." If war came, "you might as well go out and shoot everyone you see and then shoot yourself".

The situation today is very different. Writing in The Wall Street Journal last week, Bernard Lewis, the noted scholar of Islam, pointed out that Iran's messianic rulers are not constrained by such fears. According to their theology, the day of judgment will be glorious. "At the end of time there will be general destruction anyway," Lewis writes. "What matters will be the final destination of the dead - hell for the infidels and heaven for the believers. For people with this mindset, Mad is not a constraint, it is an inducement."

Hassan Nasrallah, the Shi'ite cleric who leads Hezbollah, Iran's proxy in Lebanon, regularly issues bloodcurdling threats against the Jews. "If they (the Jews) all gather in Israel," he has said, "it will save us the trouble of going after them on a worldwide basis."

For some on the left such words are merely understandable hyperbole, provoked by decades of Israeli ill-treatment of the Palestinians, but I prefer to take Islamic fundamentalists at their word when they spout insults about Jews being the descendants of "pigs and apes" and launch their chillingly apocalyptic tirades.

Why? Because they not only talk centuries-old nonsense about the place of <u>women</u> in society, but they also purposely oppress the <u>female</u> sex whenever they are given the chance. As regards their treatment of <u>women</u>, there is no discernible difference between their acts and their words.

In my own life I have been lucky enough not to experience a great deal of sexism.

The 1980s and 1990s were decades of progress for western career <u>women</u> and working mothers. But I felt how it was to be invisible when I interviewed <u>Hamas</u> militants and clerics many years ago in Gaza. They were very courteous and helpful and I tried to be respectful by covering my hair with a black scarf. But they never looked me in the eye or addressed me directly. I would ask the questions; they would answer the male photographer who accompanied me.

Phyllis Chesler, 65, the writer and a founder feminist in the 1960s, has experienced some of the more disturbing aspects of Muslim patriarchy at first hand.

In the summer of 1961 Chesler married Ali, her western-educated college sweetheart, and went to live with him in Afghanistan. Nothing had prepared her for the restrictions and humiliations which Muslim <u>women</u> endured there, nor the gradual personality change that her husband underwent. The worst of it, she discovered, was "nothing unique happened to me". It was the way of the world.

"The Afghanistan I knew was a prison, a police state, a feudal monarchy, a theocracy rank with fear and paranoia," Chesler recalls in The Death of Feminism, published last year. "Afghanistan had never been colonised. My Afghan relatives were very proud of this fact. 'Not even the British could occupy us', they told me, not once but many times.

"I was ultimately forced to conclude that Afghan barbarism, tyranny and misogyny were entirely of their own making and not attributable to colonialism or imperialism. It is what they themselves would say."

Six months later, travelling on false papers obtained by a sympathetic German born friend, Chesler secretly fled the country. The ardent feminism that she embraced on her return to America was forged in Afghanistan, she told me last week. She has not recanted her support for <u>women</u>'s rights, she insists, but she has seen the views of others morph in alarming new directions.

"The compassion for people of colour has been translated into feminists standing with terrorists who are terrorising their own <u>women</u>," she says. In the week when a massive bomb plot against civilians was uncovered in Britain, Chesler's critique of <u>women</u>'s complacency in her book is prophetic. "The Islamists who are beheading Jews and American civilians, stoning Muslim <u>women</u> to death, jailing Muslim dissidents and bombing civilians on every continent are now moving among us both in the East and in the West," she writes.

"I fear that the 'peace and love' crowd in the West refuses to understand how Islamism endangers our values and our lives, beginning with our commitment to <u>women</u>'s rights and human rights." <u>Women</u>'s studies programmes should have been the first to sound the alarm, she points out: "They did not."

Chesler has fallen out with many old friends in the <u>women</u>'s movement. They have in effect excommunicated her for writing in right-wing publications in America, but she has found it impossible to get published on the left. There are whispers that she has become paranoid, mad, bonkers, a charge frequently levelled against the handful of <u>women</u> writers who are brave enough to tackle the same theme.

In Britain there is the polemicist Julie Burchill, who has written incisively about the desire of terrorists to commit acts "not so that innocents may have the right to live freely on the West Bank, but so that they might have the right to throw acid in the face of innocent, unveiled <u>women</u>". Well, the outrageous Julie has always been bonkers, hasn't she.

Then there is "mad" Melanie Phillips, the Cassandra of our age, banging on that "if we wish to learn what was going on in Europe in 1938, just look around". Of course she would say that, wouldn't she. She's Jewish, and anyway didn't you know that she is crazy enough to believe in two-parent families?

In America the radical feminist Andrea Dworkin died last year virtually unmourned by <u>women</u> on the left in part, as her friend Christopher Hitchens remembered, because "she wasn't neutral against a jihadist threat that wanted, and wants, to enslave and torture *females*.

"That she could be denounced as a 'conservative'," he concluded, "says much about the left to which she used to belong."

In Italy Oriana Fallaci, the 77-year-old journalist famous for interviewing Ayatollah Khomeini, recently went on trial accused of defaming Muslims. It is true that many of her comments about Islam -"a pool that never purifies" -are undeniably offensive, but no more so than comments routinely made by Muslim extremists about "the Jews". In her cancer-stricken twilight years, the once glamorous Fallaci has been written off as a deranged old bat.

Fallaci has grown accustomed in recent years to living with death threats, as have the formidable Muslim <u>women</u> critics of Islamic extremism such as Irshad Manji, the Canadian feminist, Taslima Nasreen, the exiled Bangladeshi writer (and critic of the Iraq war), and Somali-born Ayaan Hirsi Ali, whose film Submission resulted in the murder by Islamic militants of Theo van Gogh, the gay Dutch film director.

Hirsi, after enjoying a brief succes d'estime, has been virtually hounded out of the liberal Netherlands and is due to arrive in America next month, where she has been offered a perch at the American Enterprise Institute, the neoconservative think tank. It is too easy to say she has sold out to the right. Where, one might ask, are her friends on the left?

Something has gone badly wrong with a politically correct feminism that prefers to take aim at the United States, a haven of free speech and relative sexual equality, than to tackle the threat posed to <u>women</u> by Islamic fundamentalism. Just as the existence of Thatcher, the Iron Lady, at the helm of British government in the 1980s failed to impress the <u>women</u>'s peace movement, so the presence of Condoleezza Rice, a black woman who grew up in segregated Alabama, as US secretary of state has not dimmed the cries against American "racism".

For this the 1980s peace movement must take some of the blame with its overbearing emphasis on the evil Reagan empire and soft-pedalling of the Soviet Union. But I am surprised, all the same, by the persistence of the ideological

blind spot that has led <u>women</u> who are so quick to condemn the failings of the West to make transparent excuses for the behaviour of some of the world's most anti feminist regimes.

Recently Kate Hudson, chairwoman of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, wrote a breathtaking apologia for the Iranian nuclear energy programme, which took at face value Ahmadinejad's claims to be developing it for "strictly peaceful" purposes.

(Since when, by the way, has CND regarded Britain's nuclear power plants so benignly?) Never mind the preposterous dancing with enriched uranium around the doves of peace nor the missiles marked "Tel Aviv" paraded in the streets.

It is fair to say that Pettitt, the original Greenham woman, has wrestled with some of these problems. She is passionately against America's "wars of revenge" for September 11, but makes it clear in her memoir that she is no pacifist: "I didn't regard myself as being in a peace movement, I was in a movement against nuclear weapons. There are enormously hard decisions for which there are sometimes only military solutions."

Pettitt's mother, Solange, was a teenager in northern France when it was occupied by the Nazis and her family sheltered a British soldier for six months.

Pettitt's father was a communist in the 1930s who was unsettled by Stalin's pact with Hitler. At home after the war, Pettitt remembers hearing the stories of friends of her parents who had escaped the Holocaust.

"I can understand where Israel is coming from," she says. "I'm not a fan of Hezbollah. It worries me a lot." But like so many Stop the War protesters, she says that Bush and Blair have opened a "Pandora's box", as if the birth of Islamic extremism began only with the invasion of Iraq.

It is certainly plausible, as Pettitt claims, that Bush's actions have "accelerated the radicalisation of the Islamic world tremendously", although this popular view conveniently downplays the growing Islamic fundamentalist movement before the September 11 attacks and the huge psychological boost that it received from Al-Qaeda's strike on America.

Let us assume that what Pettitt says is true. I can remember when the <u>women</u>'s movement was told that its persistent demands for equality were leading to a "backlash". Susan Faludi wrote a feminist bestseller of that name, based on the premise that men were fighting back tooth and nail in the gender wars.

I have just got the book down from my shelves. It says on the back cover: "The backlash against <u>women</u> is real. This is the book we need to understand it, to struggle through the battle fatigue and to keep going." There was no question of slinking away out of fear that men were being emboldened to find new ways of oppressing **women**.

The Middle East is engaged in a titanic struggle between modernity and theocracy.

Whatever one's views about the Iraq war or the conflict in Lebanon, it deserves more than slogans about "We are all Hezbollah now" and fury against Bush and Blair.

I don't agree with Chesler that we are witnessing the death of feminism, but for now it is MIA: missing in action.

Load-Date: August 13, 2006



St. Petersburg Times (Florida)

July 29, 2006 Saturday

1 Edition

Copyright 2006 Times Publishing Company All Rights Reserved

Section: NATIONAL; Pg. 15A

Length: 2954 words

# **Body**

Re: Al-Arian associate gets prison, July 26.

I hope people read deeper than the headlines and they consider what it means that an American citizen, Hatem Fariz, is going to prison - even though in the plea agreement prosecutors conceded that he is innocent except for the following "crimes" described in reporter Meg Laughlin's story:

"He arranged a magazine interview in 2000 with PIJ (Palestinian Islamic Jihad) associate Abd Al Aziz Awda, when Awda lived in the occupied territories. In 1995, he sent tapes to (Ramadan) Shallah in Tampa, seven months before Shallah became PIJ leader in Syria. And, in 2001 and 2002, Fariz raised money for book bags and an ambulance for needy Palestinians in the occupied territories, arranging for their distribution through Elehssan, a charitable organization in Gaza which received financial support from the PIJ."

If that were not bad enough, federal prosecutor Terry Zitek added, "While Fariz had a minor role in this offense, his sentence offers some measure of protection for the public."

Thank goodness for federal prosecutor Zitek: keeping the American people safe from book bags, tapes, ambulances and magazine interviews. Boy, do I feel safer.

Currently it seems that the government thinks the only way to protect Americans is through wars of aggression on the people of the Middle East, witch hunts against activists and hypersurveillance of everyone. But these practices are breeding more terrorism and making us less free. There has to be a better way.

Sean Kinane, Tampa

Emboldening the terrorists

Ted Koppel's July 24 guest column One man, one vote, one giant mess explained that an unnamed Jordanian official he interviewed said the coming decade may witness a precipitous American withdrawal from Iraq that will appease Iran. He also interviewed Sheik Nabil Qaouk, the Hezbollah commander in southern Lebanon. Koppel went on to point out that <u>Hamas</u> was "spurned by the State Department as a terrorist organization," as was Hezbollah.

Did it ever occur to Koppel that he might have interviewed Steve Emerson, a U.S. terrorism expert, or perhaps a knowledgeable U.S. ambassador to a Middle Eastern country? Koppel's interviews are analogous to interviewing a Nazi leader prior to World War II.

It seems that journalists like Ted Koppel embolden terrorists by writing a column telling us that some anonymous Jordanian official is "reflecting gloomily on the failure of the Bush administration's various policies in the region."

Laurence Veras, Clearwater

We're not seeing progress in Iraq

Re: More U.S. troops patrol Baghdad, July 25.

After almost 3 1/2 years in Iraq, it seems to me we are "regressing," not "progressing" there.

When will the United States get to the point of admitting futility and cut our losses?

Dorothy E. Karkheck, Dunedin

U.N. focus is limited

I see a U.N. group has toured Beirut and has made the obligatory "Israel must stop the violence" statement.

I must have missed their inspection of the damage in Haifa.

Ernest Lane, Trinity

Contradictory activities

For the Bush administration to now send humanitarian aid to the people of Lebanon is a bit like Charles Manson sending a fruit basket to the Tate family.

Patrick Ruddy, St. Petersburg

Remember the challenges we face

As the global war on terror continues, I find it extremely disturbing that many Americans are ignoring the facts. Many Americans at home and abroad are living under the devastating threat of terrorism. Unfortunately, today, we have become so spoiled by freedom that many of us do not have the slightest inkling what it is like living under the thumb of barbaric dictators.

Additionally, the antiwar critics seem to forget that throughout the history of America's wars, the American soldier has always fought to liberate the oppressed people of the world. A shining example would be the thousands of Iraqi citizens who were liberated by our brave soldiers. The Iraqis displayed bravery when they risked their lives to come out and vote for their newfound democracy.

Also, let's remember the brave American soldiers who stood side by side with our Allies to liberate millions of Europeans. Let us all remind ourselves that it is the generals and the soldiers who are instrumental on the battlefields, with the support of our commander in chief, who win the wars. It is not the politicians or the media organizations.

Joan Atkins, Palm Harbor

Dean is a demagogue

On Wednesday in South Florida before community business leaders, Howard Dean, chairman of the Democratic Party, accused Iraqi Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki of being anti-Semitic because he did not condemn Hezbollah for attacking Israel.

I thought Maliki should have done that, but when you think about it (unfortunately Dean can't think), Maliki could not condemn Hezbollah without bringing more death and destruction to Iraq. Both Maliki and Hezbollah are Shiite. He

has more than enough problems trying to bring an end to the death the Sunnis are inflicting on the Shiites without getting the Shiites into a frenzy also.

The House passed a resolution (H.RES. 921) which condemns the recent attacks against Israel, holding terrorists and their state sponsors accountable for such attacks, supporting Israel's right to defend itself, and for other purposes. This resolution was passed by a vote of 410-8, with seven Democrats and one Republican voting against it.

Is Howard Dean prepared to condemn the seven Democrats voting no as being anti-Semitic? No, he won't, because Dean is a demagogue who has nothing to say except blaming the president for anything he perceives is wrong.

Salvatore Reale, Seminole

A threat to our tourism

On behalf of the employees/members of the Dollar Thrifty Automotive Group, I am writing to highlight a critical issue that could dramatically impact international tourism in the state of Florida. Congress passed a law in late 2004 that included a new requirement called the Western Hemisphere Travel Initiative, or WHTI, for travelers entering the United States from the Western Hemisphere to carry a passport or other secure travel document. While no one in the travel industry argues with the need to have more secure borders, the question of "how" and "when" this rule is put in place is critical.

With more than 14-million overnight visitors coming to the United States from Canada annually, getting this rule done right is a major priority for the state of Florida. Our tourism economy will suffer if WHTI is enforced before effective technology is in place and proper notice is given to the traveling public.

The travel industry supports the homeland-security intent of the law, but it is imperative that in protecting our borders, we do not unintentionally deter Canadian visitors from traveling here or prevent travelers from going on a cruise ship to Alaska or the Caribbean.

Congress should support a reasonable extension of the deadline to give the government time to get it right, or else we are at risk of losing millions of dollars in travel-related spending, thousands of travel and tourism jobs, and the good will that we share with our neighbors across the northern border and in the Caribbean. Now, more than ever, we need more visitors and friends, not fewer.

Yves Boyer, executive vice president-international, Dollar Thrifty Automotive Group Inc., Tampa

Candidate seeks to level playing field

Re: Ballot box bunkum, editorial, July 25.

My name is Brian E. Roche, a candidate for the Pinellas County Board of County Commissioners, at large, District 2. I am legally qualified to run for this office, will actually and actively campaign for this office, and with any luck, will draw a few votes.

To anyone in Pinellas County that I may have offended by my (not my brother's) "ballot box bunkum," please accept my sincerest apologies.

With the state of politics today being almost laughable, in many regards, the level of vitriol aimed at my "cynical" candidacy would be equally laughable if it weren't so sad. For years, the members of the 500 Dollar Gang - those 100 to 150 fortunate (and unelected) souls who can afford to fund certain candidates at \$500 a clip - have hand-picked every member of the County Commission as well as many other candidates in Pinellas County. For what reasons and at what cost? These fortunate few are financially able to continue to select the leaders that we, the general public, have to rely on for leadership in a manner no less cynical than any attempt that I may make to "level the playing field."

I am running for this office in a "brazen" attempt to give something back to the citizens of this county as opposed to "taking back" the Pinellas County School Board as Republican Party chairman Tony DiMateo stated in your newspaper a few days ago. I'm sorry, but I never got the memo saying that it was his in the first place and, quite frankly, this is exactly why it is important to remember what's really happening here.

The Republican Party (not individual Republicans - a distinction I want to make very clear) and the members of the 500 Dollar Gang are upset because they cannot select the Democratic Party's nominee in a Democratic Party primary.

I fully expected the members of the St. Petersburg Times editorial board to get their shorts twisted on this, and with all due respect, to the best of my knowledge, I have actually shut no one out of the primary. If any of the 328,000 Republican voters are truly interested in having Commissioner Calvin Harris remain in his position, there is still time for them to get down to the Supervisor of Elections Office and register as a Democrat. Otherwise they will have every opportunity to send me a message; they will just have to wait until November.

Brian E. Roche, Clearwater

A moral compass needs restoring

Black Americans lost our moral compass after the death of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. No other black leaders have the moral compass to lead our race to the promised land. We gained a little freedom and out of the box, we came into the light. Now we can get an education, have better job opportunities and live in better communities. The door has a crack in it, and then we forgot that God was always our leader.

Through Dr. King, doors have been opened for us. Then our moral compass started to go wrong. Respecting ourselves and others was something that was not done anymore. We became loveless, selfish and forgot about the ones who did not get a piece of the pie. The attitude is like, "We have ours, so damn the others."

Through all the suffering and injustice that held us in check, we never forgot our trust in God. This gave us a moral compass through all the inhuman treatment we faced for hundreds of years. We are now doing the same thing to ourselves, and it is called extinction.

Black males are losing the fight to become men. This is evident by the number of males selling drugs, dropping out of school and standing on corners with their underwear showing. They think it is cool and hip, running from the police, shooting and killing each other. Listen, brothers, there is no easy money, especially for brothers. Stop making babies and leaving them for society to raise. Stop spreading HIV to beautiful black <u>women</u>, cutting their lives short. Start today being a real man. It will take strength, courage and God, and then the moral compass will return. Take care of your children, work for what you want and stay in school.

Black <u>women</u> have lost their moral compass as well. Stop letting your underage daughters have babies and dating at a young age. Stop disrespecting yourselves and forgetting that you are queens who deserve the very best. Teach your daughters to love themselves and take pride in their beautiful black bodies. Let no man treat you like his trash disposal. Stop being the breadwinner while he is sitting at home or riding around all day while you work. Don't accept men running around or running games on you. <u>Women</u>, we have always been the strength in our race. We held it together during slavery, so why are you being the man's footstool now? Get your education and let no one destroy your love and self-respect. Allow God to determine your future, and your moral compass will be restored.

Black people, stop the madness. Our men need to be men! We have stood the test of time, so why are we going back? Go to school and get an education, and take care of your people. Stand tall and be a guide to the future. No more weakness. Love yourself so you can love others, and let no man be deceived again.

G. Jackson, Tampa

Analyzing a dog encounter

Re: Guide dog may be put to death for dogfight, July 27.

While I may not have been a witness to the "fight" between a guide dog and "Buddy," I feel fairly confident that I can guess what happened. "Buddy" was off leash and charged - yipping and yapping - at the guide dog.

The guide dog did what any good dog would do and attempted to protect its owner. I feel confident in my prediction because I encounter this type of irresponsible behavior on the part of dog owners on a daily basis.

People need to either leash their dogs or fence their yards (and keep their dogs behind the fence).

It is amazing to me that in a state where we sanction a person to use lethal force to stop a perceived threat (a ridiculous law) a dog is not allowed to react the same way.

David Miller, Temple Terrace

Health care realities are skewed

Re: Drug plans' complaint rate at healthy level, July 20.

This piece presented complaint statistics as published by the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services (CMS). Our concern is that the results can easily be misconstrued, and the article omitted the principal reason that affected the results for Universal Health Care. The primary Medicare Advantage plan offered by Universal Health Care includes a unique benefit design that provides for enrolled members of the plan to receive a monthly credit equal to almost all of their Medicare Part B monthly premium. This is a tremendous benefit that has been very well received by seniors in the bay area.

As has been widely reported, due to computer interface issues within the government's interagency reporting (in this case, the link between CMS and the Social Security Administration), a small proportion of members experience delays in receiving this monthly credit. This is not within the power of our health plan to correct. However, members understandably contact us when the issue arises. We then work to assist these members until they receive the full credit they are due.

It is quite clear that the "complaint" statistics in this situation are reflective not so much of any issue with Universal, but are rather a function of Universal being an intermediary between its members and government.

It should also be understood that these numbers are distorted in the case of a rapidly growing health plan. The point here is not that growth is "an excuse for poor service" but rather the simple fact that individuals enrolling in a health plan for the first time are far more likely to have questions regarding how the plan functions and to call for clarification and explanation of benefits. Universal has been so well received and has grown so effectively that, again, the statistics can present a distorted view.

By publishing "complaint" statistics without an appropriate classification or explanation, we are done a disservice. Universal Health Care is totally committed to service excellence. The vast majority of those enrolled in our "Medicare Masterpiece" and "Any Any Medicare Advantage plans are well pleased with our service and appreciate the benefits these plans provide.

J. Philip Sheesley, chief operating officer, Universal Health Care, St. Petersburg

Lio is vile and offensive

I couldn't believe my eyes Tuesday morning when I looked at the comics pages and saw Lio. How could you run such a revolting and disgusting strip, especially in light of the fact that just recently a child's body was dug up and has disappeared? How insensitive can you get?

Almost as revolting and disgusting was the strip the other day about buying a puppy as a gift to a huge snake. Not once has this so-called comic strip been even the slightest bit humorous. It is instead vile, disgusting and offensive. The St. Petersburg Times should be ashamed to run such trash in what I have always thought was a decent family paper.

Patricia A. A'Hern, Treasure Island

Not reading it is an option

Re: 'Lio' crosses the line, letter, July 27.

I find Lio immensely refreshing, as I have a somewhat twisted sense of humor. Sure it may cross the line, but then I find many of Pat Oliphant's caricatures of our president to be insulting and in poor taste.

But the best thing is: I have a choice not to read those cartoons. And so do you. If you think a comic, radio or TV program is in bad taste, don't read, listen or watch it. No one is forcing anyone else to read certain strips. Keep Lio. He makes me laugh.

Justin McKenzie, Port Richey

Comic is disgusting

Re: 'Lio' crosses the line, letter.

I totally agree with the letter writer. The comic strip Lio is disgusting. I have thought so since it was first printed. I'm glad she took the time to share her opinion with you. If that was one of the comics that was voted on, I am ashamed to say I live in the Times distribution area.

Darla Wilkinson, Pinellas Park

Lio has a lot to offer

Okay, I can already tell we're going to need an organization to fight the rose-colored-glasses crowd, those who think little boys are made from puppy dog tails and want to make all comics politically correct.

Lio is great, a fantastic exploration into the mind of a young boy - and one whose thoughts and fantasies are not that uncommon. Lio has far more to offer us than, say, the inane whiny children of the Family Circus. Lio is a real kid, with intelligence!

Load-Date: July 29, 2006

**End of Document** 



Observer Magazine: Cover story: IN A LEAGUE OF HER OWN: Though best known as Sven's girlfriend, Nancy Dell'Olio also plays a beautiful game.

From a corner of Claridge's tea room, she talks to Tim Adams about giving up law, sticking with her Swede and the car crash that almost killed her.

The Observer (London)
February 26, 2006

Copyright 2006 Guardian Newspapers Limited All Rights Reserved

# **The Observer**

Section: OBSERVER MAGAZINE PAGES; Pg. 14

**Length:** 2788 words **Byline:** Tim Adams

# **Body**

I suggested to Nancy Dell'Olio that we met where she felt most at ease. She chose Claridge's for high tea. She always sits in the same straight-backed chair in one corner, from which she can survey the room. She does most of her business here, she says. Sharon Osbourne usually bags the corner opposite when she is in town. If Hogarth were around he might have been moved to capture the scene. The queen of reality TV holding court with the patron saint of footballers' wives, both made famous by the hapless men they've collared, while around them moneyed London eats cake.

On my way to meet Nancy (she has just about acquired a stand-alone Christian name in the manner of Colleen and Chantelle), I attempt to bring to mind the partner of any other England football manager. Try as I might I have no recollection whatsoever of Mrs Keegan, Mrs Venables or Mrs Turnip, let alone Lady Robson or Lady Ramsey. I have a vague memory of a couple of Mrs Hoddles, but can't quite imagine interviewing either. Still, I suppose, you get what you pay for.

It is exactly five years since the Football Association, with its stated mission to invest in the grass roots of the game across the country, hired Sven-Goran Eriksson and decided to pay him a salary 45 times that of the prime minister to negotiate nine or 10 matches a year. In doing so they acknowledged the place that the national game had assumed in public life: it was, we were told, straight-faced, among the biggest jobs in the world. One of the main attributes of the incumbent, of course, was the ability to keep the front and back pages filled with distracting stories. At first sight, Sven did not appear to offer rich dramatic possibilities in that role, but the blazers in Soho Square had obviously done their homework. Looking back, it could hardly have worked out better.

The main clue to Sven's tabloid-friendliness came originally in the form of Ms Dell'Olio. Clutching at scraps of colour in the silvery Swede, his first profile writers dwelt on his relationship with the Italian, 'La Donna Nera', who had footsied with him under a table in Rome on the night they first met, and famously made him confront her much older husband, a lawyer, over lunch, with the news that he was a cuckold. This, it was generally agreed, proved that the Swede, contrary to appearances, had balls.

The rest is history. Rarely can a man have fulfilled his lucrative contract to entertain the public with his private life quite so spectacularly, and Nancy has been with him every step of the way, now wearing an un-upstageable redspangled catsuit to meet the Blairs, now being photographed fetched up to the nines on a bike, the wronged woman giving her would-be husband public support and private grief post-Ulrika and Faria Alam. As the FA contemplates Sven's successor you can only hope that they are weighing up the full package. Mrs Allardyce, > < you can't help feeling, or Mrs Curbishley, may find it a hard act to follow.

One of the things Nancy plots from her corner of Claridge's is the steady advance of world peace. She has a charity - or not a charity, she corrects me, a project - whereby she tries to bring football to children who grow up in refugee camps and war zones. The ultimate aim of the project is to create a World Peace Day. So far Britain, and Blair, have signed up for the idea, but Nancy lives in hope it will spread (think Yoko Ono with 5in heels). The project is called The Truce, and draws its emotional inspiration from the legendary Christmas game at the Somme. It was 'my idea and is my baby,' she says. 'I'm the engine.' But Sven chips in from time to time along with a tragi-comic clutch of former England bosses. Anyhow, the week after we meet Nancy is off to Gaza to open a football pitch for children from across the divide.

I wondered if she had been fazed by the election victory of <u>Hamas</u>. She agrees it has made things a bit more complicated, in that she has heard Palestinian parents have been threatened to keep their kids away from The Truce, but on the whole, she says, she 'refuses to see any barriers or any prejudice' and she clearly has no fears. She is half-Jewish, but was raised as a Catholic. She loves Jerusalem. She thinks it is remarkable what Sharon and Peres have achieved, and feels compelled to do something to help. 'I believe them when they say people are now ready to pay the price for peace,' she says. Her previous visit to Ramallah was a shocking, life-changing experience, and she can't wait to see the football academy The Truce has helped to create and see the kids playing in mixed teams. All the players have to learn to co-operate with each other and to speak the opposition language. They become fluent, by the by, in 'the universal language of football'.

Nancy's English is heavily accented with a hybrid of her mother's New York roots and her Italian childhood. It's rather melodic and shifts quickly from one thought to another. I find myself leaning further and further across the table, trying to avoid the scones, to get her gist, sometimes catching just one word out of two '...celebrity... Sven... amazing... Afghanistan... experiences... positive... fantastic... energy...'

I bet she can't believe she's been here five years.

'No, it has been so intense. So many things have happened!' she says, not quite wistfully. She considers her whole life a privilege. 'My life is like reading three or four books a day. I always learn so much. . . '

I'm not sure which particular books she has in mind. She keeps by her bed the Italian translation of The Iliad at all times. I wonder, given her partner's adventures with sirens of one sort or another, and her steadfast support, if she might be better off with The Odyssey

Her life is full of myths, she says, by which she means that much of what is known about her is not true. 'I tell people things and they write something else,' she says (or at least I think she says). She has plans to write an autobiography after the World Cup, to set all of this straight. She has been keeping a diary to this end, always writing when she feels most emotional, which, I imagine, means it is quite a hefty volume.

One of the myths about her is that she was raised in some poverty. On the contrary, her family was among the 'really very wealthiest' in the town of Bisceglie, in the heel of Italy, where she did most of her growing up. Her father met her mother in New York and made a small fortune setting up a number of restaurants selling Italian food 'like Mamma used to make'. When the children came along - Nancy is the eldest of four - they moved back to Italy, but kept business interests in New York and a house in Manhattan. Family holidays were invariably spent there, or outside Rome, where they also had a place. 'I was never settled, always travelling.' That is how she likes it.

She still speaks to her parents almost every day, though she does not see them as often as she likes. She has a sister who is an academic at Cambridge and has just had a baby, so that helps, but she suggests she would like to

be closer to home. Even in her Nash-built house in Regent's Park, London winters can seem a bit bleak. Does that mean she is pressing Sven for a return to Serie A after his World Cup campaign?

'Who knows where!' she says, then insists they have been made so welcome here that they will keep a house on in London wherever they end up. I cannot imagine she shares her man's secret desire to move to Birmingham and manage Aston Villa. She has no comment.

Nancy has always groomed herself to be part of what Alan Whicker used to call the jet set. She had her education partly at international schools and she pursued the traditional Euro-glamour courses of study: law and languages at Rome, then international relations in New York. She was approached, she can't remember now by whom, to do some modelling as a teenager, and she was briefly the face of Coca-Cola in Italy. Then there was an event, she says, that changed her life for ever. Getting into a car one Saturday night outside her parents' villa when she was 21, she was hit by a car and seriously injured.

Reports vary as to how long she was in a coma, from days to weeks, and she doesn't seem to want to shed much light on it now - 'It was a long time, but I don't remember it' - but when she came round she was unable to walk and badly scarred. The doctors, she suggests, would not let her look at her face for three months, and the process of learning to walk took even longer.

Even the crash, though, was 'a privilege'. 'I always have - how you say? - the half-full view of life.' She gestures to an untouched glass of champagne in front of her. 'Those experiences pushed me to go faster. I tried to get as much as possible advantages out of that situation.' She read about the Thirty Years War. Anna Karenina . Tolstoy. 'It was all very positive,' she says.

Did she worry she might have lost her looks?

'It was funny,' she says, 'because everyone says I was even sexier with my scars and my crutches. I was never worried that I would not find another man, certainly.'

One thing that her brush with mortality left her with is a profound fear of the dark. She has flashbacks to the out-of-body moment of coming to after her coma and says she fears sleep a little. If she is in bed alone now, she says, > < straight-faced, when Sven is not around, she always has to have the TV and lights on.

Once she had recovered physically from her accident she put her life in fast forward. 'Mr Bernard Shaw said to be young is wasted on the young people,' she says, 'and it was that way with me. I wanted to prove to everyone, to myself, I could do clever things.'

She worked hard in a legal practice, concentrating on commercial law. She consulted as a political lobbyist and even fostered parliamentary ambitions, helping to organise some of the first Roman campaigns in the early days of the Berlusconi empire; she was greatly inspired by Silvio's passion for politics, by his 'charisma when he entered a room', but less so, at the time, by his attitude that <u>women</u> were most useful in the home. All the while she cultivated her somewhat brittle glamour.

I wonder who her style heroines were, thinking Sophia Loren. She opts instead for Ava Gardner 'of course', and Rita Hayworth. 'Real glamour comes from the body,' she says. 'It comes when you combine the strength with the femininity. You either have it or you don't.'

Nancy has never been in much doubt that she has it, you guess. She talks a bit about the trials of being recognised in the street - 'I wish I was still transparent!' she claims, not quite convincingly - though, in a way, I'm surprised she is easily spotted. She is much smaller than you think, though her hair creates an illusion of scale. It would be hard to guess her age: she claimed 38 for a long while, but now accepts somewhere in her mid-forties. Partly because I find myself trying to lip read, I'm fascinated by the way her mouth moves. One side, she suggests, still has a tiny bit of paralysis from her accident. On the other a smile is always threatened, as if nothing she says is exactly in earnest, or she is enjoying watching herself perform.

Some of this performance has become her life's work. 'There came a point,' she says, of her time working with Berlusconi, when she was considering running as a candidate for Forza Italia, 'when I was working with so much pressure I realised that it was very difficult to have a public life as well as a high level of relationship'. She decided that she should concentrate on her private life instead. 'I put all my energy into that.'

Does she miss the intrigue of politics and law?

'Well,' she says, the half-smile hovering, 'in my life there are many other intrigues.'

Her decision to focus on personal matters coincided, I guess, with the moment she met Sven, who, among other things, probably looked like a safe passage into that heady European life she imagined, and which she now lives. She was married at the time and her husband had set her up in business. Another of the myths that dogs her cuttings file is that Giancarlo Mazza was a director of Lazio, where Eriksson was manager. Actually, he was just a supporter.

I wonder what it is about older men.

'I have always been a mature person in the sense that my friends and my boyfriends have been older than me,' she says. 'But it may be that my next one will be 20 years old! That's a joke, by the way.' She loved Sven's diplomatic courage in confronting her husband with their affair, which she says he decided himself to do, in his pragmatic way.

At Lazio, in their honeymoon period, he used to dedicate each goal to Nancy, gesturing up to her in the stands.

'Not just goals!' she says, 'but matches, and the Scudetto, the league championship!'

The Lazio fans wanted to erect a statue in her honour, as seduced as England supporters were in the early months of Sven's reign by his almost preternatural calm. I suggest I used to think he must have a great sense of humour when he got home, but he has kept up its absence for so long now I am not so sure.

'Oh, he does!' she says.

But he just chooses not to reveal it?

'You think not?' She looks a little surprised. 'I suppose you have to get to know him.'

I suppose.

She makes it clear that she does not want at all to go into the ins and outs of Sven's bedroom farces - she has always kept up a dogged 'no comment' - but vaguely suggests that some of that will be in the book. We talk, instead, oddly, in general terms about relationships, like correspondents to a problem page ('I have a friend whose boyfriend can't keep it in his pants. . .')

She has been very forgiving. Does it feel like that to her?

'Love is no easy matter,' she says. 'I know what is there. Love does not mean that every day is easy. Look at Shakespeare's sonnets. Just because something happened that is really nothing you don't throw away the thing that you have there. It is the most important investment of your life. I think <u>women</u> are much stronger. But you know when it is over. If a man wants to get out he will get out.'

Is Sven still the man she thought he was?

'Everyone evolves,' she says. 'I am not the same person as eight years ago and neither is he. There is always something better, something worse. All of us have completely different ideas of what love is. You need more than one idea if you want the full experience.'

She must at least feel she has lived the full experience with Sven. . .

'Yes,' she says. 'Definitely. I will tell you more in the book.'

Presumably, I say, the book will also include a chapter on the events in Dubai. Did she find it at all amusing that Sven, the psychologist, could be so undone by a fake sheikh?

The half-smile falls from her lips. 'No, it was something I found completely outrageous. It is only in this country that they think this kind of thing is OK. There has to be a limit in law. Everyone we meet tells us how disgusting they thought it was. Anyhow, it will be a legal case against the paper and we will see.'

It must have made her despair of Sven a little.

'The most unacceptable thing is that in three or four months we have a World Cup. For a newspaper to try to create something like this to jeopardise our chances. . . I can't believe it could happen. It won't work, of course. Sven and the players are better than that.'

In preparing for Germany, how will she help him relax?

She won't read the papers, she says, for one thing.

Do they lie awake discussing formations, the vexed question of Sol or Rio? She says she knows the difference between a 4-4-2 and a 3-5-1 but that's about it - 'and that's a bit more than I want to'.

She once described her relationship with Sven as a major undertaking. Did that mean it was for life?

'I hope,' she says.

There is a perception of Dell'Olio as a powerful woman who keeps her man just where she wants him; that it is the Swede who has been made to look foolish by their public private ordeals. I'm not sure she is quite convinced of that. She wears on her ring finger a big rock that is not quite an engagement ring. She has said a few times that she and Sven were getting married, that they were planning to have children, but as with all football managers, I suppose, at the end of the day you have to judge him primarily on results. I have a sense she has to approach their life as a tactician, wondering whether to deploy catenaccio, or just hit and hope. Does she enjoy the power struggle of being with the England manager?

'It is a challenge,' she says. 'There has to be that excitement. As I always say, it's not where you start, it's where you end up. It's all a game, really.' And she still clearly manages to just about convince herself it is a beautiful one.

Load-Date: February 27, 2006

**End of Document** 



# THE CHANGING FACE OF IRAN

Sydney Morning Herald (Australia)

August 19, 2006 Saturday

First Edition

Copyright 2006 John Fairfax Publications Pty Ltd All Rights Reserved

Section: NEWS AND FEATURES; News Review; Pg. 23

Length: 3592 words

Byline: Paul McGeough

## **Body**

The mullahs rule the streets but behind closed doors Iran's well-heeled toke on pot and pass the bootleg vodka. Paul McGeough looks at an authoritarian state at war with itself.

ON A sultry afternoon at the crossroads of life in Tehran, a mother in her 40s wistfully recalls the excitement of the revolution - how almost three decades ago she ran into the streets of the capital as raw people power knocked the despised Shah of Iran from his gilded throne. "Today, our children attack some of us for being so stupid," says the woman, grinding the end of her cigarette into a glass ashtray.

She's a little ashamed a few friends try to save face with their children - denying they had even been in the streets. She hesitates over another cigarette. And then she makes a pained admission: "I went to the Shah's grave in Cairo and I told him it was all a big mistake."

In Tehran worlds collide - stock images of ayatollahs and turbans are not the whole story. By nature, Iranians are pleasure-seekers, forever exploring the void between what the state declares lawful and what they can get away with. Young **women** in particular find themselves at an extraordinary fork in the revolution's road.

Some offer to put their lives on the line. Hundreds dress as suicide bombers for stage-managed parades that provide a backdrop for the rhetorical salvos in Tehran's war with the world. Masked and menacing, they hitch their bomber's vests as they turn to Lebanon and Palestine. They raise a fist defiantly at the enemy: Washington.

Another army of <u>women</u> is bandaged and bruised. There is no regime choreography, but they wear their wounds with much the same badge-of-honour determination.

Numbering thousands, they emerge from the waiting rooms of Tehran's plastic surgeons and rush to their favourite coffee shops to show off a new symbol of Western decadence in Iran: their reshaped noses.

Both armies are a product of a propaganda war that intensifies as Iran flaunts its nuclear ambition and flexes its muscles as an emerging regional power, a status brought on by the US-led defeat of enemies that previously hemmed in Tehran: to the west, Saddam Hussein; to the east, the Taliban in Afghanistan.

The suicide squads are easily identified as a regime creation. But the obsession that has made Tehran one of the nose-job capitals of the world - by some estimates up to 100,000 procedures are done each year - is a surprising byproduct of a propaganda campaign that emanates from distant California.

#### THE CHANGING FACE OF IRAN

A battery of pirate satellite TV stations run by Iranian exiles in Beverly Hills and the San Fernando Valley bombards their homeland with anti-regime propaganda. Despite claims by the pirates that their calls to action have instigated spontaneous street protests in Tehran, Iranians from all walks of life - the regime, academia, the media and in the streets - tend to dismiss their rallying as the out-of-touch ravings of "armchair" counter-revolutionaries. And while many young Iranians tune in, a good portion of them ignore the propaganda. Instead, they lap up the entertainment that comes through the ether.

The Tehran regime has only limited success in jamming the signals from Los Angeles and, despite several campaigns, it has failed to shut down a thriving black market in satellite dishes. This week it had police teams back on the rooftops in the capital and in three of the provinces, ripping out dishes in a futileattempt to control the flow of information.

That it worries so much is revealing because many young Iranians are believed to have opted out of all politics and propaganda. Instead, they immerse themselves in a make-believe world of Hollywood films and MTV.

The cosmetic surgery craze is a surprise amid the straitlaced fervour of the mullahs. But Bahareh Ahmade, a 22-year-old student, proudly tells the Herald that her new nose was designed from a very up-to-the-minute magazine tear-out of the singer Michael Jackson's nose. Bailed up on the curb in leafy north Tehran, she says: "My life is a bubble - I have absolutely no interest in politics. I study and I worry about getting a job; I hang out in coffee shops, I swim in the pool or go to parties with my friends." Does she watch satellite TV? "Just the movies and the entertainment," she says.

The award-winning Iranian filmmaker Mehrdad Oskouei was so perplexed that he made a film on the nose phenomenon - Noses Iranian Style. He asks: "Is this a whole lost generation? In the Iran-Iraq War in the 1980s, young Iranians lost whole limbs and parts of their faces for their country; now they line up five-abreast in operating theatres to give up a part of their faces. What has happened to their values? How did they become so distracted from real issues in such a short span of time?"

The fixation of young <u>women</u>, in particular, with westernising the only visible feature on their well-covered bodies has come to symbolise the thinning ranks of foot soldiers in a gloomy internal review of the Iranian reformist movement's failure to win and hold sufficient political power or to demonstrate that it is possible to change the grinding reality of life under the successors of Ayatollah Khomeini.

The Herald's observations of life in Tehran confirm a foreign diplomat's snapshot of the state of play 27 years after the overthrow of the shah: "The mullahs have firm control. The top end of business relies on corrupt government deals and permits, so they're not too upset; professionals and the middle class who have not joined the brain drain stay indoors and get smashed on homemade vodka; and the poor masses are too hungry and too desperate to think of reform or revolt."

Even amid such despondency, maintaining state control still requires a campaign of intimidation. Journalists, lawyers and intellectuals are regularly rounded up and jailed on spurious charges. And street protests by <u>women</u>, by bus drivers and by minority Sufis have been busted in a harsh new police crackdown.

Exact figures are not available. But hundreds are said to be under detention without trial. And thousands more are harassed in a constant bid by the regime to wear down the will of would-be reformists, often threatening them with the loss of their jobs or cancelling their access to university studies.

UPHEAVAL in the region is creating a new balance of power. Shiite and Persian Iran is on one side. The US-backed Israelis are on the other. And fretting between them are all the Sunni-dominated Arab regimes who see their influence being eroded.

Previously isolated, Tehran is back in the business of attempting to export its Islamic revolution to the Muslim - and mainly Arab - masses of the region. It has its hand up the back of the Shiite leadership in Baghdad and the militias who own the chaotic streets of liberated Iraq. It is drawing in the new Afghan government. It still counts on Syria as

#### THE CHANGING FACE OF IRAN

its ambassador in the Arab world, and it sees Hezbollah in Lebanon and <u>Hamas</u> in the Occupied Territories as its proxy pincers on Israel.

In the wake of the September 11, 2001, attacks, US President George Bush locked Iran into his "axis of evil" depiction of the global threat faced by Washington. Top US officials, Bush included, have left open the option of military strikes as a response to Tehran's refusal to bow to Western demands to curb its uranium-enrichment program. But despite all its rhetoric, Team Bush seems for now, at least, to be opting for diplomacy over forced regime change.

The evidence that Tehran funds, supplies and guides Hezbollah in Lebanon appears to be much stronger than the Americans' fabricated weapons of mass destruction case for the 2003 invasion of Iraq. But despite his insistence on getting to "root causes", Bush subcontracted the war against the Iran-sponsored Hezbollah to the Israeli Defence Forces, who failed to deliver on the promises they made as they went to war in July.

And, uncharacteristically, Bush sits on his hands while European, Russian and Chinese diplomats make painful efforts to defuse the nuclear crisis. That issue comes to a head again at the UN Security Council in 12 days.

AT FIRST glance, it seems anything goes beneath the perpetual pollution haze that blankets Tehran. A visitor loses count of the shiny BMW and Lexus cars on jammed freeways. Giant billboards shriek Western indulgence - Pierre Cardin, Calvin Klein, Versace...

There are glitzy shopping strips and coffee shops. The florists' displays are exquisite. Monsoon restaurant, on the north's Ghandi Street, is so expensive it doesn't bother with a menu in Farsi.

Despite a state ban on alcohol, bootleggers do home deliveries of imported or home-brewed beers, wines and spirits. Party hosts offer pot to their guests as readily as they dispense their preferred analgesic - a local, paint-stripper-like variant of vodka. "Is it Danish?" the Herald asks a host who produced the distinctive aluminium flask in which Danzka Vodka is marketed. He replies: "The bottle is!"

But that's well-heeled North Tehran, where the bandaged noses of young <u>women</u> are like beacons of indifference in the pavement crowds and where pharmacists report a run on nose bandages by those who can't afford the surgery - but who want to look hip.

Across the city, the state does its billboards, featuring revered ayatollahs and the pitiable martyrs of the 1980-88 Iraq-Iran War. The wall of a downtown high rise is given over to a huge depiction of the US flag - hung vertically, it has skulls for stars and each red stripe is the trajectory of a falling bomb marked: "Made in the USA."

Then there is the poverty of southern Tehran and the sprawling hinterland, powder kegs of resentment over economic hardship that are capable of erupting at any time.

Despite Iran's huge oil reserves,imported petrol is in short supply and becoming more expensive - there's talk of rationing. Inflation and unemployment are rampant. Meat and housing are priced beyond the means of most families who, on average, earn a quarter of what they were getting under the ousted shah. Prostitution and drug abuse are said to be widespread.

But Saddam's Baghdad it is not. In Tehran, regime control is a sophisticated blend of a crude but velveted glove that warns dissidents not to step beyond the bounds of what is tolerated.

Euphemistically referred to as "red lines", the bounds are delineated for the many by the hammer-fist treatment of the few who are prepared to speak out. Iranians are allowed toexpress raw opinion, but to have it published domestically can be fatal. Just to be interviewed by a foreign correspondent can lead to charges and time in the notorious Evin Prison.

IN THE midst of all this stands the mercurial new Iranian President, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, whose popularity is soaring in this time of twin crises - nuclear energy and Lebanon. Exploring Ahmadinejad's diatribes against Israel, a city lawyer takes time to consider whether his President is serious or merely indulging in crude diplomatic sport

#### THE CHANGING FACE OF IRAN

when he calls for Israel to be "wiped from the map". "He's not a stupid man, is he?" the Herald ventures. There was a pause before this reply: "We can't be sure."

But Amir Mohebian, a writer who claims to be a friend of the Iranian President, tells another reporter: "Wipe Israel off the map? Really? Israel has atomic warheads. Maybe we make irrational statements, but we're not mad by saying things like that, we know the US runs to help Israel - and that's expensive, we think."

Ahmadinejad is rated as the most fundamentalist president since the 1979 revolution. But he is also a deft populist recently he blocked a police effort to codify **women**'s dress.

But even he can overstep the mark. Before this year's World Cup football tournament in which Iran was knocked out early, he declared that the ban on <u>women</u> attending public sporting events should be lifted. He was overruled by the mullahs.

Promising justice, an end to endemic corruption and to put Iran's huge oil income "on the people's tables", Ahmadinejad came to power on a landslide vote last year. He holds onto that support with targeted cash handouts in the provinces and in his appeals to Iranian nationalism through his hectoring of Washington over Iran's right to go nuclear.

But the presidency is just one spoke in an Orwellian wheel in which the will of the people, the voice of the parliament and that of the executive are subservient to "divine" rule by a deeply corrupt and conservative clerical elite headed by Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, Khomeini's successor as the Supreme Leader of the Revolution.

Dissent is allowed but rigidly controlled. Support for reformist elements, like the Iran Participation party of the former president Mohammed Khatami, waxes and wanes according to the whim of an unelected religious leadership that retains all real political power for itself.

In what became known as the Tehran Spring, the reformists won control of Iran's elected parliament in 1997, but that did not mean control of the country - virtually every reform bill they passed in the following seven years was rejected or watered down by the overarching authority of the clergy.

The reformists lost credibility because, despite all the religious strictures, they acquiesced rather than confront the ayatollahs. There hadto be a showdown, but they didn't bring it on.

The Nobel Peace Prize winner and human rights lawyer Shirin Ebadi underscores the impotence of thereformists during the Tehran Spring when she says: "[When I was arrested in that period] the president said he was very sorry - he couldn't help. Now it's not much different, but the President doesn't apologise any more."

The reformists' hands were tied, too, because the religious authorities reserve the right to vet the Islamic and revolutionary credentials of all would-be parliamentary candidates.

Before the 2004 elections more than 3000 reformist candidates, including 87 sitting MPs, were disqualified by the religious authorities. Even the brother of then president Khatami and the granddaughter of Ayatollah Khomeini had no protection - they were swatted like flies. "Resignation and hopelessness forced many to stay away from the polls," says Tehran politics professor Hermidas Bavand.

Bavand admits to being one who turned his back on the reformists because of their submission to the will of the Supreme Leader. "People became indifferent and as a result of their non-participation, the hardliners emasculated the reformist movement," Bavand tells the Herald.

As the reformists attempt to pick up the pieces, they are confronted by a new hurdle - the nuclear and Lebanon crises have become the dominant prisms in all internal debate. Tehran's handling of both draws huge public support in a country where historicUS interference has embedded aferocious anger in the political psyche.

#### THE CHANGING FACE OF IRAN

There is the possibility that Iran's overt support for Hezbollah in Lebanon could backfire: "Many Iranians don't see a vital interest for Iran in Lebanon, but we are paying a very high price [because] these military operations could become a kind of solution for Israel and the US [to regional problems]. The scenario is frightening," Bavand says.

But this week Ahmadinejad was triumphant. On the stump at Arbadil, in Iran's north-east, he taunted Washington on the failure by Israel to achieve its combat objectives: "God's promises have come true. On one side, [the] corrupt powers of the criminal US and Britain and the Zionists with modern bombs and planes. And on the other side is a group of pious youths relying on God."

Despite being on the back foot, the reformist movement does have a star player. But Shirin Ebadi defends the nuclear program, saying it is those in control of nuclear power who constitute a security threat, not the energy program itself.

She argues in a recent paper that the nuclear program is rooted in Washington's 1970s encouragement of the Shah of Iran to go nuclear: "[In power, the Iranian] reformists supported the program but wanted it to be in compliance with Iran's international obligations. But instead of backing Iran's fledgling democratic movement, which would have led to nuclear transparency, the US undercut it by demonising Iran."

Criticism of the nuclear program or the Supreme Leader is not tolerated. And any who dare to question Tehran's support for Hezbollah are pounced upon as "Zionists" by publications speaking for the regime.

Mohammad Atrianfar, publisher of the reformist newspaper Shargh, dared to publish an unsigned criticism and in an interview he tells an American reporter: "Officially, Iran is not aware of what Hezbollah does. [But] logically and unofficially, Iranis always aware. The reason is clear, because of all that Iran has done for Hezbollah. Hezbollah is Iran in Lebanon - when Iran looks at Hezbollah, it sees Iran."

Dubbed "the face of resistance", the journalist Akbar Gangi was jailed for six years after he publicly linked a series of dissident killings to senior figures in the regime. When he was released from Evin Prison this year, he was so gaunt after a three-month hunger strike that friends did not recognise him.

Gangi remains defiant, but he has fled to the US, from where he still attempts to co-ordinate protests against the regime.

ACROSS the city from Bobby Sands Street, 51 pairs of shoes at the door to a fourth-floor apartment suggest unusual activity. There are no banners or posters in the street, but the furtive coming and going of foreign TV and press crews confirm something is afoot.

By the standards set by the Irish Republican Army hunger striker, this assembly is small beer. But under the menacing eye of the Iranian security services the assembly is a small sign of courage in the face of such deep despondency about the political commitment of young Iranians.

The shoes' owners - student, political and <u>women</u>'s rights activists - have responded to a call by Gangi for reformists in Iran and exiles around the world to pressure the regime with a three-day hunger-strike.

This is the third day and the air in the closed apartment is pungent. In the semi-darkness, Abdullah Momeni, 29, a student activist, says that none of the Tehran media shows an interest because the protest is too hot to handle. He has done 45 days in solitary and is awaiting the outcome of an appeal against a five-year jail sentence for his protest activities.

As his comrades loll on pillows and watch videos, they allow themselves only sweet tea and water. Meanwhile, pleased as Momeni is just to have a gang around him, he makes clear that it's not enough. "We have to show to human rights groups outside Iran that our efforts to win the release of political prisoners have hit a dead end."

Momeni's explanation for the small turnout goes to fear of the regime - but it also turns on young Tehran's plastic surgery obsession. "Young people became frustrated by the performance of the reformists in power. When they looked at their first few years, they could see that the fundamentalists and extremists were in control.

#### THE CHANGING FACE OF IRAN

"The risk in joining a protest is huge, so they opt out and worry instead about the shape of their noses and the colour of their eye lenses. Anyone who protests gets kicked out of university and suspended from other community activities. You get threatened or you get sent to prison."

ISA SAHARKHIZ has been a prominent journalist in Tehran for 20 years. But, his lawyers say, in the coming days he will become an inmate of Evin because he dared to question the nature of what Iran likes to call its system of guided democracy.

Under the reformist rule of Khatami, the fortysomething Saharkhiz was the government overseer of the domestic press, but it was his subsequent writing and publishing that were his undoing.

"What am I guilty of? I printed articles against the state, Islam, the constitution, the revolutionary guard and, for good measure, the clergy," he says during an interview. "WhenI defended Gangi they closed my newspaper."

The Iranian reality, Saharkhiz says, is that there is no reality: "Genuine debate is impossible. Editors no longer tell the truth - they all live a lie. Key reformists are arrested; student offices are closed and activists jailed; people are not allowed to assemble; even political parties are not allowed to have annual conferences. And independent-minded clerics are barred from the mosques."

Like others who spoke to the Herald, Saharkhiz is hoping the regime will collide with its own economic failure. Inflation is getting worse, jobs are harder to find, and the brain-drain and the flight of capital will continue in such a lethal combination that even soaring oil process cannot save the regime, he says. He doesn't have a timeline, but he makes a blunt prediction: "It will be the poor, not the intelligentsia, who will revolt."

But for now the tea leaves that Tehran analysts and political players read are Lebanese - not Iranian. The regime seems emboldened by what it perceives as the success of a more confrontational foreign policy -especially its sponsorship of Hezbollah. They predict that the outcome in Lebanon - a stalemate that allows Hezbollah to claim victory as Israelis resort to infighting over what went wrong - will fire the regime's urge to crack down even more tightly on domestic dissent.

The film director Oskouei - frustrated that most of his work is banned in Iran - describes how, so far, he has sidestepped the authorities.

"Every day in the forest, the deer wakes up and runs to escape from the lion. The lion wakes up to chase the deer - it's an everyday activity and the one that runs faster is successful.

"I am the deer - this is my life."

# Graphic

THREE PHOTOS: Sign of her success ... a young woman in the north of Tehran wears a nose bandage after plastic surgery. The bandages are a status symbol for the city's young elite. Photo: Aslon Arfa Yearning for more ... hunger strikers want foreigners to see their quest for political freedom. Photo: Aslon Arfa Drive for reform ... Shirin Ebadi. Photo: AFP/Hassan Ammar

Load-Date: July 17, 2007



The Sunday Times (London)
June 11, 2006

Copyright 2006 Times Newspapers Limited All Rights Reserved

Section: FEATURES; News; Pg. 14

Length: 3475 words

Byline: Hala Jaber in Baghdad, Sarah Baxter in Washington and Michael Smith

## **Body**

America clocked up a rare victory in Iraq last week with the killing of al-Zarqawi. Can it maintain the momentum? Hala Jaber in Baghdad, Sarah Baxter in Washington and Michael Smith report

He was still alive and moaning from an injury to his head when American helicopters and Humvees arrived at the scene. It had taken seven Iraqi men to drag him from the rubble minutes after the American air strike on the farmhouse where he was staying in the village of Hibhib.

They did not know then that the man they were trying to save was Abu Musab al

Zarqawi, the leader of Al-Qaeda in Iraq and the country's most wanted terrorist.

Ali Abbas, 25, a labourer, had just got home on Wednesday when, shortly after 6pm, the first of two huge blasts shook his house. He was only 300 yards from where the F-16 aircraft dropped two 500lb laser-guided bombs.

"It was so close I thought my uncle's house next door had been attacked," he said.

In the calm that followed, Abbas rushed out to help. He found his uncle unharmed, but as they looked across the fence they saw that the neighbouring house on the edge of a date palm grove was a smouldering wreck.

"We ran to it and started to look around for anything, but it had all been reduced to rubble," he said. "We saw the bodies of two <u>women</u> that had been flung away from the blast. Both were dead. Another body was totally destroyed and in pieces, and then we heard a moan coming from another part of the house."

They raced to where the sound was coming from. "We found the body of a big man, middle-aged. There was life in him still. It took seven of us to move him from within the rubble and carry him out about 100 metres. He had a black dishdasha (robe). His hair was longish and his beard soft black. He just moaned over and over again. He had an injury to the back of his head."

As they dragged the wounded man from the ruins of the house, an ambulance and Iraqi forces turned up, taking the total number of people at the scene to about 14. The men had barely finished placing him in the ambulance when seven US helicopters landed by the house and four Humvees rumbled through the dust.

"They were shouting and screaming and in a very tense and agitated mood," said Abbas. "They lined us up in a ditch and told us to turn our faces. We thought they were going to execute us. I started reciting koranic verses to

myself." The soldiers then took the wounded man from the back of the ambulance, placing his stretcher on the ground.

"The Americans tore his dishdasha and they kept on asking him through an interpreter, 'What is your name, what is your name?'," said Abbas. "They were tearing his dishdasha, not to wrap his head with it as they did later but because they were afraid he might be wearing a suicide belt. They kept shouting, 'Keep your distance, he may be wearing a suicide belt'."

He was not. "Under the dishdasha he was wearing only knee-length white undershorts," said Abbas.

Once the soldiers had established the man was not a threat, they started to kick him in the chest, said Abbas and an Iraqi policeman also there. "They kept kicking him, shouting, 'What's your name?', but

the man only moaned and said nothing," said Abbas.

As the small crowd of Iraqis looked on, the wounded man grew paler and blood oozed from his mouth and nose. It took about a quarter of an hour for him to die from the time when he was removed from the ambulance, Abbas estimated.

Abbas and other witnesses say the Americans then brought out black bodybags before taking the remains of all the dead away in a helicopter. Troops from the Humvees then rounded up the locals.

Abbas said: "A commander spoke to us all together and told us, 'We know you have nothing to do with this and that you came to the scene to help your neighbours, but these people were terrorists'.

"When (further one-to-one questioning) was over they took us a distance from the house. They placed five detonations around the house and asked us to open our mouths and close our ears. They then blew up what remained of the rubble house."

The next day Abbas saw pictures of the dead Zarqawi on television, his face swollen, cheeks bruised, eyes closed, with a neatly trimmed beard and moustache.

There were streaks of blood beneath his skull. He was sure it was the same man.

The US military's account differs from the Iraqis in only one important detail.

According to a US spokesman, army medics tried to save Zarqawi's life.

"He attempted to roll off the stretcher, I am told, and get away, realising it was the US military," Major-General William Caldwell, a spokesman for the coalition forces in Iraq, said. "Everybody re-secured him back onto the stretcher, but he died almost immediately."

THE precise details of the death of the 39-year-old Jordanian leader of Al Qaeda in Iraq will pass into legend, with each faction telling its own version of events. But while DNA testing of his identity continues, nobody doubts that at 6.15pm on Wednesday the Americans got the killer they had sought for so long.

It was quite a hit. As one former Iraqi solider put it last week, it was as if "the ghost of death has disappeared".

By immersing himself in an orgy of the most extreme and indiscriminate violence after the overthrow of Saddam Hussein three years ago, Zarqawi had become the face of barbarism in Iraq. More than that, his sickening beheadings of western hostages, snuff videos and regular slaughter of ordinary Iraqis had made his name synonymous with evil throughout the world.

It was Zarqawi's most fervent ambition to unleash civil war in Iraq; to create a bloody anarchy that would destabilise neighbouring states and allow Al-Qaeda's brand of fundamentalist Islam to spread throughout the region.

For Zalmay Khalilzad, the American ambassador in Iraq, "Zarqawi was the godfather of sectarian killing in Iraq. He led a civil war within Islam and a global war of civilisations."

In the end it was Iraq that turned on him. In recent weeks he had been squeezed out of one safe haunt after another

as ordinary Iraqis grew sick of his killing.

In the area around Hibhib there had been a spike in violence in the days before Zarqawi's killing. Nine severed heads were discovered in fruit boxes and 21 Shi'ites, many of them young students, had been pulled off a bus and shot.

Rejection by the Iraqi population was a situation that Zarqawi had foreseen. His aim was to destabilise the place before it happened.

In a letter to Osama Bin Laden, intercepted in late 2004, he noted that the influence of Al-Qaeda in Iraq could wane once a democratic government was installed in Baghdad. "If we fight them, that will be difficult because there will be a schism between us and the people of the region," he predicted.

Yet it was Bin Laden, not Zarqawi, who took the lesson to heart. The millionaire Saudi ideologue had reportedly taken an immediate dislike to the swaggering Jordanian street bully when he met him in Afghanistan in the 1990s.

Later Bin Laden came to regard the upstart - who was energetically recruiting Islamic zealots to his banner in Europe as well as the Arab world - as a challenge to his authority and feared that his fomenting civil war in Iraq would damage Al-Qaeda's authority in the Muslim world.

It was these factors, combined with ruthless tracking by American and British special forces, that proved to be Zarqawi's undoing.

FOR more than two years a "combined joint special operations task", recently renamed Task Force 77, had been hunting down Zarqawi and his Al-Qaeda in Iraq network. It included American troops from Delta Force, a US special operations intelligence unit known as the Activity, US Rangers and, on the British side, an SAS "sabre" squadron and about 60 paratroopers from the Special Forces Support Group.

The search for Zarqawi had started badly. Corporal Ian Plank, 31, a member of the British Special Boat Service, was killed in 2003 when a joint SAS and SBS operation against a house in west Baghdad, where the terrorist was thought to be hiding, went wrong.

"The intel guys underestimated the threat and they stepped into a hornets' nest," said a British special operations source.

In February last year there was another near-miss. The taskforce had learnt that Zarqawi would be travelling on a particular stretch of road from Falluja to Ramadi.

An ambush was set up, but the target was late and the special forces troops were packing up when Zarqawi drove by. His vehicle then sped through a second roadblock, but soldiers were forbidden to shoot at it because they were unsure of his identity.

With troops in hot pursuit, his driver swerved off the main road and Zarqawi jumped out and ran for his life. He would have been caught, say military insiders, had the video camera on a Predator remote control aircraft not swung out of focus and lost him.

Another close shave came last October when a special forces "A-team" raided an Al-Qaeda safe house in Mosul, northern Iraq, surprising Zarqawi and three of his lieutenants. The team was commanded by Tony Yost, a US special forces master sergeant who gunned down the three subordinates but was killed in the firefight.

Zarqawi managed to blow up the house and escape via a tunnel. He was badly wounded and there was even speculation that he had died.

Apparently rattled by these and other near-misses, Zarqawi decided to go public earlier this year, posing on video, Rambo-style, with an American automatic assault rifle in the desert. The pictures were broadcast around the world and, say intelligence analysts, would have enraged Bin Laden who had not found an opportunity to show his face on video since October 2004.

Shortly after the broadcast, Task Force 77 received a vital tip. It was told - apparently via Jordianian intelligence - that Al-Qaeda had dispatched Sheikh Abdel Rahman, a new "spiritual adviser" to liaise with Zarqawi in Iraq. Armed with this information, Task Force 77

was able to start tracking Rahman as he used a Thuraya satellite phone. This, in turn, enabled them to start building

a better picture of Zarqawi's movements.

"It was a painstaking effort, very focused over about three weeks," Caldwell said.

"There was a lot of information coming in that allowed us to build that puzzle."

Early last week intelligence pinpointed the isolated safe house surrounded by date palm groves in Hibhib, about 40 miles north of Baghdad. It had been sold only a fortnight ago to a Sunni family for about 70m Iraqi dinars.

A Predator drone tracked Rahman as he drove from Baghdad to Hibhib on Wednesday afternoon, while a reconnaissance team from Task Force 77, including a small number of British SAS soldiers, moved stealthily into the village and installed themselves 100 yards from the house. Quietly, they signalled to American commanders that they had found their target.

The decision was made to call in an airstrike, while troops from the 101st Airborne began sealing off the village in case anything went wrong.

"They came to the conclusion that they could not really go in on the ground without running the risk of letting (Zarqawi) escape," said Donald Rumsfeld, the American defence secretary. "So they used air power and attacked the dwelling."

Two F-16s, flying on routine missions nearby, were called in for the task, but one was refuelling in mid-air and could not make it in time.

The commandos of Task Force 77 "painted" the target

by using a laser marker and

the two 500lb bombs, dropped in quick succession, flattened the house.

Five people, apparently including Rahman and three women, were killed on impact.

It was only Zarqawi who was not killed outright.

NEWS of the Jordanian's death was quickly relayed to the White House but it was not until early on Thursday that fingerprints confirmed his identity. A jubilant Rumsfeld then hailed Zarqawi's death as a "stunning shock to the Al-Qaeda system".

Is it?

Having boasted prematurely of "mission accomplished" when Saddam was toppled three years ago, President George W Bush sounded a contrasting note of caution

over Zargawi's death last week. The American people should expect "tough days ahead" in Iraq, he warned.

Privately British officials also sought to play down the news. "It will probably have less impact than everybody wishes," said one senior military source.

"The presence of foreign fighters in Iraq is not the issue any more. Sunnis are fighting Sunnis, Shi'ites are fighting

Shi'ites and they're all fighting each other." In short, Zarqawi's work was already done.

There is also the question of Bin Laden himself. For all

the elation, the death of Zarqawi has been an uncomfortable reminder that the world's number one terrorist remains at large.

He is believed to be hiding out in the mountains of northwest Pakistan, close to the Afghan border, hidden from unmanned drones by the inhospitable terrain and cloud cover. There have been no recent Zarqawi-style nearmisses and he is not likely to be found anytime soon.

One by one, the Al-Qaeda network is being rolled up. Since the attacks of September 11, 2001, more than a dozen key figures have been killed or captured, including Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, the mastermind of the 9/11 hijackings. Hundreds of lesser suspects have also been hunted down disrupting Al Qaeda cells across a wide area.

"Al-Qaeda is an organisation like the mafia," said Peter Galbraith, a former US ambassador and senior fellow of the Center for Arms Control

and Non-Proliferation, speaking from Irbil in northern Iraq.

"No doubt in Iraq it has produced more suicide bombers and terrorists than have been eliminated, but Al-Qaeda has been diminished as the most effective and imaginative terrorist organisation."

Yet the durability of the global Al-Qaeda hydra was demonstrated only last week when Islamic groups in Somalia, suspected of harbouring Al-Qaeda terrorists, defeated warlords who had been financed and supported by the United States. The Islamist groups seized control of the capital, providing a new haven for Al Qaeda supporters.

In Iraq itself new leaders are already emerging to take Zarqawi's place, even if they are unlikely to have his notorious impact.

Caldwell, the US military spokesman in Baghdad, predicted that Zarqawi's role was likely to be filled by an Al-Qaeda operative known as Abu Ayyub Masri who met Zarqawi at a training camp in Afghanistan in 2001 or 2002.

Masri is Egyptian-born, however, and sources close to the insurgents say Zarqawi's place will go to an Iraqi commander.

The most likely successor

is a man who has used the pseudonym Abu Abdul Raham al-Iraqi. He has appeared in past statements from Zarqawi's group as the "deputy emir". His name was on a statement that

it issued on Thursday confirming Zarqawi's death and vowing to continue on his path of jihad, or holy war.

"It is highly likely that the new head of Al-Qaeda in the land of two rivers (Iraq) will be Abu Abdul Rahman al-Iraqi," a member of one of the groups within the Mujaheddin Shoura - an umbrella body composed of Al-Qaeda in Iraq and other militant groups - told The Sunday Times.

"For political reasons and to prevent anyone in the future from saying that the leader is a non-Iraqi, it is more likely that they will go for an Iraqi commander this time.

"There is no shortage of leaders to lead Al-Qaeda and the difficulty will not be to find a replacement. The difficulty will be who to choose from the list of men that can fill his command.

"The death of Zarqawi will not cease attacks or operations in Iraq. On the contrary, it will boost the insurgents in different ways. The insurgency or resistance in Iraq against the occupation is not dependent on one man."

Despite such bombast, the new Iraqi government was last week in bullish mood. "We will get the next leader, too, whoever it is," said Nouri al-Maliki, the prime minister.

Intelligence sources predict more "targeted assassinations" of key insurgent figures in Iraq in the coming weeks and months. The tactic will be similar to that adopted by the Israelis against <u>Hamas</u> leaders, according to Dan Goure of the Lexington Institute, a think tank with ties to the Pentagon.

Maliki also gave notice last week that the battle for control of Baghdad would begin soon. "We will meet head-on the armed gangs and terrorists who we believe constitute the main threat to security," he vowed.

American and Iraqi forces have been waiting for the appointment of new ministers of the interior and defence to begin their assault. It is expected to be launched in July or August at the latest.

Baghdad will be divided up sector by sector, following the example set by the British Army in Northern Ireland.

"It's a useful model because you're trying to suppress a minority - in this case the Sunnis - while at the same time trying to protect them from a majority, the Shi'ites," said one source.

While insurgents will be rooted out, huge sums of money will be poured into reconstruction by army Sweat (sewage, water, electricity and trash) teams to improve living conditions and security.

Where they can, the Iraqi forces will take the lead in army and police operations, but American troops, embedded as mentors in Iraqi units, will

be on hand to gather intelligence and restrain outbreaks of sectarianism.

On the political front, Bush is summoning his chief Iraq policy advisers to Camp David for a conference to be held tomorrow and Tuesday, which will be video linked to key American and Iraqi personnel in Baghdad. Top of the agenda will be how to capitalise on the momentum offered by Zarqawi's death to bring more moderate Sunnis into the fold and detach the Shi'ites from their radical fringe.

For all the violence, the step-by-step political process that was fostered by the Americans and which began with Iraq's first free elections in January 2005 has been tempting Sunni nationalists to join tentatively in the creation of a democracy.

The Iraqi government will also be encouraged to move swiftly to amend the constitution to allay Sunni anxieties about being left without

oil and resources in a weak, federal Iraq.

Will it work?

"Without Zarqawi there will be less of the really nasty stuff, such as beheadings and kidnappings," said a senior British official, "and that'll help."

In the rosiest of White House scenarios, the stage will then

be set for significant coalition troop withdrawals in the autumn. This will be early enough for Bush to impress the American electorate before the November congressional elections - and for Tony Blair to start firming up his plans for an honourable retirement.

The transition this year to an Iraq led by Iraqis for Iraqis was already part of the coalition's plan; but the terrifying rise in sectarian violence, following the bombing of the holy Shi'ite mosque at Samarra in February, made all talk of withdrawal look like irresponsible cutting and running.

The killing of Zarqawi offers a fresh chance to bolster the Iraqi government and to give the Americans and the British an honourable exit strategy.

However, as the unravelling of every piece of good news from the capture of Saddam to the purple elections has shown, it is wise to hope for the best and prepare for the worst.

Additional reporting: Ali Rifat and Nick Fielding

AL-QAEDA: KEY FIGURES CAPTURED OR KILLED

Nov 2001 Muhammad Atef, military commander, killed by airstrike in Afghanistan.

March 2002 Abu Zubaydah, operations chief, captured in Pakistan.

September 2002 Ramzi Binalshibh, believed to have helped plan 9/11, caught in Pakistan.

March 2003 Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, alleged mastermind of 9/11, caught in Pakistan.

Feb 2004 Hambali, alias Riduan Isamuddin, arrested in Thailand. Suspected mastermind of 2002 Bali bombings.

July 2004 Mohammed Naim Noor Khan, communications expert for Al-Qaeda, arrested in Pakistan.

July 2004. Ahmed Khalfan Ghailani, said to be top Al-Qaeda man suspected of role in 1998 bombings of US embassies in east Africa, seized in Pakistan.

Taken after 14-hour gun battle in city of Gujarat.

May 2005 Abu Faraj al-Libbi and three other Al-Qaeda suspects captured after gun battle in town of Mardan in Pakistan near border with Afghanistan.

Jan 2006 Abu Khabab al-Masri, bomb-maker, was one of four Al-Qaeda leaders captured in Pakistani village of Damadola.

He is said to have trained Richard Reid the failed shoe bomber and Zacarias Moussaoui, convicted of involvement in 9/11.

Feb 2006 Security forces kill fi ve out of 36 most wanted militants in Saudi Arabia, including Fahd Aljuwair, Al-Qaeda leader in the kingdom.

Feb 2006 Muhsin Musa Matwalli Atwah, Egyptian implicated in 1998 US embassy bombings in east Africa, killed in shoot-out in Pakistan.

STILL AT LARGE.

Osama Bin Laden.

US offering reward of \$25m.

Ayman al-Zawahiri No2 to Bin Laden. Reward \$25m.

Saif al-Adl Implicated in east African embassy bombings.

Reward \$5m.

Jamil Ahmad Badawi Yemeni responsible for attack on USS Cole. Imprisoned in Yemen, but escaped.

Abdullah Ahmed Abdullah Egyptian, suspected of embassy bombings, killing US soldiers in Somalia.

Load-Date: June 11, 2006

**End of Document** 



In 1979, followers of Ayatollah Khomeini seized 66 Americans in Tehran and held them for 444 days. The crisis marked the start of a conflict that continues to this day. Here, for the first time, hostage takers explain their actions

The Independent (London)

May 27, 2006 Saturday

First Edition

Copyright 2006 Independent Print Ltd All Rights Reserved



Section: NEWS; Pg. 20 Length: 3535 words

Byline: By Mark Bowden, author of 'Black Hawk Down'

## **Body**

Nowadays the grand old US embassy in Tehran looks forlorn, like a hostage left behind and long forgotten. A solid battleship of an office building in orange brick, it was once the symbol of America's formidable presence in Iran. Long ago dubbed the "Den of Spies"by Islamic radicals, the old embassy building is now covered with anti-American graffiti, banners and propaganda displays to remind people of the nation's undying disdain for its once-favourite ally. The embassy compound is home to the Revolutionary Guards, an Zlite military unit that reports to the blackturbaned clerics of Iran's authoritarian mullahocracy, and to the basij, Islamic brownshirts, the civilian squads that turn out en masse to demonstrate on behalf of the regime and to help put down those who engage in public displays of dissent and "immorality", such as <u>women</u> whose scarves do not fully cover their hair, or young people who hold hands. The former embassy itself serves as an anti-American museum, with a grim, ugly permanent display called "The Great Aban 13 Exhibition", commemorating one of the most important dates on the modern Iranian calendar. Aban 13 corresponds to 4 November, the date on which, 27 years ago, scores of Iranian students scaled the compound walls and took hostage the entire US diplomatic mission, setting off a tense 15-month stand-off between the United States and Iran. It was one of the founding events of the Islamic Republic, and its geopolitical repercussions are still being felt throughout the world.

The old embassy is supposed to be an official shrine to that bold act of national defiance, which defined for the world the glorious 1979 revolution. Yet in the four times I went to the embassy during trips to Iran in recent years, it was empty of visitors. The slogans and artwork that had been spray-painted on the embassy's brick outer walls by angry crowds during the tumultuous hostage crisis had faded. Even the guardhouse on the south-east corner, where visitors enter, was in shambles.

For a visiting American, Iran is like an inverse world. Bad is good and good is bad. In the West we are bombarded with advertising images of youth, beauty, sex and life' in Tehran the preponderance of advertising images celebrate death. There are murals everywhere honouring martyrs - primarily those who died in the Iran- Iraq War in the

1980s, but also more recent Islamic martyrs, including Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, the spiritual leader of <u>Hamas</u>, who was assassinated by Israeli forces in Gaza in 2004. Billboards in the West often feature provocatively posed teenagers, but in Tehran the murals tend to depict grumpy-looking white-bearded clerics - especially the bespectacled face of the current Supreme Leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, and the more imposing, threatening visage of the late Imam, Ruhollah Khomeini, the major force behind the overthrow of the Shah in 1979, and the father of Iran's theocratic state.

And just when one seems to have the place in full inverse focus, there comes some wildly discordant note - such as the sprawling openair drugs market right in Tehran's centre, where dealers hawk Viagra, ecstasy and opium, at rock-bottom, infidel prices. In this pious city where <u>women</u> are forced to cover their bodies and heads, even in stifling summer heat, it is common to see prostitutes - duly scarved and draped - freely patrolling the streets. As I posed before a Khomeini mural for a snapshot one afternoon, a well-dressed young Iranian passerby asked me in perfect English,"Why do you want a picture of that asshole?"

Nowhere is the inverse nature of Iran more evident than in the country's national memory of the gerogan-giri, the "hostage-taking". On 4 November 1979, a well-organised core group of Iranian university students scaled the walls of the US embassy compound, seized the embassy building, and bound and blindfolded about 60 Americans, including the embassy's top foreign-service and CIA officers, military liaisons, administrators, clerks, secretaries and a detachment of Marine guards. The invaders, calling themselves Students Following the Imam's Line, demanded that their despised Shah, who had been forced to flee the country nine months earlier and had just been admitted to the United States for cancer treatment, be returned immediately to face revolutionary justice. Hundreds of his former associates had already been executed or thrown in jail.

President Jimmy Carter refused the demand, and the subsequent 15-month stand-off became one of the signature international crises of modern times. It left a lot of Americans feeling helpless and enraged, while imbuing Iranians, many of whom blamed the US for the Shah's inarguable despotism, with a new sense of strength and national purpose. The episode turned tragic when the secret rescue mission, approved after much agonising by President Carter, ended in catastrophe at a staging area in the Iranian desert: owing to freak dust storms, several helicopters had to set down or turn back and the entire operation had to be aborted. During the withdrawal one helicopter collided with a transport plane, exploded into flames, and left eight servicemen dead. In a final insult to Carter, the hostages were at last released on 20 January 1981 - Inauguration Day for the man who had defeated him, Ronald Reagan.

The different ways this event is remembered in America and in Iran illustrate how nations invent their own pasts, and how the simplification of history can create impossible gulfs between peoples. To Americans, for whom the incident has become little more than an embarrassing footnote, the hostage crisis was an unprovoked crime, carried out by a scruffy band of half-crazy Islamist zealots driven by a senseless hatred of all things American. It was a terrifying ordeal for the hostages and their families, fatal for eight of the would-be rescuers, and a political disaster for Jimmy Carter - perhaps the single most important factor in making him a one-term President. It was a protracted public humiliation and America's first modern encounter with militant Islam, and the first time Americans heard their country called "the Great Satan".

For many Iranians, however, the hostage crisis was an unalloyed triumph. Embossed with florid Shia mysticism, the episode has taken on the force of national myth - an epic story of a small group of devout young gerogangirha (hostage-takers) who, armed with only prayer and purity of heart, stormed the gates of the most evil, potent empire on the planet, booted out the American devils, and secured the success of the mullahs'revolution. And when the Great Satan dispatched its deadly commandos to slay these young heroes, Allah stirred dust storms to down the infidel helicopters and turn back the invaders. This is the story taught to schoolchildren who are bussed in to see the Great Aban 13th Exhibition and to touch the remains of the helicopters that Allah scorched while the gerogangirha slept. During my trips to Tehran I went looking for the people who planned and directed the embassy takeover and the ones who found themselves caught up in it. I wanted to know what had happened to them in the quarter century since they climbed the embassy walls, what they had hoped to accomplish, and how they felt about what they had done.

Ibrahim Asgharzadeh, a ringleader of the takeover who has become a reform politician and newspaperman, is emphatic in his assessment. "Hostage-taking is not an acceptable action under international norms and standards,"he tells me. "The hostages underwent severe emotional difficulties. Prolonging it affected both countries in a negative way. The chaos caused such tension between Iran and the US that even now no one knows how to resolve it." I learnt from talking to the gerogan-girha that the "hostage crisis"was not supposed to involve the prolonged detention of hostages. The young Iranians envisioned having to subdue and confine members of the American mission for perhaps a day or two, but they had no intention of holding them for any length of time. They made no preparations for doing so.

The demand for the Shah's return was primarily rhetorical. The hostage-takers' immediate goal was to put pressure on the provisional government of Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan. This interim authority had been appointed by Khomeini after the fall of the Shah to preside until a new constitution could be written. Bazargan favoured a Western-style state, but in the eyes of extremists - both Islamists and Marxists - he was watering down the revolution. They saw the provisional government's efforts to re-establish ties with the rest of the world as a sell-out.

The opportunity for radical change appeared to be slipping away. So extremists fanned fears of an American-led countercoup' the plan to seize the embassy grew out of these fears. Khomeini was not informed about the takeover in advance, and by the time it was presented to him it was a fait accompli, and hugely popular. Hundreds of thousands of gleeful Iranians celebrated in the streets around the embassy night and day, burning Carter in effigy and chanting: "Death to America!"Khomeini had little choice but to embrace the brash gerogangirha, and to officially anoint them as national heroes. Bazargan's government resigned two days after the takeover, and the revolution tilted permanently into the arms of the mullahs.

The gerogan-girha saw themselves as part of an experiment: they were trying to build a utopia. They were striving toward umma, a perfect, classless, crimeless Muslim community infused with the "spirit of God".

But instead of a shining city upon a hill, Tehran today is a teeming sprawl, a study in faded brown and grey, swimming in a miasma of smog and dust. Umma remains a distant, unfulfilled promise, as Iranians grapple with unemployment, rampant corruption and selfdestructive domestic and foreign policies. Straining under tight economic sanctions imposed by the US and some of its allies, Iran remains an international pariah' it courts tougher sanctions - even invasion - by its resumption of a nuclear programme, amid fears that the country is working to manufacture nuclear weapons. <u>Women</u> live under archaic restrictions on employment, social relations and mode of dress. Teachers and other intellectuals labour under oppressive government oversight. The country's Intelligence and Security Ministry is as omnipresent and feared as was Savak, the Shah's old secret police.

The gerogan-girha live in the ruins of their dream. Those who despise the current regime now regret their role in bringing a small circle of authoritarian clerics to power. And more than anything they blame the hostage crisis for a litany of problems and set backs that have befallen their country in the past quarter of a century. Iran's loss of ties to the US after the embassy seizure prompted Saddam Hussein to invade in 1980 (when the hostages were still being held). In the ensuing war Iran lost more than half a million young men. Iran's status as an outlaw nation has had a stifling effect on its chances for an economic turnaround.

Asgharzadeh was a wiry, intense, bearded engineering student when he came up with the idea, in September 1979, to seize the American embassy."The initial idea was mine, "he tells me at the office of his newspaper, Hambastegi. "Ever since high school I had been outraged by American policies."

According to him, there were five students at that first planning meeting. Two of them - Mahmoud Ahmadinejad (who became Iran's president last year) and Mohammed Ali Seyyedinejad - wanted to target the Soviet embassy. But the others supported Asgharzadeh's choice. "Our aim was to object to the American government by going to their embassy and occupying it for several hours, "he said. "Announcing our objections from within the compound would carry our message to the world in a much more firm and effective way."

Asgharzadeh has since served as a member of the Majlis (Iran's legislature) and as president of the Tehran City Council, and ran unsuccessfully for President in 2001. In his politics and journalism he has strongly urged the

mullahs to adopt democratic reforms, such as freedom of the press and the elimination of veto powers they wield over political candidates and legislation' he has now been banned from seeking public office, and has served a term in solitary confinement.

Asgharzadeh is the most prominent of the gerogan-girhawho have turned against the mullahocracy. He now sees the embassy takeover as a mistake - one that has had a disastrous long-term impact on his country. "We failed in enforcing it the way it was meant to be,"he says."We lost control of events very quickly - within 24 hours! Unfortunately, things got out of hand and took their own course. The initial hours were quite pleasant for us, because [the protest] had a clear purpose and justification. But once the event turned into a hostage-taking, it became a long, drawn-out, and corrosive phenomenon."

In the confusion, Asgharzadeh recalls, they failed to fully control even their own members. "American hostages were not supposed to be paraded blindfolded in front of the press,"he says."The blindfolding was done only for security reasons' in order to control the hostages we used strips of cloth to blindfold them. Unfortunately, our humane objectives were distorted. We objected strongly to this behaviour, and the people who did this were reprimanded, but the damage had been done. We tried very hard to prevent the operation from being manipulated by political groups and factions." Asgharzadeh and his fellow students eventually chased the other political groups out of the compound and locked the gates.

How would President Carter respond? Would there be military action? Sanctions? A blockade? The thing began to take on a life of its own. With the provisional government in tatters, the US had no one with whom to negotiate a solution.

In the coming weeks, it became clear that the stalemate would not be resolved quickly, the hostage-takers recruited hundreds of volunteers to serve as guards. Others went to work piecing together documents that had been shredded by embassy officials on the day of the takeover, while others tried to decipher and translate them. Fluent English-speakers were brought in, including Massoumeh Ebtekar, who became the voice of the gerogan-girha at her daily press conferences with the world media. For the young Iranians, those days were heady and even romantic: Asgharzadeh met and proposed to his wife, and Ebtekar met and ultimately married Mohammad Hashemi, one of the core group of leaders.

For the first two days the seized Americans inside the compound were tied to chairs in the ambassador's residence and blindfolded. In the coming months, 13 of them were released - all <u>women</u> and blacks, in the hope of winning the public support of America's "oppressed" minorities. Most of the remainder - lowerlevel embassy staffers, guards and a few unfortunates who had come to Iran on business or as part of cultural exchanges - were herded into the basement of a warehouse on the embassy grounds, where they lived for months in a large windowless space divided into cells by bookshelves. They were forbidden to speak. The higher-level Americans - diplomats, CIA officers and military-liaison personnel - were taken away one by one for interrogation. Some were beaten' the CIA officers were worked over with heavy rubber hoses.

Asgharzadeh realises that he cannot change the past. But knowing what he knows now, he would not do it again."If today I were to devise a plan or political action, it would certainly not be an action along the lines of the takeover of the American embassy, "he says.

The surviving gerogan-girha who have prospered most in the mullahocracy are regarded by many Iranians as opportunists, and the most tempting targets for this label are Hashemi, who retired as first deputy of the Ministry of Intelligence and Security, and Ebtekar, now Minister of the Environment. They are Iran's premier power couple. Both regard the embassy takeover as an unadulterated success.

I found Hashemi in an office several flights up from a noisy, bustling street in downtown Tehran. He served the customary small glasses of tea and chatted animatedly. Self-assured, even imperious, Hashemi defends not only what he and the other hostage-takers did but also how they did it.

"We knew that there is an end to everything, like there is peace after every war,"he told me. "We wanted it to be a hostage-taking without any harshness and scuffle, unique in history, a hostage-taking that represented a nation and its concerns, and that is what we are proud of."

As one of the ringleaders of the embassy takeover, Hashemi recruited Ebtekar. He knew that, having lived in a suburb of Philadelphia as a child, she spoke fluent English. Known as "Mother Mary" and "Screaming Mary", she was especially disliked by many of the hostages, in part because her accent made her seem like a turncoat, a "Tokyo Rose", in part because of her endless propagandising. She would saunter through the captured embassy with a camera crew in tow, urging the hostages to describe their ordeal in upbeat terms. "You have been treated well, haven't you?" was her constant refrain. During one such filming session, in the final days of captivity, Army Sergeant Regis Regan got so fed up with Ebtekar that he let loose with a stream of invective and was dragged into a hallway for a beating.

It had occurred to me as I finished my interview with her husband that his willingness to talk to me might reflect an ulterior motive. He and his wife have heavily invested in an ambitious new vacation resort on the Caspian Sea called Cham Paradise. Hashemi showed me slick brochures and advertisements for the venture, printed in both Farsi and English' they were evidently designed to attract foreign visitors as well as Iranians. Hashemi was clearly excited as he showed me a detailed model of the project - a cluster of modern apartment buildings, hotels, villas, restaurants, lakes and other features arrayed on the tip of a peninsula. Then he had an idea.

"Perhaps, in a few years,"he said,"we might invite back the Americans we held hostage, and they can all stay at the resort as our guests!"

"This time, can they go home when they want?" I asked, and waited for my interpreter to relay the question to him.

Listening to the Farsi, Hashemi first scowled, and then reeled with laughter. He said to me in English,"You make a joke!"

By the time I next returned to Iran in August 2004, Cham Paradise had gone bust. Hashemi and Ebtekar had been forced to sell their home to pay off their debts, and the two were living with her mother - somehow, one suspects, blaming the US for their troubles.

On my last day in Tehran I visited the Den of Spies one more time. I was accompanied by David Keane, a film-maker who was shooting a documentary in tandem with my reporting. David (who is also my cousin) wanted to shoot some film inside the compound and inside the old embassy building itself. We stopped at the by now familiar guardhouse on the south-east corner, and to our surprise, it had been spruced up. The walls and ceiling looked as if they'd been given a new coat of paint, the boot prints had vanished, and the broken-down furniture had been replaced. Another bored-looking team of young Revolutionary Guards - this time a threesome - sat sullenly behind the marbleveneered reception counter.

We sat for hours before a mid-level official in the management of the compound arrived at the guardhouse. A worried-looking man, he said we would be permitted to walk through the exhibit, but no filming would be allowed. Our appointment, our document with the important signatures, did not seem to matter.

Eventually we gave up.We had already taken still pictures on an earlier visit. As we made our way out of the compound to hail a cab, the three young Revolutionary Guards came running after us.We wondered for a minute if the procedures were going to change yet again.

The guards all spoke to our interpreter Ramin in Farsi, smiling and gesturing towards us, and then he relayed their comments: "They want me to tell you that they are embarrassed, that they think this is silly. They want to apologise on behalf of their country."

Ramin grinned as the soldiers huddled around him. "They want me to tell you that they love America."

The soldiers flashed big smiles at us and nodded approvingly. And right there in front of a"Death to the USA"sign, in front of the faded banners denouncing "The Great Satan", one of the Revolutionary Guards raised his thumb high into the air and said in halting English, "OK for George W Bush!"

Extracted from 'Guests of the Ayatollah'by Mark Bowden, published 8 June by Atlantic Books, pounds 19.99. To buy the book for pounds 16.50, inc p&p, call Independent Books Direct on 0870 0798897

"We lost control of events very quickly, within 24 hours. Unfortunately, our humane objectives were distorted"

"During the secret US rescue attempt, a helicopter collided with a transport plane, leaving eight servicemen dead"

"We wanted it to be a hostage-taking that represented a nation and its concerns, and that is what we are proud of"

## **Graphic**

The American hostage Jerry Miele is paraded to the US Embassy's gate on 11 November 1979. The man with the briefcase is believed by some to be Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, the current hardline President of Iran' Top: the Stars and Stripes is burnt during the embassy takeover. Below: Ibrahim Asgharzadeh, one of the ringleaders of the hostage-taking, who is now a reform politician and journalist' The remains of one of the helicopters used in the failed US attempt by Delta Force to free the hostages in April 1980, near Tabas, Iran' Top: a woman walks past a Statue of Liberty mural now painted on the outside of the US Embassy in Tehran. Below: Massoumeh Ebtekar, who became the voice of the hostage-takers and is an unapologetic supporter of the action

Load-Date: May 27, 2006

**End of Document** 



Age of terror, age of illusions: Part One: I remember the anger I felt watching the endlessly repeated images of the towers collapsing. But there's another kind of anger -- a more cerebral one toward the intellectuals of our time who contributed to all that destruction through their hostility toward the mores and traditions of western civilization.

Ottawa Citizen
September 9, 2006 Saturday
Final Edition

Copyright 2006 Ottawa Citizen, a division of CanWest MediaWorks Publication Inc. All Rights Reserved

Section: SATURDAY OBSERVER; Pg. B1

Length: 4167 words

Byline: Robert Sibley, The Ottawa Citizen

Dateline: NEW YORK

## **Body**

NEW YORK - I still see bodies falling. Standing at my hotel window, overlooking Ground Zero, it's not hard to visualize the flaming towers and the bird-like figures of human bodies plummeting through the air. I especially remember a couple leaping hand in hand into emptiness. In their flapping clothes they looked like big clumsy birds, desperate to fly.

There were others, of course. Dozens. According to one estimate, some 200 people jumped from the North and South Towers in the hour-and-a-half the buildings remained standing after the planes hit the World Trade Center on the morning of Sept. 11, 2001. Clerks and executives, cooks and waiters, patrons and clients; they leaped in a continuous stream from the four sides of the buildings, from the office windows of Cantor Fitzgerald, the bond-trading firm, from the Windows on the World restaurant that occupied the 106th and 107th floors, from the offices of the insurance company Marsh & McLennan. Writer Tom Junod, in a recent article in Esquire magazine, described the jumpers in heartbreaking imagery: "They jumped through windows already broken and then, later, through windows they broke themselves. They jumped to escape the smoke and the fire; they jumped when ceilings fell and the floors collapse; they jumped just to breathe once more before they died."

Some clearly hoped they wouldn't die. They used drapes and tablecloths as parachutes. It did no good. The force of falling tore the makeshift parachutes from their hands. And so they fell, bodies arcing and wheeling and tumbling through space, dropping at an ever-increasing a rate of 9.8 metres per second. In the 10 seconds or so it took to reach the ground they were moving at more than 200 km/h. At that speed their clothes were shredded and stripped from their bodies.

For a while the television networks showed the jumpers, as they became known. You heard witnesses on the ground shouting in horror. "God. Save their souls. They're jumping. Oh, please God. Save their souls." And then the broadcasts stopped. Maybe it was too much horror on top of all the other horror. Maybe it was the realization that, no, this wasn't "almost like a movie." Indeed, in the days that followed it was as if a decision had been made at

some level of collective unconscious not to show the full horror of these deaths. Most North American newspapers ran only a few pictures of the jumpers and then never ran them again. By then, of course, the images were indelibly etched in the collective consciousness. No one who witnessed the events of that day will ever forget them. The most famous picture, the one that probably ran on every news broadcast and in every paper, is that of the unknown "Falling Man," who, as Junod says, appears to have embraced this death in his last moments of life, dropping through the air like an arrow.

I remember him, certainly. There have been numerous articles about who he might have been, and even a BBC television program documenting the efforts to identify him. But the picture I have never been able to get out of my head is that of the leaping couple. I imagine them as a man and woman, but it could have been two <u>women</u> or two men for all I know. Even now, on the fifth anniversary of the Sept. 11 attacks, I still wonder who they were -- lovers, friends, colleagues, or strangers who met in their final moments and chose to die together rather than alone. What were their last thoughts as they leaped, hand in hand, into the void? How long were they able to hold on to each other before the laws of physics pulled them apart?

Naturally, I have tried imaging myself in such circumstances. My mind doesn't want to go there, veering away instinctively in the same way your body pulls back from a cliff edge. Still, you wonder. When American Airlines Flight 11 plowed into the North Tower at 8:45 a.m. it sliced through floors 93 to 99 like a scythe, tearing up offices, hallways, conference rooms, rows of desks, ripping out elevators and stairwells, cutting off escape from the higher floors. Hundreds died instantly. Hundreds more were left stranded on floors 100 to 107. Eighteen minutes later, at 9:03 a.m., the second plane slammed into the top of the South Tower, trapping about 600 people. Inside the buildings, temperatures would have approached 1,000 degrees Celsius as the flames consumed furniture, wiring, carpets and computers, creating a tornado of poisonous smoke that funnelled upward to the top storeys. Even the steel beams melted. What would you choose: Death by immolation and choking smoke, or death by a final act of will, a final assertion of a terrible freedom?

I step back from the window, rolling my shoulders to ease the sudden tension in my neck. It's as though my body remembers the anger I felt watching those endlessly repeated images of the towers' collapse; the roiling storm of smoke and the ashen humanity emerging from the clouds of pulverized concrete and flesh; the shell-shocked relatives stalking the streets with photographs of missing loved ones; the firefighters and police officers crawling over the smoldering mountain of rubble, the mobs dancing on the streets of Damascus and Tehran and Gaza, celebrating mass murder.

But there's another kind of anger, too; a colder, more cerebral anger toward the intellectuals of our time, the cosmopolitans and sophists who, unwittingly or not, contributed to all that destruction through their sophisticated hostility towards the mores and traditions of western civilization.

I return to my chair and the book I had been reading -- Samuel Dill's Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire. At the time, Christianity was displacing the old pagan religion and the empire was under frequent attack from barbarians. The great weakness, though, as Dill recounts, was the empire's effete elites. He describes the period as a time when the ruling class -- politicians, bureaucrats, intellectuals, artists -- were cocooned in lifestyle luxury, unwilling to respond to the barbarian threat on the borders. "This self-centred contentment with the material pleasures of life, this rather vacant existence, gliding away in ease and luxury, and a round of trivial social engagements ... is the real reproach against the character of the upper class of that age ... Faith in the stability of the Empire and Roman culture is perfectly untroubled. There is not a hint of those dim hordes, already mustering for their advance ..." It was, Dill concludes, an "age of illusions."

-----

#### Continued from PAGE B1

I put the book down and go back to the window to look out over the canyons of Manhattan and watch the lights come on in the buildings as night falls. I imagine those lights blinking out permanently. All it would take would be a nuclear bomb on a freighter or a truck, or even a vial of anthrax. And for the umpteenth time, I wonder whether we,

like the fifth-century Romans, have become too decadent, too soft morally and intellectually. Decadence is not only a matter of artistic fashion or literary style; it is also a question of self-defence. A society that is unwilling to defend itself, and justifies that refusal with clever rationalizations, can only be described as decadent. This is especially true when the decadents include those elites that provide the ideas and concepts that guide society in its attitudes and conduct. When a society's opinion-makers, its teachers, writers, scholars, artists and thinkers, no longer uphold the values and traditions necessary for that society's survival, well, you're on the downward slope. The question thus needs to be asked: Is our time also an age of self-destructive illusions?

ı

The question is, why are so many unwilling to acknowledge the threat Islamism poses to western civilization? More to the point, perhaps, why are so many so quick to blame the West itself, particularly the United States, for the attacks, as though the 3,000 who perished in the collapse of those 110-storey towers, including many Canadians, deserved their fate?

Sept. 11 was what the German philosopher G.W.F. Hegel would undoubtedly call a "world-historical moment"; which is to say, the terrorist attacks forced a fundamental shift in the way we think (or should think) about the world. Simply stated: On Sept. 11, 2001, a half-hidden war against western civilization and all that it represents was finally made explicit for all to see. Only the most naive or ideologically purblind deny this. "Is there a war on?" asks Italian philosopher Marcello Pera. "My answer is: from Afghanistan to Kashmir, to Chechnya, to the Philippines, to Saudia Arabia, Sudan, Bosnia, Kosovo, Palestine, Turkey, Egypt, Algeria, and Morocco, and elsewhere, in a great part of the Islamic and Arabic world, groups consisting of fundamentalists, radicals, and extremists -- the Taliban, al-Qaeda, Hezbollah, *Hamas*, the Muslim Brotherhood, Islamic Jihad, the Armed Islamic Group, and many others -- have declared war, jihad, against the West. They have said it, written it, diffused it in plain speech. Why should we not take action?"

The last five years witnessed gruesome terrorist strikes -- or threats of strikes -- around the world in the name of Islam -- suicide bombings in Bali and mass murder in Madrid and London, to name only the three most deadly. But there was also the beheading of filmmaker Theo van Gogh on an Amsterdam street. In May, a 24-year-old Pakistani immigrant was convicted in the United States of plotting to blow up a New York subway station. More recently, 17 young Muslim men in the Toronto area were arrested for plotting terrorist strikes in this country. In Britain, two dozen young Muslims are accused of planning to blow airliners out of the sky over the Atlantic. In Germany, two men were nabbed in late July after leaving suitcases loaded with bottles of gasoline, propane and detonators -- the makings of a firebomb -- on trains. In late August, Italian anti-terrorist police arrested 40 people in raids on mosques, Internet outlets and money transfer offices in cities around Italy. With all these terror plots in the works, how can anyone not believe there is a war between radical Islam and the West?

But many, it seems, still do. Former Liberal party leadership candidate Sheila Copps, for example, was recently quoted as suggesting the terrorist roundup in Britain is a conspiracy. "Could it be that this whole thing was an orchestrated overreaction to steer public attention away from the difficulties facing the Bush-Tony Blair fight on terrorism?" she asked.

Lenin had a label for people who think in such an unreal fashion. He called them "useful idiots." We heard a lot from such people during the Cold War. High-minded, well-intentioned they may have been, but in their naivete and ignorance they served as apologists for Soviet totalitarianism with their ill-thought criticism of all things western. A great many were academics and journalists. We're hearing similar appearament psychology regarding Islamism. I can think of no better example than the reaction to former Italian prime minister Silvio Berlusconi's remark that western civilization is superior to Islamic culture.

"We should be confident of the superiority of our civilization, which consists of a value system that has given people widespread prosperity in those countries that embrace it, and guarantees respect for human rights and religion," Mr. Berlusconi said in late September of 2001. "This respect certainly does not exist in Islamic countries. ... We must be conscious of the strength and force of our civilization."

Not surprisingly, Muslims denounced him. "I consider his remarks racist, and by such remarks he has crossed the limits of reason and decency," said Amr Moussa, secretary general of the Arab League. In Turkey, the Islamist newspaper Akit described Berlusconi as "a new Mussolini." But the denunciations of western politicians and commentators were equally vitriolic. Amos Luzzatto, spokesman for the Italian Jewish Organizations, told La Repubblica newspaper: "In my opinion, one can not speak of the superiority of one culture over another." (You have to wonder what he would say about Nazi culture in Germany 70 years earlier.) The Belgian prime minister, Guy Verhofstadt, thought Mr. Berlusconi's remarks could have dangerous consequences. "I can hardly believe that the Italian prime minister made such statements."

It was, indeed, a surprising thing to say, considering the climate of opinion that prevails in western societies, particularly among the intelligentsia. As historian Keith Windschuttle says, "The statement was extraordinary because, although western superiority in every major area of human endeavour, especially in political and individual liberty, is patently obvious to everyone, it has become a truth that must not be spoken."

To say one civilization or culture is better than another is one of the Great Taboos nowadays, at least if you subscribe to the postmodern shibboleths of multiculturalism, multi-racialism, egalitarianism, relativism, post-structuralism, etc. There is one exception, of course. If the civilization you love to hate has its roots in European Christian culture, well, that's all right, then. You can have a nice career as a professor or a newspaper columnist denouncing the traditions and values of western civilization, even as you enjoy the best that civilization has to offer.

Nevertheless, Berlusconi was right -- assuming you think societies that allow religious freedom, free speech, human rights, etc. are "superior" to those that forbid the open practise of all religions, denounce non-believers as less that human and impose death sentences of those who dare criticize the faith. If you don't assume the former is better than the latter -- if you disagree with Berlusconi -- then you really need to ask yourself why you live in the West. To partake of its material benefits while denouncing its fundamental values is the life of a parasite. This isn't to say you're obliged to worship all things western. To the contrary, one of the secrets of the West's vitality is its openness to rational self-criticism (at least until recent decades). But to be "anti-western" while partaking of the benefits of western society is, to say the least, to live with a false and hypocritical consciousness. But that perhaps describes the zeitgeist for many contemporary intellectuals in these early years of the Age of Terror.

Ι

How this zeitgeist has come about, why it dominates the psyche of western elites, and whether it continues to hold sway -- the answers to such questions may well decide whether the West prevails in this war, or whether we are already seeing its decline and fall. The idea of the West in decline is a hoary trope, but societies don't always recognize when their moment in the sun has been eclipsed. The Muslims of the Ottoman empire did not think their hegemony was on the wane when the Turkish navy lost the Battle of Lepanto in 1571 to a fleet of Holy League ships. In fact, the Ottomans, who had not lost a battle since the 15th century, bounced back to reassert naval supremacy and control the coasts of the Mediterranean from the Straits of Gibraltar to Croatia and Slovenia for another century or so. Nevertheless, after the Battle of Lepanto, Islam never again threatened the heartland of Christianity, arguably allowing the West to devote its burgeoning energy to its own expansion. The Ottoman Empire, meanwhile, slowly fell apart, unbeknownst to most of its subjects.

So, too, today westerners might not notice -- or notice too late -- when one too many bricks have been pulled out of the western edifice. In any case, it can take a long time for a civilization to fall. The final collapse of the Roman Empire took at least a century -- from, say, the end of Emperor Valentian I's reign in AD 375 to the sad and short rule of Romulus Augustus in AD 476. After that, well, it got very Dark Age very fast. The point, though, is nobody noticed the coming darkness, least of all the Roman elites. Even at the end of the fourth century, with the barbarians soon to sack Rome, "faith in the stability of the Empire and Roman culture is perfectly untroubled," says Samuel Dill. "There is not a hint (in the writings of Rome's elites) of those dim hordes, already mustering for their advance, who within twenty years will be established on the banks of the Garonne."

The situation is equally disturbing today, if not more so. The Roman elites -- poets, rhetoricians, scholars, soldiers and senators -- may have been blind to the barbarian threat, lost to decadent pursuits, but they weren't actively promoting their civilization's destruction. The same cannot be said of contemporary western elites.

In the words of philosopher Marcello Pera, the western elites, particularly in Europe, are delusional in their views of the Islamist threat, and for much the same reason as the ancient Roman elites. In their denunciations of the United States and the war on terror they have chosen wrongly, says Pera, having "made a flawed analysis of Islamic terror -- based on an anti-American bias -- in the mistaken belief that it is a limited and easily contained phenomenon." He attributes this choice to the mistaken, if comforting, belief that "the terrorist war is an act of reaction rather than aggression." Westerners, Pera writes in an essay entitled "Relativism, Christianity and the West," have enjoyed peace for 60 years and are thus "inclined to believe that peace is a natural state and a natural right, and that perpetual peace can indeed exist." As a result they think no price is too high to achieve peace, "not appeasement, not massacres on its own soil, not even surrender to terrorists." Such an attitude betrays intellectual and moral impotence, says Pera. Tragically, it is this impotence that shapes the response of many western elites to the Islamist threat. Why this is so, why this zeitgeist dominates so much of the western mind, needs to be understood if the West is to recover from its decadent ennui.

ī

In a 2004 speech, "The Spiritual Roots of Europe," Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger -- now Pope Benedict XVI -- said: "There is a self-hatred in the West that can be considered only as something pathological. The West attempts in a praiseworthy manner to open itself completely to the comprehension of external values, but it no longer loves itself; it now only sees what is despicable and destructive in its own history, while it is no longer able to perceive what is great and pure there."

Continued on page B3

## Continued from PAGE B2

Pope Benedict also finds a parallel between the West's situation today and that of ancient Rome. "There is a clear comparison between today's situation and the decline of the Roman Empire. In its final days, Rome still functioned as a great historical framework, but in practice it was already subsisting on models that were destined to fail. Its vital energy had been depleted." In particular, the Pope points to Europe's low birth rate, its seeming unwillingness to reproduce itself, as evidence of decline. "Europe is infected by a strange lack of desire for the future. Children, our future, are perceived as a threat to the present, as if they were taking something away from our lives. Children are seen as a liability rather than as a source of hope."

Might Europe's reluctance to reproduce -- at least on the part of the non-Muslim population -- reflect a spiritual malaise, a psychic impotence, similar to that which afflicted ancient Rome? As commentator Douglas Davis asked in a recent National Post column, "Why would a civilization, at the height of its intellectual, cultural and technological power, seek to subvert its own values to appease a bunch of jihadist fanatics?"

The key reason is the ideology that currently prevails among the western intellectual class. As Keith Windschuttle explains in his essay, "The Cultural War on Western Civilization," recent decades have seen leading opinion-makers in the media, the universities, social and political institutions, and even the churches, promote the notion that the West's "superiority" is shameful and must be opposed because it is based on power and domination of others.

This is a radical change from past understandings of western civilization. Up until the 1960s, most intellectuals believed the West's achievements in political freedom, scientific advance and cultural development were largely explainable in terms of its own internal evolution: the inheritance of ancient Greece and Rome, the rise of Christianity, the Renaissance, the Reformation, the Enlightenment, and the industrial and scientific revolutions. This self-understanding is now rejected by the radical intelligentsia. As Windschuttle says: "Western political and economic dominance is more commonly explained not by its internal dynamics but by its external behaviour,

especially its rivalry and aggression towards other cultures." Western achievement, in other words, has come at the expense of other civilizations. Ergo, the West is guilty of victimizing the world for its own enrichment. Therefore, westerners should be ashamed of their civilization. Its supposedly universal values -- reason, individual freedom, human rights, democracy, etc. -- are merely ethnocentric projections used to justify the West's imperialist exploitation of others. Even science is merely the "western way of knowing."

Admittedly, westerners have not always done well by other societies, and a rational critique of western abuse and exploitation is be welcomed. But this new radicalism goes far beyond self-criticism to constitute hatred of the West. Even if the West is guilty of many of the charges against it, says Windschuttle, that does not justify "an overwhelmingly negative critique of Western civilization itself."

The biggest factor contributing to this negative critique is, arguably, the West's history of empire-building. The critique might be warranted if it was only the West that engaged in imperial adventures. The fact is that every rising civilization has been imperialistic, including Islam, which from the seventh century through to the 16th century established its hegemony in the Middle East, the Indian subcontinent and North Africa through bloody conquest. Should Muslims now feel guilty about conquering what were once Christian lands in the Middle East and North Africa? Should they be expected to vacate those lands and return them to the Christian fold? The questions are purely rhetorical, but there's no gainsaying the hypocrisy in denouncing the West for its imperial past while letting other cultures off the hook. In any case, denunciations of western imperialism are, in many cases, unjustified.

Political theorist Lewis Feuer points out in his book Imperialism and the Anti-Imperialist Mind that western imperialism by and large brought improvements in social, economic and political conditions to those they ruled --everything from better education and health to an end to slavery and tribal genocide. "Anti-imperialist literature has perhaps beclouded the great fact that the world's advances have been associated with the eras of progressive imperialism," says Feuer. "A progressive imperialism is one in which energies are liberated for the advancement of civilization and creative activity ... A rising, progressive people will be a correspondingly commercial, scientific, and imperialist people; such imperialism is not atavistic but creative. Decay comes when those energies have become effete."

Feuer distinguishes between regressive and progressive imperialism. The former, he argues, were devoted to pillaging their colonies, while the latter sought, at least to some extent, to improve social and economic conditions. Feuer offers Mongolian, Spanish and Soviet imperialism as examples of regressive imperialism. The Alexandrian, Roman, French, Dutch and British empires were more progressive forms of imperialism in that for all their errors and arrogance -- the British Opium War with China in the 1840s, for example -- their rule was generally beneficial. In modern times, imperialism brought improvements in social conditions and economic wealth to many regions of Asia and Africa. As well, Britain's outlawing of slavery throughout the Empire largely put an end to the slave trade, except in the Arab world. "Between the years 1860 to 1876 at least four hundred thousand natives, it has been estimated, were enslaved for use in the Middle East and North Africa," Feuer writes. Arab slave traders castrated thousands of African boys to turn them into eunuch slaves.

So why, Feuer asks, do "the writings of Arab and black ideologists alike evince no trace of an Arab-Muslim guilt" comparable to the guilt westerners are supposed to feel about their imperial past? Somehow, he says, the "white man's burden" has been transmuted into a burden not of power but of guilt that has been enthusiastically taken up by leftist intellectuals.

- - -

(Continued on Part Two)

Load-Date: September 9, 2006



The Toronto Star

August 13, 2006 Sunday

Copyright 2006 Toronto Star Newspapers, Ltd.

Section: IDEAS; Pg. D10

Length: 4323 words

## **Body**

Language, like terrorism, keeps evolving.

So when the media cite the menace of "jihads", the word is now used without translation and understood to mean Islamic Holy War against infidels.

Except that it doesn't, not quite.

To mainstream Muslims, jihad also translates as "struggle"; a personal striving.

It also describes what I experienced during two overseas postings for the Toronto Star - a journalistic journey that evolved into a personal struggle, a kind of journalistic jihad, to understand the roots of religious radicalism and the pull of ethnic extremism.

How does faith mutate into fundamentalism? What motivates young men to massacre innocents in pursuit of martyrdom? Why does ethnic identity - and the quest for self-determination - descend into intolerance or tribalism?

These questions became the focal point of my decade-long odyssey, leading me down blind alleys and into the occasional dead end. There are no certainties when faith, ethnicity and extremism are involved.

I watched these volatile ingredients form a combustible mix that fuelled terrorism. Together, they are the transcendent forces of our time.

And much misunderstood. Many Canadians still equate fundamentalism almost exclusively with Islam; more often than not, Muslims get all the bad press thanks to the gruesome exploits of groups like Hezbollah, *Hamas*, Islamic Jihad, and Al Qaeda.

My travels exposed me to the reality that no one is immune to religious radicalization. I encountered the pogroms of Hindus against Muslims in India, the bloody-mindedness of Buddhists against minority Hindus in Sri Lanka, the misplaced messianism of Jewish settlers in the occupied West Bank, and the deep-rooted intolerance of Christians towards Muslims in the Philippines.

From the desert religions of the Middle East to the mystical faiths of Asia, fundamentalism holds a powerful, universal appeal for people of all faiths.

Leaving Canada for Jerusalem in the mid-1990s as the Star's Middle East correspondent, I landed in the middle of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict: a tale of two faiths fighting a Hundred Years War. In the battle between Jewish settlers and Palestinian martyrs, rivals became soulmates by jointly undermining the fledgling peace process.

Fundamentalist Jews took land, Islamic jihadis took lives. And each side dehumanized the other.

Amid the symbiotic self-destructiveness, both claimed spiritual justification for their transgressions and profited from the fallout: a renewed Palestinian intifada and predictable retaliation from Israel's armed forces. And as the peace process unravelled, terrorism moved into the void to capture the world's attention.

In Jerusalem, terror had its own special sound: the dull thud of a suicide bombing followed by the wailing of sirens and the moaning of victims.

The most unnerving part of my job was rushing to the scene of a bomb blast, like the one that exploded at a crowded food market near our office. I remember threading my way past throngs of panicked shoppers fleeing in the opposite direction. Using my notebook as a kind of psychological shield, I moved through the carnage: Cobs of corn strewn among severed limbs and shards of glass. Bits of human flesh splattered on market stalls. Chunks of watermelon immersed in pools of blood. Elderly victims slumped amid the detritus of the daily market, groaning in pain or eerily silent from the shock. The charred, decapitated torso of a bomber splayed on the street alongside the corpses of his victims. United in death.

Surrounded by the misery, I tried to fathom the method behind the madness. The bomber's family, brimming with pride, would invariably erect a mourning tent to celebrate the good deed, distributing sweets to mark the happy occasion. There would be talk of how the "martyr," by righting Israeli wrongs, could look forward to 72 virgins in paradise.

I had presumed the Israeli-Palestinian conflict placed me at the epicentre of terrorism, but it didn't take long for the growing popularity of suicide bombings to create an arc of terror stretching across the Middle East, with Muslims slaying Muslims over theological disputes.

The next leg of my journey took me to Algeria and Egypt on the trail of mujahedeen Holy Warriors who thought nothing of planting bombs in holy places. On assignment in Yemen, I visited the tribal battleground that doubled as a recruiting ground for Osama bin Laden. In Saudi Arabia, the birthplace of Islam and latter-day crucible of intolerance, I found a place of faith and loathing, where pious bombers attacked civilians with impunity. In Sudan, I covered the civil war over the imposition of Sharia (Islamic law) and brutal mistreatment by tribal militias.

In Iran, the testing ground for an Islamic revolution that promised a kinder, gentler theocracy, I saw a regime lapse further into brutality toward its own citizens. In Lebanon, I listened as Sheikh Hassan Nasrallah, Hezbollah's leader, defiantly laid out his anti-Israel agenda from his heavily guarded South Beirut headquarters, and vowed never to disarm his Iranian-backed fighters. Across town in his fortress-like prime ministerial offices, a fearless Rafik Hariri described his vision of peaceful coexistence - a patriotic voice silenced, last year, by Syrian assassins.

Posted four years later to the Asia Bureau, I felt the puritan terror of Taliban Afghanistan and the menace of Pakistan's jihadis well before 9/11. Their rudimentary reading of Islamic scriptures, superimposed upon centuries-old tribal laws, wrought intolerance toward both family and foreigners. Afghanistan became the breeding ground for the conspiracies of Al Qaeda and fostered the Talibanization of Pakistan, where attacks against minority sects were rife.

It is nightfall in Karachi, October 2001; time for evening prayers as American warplanes rain bombs across the border in Afghanistan. A month after the carnage of 9/11, the United States is at war next door, and this port city of 12 million people is on edge. Pakistan is a flashpoint in the West's fight against the neighbouring Taliban, but it is also a country at war with itself: Muslim against Muslim, moderate against extremist, Shiite against Sunni.

Together with my translator, I am awaiting a rendezvous on a dimly lit street with one of Pakistan's most notorious militant groups: the Guardians of the Friends of the Prophet, soon to be banned by Pakistan's military government for inciting hatred and assassinating enemies. A spotter in flowing robes and sandals looks us over from a distance. Satisfied, he leads us through winding alleys to the group's headquarters in a heavily guarded mosque. After a final invocation of "Allahu Akbar" (God is Great), the head of the Karachi wing emerges from evening prayers and summons me for an audience.

With his untrimmed beard and white skullcap, Ilyas Zubair is a picture of piety - and possessed of a charismatic brand of Islam that can be lethal. His group accuses Christians and Jews of conspiracies against Islam and condemns fellow Muslims from the minority Shiite sect as infidels. Inconveniently for my translator and me, we fit both descriptions: Shiite Muslim and Canadian Jew collaborating on a reporting assignment.

"The Shiites are anti-Islamic," Zubair complains bitterly in rapid bursts of Urdu, rendered into English by my increasingly nervous translator.

"They are not Muslims, they are kaffirs (infidels)," he continues, fingering his prayer beads reflectively. "They should not be allowed in mosques, nor in Mecca. My feeling is the same as if a Jew were entering Mecca."

With Zubair's blessings, assassins have gunned down dozens of Shiite physicians in the waiting rooms of Karachi. Thousands more Shiites have been slain in the city's honeycomb slums or soaring mosques. Young disciples sit at Zubair's feet on the carpeted floor, listening raptly as he outlines a jihad against perfidious Jews and heretical Shiites.

The sermon concluded, we are offered sweet tea and pleasantries before being escorted to the door. A guard clutching an AK-47 springs to attention as farewells are exchanged in the courtyard. Unfamiliar with my Jewish surname, the militants offer a warm embrace and tell me to go in peace. But my translator, Hussain Askari, tarred by his identifiably Shiite name, is refused a handshake or a glimmer of eye contact. On this occasion, at least, the Jew felt safer than the Muslim.

But such luck cannot always be counted on. A few weeks later, another Jewish journalist attempting a story about Karachi's tangled web of terrorism meets a different fate: Wall Street Journal correspondent Daniel Pearl is kidnapped by the Islamic extremists he sought to interview. Instead of the Islamic salutation and hug bestowed upon me, he is beheaded.

I had crossed paths with Pearl on assignment in Iran - where we shared the same translator - and again in Israel. As his death sank in, fellow journalists warned that my own conspicuously Jewish surname put me in danger: Along with my notebook and Nikon, I carried the extra baggage of being a Cohn in the lion's den. No longer could I venture into hostile territory with the comforting assumption that a Canadian passport granted any kind of protective immunity.

Years earlier, when I had ventured into Hezbollah's South Beirut headquarters to interview Nasrallah, his personal gatekeeper, Ibrahim, had questioned me closely about the Toronto Star. Oblivious to my own background, he demanded to know whether my newspaper was "pro-Israel," if any Zionists worked there, and how many Jews were on staff.

"About average for Canada," I deadpanned. Thus reassured, he gave armed guards the signal to hustle me into a utility vehicle with black curtains drawn for the drive to Nasrallah's salon. For more than an hour his protectors meticulously checked my belongings for any incriminating evidence, until at last I was ushered into a room with his translator.

The encounter seemed to go well until my post-interview chat with the trusty Ibrahim. The press aide caught sight of my official Lebanese government press card listing my surname, "Cohn," ahead of my given names, "Martin Regg." He had approved the interview on the assumption that my surname was "Reggcohn."

Turning pale, Ibrahim interrogated me feverishly.

"Cohn - is this really your name?" he sputtered. "Isn't this a Jewish name?"

I nodded, Yes.

"But are you a Jew?" He seemed in a state of shock. I wasn't sure who was in greater peril - me for being Jewish or Ibrahim for having allowed a Jew into the inner sanctum. After an interminable silence, he calmed down.

"No problem, we are not fanatics here," he mused.

On other occasions, my surname had a calming effect, like the time I encountered a gun-wielding Jewish settler in the West Bank. No one had ever pointed a gun at me before, not until Noam Shapiro came speeding down from his hilltop settlement of Yizhar to confront us. With his wife and baby watching blithely from the back seat, the bearded settler was dressed for battle: a machine gun in hand, a kippa prayer cap on his head, and the prayer fringes of an orthodox Jew on his waist. Shapiro was the first fundamentalist of any faith to take aim at me, only to remove his finger from the trigger upon inspecting my press pass.

In Beirut and the West Bank, I had come a little too close for comfort. Now, in the wake of Pearl's death, the comfort zone was narrowing even more.

Leaving the Middle East behind to travel through the Indian subcontinent and Southeast Asia, I was reminded that far more Muslims live in Asia than the Middle East, and that they tend to be more moderate. The often violent Islamic extremism of the Middle East - radiating out of the Arabian Desert as far as Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan - is quite unlike the nuanced, mystical Islam practised in most of Asia.

Indonesia, the world's most populous Islamic country with 200 million Muslims, remains a bulwark of moderation and pluralism. Islam came to the archipelago only in the 14th century, long after Hinduism and Buddhism had taken root, so Indonesians adapted Islam's more mystical Sufi strain and melded it with their own animist beliefs to forge a tolerant faith that endures to this day.

India's Muslim population, the world's second largest, has been heralded as among the most progressive, democratic and successful anywhere. As Prime Minister Manmohan Singh reminded me in an interview, Indians "take pride in the fact that these 150 million Muslims live as peaceful citizens of our country, that there is not a single incident of their being involved in Al Qaeda and other international terrorist groups."

Despite the relative restraint shown by India's Muslim minority, the same could not always be said for its Hindu majority, nor for the Buddhists in its northern territory of Ladakh and in neighbouring Sri Lanka.

My first exposure to India's religious extremism came in Ayodhya, a graceful town of temples and mosques. The streets are lined with gentle Hindu priests and sadhus (ascetic holy men), marking it as one of Hinduism's holiest sites - but also its bloodiest.

Overflowing with pilgrims, it brims with hate. Fifteen years ago, zealots demolished a mosque to make way for a Hindu temple. Hindu fundamentalists have camped out at the site ever since and taken the entire nation hostage. I listened as the Hindu hardliners taunted the Muslim minority with fundamentalist slogans.

"Hindi Hindu Hindustan," they chanted, which translates roughly as "India for the Hindus and the Hindi-speakers."

"Katua Bhago Pakistan," they continued: "Circumcised (men) run to Pakistan" - a reference to Muslim men for whom circumcision is a religious obligation.

Hindutva, or Hinduization, has been dubbed the "saffronization" of India: the rooting out of Islamic or Western influences that are deemed "foreign" to the population of one billion.

Back in 2002, Hindutva was the declared ideology of the governing BJP party in New Delhi and the western coastal state of Gujarat, where tensions over Ayodhya culminated in anti-Muslim pogroms that claimed as many as 2,000 lives.

At the scene of the Gujarat massacre, I came upon one of the survivors, Abeda Begum. From her perch along the muddy, garbage-strewn alley where chickens and cows jostled for space with pedestrians, Begum had witnessed the slaughter that spared the domestic animals but claimed her loved ones. There is a dead end where the Hindu mob doused her Muslim neighbours with kerosene and burned 92 of them to death. Among them were the mother and sister of Begum's husband.

When I visited, she was looking after one of the orphaned survivors, 12-year-old Samina Begum. Together they rolled incense sticks with their blackened hands for 30 cents a day, their only income since Begum's husband was let go by Hindu employers in an economic boycott.

"I'm doing all this work because the Hindus won't keep Muslim workers any more and our houses were destroyed, so we have to start from scratch," Begum told me plaintively, adjusting the folds of her purple sari.

I was struck by her clothing and manners. The flowing saris worn by <u>women</u> like Begum often leave their midriffs partly exposed, which might appear immodest for Muslims elsewhere in the region. But in Gujarat it was the local Hindu fashion, and so it had been adopted by Muslims as their own in a state where people of both religions wore the same clothes, spoke the same local dialect, and watched the same movies.

Yet they remained worlds apart in Gujarat, fearing for their lives in the birthplace of Mahatma Gandhi. The killing fields of this coastal state were a reminder that nearly six decades after Gandhi's dream of a pluralist state for Indians of all faiths, the country is still haunted by the ghost of communal violence.

India's disputed Himalayan territory of Kashmir, where Muslims are in the majority, adds another dimension to the country's religious tensions. It is not only the minority Hindus who feel besieged here, but also the Tibetan-Buddhists living along Kashmir's northern border with China.

In the high-altitude enclave of Ladakh, I listened to Kushok Bakula Rinpoche, the 86-year-old chief lama, explain why his fellow Buddhists were struggling to separate from Kashmir's Muslims. Swathed in scarlet robes in his monastery residence, he argued passionately that Buddhists wanted nothing to do with Muslims, because their religions were so utterly incompatible with one another: "We have nothing in common."

I had a chance years later to recount those xenophobic musings to Tibet's Dalai Lama at his residence-in-exile in the nearby Indian hill town of Dharamsala. His Holiness tried to laugh off the chief lama's combative remarks but later turned deadly serious about the subject of Buddhist fundamentalism:

Every religion, he acknowledged, is susceptible to extremism, and Tibetans are no exception. The only difference, he argued, is that Buddhist fundamentalists tend to take potshots within their own faith, rather than attacking others.

Not so in Sri Lanka, where warmongering monks have long raised a battle cry against the Hindu minority. This small South Asian island of 18 million people, which claims to be the centre of Buddhism, has transformed itself into a textbook case of religious radicalism and tribal identity run amok - a microcosm of the planet's ethnic conflicts.

When I visited their temples, Sri Lanka's most influential religious leaders cast the Sinhalese majority as custodians both of Buddhism's sanctity and the island's territorial integrity. To be sure, they feared separation by the Hindu Tamils in the northeast, but they bitterly opposed the very policies that could easily have fostered national unity, such as equal rights, official bilingualism and local empowerment for the minority. The monks cited a mythological prophecy that Buddhism would be entrusted to this island off India's southeast coast for 5,000 years, with the Sinhalese deemed a chosen people on a sacred mission.

Years of incitement against the minority Hindus gave rise to one of the world's most feared guerrilla movements, the Tamil Tigers. Rebelling against Buddhist chauvinism, government discrimination and army atrocities, ordinary Tamils rallied to the guerrillas despite their often grisly tactics that plunged the country into two decades of blood-curdling violence.

The Tigers claim credit for pioneering the phenomenon of suicide bombers long before it became identified with Islamist visions of religious martyrdom. They are an avowedly secular fighting force, yet they encourage cult-like loyalty toward their supreme commander, high-school dropout Velupillai Prabhakaran. Cyanide pellets dangle from the necks of recruits to avert capture. *Female* fighters, pledging blind obedience to their leader, are selected for the most daring suicide attacks.

When I travelled to the jungle headquarters of the Tigers' political leader, S.P. Thamilchelvan, he painted a portrait of earnest young <u>women</u> yearning to be selected for the elite Black Tigers force so they might lay down their lives

for the leader. Unlike Islamic suicide bombers, he stressed, the Tigers don't martyr themselves in hopes of entering paradise. They do it so their fellow Tamils can walk freely in their own homeland.

I let his words sink in during a stroll through the nearby Tiger cemetery, where a calligrapher was adding names to the thousands of headstones bearing the bones of slain guerrillas. Some had swallowed their cyanide capsules, others had incinerated themselves as suicide bombers.

They didn't do it for Allah. They did it for their kin, their cause, their cult - in the thrall of ethnic extremism.

We forget, amid today's heightened fear of fundamentalism, that so-called freedom fighters seeking ethnic and religious homelands have all evoked their own brand of terror in our time: not just the Tamil Tigers of Sri Lanka, for example, but the Sikh warriors who took up arms in India's Punjab in the 1980s and early 1990s.

Canada endured a bitter taste of their tactics in 1985 when the terrorist bombing of an Air India flight claimed the lives of all 329 people aboard. Now, the fight for a separate Khalistan seems a footnote to history, one of the few violent separatist movements ever to fizzle out.

On a visit to Amritsar's Golden Temple, the centre of Sikh worship, the ordinary voices of the devout told the tale: alienated by the gratuitous criminality of so many separatists, the local populace gradually sided with the iron fist of the Indian security forces, providing vital intelligence to wipe out terrorism in their own land.

The pacification of the Punjab is a rare exception to the rule that old self-determination movements fade away but never die. Nearly six decades after independence, India is still struggling to wipe out perennial rebellions along its border regions. Apart from Kashmir, more than 30 rebel armies clustered in five tribal states along India's northeastern fringe still bitterly resist central rule; in the east coast state of Andhra Pradesh, Maoist Naxalite rebels wage ideological warfare with a peasant-style rebellion.

And the list goes on. The Indonesian archipelago was the battleground for three distinct separatist movements - in East Timor, West Papua and Aceh.

In southern Sudan, the Christian minority wanted to break away from an Islamic government, while on the southern Philippines island of Mindanao a Muslim minority tried to separate from the Christian majority.

In China's remote western frontier province of Xinjiang, Uyghur Muslims wanted a separate state of their own.

Covering the competing claims for nationhood in India and beyond, I soon found myself suffering from self-determination fatigue.

Throughout my travels, Muslim intellectuals would not let me forget the plight of their peoples, but I couldn't help noticing their lack of empathy for that of non-Muslims - be it the suffering of southern Sudan's Christian minority at the hands of Islamic militias, or the military occupation of East Timor and West Papua by Indonesia's Muslim soldiers.

Deal with our demands, Islamic intellectuals averred, and the violence would vanish. Yet the grievances invariably depended on the geography of the aggrieved: to Pakistanis, the suffering of Kashmiris was the strongest evidence of Western perfidy; in the Arab world, the Palestinian cause was the priority; Indonesians blamed the West after "losing" sovereignty over East Timor; Arab sympathizers of Al Qaeda cited the presence of American troops on sacred Saudi soil as justification for Osama bin Laden's attacks. Today, Iraq and Lebanon top the Islamic world's list of grievances.

To be sure, resolving these problems would reduce resentment against the West; but the Islamic perception of victimization - and the Islamist path of violence - won't magically melt away if any or all of those perennial trouble spots recede from the horizon.

After a decade abroad, I came to the view that fundamentalism, tribalism and terrorism cannot be so easily explained away or wished away. It's not just about poverty. It's not solely about schooling. It's not entirely about injustice. And it's not really about Islam or other religions.

Craving status and purpose, aspiring martyrs find a raison d'etre in their jihad - a mission, an opportunity to rise above their dreary surroundings. The closer I came to these pious men, the more they looked like lost souls. They sought death not so much as a shortcut to paradise but as a quest for purpose in a mundane life.

We learned shortly after 9/11 that the roster of bombers was dominated by well-off Egyptians and Saudis leading privileged lives abroad. And we now have an inkling, after the arrests of 17 accused terrorist plotters in the GTA, that young Muslim men living comfortably in the banality of suburbia can become intoxicated by fantasies of saving the world by blowing up targets in Toronto.

Much has been written in recent times about the fight for Islam's soul, manifested by a battle between moderates and fundamentalists. We pay great attention to the small number of bombers who do the most damage, but it is also the believers - who make up the mainstream among the world's 1 billion Muslims - who must be engaged, along with those of other faiths.

In my travels across Asia, North Africa and the Middle East, I had always assumed that the fanatics were on the fringes. In fact, it was not only the foot soldiers of fundamentalism who had been pedalling poisonous ignorance, but many of the best minds, as well - either for what they said or left unsaid.

Most condemned the violence, but I found a surprising number who condoned it, excused it, or lapsed into denial. On assignment, I came across prominent, educated Muslims in every walk of life - scholars, doctors, politicians, generals - who blamed 9/11 and other attacks on Israel's Mossad secret service while exonerating Al Qaeda.

Quite apart from their readiness to vilify Jews, I marvelled at the willingness of so many in the Islamic world to besmirch one another as apostles, infidels, or inferior Muslims.

Equally, ultra-orthodox Jews excelled at self-hatred when vilifying their fellow Jews; Hindus excoriated their brethren of lesser castes or questionable orthodoxy; and Buddhists spouted insults at believers from rival sects.

Fundamentalism, like revolution, eats its own children.

Canadians can no longer turn a blind eye to the world beyond our borders; the globalization of terrorism has shattered our splendid isolation. Overseas, there is a different mentality: You are your tribe, and your tribe is you.

Fundamentalism and tribalism, once so alien to the Canadian psyche, have migrated from foreign war zones to our own shores. If we want to maintain our Canadian values of tolerance and harmony at home, we need to wake up to the terror and hatred abroad - not only infecting the Middle East but now poisoning the rest of the planet.

Martin Regg Cohn is the Star's Deputy City Editor.

# **Graphic**

photos by martin regg cohn Above: A hardline Hindu sadhu (sage) stands near soldiers deployed in Ayodhya, India, to keep fundamentalists from praying on the site of a mosque they demolished in 1992. Left: A Muslim boy poses with a toy gun at a pro-Taliban street rally Lahore, Pakistan, shortly after 9 11. The rally was organized by religious groups. Martin Regg Cohn A village girl in Sri Lanka is guarded by local Buddhist militia against attacks by Tamil Tiger fighters.

Load-Date: August 13, 2006

**End of Document** 



# G2: From the Ashes to zealots - test your memory of the past 12 months with our Quiz of the Year

The Guardian - Final Edition

December 23, 2005 Friday

Copyright 2005 Guardian Newspapers Limited All Rights Reserved

Section: GUARDIAN FEATURES PAGES; Pg. 2

Length: 3991 words

**Byline:** Stephen Moss, Julian Glover, Marina Hyde, Sarah Boseley, Jonathan Freedland, Peter Bradshaw, Jess Cartner-Morley, Laura Barton, Ian Sample, Richard Adams, Michael Hann, Marcel Berlins, Matt Seaton, M

## **Body**

A is for Ashes

- 1 What are the Ashes the ashes of, reputedly?
- a) A bail
- b) A ball
- c) A stump
- d) Don Bradman
- 2 Crucially, Glenn McGrath injured his ankle in a freak accident just before the start of the Edgbaston Test. What did he trip over?
- a) A bail
- b) A ball
- c) A stump
- d) Don Bradman
- 3 In net practice, England used a bowling machine to replicate Shane Warne's leg spin. What is the name of the magician after whom the machine is named? (Clue: Not Paul Daniels.)
- 4 Who ran out Australian captain Ricky Ponting in the Trent Bridge Test and why was Ponting so upset?
- 5 How many runs did Kevin Pietersen score at the Oval after he was dropped by Shane Warne?
- a) 123
- b) 133

G2: From the Ashes to zealots - test your memory of the past 12 months with our Quiz of the Year

c) 143
d) 153
B is for Blair and Brown
1 Fill in the missing word: What did Gordon say to Tony after the prime minister told the chancellor he had decided to stay on in the job, according to a book published in January? "There is nothing that you could say to me now that I could ever"
a) trust
b) believe
c) agree with
d) accept
2 What was odd about Labour's glossy election film of Blair and Brown talking about politics?
a) The Labour party later dubbed a version into Welsh
b) Although it was cut together as one conversation, the location moved strangely from Blair's room in the House of Commons to a kitchen and back again
c) Brown later denied the conversation had taken place
d) The film was directed by Paul Abbott
3 How did Brown finally triumph over Blair in April 2005?
4 What do Brownites supposedly call No 10 policy advisers?
a) Teenage Taliban
b) Tony's toddlers
c) Blair's babies
d) Downing Street dumbos
5 Who said at the Labour party conference: "We will not just inhabit the centre ground,
but dominate it"?
a) Tony Blair
b) Gordon Brown
C is for Celebrities
1 5,001 is
a) The number of times Kate Moss and Pete Doherty split up and got back together this year
b) The number of dollars for which a pregnancy test - purporting to come from Britney Spears' hotel-room bin - was sold on eBay

- G2: From the Ashes to zealots test your memory of the past 12 months with our Quiz of the Year
- c) The number of complaints ITV received after it screened footage of Carol Thatcher urinating by her bed on I'm A Celebrity, Get Me Out of Here
- d) The title of a second sequel to 2001: A Space Odyssey, to be directed by David Hasselhoff
- 2 What breed of animal provided the skin for Peter Andre's shoes at his wedding to Jordan, and then tried to drag him to a watery grave on the couple's honeymoon?
- 3 "Swept Away now looks like Citizen Kane." What was being described?
- 4 Who delivered a broadcast on the eve of the Palestinian elections in January in which he claimed to be "speaking for the entire world"?
- 5 Which singer carries cleansing wipes to clean their hands after greeting fans?
- D is for Disease (and other health matters)
- 1 What and how many of them were as sick as a parrot at the sign of the flying horse?
- 2 True or false? The House of Commons science and technology committee unanimously recommended that scientists should be allowed to make "chimeras" embryos combined from human and animal cells in the laboratory.
- 3 Why should you worry if your three-year-old watches more than eight hours' TV a week?
- 4 What, beloved of the royal family, is all in the mind?
- 5 Which breast-cancer drug did health secretary Patricia Hewitt promise to every woman who needed it?
- a) Tamoxifen
- b) Herceptin
- c) Arimidex

E is for the Election

- 1 What three-word phrase was repeated ad nauseam by politicians of all parties and began to feel like tough labour for parents and children alike?
- 2 "Off with their heads," said the Lib Dems, as they plotted their decapitation strategy. But who was the only member of the shadow cabinet to lose his seat on May 5?
- 3 Who fought a man who drowns his enemies in boiling water and then took on Jack Straw?
- 4 How did an MI6 agent use the phone system in order to influence the election?
- 5 Who announced his own political death on election night only to live again?

F is for Film

- 1 Which literary adaptation had a slushy "American ending" for the US market, in which the hero and heroine kiss passionately on a moonlit balcony?
- 2 Which Christmas film stars the great-great-great-grandson of Charles Darwin?
- 3 In which film did Alec Baldwin and Sean Penn appear as mincing members of the leftwing "Film Actors Guild", or "Fag"?

G2: From the Ashes to zealots - test your memory of the past 12 months with our Quiz of the Year

- 4 Which British film earned unwanted media exposure as the one advertised on the side of the London bus blown up on 7/7?
- 5 Which two stars were criticised for dull performances by their own film's producers, who said: "Listen, those are the superstars of the future, not the superstars of the present"?

G is for Gladrags

- 1 Which of the following celebrities has not been photographed in a Roland Mouret Galaxy dress?
- a) Cameron Diaz
- b) Carol Vorderman
- c) Demi Moore
- d) Kate Moss
- 2 Who won this year's best actress Oscar, and who designed her dress?
- a) Hilary Swank in Guy Laroche
- b) Charlize Theron in Christian Dior
- c) Gwyneth Paltrow in Alexander McQueen
- d) Renee Zellweger in Carolina Herrera
- 3 Match the fashion columnist to their words
- i) "Many of the shops are filling their windows with the masses of black that is coming our way this autumn. It's too depressing to focus on that wintry look right now, but it's worth knowing that alongside the prevalence of black is a whole new, womanly, tailored approach that's a million miles from the Gypsy chic of recent months."
- ii) "Dresses also ruled the runway at Derek Lam, another young American designer whose feminine styles have got him noticed. There was everything from short T-shirt dresses to a white goddess evening gown with Lam's lightness of touch; even this was simple enough to work on the right occasion for an 18-year-old like me."
- iii) "Coleen (Mcloughlin) dresses really well for her age. She always looks smart but she's a bit more conservative than me. I think I'm more daring."
- a) Alex Curran
- b) Bee Shaffer
- c) Alexandra Shulman
- 4 Of whom did Andre Leon Talley, of American Vogue, say on Oprah that "she don't like fat people"
- a) Condoleezza Rice
- b) Oprah Winfrey
- c) Anna Wintour
- d) Sharon Osbourne
- 5 In winter 2005, should men wear their shirt tails tucked in, or hanging out?

G2: From the Ashes to zealots - test your memory of the past 12 months with our Quiz of the Year

H is for Harry

- 1 In January, Prince Harry provoked a storm by attending a fancy-dress party dressed as a Nazi. But what was the theme of the party?
- a) The Most Controversial Thing You Can Think Of
- b) 'Allo 'Allo
- c) Famous Germans
- d) Native and Colonial
- 2 In its opening weekend in the UK, how much did Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire take at the box office?
- a) £9.6m
- b) £10.3m
- c) £9.5m
- d) £14.3m
- 3 What did fisherman Harold Hastie catch in May? And what happened when he tried to get rid of it?
- 4 How did a tramp called Harry find himself worth £2m?
- 5 Blondie's Greatest Hits: Sight & Sound, released this year, boasted a track named Rapture Riders, which mixed Debbie Harry's vocals with which other famous song?
- (a) The Ballad of Easy Rider by Roger McGuinn
- (b) Riders on the Storm by the Doors
- (c) Slow Rider by Johnny Cash
- (d) Ride a Cock-Horse to Banbury Cross by Mother Goose

I is for Inventions

- 1 What have researchers at MIT invented to wake you up in the morning?
- a) A revolving bed that turfs you out when your alarm goes off
- b) A CD of peculiar noises that trick the brain into thinking it's morning
- c) A furry alarm clock that runs and hides before ringing
- d) Wireless pyjamas that vibrate when the sun comes up
- e) A shape-changing pillow that nudges your head when morning comes
- 2 How are scientists in India hoping to change a refreshing British pastime?
- 3 Why did a scientist at King's College London grow six tonnes of beans?
- 4 How did US researchers give a new meaning to power walking?
- 5 What is RU-21 Red?

- a) A device that can tell if someone is old enough to drink alcohol
- b) A high-altitude solar-powered surveillance plane
- c) A pill that keeps you drunk
- d) A Russian spy satellite
- e) An experimental alcopop that mops up excess alcohol in the bloodstream.
- J is for Jeremiahs
- 1 The World Health Organisation forecasts 2-7.5 million potential deaths from an outbreak of avian flu, but how many people did David Nabarro, the UN's coordinator for avian and human influenza, think that it could kill?
- a) 5 million
- b) 15 million
- c) 50 million
- d) 150 million
- 2 Labour ended up with a comfortable 71-seat majority after the general election in 2005. But which doom-laden newspaper commentator predicted a disaster, with opinion polls and recent history suggesting "a Labour overall majority of around zero, or possibly below"?
- 3 This time last year, Paris was the front-runner for the 2012 Olympics, and bookies William Hill told the Sun: "We've taken far more money for a London White Christmas than a London Olympic Games." The odds on a Paris win were 1-3 what were the odds then of London getting the games?
- 4 Who warned in March that Saddam Hussein's weapons of mass destruction have not been found because they may have "fallen into the hands of rogue states and terrorists and thus vastly increasing the risk of an unconventional strike against the west"?
- 5 House prices rose by 2%-3% during 2005, but by what percentage does the fund manager Tony Dye predict that house prices will crash during the next five years?
- a) 5%
- b) 15%
- c) 20%
- d) 30%

K is for Kitchens

- 1 "With this fart of nothingness, the leitmotiv of this cuisine became clear to me. It was the old nouvelle cuisine." What was being described?
- 2 What linked the swanky restaurants Gordon Ramsay at Claridges, Le Manoir aux Quat' Saisons, Nobu and the Ivy?
- 3 What was sold for £187,200 in October?
- a) A 5,000-year-old tablet on which was written the world's oldest beer recipe

- G2: From the Ashes to zealots test your memory of the past 12 months with our Quiz of the Year
- b) A one-year, all-you-can-eat season ticket for Masa in New York, the world's most expensive restaurant
- c) The rights to Gordon Ramsay's memoirs
- d) A bottle of Petrus, to a City banker celebrating his bonus
- 4 The world's most expensive truffle was sold for £62,000 in November. How was it described by the auctioneer?
- a) "Like a beautiful woman"
- b) "The size of a small handbag"
- c) "Excellent with egg and chips"
- d) "Not worth the money, if we're honest."
- 5 What is unusual about the 40 fish dishes on the menu in the Houses of Parliament?
- L is for Law
- 1 Where did John take over from William, and Samuel will probably take over from Sandra?
- 2 One QC's opening remarks to the judge lasted a record 119 days. What was the case?
- 3 List the lawyers who have been members of the Cabinet the whole time since 1997.
- 4 Who nearly became a shopgirl and why didn't she?
- 5 What will become of Middlesex Guildhall in 2008, if the builders finish on time?
- M is for Memoirs
- 1 Which popular novelist valiantly plugged the memoirs of her husband, All My Friends Will Buy It: A Bottlefield Tour, as "his hilarious yet heroic attempts to keep a small military publishing firm afloat"?
- a) Jilly Cooper
- b) Joanna Trollope
- c) Danielle Steel
- d) Josephine Hart
- 2 In The Year of Magical Thinking, American essayist Joan Didion wrote about the sudden death of her husband, John Gregory Dunne, which coincided with their daughter's serious illness. Their daughter (who later also died) was named after a state of Mexico. Was it:
- a) Oaxaca
- b) Quintana Roo
- c) Chihuahua
- d) Sonora
- 3 Which former newspaper editor published memoirs this year recalling earlier careers as both an army officer and a cabinet minister?
- a) Sir Max Hastings

- b) Sir Harold Evans
- c) Lord (Bill) Deedes
- d) Piers Morgan
- 4 Which well-known writer's memoir confided a sado-masochistic relationship with a young Latvian who ordered him to wear a dog's tail attached to his bottom and eat biscuits from a bowl?
- a) Untold Stories, by Alan Bennett
- b) My Lives, by Edmund White
- c) The Hungry Years: Confessions of a Food Addict, by William Leith
- d) The Insider: The Private Diaries of a Scandalous Decade, by Piers Morgan
- 5 Whose political memoir famously revealed a hero surrounded by "pygmies" who threatened to "cut me off at the fucking knees"?
- a) Alastair Campbell
- b) Lance Price
- c) Sir Christopher Meyer
- d) David Blunkett

N is for Newspapers

- 1 Which editor promised readers would find "something lovely" in their relaunched paper, and what was that something?
- a) Rebekah Wade on a new roster of Page 3 models in the Sun
- b) Sarah Sands on the new magazine in the Sunday Telegraph
- c) Alan Rusbridger on the new centrespread photo in the Berliner Guardian
- d) Martin Newland on the new media columnist in the Daily Telegraph
- 2 How many national newspaper editors were replaced this year and can you name those heading for the exit?
- 3 How many more newspapers followed the lead of the Guardian and appointed a readers' editor this year?
- 4 The Independent's political editor, Andrew Grice, complained in the Press Gazette this year that his story about Tony Blair being forced to step down within 18 months was bumped from the front page in favour of a tale about what?
- a) Food
- b) Fuel
- c) Flowers
- d) Finances
- 5 Which tender soul took his newspaper column elsewhere, announcing he wasn't sufficiently "loved" by his editor, despite being one of the best-paid writers in Fleet Street?

O is for Opposition

- 1 Which Tory candidate said or did something so stupid during the 2005 general election campaign that he was forced to stand down in his constituency?
- a) Howard Flight (Arundel and South Downs)
- b) Danny Kruger (Sedgefield)
- c) Ed Matts (Dorset South)
- d) Robert Oulds (Slough)
- 2 What does highflying Tory MP George Osborne have in common with the newly elected highflyers Ed Balls, Ian Austin and Ed Milliband? And which of the four is the odd one out?
- 3 When Michael Howard asked voters "are you thinking what we're thinking?" about Gypsies, why was he accused of dog-whistle tactics?
- a) Because his top campaign aide, Lynton Crosby, had deployed similar subliminal messages to stoke prejudices during Australian elections.
- b) Because Gypsies use dog whistles to stake out houses they plan to burgle in Labour-held marginal seats
- c) Because Mr Howard loves animals. For lunch.
- 4 Which MP admitted he was human enough to have done illegal things in his youth, but politician enough not to admit it?
- a) Charles Kennedy, talking about alcopops
- b) George Galloway, talking about Iraqi oil kickbacks
- c) Lembit Opik, talking about meteorite-watching
- d) David "Dave" Cameron, talking about drugs
- 5 Which of these Tory leadership contenders prefers Y-fronts to boxer shorts and blondes to brunettes?
- a) Ken Clarke
- b) Theresa May
- c) David Davis
- d) Liam Fox

P is for Painters

- 1 Which painter together with his playwright friend and a woman in a blue dress vanished from a hotel restaurant?
- 2 Whose truth proved too elusive for New Yorkers?
- 3 Who had a black day in the woods?
- 4 Which fugitive redeemed himself?
- 5 Whose young man is likely to slip away?

Q is for Quarrels (of an international nature)

- 1 Who offered to relocate Israel to the Mediterranean sea?
- a) Jean-Marie Le Pen of Paris
- b) David Irving of Josefstadt prison, Vienna
- c) Mahmoud Ahmadinejad of Iran
- d) The Royal Geographical Society
- 2 Who, pursuing ever closer union, made secession a crime?
- a) Renee Zellweger, aka Bridget Jones, of Hollywood
- b) Hu Jintao of Beijing
- c) Doctor Who of Gallifrey
- d) Jose Manuel Barroso of Brussels
- 3 Who was ridiculed as a "lapdog of American imperialism"?
- a) Tony Blair of Whitehall, London
- b) Tony Blair of Whitehall, London
- c) Archie the English springer spaniel
- d) President Vicente Fox of Mexico
- 4 Who became president of Iraq?
- a) Jalal Talabani
- b) Ahmed Chalabi
- c) Abu Musab al-Zarqawi
- d) Dick al-Cheney
- 5 Where is Osama bin Laden's secret lair?
- a) Afghanistan
- b) Hogwarts
- c) Dun Bombin', Eastbourne
- d) Dunno (but if you do, call Mr G Bush and claim your \$25m)
- R is for Royals
- 1 By which of the following nicknames is Prince Harry known to his fellow Sandhurst recruits?
- a) "Bouji" (after his favourite nightclub)
- b) "Mugabe" (after his Zimbabwean girlfriend, Chelsy)

- c) "Pet" (a tribute to his art teacher at Eton)
- d) "Sicknote" after repeated absences from duty attributed to ill health
- 2 To what did Prince Charles recently attribute his sang froid in public?
- a) The support of his "darling wife"
- b) Not having to earn a living
- c) Deafness
- d) "Two thousand years of breeding"
- 3 Which of the following did Princess Michael not do in the course of marketing her home, Nether Lypiatt?
- a) Film a television documentary in the house
- b) Offer tea and conversation for prospective buyers
- c) Offer to procure a white tiger
- d) Offer to include her pet rabbit
- 4 According to Princess Michael, how does the Queen enjoy entertaining her family and friends?
- a) By hosting Tupperware parties
- b) By speaking in a comedy cockney accent
- c) By holding bingo tournaments, with pieces from the royal art collection as prizes
- d) By disguising herself and taking her party over the road to the Windsor branch of Pizza Express to "eat the same food as common people"
- 5 What was the subtitle of the Chinese travel diary circulated by Prince Charles to his friends, and over whose publication he is now suing?
- a) Chop Phooey
- b) The Great Chinese Takeaway
- c) How I escaped the Yellow Peril
- d) Nice Wok if You can Get it
- S is for Soaps
- 1 Exit, pursued by a bear. How were the following dispatched from Soapland?
- a) Emmerdale's Shelly Williams
- b) EastEnders' Den Watts
- c) Coronation Street's Katy Harris
- d) The Archers' Julia Pargetter-Carmichael

- G2: From the Ashes to zealots test your memory of the past 12 months with our Quiz of the Year
- 2 Sir Ian McKellen graced Coronation Street's cobbles in May, playing an author. Name the author, his most famous book and the scribe's dark secret?
- 3 In The Archers, which Grundy brother is baby George's biological father? And Phoebe Aldridge's biological mum? And Adam Macy's dad? And which Doctor Who baddie played Jack Woolley's adopted daughter, heinous Hazel?
- 4 The Mitchell brothers returned to EastEnders in October. But where has Grant been:
- a) Down Wandsworth nick bailing his flame-haired wife banged up for assault?
- b) In Rio running a bar?
- c) Over on ITV pretending to be in the SAS?

And a bonus if you can name Grant's newest wife.

5 Which former EastEnder was to join the cast of Family Affairs? Why didn't he?

T is for Terrorism

- 1 By what multiple of the time the intelligence agencies claimed it would take Saddam Hussein to fire weapons of mass destruction at the UK did Tony Blair demand should be allowed to question terror suspects?
- 2 Why was it alleged to have been "obscene" to oppose the terror bill?
- 3 How did a call of nature fatally fail to identify an innocent man?
- 4 Who described whom as the "vice president for torture"?
- 5 Why did claims by Blair about Blair lead to charges of political incorrectness?

U is for Underdogs

- 1 Shaun Murphy defied odds of 125-1 to win the 2005 Embassy World Snooker Championship. Where did he meet his girlfriend?
- 2 What price was the internet gambling site Betfair offering against Kicking King winning the Cheltenham Gold Cup which he did two weeks later when the horse seemed likely to miss the race after scoping dirty?
- 3 The golfer Michael Campbell only applied to play in the US Open at the last minute, but ended up winning his first major. What hobby does he share with JR Hartley and Paul Gascoigne?
- 4 Liverpool came from 3-0 down at half-time against AC Milan to win the European Cup. How many times have they been Champions of Europe?
- 5 On July 6, London came from behind to win the right to host the 2012 Olympics despite worries about its transport system. How many stations are there on the London underground?
- a) 164
- b) 214
- c) 274
- d) 304

V is for Vitriol

Who said the following of whom?

- G2: From the Ashes to zealots test your memory of the past 12 months with our Quiz of the Year
- 1 "You're a drink-soaked former Trotskyist popinjay. Your hands are shaking. You badly need another drink."
- 2 "I don't give a damn if you're black or white. I couldn't care less. It's what the person is. Don't you dare call me a racist. I don't know you. I will not continue. I want an apology from you. You have such a huge chip on your shoulder . . . You son of a bitch."
- 3 "If you want orders, follow this one. Kill yourself . . . Rid the universe of your filth. Why don't you just die!"
- 4 "They have been asked questions and they are just not coming up with the answers. I am sick of having to say it and they are sick of listening to me."
- 5 "Sorely in need of a tight editorial leash, she was kept on no leash at all, and that has hurt this paper and its trust with readers. She more than earned her sobriquet 'Miss Run Amok'."

W is for Writers (and families)

- 1 When asked to help her mother make a video of her life, whose daughter said: "Why don't you just get a chameleon and let it crawl across the screen?"
- 2 Which husband and wife published three books between them this year, and what were the books?
- 3 Which Whitbread-winning author and her son had novels published on the same day?
- 4 Who had books published about him this year by both of his wives?
- 5 Who wrote a novel in which the main characters have no parents?
- X is for the X-Chromosome Pair
- 1 Who worried that "the shift in the balance of power between the sexes" had gone too far, that "The result is men are becoming more like **women**" and men have become merely "sperm donors"?
- a) Michael Buerk
- b) Mike Berk
- c) The Idiot
- d) Germaine Greer
- 2 This was the year political wives let the mask slip, in some cases frankly a foot too far.
- a) Who said "Nine o'clock. Mr Excitement here is sound asleep and I'm watching Desperate Housewives"
- b) Who said her husband was "always" up for it, adding "Come on, strip off. Let's see that fit body we've been talking about."
- c) Who said "Very often, days go by and we don't speak on the phone. There was passion in our marriage to start with, but some of that goes after 32 years."
- d) Who said "He will not be influenced by his family. He made it understood this is unacceptable. And I, of course, as is always the case, accepted this position as my own."
- 3 Who was the minister Tony Blair forgot?
- 4 Who, despite being terrified of rollercoasters, took command of an ageing, battered shuttle and blasted off into space, the first time for Nasa since the fated Columbia?

5 For whom or what did the bottom drop out of the market?

Y is for Youth

- 1 Which ecclesiastical figure introduced the nation to the joys of Cheeky Vimto this year? Bonus points if you know what said beverage contains.
- 2 In January it was revealed that there was a national shortage of Brownie leaders. But which of the following is not a real Brownie badge?
- a) Bellringer
- b) Knotter
- c) Knitter
- d) Crocheter
- 3 McFly took Busted's crown as the nation's favourite boyband this year. But which member of McFly said the following? You have a choice of Tom, Danny, Dougie and Harry there's a quote for each:
- a) My underwear is from Tesco
- b) If you like a guy with no mates and no dress sense, I'm your man!
- c) I blocked up the toilet with a monster poo which we later named Jeff
- d) I like popping spots
- 4 Do you know your 2005 yoof slang? If a young man tells a young woman she is "bare butters", should she be:
- a) Pleased as punch he fancies her
- b) Embarrassed her knickers are showing
- c) Offended he thinks she's really ugly
- d) Baffled her sandwiches clearly have spread on them
- 5 Is Scoubidoo
- a) A great cartoon about a greedy dog and unsupervised teenagers
- b) Plastic strings to knot together
- c) A kind of sherbert
- d) A type of hip-hop popular in the Paris banlieus

Z is for Zealotry

- 1 In Gaza on April 8 this year, masked <u>Hamas</u> gunmen shot dead 20-year-old student Yusra Azzami as she sat in the passenger seat of her fiance's car a few days before her wedding. Why?
- 2 Lt Gen William Boykin called the God of Islam "an idol", while the God of Christianity is a "real God". He also said: "Our spiritual enemy will only be defeated if we come against them in the name of Jesus." He once declared that George Bush is in the White House because "God put him there". What does he do for a living now?

- 3 Who wrote the following on September 14 this year? "As Orwell said, that spirit of cricket is quintessentially English, and yet it is also one of England's greatest gifts to the world. Cricket is a game more than any other which transcends colour and creed in much more authentic fashion than the zealotry of our present-day race- relations industry."
- 4 Why were committed American Christians criticised for being too liberal?
- 5 Which US televangelist said of whom: "If he thinks we're trying to assassinate him, I think that we really ought to go ahead and do it. It's a whole lot cheaper than starting a war"? \*

Load-Date: December 23, 2005

**End of Document** 



# MIXED BLESSINGS - This Jewish child is alive and well today because of a kidney taken from an Arab boy killed by Israeli soldiers. So why has this extraordinary "gift of life" sparked such controversy? - HEARTS AND MINDS

Weekend Australian
July 22, 2006 Saturday

Copyright 2006 Nationwide News Pty Limited All Rights Reserved

Section: MAGAZINE; Pg. 1

Length: 4373 words

Byline: Christine Toomey

## **Body**

#### **MATP**

When a Palestinian boy was killed by Israeli soldiers, his organs were donated by his parents - saving the lives of three Jews, writes Christine Toomey.

More than anything, on the morning of November 3, 2005, Ahmed Khatib want-ed to buy a tie. "I want to look like a real bridegroom," he told his mother and father as he paraded in front of them, proudly smoothing his hands over his new beige shirt and matching trousers - a bridegroom being the 12-year-old boy's idea of the epitome of elegance.

His parents had bought him the clothes as a present to celebrate Eid-al-Fitr, the Muslim holiday marking the end of Ramadan. Ahmed was so excited about the day ahead that he had woken up much earlier than his siblings and, at dawn, had gone to the mosque to pray and visit the grave of his grandparents, as is traditional.

Afterwards he returned home to help his mother make morning tea for the family. "He was the one who helped me most around the house," explains Abla, Ahmed's softly spoken mother, while rocking her youngest daughter in her arms. "He had a gentle character and knew his sisters were too little to start doing household chores."

As the family sat sipping their tea, Ahmed kept talking about how he wanted a tie. "I told him all the shops would be closed. But he insisted that Nasser's store would be open," says Ahmed's father, Ismail, a tall man with stooped shoulders and dark stains of anguish circling his eyes. "He was a good boy and I gave him a few coins to let him go and see."

So Ahmed set off at a run. As he wound his way through the narrow alleyways of the Jenin refugee camp in the Palestinian West Bank, he picked up his friend Hithem. When the two boys reached the corner shop on the camp's outskirts, they found it shut, as Ahmed's father had predicted. But there was a crowd of children in the street, letting off fireworks to celebrate the feast, so the two friends ran to join them and started to play.

Hithem anxiously shifts his weight from foot to foot as he points to the spot opposite the shop where the two boys played that day - a semi-enclosed area of wasteland that must once have been a row of buildings. Hithem bites his lip as he remembers what his friend said to him that morning. "He said, 'I feel like I'm going to die today.' When I asked him why, he said, 'I don't know, man. But I feel it.' I was afraid for him."

The game the boys played that morning was what kids in Australia call cowboys and Indians. In Jenin - a refugee camp partially flattened by the 2002 Israeli army assault that left 52 Palestinians dead - it is called army and Arabs. Ahmed was the Arab, Hithem the army. Hithem was dressed for the part: his clothes were camouflage and he carried a toy gun. The boys who play Arabs carry stones and pretend Molotov cocktails, he explains earnestly. At just before 10am, however, the boys' game became horrifyingly real.

Earlier that morning, a small unit of elite Israeli soldiers had entered Jenin in search of a suspected terrorist. When word went around that the soldiers were there, Palestinian gunmen took up positions on rooftops, and a larger crowd of children congregated near Hithem and Ahmed. Afraid that the situation would escalate, the Israeli army called in reinforcements. Several Jeeps full of soldiers and at least one armoured personnel carrier rolled into the street where the children were gathered, according to eyewitnesses.

As gunmen fired shots at the soldiers, hitting the side of one Jeep, the children started throwing stones towards the vehicles 130m away. Hithem doesn't remember why Ahmed dashed out of the protected area where they had been playing. Perhaps it was to get a clearer view of what was going on; perhaps it was to toss stones at the soldiers though Hithem denies this. But what happened next is something he says he will never forget and "it hurts" to talk about.

Still crouched behind a wall playing army and Arabs, Hithem says he saw Ahmed suddenly collapse. Though he did not realise it immediately, his friend had been shot by Israeli soldiers - once in the head, once in the stomach. Terrified, Hithem says he tossed his toy gun in the direction that Ahmed lay and fled. While an older boy scooped Ahmed up and staggered off trying to reach a hospital, an Israeli soldier approached the children, picked up the toy gun and left. In an attempt to explain the killing of an innocent child, pictures of the toy gun they argued he was carrying would later be distributed to the press, laid out alongside a semi-automatic M-16 rifle to illustrate how like the real thing it looked.

Ahmed clung to life for two days. When it was clear the hospital in the refugee camp did not have the resources to treat such serious wounds, his father called Abla's brother, Muhammad, for help. He lives on the other side of the so-called "green line" drawn by the 1949 armistice separating Israel from the occupied territories. So Muhammad is an Israeli citizen and, as such, could request his nephew be airlifted to an Israeli hospital with better facilities. Ahmed was flown first to a hospital in Afula and then to one in Haifa. His parents were refused permission to accompany their dying son. As Palestinians are subject to travel restrictions, they had to request a permit to exit the West Bank. By the time this was granted, Ahmed had fewer than 24 hours to live.

What happened next made headlines around the world. When it was clear their son would not survive, Ismail and Abla took the decision to donate Ahmed's organs for transplant. Within a day of their son's life-support machine being switched off, Ahmed's heart, lungs, liver and kidneys were used for transplant operations needed by six desperately ill Israelis - two Arabs and four Jews, five of them children.

Newspapers as far away as Ottawa and New Delhi carried stories heralding the Khatibs' "gift of peace" and their "outstanding gesture of humanity". "The name of Ahmed Khatib won't go into the history books alongside that of Yitzhak Rabin or Yasser Arafat, but it deserves at least a mention," the Los Angeles Times wrote. The shooting of Ahmed got barely a mention in the Israeli media the day it happened, so frequent is the death of a Palestinian child. But when news of his parents' decision to donate his organs broke, it not only made the front page of most Israeli papers, but the country's future prime minister Ehud Olmert called Ismail and Abla to thank them for a -"gesture that would produce an atmosphere of deeper connection and goodwill between Israelis and Palestinians".

After this initial flurry of heart-warming stories, however, the Khatib family was forgotten as the media turned its attention back to the daily maelstrom of violence that engulfs the Middle East. Yet what happened, not only afterwards but before Abla and Ismail's son was killed, provides a chilling insight into the dynamics of a conflict that between 2000 and the end of May 2006 has claimed the lives of 1005 Israelis and 3512 Palestinians, many of them - 119 Israelis and 695 Palestinians - children.

MY FIRST GLIMPSE OF ISMAIL, Abla, five of their children, and other elderly relatives is as the family stands huddled together beyond the electrified wire fence, watchtowers and steel barricades of an Israeli checkpoint separating the West Bank area around Jenin from Israel. Despite having been told the previous day that they have permission to pass, the family is kept waiting beyond this barrier for more than an hour.

As the stalemate drags on, I approach one of the soldiers and ask if he is aware of the background of the family being kept waiting. He does not reply. Does he know, I ask, what happened to their son - that he was shot by Israeli soldiers while playing, and that his parents' decision to donate the boy's organs saved five lives, three of them Jewish? Silence. Does he know that the family's decision was hailed as both "moving" and "noble" by senior Israeli politicians?

Still no response. Growing increasingly frustrated, I ask the soldier if he had a terminally ill brother, sister, mother or father whose life depended on a transplant, would he not be desperately hoping for someone to make the decision of the family standing before him? Silence. Finally I raise my voice. Does he not feel ashamed at how he and others at the checkpoint are treating this family? Still he says nothing, but in the shadow of his helmet, I see one eye twitching rapidly, the only sign of inner turmoil. Immediately I feel ashamed of having lost my temper. The soldier is just a conscript, barely out of his teens. I have been here only a few hours, yet already I am torn by conflicting emotions that must tear at the conscience of those not already entrenched in extremist positions.

When the family is finally allowed to pass through, we squash into two cars and travel to the village of El-Bqa'a in northern Galilee. Here the family have been invited to a party prepared by the parents of 12-year-old Samah Gadbaan to give thanks for their daughter receiving Ahmed's heart. The Gadbaan family - Druze Arabs often treated with suspicion and hostility by Israelis and Palestinians alike - are joined by the parents of Mohammed Kabua, the five-year-old Bedouin boy whose life was saved by the transplantation of one of Ahmed's kidneys.

Kayed and Fairuz Kabua have travelled for many hours with their son from the Negev desert in the south of the country to thank Ismail and Abla. Samah's parents, Riyad and Yusra, also invited the families of the four Jewish recipients of Ahmed's lungs, second kidney and liver - split between a seven-month-old baby and a 57-year-old woman. None have chosen to attend.

The father of a four-year-old girl, whose life has been saved by the transplantation of one of Ahmed's kidneys, publicly stated afterwards that he wished the organ "had come from a Jew and not an Arab". His comments deeply wounded the Khatib family, and were greeted with outrage by other Palestinians and many Israelis. Following the outcry, the ultra-Orthodox family fell silent. I will meet them later. But before this, I hear Ismail and Abla's extraordinary story.

FOR THE HOURS THEY ARE HUNCHED by my side in the back of a car on the way to Galilee, the grieving couple are preoccupied only with recollections of their son. They talk about how he loved to draw and play the guitar. At the house of the Gadbaan family, Ismail and Abla's obvious pain amid the joy of those who welcome them is heart-rending. When Samah and Mohammed's parents bring their now-healthy children to greet the couple, others in the room fall silent at the poig-nancy of the scene. Samah's brother launches into an impromptu song of gratitude that his sister's life has been saved. A parade is then organised to march through the town in honour of the Khatibs, followed by a formal ceremony and many speeches of thanks in the town hall. It is a long day.

Back in their home in Jenin the next day, the couple are exhausted. Ismail is also on edge. He is due to leave early the next morning for Italy, but by midnight has still not received permission from the Israelis to leave the camp. He has been invited to attend a peace conference in Milan, one of several such invitations from abroad, and to meet a group interested in helping him set up an organisation he wants to found. It will be aimed at raising awareness of the need for organ donors, and would also help sick Palestinians find medical treatment beyond the confines of the occupied territories.

With no prospect of a transplant, Ismail's elder brother died of kidney disease years ago - a crucial factor in his decision to donate his own son's organs. Ismail is also hoping to finalise arrangements for his eldest son, Muhammad, to travel to Florence, where he has been invited by philanthropists to finish his school studies. "I want

to get him out of this place. I would like all my children to study abroad," says Ismail. "I want Mu-ham-mad to fulfil his brother's dreams through education, not by taking vengeance for what happened to Ahmed. I don't want my son to become a militant."

It is a legitimate fear. Raised amid the gun culture of years of warfare, it is the militants of extremist factions who regularly send suicide bombers into Israel, and whom children in the camp widely regard as heroes. Within days of Ahmed's death, pictures of him are pasted up alongside posters of the many suicide bombers - martyrs, as those here call them - who have come from Jenin.

Then Ismail begins to speak about his own childhood, spent entirely within the densely populated refugee camp, established by the UN in 1953 for those who lost their homes after the founding of the state of Israel. He talks of being sent to prison at 15 for throwing stones at Israeli soldiers, and of spending a total of five years in jail after that for offences including throwing Molotov cocktails. He talks of being abused in prison, of being forced to stand for days with his hands against a wall and a sack over his head into which someone had urinated. But it is when he and Abla start to speak of what happened to their family during the 2002 Israeli army incursion into Jenin that the most disturbing story emerges.

Because the couple's two-storey house stands near the top of a steep incline from which much of the refugee camp can be seen, it was taken over by Israeli troops and used as a lookout post. Together with their children and other relatives and neighbours - 29 in all - the couple were herded into a small windowless room and kept there under armed guard throughout most of the military operation. "We had to ask permission to go to the toilet and to make food for our children in our own house. It was humi-liating," Abla recalls. But while the <u>women</u> and children were kept like that for a week, Ismail and a brother were hauled from the room and used as human shields - pushed into house after house in front of soldiers, testing to see if the buildings were booby-trapped. In the confusion following one explosion, the brothers, unhurt, managed to break free. But later Ismail was recaptured and used as a shield again. This time he was stripped naked to ensure he did not have a bomb strapped to his body, and his shoulder was used as a gun prop.

Rather than talk about how this made him feel, Ismail describes the fear of the Israeli soldiers: "One was so afraid he started crying and his commanding officer shouted, 'Shape up! You're not in Bethlehem!" Amid the confusion of gunfire, Ismail once again escaped, and this time managed to flee the camp. Two days later, soldiers released his family and they also fled Jenin.

"When the fighting finally stopped, I was one of the first to set foot back in the camp," says Ismail. "The smell was incredible. There were body parts spread all over the rubble. Part of our house was destroyed. My children saw all this. They were extremely affected. They kept asking me questions I was incapable of answering." Ahmed was nine at the time.

The following year, Ismail says, his son was hauled by an Israeli soldier into one of their tanks, given a broom and ordered to clean it. "Ahmed tried to make a joke of it afterwards," says Ismail. "He said the tank was disgusting inside where the soldiers had dirtied themselves. He said the soldiers had tried to give him biscuits and crisps. But he told them, 'I don't need your stuff. My father can buy me what I need." After listening to the details of such humiliation and tragedy, I cannot help asking the couple how they could find it within their hearts to donate their son's organs, knowing that because they were in an Israeli hospital, they would almost certainly go to people of the same nationality as the soldiers who had shot Ahmed.

It is a question many others in Jenin also asked: the couple's decision to donate their son's organs did not find unanimous support. Anticipating this, and to safeguard his family, Ismail sought the approval of the grand mufti of Jerusalem, the most senior Islamic cleric in Palestine, before telling the hospital of his decision.

In answer to my question, Abla speaks of the final hours of Ahmed's life. As she and Ismail sat beside his hospital bed, she recalls being surrounded by parents all praying for their sons and daughters. "As we sat reading from the Koran, the other parents read from the Torah. Then one of these mothers came over to us and began to pray for Ahmed, and we went and prayed for her son," she says, pulling Ahmed's little sister Takwa tight against her breast.

"We are all mothers and fathers. We all love our children. The message I wanted to send with what we did was, 'Stop killing children!'"

Ismail nods agreement and then repeats a practised phrase: "Hope comes from suffering and we, as a people, have suffered a lot." When I press him further, he says: "Look," with a deep sigh, as if explaining an obvious truth, "a sense of common humanity is much bigger than any feelings of bitterness and revenge." Try telling that to some of those whose lives were transformed by the action Ismail and Abla took.

THE JERUSALEM DISTRICT OF RAMAT Shlomo lies less than 160km south of Jenin. But the newly built and immaculately maintained suburb seems much further removed from the virtual slum conditions of the Jenin refugee camp. It is here that Tova Levinsohn sits cradling her daughter Menuche. Menuche is four now and, with her golden curls, round cheeks and saucer-like eyes, she looks like a Botticelli angel. But Menuche did not always look so healthy. A year and a half ago she suffered sudden kidney failure, after which she spent three days a week undergoing dialysis. Menuche was put on the waiting list for a kidney transplant.

On November 6, the day after Ahmed died, the doctors called with the news of an available organ. "I burst out crying. It was such an emotional moment. They were tears of happiness," recalls Tova. Within hours, Menuche was having surgery at the Schneider children's hospital in Petah Tiqwa near Tel Aviv. At one point Tova describes the Khatib family as "messengers of God". "We believe God sent them to give us the kidney," she says. Her husband, Yaakov, claims he does not recall making the comment about wishing the kidney that saved his daughter's life had come from a Jew, not an Arab. "Some people say I said wrong things. But I don't really remember," he said. "Menuche was still in surgery when I was asked by the media what I thought. I didn't know how to react. It was all so shocking. I was so tired I hardly knew what I was saying."

Be this as it may, it is the casual comments both he and his wife make subsequently that signal a sad disregard for the circumstances in which their daughter received her new kidney. It is six months since Ahmed's death as I sit talking with the Levinsohn family, and Tova turns to me, looking for me to jog her memory. "I'm in the process of having a social worker help me write a letter to the family to thank them," she says. "What's their name again?" And then she adds: "It's not usual for Arabs to give to Jews, you know."

Asked how he now feels about what he said, Yaakov says he "didn't truly appreciate what they [Ismail and Abla] did at the time. It was a big thing". As he speaks, Tova mutters: "They didn't have any choice, really." Then Yaakov continues: "After all you get from Arabs, you know, they are the enemy, trying to do bad things, and then there they are donating organs."

Such views, Yaakov explains, have been greatly influenced by the time he spent in the Israeli army, during which his duties included identifying the bodies of Israeli soldiers killed in the conflict. "It is a very hard situation here." "That's right," Tova chips in. "On the one hand, we are very appreciative, but on the other hand, they are continuing with their terrorist attacks."

Tova is right in that once Ismail and Abla made the decision to donate their son's organs, medical ethics meant they could not stipulate to whom those organs would go; nor, say the couple, would they have wanted to. This has meant in the past that donated organs of Israelis killed in suicide bomb attacks have also gone to save the lives of Palestinians. But it is the Levinsohns' seeming inability to look beyond the fact that the donor came from "the other side" that is most striking.

They are not alone in this. the family of the teenage girl who received Ahmed's lungs, I am informed, is so anxious about the reaction of those in their Orthodox community to finding out that she received her transplanted lungs from an Arab child, that they refuse to be identified. And when I meet the 57-year-old Jewish woman to whom part of Ahmed's liver was transplanted, she makes her view clear: "It was not important who the organ come from. I did not want to know. I just wanted to get the liver. It was my own situation I was very sad about."

Ina Rubinstein, her husband and two children moved to Israel from Uzbekistan 16 years ago to escape persecution by nationalist forces there. "It was a big relief to come here, but then we found things were not so easy here either,"

says Ina, who was hours from death when the transplant of part of Ahmed's liver was performed. The operation did not go well. Ten days later she received a second successful transplant. "Of course, it was a pity what happened to the boy, and I am grateful to his parents," Ina finally concedes. "But the people I really want to thank are the doctors who saved my life."

Such grudging attitudes are counterbalanced by that of the parents of the seven-month-old girl who received the other part of Ahmed's liver. Anat and Amnon Beton called their baby daughter Osher, meaning "happiness", and pictures of her cover the walls of the couple's home in Akko, north of Haifa. But Osher lived for only two days after her transplant operation. "It's a pity. I would have been so proud if my daughter had lived with Ahmed's liver," says Anat.

They did not attend the Gadbaans' party because they are still in mourning. "If I could have gone, I would have hugged Ahmed's mother," says Anat. "I would have taken her and told her thank you, told her that her loss gave life to five people." Amnon adds: "We have friends who are Arab and Christian. We want peace. It did not matter to us that the liver came from a Palestinian boy. We are all humans."

In the months following Ahmed's death, the Israeli human rights organisation B'Tselem wrote to the chief military prosecutor of the Israel Defence Forces (IDF) demanding a criminal investigation into the shooting. Soldiers had not used teargas, but instead had used live ammunition as the first resort, B'Tselem argued, describing it as another example of the IDF's "trigger-happy" policy. According to witnesses, Hithem's account that his friend had not been carrying a toy gun is true - though one said the boys had been throwing stones at the soldiers.

For the past three years, B'Tselem and the Association for Civil Rights in Israel (ACRI) have been petitioning the IDF's judge advocate general's office to open criminal investigations into the killing of every Palestinian not participating in fighting. In May, the state attorney's office told the High Court of Justice that military police have been increasing the number of criminal investigations against Israeli soldiers suspected of killing "non-combatants". In the four years to July 2004, it said, the army had conducted 80 investigations, while during the following year, 55 new cases had been opened, and in the nine months after that, 40. The reason for this increase, it said, was that a lessening in Palestinian violence meant less reason for civilians to be hurt. Human rights workers argue a different case. They say there has been an escalation in Israeli military action since late last year, when Israel resumed targeted killings, and an even further increase since <u>Hamas</u> came to power this year. Such violence is widely viewed as a form of collective punishment for a people who voted in a party that refuses to recognise the state of Israel's right to exist.

But even this increase in criminal investigations means that of the 3512 Palestinians killed by the Israeli security forces from September 2000 to May 2006, only 175 investigations have been opened. Of this total, 19 cases, involving the deaths of 26 people, went to court, and seven of these resulted in convictions; six on charges such as illegal use of a weapon. The number of convictions on the charge of manslaughter? One.

As to the killing of Ahmed, the IDF says that while it "regrets" the shooting, it can find "no justification" to open an investigation. Puzzled that their written response to my inquiry refers to Ahmed as "the man", I call to confirm we are talking about the shooting of a 12-year-old boy. "We want to emphasise that he looked older than he was," a spokeswoman says. In Jenin, I walk the 130m from the place where Ahmed was shot to the position from which soldiers in a Jeep are said to have targeted him. My eyesight is not good, yet I can clearly see that Ahmed's friends, with whom I had been talking at the spot where he fell, are children.

Trying to make sense of what Ahmed's death and such reactions to it say about what is going on in the Arab-Israeli conflict, I visit the grand mufti of Jerusalem. But instead of a spiritual response, I find myself on the receiving end of more political diatribe about the mess in the Middle East being the fault originally of the British, who with the Balfour declaration of 1917 supported the formation of a Jewish national home in British-mandated Palestine.

Finally, I remember the words of another grieving father I had met in Jerusalem several years before. Rami Elhanan lost his 15-year-old daughter, Smadar, in a suicide bombing attack nine years ago, and has spent much of his time since touring Israeli schools talking about the conflict and the need for it to end. "Sometimes I feel like a boy with his

finger in the dam, talking about peace when the flood of violence and hatred has already swept away the wall," he says. "But I believe strongly that the minute the price of not having peace exceeds the price of peace, then peace will come. And the loss of a child is the highest price any parent can pay."

Load-Date: July 21, 2006

**End of Document** 



The Sunday Times (London)
June 25, 2006

Copyright 2006 Times Newspapers Limited All Rights Reserved

Section: FEATURES; Sunday Times Magazine; Pg. 14

Length: 4489 words

Byline: Christine Toomey

## **Body**

When a Palestinian boy was killed by Israeli soldiers last year, his parents donated his organs - saving the lives of three Jews. Hailed by some as a triumph of humanity amid the horrors of the conflict, it has also caused controversy. Christine Toomey reports.

More than anything else, on the morning of November 3, 2005, Ahmed Khatib wanted to buy a tie. "I want to look like a real bridegroom," he told his mother and father as he paraded in front of them, proudly smoothing his hands over his new beige shirt and matching trousers - a bridegroom being the 12-year-old boy's idea of the epitome of elegance.

His parents had bought him the clothes as a present to celebrate Eid-al-Fitr, the Muslim holiday marking the end of Ramadan. Ahmed was so excited about the day ahead that he had woken up much earlier than his siblings and, at dawn, had gone to the mosque to pray and visit the grave of his grandparents, as is traditional. Afterwards he returned home to help his mother make morning tea for the family. "He was the one who helped me most around the house," Abla, Ahmed's softly spoken mother, explains while rocking her youngest daughter in her arms. "He had a gentle character and knew his sisters were too little to start doing household chores."

As the family sat sipping their tea, Ahmed kept talking about how he wanted a tie. "I told him all the shops would be closed. But he insisted that Nasser's store would be open," says Ahmed's father, Ismail, a tall man with stooped shoulders and dark stains of anguish circling his eyes. "He was a good boy and I gave him a few coins to let him go and see." So Ahmed set off at a run. As he wound his way through the narrow alleyways of the Jenin refugee camp in the Palestinian West Bank, he picked up his friend Hithem.

When the two boys reached the corner shop on the camp's outskirts, they found it shut - as Ahmed's father had predicted. But there was a crowd of children in the street letting off fireworks to celebrate the feast, so the two friends ran to join them and started to play.

Hithem stands anxiously shifting his weight from foot to foot as he points to the spot opposite the shop where the two boys played that day - a semi-enclosed area of wasteland that must once have been a row of buildings. Hithem bites his lip as he remembers what his friend said to him that morning. "He said, 'I feel like I'm going to die today.' When I asked him why, he said, 'I don't know, man. But I feel it.' I was afraid for him."

The game the boys played that morning was what kids in Britain call cowboys and Indians. In Jenin - the refugee camp partially flattened by the 2002 Israeli army assault that left 52 Palestinians dead - it is called army and Arabs. Ahmed was the Arab, Hithem the army. Hithem was dressed for the part: his clothes were camouflage and he

carried a toy gun. The boys who play Arabs carry stones and pretend Molotov cocktails, he explains earnestly. At just before 10am, however, the boys' game became horrifyingly real.

Earlier that morning, a small unit of elite Israeli soldiers had entered Jenin in search of a suspected terrorist. When word went around that the soldiers were there, Palestinian gunmen took up positions on rooftops, and a larger crowd of children congregated near Hithem and Ahmed. Afraid the situation would escalate, the Israeli army called in reinforcements.

Several Jeeps full of soldiers and at least one armoured personnel carrier rolled into the street where the children were gathered, according to eyewitnesses.

As gunmen fired shots at the soldiers, hitting the side of one Jeep, the children started throwing stones towards the vehicles 130 metres away.

Hithem doesn't remember why Ahmed dashed out of the protected area where they had been playing. Perhaps it was to get a clearer view of what was going on; perhaps it was to toss stones at the soldiers - though Hithem denies this. But what happened next is something he says he will never forget and "it hurts" to talk about.

Still crouched behind a wall playing army and Arabs, Hithem says he saw Ahmed suddenly collapse. Though he did not realise it immediately, his friend had been shot by Israeli soldiers - once in the head, once in the stomach. Terrified, Hithem says he tossed his toy gun in the direction that Ahmed lay and fled. While an older boy scooped Ahmed up and staggered off trying to reach a hospital, an Israeli soldier approached the children, picked up the toy gun and left. In an attempt to explain the killing of an innocent child, pictures of the toy gun they argued he was carrying would later be distributed to the press, laid out alongside a semi-automatic M-16 rifle to illustrate how like the real thing it had looked.

Ahmed clung to life for two days. When it was clear the hospital in the refugee camp did not have the resources to treat such serious wounds, his father called Abla's brother Muhammad for help. He lives on the other side of the so-called "green line" drawn by the 1949 armistice separating Israel from the occupied territories. So Muhammad is an Israeli citizen and, as such, could request his nephew be airlifted to an Israeli hospital with better facilities. Ahmed was flown first to a hospital in Afula and then to one in Haifa. His parents were refused permission to accompany their dying son. As Palestinians are subject to travel restrictions, they had to request a permit to exit the West Bank. By the time this was granted, Ahmed had less than 24 hours to live.

What happened next made headlines around the world. When it was clear their son would not survive, Ismail and Abla took the decision to donate Ahmed's organs for transplant. Within a day of their son's life-support machine being switched off, Ahmed's heart, lungs, liver and kidneys were used for transplant operations needed by six desperately ill Israelis - two Arabs and four Jews - five of them children.

Newspapers as far away as Ottawa and New Delhi carried stories heralding the Khatibs' "Gift of Peace" and their "outstanding gesture of humanity".

"The name of Ahmed Khatib won't go into the history books alongside that of Yitzhak Rabin or Yasser Arafat, but it deserves at least a mention," the Los Angeles Times wrote. The shooting of Ahmed got barely a mention in the Israeli media the day it happened, so frequent is the death of a Palestinian child. But when news of his parents' decision to donate his organs broke, it not only made the front page of most Israeli papers, but the country's future prime minister Ehud Olmert called Ismail and Abla to thank them for a "gesture that would produce an atmosphere of deeper connection and goodwill between Israelis and Palestinians". After this initial flurry of heart-warming stories, however, the Khatib family was forgotten as the media turned its attention back to the daily maelstrom of violence that engulfs the Middle East.

Yet what happened, not only afterwards but - more incredibly in light of their subsequent decision - what had happened to Abla and Ismail before their son was killed, provides a chilling insight into the dynamics of a conflict that between 2000 and the end of May 2006 has claimed the lives of 1,005 Israelis and 3,512 Palestinians, many of them - 119 Israelis and 695 Palestinians - children.

Our first glimpse of Ismail, Abla, five of their children, and other elderly relatives is as the family stands huddled together beyond the electrified wire fence, watchtowers and steel barricades of an Israeli checkpoint separating the West Bank area around Jenin from Israel. Despite having been told the previous day that they have permission to pass, the family is kept waiting beyond this barrier for more than an hour.

As the stalemate drags on, I approach one of the soldiers and ask if he is aware of the background of the family being kept waiting. He does not reply. Does he know, I ask, what happened to their son: that he was shot by Israeli soldiers while playing, and that his parents' decision to donate the boy's organs saved five lives, three of them Jewish? Silence. Does he know that the Khatib family's decision was hailed as both "moving" and "noble" by senior Israeli politicians? Still no response. Growing increasingly frustrated, I ask the soldier if he had a terminally ill brother, sister, mother or father whose life depended on a transplant, would he not be desperately hoping for someone to make the decision of the family standing before him? Silence. Finally I raise my voice. Does he not feel ashamed at how he and others at the checkpoint are now treating this family? Still he says nothing, but in the shadow of his helmet I see one eye twitching rapidly, the only sign of inner turmoil.

Immediately I feel ashamed for having lost my temper. The soldier is just a conscript, barely out of his teens. I have only been here a few hours, yet already I am torn by conflicting emotions that must tear at the conscience of those not already entrenched in extremist positions.

When the family is finally allowed to pass through, we squash into two cars and travel to the village of El-Bqa'a in northern Galilee. Here the family have been invited to a party prepared by the parents of 12-year-old Samah Gadbaan, to give thanks for their daughter receiving Ahmed's heart. The Gadbaan family - Druze Arabs often treated with suspicion and hostility by Israelis and Palestinians alike - are joined by the parents of Mohammed Kabua, the five-year-old Bedouin boy whose life was saved by the transplantation of one of Ahmed's kidneys. Kayed and Fairuz Kabua have travelled for many hours with their son from the Negev desert in the south of the country to thank Ismail and Abla. Samah's parents, Riyad and Yusra, also invited the families of the four Jewish recipients of Ahmed's lungs, second kidney and liver - split between a seven-month-old baby and the 57-year-old woman. None have chosen to attend.

The father of a four-year-old girl, whose life has been saved by the transplantation of one of Ahmed's kidneys, publicly stated afterwards that he wished the organ "had come from a Jew and not an Arab". His comments deeply wounded the Khatib family, and were greeted with outrage by other Palestinians and many Israelis. Following the outcry, the ultra-orthodox family fell silent. I will meet them later. But before this, I hear Ismail and Abla's extraordinary story.

For the hours they are hunched by my side in the back of a car on the way to Galilee, the grieving couple are preoccupied only with recollections of their son. They talk about how he loved to draw and play the guitar. At the house of the Gadbaan family, Ismail and Abla's obvious pain amid the joy of those who welcome them is heart-rending. When Samah and Mohammed's parents bring their now-healthy children to greet the couple, others in the room fall silent at the poignancy of the scene. Samah's brother suddenly launches into an impromptu song of gratitude that his sister's life has been saved. A parade is then organised to march through the town in honour of the Khatibs, followed by a formal ceremony and many speeches of thanks in the town hall. It is a long day.

Back in their home in Jenin the next day, the couple are exhausted. Ismail is also on edge. He is due to leave early the next morning for Italy, but by midnight has still not received permission from the Israelis to leave the camp. He has been invited to attend a peace conference in Milan, one of several such invitations from abroad, and to meet with a group interested in helping him set up an organisation he wants to found. It will be aimed at raising awareness of the need for organ donors, and would also help sick Palestinians find medical treatment beyond the confines of the occupied territories. With no prospect of a transplant, his elder brother died of kidney disease years ago - a crucial factor in Ismail's decision to donate his own son's organs. Ismail is also hoping to finalise arrangements for his eldest son, Muhammad, to travel to Florence, where he has been invited by philanthropists to finish his school studies.

"I want to get him out of this place. I would like all my children to study abroad," says Ismail. "I want Muhammad to fulfil his brother's dreams through education, not by taking vengeance for what happened to Ahmed. I don't want my son to become a militant." It is a legitimate fear. Raised amid the gun culture of years of warfare, it is the militants of extremist factions who regularly send suicide bombers into Israel, and whom children in the camp widely regard as heroes. Within days of Ahmed's death, pictures of him were pasted up alongside posters of the many suicide bombers - martyrs, as those here call them - who have come from Jenin.

Then Ismail begins to speak about his own childhood, spent entirely within the densely populated refugee camp, established by the UN in 1953 for those who lost their homes after the founding of the state of Israel. He talks of being sent to prison at 15 for throwing stones at Israeli soldiers, and of spending a total of five years in jail after that for offences including throwing Molotov cocktails. He talks of being abused in prison, of being forced to stand for days with his hands against a wall and a sack over his head into which someone had urinated. But it is when he and Abla start to speak of what happened to their family during the 2002 Israeli army incursion into Jenin that the most disturbing story emerges.

Because the couple's two-storey house stands near the top of a steep incline from which much of the refugee camp can be seen, it was taken over by Israeli troops and used as a lookout post. Together with their children and other relatives and neighbours - 29 in all - the couple were herded into a small windowless room and kept there under armed guard throughout most of the military operation. "We had to ask permission to go to the toilet and to make food for our children in our own house. It was humiliating," Abla recalls. But while the <u>women</u> and children were kept like that for a week, Ismail and a brother were hauled from the room and used as human shields - pushed into house after house in front of soldiers, testing to see if the buildings were booby-trapped. In the confusion following one explosion, the brothers, unhurt, managed to break free. But later Ismail was recaptured and used as a shield again. This time he was stripped naked to ensure he did not have a bomb strapped to his body, and his shoulder was used as a gun prop.

Rather than talk about how this made him feel, Ismail describes the fear of the Israeli soldiers: "One was so afraid he started crying and his commanding officer shouted, 'Shape up! You're not in Bethlehem!" Amid the confusion of gunfire, Ismail once again escaped, and this time managed to flee the camp. Two days later, soldiers released his family and they also fled Jenin.

"When the fighting finally stopped, I was one of the first to set foot back in the camp," says Ismail. "The smell was incredible. There were body parts spread all over the rubble. Part of our house was destroyed. My children saw all this. They were extremely affected. They kept asking me questions I was incapable of answering."

Ahmed was nine at the time. The following year, Ismail says, his son was hauled by an Israeli soldier into one of their tanks, given a broom and ordered to clean it. "Ahmed tried to make a joke of it afterwards," says Ismail. "He said the tank was disgusting inside where the soldiers had dirtied themselves. He said the soldiers had tried to give him biscuits and crisps. But he told them, 'I don't need your stuff. My father can buy me what I need.'" After listening to the details of such humiliation and tragedy, I cannot help but ask the couple how they could find it within their hearts to donate their son's organs, knowing that because they were in an Israeli hospital, they would almost certainly go to people of the same nationality as the soldiers who had shot Ahmed. It is a question many others in Jenin also asked: the couple's decision to donate their son's organs did not find unanimous support. Anticipating this, and so to safeguard his family, Ismail sought the approval of the grand mufti of Jerusalem, the most senior Islamic cleric in Palestine, before telling the hospital of his decision.

In answer to my question, Abla speaks of the final hours of Ahmed's life.

As she and Ismail sat beside his hospital bed, she recalls being surrounded by parents all praying for their sons and daughters. "As we sat reading from the Koran, the other parents read from the Torah. Then one of these mothers came over to us and began to pray for Ahmed, and we went and prayed for her son," she says, pulling Ahmed's little sister Takwa tight against her breast. "We are all mothers and fathers. We all love our children. The message I wanted to send with what we did was, 'Stop killing children!"

Ismail nods agreement and then repeats a practised phrase: "Hope comes from suffering and we, as a people, have suffered a lot." When I press him further, he says: "Look," with a deep sigh, as if explaining an obvious truth, "a sense of common humanity is much bigger than any feelings of bitterness and revenge." Try telling that to some of those whose lives were transformed by the action Ismail and Abla took.

The Jerusalem district of Ramat Shlomo lies less than 100 miles south of Jenin. But the newly built and immaculately maintained suburb seems much further removed from the virtual slum conditions of the Jenin refugee camp.

It is here that Tova Levinsohn sits cradling her daughter Menuche. Menuche is four now, and with her golden curls, round cheeks and saucer-like eyes, she looks like a Botticelli angel. But Menuche did not always look so healthy. A year and a half ago she suffered sudden kidney failure, after which she spent three days a week undergoing dialysis.

Menuche was put on the waiting list for a kidney transplant. On November 6, the day after Ahmed died, the doctors called with the news of an available organ. "I burst out crying. It was such an emotional moment. They were tears of happiness," recalls Tova. Within hours, Menuche was having surgery at the Schneider children's hospital in Petah Tiqwa near Tel Aviv.

At one point Tova describes the Khatib family as "messengers of God". "We believe God sent them to give us the kidney," she says. Her husband, Yaakov, claims he does not recall making the comment about wishing the kidney that saved his daughter's life had come from a Jew, not an Arab.

"Some people say I said wrong things. But I don't really remember," he said. "Menuche was still in surgery when I was asked by the media what I thought. I didn't know how to react. It was all so shocking. I was so tired I hardly knew what I was saying."

Be this as it may, it is the casual comments both he and his wife make subsequently that signal a sad disregard for the circumstances in which their daughter received her new kidney. It is six months since Ahmed's death as I sit talking with the Levinsohn family, and Tova turns to me looking for me to jog her memory. "I'm in the process of having a social worker help me write a letter to the family to thank them," she says.

"What's their name again?" And then she adds: "It's not usual for Arabs to give to Jews, you know." Asked how he now feels about what he said, Yaakov says he "didn't truly appreciate what they (Ismail and Abla) did at the time. It was a big thing". As he speaks, Tova mutters: "They didn't have any choice, really." Then Yaakov continues: "After all you get from Arabs, you know, they are the enemy, trying to do bad things, and then there they are donating organs."

Such views, Yaakov explains, have been greatly influenced by the time he spent in the Israeli army, during which his duties included identifying the bodies of Israeli soldiers killed in the conflict. "It is a very hard situation here." "That's right," Tova chips in. "On the one hand we are very appreciative, but on the other hand they are continuing with their terrorist attacks."

Tova is right in that once Ismail and Abla made the decision to donate their son's organs, medical ethics meant they could not stipulate to whom those organs would go; though nor, the couple say, would they have wanted to. This has meant in the past that donated organs of Israelis killed in suicide bomb attacks have also gone to save the lives of Palestinians. But it is the Levinsohns' seeming inability to look beyond the fact that the donor came from "the other side" that is most striking. They are not alone in this. The family of the teenage girl who received Ahmed's lungs, I am informed, is so anxious about the reaction of those in their orthodox community to finding out that she received her transplanted lungs from an Arab child, that they refuse to be identified. And when I meet the 57-year-old Jewish woman to whom part of Ahmed's liver was transplanted, she makes her view clear in three different ways: "It was not important who the organ come from. I did not want to knowl I just wanted to get the liver! It was my own situation I was very sad about."

Ina Rubinstein, her husband and two children moved to Israel from Uzbekistan 16 years ago to escape persecution by nationalist forces there.

"It was a big relief to come here, but then we found things were not so easy here either," says Ina, who was just hours from death when the transplant of part of Ahmed's liver was performed. The operation did not go well. Ten days later she received a second successful transplant. "Of course it was a pity what happened to the boy, and I am grateful to his parents," Ina finally concedes. "But the people I really want to thank are the doctors who saved my life."

Such grudging attitudes are counterbalanced only by that of the parents of the seven-month-old girl who received the other part of Ahmed's liver. Anat and Amnon Beton called their baby daughter Osher, meaning "happiness", and pictures of her cover the walls of the couple's home in Akko, north of Haifa. But Osher lived for only two days after her transplant operation.

"It's a pity. I would have been so proud if my daughter had lived with Ahmed's liver," says Anat. The reason the couple did not attend the Gadbaans' party, they explain, was because they are still observing a period of mourning.

"If I could have gone I would have hugged Ahmed's mother," says Anat. "I would have taken her and told her thank you, told her that her loss gave life to five people." Amnon says: "We have friends who are Arab and Christian. We want peace. It did not matter to us that the liver came from a Palestinian boy. We are all humans."

In the months following Ahmed's death, the Israeli human-rights organisation B'Tselem wrote to the chief military prosecutor of the Israel Defence Forces (IDF) demanding a criminal investigation be opened into the shooting. Soldiers had not used crowd-control measures such as tear gas, but instead had used live ammunition as the first resort, B'Tselem argued, describing it as another example of the IDF's "trigger-happy" policy.

According to witnesses, Hithem's account that his friend had not been carrying a toy gun is true - though one said the boys had been throwing stones at the soldiers.

For the past three years, B'Tselem and the Association for Civil Rights in Israel (ACRI) have been petitioning the IDF's judge advocate general's office to open criminal investigations into the killing of every Palestinian not participating in fighting. In response, the state attorney's office last month told the High Court of Justice that military police have been increasing the number of criminal investigations against Israeli soldiers suspected of killing "noncombatants". In the four years to July 2004, it said, the army had conducted 80 investigations, while during the following year, 55 new cases had been opened, and in the nine months after that, 40. The reason for this increase in investigations, it said, was that a lessening in Palestinian violence meant less reason for civilians to be hurt. Human-rights workers argue a different case. They say there has been an escalation in Israeli military action since last autumn, when Israel resumed targeted killings, and an even further increase since <u>Hamas</u> came to power this year. Such violence is widely viewed as a form of collective punishment for a people who voted in a party that refuses to recognise the state of Israel's right to exist.

But even this increase in the number of criminal investigations means that of the 3,512 Palestinians killed by the Israeli security forces from September 2000 to May 2006 - more than half of whom are believed not to have been participating in fighting when they died - only 175 investigations have been opened. Of this total, 19 cases, involving the deaths of 26 people, went to court, and seven of these resulted in convictions; six on charges such as illegal use of a weapon. The number of convictions on the charge of manslaughter: one - a situation that B'Tselem argues amounts to a "de facto climate of impunity" for killing civilians.

As to the killing of Ahmed, the IDF say that while they "regret" the shooting, they can find "no justification" to open an investigation.

Puzzled that their written response to my inquiry - B'Tselem is still waiting for a reply to their demand - refers to Ahmed as "the man", I call to confirm we are talking about the shooting of a 12-year-old boy. "We want to emphasise that he looked older than he was," a spokeswoman says.

In Jenin I walked the 130 metres from the place where Ahmed was shot to the position from which soldiers in a Jeep are said to have targeted him. My eyesight is not good, yet I could clearly see that Ahmed's friends, with whom I had been talking at the spot where he fell, were children.

Trying to make sense of what Ahmed's death and such reactions to it say about what is going on in the Arab-Israeli conflict, I visit the grand mufti of Jerusalem. But instead of a spiritual response, I find myself on the receiving end of more political diatribe about the current mess in the Middle East being the fault originally of the British, who with the Balfour declaration of 1917 supported the formation of a Jewish national home in British-mandated Palestine.

Finally, I remember the words of another grieving father I had met in Jerusalem several years before. Rami Elhanan lost his beloved 15-year-old daughter, Smadar, in a suicide bombing attack nine years ago, and has spent much of his time since touring Israeli schools talking about the conflict and the need for it to end. "Sometimes I feel like a boy with his finger in the dam, talking about peace when the flood of violence and hatred has already swept away the wall," he said. "But I believe strongly that the minute the price of not having peace exceeds the price of peace, then peace will come. And the loss of a child is the highest price any parent can pay."

Load-Date: July 7, 2006

**End of Document** 



The New York Times
September 3, 2006 Sunday
Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2006 The New York Times Company

Section: Section 6; Column 3; Magazine; Pg. 24

Length: 5152 words

Byline: By James Traub

James Traub is a contributing writer. His book about the United Nations, "The Best Intentions," will be published in

November.

## **Body**

In Late July, as the United Nations Security Council argued long into the night over the wording of a so-called presidential statement castigating Israel for the bombing attack that killed four U.N. observers in southern Lebanon, Wang Guangya, the Chinese ambassador, blew his stack. This was almost unprecedented: Wang, a veteran diplomat, typically comports himself with unnerving calm. But one of the four fatalities had been Chinese, and Wang had grown increasingly frustrated with the refusal of the United States to condemn Israel outright for the bombing. Worse still, the United States was represented not by Ambassador John Bolton but by a junior diplomat, a breach of etiquette that Wang apparently took to be a calculated insult.

Without naming any countries -- he lost his temper, not his grip -- Wang lashed out at "a tyranny of the minority in the council" and vowed that there would be "implications for future discussions" on other subjects. Once the meeting ended, Wang planted himself before the U.N. beat reporters and engaged in 10 minutes of robust public diplomacy, complaining that the presidential statement had been "watered down," observing in several different formulations that "we have to take into account the concerns of other countries" and predicting that the "frustration" his country felt "will affect working relations somewhat."

It was a delicately calibrated performance. In an earlier era, when the People's Republic of China tended to conduct diplomacy by tantrum, this might have been the signal for a real breach. But China cares too much about the international order for such revolutionary shenanigans.

Actually, in an earlier era Chinese nationals would not have served in an observer mission in Lebanon, and the People's Republic would have taken a pass on the whole subject. But China now aspires to play an active role on the global stage, which is why it sends skilled diplomats like Wang Guangya to the U.N. That's the good news. The bad news is that China's view of "the international order" is very different from that of the United States, or of the West, and has led it to frustrate much of the agenda that makes the U.N. worth caring about. The People's Republic has used its position as a permanent, veto-bearing member of the Security Council to protect abusive regimes with which it is on friendly terms, including those of Sudan, Zimbabwe, Eritrea, Myanmar and North Korea. And in the showdown with Iran that is now consuming the Security Council, and indeed the West itself, China is prepared to play the role of spoiler, blocking attempts to levy sanctions against the intransigent regime in Tehran.

It's a truism that the Security Council can function only insofar as the United States lets it. The adage may soon be applied to China as well.

It was only in 1971 that the People's Republic of China supplanted Taiwan as the representative of China in the United Nations. During the remaining years of the cold war, the hermetic Communist regime was generally content to follow the lead of the Soviet Union. Little changed even after the fall of the Berlin Wall: China's permanent representative in the early 90's, Li Daoyu, was known around the U.N. as Ambassador Look Out the Window. The Chinese stirred to action only in order to block peacekeeping missions to countries that had been so foolish as to recognize Taiwan.

Beijing sleeps no longer. The astonishing growth of China's economy has made it a global force, and the accompanying need for resources has pushed it to forge new ties throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America. The old revolutionary ardor is gone, and China surveys the world with increasing pragmatism and confidence. China is now a status quo power -- "an exporter of good will and consumer durables instead of revolution and weapons," as David Shambaugh, a China scholar at George Washington University, remarked in a recent essay. Unlike the United States and the West generally, China views the current global situation as fundamentally benign and malleable -- a setting conducive to diplomacy.

China has chosen to enmesh itself in global bodies like the World Trade Organization, regional groupings like the six-member, security-oriented Shanghai Cooperation Organization and a vast range of bilateral partnerships. China has begun routinely signing arms-control agreements and antiterrorism conventions. And it has begun playing a more active role at the U.N., contributing troops -- almost all of whom provide medical or engineering services rather than front-line patrolling -- as well as policemen to U.N. peacekeeping operations.

Wang Guangya, at 56, is a senior member of a new generation of Chinese diplomats vastly more sophisticated and better educated than the party ideologues of old. His English is quite good, and he so relishes speaking to the U.N. press corps that he sometimes keeps answering questions even as he edges away from the pack while graciously thanking the reporters. Still, he doesn't often attend diplomatic functions, and the occasional dinner in his Trump Tower apartment is normally limited to Asian diplomats. Earlier this summer, I became the first Western reporter to whom he agreed to speak at length.

Wang greeted me in a cheerless reception room in the Chinese mission and invited me to sit parallel to him, as though we were a pair of notables at a reviewing stand. (I took a corner chair instead.) The embassy spokesman and a political counselor seated themselves at a respectful distance across the room. At first the ambassador dutifully recited China's history at the U.N. But once we got on subjects that exercised him, like Japan's bid for Security Council membership, he dispensed with the abstractions and assumed the forthright and confident manner that seems natural to him. Throughout our conversation, Wang chain-smoked Chinese cigarettes -- Zhonghuas -- a habit that had turned his teeth slightly brown.

Wang is bespectacled and slight and has little of the artful smoothness of the more Westernized Asian diplomats. He grew up in Shanghai, the son of a worker, he says, with a low-level position in the Communist Party. Wang graduated from high school in the midst of the Cultural Revolution and along with tens of millions of other Chinese was sent out to the countryside for "re-education." But after President Richard Nixon's visit to China in 1972, the leadership recognized that it needed trained officials to exploit the new opening to the West. Wang passed a test that gained him entry to one of the country's 11 foreign-language schools. In 1974, he was selected as part of a group of 140 to go to England for further study, making him among the very first citizens of postrevolutionary China to receive a Western education. "You think it's a good thing or a bad thing?" Wang asked me, with a disarming grin.

Apparently, it was a good thing. At the London School of Economics, Wang met Cong Jun, a student from the Beijing foreign-language school and the daughter of Chen Yi, one of Mao's great comrades. They married soon thereafter. (Cong Jun now works as a minister counselor in the mission and has served as co-president, with the wife of the British ambassador, Emyr Jones Parry, of a discussion group called the <u>Women</u>'s International Forum.) In 1977 Wang was sent to New York as a junior diplomat and stayed for six years. He returned as a political counselor in 1988, remaining until 1992. He became director of international-organizations policy in the Foreign

Ministry, ultimately rising to the position of vice foreign minister before returning to New York as ambassador in 2003. Wang is considered the favored candidate to replace China's foreign minister, Li Zhaoxing, when he steps down a year from now.

Wang is one of the U.N.'s most adroit diplomats. Ambassador Jones Parry says that his Chinese colleague has a trick he's never seen anyone else perform: "In the council, he speaks in Chinese, but at the same time he listens to the English translation. Sometimes he pauses, and then he'll switch into English to say something similar to the translation but nuanced from it." Wang operates by suggestion, by indirection -- often by silence. "They play a very skillful game at the U.N.," says Vanu Gopala Menon, the Singaporean ambassador. "They make their opinions felt without much talking. They never come in first and make a statement. They always listen first and then make a statement which captures the main thrust of what the developing world wants."

But the game the Chinese play virtually ensures the U.N.'s regular failure in the face of humanitarian crisis. Indeed, the combination of Wang's deft diplomacy and China's willingness to defend nations it does business with from allegations of even the grossest abuse has made a mockery of all the pious exclamations of "never again" that came in the wake of the Security Council's passive response to Rwanda's genocide in 1994. The most notorious example of China's new activism in this regard is Darfur. While none of the major powers, with the intermittent exception of the United States, have shown any appetite for robust action to protect the people of this Sudanese province from the atrocities visited upon them by the government and its proxy force, known as janjaweed, the Chinese, who buy much of the oil Sudan exports, have appointed themselves Khartoum's chief protector.

China first worked to keep the issue of Darfur off the council agenda when both Kofi Annan and Jan Egeland, the U.N.'s humanitarian coordinator, tried to mount a publicity campaign in early 2004. When this failed and Egeland publicly described the horrors there, Wang -- along with the ambassador of Pakistan, a regular ally -- diluted the ensuing press statement so that the council simply called on "the parties concerned to fully cooperate in order to address the grave situation prevailing in the region." In the summer, after Congress had declared the ruthless assault on unarmed villagers "genocide," China vowed to veto an American resolution threatening (not even imposing) sanctions against Khartoum.

And yet, according to Munir Akram, the ambassador of Pakistan: "China was not nearly as active on Darfur as people think. The proposals came from us or from Algeria." The Islamic countries then serving on the council, as well as several African nations, considered any interference in Sudan's affairs a violation of its national sovereignty, even though the citizens being abused were Islamic and African. Wang was more circumspect. At moments of friction, according to a Western diplomat, he would quietly insist, "You cannot alienate the Sudan government; without them, the U.N. mission will fail." Akram is the kind of bombastic figure who suits Chinese purposes to a tee. "Their national style is different from the style of other people, including India and Pakistan," as Akram puts it. "We are an oral people; the Chinese are not. They make their position clear, and they stand by it."

And then, when it no longer suits their purposes, they change their position. Several years ago, China joined India in principled repudiation of the chlorofluorocarbon reductions mandated by the Montreal Protocol. But when the international community offered to pay for the technology needed to reduce emissions, China decided that global regulation of pollution did not, in fact, constitute a violation of national sovereignty, leaving the Indians all alone in their principled opposition. On Darfur, as well, China has seen the virtue of bending before the wind, if ever so slightly. As the hopelessly overmatched troops of the African Union failed to stem atrocities throughout 2005, China (along with Russia) continued to block a resolution authorizing a U.N. peacekeeping force. Then this past May, the Sudanese regime and one of the rebel armies signed a cease-fire pact, increasing the pressure for U.N. intervention. China's position was looking increasingly untenable. And so Beijing agreed to withhold its veto from -- though not actually endorse -- a resolution authorizing a U.N. military-planning mission.

The great issue that divides the U.N. is no longer Communism versus capitalism, as it once was; it is sovereignty. Ever since the catastrophes of Bosnia and Rwanda, and increasingly in recent years, the Security Council has been asked to defend individuals against an abusive state. When critics in the West deride the U.N. as a failed institution, they almost always mean that the Security Council cannot find the will to do so, whether through intervention, sanctions or merely opprobrium. But this failing is a Western preoccupation: most developing nations, with their

history of colonial rule and often their wish to abuse their own citizens without interference, object to all such inroads on sovereign rights. And in China, where memory of "the century of humiliation" at the hands of Western imperialists runs deep -- and where the state's right to abuse its own citizens is not to be questioned -- sovereignty has long been a fighting word. During the 90's, the Chinese abstained on, or publicly criticized, key resolutions authorizing the use of force to dislodge Saddam Hussein from Kuwait and establishing or fortifying peacekeeping missions in Somalia, Bosnia, Rwanda and Haiti. China is now more flexible in practice, but the doctrine of absolute sovereign rights remains central to its foreign policy.

My conversations with Wang kept looping back to this fraught topic. "Each country has to provide the well-being of their own people," Wang said to me. "In some countries there is a problem, where the protection of their own people is" -- here the diplomatic diplomat searched for the right word -- "neglected. The U.N. can come in a quiet way, providing help, providing advice. But the role to play is not to impose it when the government is functioning. Of course there are cases where you can say that the country is a failed country. But wherever there is a government, I think the best way to do it is by giving good advice wherever you can, tough way or soft way, to let the government pick up its main responsibility."

China has, for example, engaged in some gentle prodding of Myanmar -- the former Burma -- whose authoritarian regime depends on Beijing for weapons and trade. But the generals who run the country have shown no signs of releasing their grip or of ending the house arrest of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, the opposition leader and recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize. Nevertheless, Wang says that he has "firm" instructions to block a U.S. resolution, now circulating in draft form, that would condemn the regime and threaten sanctions. China does not feel that this issue belongs in the Security Council. "In our contact with the United States," he says, "their argument is that of course they have the human rights problem, they have the problem of drugs, they have the problem of AIDS. And then may I ask: 'The U.S. doesn't have the problem of AIDS, doesn't have the problem of human rights, doesn't have the problem of drugs? Then you ask the Security Council to be involved?' I don't think that is the case." I said that I didn't think John Bolton would be much impressed by this claim of moral equivalency. Wang waved this away.

In another conversation, held a week later in the U.N.'s Delegates Lounge, where Wang blithely violated the nosmoking rules, the ambassador insisted that the right to exercise sovereignty free from outside interference was enshrined in international law. But, I asked, when the world's heads of state, gathered at the U.N.'s 60thanniversary summit last September, approved the principle of "the responsibility to protect," didn't this, too, become a matter of international law?

This was true, Wang conceded -- even though China has strong reservations about the doctrine -- "but you have to decide how to apply this." And since this new obligation applied only to genocide or "massive systematic violations of human rights," it had no bearing on Darfur. Wang had just returned from a Security Council visit to the region, where he had concluded that the situation was very complicated and that the government had been unfairly criticized. China still stood by Khartoum. After abstaining on the peacekeeping resolution, Wang had asked for the floor in order to reiterate China's position that U.N. peacekeepers could deploy only with the government's consent.

Unfortunately, I observed, President Omar Hassan el-Bashir of Sudan had just flatly rejected the proposed peacekeeping force.

The African Union "is doing a good job on the ground," Wang insisted. "The U.N. force would be a good way to help them, but if in their judgment the Sudan government thinks the A.U. forces are enough, that is their decision." And second, the Sudanese had agreed to disarm the janjaweed.

"And if they can't?"

Wang ground a cigarette into his ashtray. "If you are not sure that it will not be successful, then why impose a solution on them before you prove that they will not be able to do it?"

China has become so influential a country, such an object of imitation, respect and fear, that you can no longer talk about an "international community" that does not include it. The West has a profound interest in China's development as a global power and its acceptance, however gradual and grudging, of the rules by which the West

has defined global citizenship. As Mark Malloch Brown, the deputy secretary general of the U.N., puts it, "How much less intractable so many issues would be if China was as fully engaged in the management and leadership of the United Nations as so many Western nations are." Malloch Brown takes the optimistic, or perhaps wishful, view that China will find itself inevitably adopting Western rules as it seeks to join the global club, arguing that "as soon as you start grappling with global issues, you find that things like human rights and development and legitimate government are things you come to care about as vital to international stability."

You can see why a high-ranking U.N. official would wish for such a denouement. If, alternatively, China continues to insist that the Enlightenment principles enshrined in the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights are little more than a Western hobbyhorse, then the great issues will remain intractable, and they will be resolved elsewhere than the U.N. In recent years, both liberal interventionists and conservative unilateralists have begun to call for some new body, or new mechanism, that will not sit idly by during the next Darfur (or more problematically, the next Iraq). This new entity would not include obstructive nations like China and Russia. But excluding China from the world's foremost decision-making body could have very grave consequences, since it might well rekindle the Middle Kingdom's old sense of encirclement and exclusion. You'd have to save a great many lives to compensate for that kind of damage.

China plainly wishes to join the international community on its own terms. The People's Republic is a singular entity, a world-class power almost wholly preoccupied with harnessing its internal energies and preventing domestic conflict. Unlike Russia, for example, China has little wish to use the power at its disposal, save to establish a harmonious environment for its "peaceful rise." And in any case, China has progressed so rapidly from an insular and impoverished state to a confident and immensely influential one that it has not had time to figure out what to do with its power, or even fully to acknowledge it. China thus cares a very great deal about matters of little concern in the West -- "territorial integrity," for example -- and very little about the burning issues in Washington, London and Paris. China has, for example, played almost no affirmative role in the reform debate that has exercised the U.N. over the last year. China is a member of the bloc of developing nations known as the Group of 77 -- the group's formal name is "the G77 plus China," even though the 77 have grown to 131 -- and it shares the organization's view that the U.N. should pay more attention to economic and social issues and less to matters of peace and security. But even on these questions, according to Ambassador Menon of Singapore, "They were basically just going with the tide."

Even with its negative agenda -- the reforms it wanted to prevent -- Ambassador Wang was happy to remain in the shadows. China had spent more than a decade fighting off resolutions introduced in the U.N.'s Human Rights Commission, and it implacably opposed Kofi Annan's proposal to replace the toothless commission with a much tougher body. But in the crucial final days last September, it was Munir Akram, not Wang, who produced a vague plan supposedly designed to break the deadlock. Western diplomats theorized that China allowed Pakistan to show good faith, intending all the while to block any substantive reforms. Akram, not surprisingly, denies this and says that he does not generally coordinate tactics with Wang. In the end, the General Assembly established a new Human Rights Council with membership standards sufficiently lax that Iran, Cuba, Russia and, of course, China were elected members.

The one issue that roused China to fury was Japan's bid for permanent membership on the Security Council. China's all-hands-on-deck mobilization was a reminder that propriety goes out the window on matters China deems to be of national interest, just as had been the case a decade earlier when it openly tried to kill peacekeeping missions in Guatemala, Haiti and Macedonia to punish those countries for their dealings with Taiwan. The merits were plainly not on China's side. No other country so self-evidently belongs on the council as Japan, which pays 19 percent of the U.N.'s budget, slightly below the U.S. assessment. (China pays 2 percent, and Russia 1 percent.) But Japan is China's chief competitor in Asia, as well as America's staunchest ally in the region.

Even more important, though, is China's deep sense of historical grievance over Japan's notorious invasion of Nanking in 1937 and its aggression in World War II. Wang explained to me that Japan's wealth and generosity could not erase this blot: "The current five has been selected not because of their economic power but because of the role they played during the Second World War. China played an important role, and also we didn't occupy other people's territory" -- unlike you-know-who. (It seemed too niggling to point out that the regime that had fought with

the Allies now held sway in Taipei, not Beijing.) China's bitterness at Japan's alleged lack of repentance has only been sharpened by the annual visits of Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi to the Yasukuni shrine, popularly seen to be a symbol of militarism. "For the last couple of years," as Wang expressed this in his oblique manner, "the signal from Tokyo is not that positive."

In April 2005, soon after Japan, Germany, India and Brazil formalized their candidacy for an expanded Security Council, anti-Japanese demonstrations sprang up in China. Japanese missions and businesses were trashed. The Japanese were shocked both by the virulence of the demonstrations and by the obvious signs of high-level toleration, if not approval. Meanwhile, Wang and several of his lieutenants worked on the ambassadors of wavering countries. Prince Zeid Ra'ad Zeid al-Hussein, the permanent representative of Jordan, which was considering becoming a co-sponsor of the resolution expanding the council's permanent membership, says that he was called to a caucus room at the Security Council to meet with a Chinese diplomat. "The guy was apoplectic," Prince Zeid recalls. "He said, 'How can a great power refuse to accept essential, fundamental truths and yet take pride in the good works it does across the globe?' "He later sent Prince Zeid a copy of a book titled "The Rape of Nanking: An Undeniable History in Photographs." Jordan continued to support the resolution but declined to become a sponsor.

China failed to persuade African countries to reject Security Council expansion as such, yet it still delivered the coup de grace at a meeting of the African Union in Libya in early August, where heads of state met to choose two nations that would join the other four in seeking permanent membership. Several weeks earlier, China was the host of a lavish state visit for Robert Mugabe, the increasingly tyrannical and eccentric Zimbabwean strongman and a longtime Chinese client. Soon after returning, Mugabe declared that African countries must insist not only on permanent representation in the Security Council but also on the veto. This demand was obviously self-defeating, since neither China nor the four other permanent members would agree to dilute the value of their veto. Nevertheless, vast shoals of Chinese diplomats roamed the halls in Tripoli, appealing to African pride, to the imperative of global parity and so on. The demand for an African veto carried the day, and with that, Security Council expansion died. The corpse bore no sign of Chinese fingerprints.

Last month, the U.N. began the process of selecting a successor to Secretary General Kofi Annan. Asian countries feel that it is their "turn" for the job, and China has promised to deliver an Asian. Any potential successor must survive both American and Chinese scrutiny. The Americans will reject too open an advocate for the third world agenda; China will reject an aspirant from too close an ally of Washington. Other difficulties will arise. China may be happy to firm up its ties with India by backing Shashi Tharoor, a career U.N. official who is India's candidate, but Pakistan, a close ally, may object strenuously. China may, for once, have to disappoint or even anger some fraternal members of the G77 -- a situation it tries very hard to avoid.

The Chinese are much too subtle to throw their support behind a single candidate, but it is widely assumed that they want a technocrat who will put aside Annan's (admittedly tarnished) mantle of moral authority. Wang, of course, disclaims any such ambition, but he does express the hope that Annan's successor "might bring some perspective from Asia." By this, he explained, he meant "patience over rush" and an emphasis on collective rights -- those of the state -- rather than individual ones. If China succeeds in this regard, the U.S. might find the U.N. an even less hospitable place than it is now.

China and the United States are the twin betes noires of the U.N.: the U.S. insists on enlisting the organization in its crusades, while China refuses to let any crusade get in the way of national interest. Washington is all blustering moralism; Beijing, all circumspect mercantilism. Both can afford to defy the consensus view. The emissaries of the two capitals are united by a wary mutual regard and understanding. Bolton and Wang met as midlevel diplomats in the early 90's and worked together on nonproliferation issues in 2001 and 2002. In their first meeting in this latter capacity, according to an American diplomat, who agreed to talk with me only if he remained unnamed, as he was not authorized to speak publicly, Bolton and Wang talked for four and a half hours without finding much common ground. As the discussion drew to a close, the time came for the inevitable speech on China's inalienable claims to Taiwan. Wang, who knew Bolton to be impervious to all such oratory, simply said, "Taiwan." And Bolton nodded and said, "And Taiwan."

Relations between the two are strictly professional. But Bolton, who declined to be interviewed for this article, is said to appreciate his counterpart's pragmatism and lack of polemics. China and Russia take the same view on issues involving sovereignty, but whereas Russia, with a home audience to play to, likes to snap Uncle Sam's suspenders, China, with no wish to harm its relations with Washington, looks for common ground. While Russia openly threatened to veto any resolution authorizing war in Iraq, for example, China stated its opposition as undemonstratively as possible. More recently, both Russia and China have resisted any Security Council condemnation of Iran's nuclear program, but China has proved far more accommodating of White House concerns. "The Russians spent 45 minutes arguing over the meaning of consult," the American diplomat recalls. "Wang finally said, 'Consult is fine.' " Wang also earned points when he and the "director" of Taiwan's unofficial mission to the U.N. happened to arrive simultaneously at the Saudi mission to sign the condolence book after the death of King Fahd; Wang walked over and shook the hand of his diplomatic nemesis.

Wang talked with me about Bolton, and about America diplomacy generally, with the faint irony and mellow wisdom of an antique culture. "I can talk to many people," he said equably, "those who wish to have nice discussion or those who wish to quarrel." Wang is, of course, a partisan of the nice discussion. "I do not want to give advice to my good friend," he went on to say, delicately, "but I believe that sometimes the way that you work, especially the way that your work is respected by others as showing due respect for others, is where common ground can be found." But what exactly does Wang mean by "common ground"? The consensus that China has sought on Darfur looks like a formula for paralysis. And China's insistence on showing "due respect" for Iran seems designed less to persuade Tehran to end its nuclear program than to preclude any of the punitive actions currently being contemplated by the West.

Wang told me he believed that blunderbuss diplomacy is the American way "because America is a superpower, so America has a big say." China would appear to have a big say of its own, but that's not Wang's view. At the end of our second conversation, he returned to a favorite theme. "The Americans have muscle and exercise this muscle," he said. "China has no muscle and has no intention of exercising this muscle."

I said that, in fact, China had a great deal of muscle but punched below its weight. Wang smiled at the expression and said, "It's not good?" Well, I said, that depends. And then Wang said something quite startling: "China always regards itself as a weak, small, less powerful country. My feeling is that for the next 30 years, China will remain like this. China likes to punch underweight, as you put it."

Why was that? Why did China want to punch underweight? Wang spoke of China's peaceful rise, of the need to reassure all who fear its growing clout. "We don't," he said, "want to make anyone feel uncomfortable."

http://www.nytimes.com

# Graphic

Photos: Ambassador Wang at China's U.N. mission in New York. (Photograph by Alessandra Petlin)

No Pushovers: From left: Wang discussing Haiti with British ambassador Emyr Jones Parry and French ambassador Jean-Marc de la Sabliere in a 2006 session

voting in 2004 for a draft resolution condemning Israel for the killing of the founder of *Hamas* 

facing reporters on North Korea

and getting along with John Bolton, right. (Photographs From Left: Stan Honda/Afp/Getty Images (2)

Kyodo News/Newscom

Don Emmert/AFP/Getty Images.)

Load-Date: September 3, 2006

**End of Document** 



Views of the world Who is the most influential commentator in China? Or the most powerful voice in Iran? Or Britain? FT foreign correspondents gave us their picks, and came up with a revealing list that says as much about the world's political elites as the media that analyse them

Financial Times (London, England)

May 20, 2006 Saturday

Copyright 2006 The Financial Times Limited

Section: FT WEEKEND MAGAZINE - Feature; Pg. 16

Length: 5499 words

## **Body**

#### AUSTRALIA - Alan Jones

Paul Keating, Australia's former Labour prime minister, once described conservative radio host Alan Jones as a pedlar of "middle-of-the-road fascism". But Jones has survived, indeed thrived, on such insults all his life and is now the undisputed king of talkback radio in Sydney, Australia's biggest city.

Prime minister John Howard has made many appearances on Jones's 2GB morning radio show, as have many other national figures who feel Jones is too influential to ignore. They may be right: in 2001 the then New South Wales premier, Bob Carr (another frequent Jones guest), sacked his police minister, Paul Whelan, after Whelan criticised Jones for running a virulent campaign against the police force.

A former Australian rugby coach, Jones was lured to 2GB from a rival station in 2002 by a reported ADollars 4m yearly salary plus a 20 per cent stake in the station.

Often controversial, his paid on-air endorsements of Australian companies led broadcasting regulators to investigate him for taking "cash for comment", and he must now disclose all his commercial agreements. He has also been rebuked by the NSW Independent Commission Against Corruption (for criticising a commission witness); fined for contempt of court; and frequently sued for defamation, though by no means always successfully.

Not that it seems to matter: in the 2004 Queen's birthday honours, Jones was made an Officer of the Order of Australia for his services to the media and sport.

Lachlan Colquhoun, Sydney.

BRAZIL - Elio Gaspari

Brazil has many influential columnists but no one has the range or depth of Elio Gaspari. Published in both the proopposition Folha de Sao Paulo and the more pro-government O Globo in Rio de Janeiro, Gaspari is an independent and occasionally surreal writer whose encyclopedic knowledge of Brazil lends a gravitas to his political commentary. Views of the world Who is the most influential commentator in China? Or the most powerful voice in Iran? Or Britain? FT foreign correspondents gave us their p....

His four- (soon to be five) volume history of Brazil's 20-year military dictatorship is a bestseller and his columns are peppered with insightful historical references. In recent weeks Gaspari has been a

vituperative critic of the leftwing government of president Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva, especially its faltering foreign policy. But Gaspari is equally likely to criticise Brazil's economic elites and the main opposition parties that they support. And he often takes up quite local issues, questioning the fairness of ticketing plans for the Sao Paulo public transport system, for example.

"He is not only very perceptive and very attentive, he also has real influence and gets decisions changed," says Fabio Santos, editor until recently of the monthly journal Primeira Leitura.

A close second to Gaspari would be Miriam Leitao, a journalist who writes a daily column for O Globo and whose morning TV programme Bom Dia, Brasil is seen by millions of people each day. Leitao was previously an investigative leftwing reporter, but her explanation of Brazil's orthodox economic policies and her defence of the benefits of economic stability have made her a national figure.

Richard Lapper, Latin America editor.

#### **CANADA - Margaret Wente**

Canada's better known columnists range from The Globe and Mail's Jeffrey Simpson, who has soberly analysed Ottawa politics for the past 20 years, to the National Post's Terence Corcoran, an indefatigable advocate of free markets. Even the state-owned Canadian Broadcasting Corporation is mixing news and opinion: a garrulous Newfoundlander, Rex Murphy, offers comment on its prime-time news show.

But for perceptive observations on the issues of the day, leavened with humour and common-sense, it is hard to beat The Globe's Margaret Wente.

Wente is a former business editor who makes no secret that she is on the wrong side of 50 and has used her hip replacements to comment on Canada's increasingly strained healthcare system.

In a country suffused with political correctness, Wente is refreshing, if hard to pigeon-hole. "I'm all for multiculturalism, up to a point. Head scarves, turbans and kirpans don't bother me at all. But my open-minded tolerance deserts me when I see <u>women</u> completely covered up. In every culture where this is the norm, <u>women</u> are oppressed. Do I need to learn to be more tolerant? Or am I right to think that <u>women</u> in chadors (and, more to the point, the men who walk four steps in front of them) should adapt to us?"

Bernard Simon, Toronto.

#### CHILE - Hermogenes Perez de Arce

As the most prominent defender of the disgraced former dictator Augusto Pinochet, Hermogenes Perez de Arce is something of an anachronism in the new democratic Chile. But he is still the mostly widely read columnist in the country.

"Many people may hate him but everybody reads whatever he writes," says Marta Lagos, the director of Latinobarometro, a prominent Santiago-based polling company. "He has had a longstanding influence."

Perez de Arce's staunch defence of Pinochet and the repressive regime of the 1970s and 1980s provides an important reference point against which the anti-Pinochet and democratic political mainstream defines itself. His elegantly written and witty columns in El Mercurio defend unfashionable conservative causes such as the restrictive divorce laws that were liberalised less than two years ago. He is also apt to slam the decline of public morality or the incidence of pre-marital sex. Against the Current, a selection of his columns, was a bestseller in Santiago last year.

Views of the world Who is the most influential commentator in China? Or the most powerful voice in Iran? Or Britain? FT foreign correspondents gave us their p....

A handful of other columnists, including Carlos Pena (who also writes for El Mercurio), reflect more middle-of-theroad thinking. None, perhaps, is as widely read nor widely known as Perez de Arce, but Chile is changing. Clinic, a left-of-centre satirical weekly launched when Pinochet was arrested seven years ago in London (and held under police custody in a clinic), is one of the best-read weeklies in the country.

Richard Lapper, Latin America editor.

CHINA - Hu Shuli

Hu Shuli is a business columnist, but that bland description tells you little about the impact of her writing in China in the past five years. As editor of the thriving Beijing-based Caijing (Finance) magazine, Hu has exposed accounting fraud, environmental degradation and the hyper-sensitive issue of Communist party control of personnel in top state enterprises. One prominent banker calls her "Scandal Lady", out of both fear and admiration. The 53- year-old former Worker's Daily journalist also uses her bi-weekly column to press the government to pursue market reforms. "All of China's successful economic reforms since 1978 can be summed up in one simple statement: 'Reduce direct government intervention and increase the reign of the market,'" she wrote recently in an attack on state manipulation of the property market. "A profit-driven local government cannot ensure the stable development of the sector; instead it becomes an accomplice pushing up housing prices."

Another influential columnist is the leftist Zhu Dongli, a researcher at the Marxism Institute who moonlights for the adventurous Phoenix Weekly current affairs magazine. He thinks democracy is wrong for China, because of the country's limited resources. "With limited resources, you need unified planning under the control of a centralised power," he wrote recently. Anyone who still believes the internet will inevitably democratise China might note that Zhu's essay was a particular hit online, where it was posted on about 700 chatrooms.

Richard McGregor, Beijing.

EGYPT - Mohammed Hassanein Heikal

No political commentator in the Arab world has ever come close to the iconic status enjoyed by Mohammed Hassanein Heikal, the Egyptian writer and one-time editor-in-chief of Al-Ahram newspaper.

At 83, Heikal may not have much influence on governments any more, but he remains the only political analyst capable of riveting Arab television viewers. Heikal's career spans more than 60 years, including two decades in which he wielded enormous influence as a close confidant of president Gamal Abdel Nasser.

These days he presents a series of programmes on the Al-Jazeera network. In one of his broadcasts he traced the Arab world's lack of weight in international politics to what he described as a "pact with the devil", made by the region's leaders in the early 1970s, when many governments, including Egypt's, strengthened ties with the US at the expense of Arab solidarity.

Heikal's link with political power was broken in the mid-1970s when he fell out with Nasser's successor, Anwar El Sadat. However, his prolific writing and encyclopedic knowledge of both regional and international politics means that he remains a deeply respected figure.

Heba Saleh, Cairo.

FRANCE - Nicolas Baverez

Dominique de Villepin, France's prime minister, has coined a term for people like Nicolas Baverez: declinologues. Ever since the publication in 2003 of La France Qui Tombe (France in Free Fall), the 45-year-old historian and essayist has come to personify the idea that France is in decline. In books, essays and newspaper columns, Baverez argues that France's political institutions are dysfunctional, its economy is in a mess, and its global influence is fading away.

Views of the world Who is the most influential commentator in China? Or the most powerful voice in Iran? Or Britain? FT foreign correspondents gave us their p....

"The crisis is not only economic, it is intellectual, moral, even spiritual because it profoundly affects the identity, values, and historic destiny of France," he writes. His views are the subject of furious discussion and drive many Gaullist ministers to distraction. "There are journalists and a certain number of thinkers - Baverez prominent among them - who have made denigration of France a source of business," fumes one minister. "What they are doing is scandalous." But Baverez disagrees. By highlighting the "truth" about how far France has fallen behind the rest of the world, he is preparing the ground for radical change, embodied by Nicolas Sarkozy, the leading rightwing contender for the presidency, who has been calling for a "rupture" with the failed policies of the past.

John Thornhill, Paris.

#### **GERMANY - Hans-Ulrich Jorges**

Hans-Ulrich Jorges is a rogue element in the polite and often clannish world of German political commentators.

His rivals may derive their authority from their proximity to decision makers, but the deputy editor and chief commentator of the mass-market Stern weekly prides himself on his lack of political friendships.

His Zwischenruf (Interruption) column is politically conservative with a liberal social twist; substantial yet often humorous. More intuitive than analytical, Jorges is readable and good at grasping the Zeitgeist.

In the run-up to last year's election, he predicted not only the defeat of the incumbent, Chancellor Gerhard Schroder, but his subsequent estrangement from the Social Democratic party.

Jorges may not be an insider, but he is well connected and a reliable source of information about who thinks what in Angela Merkel's notoriously secretive left-right coalition.

But his soft spot for counter-intuitive views can sometimes come at the expense of consistency. While exasperated at the grand coalition's lack of reformist ambition one week - "We want to see more than 'little steps', tactical fiddling and short-lived compromises" - he lavishes praise on its unspectacular style the next - "whoever calls it boring, cowardly, smallest-common-denominator politics could be wrong."

But at least he can rarely be accused of being dull.

Bertrand Benoit, Berlin.

### INDIA - Thomas Friedman

In a country with at least a dozen major English-language newspapers and countless regional ones, it is hard for any individual columnist to claim a genuine national influence. Prem Shankar Jha of the Hindustan Times, Shekhar Gupta of The Indian Express and M.J. Akbar of The Asian Age are among those who come close.

Strangely, however, it may be that it is an American writer - Thomas Friedman of The New York Times - who is lapped up most ardently by the country's ruling elite.

His recent bestselling book, The World is Flat, was a hymn to India's brilliant future in a fully inter-connected globalised world and made him for a time the country's de facto chief publicist. His New York Times columns, which are regularly republished in Indian newspapers, provide readers with what must be a pleasant reminder of the book's gushing tone. In one recent column he described India as a "beacon of tolerance and stability" (somewhat mystifyingly to those who follow Indian politics or communal passions).

"Call me biased," he says, "but I have a soft spot for countries of one billion people, speaking a hundred different languages and practising a variety of religions, whose people hold regular free and fair elections."

His appeal in India speaks to a significant shift in the tectonic plates of world politics. Once the guardian of the non-aligned movement, India is rapidly succumbing to the ardent courtship of the US. The world's sole superpower is taking India as its new strategic mate and nobody does more to sugar the pill than Friedman.

Jo Johnson, New Delhi.

#### INDONESIA - Goenawan Mohamad

Goenawan Mohamad is almost without peer in Indonesia, the world's largest Muslim nation. He founded the news weekly Tempo, which led what little media fight there was against the regime of former President Suharto. More recently, he has turned his sights on America and its paradoxes.

Mohamad is a rare and versatile intellectual voice in the archipelago, as likely to write about Michael Jackson as Guantanamo Bay and Turgenev.

When US security guards stopped him for questioning at a tiny Missouri airport last year, convinced he was carrying TNT in a cake his wife had packed for him to take to relatives, US embassy officials back in Jakarta must have quietly groaned.

Mohamad has learned to veil his arguments when necessary. In a recent column about depicting God, following the Danish cartoon furore, he said God's "regulations" were meant for man, not God, which meant man could bend them - a controversial comment in a society where religious literalists often rule debate.

But Mohamad tempered the thought by offering it in the form of a "profound question" posed by Jesus about working on the Sabbath: "Weren't those laws for man, and not vice versa?" "These days," said Mohamad, "people should hear that question once again."

Shawn Donnan, Jakarta.

#### IRAN - Hussein Shariatmadari

Hussein Shariatmadari is the editor-in-chief of Kayhan, the country's main state-owned newspaper. Appointed by Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, Iran's supreme leader, Shariatmadari is a careful analyst of Iranian affairs.

He approved of last year's landslide election victory of president Mahmoud Ahmadi-Nejad, which he felt reflected the ongoing appeal of the 1979 Islamic Revolution's values. And when Ahmadi-Nejad stirred international uproar by calling for Israel to be "wiped off the map", Shariatmadari said the new president had not said "anything new or unprecedented" to justify such tumult.

But he does not always agree with Iran's leaders. He was a trenchant critic of negotiations begun under the previous government with the European Union over Iran's nuclear programme: why talk to people who wanted to block Iran's path to peaceful nuclear technology, he asked.

He has also attacked the "dangerous trap" in this year's proposal to start talks between the US and Iran on stabilising Iraq. "As our late Imam (Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini) once said, America has already done everything within its power against Islamic Iran," he wrote. "If there is any hostile action it hasn't yet done, the only reason is that it hasn't been able to."

Islamic Iran, he wrote last month, is the "banner-holder in the fight against global domination, a successful model for other movements seeking freedom and independence". Far better, then, to improve relations with China, and with non-aligned and Islamic countries, than to waste time talking to those who want to deny Iran nuclear technology or even overthrow its regime.

Gareth Smyth, Tehran.

#### **IRAQ**

Newspaper commentators don't have a lot of impact in most of Iraq, where years of Ba'athist rule and tight media controls mean the press is widely mistrusted. Some writers stand out, such as Adnan Hussein of the pan-Arab London-based daily, Asharq Alawsat, who last year wrote that then-prime minister Ibrahim al-Jaafari's florid

speaking style reminded him of a rawzakhon, a traditional storyteller who commemorates the death of Shia martyrs. The nickname stuck and Jaafari eventually had to step down, in part because other political groups simply couldn't talk to him.

But religious figures are far more important than media commentators to most Iraqis, especially the Shia working classes for whom newspapers symbolise a state unable to keep the lights on, or a pan-Arab media that panders to Sunni countries such as Saudi Arabia or Egypt.

At Baghdad's Buratha mosque, for example, thousands gather each Friday to hear the sermons of Jalal al-Din al-Saghir, who recently accused the Al-Jazeera television network of "shooting arrows of hate at the Iraqi people... guided by the Mossad".

Print commentators have more influence in the Kurdish-controlled north, especially in the area ruled by former rebels from the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan. There, journalists such as Asos Hardi and Twana Osman, co-founders of the independent Hawlati weekly newspaper, have criticised the guerrillas-turned-governors and struck a chord with people tired of corruption and mismanagement. But press freedom has its limits: early this month both journalists received six-month suspended prison sentences after the regional prime minister sued them for publishing false information.

Steve Negus, Baghdad.

ISRAEL - Akiva Eldar

The veteran columnist, Akiva Eldar, is one of Israel's most prominent and controversial commentators. He has consistently argued that the country should seek a negotiated settlement with the Palestinians, even though many Israelis have taken a more hardline position against the Palestinians since the start of the intifada in 2000.

"I get very nasty e-mails, especially from the US, with some suggesting I move to Ramallah!" says the 60-year-old.

His newspaper, the liberal Ha'aretz, is one of Israel's lower- circulation dailies but its English-language website is read all over the world. Eldar is also a panelist on Army Radio's current affairs show each morning, listened to by one million Israelis.

His comments inspire callers from across the political spectrum: "I get calls from politicians, mostly from the left when I criticise them. But sometimes from the Likud as well."

He says Israel has a partner with whom it can work for peace in the form of Mahmoud Abbas, the Palestinian president, and is sceptical that the Islamic movement, <u>Hamas</u>, which runs the Palestinian Authority, can change. "I think Israel should talk to anyone who is willing to accept two states side by side," he says. "It's a waste of time to talk to someone who refuses your right to exist."

Eldar believes in a negotiated solution to the conflict but has little to no faith in the present crop of politicians. "People of both sides have a clear idea of how to put an end to this disarray," he said. "But I've never been so pessimistic."

Sharmila Devi, Jerusalem

JAPAN - Soichiro Tawara

A culture that prizes agreement above dissent is not exactly designed to produce scintillating commentators. Most of the best- regarded columns in Japan are anonymous, including Ten Sei Jingo ("Heavenly voice, human voice"), which appears each morning on the front page of Asahi newspaper. The column, the first stop for many of Asahi's 8.3 million readers, is more gentle musings on the quirkiness of life than an expression of political conviction.

Perhaps the best-known personality columnist is Soichiro Tawara, a veteran of the airwaves, and an occasional dabbler in print. Brusque, direct, and with a gravelly voice, Tawara's Sunday Project television programme is required viewing for anyone in politics. Each week he subjects a parade of politicians to bruising cross- examination (by Japanese standards, at least).

Tawara's reputation for independence has not been damaged by his closeness to prime minister Junichiro Koizumi, in whom he has a touching faith as a crusader for clean politics. Like Koizumi, who heads the everlasting Liberal Democratic party but who is constantly threatening to smash it to pieces, Tawara's political views are hard to pin down, for all his forthrightness. In his ambiguity, he is more typically Japanese than his blunt posturing might suggest.

David Pilling, Tokyo.

KENYA - Louis Otieno and Wycliffe Muga

The ambitious young Louis Otieno is a prominent voice in Kenya, where he is a news anchor and television host. On Newsline, one of his two weekly shows, he grills public figures and presents a viewers' phone-in, a format that has grown in popularity as Kenyan politics has opened up.

"It's new for both ends, for the politicians who are not used to being put on a platform and being questioned, and for the Kenyan public who can ask questions," says the 34-year-old presenter.

A more contentious figure is Wycliffe Muga, a columnist for the Daily Nation. He covers everything from wildlife to global affairs, and Kenya's president, Mwai Kibaki, is a repeated target: "Of what use is it for the president to have a 'hands-off' approach when the country is being plundered by 'hands-on' thieves whom he is responsible for having placed in high office?"

The 45-year-old stuck his neck out again last year when he backed a British ambassador who had angered president Kibaki's government by accusing its officials and ministers of "vomiting on the shoes" of foreign donors.

"I feel the Kenyan public is not very well informed about international issues," says Muga. "It's very easy to have anti- American or anti-British feelings, so I try to explain more the other perspective."

Andrew England, Nairobi.

NIGERIA - Dele Olojede

Some of Nigeria's most pointed political commentary comes from two of the country's literary giants, novelist Chinua Achebe and playwright Wole Soyinka. And it says something else about the state of the country's media that its most influential journalist is neither a columnist nor a commentator, but an investigative reporter best known for the work he has done for a US newspaper, Newsday.

Dele Olojede won a Pulitzer prize for international reporting last year for his coverage of the 10th anniversary of the Rwandan genocide. "It is a situation scarcely imaginable anywhere, as if most Jewish survivors were compelled to remain in Germany immediately after the Holocaust, living cheek-by-jowl with their erstwhile neighbours," he wrote.

His biggest story in his home country was a 1986 report in the Nigerian news magazine Newswatch, which resulted in the freeing of the internationally known musician, Fela Kuti, and the dismissal of the judge who sentenced him.

Based in Johannesburg, Olojede now wants to make an impact on post- military Nigeria's press, which he says lacks quality and critical muscle. "There is a real disconnect between the media and public," he says.

Dino Mahtani, Lagos.

POLAND - Adam Michnik

Poland's most influential columnist is undoubtedly Adam Michnik, the editor-in-chief of Gazeta Wyborcza, one of the country's leading dailies. Although he now writes rarely, his words still have an enormous impact. He made a crucial contribution to the end of communist rule in 1989 when he came up with the formula "Your President, Our Prime Minister", which allowed the communists to retain control of the presidency while the first post-war non-communist government was formed.

Although at heart a leftist, Michnik strongly supported the shock therapy that turned Poland into a market economy. He was most influential in the early years of democracy, when his friends from Solidarity were in power. He is now seen as left of centre.

The country's second-most influential columnist is Michnik's opposite in just about every way - although the two are friends. Jerzy Urban, the former spokesman of the communist regime, is the editor of Nie, a weekly scandal sheet with an excellent record for scoops. Urban's often malicious pen skewers Poland's many holy cows, from the Solidarity movement to the Church and even the former Pope.

Jan Cienski, Warsaw.

**RUSSIA - Mikhail Leontiev** 

Just before Vremya, Russia's flagship TV news broadcast, ends most nights, the neatly groomed presenter is replaced on screen by a bearded, dishevelled figure in sports jacket and T-shirt. This is Mikhail Leontiev, whose prime-time comment slot on state-owned Channel One is testament to the direct line many believe he has to the Kremlin.

For two decades Leontiev, 47, has been on a political odyssey that has transformed him from Soviet-era dissenter to 1990s liberal to a conservative nationalist and one of president Vladimir Putin's most vocal supporters.

A journalist on two of Russia's early independent newspapers, Leontiev went on to co-found Sevodnya (Today) as the "first real post-Soviet publication" in 1993. He became one of Russia's most- quoted columnists - as an ardent supporter of liberal economic reform and critic of the first Chechen war.

By the mid-1990s, however, he was already warning of "mounting anti-Russian sentiment" in US policy. By decade's end he was convinced Russia needed a strong hand to pull it out of its Yeltsin-era chaos - and he conducted a high-profile TV interview with Putin in 2000 that was widely seen to have helped secure the president's victory.

Today Leontiev's commentaries are shot through with suspicion of the west, and the need for Russia to be a strong, sovereign nation. "Boosting the authoritarian component is the only way to restore order," he declared after the Beslan tragedy.

Neil Buckley, Moscow.

SERBIA - Dragoljub Zarkovic

Certain themes crop up repeatedly among Serbian commentators: suffering, heroism and the nation's destiny to be misunderstood by the rest of the world.

But Dragoljub Zarkovic, editor-in-chief of the weekly Vreme (Time) and frequent columnist in Belgrade's leading daily newspaper, Politika, is an interesting exception.

Take the touchy subject of Kosovo, the breakaway ethnic-Albanian province that may finally achieve formal independence this year, after seven years of United Nations interim rule.

Conventional Serbian wisdom says western leaders are only backing Kosovo's independence because they want a share of its mineral resources. But Zarkovic has reminded his readers of another perspective: "If the communists

had not seized British shares in the Trepca (mining complex), Tony Blair would have defended the Serbian position in Kosovo."

His take on Serbia's future remains generally optimistic, however. Cynics and extreme nationalists who play on popular despair ought to read the latest reports from the buoyant Belgrade stock exchange, he says. For there they would "see what is deeper: our trepidation or our hope".

Neil MacDonald, Belgrade.

SOUTH AFRICA - Moeletsi Mbeki

Political commentators play a crucial role in South Africa's young democracy, and President Thabo Mbeki himself publishes a rambling, often provocative weekly letter on the African National Congress website. However, the opinions of his younger brother Moeletsi arguably carry as much - if not more - clout.

The younger Mbeki is a businessman, deputy chairman of the South African Institute of International Affairs and a former journalist. He doesn't publish a regular column, but his opinions can become mini-news events. This is partly because he is the president's brother, but he is also an independent thinker, important in a country where frank comment is often blunted by a perceived need for political correctness.

In 2003, Mbeki unleashed a noisy debate by describing Black Economic Empowerment (an attempt to make the economy reflect the country's racial demographics) as a cynical ploy by white- controlled businesses to further their interests by co-opting politically connected black businessmen as shareholders. More recently, he has blamed rapacious elites for holding back development in Africa, claiming that the average African was worse off today than during the colonial era. He has also urged more South African support for democracy in Zimbabwe.

As one journalist wrote of him some time back, South Africans should be proud of thinkers "who are not too politically correct to say the emperor has no clothes, if the emperor is embarrassing us by roaming the streets stark naked".

John Reed, Johannesburg.

SOUTH KOREA - Kim Dae-joong

Most people think of South Korea's former president when they hear the name Kim Dae-joong. But this also happens to be the name of the country's most important columnist, the editor-in-chief of the conservative Chosun Ilbo, the largest newspaper in this nation of 48 million people.

Readers of the popular Sisa news magazine voted Kim the country's most influential journalist for 13 years in a row from 1992. One of his most contentious columns appeared in 1980 when he described the 300,000 protesters who took part in a popular uprising in the city of Kwangju as "violent rioters". (The protesters said he had not understood the rebellion and had upset their quest for democracy.)

The 66-year-old has annoyed more readers recently by urging support for the free trade agreement now being negotiated with the US ("The US is not an 'object' but a 'means'. We can just make full use of it"). But he says his favourite column was one he wrote in 1984 about a measure ordering newsstand owners to put a red cross on any story that criticised the government.

"I'm so shamed and embarrassed but I can't do much about it except laugh and think 'Those guys are really good at finding out just one paragraph (of criticism)," he wrote. One reader in particular noticed it: the authoritarian president at the time, Chun Doo-hwan, told him to take a year off and do some more study.

Woo Jae-yeon, Seoul.

UNITED KINGDOM - Trevor Kavanagh

Britain has a glut of influential commentators. Richard Littlejohn, who recently left The Sun for the Daily Mail, has enormous populist appeal. Melanie Phillips, also of the Mail, has built a large following by castigating authorities for their moral and governance failures. The Daily Telegraph's Simon Heffer can claim to have been publicly attacked by Tory leader David Cameron (whom he once called a "PR spiv") - though this may mean Heffer's influence is waning.

Of the leftwing crowd in The Guardian, Martin Kettle is magisterial; Jonathan Freedland is insightful at home and abroad; Timothy Garton Ash is an incisive and liberal voice on Europe and beyond. Simon Jenkins is the most elegant and distinctive, but Polly Toynbee, who spans both "old" and "new" Labour, is probably the paper's most influential writer.

The most powerful journalist in Britain, however, is Trevor Kavanagh, for many years the political editor of The Sun and now its associate editor. Kavanagh is believed to be behind The Sun shifting its support from Tony Blair to the Tories. Two years ago he was leaked the contents of the controversial report into the death of government scientist David Kelly, and he was also named Britain's eighth most influential media figure (well ahead of The Sun's editor but behind proprietor Rupert Murdoch).

Kavanagh rules because of the size of his readership, his own industry and a style that destroyed the boundaries between reporting and commentary.

John Lloyd, London.

#### **UNITED STATES - Charles Krauthammer**

A syndicated columnist with the Washington Post, Charles Krauthammer has influenced US foreign policy for more than two decades. He coined and developed "The Reagan Doctrine" in 1985 and he defined the US role as sole superpower in his essay, "The Unipolar Moment", published shortly after the fall of the Berlin Wall.

Krauthammer's 2004 speech "Democratic Realism" set out a framework for tackling the post 9/11 world, focusing on the promotion of democracy in the Middle East.

A trained psychiatrist, Krauthammer writes with wit and occasional venom. Here's a Krauthammer intro: "Say what you will about Bashar Assad, dictator of Syria and perhaps the dimmest eye doctor ever produced by British medical schools, but subtle he is not."

Lately, his proclamation of the "dawn of a glorious, delicate revolutionary movement in the Middle East" looks less prescient than a year ago, but he is a long-term thinker.

Runner-up to Krauthammer is Thomas Friedman of The New York Times. A gifted populariser, he is most fluent when writing about the Middle East and is an impassioned advocate of globalisation. But he can sound facile and smug. He does not "get" Europe and his francophobia is grating.

Maureen Dowd, also of the Times, is often achingly funny but occasionally crabby. Paul Krugman was brave and brilliant after 9/11 when few dared challenge President Bush's "war on terror", but now he's mono-tonal.

Among conservatives, Bill Kristol of The Weekly Standard is the biggest hitter. And don't forget the iconoclastic Jon Stewart, the faux TV news anchor on Comedy Central's The Daily Show.

Lionel Barber, Financial Times editor and former US managing editor.

Load-Date: May 19, 2006



# Hamas passes plate around

Sunday Mail (South Australia)

May 14, 2006 Sunday

State Edition

Copyright 2006 Nationwide News Pty Limited All Rights Reserved

Section: FOREIGN; Pg. 40

Length: 83 words

### **Body**

NABLUS: Thousands of <u>Hamas</u> followers gathered yesterday to donate money and jewellery to their cash-strapped government.

The <u>Hamas</u>-led Palestinian Government has been economically squeezed, with the West freezing hundreds of millions of dollars in aid unless <u>Hamas</u> recognises Israel's right to exist.

About 5000 Palestinians gathered in the West Bank city of Nablus to make personal contributions. Several <u>women</u> put jewellery in a collection plate, but officials did not say how much money was raised.

Load-Date: May 14, 2006



### Letter: Hamas and struggle against theocracy

The Independent (London)
July 13, 2006 Thursday
First Edition

Copyright 2006 Independent Print Ltd All Rights Reserved



Section: LETTERS; Pg. 36

Length: 140 words

Byline: DR BRIAN ROBINSON

### **Body**

Sir: Johann Hari (10 July) argues that the Palestinians didn't give <u>Hamas</u> a mandate on the basis that it "is an organisation that loathes <u>women</u>'s rights, believes in the execution of homosexuals, and defends the deliberate targeting of Jewish children". The comparison is overstretched, nevertheless the German people didn't at the start give the Nazi party a mandate to slaughter up to 6million Jews.

Hari may be right that <u>Hamas</u> might have reformed, but is this more than hope? Isn't <u>Hamas</u> only part of an Islamist imperialism that seeks to restore the Caliphate and impose a medieval theocracy? And whatever the rights and wrongs in establishing the state of Israel in the first place, isn't the conflict with the Palestinians now one part of the struggle between a religious totalitarian mindset and liberalism?

DR BRIAN ROBINSON

MILTON KEYNES

Load-Date: July 13, 2006



### **LETTERS TO THE EDITOR; Women under Hamas**

The International Herald Tribune February 27, 2006 Monday

Copyright 2006 International Herald Tribune All Rights Reserved

Section: OPINION; Pg. 9

Length: 162 words

# **Body**

As <u>Hamas</u> begins to shape its government and political agenda, one of its first priorities is to introduce Shariah law with a particular focus on revamping the Palestinian education system. Some <u>Hamas</u> leaders have prioritized separating the boys and girls in the schools.

This would be a bad idea for shaping young Palestinian minds.

Many young <u>women</u> in the Middle East find that their freedom in general and their sexuality in particular are drastically curtailed. <u>Women</u> enjoy neither equal status in society nor equal rights; they are highly vulnerable. <u>Women</u> face legal discrimination in terms of both inheritance and divorce. The lack of <u>women</u>'s rights in many parts of the Arab world means that half of the available human capital is not used, a terrible waste of resources that impedes development.

Greater respect for human rights and the strengthening of <u>women</u>'s rights to make their own decisions is a primary need.

Ewa Bjorling, Stockholm

Member of the Swedish Parliament

Load-Date: February 27, 2006



# Reply: Letter and emails: Hamas, Palestine and the prospects for peace

The Guardian - Final Edition
January 30, 2006 Monday

Copyright 2006 Guardian Newspapers Limited All Rights Reserved

Section: GUARDIAN LEADER PAGES; Pg. 29

Length: 75 words

Byline: William Shawcross

# **Body**

\* In your leader (January 27) you say that <u>Hamas</u> is "best known in Israel and abroad for the suicide attacks it used against its Israeli enemies". This is a description you have used before. You appear to have forgotten that under the laws of war, children and <u>women</u> and other civilians are not legitimately targeted as "enemies". <u>Hamas</u> has murdered many innocent people in brutal crimes against humanity. Why do you not say so?

William Shawcross

London

Load-Date: January 30, 2006



### Bomber left Hamas before attack

South China Morning Post April 19, 2006 Wednesday

Copyright 2006 South China Morning Post Ltd. All Rights Reserved

Section: NEWS; Pg. 8

Length: 152 words

Byline: Abraham Rabinovich

# **Body**

Before setting out on Monday to blow himself up in Tel Aviv, Sami Hammad stood before a video camera with a Koran in his hand and an Islamic Jihad banner behind him saying he was to become a martyr in the Palestinian cause.

His identification with Islamic Jihad was new - but not his readiness to die. He reportedly was a <u>Hamas</u> member, but switched allegiance when that group, honouring its commitment to a ceasefire with Israel, refused to send him on a suicide mission. Some media said he was 16, which would have made him the youngest suicide bomber, but his family said he was 21. Hammad came from a poor family in Al-Araqa village near the West Bank city of Jenin and worked in restaurants in Jenin.

He matched the profile of Palestinian suicide bombers, being a young, single, Muslim male. More than 80 per cent are single, mostly between 18 and 23. The few **women** suicide bombers are an exception.

# **Graphic**

Sami Hammad

Load-Date: April 19, 2006



# ISRAELIS CELEBRATE.. .. AS HAMAS DIG IN

Daily Record
June 29, 2006, Thursday

Copyright 2006 Reach PLC All Rights Reserved

Section: NEWS; Pg. 2

Length: 136 words

### **Body**

ISRAELI troops cheered yesterday as they moved back into the Gaza Strip for the first time in 10 months.

They returned to the Palestinian-controlled territory after soldier Gilad Shalit was kidnapped by militants linked to governing party *Hamas* four days ago.

Their fighters began digging in behind makeshift street barricades and sand embankments as Israel demanded Shalit's release.

The Palestinians want women and children to be freed from Israeli prisons.

Tanks took up positions near the Palestinian town of Rafah overnight.

Airstrikes cut the electricity supply to 65 percent of Gaza and bridges were hit.

Prime Minister Ehud Olmert denied Israel wanted to re-occupy Gaza following its unilateral withdrawal last summer.

He said: "We do not intend to stay there. We have one objective and that is to bring Gilad home."

# **Graphic**

TROUBLE AHEAD: Soldiers from Israel cheer after entering Gaza as local militants display weapons AP /GETTY IMAGES

Load-Date: June 29, 2006



### Letter: Obstacles to peace in the Middle East

The Independent (London)
February 3, 2006 Friday
First Edition

Copyright 2006 Independent Print Ltd All Rights Reserved



Section: LETTERS; Pg. 44

Length: 172 words

**Byline: JEREMY COHEN** 

# **Body**

Sir: The suggestion by Charles Duff (letter, 2February) that Israeli violence is "a thousand times" worse than <u>Hamas</u> is as unhelpful as it is nonsensical. The IDF targets militants and therefore those actively engaged in conflict.

By contrast, deliberate targeting of civilians - men, <u>women</u> and children-by <u>Hamas</u> not only breaches international law, but has the sole aim of spreading fear and increasing tensions throughout the region.

The stated goal of *Hamas* is to destroy the state of Israel and remove the Jews from the land. This explains why each positive step towards peace between the two peoples is met by further violence from *Hamas* and their ilk.

Rewarding a terrorist organisation with funding to support the economy not only sends the wrong message, but treats the symptoms and not the cause. Only peace will improve the Palestinian economy and lead to a removal of checkpoints and roadblocks. The only way to peace is through dialogue. Whilst <u>Hamas</u> refuses to recognise Israel, this is not an option.

JEREMY COHEN

LONDON N3

Load-Date: February 3, 2006



# ISRAEL TROOPS ON GAZA BLITZ STANDBY

Daily Record
June 27, 2006, Tuesday

Copyright 2006 Scottish Daily Record & Sunday Mail Ltd. All Rights Reserved

Section: NEWS; Pg. 2

Length: 107 words

# **Body**

ISRAELI forces began massing near the Gaza Strip yesterday - after Palestinian militants holding a soldier demanded the release of prisoners.

Prime Minister Ehud Olmert warned of a "comprehensive and protracted operation" after a raid into Israel on Sunday which saw two soldiers killed and a third - Corporal Gilad Shalit, 19 - kidnapped.

Militants linked to Palestinian ruling group <u>Hamas</u> want the release from Israeli prisons of children under 18 and **women**.

Israeli officials have hinted that if they don't get Shalit back, they will blitz Gaza from the air and target top *Hamas* officials, including Palestinian Prime Minister Ismail Haniyeh.

# **Graphic**

MISSING: Shalit PICTURES: AP

Load-Date: June 27, 2006



### New union hopes to end sanctions

The Advertiser (Australia)
September 12, 2006 Tuesday
Metro Edition

Copyright 2006 Nationwide News Pty Limited All Rights Reserved

Section: FOREIGN; Pg. 24

Length: 138 words

### **Body**

THE ruling <u>Hamas</u> party and moderate Fatah party have agreed to form a coalition government - a move the Palestinians hope will ease crippling international sanctions.

The groups have been negotiating for months to form a coalition, which may soften the militantly anti-Israel stance taken by the current *Hamas*-led government.

"The continuous efforts to form a national unity government have ended successfully with the announcement of a political program for this government," Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas said last night. "Efforts in the next few days will continue to complete the formation of the national unity government."

Meanwhile, a <u>female</u> protester disrupted British Prime Minister Tony Blair during a media conference in Beirut yesterday, accusing him of complicity in the recent Israeli bombardment of Lebanon.

Load-Date: September 12, 2006



### Palestinians protest loss of salaries

The Vancouver Province (British Columbia)

May 7, 2006 Sunday

Final Edition

Copyright 2006 The Vancouver Province, a division of CanWest MediaWorks Publication Inc. All Rights Reserved

Section: NEWS; Pg. A18

Length: 160 words

Byline: The Associated Press

Dateline: GAZA CITY, Gaza Strip

# **Body**

GAZA CITY, Gaza Strip -- Hundreds of Palestinians staged strikes and demonstrations yesterday in the West Bank and Gaza Strip to demand payment of overdue salaries to government workers -- one of the first

public signs of discontent with the *Hamas*-led cabinet's handling of a growing financial crisis.

Until now, the Palestinian public had heeded calls for patience, largely following the government in blaming the crisis on western hostility to *Hamas*.

Yesterday, however, teachers at five schools in the West Bank city of Hebron cancelled classes.

In Nablus, also in the West Bank, hundreds of Palestinian government workers demonstrated to demand their salaries.

"If this government can't function, it has to think carefully about its people and change its political way of thinking," said Sheik Majed Dwikat, a local religious leader.

About 150 people, mostly **women** and children, rallied in the Gaza city of Rafah, criticizing the government for the growing hardship.

Load-Date: May 7, 2006



### Gaza pullback is temporary, Israelis say

St. Louis Post-Dispatch (Missouri)

July 29, 2006 Saturday

SECOND EDITION

Copyright 2006 St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Inc.

Section: NEWS; Pg. A27

Length: 186 words

Byline: THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Dateline: GAZA CITY, GAZA STRIP

# **Body**

Israeli tanks and troops pulled back to the Israel-Gaza border Friday after a military operation that killed 30 Palestinians over three days. The army said the withdrawal was temporary and did not mean its monthlong offensive in the Gaza Strip was over.

Palestinians streamed out of their homes, inspecting their battered houses and vehicles while rescue workers searched for bodies underneath rubble as militants picked up mines and explosives they had planted to hit Israeli tanks.

Palestinian officials said they had not received a response to their demand that Israel guarantee that it will free <u>women</u>, children and long-serving Palestinian prisoners before an Israeli soldier seized by Gaza militants is released.

The Israeli, Cpl. Gilad Shalit, 19, was captured by <u>Hamas</u>-linked guerrillas in a raid into Israel on June 25. The attack prompted the latest Israeli attacks in the Gaza Strip.

Dr. Salah Bardawil, a senior <u>Hamas</u> official, said Israel's refusal to guarantee that it would release any Palestinian prisoners if Shalit were freed created a stalemate.

Shalit is believed to remain held by Palestinian militants.

**Load-Date:** July 29, 2006



### <u>NEWS</u>

The Mirror

June 7, 2006 Wednesday

3 Star Edition

Copyright 2006 MGN Ltd. All Rights Reserved



**Section:** NEWS; Pg. 2 **Length:** 178 words

### **Body**

#### **HAMAS** GIVEN 48 HRS OVER ISRAEL

PALESTINIAN president Mahmoud Abbas last night gave the hardline <u>Hamas</u> government 48 hours to recognise Israel or face a referendum on the issue. Polls suggest Palestinians would support the vote, leading towards talks to create a Palestinian state.

#### STOLEN LIBRARY BOOKS ON NET

A LIBRARY worker has been arrested after rare books turned up on eBay. A user told police who found the books one worth pounds 20,000 - from Manchester Central Library at his Hulme home.

#### UNI LECTURERS END PAY BUST-UP

UNIVERSITY lecturers last night ended months of industrial action which hit student exams. They agreed a pay deal which will be worth 13.1 per cent over three years.

#### pounds 14M HOLE AT STANDARDS UNIT

FRAUD squad officers have found a pounds 14million missing from South Yorkshire Trading Standards. The figure is double that feared after its boss Michael Buckley, 54, died from a heart attack.

#### THRILLER HEELS

ONE in five <u>women</u> find the buzz of buying a pair of shoes better than sex - with ankle boots, knee high boots and stilettoes the favourites.

Load-Date: June 7, 2006



### <u>NEWS</u>

The Mirror

January 31, 2006 Tuesday

2 Star Edition

Copyright 2006 MGN Ltd. All Rights Reserved



Section: FEATURES; Pg. 2

Length: 189 words

### **Body**

#### DEMO TO STOP ATTACK ON FREE SPEECH

THOUSANDS of protesters are expected at Westminster today to oppose a proposed law banning incitement to religious hatred. Supporters, including MPs, religious groups and comedian Rowan Atkinson, say it attacks free speech and want to widen its limits.

#### VALENTINE'S DAY SPENDING SPREE

MEN will spend twice as much as <u>women</u> on Valentine's Day gifts. They spend pounds 44.63 on average, pounds 800million across the UK, but nine out of ten don't realise their partner is expecting a proposal, said a survey by Visa.

#### **HAMAS** TOLD TO AXE TERRORISM

THE European Union and US President George Bush called on the new ruling Palestinian party <u>Hamas</u> to recognize Israel, renounce violence and disarm. The EU threatened cuts in aid if the demands were ignored.

#### **BLAIR DEFEAT ON ID WATCHDOG**

GOVERNMENT plans to restrict the independence of the identity cards watchdog were defeated last night when the Lords blocked plans to let the Home Secretary appoint the watchdog.

#### **NUCLEAR FISHIN'**

FISHERMEN landed hundreds of fish per day by casting a net over a powerful water intake at Hinkley Point B nuclear power station, Somerset

Load-Date: January 31, 2006



# Reply: Letters and emails: Shelling beaches prospects for peace

The Guardian - Final Edition
June 12, 2006 Monday

Copyright 2006 Guardian Newspapers Limited All Rights Reserved

Section: GUARDIAN LEADER PAGES; Pg. 33

**Length:** 194 words **Byline:** Joe Zacune

### **Body**

The indiscriminate killing of Palestinians, including <u>women</u> and children, on a beach in Gaza that was "regretted" by the Israeli government, has led to the end of the 16-month truce by <u>Hamas</u> militants (Death on the beach, June 11). What would the international response have been to a Palestinian shell killing Israeli civilians picnicking on a beach in Tel Aviv? These killings come in the context of the brutal Israeli military occupation that has restricted food and medical supplies, relentlessly shelled the densely populated Gaza Strip, constructed a 450-mile separation wall and expanded the illegal settlements in the West Bank.

The UK has only worsened the suffering of Palestinians by backing the EU's suspension of vital aid to the Palestinian Authority in response to the democratic election of the <u>Hamas</u> government. Yet our government has strengthened diplomatic ties, continued its military aid and given Israel preferential trading access. Tomorrow Tony Blair will be giving the Israeli prime minister, Ehud Olmert, the red-carpet treatment during his London visit. Despite the killings in Gaza, Olmert can expect a very warm welcome.

Joe Zacune

London

Load-Date: June 12, 2006



# Letter: Short ponts - IF blowing innocent

Liverpool Daily Echo
August 17, 2006, Thursday
Main Edition

Copyright 2006 Reach PLC All Rights Reserved

Section: LETTERS; Pg. 20

Length: 55 words

# **Body**

IF blowing innocent <u>women</u> and children to bits is not an act of terrorism, then I don't know what is. It is no different to Hezbollah and <u>Hamas</u>. It is all evil and Judgement Day is yet to come.

It is always the innocent that pay the price for the evil-doers at the top, who make sure that they are well protected. D J Jones, Belle Vale

Load-Date: August 17, 2006



# **NEWSTRACKER | UPDATES ON CONTINUING STORIES**

St. Louis Post-Dispatch (Missouri)

June 16, 2006 Friday

THIRD EDITION

Copyright 2006 St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Inc.

Section: NEWS; Pg. A1

Length: 76 words

# **Body**

NOW HEAR THIS New study finds that blacks and <u>women</u> have keener sense of hearing. Nation | A2 BRIBERY INVESTIGATION Democrats vote to strip Rep. Jefferson of committee post. Nation | A3 MINE SAFETY As accident survivor watches, President Bush signs overhaul measure. Nation | A3 <u>HAMAS</u> OFFER Palestinian group says it is willing to resume cease-fire with Israel. World | A10 CAROLINA ROOTS Michael Jordan returns as part owner of the Charlotte Bobcats. Sports | D7

Load-Date: June 16, 2006



# **Exchange prisoners**

The Gazette (Montreal)

June 29, 2006 Thursday

Final Edition

Copyright 2006 The Gazette, a division of CanWest MediaWorks Publication Inc. All Rights Reserved

Section: EDITORIAL / OP-ED; Pg. A22

Length: 88 words

Byline: The Gazette

### **Body**

Re: "Israel readies troops," (Gazette, June 27.)

What is stopping Israel from releasing Palestinian <u>female</u> and underage prisoners held in Israeli jails, in exchange for Cpl. Gilad Shalit, a captured 19-year-old tank gunner.

It would be great if the release on both sides were followed by the recognition of Israel by the democratically elected <u>Hamas</u> government.

The lifting of economic sanctions against the Palestinian Authority and restarting peace talks between Israel and Palestine should follow immediately.

Hussain Syed

**Brossard** 

Load-Date: June 29, 2006



# PALESTINIANS FLATTENED

Daily Record
July 1, 2006, Saturday

Copyright 2006 Scottish Daily Record & Sunday Mail Ltd. All Rights Reserved

Section: NEWS; Pg. 2

Length: 98 words

### **Body**

PALESTINE'S interior ministry lay in ruins yesterday after Israel intensified its bombing campaign.

More than 30 targets were hit in 24 hours, forcing the Palestinian government to stay indoors or send decoy convoys before travelling by car.

Prime Minister Ismail Haniyeh and other ministers fear they will be assassinated.

The bombings were part of Israel's campaign to force the release of Corporal Gilad Shalit, kidnapped by <u>Hamas</u>-linked militants six days ago.

They have refused a Palestinian offer to exchange Shalit for <u>women</u> prisoners, instead pouring tanks and troops into southern Gaza.

Load-Date: July 1, 2006



### Israel shuns soldier deal

The Sun (England)
June 27, 2006 Tuesday

Copyright 2006 NEWS GROUP NEWSPAPERS LTD All Rights Reserved

Length: 104 words

### **Body**

ISRAEL has rejected demands by militants that it free Palestinian <u>women</u> and children from jail in exchange for information on a kidnapped soldier.

PM Ehud Olmert also threatened a "severe" retaliation unless Cpl Gilad Shalit, 19, is returned.

The tank gunner was captured on Sunday in a raid by militants on the Gaza border.

The armed wing of Palestine's ruling <u>Hamas</u> party refused to help Israel find him unless 400 <u>women</u> and children are freed.

But Olmert said: "We won't be a target of terrorist blackmail."

Israel's retaliation could include a re-invasion of Gaza, which it withdrew from last year after a 38-year occupation.

Load-Date: June 27, 2006



### Isn't retaliation justified?

UK Newsquest Regional Press - This is Lancashire

August 31, 2006 Thursday

Copyright 2006 NewsQuest Media Group Limited All Rights Reserved

Section: LETTERS Length: 107 words

Byline: Telegraph letters

**Dateline:** Lancashire Evening Telegraph

### **Body**

A LETTER in the LT (July 27) said: "Israel didn't start this conflict.

Hezbollah and *Hamas* did by capturing Israeli soldiers."

Israel has been capturing hundreds of Palestinian and Lebanese civilians over the lat few years, including many **women** and children, and keeping them in prison without trial.

So surely if your letter writer can justify Israel bombing Lebanon and Gaza in response to three of their nationals being kidnapped, you can't argue against the other side doing the same when hundreds of civilians are captured.

Or is an Arab civilian's life worth a lot less than an Israeli soldiers?

ERSKINE MORRIS, Pleckgate Road, Blackburn.

Load-Date: August 31, 2006



# Saudis are in no position to preach

National Post (f/k/a The Financial Post) (Canada)

January 31, 2006 Tuesday

National Edition

Copyright 2006 National Post All Rights Reserved

Section: LETTERS; Pg. A13

Length: 87 words

Byline: Adam Green, National Post

### **Body**

Re: Hamas Faces The Task Of Governing, Jan. 28.

I find it quite curious that Saudi Arabia feels it has a say on the practices of democracy in Europe and North America. Whether it is protesting the content of a newspaper in Denmark, or else demanding recognition of "the will of the people" in the Palestinian territories, I suggest Saudi Arabia stop offering its opinion on what is appropriate. Instead, let's ask the *women* and minorities who live and work in Saudi Arabia if their will is heard.

Adam Green, Sherbrooke, Que.

Load-Date: January 31, 2006



### Isn't retaliation justified?

UK Newsquest Regional Press - This is Lancashire

August 5, 2006 Saturday

Copyright 2006 NewsQuest Media Group Limited All Rights Reserved

Section: LETTERS Length: 107 words

Byline: Telegraph letters

**Dateline:** Lancashire Evening Telegraph

### **Body**

A LETTER in the LT (July 27) said: "Israel didn't start this conflict.

Hezbollah and *Hamas* did by capturing Israeli soldiers."

Israel has been capturing hundreds of Palestinian and Lebanese civilians over the lat few years, including many **women** and children, and keeping them in prison without trial.

So surely if your letter writer can justify Israel bombing Lebanon and Gaza in response to three of their nationals being kidnapped, you can't argue against the other side doing the same when hundreds of civilians are captured.

Or is an Arab civilian's life worth a lot less than an Israeli soldiers?

ERSKINE MORRIS, Pleckgate Road, Blackburn.

Load-Date: August 5, 2006



### Letter: Briefly ... - Different song

The Independent (London)
April 17, 2006 Monday
First Edition

Copyright 2006 Independent Print Ltd All Rights Reserved



Section: LETTERS; Pg. 28

**Length:** 113 words **Byline:** P J LYNCH

### **Body**

Sir: If it is true that belly-dancing has been taken up with such gusto in the West by "feminists who love its celebration of the natural <u>female</u> body", as Joan Smith says ("<u>Hamas</u>, and the sexual power of real <u>women</u>", 7 April), then can we also expect a revival of "The Birdy Song" with flocks of old birds collectively jerking their turkey necks and flapping their bingo wings, complete with hairy armpits and unshaven legs? And will these same feminists, who love the natural <u>female</u> body so much, also make it a principle to boycott makeup and perfume? Or is this feminist celebration conditional on them making themselves sexually attractive to superficial men?

P J LYNCH

**SWANSEA** 

Load-Date: April 17, 2006



### Israelis snub ultimatum

Daily Mail (London)
July 4, 2006 Tuesday

Copyright 2006 Associated Newspapers Ltd. All Rights Reserved

Section: 1ST; Pg. 8 Length: 138 words

### **Body**

PALESTINIAN militants who abducted an Israeli soldier yesterday gave Israel less than 24 hours to release prisoners.

Israeli prime minister Ehud Olmert rejected the ultimatum and his defence chief said Israel would 'know how to reach everyone responsible' if Corporal Gilad Shalit was harmed.

Three factions previously demanded Israel free 400 Palestinian <u>women</u> and youths in return for information about Cpl Shalit, who was abducted on June 25. The groups subsequently demanded Israel free 1,000 Palestinian prisoners.

The militants warned that 'the enemy will bear full responsibility for future consequences' if the demands were not met.

Mr Olmert's spokesman said: 'The government of Israel will not yield to the extortion of the Palestinian Authority and the *Hamas* government, which are led by murderous terrorist organisations.'

Load-Date: July 4, 2006



### Militants issue new demands

Telegraph Herald (Dubuque, IA)

July 1, 2006 Saturday

Copyright 2006 Woodward Communications, Inc. All Rights Reserved

Section: BUSINESS; Pg. c10

Length: 132 words

**Byline: ASSOCIATED PRESS** 

Dateline: GAZA CITY, Gaza Strip

### **Body**

The Palestinian militants holding an abducted Israeli soldier issued new demands early today, calling for a halt in Israel's military offensive in Gaza and the release of 1,000 prisoners from Israeli jails.

The demands were laid out in a joint statement by the militant wing of the ruling <u>Hamas</u> party, and two smaller militant groups, the Popular Resistance Committees and the Army of Islam. The three groups have claimed responsibility for Sunday's abduction of Cpl. Gilad Shalit in a cross-border raid.

The statement also repeated an earlier demand for the release of all Palestinian <u>women</u> and minors held in Israeli prisons in exchange for information about Shalit.

As with its earlier demand, Saturday's statement did not promise to release the soldier. Israel has ruled out any prisoner swap.

Load-Date: July 1, 2006



### Gaza strike is imminent warns Israel

The Evening Standard (London)
June 27, 2006 Tuesday

Copyright 2006 Associated Newspapers Ltd. All Rights Reserved



Section: A MERGE; Pg. 17

Length: 145 words

Byline: KIRAN RANDHAWA

# **Body**

ISRAEL have threatened a punishing offensive in the Gaza Strip after rejecting demands by Palestinian militants to release Palestinian prisoners in return for information on an abducted Israeli soldier.

Palestinian militants called on Israel to release Palestinian <u>women</u> and youths in return for information about Corporal Gilad Shalit, kidnapped by gunmen on Sunday.

With tensions on the Israel-Gaza frontier rising, militants fired rockets into southern Israel late on yesterday, wounding four people, the Israeli army said.

In northern Gaza, Palestinians began blocking roads with mounds of earth as Israeli armour massed on the other side of the border.

Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert warned: "The time is approaching for a comprehensive, sharp and severe Israeli operation. We will not wait forever."

"We will not become a target of *Hamas*-terrorist blackmail," he said.

Load-Date: June 27, 2006



# LETTERS TO THE EDITOR; Lebanon and Israel

The International Herald Tribune July 27, 2006 Thursday

Copyright 2006 International Herald Tribune All Rights Reserved

Section: OPINION; Pg. 7

Length: 150 words

### **Body**

The writer of the editorial, "Playing <u>Hamas</u>' game" (July 18), sitting in the comfort of New York, has all the good theories. But if that writer sat here in my town, Haifa, under constant threat of terrorist attacks, the editorial would probably have more reasonable ideas and less theory.

If we look back in history, when the Nazis sent rockets into London and other British cities, Churchill sent the RAF to obliterate German cities. German television still often shows the state of the devastation while claiming that mostly innocent <u>women</u> and children were killed. When the World Trade Center was attacked, the United States obliterated Afghanistan, killing many terrorists. And the United States was ready for world war three when the Cuban missile crisis erupted.

When Israel tries to defend itself by attacking the towns that hide terrorists and their missiles, why is it a crime?

Ari Sperling, Haifa

Load-Date: July 27, 2006



### Olmert promises 'broad' offensive after kidnapping

The Guardian (Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island)

June 27, 2006 Tuesday

Copyright 2006 The Guardian, a division of Transcontinental Media Group Inc. All Rights Reserved

Section: WORLD; Pg. B9

Length: 161 words

Byline: AP

### **Body**

With troops poised to invade Gaza, Prime Minister Ehud Olmert on Monday ruled out bargaining with the captors of an Israeli soldier and promised a "broad and ongoing" military offensive.

But large-scale army action appeared unlikely. Officials said they were pursuing a diplomatic solution and conceded that a broad attack would threaten the life of the 19-year-old hostage captured Sunday.

After more than 24 hours of silence, the militants claiming to hold Cpl. Gilad Shalit issued their first demands Monday. The groups, linked to the <u>Hamas</u>-led Palestinian government, said Israel should release all imprisoned Palestinian <u>women</u> and children under 18 in return for information about Shalit.

Olmert rejected the demand. Addressing Jewish leaders in Jerusalem, he charged that the Palestinian attack on an army post at a Gaza crossing and the abduction of the soldier were part of a "murderous, hateful, fanatical Islamic extremist desire to destroy the state of Israel."

Load-Date: June 27, 2006



# **PICK OF THE DAY**

The Independent (London)
September 30, 2006 Saturday
Final Edition

Copyright 2006 Independent Print Ltd All Rights Reserved



Section: FEATURES; Pg. 56

Length: 165 words

# **Body**

The Amazing Mrs Pritchard 9pm BBC1

Jane Horrocks stars as a supermarket manager who decides to become an MP after a number of less than impressive performances outside her shop by local politicians.

Steven Mackintosh and Jodhi May co-star in this comedy-drama.

Horizon 9pm BBC2

Anew run of the science documentary series begins with an investigation into how to survive a plane crash, and reveals that improvements in science and technology now mean that the majority of crash victims live to tell the tale.

This World 9.50pm BBC2

An examination of life under Palestine's <u>Hamas</u> government as seen through the eyes of Mahmood, a charming and enterprising 12-year-old boy who supports his family by selling tea in Gaza's biggest hospital.

Diary of a Mail-order Bride 10pm C4

Adocumentary following Russian <u>women</u> seeking foreign husbands, and vice versa. Among their slightly sad number are a 22-year-old from Siberia who speaks no English, engaged to a 46-year-old London man who speaks no Russian. PCo

Load-Date: September 30, 2006



# Israeli forces renew attacks in Gaza Strip

St. Louis Post-Dispatch (Missouri)

July 29, 2006 Saturday

THIRD EDITION

Copyright 2006 St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Inc.

Section: NEWS; Pg. A27

Length: 170 words

Byline: THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Dateline: GAZA CITY, GAZA STRIP

# **Body**

Israeli tanks pushed back into the Gaza Strip before dawn today, a day after ending a military operation that killed 30 Palestinians over three days.

Seven tanks crossed just over Gaza's northern border, Palestinian security officials said.

The Israeli army had said its withdrawal Friday was temporary and did not mean its monthlong offensive in the Gaza Strip was over.

Israeli forces today also attacked a site on the Gaza-Egypt border where militants had been tunneling, the army said. Palestinian officials said electric cables had been destroyed in the attack, knocking out power to the nearby town of Rafah.

Palestinian officials said they had not received a response to their demand that Israel guarantee that it will free <u>women</u>, children and long-serving Palestinian prisoners before an Israeli soldier seized by Gaza militants is released.

The Israeli, Cpl. Gilad Shalit, 19, was captured by <u>Hamas</u>-linked guerrillas in a raid into Israel on June 25. The attack prompted the latest Israeli attacks in the Gaza Strip.

Load-Date: July 29, 2006



# Reply: Letters and emails: Little space left for Israels critical friends

The Guardian - Final Edition
July 28, 2006 Friday

Copyright 2006 Guardian Newspapers Limited All Rights Reserved

Section: GUARDIAN LEADER PAGES; Pg. 35

**Length:** 184 words **Byline:** Paul Usiskin

# **Body**

The response to your poll on Israel's overreaction (July 25) was predictable: champions for or against Israel, some reasoned, some hysterical. It seems there is hardly anywhere for moderates - critical supporters of Israel - to go. Israel is a democracy and is measured as such, but the same measure is not applied to Hizbullah and <u>Hamas</u> as terrorist organisations. But the evidence grows daily that too many innocent Lebanese have suffered the consequence of Israel's reply to Hizbullah's attack. And Israel bears the brunt of your poll, even though Israel's citizens too are targets. Israeli deaths are still deaths, even though their numbers are less. There is no question that the whole of civilian north Israel is under daily attack and there are fears that Hizbullah has the ability to strike deeper.

Hizbullah calculated the martyrdom of <u>women</u> and children and increased its likelihood by apparently placing weapons and caches in civilian concentrations. Where is the poll that condemns Hizbullah? As the Israeli song puts it: "Things you see from there you can't see from here."

Paul Usiskin

Peace Now UK

Load-Date: July 28, 2006



# Begin freeing Palestinians prisoners

The Vancouver Province (British Columbia)

July 4, 2006 Tuesday

Final Edition

Copyright 2006 The Vancouver Province, a division of CanWest MediaWorks Publication Inc. All Rights Reserved

Section: NEWS; Pg. A9

Length: 197 words

Byline: The Associated Press

Dateline: GAZA CITY, Gaza Strip

# **Body**

GAZA CITY, Gaza Strip -- Militants gave Israel 24 hours to begin releasing hundreds of Palestinian detainees, implying they would kill an abducted Israeli soldier if their demands were not met.

Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert rejected any negotiations with the militants, and the army pressed ahead with its Gaza offensive. Privately, though, some Israeli officials said the government had not ruled out any options to win Cpl. Gilad Shalit's freedom.

Israel has pounded Gaza with air strikes and artillery shells for nearly a week in an unsuccessful effort to force the militants to release Shalit. Israel sent a small force of tanks into northern Gaza yesterday, raising fears it was gearing up for a large invasion.

After Shalit was seized in a June 25 raid on an army post that left two comrades dead, his captors demanded Israel free all imprisoned Palestinian **women** and minors. They later demanded the release of a further 1,000 prisoners.

If Israel doesn't comply, "we will consider the soldier's case to be closed," a Hamas military wing statement said.

Killing Shalit, however, would remove their only leverage against Israel and would invite far harsher reprisals against Gaza.

Load-Date: July 4, 2006



# Letter: YourSay - Karren's views so naive

Birmingham Evening Mail August 7, 2006, Monday Worcs Edition

Copyright 2006 Reach PLC All Rights Reserved

Section: LETTERS; Pg. 46

**Length:** 187 words **Byline:** Carol Yarm

## **Body**

I AM appalled by what I feel is a biased column by Karren Brady about the Middle East (Mail, July 30).

Karren's little knowledge is a dangerous tool and she should not comment without knowing her facts, not the truth according to Hezbollah.

Unfortunately, innocents do get caught up in conflict and there are plenty of Israeli children who have suffered over a number of years from rockets aimed at their homes, over 300,000 families have had to move from their homes in the Northern part of Israel.

I do not hear that Hezbollah drop leaflets to warn Israelis to leave before they fire their missiles.

There is more to Qana than we know. Why were <u>women</u> and children left there? Where were their husbands, firing missiles at Israel perhaps?

Hezbollah work in wicked ways and Karren should not be hoodwinked into their convincing propaganda.

Hezbollah and <u>Hamas</u> are terrorists, they indoctrinate their children with hate, unless this is changed, the next generation fights on, they do not want peace only conflict.

Israel has a difficult job and Karren's comments are naive given the complexity of the politics.

Carol Yarm, Edgbaston

# **Graphic**

INNOCENT VICTIM... a civil defence worker carries a child's body from the rubble of Qana.

Load-Date: August 7, 2006

Letter: YourSay - Karren's views so naive



The New York Times
June 30, 2006 Friday
Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2006 The New York Times Company

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

Length: 880 words

# **Body**

**INTERNATIONAL A3-11** 

## Hamas Leaders Are Seized As Israel Hits Gaza From Air

Israeli troops seized 64 members of <u>Hamas</u> in the West Bank, including a third of the Palestinian cabinet and 23 legislators, a move that Israeli officials said marked a significant change in Israel's policy toward the <u>Hamas</u> government. A1

With the seizure of senior <u>Hamas</u> officials and its military hunkered down, Israel appeared to delay a ground incursion into Gaza, but it continued to hit Palestinian territory with artillery fire.

Α8

## Shanghai's Graying Population

Shanghai, while known as youthful and vigorous, also has the oldest population in China, and it is getting older. Experts say the city is leading one of the greatest demographic changes in history. A1

## Bush Warns North Korea

President Bush, after meeting with Japan's prime minister, warned North Korea that Japan would not be "held hostage to rockets" and called it "unacceptable" for the North to test a long-range missile. A6

## U.S. to Support Exiled Somalis

The Bush administration will work to bolster the security troops of Somalia's government in exile in the hope of marginalizing the Islamic militias now controlling much of the country, an American official said. A10

## New Bin Laden Tape

A new recording purportedly of Osama bin Laden tells President Bush that "we will continue to fight you and your allies everywhere" and warns Iraqi civilians that they may be killed if they support the Americans. A9

## Congress Condemns Data Leak

The House of Representatives condemned the recent disclosure of a classified program to track financial transactions and called on the media to help keep such efforts secret. A4

## NATIONAL A12-21

### Plan for Military Tribunals Is Rejected By Justices

The Supreme Court repudiated the Bush administration's plan to put Guantanamo detainees on trial before military commissions, ruling broadly that the commissions were unauthorized by federal statute and violated international law. A1

The Supreme Court upheld Arizona's limited approach to the insanity defense, ruling that states are not obliged to permit a defendant to argue that mental illness prevented him from forming the requisite intent to commit a crime. A19

## Lost Laptop Is Recovered

The government has recovered a stolen laptop and an hard drive that contains birthdates and Social Security numbers for millions of veterans and military personnel, the Department of Veterans Affairs said. A12

## Ex-Governor of Alabama Guilty

A jury convicted the ex-governor of Alabama, Don E. Siegelman, and a former chief executive of HealthSouth, Richard M. Scrushy, of conspiracy in a bribery scheme. A14

## **EDUCATION**

#### College Leader Remembered

Thousands remembered Denice D. Denton, the chancellor of the University of California, Santa Cruz, who shocked the university by apparently jumping to her death from a 43-story building in San Francisco. A14

#### SCIENCE/HEALTH

#### Panel Backs Vaccine for Girls

A federal vaccine advisory panel voted unanimously to recommend that all girls and <u>women</u> ages 11 to 26 receive a new vaccine that prevents most cases of cervical cancer. A12

## **NEW YORK/REGION B1-6**

## Floodwaters Recede To Reveal Destruction

A day after a nexus of swollen rivers spilled their banks in some of the worst floods the Mid-Atlantic states have seen in nearly 50 years, the waters slowly started to recede. But trouble did not go with them. A1

## City Graduation Rates Rise

Joel I. Klein, left, the New York City schools chancellor, reported strong graduation numbers at 15 of the new small high schools that are a centerpiece of Mayor Bloomberg's effort to revamp the school system. The chancellor also said last year's on-time graduation rate was the highest in more than two decades. B1

## Freedom Tower Customs Office

Governor Pataki said the United States Customs and Border Protection agency intended to return to the World Trade Center and occupy nearly one-quarter of the Freedom Tower. B3

#### SPORTSFRIDAY D1-7

## Tour Looks for New Champion

Not since Lance Armstrong emerged from cancer treatment in 1999 and embarked on a record-breaking string of seven straight victories has the Tour de France offered such a wide-open field of contenders, with increased intrigue over who might prevail rather than how Armstrong will make his opponents succumb. D1

#### **OBITUARIES B9**

## Johnny Jenkins

A left-handed guitarist who influenced Jimi Hendrix, he was 67. B9

## **BUSINESS DAY C1-12**

### Fed Outlook Raises Stocks

The Federal Reserve raised interest rates for the 17th time in a row, but kicked off a powerful celebration in the stock market by lowering its alarms about inflation. A1

## Questions on Apple Options

Apple Computer said that it had uncovered irregularities related to stock options awarded between 1997 and 2001, which raises questions about whether a grant made to Steven P. Jobs was properly disclosed. C1

#### Clearing the Air With Roses

In an experiment in the Netherlands involving millions of roses, Royal Dutch Shell is testing a new way to limit emissions of carbon dioxide, illustrating a shift in the oil industry's strategy. C1

## **Business Digest C2**

## **EDITORIAL A22-23**

Editorials: A victory for the rule of law; Africa must push on Darfur; the floods of June; Carolyn Curiel on the land of mermaids.

Columns: Thomas L. Friedman, Judith Warner.

Crossword: E23 TV Listings: E24 Weather: D8

http://www.nytimes.com

# **Graphic**

Load-Date: June 30, 2006



# Börsebericht; Warten auf die Zinsentscheidung

Die Presse

29. Juni 2006

Copyright 2006 Die Presse Verlags-Gesellschaft m.b.H. & CO KG Alle Rechte Vorbehalten



Length: 2982 words

# **Body**

Im Vorfeld einer am Mittwoch begonnenen zweitägigen Sitzung der US-Notenbank Fed, in deren Verkauf es zu einer Erhöhung der US-Leitzinsen kommen könnte, machte sich an den Weltbörsen ziemliche Nervosität breit. Aber keine wirkliche Panik: Nach relativ starken Verlusten in Asien präsentierten sich die europäischen Börsen am Nachmittag freundlich. Die US-Märkte eröffneten am Nachmittag ebenfalls im Plus. Im Verlauf drehten dann freilich alle wichtigen Märkte ganz leicht ins Minus.

Nicht so gut halten konnte sich Wien, wo der ATX im Tagesverlauf unter der Wasserlinie unterwegs war. Daran war der einstige Börsenstar Betandwin nicht ganz unschuldig: Nachdem sich herumgesprochen hatte, dass Morgan Stanley 650.000 Aktien des Wettenanbieters platzieren will, sackte der Kurs um gut 6,5 Prozent ab. Auch Andritz-Papiere gaben deutlich nach, was Händler auf einen "technischen Schwächeanfall" zurück führten. Und während Ölwerte europaweit zulegten, kamen sie in Wien unter die Räder: OMV gab wegen Gewinnmitnahmen nach.

Die europäischen Börsen erhielten Auftrieb, nachdem positive Nachrichten über die Fusion der Stahlkonzerne Mittal und Arcelor verbreitet wurden.

RZB: Ein Kursrutsch steht noch bevor

Aktien. Im August könnte Einstieg günstig sein.

Wien (b. l.). Während der Kurskorrekturen an den internationalenBörsen in den vergangenen Wochen haben viele Anleger ihr Geld zurückgezogen und sitzen jetzt auf Barbeständen. Mit dem Wiedereinstieg in Aktien sollte man es aber noch nicht allzu zu eilig haben. Glaubt man dem Chefanalysten der Raiffeisen Zentralbank (RZB), Peter Brezinschek, dürften die Kurse im Sommer noch einmal einbrechen und möglicherweise die heurigen Tiefststände erreichen.

USA: Geringes Wachstum, hohe Inflation

Schuld ist die flauere US-Konjunktur. Wenn die US-Unternehmen ihreHalbjahreszahlen bekannt geben, hat das Einfluss auf die Börsen in aller Welt. In den vergangenen Jahren war es auch die gute US-Konjunktur, die den deutschen DAX in die Höhe getrieben hat. "Die deutsche Wirtschaft wurde ja krank gejammert", stellt Helge Rechberger, Leiter der RZB-Aktienanalyse, fest. Die Anzeichen, dass die US-Wirtschaft abflaut, mehren sich: Häuserpreise und Konsumnachfrage purzeln angesichts steigender Zinsen, ein Ende des Zinsanhebungszyklus ist

## Börsebericht Warten auf die Zinsentscheidung

noch nicht in Sicht. Die Beschäftigung in den USA wächst kaum noch, die Unternehmensinvestitionen, die in den vergangenen Jahren jährlich um acht bis zehn Prozent gewachsen sind, können das nicht kompensieren. Ab dem dritten Quartal des heurigen Jahres dürfte in den USA die Kerninflation (Teuerung ohne Energie und Nahrungsmittel) mit drei Prozent über dem Wirtschaftswachstum von 2 bis 2,5 Prozent zu liegen kommen, fürchten die Analysten. Sie gehen daher davon aus, dass viele US-Unternehmen bei der Bekanntgabe ihrer Halbjahreszahlen, die in den kommenden Wochen anstehen, ihre derzeit sehr optimistischen Gewinnprognosen für die 2006 und 2007 revidieren. Die Börsen hätten das bereits zum Teil im Mai und im Juni vorweggenommen. Im August könnte es wieder gute Einstiegsgelegenheiten auf den Aktienmärkten geben: Zum einen sei dann absehbar, wie lange die US-Notenbank Fed noch an ihrer Zinserhöhungspolitik festhält. Zum anderen würden dann auch die wirtschaftliche Erholung in Europa und Japan spürbarer und die Anleger zuversichtlicher.

## Kursschwankungen auch im Herbst

Weiter müsse man aber mit starken Kursschwankungen rechnen. Die RZBempfiehlt den Einstieg in "defensive" Werte (Konsumgüter, Gesundheit) sowie - wegen der steigenden Preise - in Energiewerte. Nach dem Sommer könnten auch Rohstoffe interessant werden. Eher die Finger lassen sollte man von Industrie-, Telekom- und Technologiewerten.

#### Zur PERSON und ZUM WERK. Dan Diner und das Sakrale

Der Historiker und Politologe Dan Diner (\*20. 5. 1946 in München)leitet seit 1999 das Simon-Dubnow-Institut für Jüdische Geschichte und Kultur an der Uni Leipzig. Diner, der in Deutschland und Israel lebt, lehrt ferner Neuere Geschichte an der Hebräischen Universität Jerusalem und wurde durch sein Werk zu den Themen Nationalsozialismus, israelisch-palästinensische Beziehungen, jüdische und arabische Geschichte bekannt. Mitte Juni erhielt er den Ernst-Bloch-Preis der Stadt Ludwigshafen. Im aktuellen Werk "Versiegelte Zeit. Über den Stillstand in der islamischen Welt" (Propyläen-Verlag, Berlin) konstatiert er eine zivilisatorische Entwicklungsblockade der islamischen Welt, die er vor allem der Omnipräsenz von Religion, Sakralem und kulturell-theologischer Tabus zuschreibt. In Wien hielt Diner vorigen Mittwoch die Eröffnungsrede zur Konferenz "Europe and the Mediterranean - Inclusion and Diversity"; sie wurde vom Österreichischen Institut für Internationale Politik" in Kooperation mit der "Presse" organisiert.

"Es ist beides: Demütigung und Befreiung"

Von CHRISTIAN ULTSCH

Die Presse: Trotz Globalisierung wird der Graben zwischen dem Westen

und der islamischen Welt immer tiefer. Ist das, jetzt einmal abgesehen von der Aufregung um Terror und Anti-Terror, nicht erstaunlich bis absurd?

Dan Diner: Die wachsenden Antipathien sind eine Folge derGlobalisierung. Wenn Menschen aus verschiedenen Kulturen näher zusammenrücken, wird der Blick für Unterschiede größer. Das führt auch zu Verzerrungen, es verfestigt Vorurteile. Derlei Einstellungen haben einen langen kulturellen Vorlauf und waren in der Zeit des Kalten Krieges ruhig gestellt, wie alle Unterschiede damals neutralisiert waren, auch in Europa.

Wenn die wachsenden Konflikte mit Nähe zusammenhängen, dann müssten

sie in Migrationsgesellschaften besonders ausgeprägt sein.

Diner: Nicht jede Migrationsgesellschaft lässt sich mit eineranderen vergleichen. Es bestehen erhebliche Unterschiede zwischen den USA und Europa. Europa ist eine Traditionsgesellschaft, deren Gedächtnis historisch aufgeladen ist, während die USA ethnische und religiöse Herkünfte einebnen. Europa ist mehr Herkunft, Amerika mehr Zukunft. Europa fällt es schwerer, Einwanderer zu integrieren. Ein Grund ist die Diversität Europas selbst. Deshalb wird hier Identität groß geschrieben. Für Einwanderer ist das nicht unbedingt erbaulich.

## Börsebericht Warten auf die Zinsentscheidung

Die Konfrontation der arabischen Welt mit dem Westen begann nicht erst gestern. Warum ist sie im Moment derart zugespitzt?

Diner: Das hat sowohl mit geschärfter Wahrnehmung als auch mitverschärften Umständen zu tun. Seit dem Zusammenbruch der Sowjetunion und dem Verfall des Kommunismus steht der Westen der islamisch-arabischen Welt direkt gegenüber. Die Sowjetunion hatte früher eine Rolle als Vermittler der Moderne eingenommen, sowohl organisatorisch als auch technologisch. Teile der arabischen Welt hatten in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts die Perspektive des klassischen Nationalismus, des Sozialismus. All das ist weggebrochen. Die Knautschfläche zwischen der Hyper-Moderne des Westens und der arabisch-islamischen Welt ist geringer geworden.

Islamismus war für viele die Alternative zum Sozialismus. Hat der

Westen versagt, weil er kein Ersatzangebot gestellt hat?

Diner: Der Westen hat den arabisch-islamischen Kulturraum langevernachlässigt, ihn nur unter dem Gesichtspunkt von Ressourcen betrachtet. Es stellt sich aber die Frage, ob die Friktionen, die sich heute offenbaren, früher eingetreten wären, wenn der Westen sich interessierter an der arabischen Welt gezeigt hätte. Denn es ist kaum möglich, westliche Vorstellungen von Moderne direkt zu übertragen. Die Menschen dort müssen schon ihre eigene Moderne entwickeln, und sie werden das unter Schmerzen kultureller Art zu ertragen haben.

Welche kulturellen Schmerzen meinen Sie da konkret?

Diner: Den Schmerz der Säkularisierung und der Profanisierung. DasSakrale ist ein Hemmnis für die Modernisierung der arabisch-islamischen Gesellschaften. Ich spreche hier nicht von Religion, Theologie oder Ritus. Unter dem Sakralen verstehe ich ein Tabu, das in fast in allen arabischen Lebensbereichen anzutreffen ist. Europa hat sich seit der frühen Neuzeit massiv mit dem Sakralen auseinander gesetzt. Ich erwähne da nur den Beginn der Renaissance, die Erfindung des Buchdrucks, die Reformation, schließlich die Entdeckung der Neuen Welt, die den Westen regelrecht revolutioniert hat. Die arabisch-islamische Welt hat diese Entwicklungen nicht nachvollzogen. Sehen Sie Anzeichen einer Ent-Sakralisierung in der arabischen Welt? Diner: Ich würde sagen, dass sogar der Fundamentalismus ein Ausdruck von Ent-Sakralisierung ist, insofern, als der Fundamentalismus ein modernes Phänomen ist, eine Reaktion auf die Moderne. Die arabischen Debatten haben, wenn auch sehr zaghaft, den Charakter dessen, was man in der Deutschen Geschichte unmittelbar nach der Reichsgründung 1871 durch Bismarck als Kulturkampf bezeichnet hat. Doch sehen wir viel zu stark nur die eine Seite, die das Sakrale noch verschärfen will, die Islamisten. Die andere Seite vergessen wir.

Könnte also der Islamismus bloß ein Übergangsphänomen auf dem Weg zu modernen Demokratien sein?

Diner: Islamismus ist ein Übergang, aber ein sehr gefährlicher,sowohl für den Westen als auch für die arabische Welt. Die Frage ist, wie lange man so ein Phänomen erträgt.

Sie sagten, die Araber müssten die Moderne schon aus eigener Kraft schaffen. Betrachten Sie das neokonservativleninistische Konzept einer kriegerischen Initialzündung für die Demokratisierung des Nahen Ostens als gescheitert?

Diner: Es ist vielleicht zu früh, das zu beurteilen. Es könntenämlich sein, dass ein Unternehmen, das von aller Welt befürwortet wurde, nämlich Afghanistan, scheitert, während die Intervention im Irak letztlich erfolgreich sein könnte. Wenn man Iraker fragen würde, ob sie für das Vorgehen der Amerikaner sind, würden sie sagen: Natürlich nicht. Wenn man sie dann fragt: Soll das alles ungeschehen gemacht werden, dann sagen sie: Nein, nein. Es gibt eine sehr starke Ambivalenz, die auch mit einem Element der Scham einhergeht, dass es nämlich eine westliche Macht war, die den Diktator gestürzt hat.

Der Irak-Krieg wirkte also demütigend und befreiend zugleich.

Diner: Er ist beides: kulturelle Demütigung und politischeBefreiung. Je stärker jemand säkularisiert ist, desto mehr wird er sich auf das Politische stützen. Die Ablehnung des Westens ist auch von hoher Ambivalenz geprägt, man möchte so leben wie im Westen, deswegen gibt es auch die Migration in den Westen hinein.

Die Skala des Islamismus ist breit. Wo ordnen Sie die palästinensische

#### Hamas ein?

Diner: Die <u>Hamas</u> ist im Wesentlichen eine nationalistischepalästinensische Bewegung mit einer starken islamistischen Orientierung. Sie ist nicht al-Qaida, die eine internationale muslimische oder islamistische Orientierung hat. Die <u>Hamas</u> ist territorial auf Palästina bezogen, und sie wird sich den Nöten und Bedürfnissen der Palästinenser zuwenden müssen.

Kann es ein Einvernehmen zwischen Israel und der *Hamas* geben?

Diner: Es gibt große Spannungen innerhalb der <u>Hamas</u>. Aber insgesamtglaube ich, dass es zwischen Israel und <u>Hamas</u> zu einer Regelung kommen kann. Die ausdrückliche Anerkennung Israels ist für die <u>Hamas</u> nicht verträglich. Für sie ist ganz Palästina "waqf" - heiliger Boden, der Staat Israel als solcher ist nicht legitim. Ich glaube aber nicht, dass Israel sich auf diese Frage kaprizieren sollte. Denn für Israel ist es wichtig, Ruhe zu haben. Ein langfristiger, über Generationen dauernder Waffenstillstand, ist für Israel ausreichend. Man muss ja nicht in die Seele des Partners hineinschauen, sondern wichtig ist, wie er handelt.

#### DEUTSCHE SYNCHRONISATION

26 Sprach-Fassungen gibt es von "Over the Hedge", zu den nach denOriginal-Sprechern animierten Figuren versuchen sich als deutsche Stimmen u. a. Götz Otto (als Waschbär Bruce Willis) und Ben Becker (als Bär Nick Nolte).

Schnell den Bären füttern!

Von CHRISTOPH HUBER

Gäbe es eine Quote für computergenerierte Filme über lustige Tiere

mit Stimmen und Gestik berühmter Schauspieler, dann hätte sie Hollywood allein in den letzten fünf Jahren überschritten. Dass sich Ab durch die Hecke, das neue einschlägige DreamWorks-Produkt, trotzdem als kleiner Freudenbringer qualifiziert, verdankt sich einer kleinen Verweigerung der Fließbandnatur des Genres.

Seit 2001 mit dem Welterfolg von Shrek klar wurde, dass es im Wesentlichen genügt, Popkultur-Zitate und Furzwitze aneinander zu hängen, solange man den sprechenden Esel nach Eddie Murphy modellieren kann, rief eine ganze Armada von animierten Familienfilmen eine Eiszeit der Erzählung aus: Zwischen dem Unterwasserreich von Finding Nemo und Madagascar regierte zwar sichtlicher technischer Fortschritt, aber auch Faulheit im Erzählen. Der typische Mix aus Filmreferenzen (für die Begleitpersonen) und Slapstick (für alle Altersklassen) funktionierte blendend als Gemeinschaftszeitvertreib, auch weil er die Gag-Dichte von Hollywoods Echtfilmen locker ausstach.

## Die Geschichte vom Fast-Food-Raubzug

Insofern angenehm, als Ab durch die Hecke tatsächlich eine

Geschichte erzählen will. Genau genommen zwar zweimal dieselbe, aber immerhin: Ein verschlagener Waschbär hat den Essensvorrat eines winterschlafenden Bären zerstört und muss ihn unter Todesandrohung ersetzen. Also wird eine Gemeinschaft argloser Parktiere motiviert, in der menschlichen Siedlung rundherum auf Fast-Food-Raubzug zu gehen. (Und noch einmal, als die Beute zerstört wird.)

Die Grundsituation ist wie im Pixar-Klassiker Toy Story, der 1995 eine tatsächlich dreidimensionale Animations-Renaissance versprach, die nur in Ansätzen (von Toy Story 2 und den Filmen von Incredibles-Regisseur Brad Bird) eingelöst wurde: Der Waschbär als frecher Neuling wie einst Buzz Lightyear, eine vorsichtige Schildkröte als Parktier-Anführer, quasi Cowboy Woody.

## Börsebericht Warten auf die Zinsentscheidung

Rundherum hat sich das Regieduo Tim Johnson und Karey Kirkpatrick ausnahmsweise Mühe gegeben, Standardsituationen wirklich zu parodieren und nicht nur nachzustellen, dazu clevere, wenn auch nicht immer originelle Witz-Nebensachen eingestreut: Die Vorbereitung eines Raubs wird zur absurd endlosen Fallen-Litanei, ein zufällig vorbeifliegendes Glühwürmchen leuchtet als Ideen-Glühbirne über dem Kopf. Die besten Gags sind so gleichmäßig verteilt, dass es den Eindruck durchgehender Erheiterung weckt. Sogar die zwei großen Filmzitate sind so klassisch - Endstation Sehnsucht, Citizen Kane - , dass man sich fast im Bildungsbürgertum wähnt.

## **Shatners Shakespeare-Scheintode**

Dass der Film auf einem populären Zeitungscartoon basiert, in dem auch

schon die Relativitätstheorie diskutiert wurde, merkt man aber nur daran, dass die Aussage letztlich relativ wurscht ist: Antikonformistische und Öko-Botschaft-Ansätze werden schließlich vom unvermeidlichen Bekenntnis zum (Ersatz-)Familienglück geschluckt.

Verstärkt ist dafür die Annäherung an den Echtfilm, in den Figuren wie im Visuellen. Der Waschbär ist zuallererst ein spitzbübischer Bruce Willis, der Bär ein mürrischer Nick Nolte und William Shatner spielt als viele Shakespeare-Scheintode sterbendes Opossum alles in Grund und Boden, jedenfalls im Original Over the Hedge, das auch die Schauspieler bezeichnenderweise nicht mehr nur als Stimmen ankündigt. Und für den mit animierten Schärfenwechseln und Traumsequenzen garnierten Blick über die Hecke braucht es dann nichts weniger als die große Kamera-"Kranfahrt" in die Höh'.

Ashton Kutchers Unterwäsche

Bruce Willis und Jeffrey Katzenberg hetzen auf PR-Tour durch Europa.

Vom absurden Gastspiel in Wien.

Bruce Willis sei kein Frühaufsteher, hieß es. Also: erst nach MittagGroßgruppen-Interviews mit dem Hollywood-Star und DreamWorks-Animation-Chef Jeffrey Katzenberg vorm gemeinsamen Auftritt zur Wien-Premiere von Over the Hedge am Dienstagabend. Gegen 15 Uhr hat es Willis dann (eine Stunde Verspätung!) aber schon eilig. Forsch grüßt er: "Fragen Sie im Reinkommen, wir wollen noch die Stadt sehen!"

Was ist jetzt mit Sex ab 50?

"Welche Tiere haben Sie in der Hecke?", stößt ein Kollegegeistesgegenwärtig hervor. Willis zählt wahllos auf: Elch, Igel, . . . Beim Eichhörnchen freut er sich, kichert, sagt es noch einmal. Eine Dame nutzt die Atempause: "Ich bin von einem Frauenmagazin . . . - "Fantastisch!", kontert Willis, vergebens. "In der Zeitung haben Sie gesagt, dass Sex ab 50 besser wird, weil man es nicht mehr so eilig hat. Willis: "Das habe ich gesagt?" Sie nickt hoffnungsvoll. Willis verneint: "Ein Gerücht. Gleich die Nächste: "Ist es wahr, dass Sie Ashton Kutchers Unterwäsche tragen?" Willis schüttelt resigniert den Kopf, Katzenberg lenkt ein: "Wie wär's, wenn wir über den Film reden, meine Damen?" Sofort hält Routine Einzug. Willis: "Ich wollte immer einen Animationsfilm machen, etwas, das meine Kinder auch sehen können. Katzenberg: "Wir brauchen gute Schauspieler, stark im Improvisieren. Bruce ist einer der besten. Er erklärt: Die Sprecher werden bei der Aufnahme gefilmt - als Basis fürs Animieren. "Die Technologie ist der größte Freund des Künstlers geworden. Ein Dutzend Spezialisten bei DreamWorks arbeitet bis 2009 buchstäblich nur am Entwickeln der Technik für den Film How to Train Your Dragon. Einige Reporter sind abgelenkt: Willis ist kurz draußen. Aber: "Keine Sorge, Bruce ist zurück, um noch Fragen über Unterwäsche zu beantworten!" Themenwechsel scheint angeraten: Wie gefällt Willis Wien? Weiß er noch nicht, er muss ja erst die Interviews geben. Seine Patchwork-Familie? Läuft alles super. Hat Over the Hedge eine Botschaft? Katzenberg verneint rasch: "Wir wollen nur eine gute Geschichte erzählen!" (Willis nickt.) "Besonders in Europa fragt man das immer wieder, aber wir wollen nur Leute zum Lachen bringen. (Willis murmelt einmütig mit.) Schnell, letzte Frage! Das Frauenmagazin: "Welchen Frauentyp finden Sie heiß?" Da freuen sich Willis und Katzenberg einmütig: "Sehr konsistent, fragt immer nach Sex!" "Das Magazin heißt sicher Sex for Women!", meint Willis, antwortet aber brav: "Sie muss Sinn für Humor haben. Dann droht er seinen zu verlieren, als neue Frager hereinströmen: "Das kann doch nicht wahr sein, noch zwei Gruppen, es hieß, das sei die letzte!"hub

Load-Date: June 28, 2006



Canberra Times (Australia)
July 27, 2006 Thursday
Final Edition

Copyright 2006 The Federal Capital Press of Australia PTY Limited All Rights Reserved

Section: A; Pg. 16 Length: 985 words

Byline: The Canberra Times

# **Body**

Hard to be unbiased Those criticising Robert Fisk's reports on Lebanon might not know that he walked through the Shatila and Sabra Palestinian refugee camps in 1982.

Fisk saw what the Israeli Army's ally, the Lebanese Christian Phalange, had done while the army looked on.

I defy anyone to be totally unbiased after walking among hundreds of dead women and children.

There will be no peace until voters force politicians to accept killing civilians is always a war crime, whether you do it with a suicide belt or by pulling the trigger of your F16 jet, Apache helicopter or M16 rifle.

It is a war crime when you order civilians to flee then blow up the roads and bridges they try to escape on or you target their minibus which is their only means of escape.

It is not anti any religion to discuss the war crimes committed in the name of that religion - be it Christian, Jewish, Muslim or other.

The Middle East tragedy is endless because extremists and key leadership figures on both sides refuse to accept the right of the other to live. Rod Olsen, Flynn As far wrong Hezbollah is in killing civilian Israelis, equally distant is Israel from having right on its side.

Peace will not come to the Middle East until enough are blind toothless and have no choice left other than to put down their gun. David Grant, Murrumbateman, NSW The United Nations finally got it right.

Hezbollah are cowards who hide among civilians and it is they, and only they, who are responsible for all civilian deaths on both sides of the border. I just wish the "peace" protesters could get it right also.

Mike Lankuts, Gilmore Australia's silence on the destruction of Lebanon and Gaza is a disgrace.

Along with the international community, Australia has a responsibility to protect civilians of whatever nationality caught up in the conflict.

The Federal Government must find its voice in support of an immediate ceasefire by Israel, Hezbollah and *Hamas*, and UN brokered negotiations.

Intensive bombing and rocketing of civilian areas and the rapidly rising death toll of <u>women</u> and children on both sides is no recipe for peace.

More likely it will breed another generation of hatred and retribution.

Australia must support for UN intervention and a negotiated settlement.

Action on UN Security Council resolution 1559 (2004) calling for disarming of Hezbollah and <u>Hamas</u> is urgent but so too is long overdue action on UNSC resolution 242 (1967) which remains "the basis for every state in the region to live in peace".

The root cause of today's conflict lay in the failure of the international community to implement resolution 242. Israel's continued occupation of territories won in conflict, expansion of settlements on Palestinian land, the erection of the apartheid wall in the West Bank and recognition of the democratically elected Palestinian Government (with time for *Hamas* to review its policy on Israel) must all be addressed if a just and lasting peace is to be achieved.

Russell Rollason, president, United Nations Association of Australia (ACT) Clive Williams claims ("Hezbollah cannot be destroyed", July 25, p13) that, since 2000, Hezbollah has been attacking Israel to pressure Israel into giving up occupied Lebanese territory, and that Israel will eventually have to negotiate on the issue of occupied Lebanese land.

In fact, as the United Nations has certified, Israel withdrew from all Lebanese land in 2000.

The so-called disputed area, the Sheba'a farms, was part of Syria before Syria lost it, together with the Golan Heights, in Israel's defensive war in 1967.

Only Hezbollah, Syria and Lebanon maintain it is Lebanese land, so Hezbollah has a pretext for continuing to attack Israel.

Mr Williams also accuses both sides of war crimes.

While Hezbollah targets civilians, Israel targets Hezbollah and tries to avoid civilian casualties.

These casualties happen largely because Hezbollah shelters itself among the civilians, but this is a war crime by Hezbollah, not by Israel.

Alan D. Shroot, Forrest 'Surplus' humans According to new reports, Germany is seeking an EU ban on stem-cell research funding.

Germany's memory of genetic experimentation, all in the name of medical research of course, during the dark days of the Nazi regime, is one reason it opposes embryonic stem-cell research.

Then, as now, those killed during those medical experiments were considered useless/surplus humans, so let them be put to some useful purpose before they die. As a result the world rose as one to condemn those responsible for this disregard of human life.

Maybe Brent Howard (Letters, July 23) would subscribe to the idea of making use of all those prisoners in our gaols deemed "never to be released".

They are useless/surplus so why not put them to some use, all in the name of medical research of course, with the additional benefit of saving the taxpayer money for their life-long upkeep.

P. Robinson, Holt Brent Howard (Letters, July 24) suggests that "destructive embryonic research", involving the killing of embryos, does not harm them.

A reasonable question in response to that proposition would be: "What kind of harm is greater than killing?"

It is a reminder that what is being killed is full of inherent potential by virtue of its being, and that the potential to live, grow and develop is part of what it means to be a living human being.

The argument that embryos "have never been sentient" would, if accepted by society, not augur well for adults and children who, because of serious accidents or genetic predispositions, have a much- decreased level of sentiency, or would be - like persons in a coma - not sentient at all.

In view of the scientific fact that stem cells can be harvested in a non- destructive fashion from adults, a preoccupation with destructive embryonic research makes no sense.

Last but not least: it's a scientific fact, not religious dogma, that embryonic beings are human beings. Henk Verhoeven, Beacon Hill, NSW

Load-Date: July 26, 2006



The Advertiser (Australia)

August 1, 2006 Tuesday

State Edition

Copyright 2006 Nationwide News Pty Limited All Rights Reserved

Section: OPINION; Pg. 17

Length: 667 words

## **Body**

## QUESTION:

Israel's killing of 54 Lebanese civilians, including 37 children, in a single airstrike has brought criticism from within and outside the Arab world. What are your views of the conflict?

Israel's WMD

IT seems as if the weapons of mass destruction which George Bush, Tony Blair and John Howard could not find in the Middle East were really there. Israel had them all, including a host of nuclear weapons, most with "Made in USA" stamped on them.

I was disgusted to see Jewish children writing messages of hate on the huge cannon shells which were being fired indiscriminately into Lebanon.

It is no wonder that the Israelis are so hated in the region when they drive their armoured Caterpillar D9 dozers across the borders of their neighbours and raze the houses of mostly innocent people, while their troops shoot innocent **women**, children and men working in the fields.

How would we feel if that happened in our country? I think even the most peace-loving of us would want to retaliate in some way.

The United States, which appears to be controlled by a pro-Israeli lobby, seems hell-bent on controlling the buildup of arms in other countries in the vicinity of Israel.

\* JAMES CALDERWOOD,

Port Lincoln.

Kind people

I THINK people are basically the same the world over. That is, reasonably respectful and kindly disposed towards those around them.

Four months ago, while at a bus stop in Jerusalem, I got talking with an Israeli woman. When I told her I was from Australia, she said her parents lived in the northern city of Haifa (now besieged by Hezbollah), and I would be welcome to visit and stay with them for a few days if I liked.

Although I wasn't able to take up the offer, my point is that it would be a pity if the average Israeli citizen was seen in the same light as the country's impatient and impulsive military leaders.

\* ROGER SIMPSON,

Vista.

Real problem

IT is regrettable that more countries (and the United Nations) do not have the courage and resolve of Israel to deal with terrorist groups, such as Hezbollah and <u>Hamas</u>.

If that were the case, maybe we would not live in fear of events such as 9/11, Bali, London, Madrid and Beslan.

I sincerely hope the rest of the world can wake up some time soon and not be misguided by propaganda of the terrorist groups and their self-interested sponsors.

The events mentioned above have a common theme. Can you guess? The problem is not Israel.

\* GIOVANNI ZOANETTI,

North Adelaide.

No viable solution

ISRAEL continues to receive much condemnation and yet no viable offer of an alternative solution for the way it tackles terrorism in its own backyard.

Placing disproportionate blame on Israel continues to be the popular path to take, including by some (who should know better) seeking to establish their left-wing credentials.

Many have called for an unconditional ceasefire, but this would only be a prelude to the next war, since militarised groups such as Hezbollah and *Hamas* have vowed to annihilate Israel, even if any occupation of land were to end.

Unfortunately, Israel's critics seem unable to distinguish between those who deliberately target innocent civilians and those who inadvertently kill civilians in the process of trying to prevent more terrorist attacks. While both acts are wrong, they are not morally equivalent and to not distinguish between the two is to live in a world of moral nihilism.

Israel is damned if it does and will be destroyed if it doesn't.

\* SERGEI SAVENKOFF,

Parkside.

Innocent victims

THE horror now being inflicted on the innocent people of Lebanon cannot be called "self-defence", not when one bomb dropped on one house can wipe out more than 54 civilians, 37 of them children.

Let us not forget that the entire casualty toll for Israel is 51 and only 18 of them are civilians.

While we whine about the price of bloody bananas, interest rate rises and whether or not eggs are really free-range, people, just like us, are being murdered by other people with no discernible cause or motive.

\* MARILYN SHEPHERD,

Kensington.

Load-Date: July 31, 2006



Canberra Times (Australia)

July 18, 2006 Tuesday

Final Edition

Copyright 2006 The Federal Capital Press of Australia PTY Limited All Rights Reserved

Section: A; Pg. 8

Length: 1197 words

Byline: The Canberra Times

# **Body**

Proportion relative Your criticism of Israel's so called "disproportionate response" (Editorial, July 17) is what I'd expect of an armchair critic living in comfortable middle class Canberra - probably one of the most peaceful capitals on the planet.

Imagine then, cowering in your north Canberra lounge room with your children while Kassam rockets landed about you at random and without warning, fired by an implacable foe in Bungendore who is dedicated to your destruction. And that this practice would continue relentlessly regardless of what you do or say. I doubt you would stop to consider what might be a "proportionate" response.

Israel has shown incredible restraint against an enemy which says it does not want peace at all if it means living with a Jewish state.

Despite this, Israel drops leaflets warning civilians as well as the enemy to take cover before it bombs.

Those who died after a missile attack in Haifa were never given a warning and are not likely to get them. Israel's response has been exceptionally restrained compared to what it could do.

Hezbollah and <u>Hamas</u> have declared war, so why should Israel be proportionate just because the maniacs who have declared war on them don't possess the same military might?

If the shoe was on the other foot, do you think Hezbollah and *Hamas* would be proportionate?

Will you consider it proportionate if Hezbollah and <u>Hamas</u> actually manage to kill just as many Israelis with a direct hit in high population centres?

This will finish when no more rockets are being fired across the border into Israel and when the terrorists hand back the soldiers they kidnapped.

Stuart Cohen, Watson No, Brent Howard (Letters, July 17), police in Australia would not blow up an entire street to block a dangerous criminal gang.

However, if the latter had access to bazookas and other rocket-type destructive gadgets, it would be reasonable for the police to demand assistance from the air; while nearby buildings and innocent citizens could be affected, such outcome would not be the intent.

In December 1942, about 100 British bombers were deployed to destroy part of the Philips works in the Dutch city of Eindhoven. Many bombs missed their targets and destroyed the city's oldest shopping street, and partly destroyed a hospital and a church; well over 100 Eindhoven citizens lost their lives.

The bombardment did not result in a hate or smear campaign against the Brits. However, the German bombardment of Eindhoven on September 19, 1944, the day after it had been liberated, was a different kettle of fish: for several hours, Luftwaffe Heinkel bombers were able to drop bombs virtually unassailed, the obvious aim being to destroy as much of the city and kill as many citizens as possible.

Reasonable people will see the bombardments by Israeli planes as being directed at "enemy targets", and at installations which are of strategic interest to the Hezbollah and similar groups. Israel is not at war with the people of Palestine and Lebanon.

Henk Verhoeven, Beacon Hill, NSW Keep TV ad-free Re Jack Waterford's thoughtful article ("Media and markets", Panorama, July 15) most people I talk to in my rather elderly age group watch commercial TV sparingly or not at all.

It is produced mostly for the young in mind and apart from its excellent sporting coverage has little to recommend it. The incessant advertising is self-defeating and a reason why DVD's are getting such a market share.

What sends shivers up our collective spines is the commercialisation by stealth of SBS and most probably the ABC.

As an instance I would select SBS's The Cutting Edge. It gains its impact from developing themes. This loses its effectiveness with commercial breaks.

The Government should use its surplus to keep our funded television free from advertising and preserve its excellence.

Howard Carew, Curtin Treasury design It was heartening to read the report ("Treasury chief urges cautious approach to current account deficit policy", July 12, p15) that Dr Ken Henry had acknowledged the three policy levers of fiscal, monetary and wages policy had failed in cutting the current account deficit and any government wanting to use such policies should be aware that "they might fail, or worse, dramatically slow the economy". His observation assumes that these policy instruments are used to slow the economy. But the current account deficit could be eliminated if 6 per cent of national spending were shifted from imports to domestic products.

Such a shift would not only eliminate the current account deficit, it would raise incomes and increase the rate of economic growth.

Engineering such an outcome does require more than simplistic text book solutions. However, it should be within the design capability of the Treasury.

Leigh Harkness, Queanbeyan RU-486 debate Penelope Gosling appears to have a problem with open debate and informed choice in relation to the abortion drug RU-486 ("Despite progress there's still a way to go", July 17, p9).

Although Parliament decided in February that any decision about its importation should be made by the Therapeutic Goods Administration rather than the health minister, no application has been made to the TGA for its general distribution in Australia.

Ms Gosling puts this down to her usual suspects: the health minister, myself as president of the ACT Right to Life Association, and any others who might vilify the use of the abortion drug RU-486.

She is obviously annoyed that Australia is still well behind in the provision of medical abortion services.

What is not said is that Australia is also fortunate in that the wide community debate preceding Parliament's decision, including Senate committee hearings, made available to the community well-documented information on the growing number of deaths and emergency hospital admissions attributable to this drug in other countries.

In particular, Australian <u>women</u> won the opportunity to look critically at this so-called safe, easy way to abort themselves.

Moves by the US Congress to ban the drug, for example, have made doctors less ideologically committed than Professor Caroline Da Costa rightly wary of prescribing it.

Ms Gosling imagines all sorts of demons blocking any applications to the TGA for the approval of RU-486 for general distribution. Why does she not ask the drug companies to explain their failure to make applications? Is she reluctant to expose their probable answer? Perhaps they believe in informed choice: the growing body of adverse information about the drug is a distinct disincentive for those who would invest in it.

The debate is not over and it was never framed to publicise the Right to Life argument. As a medical student you would be well advised to study the literature.

Kath Woolf, president, ACT Right to Life Association Sun smart at last Yay, finally the Government is making a good decision even if it is riding on the other states' coat tails, bringing daylight saving forward to the start of October. This gives the kids the school holidays to get used to the changes and it stops them from rising with the sun at 5.30. Mr Stanhope may win back some support from families if he goes with the other states.

Karen Coleman, Kambah

Load-Date: October 11, 2011



# Meldungen

SonntagsZeitung

5. Februar 2006

Copyright 2006 TA-Media AG All rights reserved

# **SonntagsZeitung**

Section: Nachrichten; Wie bitte?; S. 11

Length: 391 words

# **Body**

Hoffnung auf Glückslos brachte den Tod

MANILA · Eine Massenpanik vor einem Stadion in der philippinischen Hauptstadt hat gestern mindestens 74 Menschen das Leben gekostet. Auf dem Gelände hatten rund 30 000 Menschen darauf gewartet, Karten und Lose für eine TV-Gewinnshow zu ergattern. Als aus noch ungeklärten Gründen Panik ausbrach, wurden viele am geschlossenen Tor erdrückt.

Massendemonstration gegen Shinawatra

BANGKOK · In der Hauptstadt Thailands haben gestern mindestens 60 000 Menschen gegen Ministerpräsident Thaksin Shinawatra demonstriert. Thaksins Familie hatte vergangene Woche ihre Mehrheitsbeteiligung am Telekommunikationskonzern Shin an eine staatliche Gesellschaft aus Singapur verkauft und sich Steuerfreiheit für den Erlös «organisiert».

Erste Gespräche über Regierungsbildung

GAZA CITY · Der palästinensische Präsident Mahmoud Abbas hat gestern erstmals seit ihrem Wahlsieg mit der <u>Hamas</u> über die Bildung einer neuen Regierung gesprochen. Es wurde vereinbart, dass das neue palästinensische Parlament am 16. Februar zum ersten Mal zusammentreten soll.

Ikone des Feminismus gestorben

WASHINGTON · Im Alter von 85 Jahren ist Betty Friedan, eine Pionierin des Feminismus, gestorben. Ihr Buch «Der Weiblichkeitswahn», 1966 auf Deutsch erschienen, war für die Frauenbewegung der späten Sechziger- und der Siebzigerjahre in den USA und Europa wegweisend. Friedan war Mitgründerin der National Organization of <u>Women</u> in den USA.

Polizei verhaftet Schatzräuber

MADRID · Die spanische Polizei hat drei mutmassliche Unterwasser-Schatzräuber verhaftet. Wie gestern mitgeteilt wurde, waren die zwei Ungarn und eine Amerikanerin schwer bewaffnet und mit modernstem Hightechgerät ausgerüstet, darunter ein Unterwasserroboter im Wert von rund 600 000 Euro.

## Meldungen

«Do Swidanje, Mister Smith»

CAPE CANAVERAL · Die Besatzung der Internationalen Raumstation ISS hat einen alten Raumanzug entsorgt, indem sie ihn mit andern nutzlos gewordenen Sachen ausstopfte und ins All stiess. «Auf Wiedersehen, Herr Smith», verabschiedete der russische Kosmonaut Waleri Tokarew den Anzug, der in eine Erdumlaufbahn einschwebte und verglühen wird.

Raser kam leicht verletzt davon

LOS ANGELES · 13 Menschen wurden verletzt, als ein Sportwagen mit Tempo 145 in den Eingang einer Klinik in Los Angeles schleuderte. Der 33-jährige Fahrer des Wagens wurde leicht verletzt.

Load-Date: February 6, 2006



The New York Times
February 27, 2006 Monday
Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2006 The New York Times Company

Section: Section E; Column 6; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 8; WHAT'S ON TONIGHT

Length: 390 words

# **Body**

9 P.M. (NBC) THE APPRENTICE -- Season premiere. While Donald Trump's epistolary exchange with Martha Stewart (she blamed him for her "Apprentice" spinoff's failure; he said the show was dreadful) is in the news, Mr. Trump brings 18 shiny new job candidates together. Their 15-week competition begins with a marketing project for Sam's, the members-only warehouse business. This season Mr. Trump's children Donald Jr. and Ivanka (above, with their father, at an awards ceremony in October) get into the act.

8 P.M. (Discovery Times) <u>HAMAS</u>: BEHIND THE MASK -- This documentary looks into the history and long-term goals of the radical Islamic political party that won the recent Palestinian elections.

9 P.M. (CBS) TWO AND A HALF MEN -- Mia (Emmanuelle Vaugier) has been around for four episodes now as the notorious womanizer Charlie's girlfriend. But Charlie (Charlie Sheen) is growing tired of all the healthy habits she's brought into his life. Time for cigars, beer and burgers in the garage.

9 P.M. (Fox) 24 -- "Day 5: 4 P.M.-5 P.M." The first lady (Jean Smart, left), who has a history of mental instability, decides to take matters into her own hands. Jack (Kiefer Sutherland), our counterterrorist hero, comes face to face with the federal agent (Peter Weller) who got him into this line of work.

9 P.M. (ABC) THE BACHELOR: PARIS -- Season finale. The two <u>women</u> still being considered by Dr. Travis Stork go shopping (gowns at Escada, engagement rings at Chopard) with their mothers, who have flown over for the big announcement. Six of Dr. Stork's relatives have come to Paris to meet the two remaining candidates, Moana and Sarah S., and they seem to have a preference.

10 P.M. (NBC) MEDIUM -- Little Bridget (Maria Lark) is having talks with her favorite author, who is dead. Her mother, Allison (Patricia Arquette), the increasingly troubled psychic, turns paranoid and begins imagining meetings with government agents.

Didn't "A Beautiful Mind" do this?

10 P.M. (13) PAUL McCARTNEY: CHAOS AND CREATION AT ABBEY ROAD -- Sir Paul (below), 63, goes back to the London

recording studio that the Beatles made famous and does a "Great Performances" concert for a small audience. The old stuff

includes "Blackbird" and "Band on the Run." The really old stuff includes "Twenty Flight Rock" and "Heartbreak Hotel." ANITA GATES

http://www.nytimes.com

# **Graphic**

Photos (Photo by Evan Agostini/Getty Images)

(Photo by Joe Viles/Fox)

(Photo by Richard Haughton)

Load-Date: February 27, 2006



Canberra Times (Australia)
July 19, 2006 Wednesday
Final Edition

Copyright 2006 The Federal Capital Press of Australia PTY Limited All Rights Reserved

Section: A; Pg. 10 Length: 1130 words

Byline: The Canberra Times

# **Body**

Enough of blood We "show restraint", it seems, by killing 10 children, not 100. We "minimise civilian casualties" by killing 100 children, not 1000. We "make a disproportionate response" by bombing the generators that power the humidicribs that keep scores of infants breathing, and the bridges over which the ambulances bring pregnant <u>women</u> to hospital.

We don't call it "mass murder", "massacre", "serial killing" or "the slaughter of the innocents" though this is what Israel is up to, surely, in the Gaza and Lebanon.

For approving the killing of 142 innocent people, Saddam Hussein and others will hang. Ehud Olmert's total of innocent dead has this last week passed 170. When it reaches 200 will he, and Peres and Peretz hang? Or would that be "disproportionate"?

A crime as large as the Beslan massacre, or the Bali bombing, and three times as large as the London underground bombings, is being applauded by George W. Bush's UN bully John Bolton and his roving blitherer Condoleezza Rice, and a billion Muslims, including those who were lately "responded" into chunks of meat, are taking note of their arrogant stupidity.

"Enough of blood, enough," Yitzak Rabin roared 10 years ago. The kidnappings, murders, torture cells, big lies and biblical bombast of his successors shame his people. A just UN would try them in The Hague.

How many hundred dead children is "disproportionate response"? How many dead children a war crime? And who gets the naming rights?

We should think of these things.

Bob Ellis, Palm Beach, NSW Henk Verhoeven (Letters, July 18) defends Israel's recent military action by implying that it is not intended to harm civilians.

However, what matters is not intentions but the suffering inevitably being caused.

The reported death toll among Palestinians and Lebanese is already over 250, with at least a third being non-militants. This compares with aggregate Israeli deaths of about 25.

The Israeli Government's disproportionate actions have caused more hardship in three weeks than terrorist attacks have produced in Israel over a much longer period.

The destruction of transport links, power supplies, fuel deposits, offices and homes has impacted on numerous ordinary citizens. The mass exodus from Beirut and other areas illustrates the fear and distress being experienced by the regular population.

Brent Howard, Rydalmere, NSW Paul Rodgers (Opinion, July 15) asks why Israel acts as a "law" unto itself.

As a former diplomat to that country, I thought he would have known that after serving there, the Jewish State has been dealing with Arab terrorism from its inception.

Israel didn't ask Hezbollah, or even <u>Hamas</u> (or should we say a collective of Iran/Syria) to kidnap any of its soldiers, but as always it is seen as the aggressor. It is amazing how the world sees Israel when all it is doing is defending its people.

Jonathan Swimmer, Queens Park If Israel's occupation is the root cause of the current Middle East violence, as Kathryn Kelly argues (Letters, July 17), why is it that the attacks from Gaza and Lebanon happened after Israel ended its occupation of these areas?

The violence isn't because <u>Hamas</u>, Hezbollah and their allies object to Israel's "occupation"; they object to Israel's existence in any shape.

Kathryn may be interested in the following: for the millions of Christian Lebanese, driven out of our homeland, "Thank you Israel," is the sentiment echoing from around the world.

The Lebanese Foundation for Peace, an international group of Lebanese Christians, made the following statement in a press release to Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert concerning the latest Israeli attacks against Hezbollah: "We urge you to hit them hard and destroy their terror infrastructure.

"It is not [only] Israel who is fed up with this situation, but the majority of the silent Lebanese in Lebanon who are fed up with Hezbollah and are powerless to do anything out of fear of terror retaliation.

"On behalf of thousands of Lebanese, we ask you to open the doors of Tel Aviv's Ben Gurion Airport to thousands of volunteers in the Diaspora willing to bear arms and liberate their homeland from [Islamic] fundamentalism.

"We ask you for support, facilitation and logistics in order to win this struggle and achieve together the same objectives: Peace and Security for Lebanon and Israel and our future generations to come."

Bill Arnold, Chifley Artists need help The resignation of Sydney Dance Company directors Graeme Murphy and Janet Vernon reflects a peculiar mix of success and failure - while Australia has produced a number of incredibly exciting and innovative dance creators, the art form itself remains severely under-resourced.

The departure of Murphy and Vernon simply underlines the unsustainable nature of trying to survive as a creative artist in this country.

As smaller dance companies disappear and independent choreographers struggle to make a living, there has still been no action taken by the Federal Government to address the recommendations in the 2004 report Resourcing Dance: an analysis of the subsidised Australian dance sector.

Unsustainable funding models lead to the inevitable - a lack of capacity to support development, and burnout and frustration in some of our most talented creators, many of whom live well below the poverty line.

Australia can ill afford to lose the immense contribution these artists make to our lives, to our economy and to our identity.

Australian dance - at all levels of creation and performance - will never be able to sustain the talents of its artists unless there is the political will to address these issues, and soon. Julie Dyson, national executive officer, Australian Dance Council - Ausdance Inc, Braddon Playing monopoly In Jack Kershaw's expected brave new world he laments the prospect of Terry Snow and Bob Winnel building extravagant housing developments in future (Letters, July 18).

Of course there's only one reason Terry, Bob and the Queanbeyan Council are so interested in suburban development now. It is because the Stanhope Government has for years been trying to maintain its monopoly over land availability in the ACT, in order to maximise its land sale prices.

By expensively trickling land onto the ACT market, it got the high prices but produced those tiny streets and blocks in Gungahlin and a Canberra- wide housing boom that saw prices rise like Sydney waterfront.

So now parts of Gungahlin are destined to become ghettos and our kids have no chance of affording housing (or even rent, when it catches up fully) for the foreseeable future.

Oh, and Terry and Bob and the Queanbeyan Council will keep trying to make a quid undermining the ACT land monopolist. In response Stanhope is turning regional water powers into the stick to bash Queanbeyan into submission.

Hugh Thomas, Reid

Load-Date: October 11, 2011



The New York Times

January 19, 2006 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2006 The New York Times Company

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

Length: 1173 words

# **Body**

## INTERNATIONAL A3-12

## Top Qaeda Members Said Killed in U.S. Airstrikes

Two senior Qaeda trainers and the son-in-law of Al Qaeda's No. 2 leader, Ayman al-Zawahiri, were among those killed in the American airstrikes in remote northeastern Pakistan last week, two Pakistani officials said. A1

## 36 Bodies Found in Iraq

The bodies of 36 massacred Iraqis were found in two villages north of Baghdad, Iraqi officials said. Many of the dead were identified as police recruits from the largely Sunni Arab city of Samarra. A3

## Nod to Darwin From Vatican City

The official Vatican newspaper published an article this week labeling as "correct" the recent decision by a judge in Pennsylvania that intelligent design should not be taught as a scientific alternative to evolution. A12

## Kim Jong II Traveled to China

Chinese and North Korean state media simultaneously announced that the North Korean leader, Kim Jong II, had completed an eight-day clandestine visit to China that was notable for his focus on China's booming economy and for the enigmatic air of secrecy that enshrouded his every move. A8

#### U.S. Abuse Is Called Deliberate

Human Rights Watch asserted that the Bush administration had undertaken a deliberate strategy of abusing terror suspects during interrogations, in ways the advocacy group said had undercut broader American interests. A5

## West Assures Russia on Iran

The United States and Europe, seeking Russia's help in bringing Iran's nuclear activities before the United Nations Security Council for review, have assured Russian officials that they are not pressing for sanctions against Iran right now. A8

Syria Frees Political Prisoners

Two of Syria's most prominent political prisoners have been freed after five years behind bars, another signal that President Bashar al-Assad is trying to mollify domestic critics as he faces increased pressure from a United Nations investigation into the assassination of the former prime minister of Lebanon. A3

## Abbas Defends *Hamas* Inclusion

The Palestinian president, Mahmoud Abbas, said if he was unable to carry out his program after the legislative elections, he would resign. Mr. Abbas also, defended the inclusion in the election of the militant Islamic faction *Hamas*, which refuses to give up its armed wing. A10

## Rice Shakes Up Foreign Aid

Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice plans to set up a new office under her direct supervision to oversee the disparate agencies and bureaus that dispense \$19 billion in foreign aid each year. A10

### U.N. Clash Kills 4 in Ivory Coast

Clashes between protesters and United Nations peacekeepers left four people dead in western Ivory Coast as tensions mounted and youth leaders called for mass protests to push the United Nations and French peacekeepers from the country. A10

## NATIONAL A14-20

## Exception Needed in Laws On Abortion, Justices Say

The Supreme Court reaffirmed the need to include an exception for medical emergencies in a law that restricts teenagers' access to abortion and told a lower court to reconsider its ruling that struck down a New Hampshire law that failed to include such an exception. A1

## Cisneros Investigation to Close

After more than a decade, the prosecutor in the case of former Housing Secretary Henry G. Cisneros is finally closing his operation with a report accusing Clinton administration officials of thwarting an investigation into whether Mr. Cisneros evaded income taxes. A1

## Bombing Witness to Be Freed

The planned release of Michael J. Fortier, who played a role in the Oklahoma City bombing but testified against Timothy J. McVeigh and Terry L. Nichols, has raised concerns in Oklahoma about any future threats he might pose. A16

## Briefings Unlawful, Report Says

A legal analysis by the nonpartisan Congressional Research Service concludes that the Bush administration's limited briefings for Congress on the National Security Agency's domestic eavesdropping program are "inconsistent with the law." A19

## **Democrats Work Against Alito**

With little chance of stopping Judge Samuel A. Alito Jr.'s confirmation to the Supreme Court, Senate Democratic leaders urged their members to vote against him in an effort to lay the groundwork to campaign against his decisions on the court. A19

Congressional Democrats introduced a lobbying overhaul that they said exceeds Republican proposals. A19

#### SCIENCE/HEALTH

## **Drug Labels Face Overhaul**

Prescription drug labels will soon undergo a major revision, a move drug regulators hope will reduce the number of injuries and deaths caused by medical errors. A20

#### **NEW YORK/REGION B1-8**

## Child Welfare Leader Disciplines Six Workers

Six New York City child welfare workers were suspended or reassigned for their roles in the failed investigations that led to the death of 7-year-old Nixzmary Brown. The head of the city's child welfare agency also announced a reorganization aimed at improving the oversight of frontline abuse investigators. A1

## Tax Cuts Help the Well-Off

Governor Pataki says his budget proposal would bring relief across the economic spectrum. But the fine print shows that 24 percent of his tax cuts, credits and rebates would go to New Yorkers who earn \$200,000 or more, while more than half would go to the roughly 10 percent who earn more than \$100,000. B1

## Restaurant Catalog Updated

The New York City health department began offering a more detailed and easily searchable Web site cataloging the results of thousands of restaurant inspections, available at www.nyc.gov/html/doh. B2

## Brooklyn Plan Prompts Suit

A coalition of community groups sued the Empire State Development Corporation, charging that it wrongfully approved the demolition of six buildings on the site of the proposed Atlantic Yards development in Brooklyn. B1

Neediest Cases B6

SPORTSTHURSDAY D1-6 HOUSE & HOME F1-10 THURSDAY STYLES G1-8 ARTS E1-10

**OBITUARIES A21** 

## Jim Gary

An internationally noted sculptor in metal, he was 66. A21

**BUSINESS DAY C1-26** 

## Market Turmoil in Japan

A securities fraud investigation of Livedoor, a Japanese Internet services company, resulted in a near-national panic as investors have collectively withdrawn billions of dollars of their money from the Tokyo stock market over the last two days. A1

Livedoor has made headlines in Japan in recent years for its attempts at hostile takeovers and its aggressive expansion through acquisitions. C1

## Outlook Hurts Apple's Stock

Apple Computer reported that its profit nearly doubled in the first quarter, thanks to brisk holiday sales of iPod music players. But its outlook for the second quarter fell well below Wall Street's expectations, causing its stock to fall as much as 7 percent in after-hours trading. C1

Changes in Pay Disclosure

Under a proposal by the Securities and Exchange Commission, companies would have to make more of their executives' pay packages public. C1

Business Digest C2

EDITORIAL A22-23

Editorials: The assisted-suicide decision; Alice in Lobbyland; women's place, revisited; New Jersey's new governor.

Columns: David Brooks, Bob Herbert.

Bridge E8 Crossword E4 Public Lives E10 Weather D8

http://www.nytimes.com

Load-Date: January 19, 2006



The Advertiser (Australia)
July 24, 2006 Monday
State Edition

Copyright 2006 Nationwide News Pty Limited All Rights Reserved

Section: OPINION; Pg. 17

Length: 701 words

### **Body**

#### QUESTION:

The Israeli offensive against Lebanon shows no sign of letting up. What are your views?

Scar on humanity

THE U.S. and Israel are trying to tell the rest of the world that the current Mid East crises are the results of the kidnapping of three Israeli soldiers.

The Middle East conflict began in 1948 and remains unresolved to date.

The real causes of the conflict are the continued occupation by Israel of Palestinian and Lebanese lands, daily humiliation of the entire Palestinian population, targeted killings including civilians, demolition of Palestinian homes and the deprivation of the Palestinians from their basic human rights. There are 10,000 Palestinians in Israeli jails including **women** and children - most have been imprisoned for more than 20 years.

Israel is continuing to build a new Berlin Wall around the Palestinian populated areas and has rejected all United Nations resolutions while demanding from the rest of the Arab world to comply with UN demands.

Peace in the Middle East will remain an illusion unless the rights of the Palestinian people are recognised and delivered. Until such time, the suffering of the Palestinians will remain a scar on humanity.

\* KHALDEH ZUYUD,

Windsor Gardens.

Oil's heavy toll

A DISTURBING aspect of the Lebanese crisis is the role of Australian motorists in the funding of Hezbollah terrorists by Iranian authorities.

Some of the money we pay at the pump is going to trickle all the way back to Iran, a major oil supplier.

A percentage of our motoring dollar would therefore be going towards producing the Iranian missiles that are now raining down on Israeli civilians.

Lebanese civilians, the families and friends of Australian citizens, and Australian citizens on holiday and business in Lebanon, are being bombarded by Israeli firepower, in response to attacks partly funded by an Australian society addicted to a costly Iranian commodity. If this isn't a spur to find alternatives to oil, then I don't know what is.

\* ALBERT GOODRIDGE,

Murray Bridge.

Don't excuse history

WITH regard to your editorial (The Advertiser, 21/7/06), what a load of rubbish. The Israelis were terrorists before World War II and took the land in 1948. Hezbollah and their supporters are only trying to take back what was taken from them. Read your history books before you try and make excuses for the Israeli terrorists.

I do not support either side, I'm a third generation Australian with six children and I am well informed. I deplore our Government's illegal actions in Iraq.

\* ROBERT LOW,

Happy Valley.

Give peace a chance

WE feel terrible for the Australians stranded in Beirut and the perilous time ahead for them. We also despair for those innocent civilians who have nowhere to go. Implicit in the Government pleading with other governments to cease fire until we get our people out, is the reality that, with no Australians to worry about, the subsequent death and destruction is none of our business. Peace and non-violent conflict resolution is everyone's business.

\* SUE GILBEY.

for the Australian Peace Committee (SA branch),

Adelaide.

More detail needed

SO, the state of Israel was "democratically formed" in 1948 (The Advertiser editorial, 21/7/06). As my references to Middle Eastern affairs of this period provide no detail of such an event, would you please provide some background for your readers. Of particular interest would be the composition of the electorate involved. Who were the voters? How long had they lived in Palestine to qualify? What was the final count in this remarkable display of "democracy"?

\* TED SCOTT,

Urrbrae.

Too many deaths

THE Palestinian death toll over the 58 years of Israeli occupation far exceeds that of the Israeli losses. With their superior firepower, Israel has destroyed Palestinian homes, seized their land, and killed many thousands. Palestinian children, growing up under the tyranny of death and destruction, are now part of *Hamas* and Hezbollah in retaliation and resistance.

Injustice will continue on all sides, until we are ready to acknowledge this tragedy by pressuring Israel to end the Palestinian occupation. Israel must be strongly condemned for extending its horrendous aggression into Lebanon.

\* JOYCE SCOTT.

Urrbrae.

Load-Date: July 23, 2006

**End of Document** 



# <u>Humus - gèèn homo's!; 'Arab-Americans' spotten met vooroordelen op</u> festival

NRC.NEXT
26 May 2006 Friday
1ste Editie

Copyright 2006 Mediahuis NRC B.V. All Rights Reserved



Section: KUNST; Blz. 25

Length: 955 words

Byline: Freek Staps

Dateline: NEW YORK

# **Body**

#### **SAMENVATTING**

Sinds 9/11 kampen Arabieren in de VS met een slechte reputatie.

### **FULL TEXT**

Twee mannen spelen vliegveldje. Links Ryan Shrime, in de rol van Israëlisch douanier, rechts Omar Koury, Palestijn op bezoek. "Wat komt u doen in Jeruzalem", vraagt de douanier.

"Mijn neefjes opzoeken."

"Namen."

"Mohammed, Mahmoud, Mustafa, Jihad, Osama, Saddam..."

"...meekomen. U bent uitgekozen voor een willekeurige controle. En wat is dit?"

"Mijn elektrische tandenborstel. Daarmee val ik zionistische tandplak aan."

De grappen, zoals deze week in New York te horen, zijn hard, zitten vol vooroordelen. En ze vallen goed bij de bezoekers van de eerste 'Arab-American Comedy Night', een avond voor Arabieren met gevoel voor humor en, vooral, zelfspot. Want Arabieren hebben harige benen, rijden op kamelen, dragen tentachtige jurken, zien echtgenoten een leven lang niet naakt, doen niets liever dan een rel maken over cartoons van de profeet Mohammed en dragen exploderende schoenen. Tenminste, als je de acteurs en komieken moet geloven.

Dean Obeidalla organiseerde de avond. Ooit was hij advocaat in New York. Maar na de aanslagen van 11 september kon hij maar moeilijk wennen aan het nieuwe beeld dat Amerikanen van Arabieren kregen. "We zijn terroristen, denken ze. En dus niet geestig." Dat moest veranderen. "Je kunt mèt ons lachen. Je kunt óm ons lachen. We zijn de vijand niet." Obeidalla ging in de tegenaanval en begon een comedyfestival, inclusief titel-meteen-knipoog 'The Arabs are coming!'. Het festival bestaat inmiddels drie jaar en groeit nog steeds. Begin dit jaar trokken 18 komieken naar Los Angeles om de sketches, liedjes en de stand-up-comedy daar ook op te voeren.

Nu dan voor het eerst een Idols-achtige avond waar bezoekers op verschillende voorgelezen uitvoeringen konden stemmen. De winnaar is verzekerd van een plaats op het festival, dit najaar. De enige reden dat Obeidalla vrienden, bekenden en andere - zoals ze zichzelf dan wel weer politiek-correct noemen - Arabische-Amerikanen optrommelde om nu al over hun stukken na te denken, is "dat deze groep een vroege deadline nodig heeft". De avond begon bijvoorbeeld om 7 uur, "Arab Standard Time". Lees: iedereen komt toch te laat, we beginnen niet eerder dan half acht. "Inshallah." Met gods wil.

In een van de zes inzendingen, 'Life with Saddam', is de rechtszaak tegen de Iraakse dictator relatief positief voor hem uitgevallen. Zijn straf is een huis in Californië, uitgerust met camera's, 24 uur per dag op tv. Saddam heeft er een homoseksuele buurman. "Mijn volk houdt van humus", zegt Saddam, gespeeld door Omar Koury. "Niet van homo's." De buurman nodigt hem uit voor een themafeestje: duizend-en-èèn-nacht. Versnaperingen zoals nacho's om mee te dippen zijn er in overvloed. Saddam: "Het enige waar ik jou in wil dopen is een vat vol olie, net als de Koerden."

De acteurs en komieken schakelen makkelijk over van de rol van ene Jennifer met een vet New Yorks accent die van het winkelcentrum houdt naar Layla die verliefd wordt op de man die haar een boottocht op de Nijl belooft. Of naar de Arabische kunstenares die zich op een feestje moet verantwoorden ten overstaan van Amerikaanse gasten: "Hoe ga je als Arabische om met de vrijheid van meningsuiting?" "President Bush zegt dat jullie niet van onze vrijheid houden. Waarom niet?" "Waarom reageren jullie zo sterk op vrolijke cartoons?" "Zijn je vrouwelijke familieleden besneden?"

"Mogen we je vagina zien?"

De toeschouwers zijn hoogopgeleid, goedgekleed, vaak niet ouder dan veertig en onder elkaar. Zonder een spoor van ironie vragen ze de minderheidsgroep van vanavond, de Nederlandse bezoeker, of hij kan bewijzen niet bij het Amerikaanse ministerie van Binnenlandse Veiligheid te werken.

Organisator Dean Obeidalla leeft in meer dan èèn wereld, vertelt hij graag. Zijn vader is Palestijn, wilde hem Salah Al-Deen noemen, naar een historische moslimfiguur. Zijn moeder is Italiaanse en wilde hem Dino noemen. Het werd een compromis: Dean. Obdeidalla: "Dat is wel zo makkelijk op het vliegveld."

#### Teksten van de winnaar

Amerikaanse meisjes pestende jonge half-Egyptische Layla: "I like peanut butter, I like jam. Layla can't eat anything especially ham/ We like cars, we ride bikes Layla just takes camels day and night/ We like the malls, we love the Gap; Layla's mom just sews her crap."

Layla richt dan de actiegroep 'Straight Arab <u>women</u> in support of <u>Hamas</u>' op: "Ridin' da train, you see a woman veiled/ Why you trippin' sayin' she don't wash her hair/ 'Course she do, Arabs are clean/ We the ones taught Europeans 'bout hygiene/ Humus ain't the only thing feeds my soul/ World peace and equality are my goal/ Don't want your CK or DKNY/ Just need to know that Arab girls are fly."

#### Andere moslimkomieken

De profeet Mohammed is heilig, maar verder zegeviert de zelfspot. Een paar bekende komieken op rij:

De Egyptenaar Shaban abdu Rahim. Maakt veel grappen over vrouwen in het Midden-Oosten.

Page 3 of 3

Humus - gèèn homo's! 'Arab-Americans' spotten met vooroordelen op festival

De LibaneesTony abu Judeh. Werd legendarisch op het Arabische tv-station MBC met zijn show over de 'Amerikanen in Irak.'

De 'Amerikaans/Arabische Palestijn' Dean Obdeidallah.

De Amerikaans-Arabische komieken Ramsey Faragallah en WaleedF. Zuaiter. Treden vaak op in shows van Obdeidallah, en zijn geliefd in de Arabische wereld.

### Ook succesvol in de VS

In de VS wonen naar schatting vier miljoen mensen van Arabische afkomst. De meest succesvolle:

Consumentenactivist Ralph Nader (72). Van Syrische komaf.

Zangeres en jurylid American Idol

Paula Abdul (43). Syrische afkomst.

Actrice Salma Hayek (39). Libanees/Mexicaans.

John H. Sununu (66) en zijn zoon John E. Sununu (41), voormalig chef-staf Witte Huis en senator in Washington. Libanees/Palestijnse wortels.

Popidool Paul Anka (64). Libanese voorouders.

Load-Date: May 26, 2006

**End of Document** 



# <u>DEBAT: FANGER: PALAESTINENSISKE KVINDER OG BOERN I ISRAELSKE</u> FAENGSLER

Politiken

July 23, 2006

Copyright 2006 A/S Dagbladet Politiken

Section: Pg. 2

Length: 1367 words

Byline: Kirsten Grosen, human rights march, kvinder i dialog palaestina-israel-danmark

### **Body**

I et laeserbrev(Pol. 10.7.) undrer Hedevig Bjerre sig over, at hun ikke ved daglig avislaesning har fundet information om de palaestinensiske kvinder og boern, som forlanges loesladt som betingelse for frigivelse af en israelsk soldat, der er taget til fange af en palaestinensisk milits. Undertegnede er medlem af en gruppe danske kvinder, som siden 2003 har samarbejdet med israelske og palaestinensiske menneskerettighedsorganisationer, der stoetter de politiske fanger i israelske faengsler. Derved har vi faaet en viden, som jeg gerne vil delagtiggoere Hedevig Bjerre og andre interesserede i. For kvindernes vedkommende bygger vi isaer vores viden paa rapporter fra israelske Women's Organization for Political Prisoners (WOFPP), mens Defence for Children International/PS (DCI), og Red Barnet, Sverige, er vores hovedkilder vedr. boernefanger. Andre kilder er Addameer og Mandela Institute for Human Rights. Det skal understreges, at vi ikke tager stilling til, om kvinder og boern er skyldige i det, de anklages for, men udelukkende til den umenneskelige behandling, de udsaettes for, og som er i strid med de internationale konventioner, Israel har tiltraadt, og som blandt andet siger, at en besaettelsesmagt ikke maa flytte fanger fra det besatte omraade til andre territorier. De israelskesikkerhedsstyrker arresterer jaevnligt palaestinensiske kvinder, hovedsageligt i alderen 18-30 aar. Kvinderne bliver brutalt behandlet under arrestation og afhoering, som foregaar i militaerlejre eller centre i israelske bosaettelser paa Vestbredden, hvor politistationerne normalt er placeret. For tiden sidder ca. 125 kvinder i israelske faengsler. Det anslaas, at halvdelen af kvinderne tilbageholdes administrativt - og uden at der rejses tiltale.

Ofte kan de heller ikke faa advokathjaelp. Disse fanger holdes indespaerret paa ubestemt tid, mange i to-tre aar og nogle endnu laengere. Naar de loeslades, faar de ingen undskyldning, endsige kompensation. Et eksempel er 42-aarige Etaf Alyan, der har et barn paa 18 maaneder. 22. december 2005 blev hun hentet af israelske soldater i sit hjem i Ramallah og foert til Hasharon faengslet. Det er her, de fleste kvindelige fanger sidder. En appel blev imoedekommet, og hendes tilbageholdelse paa seks maaneder blev aendret til fire maaneder. 23. februar 2006 blev hun flyttet til Neve Tirza faengslet, som er kendt som vaerre end Hasharon. En overfoersel hertil bruges som afstraffelse. 26. april, da hun skulle loeslades, gav forsvarsministeriet ordre til, at hendes administrative tilbageholdelse skulle forlaenges med seks maaneder. Etaf har tidligere vaeret langtidsfange. Hun har vaeret faengslet paa forskellige tidspunkter i sammenlagt 10 aar. Mellem arrestationerne har hun oprettet adskillige sociale projekter i Betlehem, blandt andet et center for kvinder og en boernehave. Da hun giftede sig, flyttede hun til Ramallah, hvor hun aabnede en internetcafe for kvinder.De oevrigekvinder er doemt ved israelske militaerdomstole, som foelger andre spilleregler end de civile domstole i Israel. For eksempel accepteres tilstaaelser, som er fremkommet under tortur, og forsvareren kan naegtes at foere vidner eller fremlaegge bevismateriale til fordel for den anklagede. Ofte anklages kvinderne for forbrydelser eller medvirken til planlaegning af forbrydelser mod

### DEBAT: FANGER: PALAESTINENSISKE KVINDER OG BOERN I ISRAELSKE FAENGSLER

besaettelsesmagten, som kan medfoere op til livsvarigt faengsel. Hvis kvinden naegter alt, og der ikke er beviser, kan dommeren foreslaa, at kvinden tilstaar en mindre overtraedelse og dermed slipper med et par aars straf. Begrundelse for anholdelse af kvinder er i nogle tilfaelde, at der skal laegges pres paa aegtefaeller eller broedre. som er under mistanke og som tilbydes en 'handel' til fordel for kvinden. Hygiejne og kost i faengslet er under al kritik. Beretninger om forholdene i faengslerne er i det hele taget rystende. Cellerne er overfyldte og fugtige, plaget af mus og insekter. Der er slaaet metalplader for vinduerne, saa der ingen dagslys er. Om sommeren er der ulidelig varmt, og om vinteren meget koldt. Der er for faa taepper. Der er en kantine, hvor fangerne kan koebe toiletsager, supplerende kost og lignende. Hver fange har en kantinekonto knyttet til Israel Postal Bank, hvor det palaestinensiske selvstyre har indsat beloeb, men efter *Hamas*' valgsejr bliver mange af fangernes konti spaerret med begrundelsen, at det er ' finansiering af terror ' . Der anvendes disciplinaere straffe over for kvinderne, hvis de klager over forholdene eller sultestrejker. Straffene kan vaere boeder, isolationscelle og fratagelse af besoegsret. Taaregas og oversproeitning af cellerne med vand forekommer. Grov fysisk afstraffelse og seksuelle kraenkelser er ikke usaedvanlige. Laegelig behandling er mangelfuld. Eksempler paa behandlingen af de kvindelige fanger findes i rapporter fra ovennaevnte organisationer samt fra Amnesty og i en rapport fra The Public Committee Against Torture in Israel, som i 2005 blev afleveret til FN's komite for afskaffelse af diskrimination mod kvinder. Israelsretsvaesen har andre alderskriterier for palaestinensiske boern end for israelske boern. Israelske boern betragtes som boern, indtil de er 18 aar (i lighed med FN's boernekonvention). Palaestinensiske boern betragtes som boern, indtil de er 12 aar. I marts 2006 udsendte DCI/PS en beretning om situationen vedr. de israelske besaettelsesstyrkers tiltagende arrestationer af palaestinensiske boern. Det drejede sig om flere end 230 boern siden begyndelsen af 2006, hvilket bragte antallet af palaestinensiske boern i israelske faengsler op paa naesten 400. I interview med DCI/PS-advokater har boern fortalt om, hvordan de bliver lagt i haandjern og faar bind for oejnene, inden de bliver gennet ind i en militaerjeep og bragt til forhoerscentre. Mens de stadig er omtumlede og forvirrede, bliver de med det samme bragt til afhoering. Her bliver de overfuset, truet og nogle gange sparket og slaaet, for at man kan faa en eller anden form for tilstaaelse ud af dem. Tilstaaelser, der kommer frem under en saa raa proces, bliver af de israelske militaere myndigheder betragtet som tilstraekkeligt bevis til ikke blot at sigte barnet, men ogsaa at sigte andre, der bliver inddraget i tilstaaelsen. Efter afhoering bliver boernene indespaerret i overfyldte og usle tilbageholdelsescentre, hvor de venter paa at komme for retten. Kun en haandfuld bliver loesladt mod kaution. Der findes flere beretninger om voldsomme fysiske, ogsaa seksuelle, overgreb mod boern helt ned til 12-aars-alderen. Der er desuden kommet bemaerkelsesvaerdig dokumentation fra en forening af hiemsendte israelske soldater, Breaking the Silence, som har lavet en udstilling og en dvd om de overgreb, de har deltaget i, samt udgivet et haefte med mundtlige beretninger og oprettet en hjemmeside www.breakingthesilence.org .Israelskekvinder begyndte at stoette de palaestinensiske politiske fanger paa grund af en bemaerkelsesvaerdig kvinde, Hava Keller. Hun blev foedt i Polen i 1929 og kom i 1941 til Israel sammen med sine foraeldre. Hun sluttede sig til Haganah-militsen, som bekaempede briterne, og senere deltog hun i krigen mod araberne. I 1949, da krigen var slut, gik hun hver dag forbi en forladt arabisk landsby med smukke huse og traeer. Hun regnede med, at de flygtede beboere snart ville vende tilbage, men en dag var landsbyen var jaevnet med jorden af israelske soldater. Den dag ophoerte hun med at vaere zionist. I 1988 i begyndelsen af den foerste intifada deltog Hava Keller i et kvindemoede, hvor de fik at vide, at en kvinde fra Gaza var blevet anholdt, for at politiet kunne laegge pres paa hendes mand, og da retten gav ordre til at loeslade hende, kunne hun ikke skaffe kaution. Hava Keller og de andre kvinder skaffede pengene og fik hende loesladt. Saa hoerte de om den ene sag efter den anden og dannede WOFPP og soergede for, at loesladelse af alle palaestinensiske kvindefanger indgik i Osloaftalen. Lige nu overskygger de voldsomme militaere angreb med doed og oedelaeggelse i omraadet alt andet. Hvordan ville det vaere gaaet, hvis det palaestinensiske krav om loesladelse af faengslede kvinder og boern som betingelse for frigivelse af den israelske soldat var blevet imoedekommet?

Load-Date: July 24, 2006



Mail on Sunday (London)

April 23, 2006 Sunday

Copyright 2006 Associated Newspapers Ltd. All Rights Reserved

Section: FB 04; Pg. 35

Length: 1119 words

**Byline: PETER HITCHENS** 

# **Body**

#### Sevenwives?

What about Blair's armyof singlemothers WHY do we make so much fuss about one man with seven wives, and care hardly at all about hundreds of thousands of mothers who have no husbands?

Mr Phil Sharp's strange ideas about family life (and don't all those <u>women</u> look grumpy in their odd hats?) are unlikely to catch on widely, for lots of reasons.

But the equally bizarre practice of pregnant <u>women</u> spurning the child's father and instead getting married to the Government has now become so common that nobody is shocked by it. And eight per cent of British <u>women</u> between 18 and 35 are now bringing up children on their own.

Actually, they are not on their own at all. We, the taxpayers, are living with most of these lifestyle pioneers or at least our chequebooks are standing in for these missing family breadwinners, paying for the house and providing a frugal but bearable income.

And the more we do this, the more women adopt this way of life, and the worse it is for the country.

New research by Dr Libertad Gonzalez of Barcelona shows that Britain has higher benefit levels for lone mothers than almost any other European country and surprise, surprise has many more such mothers than its less generous neighbours.

A young woman who wants a home and income of her own acts quite reasonably when she gets pregnant. In short, our policies are actively encouraging the husband-free, taxfinanced household.

All of which flies in the face of mountain ranges of research showing that, despite the best efforts of the mothers concerned, the life chances of children in fatherless homes are far worse than those especially boys raised by two married parents.

NOW, to avoid about a million whingeing letters claiming to be 'insulted' or trying to change the subject by falsely accusing me of hating single mothers, I have to point out here that not all one-parent households choose their way of life, and

that not all children of such households turn out badly. Got that? Good.

All I am saying is that if you subsidise something, you will get more of it, and that, in general, this particular something is likely to be harmful.

In that case, you would have thought that our supposedly wise and loving rulers would be doing all they could to diminish it.

But those phoney Christians Mr Blair and Mr Brown continue to expand this sector. This is not because of kind-hearted generosity.

The Government's mean treatment of widows shows what it thinks of lone <u>women</u> who were foolish enough to devote their lives to home and family.

It is a deliberate policy, to create as much dependence on the State as possible, thus buying votes and keeping millions permanently on the public payroll.

Stable marriage, and the free independent households it creates, get in the way of this.

Now YOU pay for the privilege of complaining to the BBC THE BBC has now begun charging viewers and listeners to ring up and complain about its programmes.

If you telephone the switchboard and ask for the duty officer, you are told to call an 0870 number.

The longer your call takes, the more you help to pay Jonathan Ross's ridiculous wages. I discovered this the other day when I called to protest about a TV news report on the new British Securitate, Soca, a gullible, uncritical disgrace.

The outcome? You've guessed it, a call a few days later saying the report was just fine. Worth every penny.

THANK you, <u>Hamas</u>, for being truthful about the 'Palestinian' cause and refusing to condemn the latest murders in Tel Aviv. Those who think that the Arab world has any wish for a compromise, or that the fabled 'Two State Solution' will end violence in the region, delude themselves. They will compromise only when we in the West make it clear there will be no more rewards for terror.

A brave woman, but she can't stop child 'drugging'on her own BRAIN expert Susan Greenfield, right, deserves much praise for criticising the drugging of children 'diagnosed' with the invented complaint 'Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder' (ADHD). I know the postbag she will now get.

I know many scientists and doctors are dubious about giving powerful drugs to children who have nothing physically wrong, but know the pro-drug lobby will turn on them angrily if they speak out. But the more who do, the sooner this scandal will end.

A COUPLE of weeks after producing a fossil fish with shoulders, supposedly on the way to developing arms, the Evolutionist Ayatollahs have now come up with a fossil snake with hips, allegedly on the way to losing its legs. Ah.

There's something wrong here.

Can you work out what it is? I wouldn't mind, if these people weren't so furiously intolerant of anyone who laughs at their militant, unscientific faith.

IF you don't want to be fingerprinted and have your eyeballs registered by the state, renew your passport now. You don't have to wait for it to expire first, and ten years from now the plan to tag us all may well have been beaten.

If you linger, you'll find that you won't be able to travel abroad unless you attend a humiliating session at a state registration centre, where you will be docketed as if you were a sex offender. Avoid this nasty surprise and stay unregistered.

After all, Princess Tony says it's voluntary.

EVEN on the Queen's birthday, the dreary Guardian republicans will not shut up. What is it that people such as Jonathan Freedland think is so good about republics?

Most of the worst tyrannies in history, from South Africa to North Korea, have been republics. Of the six longest-lasting free and lawful nations on the planet, four are monarchies.

Does Jonathan think George W. Bush is an enviable head of state? Or Jacques Chirac? Why spit on your luck?

Proof that mushy Dave has already gone to the dogs I CAN see a spectral baseball cap beginning to form on top of Dave Cameron's strange, waxy locks. His decision to pose with a dog team in the snow provides us all with unending opportunities for lots of Scott of the Antarctic jokes about doomed expeditions and Captain Oates.

Now, if the lovely tattooed Samantha can only manage to shove him into the ocean at Brighton or Blackpool next autumn, Dave's descent into comedy and oblivion will be complete. Perhaps that is why his lieutenants are talking about cancelling future seaside conferences and holding fiercely disciplined rallies well inland instead.

As for Labour's 'Dave the Chameleon' video, two things struck me about it.

One, it was all true, except the bit about him being blue really. Second, why did so many journalists, normally happy to jeer at all politicians, get so defensive about this rather mild attack?

Have they invested their life savings in Dave? Are they fretting about losing them?

Proof that mushy Dave has already gone to the dogs END

Load-Date: April 23, 2006

**End of Document** 



Die Presse

22. Juni 2006

Copyright 2006 Die Presse Verlags-Gesellschaft m.b.H. & CO KG Alle Rechte Vorbehalten



Length: 7914 words

# **Body**

WIEN (red.). Die Österreicher stehen einer Gesamtschule skeptisch gegenüber. Wie eine Fessel-GfK-Umfrage (500 Telefon-Interviews) im Mai 2006 ergab, sprechen sich nur 24 Prozent für eine Gesamtschule aus. 73 Prozent wollen das derzeit geltende differenzierte Schulsystem beibehalten. Vor einem Jahr gab es noch 43 Prozent Befürworter für eine Gesamtschule, nur 54 Prozent waren Anhänger des differenzierten Schulsystems.

Gefragt wurde auch nach der Zufriedenheit mit dem Schulsystem: 53 Prozent der Eltern sind sehr, 37 Prozent eher zufrieden, sehr unzufrieden sind nur zwei Prozent, acht Prozent eher unzufrieden. Frauen stellen dem System ein besseres Zeugnis aus als Männer.

Funktionäre mit Mandat

SP-Gewerkschafter im Parlament sind unter anderem GPA-Chef Wolfgang Katzian, ÖGB-Frauenvorsitzende Renate Csörgits, der Leitende ÖGB-Sekretär Richard Leutner sowie Metaller-Gewerkschafter Franz Riepl.

SPÖ auf Konfrontation mit der Gewerkschaft

Streit um ersten Platz auf Wiener Liste für die Wahl: Bekommt ihn ÖGB-Chef Hundstorfer?Seite 13

Portugal Gruppensieger: Durch 2:1-Sieg gegen Mexiko. S. 12Argentinien Gruppensieger: Durch 0:0 gegen Holland. S. 12 Mexiko im Achtelfinale: Angola mit 1:1 gegen Iran out. S. 12

"Will Guantßnamo schließen"

Spaß und Spannung

Franzobel und andere

Autoren, Juroren: Stim-

men zum Wettlesen in

Klagenfurt Seite 31

Bush zu Schüssel. "Österreich und

die EU spielen eine essenzielle

Rolle auf dem Balkan.

WIEN (red.). "Auch wir wollen das beenden. US-Präsident George W.Bush tat, was Europa erhofft hatte. Er kündigte beim EU-USA-Gipfel in der Wiener Hofburg an, das umstrittene US-Gefangenenlager auf Guantßnamo zu schließen. Er wolle lediglich die Entscheidung des Obersten Gerichtshofs der USA abwarten. Wie "Die Presse" in Erfahrung bringen konnte, werden im Hintergrund von den USA und einigen EU-Regierungen bereits rechtliche Alternativen überlegt. Sie sollen den künftigen Umgang mit gefährlichen Terrorverdächtigen, die nicht als Kriegsgefangene zu behandeln sind, regeln. Der Konflikt um Guantßnamo könnte langfristige Auswirkungen auf die Auslegung des Völkerrechts haben, bestätigen EU-Kreise. Auch in Europa steige nämlich das Bedürfnis, gewisse "Grauzonen", die der Kampf gegen Terrorismus an die Oberfläche gebracht hat, künftig rechtlich auszuleuchten. Fälle in Spanien und Großbritannien, wo nach den Anschlägen der al-Qaida Verdächtige unter großzügiger Auslegung des bestehenden Rechts in "dauerhafte Verwahrung" genommen wurden, schrammten hart an der Grenze der Illegalität vorbei. "Wir müssen die Regeln für die Zukunft klarer definieren", verlautete am Rande des EU-USA-Gipfels in Wien. Rechtsberater loten derzeit auf beiden Seiten des Atlantiks auch mögliche Freiräume in der Interpretation des bestehenden Rechts aus. Die Gefahr liegt allerdings in einer Aufweichung europäischer Standards. Derzeit wäre ein Festhalten von Verdächtigen ohne Verfahren wie auf Guantßnamo laut der Europäischen Menschenrechtskonvention unmöglich. "Eine Neuauslegung des Völkerrechts war bisher ein absolutes Tabuthema", heißt es in Expertenkreisen. Sie verweisen darauf, dass Gefangenen anders als in Guantßnamo zumindest ein geordnetes Verfahren und ein Besuchsrecht zugestanden werden müssten.

#### Kommentare Seiten 34/35

1.000.000Euro betrugen die Kosten für den Schutz des US-Präsidenten, der First Lady sowie der US-Außenministerin.15.000Demonstranten wurden bei der großen Anti-Bush-Kundgebung am Nachmittag erwartet. 1200 Schüler protestierten nach Angaben der Polizei am Vormittag gegen die Politik der US-Regierung.3000 österreichische Polizisten - darunter 200 Beamte der Spezialeinheit Cobra - sowie 500 eigens aus den USA angereiste Sicherheitsbeamte sorgten für die Sicherheit des Präsidenten und seiner Begleiter. 1000 Sperrgitter und 1000 Halte- und Verbotsschilder wurden aufgestellt. 300Geschäfte und Lokale waren in der Wiener Innenstadt von der Sperrzone betroffen. Museen in der Hofburg - etwa die Schatzkammer und die Albertina - blieben geschlossen. 108 Fahrzeuge wurden innerhalb der Halteverbotszone der Wiener Innenstadt abgeschleppt. 53 Fahrzeuge umfasste der Konvoi des US-Präsidenten: 35 Autos und 18 Motorräder. In der Wagenkolonne befand sich auch ein Spezialfahrzeug der Sondereinheit Observation (SEO), von dem aus Frequenzen erkannt werden können, über die Bomben ferngezündet werden. 21Stunden hielten sich der amerikanische Präsident George W. Bush, First Lady Laura und US-Außenministerin Condoleezza Rice insgesamt in Wien auf.9Meter lang ist die Ford-Stretch-Limousine des Präsidenten.8Themenbereiche umfasste die Agenda, über die der US-Präsident mit den EU-Spitzen (Kommissionspräsident Barroso, Ratsvorsitzender Schüssel, Außenbeauftragter Javier Solana, Außenkommissarin Ferrero-Waldner und Ratspräsidentin Plassnik) sprachen.3 zusätzliche Operationsteams standen in drei Wiener Spitälern - dem AKH, Donau- und Wilhelminenspital - für Notfälle zur Verfügung.

Der Bush-Besuch in Zahlen

Amerikaner in Wien: "Die Chemie hatvon A bis Z gestimmt"

@J8 Er. Der mächtigste Mann der Welt beeindruckte in Österreich mit

seinem lockeren Auftreten. @J8 Sie. Damenprogramm mit Mann. Botschaftergatte McCaw an Laura Bushs Seite.

Von Eva Male und Christian Ultsch

Amerikanisches Hurra!

Buntes Treiben im prall gefüllten Festsaal des Hotel Intercontinental. Party-Gemurmel, dazwischen spitze Kinderschreie. Mehr als 400 Mitarbeiter der US-Botschaften in Wien warten, samt ihren Familien (aber ohne die österreichischen Angehörigen!), schon seit mindestens einer halben Stunde auf ihren Präsidenten. Wer nicht schon am Vorabend bei der Landung am Rollfeld zum Zug kam, kann Bush heute aus der Nähe sehen.

Grauer Anzug, rote Krawatte, ein Lächeln. Als er den Raum betritt, ertönen erste "Hurra-Rufe" an. Der Präsident hebt zu seinem Statement an, bedankt sich bei den Diplomaten an der Wiener Front. Die Chefdiplomatin ist auch mit dabei. US-Außenministerin Condoleezza Rice, elegant in grauem Kostüm. Nach der kurzen Ansprache folgt das lange Händeschütteln. Bush scheint gut aufgelegt zu sein an diesem Tag.

LobbyingReges Treiben in der Lobby des Intercontinental. Zahllose Sicherheitsbeamte mit "Knopf im Ohr". Dazwischen ein paar einsame Hotelgäste. Journalisten und Fotografen in Warteposition vertreiben sich im Café die Zeit. Ob die Kellnerin den US-Präsidenten schon gesehen habe? "Keine Zeit dafür", entgegnet sie knapp. Der Secret-Service-Mann aus Alabama zeigt sich gesprächiger und schenkt den Damen sogar Anstecknadeln. Musik von Pachelbel durchströmt sanft die Empfangshalle. Und die armen Amerikaner schwitzen - sie sind stärkere Klimaanlagen gewohnt: "Kühler wird's nicht", klagt ein US-Beamter. Eine österreichische Protokolldame geht derweil in Saft - wer weiß, aus welchem Anlass: "Des mach ma sicher net. Mia san in Österreich und net in Amerika. Frauen ohne GrenzenFirst Lady Laura Bush betritt die Bühne. 40 Minuten hat sie für die österreichische Frauen-Lobbying-Organisation "Women without Borders" reserviert. Ihr Outfit ist konservativ-gediegen: beige Jacke mit schwarzen Knöpfen, schwarzer, schwingender Rock bis knapp übers Knie, Stöckelschuhe. Makellos gestylt, aber unaufdringlich.

Zunächst hat Edit Schlaffer von "Frauen ohne Grenzen" das Wort - und so schnell gibt sie es nicht wieder ab. Dann präsentieren vier Vertreterinnen der Organisation internationale Projekte zur Stärkung von Frauen, etwa in Ruanda oder Indien. Laura Bush liegen Themen wie diese sehr am Herzen. Sie lauscht, lächelt, lobt: "That's great!" Sonst gibt sie sich zugeknöpft - ganz wie ihre Jacke.

Das sogenannte Damenprogramm ist übrigens auch ein Herrenprogramm: Laura Bush wird den ganzen Tag unter anderen vom Mann der US-Botschafterin, Craig McCaw, begleitet. Als einziger Herr sitzt er am Roundtable: Gruppenbild mit Herrn. Mit von der Partie ist auch die Frau des US-Botschafters bei der IAEA, Nancy Shulte. Bahn Frei für den PräsidentenDurch die Johannesgasse windet sich eine lange Schlange schwarzer Autos. Der Konvoi des Präsidenten hat sich in Bewegung gesetzt. Mittendrin ein Ambulanzfahrzeug. Für alle Fälle. Die Ringstraße ist leer gefegt, die Route zum Ballhausplatz frei geräumt.

Hofburg statt oval officeDer schwarze Cadillac des US-Präsidenten taucht ins Bellaria-Tor der Präsidentschaftskanzlei ein. Ein aufgeräumter Heinz Fischer empfängt seinen Gast, schreitet mit ihm die Säle ab. Eine prunkvolle Zimmerflucht - wie geschaffen für Bushs präsidentiellen Gang. Fast wie im Oval Office, nur etwas älter. Die Journalisten-Schar wartet hinter einer Kordel im Maria-Theresia-Zimmer, wo Pressekonferenzen und etwas weniger häufig auch Angelobungen über die Bühne gehen. Es ist der erste offizielle Foto-Termin des Tages. Fragen sind nicht vorgesehen.

Einer fragt trotzdem. Nach Bushs ersten Eindrücken in Wien. Die Antwort fällt nicht aus dem Rahmen: "A beautiful city", schwärmt Bush, obwohl er bisher gerade einmal die Flughafen-Autobahn, das Hotel Intercontinental und ein paar 100 Meter Ringstraße vorbeirauschen sah.

Hinter der Tapetentür, beim 30-Minuten-Gespräch mit Fischer, werden zunächst Geschenke ausgetauscht. Ein Wanderstab für Fischer. Mitarbeiter des Weißen Hauses hatten sich extra die Körpermaße des Bundespräsidenten durchgeben lassen, um das Eichenholz punktgenau anzupassen. Der Gast aus Washington darf eine Mozart-CD-Sonderedition mit nach Hause nehmen.

Der mächtigste Mann der Welt beeindruckt seine Gastgeber mit lockerem Auftreten. Auch US-Außenministerin Condoleezza Rice ringt Respekt ab, - obwohl sie kein einziges Wort von sich gibt.

Wie Bush so ist? "Der Mann hat Humor, selbstironischen Humor", resümiert einer der Teilnehmer des hochoffiziellen Termins. Mehrmals schüttelt lautes Lachen die Besprechungsrunde im Jagdzimmer der

Präsidentschaftskanzlei. Ob die Österreicher auch aus Erleichterung lachen? Jeder Zentimeter, jede Sekunde war schon Monate vor dem Treffen ausgemessen worden. Und jetzt lief doch alles so reibungslos. "Smooth", raunt ein Beteiligter.

First Lady on the roadBeim Hotel Intercontinental setzt sich der Konvoi der First Lady in Bewegung. Er ist etwas bescheidener als der von "Mr. 41", wie Laura Bush ihren Mann nennt, und umfasst nur elf Fahrzeuge, ebenfalls inklusive Rettung. Der Kleine auf dem Dreirad, der von der Terrasse des Kindergartens im Stadtpark späht, wirkt dennoch beeindruckt. Die Fahrt zum Stephansdom ist kurz, die Zahl der Schaulustigen überschaubar. Der Stephansplatz war großräumig abgesperrt worden, die Kirche so leer, wie man sie noch nie erlebt hat.BilateralesBush bekommt eine leise Ahnung davon, wie viele Trakte die imperiale Hofburg hat. Über die geheime Ratsstube und den Marmorsaal spaziert er mit seiner Delegation zum nächsten Termin Richtung Josefsplatz. Alles "indoor". Nächste Station: Die Mittlere Lounge, nahe dem Redoutensaal. Das Ambiente ist nun moderner: weiße Vorhänge, ultramarinblauer Teppichboden und schicke schwarze Lederfauteuils. Bundeskanzler Wolfgang Schüssel, der seinen Gast schon am Vorabend in Wien-Schwechat so herzlich empfangen hatte, bittet zum bilateralen Gespräch.

Mit von der Partie diesmal nicht nur Plassnik, Rice und US-Botschafterin McCaw. Auch Vize-Kanzler Hubert Gorbach darf für ein kleines Gruppenfoto posieren. Über die Inhalte dringt zunächst nichts nach außen. Ein Bundeskanzler wie Schüssel kann eben schweigen.

Stephansdom"Sollen wir auf Frau Dr. Schüssel warten?", fragt Laura Bush, ready for action im Stephansdom. Man entscheidet sich, mit der Besichtigungstour zu beginnen. Die Frau des Bundeskanzlers erscheint verspätet, casual mit Rucksack. Des US-Präsidenten Gattin bewundert die Kirche, den Fenstergucker. Bernd Kolodziejczak führt, der amerikanische - in St. Stephan stationierte - Priester Timothy McDonald begleitet sie. Kurz vor 11 Uhr ist Abmarsch. Leaders OnlyDie Runde in der Mittleren Lounge der Hofburg wird größer. "Leaders only" nennt sich das Format nun. Jetzt geht es um die transatlantischen Beziehungen. Es handelt sich ja schließlich um einen EU-USA-Gipfel. Schüssel, seines Zeichens auch EU-Ratspräsident, kann nun mit Verstärkung aus Brüssel - EU-Kommissionspräsident José Manuel Barroso und EU-Außenpolitiker Javier Solana - Tacheles mit Bush reden.

Ladies LunchDie First Lady speist auf Einladung von Krista Schüssel und Präsidentengattin Margit Fischer bei Do & Co im Haas-Haus. Über das Menü wird Schweigen bewahrt - und entsprechend viel spekuliert. Die wartenden Journalisten werden unterdessen mit edlen Lunch-Boxen von Do & Co verköstigt.Mit Verspätung auf dem GipfelEs hat sich eine erste Verspätung eingeschlichen. Das eigentliche Hauptereignis startet etwas später als geplant im Großen Redoutensaal: der EU-USA-Gipfel. Unter den großflächigen Gemälden Mikls grast die Elefantenrunde die Agenda des Treffens ab. Jetzt sind sie alle dabei: Bush, Schüssel, Barroso, Plassnik, Rice, Ferrero, Solana und ihre Einflüsterer.

In der österreichischen Delegation kommt langsam Euphorie auf: "Die Chemie hat von A bis Z gestimmt. Bush sei auf die Europäer zugegangen.

Es ist AngerichtetAuch in der Hofburg wird nun zu Tisch gebeten. Die Herrschaften sitzen beim Working-Lunch zusammen: Forelle und Bachsaibling, Filets vom Kalb mit Eierschwammerl-Gröstl und Blattspinat. Als süßer Abschluss: Wachauer Marillenknödel. Alles wird aufgeputzt. Kunstgenuss in der AlbertinaDie First Lady ist mit ihrem Tross in der Albertina eingelangt, wo sie von Direktor Klaus Albrecht Schröder durch die Mozart-Ausstellung geführt wird. Danach bekommt Laura Bush im Musensaal ausgewählte Werke zu sehen, die extra aus dem Tiefspeicher geholt wurden, darunter den Dürer-Hasen. Abgedeckt (quasi "undercover") warten die lichtempfindlichen Zeichnungen von Dürer, Rubens und Michelangelo auf die Präsidentin. Keineswegs darf der Hase vom Blitz der Fotografen getroffen werden! Krönender Abschluss: Ein Quintett der Wiener Philharmoniker spielt für die First Lady die Kleine Nachtmusik. "It's a thrill", schwärmt sie vorab, wippt zu der Musik mit den Füßen und winkt den Fotografen ab, die sie als störend empfindet. Viele Journalisten, vier FragenGut gelaunt und offenbar gar nicht Jetlag-geschädigt präsentierte sich Bush mit Gastgeber Schüssel und EU-Kommissionspräsident José Barroso bei der Pressekonferenz in der Hofburg. Dabei erfuhren die geneigten Zuhörer nicht nur, dass die Beziehungen zwischen EU und USA angeblich "stark" sind, sondern auch, dass Österreichs Bundeskanzler über Altgriechisch-Kenntnisse verfügt. Freundschaftlich titulierte man sich mit Wolfgang und George Dabblju. (S. 4)

ErfrischungspauseDer Präsidenten-Konvoi rast wieder durch die Stadt. George W. Bush gönnt sich eine kurze Erfrischungspause im Hotel. Haider live in "Al Jazeera" Damit es nicht langweilig wird, tritt Mittwochnachmittag Kärntens Landeshauptmann Jörg Haider live im Sender "Al Jazeera" auf, wo er sich zum Irak-Engagement der USA äußert. Haider hatte Bush kürzlich in der "Presse" als Kriegsverbrecher bezeichnet.

InstrumentensammlungDie beiden Außenministerinnen Plassnik und Rice bestaunen eine halbe Stunde lang die Instrumentensammlung der Nationalbibliothek. Begeistert zeigt sich Rice von zwei Klavieren, auf denen Clara Schuhmann und Franz Schubert spielten. Sie ist ja nicht nur Politikerin, sondern "nebenbei" auch hoch begabte Pianistin. Das österreichische Protokoll strahlt: Man hat die richtige Wahl für Rice getroffen.

DON'T BE SHYBush hat im Prunksaal der Nationalbibliothek am Kopfende eines großen Tisches Platz genommen, flankiert von Ehefrau Laura und Botschafterin McCaw.

"Don't be shy" ("Seid nicht schüchtern!") ruft er den 14 adretten Austausch-Studenten aufmunternd zu, die nun mit ihm diskutieren sollen. Passend zum Ambiente hält der Präsident zunächst eine kleine einleitende "Vorlesung": Die Studenten erfahren, dass freie Gesellschaften Frieden bringen und die USA sich um Zusammenarbeit mit Europa zum Wohle der Welt bemühen. Auch eine nette Einladung hat er für das Jungvolk: "Kommt in die USA. Seht das Land so, wie es ist, und nicht, wie es von Medien beschrieben wird.

Vor kritischen Fragen muss Bush nicht bange sein, zumindest nicht in den ersten zehn Minuten, in den Journalisten als stumme Zaungäste mitlauschen dürfen. Und außerdem hat die US-Botschaft die Diskussionsrunde handverlesen: mit freundlichen, jungen Menschen aus Südosteuropa, Osteuropa, dem Nahen Osten und Afrika - und einem österreichischen Staatsbürger.

Nizar und Rezarta, zwei Studenten aus dem Kosovo, bedanken sich "aus ganzem Herzen" für die US-Intervention im Kosovo. Und Rezarta will dann noch von Frau zu Frau von der First Lady wissen, wie die Bushs so den Tag verbringt. Geschenkt, solche Fragen beantwortet Laura gerne: Um 5.30 aufstehen, Hunde und Katze betreuen, Zeitunglesen, Arbeitsbeginn für "den Präsidenten" um 6.30 Uhr und so weiter und so fort. Nach derlei instruktiven Alltagsgeschichten dürfen die Journalisten wieder vor der Türe warten.

Alte Bücher, junge SängerknabenNach gut einer Stunde ruft ein junger Amerikaner mit Funkspirale am Ohr den Medientross erneut in den Prunksaal der Nationalbibliothek. Hausherrin Johanna Rachinger zeigt dem Präsidentenpaar ein paar ausgewählte Exemplare. Das darf fotografiert werden. Bush zückt die Lesebrille, während vor ihm ein Bibliothekar mit weißem Haar und weißen Handschuhen die "Tabula Peutinfgerina", einen dicken Band mit der einzig erhaltenen kompletten Karte des römischen Straßennetzes, vorlegt. "Und da, hinter der Donau waren die Barbaren", erläutert der Gastgeber. "Right", "I got it", "really?", stößt Bush immer wieder hervor. Seine Frau scheint ohnehin interessiert, sie ist gelernte Bibliothekarin.

Mittlerweile ist auch Condy Rice wieder dazu gestoßen. Gemeinsam mit dem Präsidentenpaar genießt sie fast gerührt den musikalischen Abschluss: Die Wiener Sängerknaben bringen mitten im Prunksaal zwei Ständchen dar. "Shenandoah" und - natürlich - den "Donauwalzer". Rice nickt wissend, Bush nach einer kleinen Erläuterung später auch. Dafür gibt es Präsidentenlob: "Good Job!" Auf dem Josefsplatz haben sich die schwarze Fahrzeuge des Konvois rund ums Denkmal in der richtigen Reihenfolge aufgefädelt.

Good-Bye ViennaDer 21-stündige Wien-Besuch geht zu Ende: Die Air Force One hebt ab. Eine halbe Stunde später landet Bush schon wieder. Auf dem Flugplatz Ferihegy in Budapest, der nächsten Station seiner Reise. Bush wird wohl über Freiheit reden. Das passt zum 50. Jahrestag des Ungarn-Aufstands.

"Bush und Blair in eine Gefängniszelle"

Interview. Briten-Parlamentarier George Galloway demonstrierte in

Wien gegen George Bush.

Von Helmar Dumbs

Die Presse: Sie sind extra in Wien, um gegen George W. Bush zu

demonstrieren. Haben Sie je gegen Saddam Hussein demonstriert, der 100.000e Iraker ermorden ließ?

George Galloway: Ich habe vielleicht schon gegen ihn demonstriert,bevor Sie auf der Welt waren. Ich demonstrierte, während die USA und Großbritannien ihn aufrüsteten.

Und später, beim Massaker in Halabdscha, wo Saddam gegen Iraks Kurden Giftgas einsetzte?

Galloway: Ja. Es gibt Akten, wo mein Name unter denen aufscheint, die das verurteilt haben. Sie werden dort aber kein einziges Mitglied der Regierung Blair finden.

Wie passt das dazu, dass Sie Saddam nach einem Bagdad-Besuch einen "freundlichen, scheuen Mann" (Quelle: DPA; Anm.) nannten?

Galloway: Freundlich sagte ich nie. Ich sagte, dass er ruhig undrational war und bereit, mit den Waffeninspektoren zu kooperieren.

Würden Sie Saddam einen Kriegsverbrecher nennen?

Galloway: Er hat schwere Verbrechen gegen des irakische Volkbegangen. Aber er tötete nicht so viele Iraker wie Bush und Blair. Sie haben dem Irak mehr geschadet, durch Sanktionen und Krieg.

Sie sagten, man sollte Briten-Premier Blair als Kriegsverbrecher vor Gericht stellen. Wer soll ihn denn anklagen, Großbritannien etwa?

Galloway: Nein. Wir sind Signatarstaat des InternationalenStrafgerichtshofs. Dort sollte er angeklagt werden. Auch wegen des größten Kriegsverbrechens, wie es die Nürnberger Prozesse definierten: Beginnen eines Angriffskriegs. Blair ist fast qua definition schuldig.

Sie nannten kürzlich ein Selbstmordattentat auf Tony Blair "moralisch

gerechtfertigt". Dienstag fand man in Wien vier Bombenattrappen. Wäre es gerechtfertigt, George W. Bush mit einer Bombe zu töten?

Galloway: Eine Bombe würde unschuldige Zivilisten töten. Das ist injeder Religion eine Sünde. Es wäre also moralisch nicht gerechtfertigt, und - noch wichtiger - politisch desaströs. Es würde die Kriesgsbefürworter in Washington und London stärken und eine neue Terrorlawine lostreten.

Und wenn ausschließlich Bush bei dem Anschlag sterben würde, dann hätten Sie kein Problem damit?

Galloway: Wenn Sie ein Iraker sind, dessen Leben und Land zerstörtwurden, habe ich keinen Zweifel, dass Sie eine moralische Rechtfertigung konstruieren könnten. Aber es gibt keine Umstände in Wien, unter denen es moralisch oder politisch korrekt wäre, Bush zu attackieren. Blair sollte den Rest seines Lebens mit Bush in einer Gefängniszelle verbringen müssen. Das käme nahe an Folter heran.

Sollen die Koalitionstruppen den Irak sofort verlassen und riskieren,

dass das Land auseinander fällt?

Galloway: Der Irak bricht jetzt auseinander, wo die Koalition dortist. Die Iraker brauchen uns nicht. Das einzige, was sie brauchen ist, dass wir sofort verschwinden. Sonst werden nur auf beiden Seiten mehr Menschen sterben. Das schafft Hass, und aus diesem Sumpf entstehen neue "11. September".

Aber die Anschläge vom 11. September waren vor der Irak-Invasion.

Galloway: Nein. Die Invasion begann 1991, als die Armeen von 29Ländern den Irak bombardierten.

Damals gab es aber ein UN-Mandat.

Galloway: Egal, ob UN-Mandat oder nicht: Die Invasion begann 1991und setzte sich in den 90er-Jahren mit Sanktionen fort, die eine Million Iraker das Leben kosteten. Osama bin Laden selbst hat den "11. September" in Verbindung mit dem Leiden der Iraker gebracht.

"US-Modell hat ausgedient"

Der Paradeintellektuelle Tony Judt prophezeit eine Renaissance deseuropäischen Wohlfahrtsstaates.

#### Von BURKHARD BISCHOF

wien. Die Vereinigten Staaten, so wie sie sich heute präsentieren - mit ihrem löcherigen Sozialsystem und ihren gigantischen Einkommensunterschieden zwischen Durchschnittsverdienern und den Reichen des Landes - bieten kein Gesellschaftsmodell für die übrige Welt, argumentiert Tony Judt, Professor für Europäische Studien und Geschichte an der New York University: "Amerika, das bis in die Siebzigerjahre in der ganzen Welt als Modell der Moderne angesehen wurde, hat in dieser Rolle ausgedient", erklärte der britische Paradeintellektuelle, der mit provokanten Gedanken immer wieder heftige internationale Diskussionen anstößt, am Dienstag bei einem Vortrag im Institut für die Wissenschaften vom Menschen in Wien. Wenn die USA kein Zukunftsmodell bieten, wer dann? China etwa? "Die Volksrepublik wird vielleicht die größte Volkswirtschaft der Welt, sie bietet aber sicher kein Sozialmodell für die Welt, ja nicht einmal für die Chinesen selbst", meint Judt. Auch ein indisches Modell werde wohl nie ein globaler Exportartikel. Es sei das europäische Modell des Wohlfahrtsstaates, das reüssieren könnte.

"Keine Logik der Globalisierung"

Denn: "Wir sind in eine Periode permanenter Unsicherheit eingetreten,in der das Gefühl weit verbreitet ist, dass alles außer Kontrolle gerät. Umso stärker wird das Verlangen nach mehr Sicherheit, mehr Schutz und nach mehr Staat werden", prophezeit Judt. Und hier könnte das europäische Modell des Wohlfahrtsstaates die Antwort sein. Dieser Wohlfahrtsstaat sei ja auch nie linkes Experiment gewesen, wie viele Amerikaner meinten, sondern das Projekt betagter konservativer Politiker wie Churchill, Adenauer und Schuman gewesen, die ihre Lektionen aus den Gemetzeln des 20. Jahrhunderts gelernt hätten. Freilich könne Europa nur dann zum Modell werden, wenn es mit seiner obsessiven Nabelbeschau aufhöre. Als Beispiel für Europas Probleme nannte Judt Frankreich, das offenbar jegliche Fähigkeit verloren habe, darüber nachzudenken, wie sich das Land verändern müsse. Judt warnte auch vor allen jenen, die ständig die Globalisierung als Lösung für die Probleme der Welt anpriesen: "Die historische Erfahrung zeigt: Es gibt keine Logik der Weltwirtschaft, und es gibt auch keine Logik der Globalisierung.

Zur Person. G. Galloway

Der schottische Politiker George Galloway (51) wurde 2003 wegenheftiger Kritik an Premier Tony Blair aus der Labour-Partei ausgeschlossen und gründete die Partei "Respect". 2005 setzte er sich im Wahlkreis gegen die Labour-Kandidatin durch. IM WORDRAP: George W. Bush: KillerDonald Rumsfeld: Narr New Labour: BetrügerSowjetunion: untergegangen, dadurch Mitschuld an der Weltlage Prinz Charles: nettFußball-

"Bush, Bush, Bush go home!"

VOn JUDITH EGGER

WIEN. Um 17 Uhr ist der Anfang der Mariahilferstraße vor dem

Westbahnhof bereits gerammelt voll. Auch ohne die Wärme der aneinander gedrängten Körper ist die tropische Hitze fast unerträglich. Sämtliche Getränkeregale der umliegenden Geschäfte sind deshalb bereits leer geräumt. Ausläufer der Menschentraube blockieren den Gürtel. "Also nicht nur Bush kann Stau verursachen - sondern auch People Power," ruft ein Aktivist stolz in das Megafon.

#### Viel mehr Menschen als erwartet

Viel mehr Menschen als erwartet sind gekommen, um lautstark zu zeigen,

dass sie den US-Präsidenten nicht in Wien wollen. "Bush, Bush, Bush go home" ist der Sprechchor, der am häufigsten zu hören ist. Die Polizei zählt 15.000, die Veranstalter schätzen die Zahl der Teilnehmer auf über 20.000. Nicht ganz Wien ist wie angekündigt zur Anti-Bush-Stadt geworden, die Mariahilferstraße gehört aber auf jeden Fall den Bush-Gegnern. Mit Trommeln, Trillerpfeifen, und Lautsprechern sind sie weit in den sechsten und siebten Bezirk zu hören. An der Spitze des Zuges, der um sechs loszieht, marschieren US-Amerikaner: "Support our troops - bring them home", steht auf ihren Transparenten.

#### Individuelle Transparente

Neben den obligatorischen "Hoch die internationale

Solidarität"-Gesängen und "Bush go home"-Rufen entfaltet sich individuelle Kreativität: "Drop bombs on me" fordert ein junger Mann, der nur mit Boxershorts bekleidet ist, "Invade yourself" eine junge Frau. Kategorisch "Gegen alle Präsidenten" ist ein schwarz gekleideter Bursch.

Neben den typischen Themen wie Irak-Krieg, Guantßnamo und Umweltverschmutzung protestieren über sechzig verschiedenen Gruppen gegen unzählige Dinge, die sie mit der Person Bush verbinden: Palästinenser gegen die israelische Besatzung, Türken gegen Isolationshaft, Philippinos gegen Menschenrechtsverletzungen, österreichische Moslems gegen Islamfeindlichkeit und Iraner gegen einen möglichen US-Angriff.

Das Transparent "Stoppt Bush, rettet die Welt" zeigt, dass der US-Präsident eigentlich für alles Schlechtes auf dieser Welt verantwortlich gemacht wird. Als die Demosntranten bei der Hofburg ankommen, befindet sich der US-Präsident, aber schon im Flugzeug nach Budapest.

#### Bierflaschen als Wurfgeschosse

Der bunte lange Zug marschiert friedlich zum Heldenplatz. Aggressive

Stimmung kommt vielmehr unter den verschiedenen Organisatoren auf. Wegen Unstimmigkeiten über die Rednerliste, gibt es schon am Westbahnhof zwei Bühnen, die sich mit lauter Musik zu übertönen versuchen. Wie bereits bei der Schüler-Demo am Vormittag, bei der rund 1200 Jugendliche mitmarschiert waren, spaltet sich auch am Abend der Zug: Der größere Teil der Demonstration zieht weiter zum Votivpark. Hier findet die Abschlusskundgebung der Friedensplattform "Stopp Bush" statt: mit prominenten Rednern, wie der Friedensaktivistin Cindy Shannon und dem britischen Abgeordneten George Galloway.

Die radikaleren Gruppen verbleiben vor der Hofburg. Bei Zusammenstößen zwischen den rivalisierenden Linksgruppierungen kommt es zu einer Verhaftung. Außerdem bewerfen rund 50 Jugendliche Polizisten mit Bierflaschen und Feuerwerkskörpern. Nach einer halben Stunde aber ziehen sich die Randalierer zurück.

Was wurde aus Bushs Mist?

Auch für den Putz-Trupp hieß es: Betreten verboten!

Von MANFRED SEEH

WIEN. Nachdem Passagierflugzeuge landen, begibt sich üblicherweise

ein Reinigungs-Trupp an Bord, um die Maschinen wieder "startklar" zu machen. Wie ist das eigentlich bei der Air Force One, der Maschine des US-Präsidenten? Anders! "Wir haben den Mist wegtransportiert und das WC abgepumpt, aber wir haben die Maschine nicht von innen gesehen", erklärte Flughafen-Wien-Sprecherin Brigitta Pongratz.

Die Reinigung an Bord erfolgte aus Sicherheitsgründen durch US-Personal. Allerdings, so erklärt Pongratz, sei dies nicht unbedingt eine Spezialität der Air Force One - dies komme auch bei anderen Flugzeugen von Staatsgästen vor.

Und wer betankte die markante blau lackierte Großraum-Maschine? Brachten die Amerikaner eigenen Treibstoff mit? Das nicht. Die Tanks der Air Force One wurden sehr wohl mit österreichischem Kraftstoff aufgefüllt, allerdings wurde das Kerosin vorher "gründlich überprüft", wie aus verlässlicher Quelle zu erfahren war.

Indessen wird die Landung am Dienstagabend als "Bilderbuchaktion" bezeichnet. Heinz Sommerbauer von Austro Control zur "Presse" weiter: "Auch der Linienverkehr war nur wenig verzögert. Nach Gesprächen mit dem Piloten der Präsidenten-Maschine habe man die "Freeze"-Phase (Einfrier-Phase für alle anderen anfliegenden Maschinen) auf etwa 15 Minuten reduzieren können. Noch vor der Air Force One waren - sozusagen als Vorhut - "einige große Transportmaschinen" gelandet.

Für kleine, private Flieger bestand während der Dauer des Bush-Aufenthalts ohnedies eine Luftraum-Sperre - Radius: ca. 80 Kilometer rund um Schwechat.

#### Reaktionen

SP: Ankündigung positiv

Die Bereitschaft von Präsident George W. Bush, das GefangenenlagerGuantßnamo schließen zu wollen, sei zumindest eine positive Ankündigung, sagte Peter Schieder, außenpolitischer Sprecher der SPÖ, zur "Presse". Nicht akzeptabel sei aber, dass dieser Schritt nicht sofort erfolgen soll. Laut Schieder sollten die USA in einem ersten Schritt entscheiden, gegen welche Gefangenen sie Anklage erhoben wird. Bei allen anderen soll eine Arbeitsgruppe, die von den Vereinten Nationen gebildet wird, die weitere Vorgangsweise klären und über eventuelle Schadenersatzansprüche entscheiden. Schieder kritisierte auch, dass Bush in der Frage der CIA-Überflüge und bezüglich einer Beendigung des Irak-Einsatzes keine klaren Ansagen gemacht habe.

Grüne: Wenig Klarheit

Der Wunsch von Bush, Guantßnamo zu schließen, sei ihr zu unkonkret,sagte die außenpolitische Sprecherin der Grünen, Ulrike Lunacek, zur "Presse". Von Schüssel hätte sie erwartet, dass er auf einen fixen Termin für die Schließung des Lagers drängen werde. Das Thema nur anzusprechen, sei einfach zu wenig. Auch beim Thema Iran habe sie eine klare Absage von Schüssel zu neuen Kriegsabenteuern der USA erwartet, sagt Lunacek.

FPÖ: Wien in Verruf

Der Bush-Besuch bringe Wien in Verruf, schimpfte FP-ChefHeinz-Christian Strache. Es sei unfassbar, dass "einer der größten Menschenrechtsverletzer", der unter anderem Guantßnamo, Abu Ghraib oder das Massaker in Haditha zu verantworten habe, in Wien von Bundeskanzler Schüssel unter enormen Kosten hofiert werde.

BZÖ: Völkerrecht für alle

Das Völkerrecht gelte auch für einen großen Staat wie die USA, sagteder Kärntner Landeshauptmann und BZÖ-Chef Jörg Haider in einem Interview mit dem arabischen Fernsehsender Al Jazeera. Sowohl der von den USA gegen den Irak begonnene Krieg als auch das US-Gefangenenlager Guantßnamo würden gegen internationales Recht verstoßen.

Fakten: Wogegen sie sind

Die Großdemonstration in Wien richtete sich unter anderem gegen: @JV Krieg und Kapitalismus @JV Truppen im Irak und Afghanistan @JV Menschenrechtsverletzungen @JV Möglichen Angriff auf den Iran @JV Neoliberale Wirtschaftspolitik @JV Militarisierung

Gemeinsamer Druck auf

#### Öllieferanten

EU und USA wollen erstmals gemeinsam die Energieabhängigkeit voninstabilen Staaten verringern.

WIEN (ki/sr). Der Beschluss der EU und der USA, im Energiebereich

künftig an einem Strang zu ziehen, bringt Russland vor dem G 8-Gipfel in St. Petersburg im Juli unter Druck. Die EU und die USA vereinbarten in Wien eine gemeinsame Strategie zur Sicherheit und Stabilität der Energiemärkte. Zwar soll die Kooperation mit Lieferländern verstärkt werden, es sollen aber "geopolitische Konsequenzen" aus der Abhängigkeit von Öllieferländern gezogen werden.

Die Energiekrise zu Beginn des Jahres sitzt den Europäern noch tief in den Knochen. Die zunehmend instabile politische Situation in einigen OPEC-Staaten hat die EU und die USA nun veranlasst, mögliche gemeinsame außenpolitische Reaktionen zu vereinbaren, wenn es die Situation erfordere.

Doch nicht nur in der Energiefrage ist Russland unter Druck: Beim transatlantischen Business-Dialog (TABD) im Rahmen des Bush-Besuchs stand das Thema Produktpiraterie im Mittelpunkt. Die EU und die USA wollen verstärkt Fälschern den Kampf ansagen. Probleme gebe es hier vor allem mit Russland und China. "Diese Länder müssen stärker gegen den Missbrauch geistigen Eigentums ankämpfen", sagte der Vizepräsident der EU-Kommission, Günter Verheugen.

In der Schlusserklärung des Gipfels fordern die EU und die USA darüber hinaus die Einhaltung von Verträgen und marktwirtschaftlichen Prinzipien ein. Vertragspartner werden aufgefordert, den Zugang zu Infrastrukturen zu gewährleisten, um das "Funktionieren des weltweiten Energiemarktes" sicherzustellen.

#### WTO-Runde darf nicht scheitern

US-Präsident Georg W. Bush appellierte auch an die Europäer, die

WTO-Verhandlungen nicht scheitern zu lassen. Bush räumte ein, dass es zwischen Europäern und den USA Differenzen bei den Verhandlungen gebe. Diese seien auf dem Gipfel in Wien auch angesprochen worden.

Wiener Schlusserklärung

@JV Menschenrechte und Demokratie. "Wir werden weiterhin im Nahen

Osten eng kooperieren, besonders durch das Quartett (UN, EU, USA, Russland; Anm.). Wir heißen temporäre internationale Mechanismen willkommen, die die Hilfe direkt an die palästinensische Bevölkerung ermöglichen. Im letzten Jahr hat unsere Kooperation mit dem Iran eine neue Ebene erreicht. Wir haben in jeder Phase des derzeitigen Versuchs, die Frage des iranischen Nuklearprogramms zu lösen, eng zusammengearbeitet.

- @JV Globale Herausforderungen und Sicherheit. "Wir werden unsere Kooperation im Kampf gegen den Terrorismus durch Austrocknen der Ressourcen (Finanzierung, Reise und andere materielle Unterstützung), durch Verweigerung von Unterschlupf für Terroristen verstärken sowie durch die Verhinderungen von neuen Rekrutierungen.
- @JV Wohlstand. "Wir stimmen der Strategie zum Schutz geistigen Eigentums im Kampf gegen Produktpiraterie und Fälschungen zu. Konkrete Maßnahmen zur Bekämpfung wurden bereits gesetzt.
- @JV Energie und Klimawandel. "Wir anerkennen die strategische Rolle von Versorgungssicherheit, Wettbewerb und Nachhaltigkeit im Energie-Sektor. Wir wollen die Versorgungssicherheit verbessern, indem wir den Dialog mit Transitländern, Produzenten und Verbrauchern verstärken sowie die Diversifizierung der Energiequellen und der Versorgungsrouten weltweit, besonders im Kaspischen Meer, Nah-Ost, Afrika und Lateinamerika. In Bezug auf die ernste und langfristige Herausforderung des Klimawandels, des Verlustes an Biodiversität und Luftverschmutzung werden wir enger kooperieren.

"Polizei-Einsatz geht an die Grenzen"

BUSH-BESUCH. Gewerkschaft übt heftige Kritik an Personalnot.

Nächster Großeinsatz naht.

Von KLAUS STÖGER

WIEN. Die SP-dominierte Polizeigewerkschaft übte am Mittwoch

heftige Kritik am Personalkonzept der Wiener Polizei. Beim Sicherheitseinsatz zum Bush-Besuch agiere jeder einzelne Beamte absolut am Limit. "Die Leute kommen locker auf bis zu 80 Stunden Dienst in dieser Woche", ärgert sich Gewerkschafter Hermann Greylinger. Und vom Bush-Besuch gehe es für die meisten Polizisten dann gleich zum nächsten Großeinsatz, dem Donauinselfest.

Dort müsse am Wochenende die Sicherheit von mehr als zwei Millionen Besuchern garantiert werden. "Von einer Einhaltung der gesetzlich vorgeschriebenen Ruhezeiten kann da überhaupt keine Rede sein", ärgert sich Greylinger. Jetzt mache sich "für jeden ganz deutlich die große Personalnot an Polizisten in Wien bemerkbar", kritisiert der SP-Gewerkschafter. Für Franz Pail, den Vorsitzenden der Polizeigewerkschaft, zeige der Einsatz, der "an die Grenzen der Belastbarkeit" gehe, aber, "wie flexibel wir auch in Ausnahmesituationen sind", sagt Pail zur "Presse". Durch den Bush-Einsatz blieben in den Polizeiinspektionen jedoch die Akten liegen.

### Nur noch Notdienst möglich?

"Dort ist nur noch ein Notdienst aufrecht, ein oder zwei Beamte halten

die Stellung", erklärt Greylinger. Auch die Kriminalpolizei könne nur in eingeschränktem Maße ihre Arbeit erledigen. "Die meisten von ihnen müssen in irgendwelchen Hoteletagen Wache stehen", kritisiert der Gewerkschafter. Er berichtet, dass es bei einem Polizeieinsatz in Wien zum ersten Mal notwendig geworden sei, dass aus allen Bundesländern Polizisten zur Verstärkung angefordert werden mussten.

Die Polizeiführung habe aber aus dem EULAC-Gipfel im Mai (Treffen zwischen der EU und Lateinamerika) dazugelernt, ergänzt Pail. "Auch damals waren Kollegen aus mehreren Bundesländern nach Wien abkommandiert, die hier in teilweise aufgelassenen Kasernen völlig inakzeptable Unterkünfte vorgefunden haben". Massive Proteste der Gewerkschaft waren die Folge. Für die Kommandierung während des Bush-Besuches habe man den Polizisten aus den Bundesländern nun bessere Quartiere in der Maria Theresien-Kaserne zur Verfügung gestellt.

Karl Mahrer, Landespolizeikommandant-Stellvertreter von Wien, bestätigt den enormen Personalaufwand. "Die Beamten sind in diesen Tagen so belastet wie noch nie und bis zum Zerreißen angespannt. Dafür zeige man in der Polizeiführung Verständnis. Dass aber abseits des Bush-Einsatzes in den Polizeiinspektionen lediglich ein "Notdienst" am Werk sei, dementiert Mahrer. "Der Regeldienst ist natürlich voll aufrecht", in der Nacht von Dienstag auf Mittwoch habe die Polizei unter anderem einen mutmaßlichen Frauenmörder und eine Messerstecherin festgenommen.

#### Vom Bush-Einsatz auf die Insel

Mahrer bestätigte, dass das am Freitag beginnende Donauinselfest

zusätzlichen Aufwand bedeutet. Diesmal werde der Polizeieinsatz gegenüber den Vorjahren verstärkt, da ein besonderes Augenmerk auf die Sicherheit in öffentlichen Verkehrsmitteln liegt.

Bush: "Werde genauso weitermachen"

EU-USA-Gipfel. Der US-Präsident verteidigt in Wien seine

Außenpolitik, zeigte aber auch Verständnis für seine Kritiker. Er werde Guantßnamo schließen, bekräftigte Bush.

#### **VON FRIEDERIKE LEIBL**

WIEN. US-Präsident George Bush ging beim EU-USA-Gipfel am Mittwoch

in Wien beim Konflikt um das US-Sonderlager in Guantßnamo Bay einen Schritt auf die EU zu. "Ich möchte Guantßnamo schließen. Ich möchte das endlich beenden", bekräftigte er. Gleichzeitig fand Bush deutliche Worte für Kritiker seiner Außenpolitik, insbesondere am Irak-Krieg: "Ich verstehe manche Befürchtungen. Aber Politik erfordert harte Entscheidungen. Und ich werde genau so weitermachen.

#### "Kaltblütige Killer"

Bush selbst habe das Thema Guantßnamo angesprochen, sagte der

EU-Ratsvorsitzende, Bundeskanzler Wolfgang Schüssel. Laut EU-Kreisen wurden dem Thema rund 15 Minuten gewidmet, außergewöhnlich ausführlich für diese Art von Gipfeln, die sonst über Formalitäten kaum hinausgehen. Der Konflikt sei "deutlicher denn je" besprochen worden.

Der US-Präsident machte jedoch klar, dass die Schließung von der Entscheidung des Obersten Gerichtshofs über die Rechtmäßigkeit von Militärtribunalen abhänge. Gefährliche Gefangene dürften nicht in die Freiheit entlassen werden. "Einige müssen angeklagt werden, sie sind kaltblütige Killer", sagte Bush. Die anderen Gefangenen wolle man in ihre Herkunftsländer zurückschicken, was aber neue Probleme aufwerfe. Die Häftlinge stammten zum großen Teil aus Saudiarabien, Afghanistan und Jemen. Es gebe "internationalen Druck", die Gefangenen nicht dorthin zurückzuführen, sagte Bush. US-Kreise verwiesen darauf, dass ausgeschlossen werden müsse, dass die Männer gefoltert oder ohne Prozess auf die Straße gesetzt würden.

Schüssel bekräftigte die Forderung der EU, Guantßnamo zu schließen. "Wir können den Kampf gegen Terrorismus nur gewinnen, wenn wir unsere eigenen Werte nicht aufgeben. Europa müsse den USA bei der Lösung des Guantßnamo-Konflikts zur Seite stehen, sagte Schüssel. "Wir müssen Herkunftsländern helfen, die Gefangenen zurückzunehmen, um ihnen den Prozess zu machen oder sie freizulassen.

Gegenüber dem Iran demonstrierten die EU und die USA Geschlossenheit: Es müsse vermieden werden, dass der Iran über Möglichkeiten für die Herstellung nuklearer Waffen verfüge. Der Iran müsse nun rasch entscheiden, ob er das westliche Angebot im Atom-Konflikt annehme. Die von Teheran geforderte Frist bis 22. August "sieht wie ein langer Zeitraum aus", sagte Bush. "Sie sollten nicht so lange für die Analyse eines guten Vorschlags brauchen.

Warnungen wurden auch in Richtung Nordkorea und Syrien ausgegeben. Nordkoreas Pläne für den Test einer Langstreckenrakete müssten die Welt nervös machen, sagte Bush. Schüssel kündigte an, dass sich die EU einer "deutlichen internationalen Reaktion" anschließen könnte, wenn die internationalen Vereinbarungen über Raketentests verletzt würden. Syrien erteilte Bush eine klare Aufforderung: "Lasst den Libanon in Ruhe. Zum Nahen Osten meinte der US-Präsident, dass Washington eine Zwei-Staaten-Lösung unterstütze. Gleichzeitig sei die Anerkennung der *Hamas*-Regierung für die USA ausgeschlossen.

Ausdrückliche Würdigung fand die österreichische Rolle am Balkan. Die EU seit unter dem Vorsitz von Bundeskanzler Schüssel "führend" bei der Lösung von Konflikten in der Region gewesen. Die USA boten Europa bei der Balkan-Politik Unterstützung an. Dem Vernehmen nach wurde bei den Gesprächen auch die Zukunft des Kosovo angesprochen.

#### "Absurde Vorwürfe"

Auf die Frage eines Journalisten, wie Bush seine fallenden Imagewerte

in Europa und die jüngste Umfrage, wonach die USA die größte Weltbedrohung sei, bewerte, reagierte der US-Präsident emotional. Derartige Vorwürfe seien "absurd". Er könne zwar verstehen, dass seine Entscheidungen nicht überall goutiert würden, sagte Bush. "Aber ich mache mich bei meiner Politik nicht von Umfragen abhängig. Es sei richtig, dass der Krieg im Irak zu Differenzen zwischen der EU und den USA geführt habe und er könne "die

starken Gefühle" nachvollziehen. "Aber was vorbei ist, ist vorbei, und was vor uns liegt, ist eine hoffnungsvolle Demokratie im Irak.

Europa habe nie begriffen, welchen Einschnitt der 11. 9. 2001 für die USA bedeuteten, sagte Bush. "Für Europa war es ein Schreckensmoment, in den USA bedeutete es einen Sinneswandel. Und bei allem, was man den USA vorwerfe, sollte man eines nicht vergessen: "Es sind wir, die die Hungrigen dieser Welt füttern.

Mit Leibwache durch die Sperrzone Hofburg

Lokalaugenschein: Was dem Secret Service beim Test der Polizei nicht

gelang, gelang der "Presse": Ein Spaziergang durch die Sperrzone in der City.

Von Andreas Wetz

Wien. "Es ist schön, wenn der US-Präsident und seine Frau religiös

sind", sagt Ordens-Schwester Coletta, Kindergärtnerin der Salvator-Schule in Kaisermühlen, und lugt dabei über das Absperrgitter. Obwohl kein Bush-Fan, kann sie die negative Stimmung, die dem Präsidenten entgegen schlägt, nicht verstehen. "Sein Besuch ist eine Auszeichnung für Österreich, und Sicherheit muss sein. Stellen Sie sich vor, es passiert etwas!"

#### Fußmarsch der First Lady

Eben war Coletta an diesem Mittwoch noch beim Zahnarzt im

Behandlungsstuhl gelegen, jetzt gesellt sie sich zu den Schaulustigen, die Laura Bush, Frau von George W., bei ihrem Besuch im Stephansdom beobachten wollen. Von Außerhalb der Sperrzone. Innerhalb der Absperrung besprechen sich grimmig dreinblickende Männer in schwarzen Anzügen mit sichtlich nervösen Polizisten: Planänderung!

Ursprünglich hätte die First Lady die wenigen Meter vom Dom zum Haas-Haus - wo das Mittagessen am Programm stand - aus Sicherheitsgründen mit dem Auto fahren sollen. Frau Bush entschied anders, wollte dem goldenen Käfig des gepanzerten Fahrzeugs für ein paar Sekunden entfliehen um einmal nicht durch Klimaanlagen gefilterte Wiener Luft zu schnuppern. Die Folgen des Extrawunsches: "Wir müssen mehr Personal organisieren", so ein Polizist.

Der Personalnotstand der Polizei ist auch an einer Personenschleuse bei der Sperrzone um die Hofburg Thema (siehe Artikel oben). "Viele von uns hätten heute frei", erzählt ein Beamter, der seinen Namen lieber nicht in der Zeitung lesen will. Der Aufwand insgesamt lässt ihn eher kalt. "Nach dem Halbjahr der EU-Präsidentschaft ist das längst Routine. Wobei: Ganz so wie immer sei es dann doch nicht abgelaufen.

"Der Secret Service hat unsere Vorkehrungen getestet", so der Polizist. Mehrmals hätten Mitglieder der Leibgarde des Präsidenten versucht, sich ohne Berechtigungsausweis und mit fadenscheinigen Ausreden durch die Kontrollen zu mogeln: ohne Erfolg. Für berechtigte Anrainer funktionierte das Zutrittssystem jedoch reibungslos.

Ob Bushs Prätorianer vielleicht auch die Bomben-Attrappen am Dienstag in der Innenstadt deponiert haben? Der Beamte und seine Kollegen grinsen.

Woran der Secret Service scheiterte, gelang der "Presse", nämlich der Zutritt zur Sperrzone Hofburg - ohne Berechtigungskarte aber mit persönlicher Leibwache in Form eines Polizisten. Trotz bescheidener Kundenfrequenz ("Sie sind der Dritte heute") hält Verkäuferin Helga Sura in der Douglas-Parfümerie am Kohlmarkt - sie liegt innerhalb der Sperrzone - die Stellung. "Wir nutzen die Zeit, um Papierkram zu erledigen. Natürlich gäbe es Einbußen, in einer Weltstadt müsse man aber damit leben können.

#### Parfum für die Polizei

Wie mit der drückenden Hitze. Wenn schon kaum Kundschaft kommt, macht

Frau Sura zumindest Werbung in eigener Sache. "Ich habe Ihnen zur Erfrischung ein Eau de Cologne hingestellt", spricht sie den schwitzenden Polizisten an. "Sagen Sie es ruhig auch Ihren Kollegen vor der Tür, und wer will, dem bringe ich Kaffee.

#### **ZUR PERSON**

Franz Pail ist Vorsitzender der Polizeigewerkschaft. Er gehört den

sozialdemokratischen Gewerkschaftern an. Der Burgenländer Pail gilt als "Urgestein" der Exekutive. Er führt die Polizeigewerkschaft bereits seit den frühen 90er Jahren an. Vor seiner Zeit als Gewerkschafter versah Pail Dienst in einem Wachzimmer in der Wiener Innenstadt.

nebenbei

Ein Dankeschön von G.W.

Da staunte Franz Semper, Einsatzleiter der Wiener Polizei, nichtschlecht. Mittwochvormittag wurden er und sechs weitere Mitarbeiter der Exekutive vom Secret Service ins Hotel Intercontinental geladen, wo ihnen US-Präsident Bush persönlich für ihre Arbeit dankte. Bush, der von seiner Frau Laura und von Außenministerin Condoleezza Rice begleitet wurde, sprach mit jedem einzelnen Gast und erkundigte sich genau über ihre Arbeit. Er sei "sehr locker, freundlich, aufgeschlossen und kontaktfreudig" gewesen, erzählte Semper. Zuletzt stellte sich Bush auch noch zum Erinnerungsfoto für jeden einzelnen Geladenen.

### Frequenzen gescannt

Um Fernzündungen von Bomben per Mobiltelefon oder Funk zu verhindern,fuhr im Präsidenten-Konvoi auch ein Wagen der Sondereinheit Observation (SEO) mit, der Frequenzen abscannte. Im Innenministerium beruhigte man: Es würden keine Telefongespräche abgehört.

#### Vierfacher Umsatz

Die Gastronomen rund um die Sperrzone in der Innenstadt klagten - nurdas Cafe Hofburg jubelte. "Jeden Tag ein Gipfel", forderte Kellner Robert. Immerhin hat sein Café, das innerhalb der Sperrzone liegt, mit Sicherheitsleuten den vierfachen Umsatz gehabt. Am Speiseplan standen Spinatstrudel und Gulasch. Alkohol wurde nicht konsumiert.

[Fotos: EPA,

Copyright: Puzzler Media Ltd. www.puzzler.co.uk

Load-Date: June 21, 2006

**End of Document** 



The Star Phoenix (Saskatoon, Saskatchewan)

September 7, 2006 Thursday

Final Edition

Copyright 2006 The Star Phoenix, a division of Canwest MediaWorks Publication Inc. All Rights Reserved

Section: WORLD; Pg. B8; Around the world in headgear

Byline: Associated Press; Getty Images

# **Graphic**

Colour Photo: Associated Press; VEILED SUPPORT: Palestinian <u>women</u> participate in a rally to support the <u>Hamas</u> government in Gaza City,Wednesday. Staff from the Palestinian prime minister's office went on strike Wednesday, joining a widespread work stoppage by civil servants demanding overdue salaries from the <u>Hamas</u>-led government.;

Colour Photo: Associated Press; PEACE BRO: An Israeli peace activist from the group Peace Now wears a helmet painted to look like those of United Nations peacekeepers as he and others protest Israeli military operations in Gaza.:

Colour Photo: Associated Press; DESIGNER DUDS: A model displays Japanese designer Ylang Ylang's knit bikini with matching cap during the 2007 Spring & Summer Tokyo Collection in Tokyo, Wednesday.;

Colour Photo: Associated Press; 'WIG MAN': Republican U.S. Senate hopeful Daniel 'Wig Man' Vovak participates in a debate this week in Baltimore. Maryland voters have a bevy of Senate candidates to choose from in next week's primaries.;

Colour Photo: Getty Images; CROWN JEWELS: A model displays a gold crown with diamonds during the exhibition Jeweller 2006: Best Jewelry of Russia, Wednesday in Moscow.; Colour

Photo: Associated Press; PAPAL LID: Pope Benedict XVI wears a 'saturno hat,' inspired by the ringed planet Saturn, to shield himself from the sun as he is driven through the crowd of faithful prior to his weekly general audience in St. Peter's Square at the Vatican, Wednesday.

Load-Date: September 7, 2006