

**Date and Time:** Thursday, May 2, 2024 6:19:00 PM EEST

**Job Number:** 223359203

## Documents (100)

### 1. [NEWS SUMMARY](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

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News

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Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

### 2. [Missiles fired on camp: Palestinians claim carnage inflicted by Israeli gunships](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

### 3. [The extremists' war](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

### 4. ['Classic Israeli strategy'](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

### 5. [Palestinian Gunmen Kill 2 Israeli Soldiers](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

6. [\*Dare to enter the world of 'Rose Red' Young autistic girl in 'Rose Red' more scary than Carrie\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

7. [\*BOOM BOOM BOOM Faceless in Paradise, 1997\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

8. [\*THE PALESTINIAN EXTREME: THE STORY OF HIBA, 19, A SUICIDE BOMBER. CAN THE ROAD-MAP PUT AN END TO ALL THIS?\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

9. [\*Only in America : Building Bridges at a Unique Seder\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

10. [\*NEWS SUMMARY\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**

Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

11. [Letters](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

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Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

12. [NEWS SUMMARY](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**

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13. [Letters](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**

Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

14. [Time is now on Saddam's side](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**

Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

15. [Islam no bar to political change of face](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

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**Content Type**

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16. [Israelis plant flag, but Arafat wins allies](#)**Client/Matter:** -None-**Search Terms:** Hamas**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results**Narrowed by:****Content Type**  
News**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 200317. [Pre-emptive or presumptive ... Baghdad's in the balance THE DUEL: Should Iraq be attacked?](#)**Client/Matter:** -None-**Search Terms:** Hamas**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results**Narrowed by:****Content Type**  
News**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 200318. [Chapter 8: Going to camp: Budding terrorist Ahmed Ressam learns the essentials of mass murder at an al-Qaeda-run training camp in Afghanistan . Hal Bernton, Mike Carter, David Heath and James Neff report.](#)**Client/Matter:** -None-**Search Terms:** Hamas**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results**Narrowed by:****Content Type**  
News**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 200319. [Do U.S. media tilt Mideast news?](#)**Client/Matter:** -None-**Search Terms:** Hamas**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results**Narrowed by:****Content Type**  
News**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 200320. [Comment & Analysis: Israeli 'restraint' still means terror for the Palestinians: Jonathan Steele in Jenin Curfews, shootings and house demolitions happen daily](#)**Client/Matter:** -None-**Search Terms:** Hamas**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results**Narrowed by:****Content Type****Narrowed by**

21. [\*What this truly shocking picture tells the world; As controversy rages over yet another Middle East horror...\*](#)**Client/Matter:** -None-**Search Terms:** Hamas**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results**Narrowed by:****Content Type**  
News**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 200322. [\*In Georgia , a Race Too Close to Call\*](#)**Client/Matter:** -None-**Search Terms:** Hamas**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results**Narrowed by:****Content Type**  
News**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 200323. [\*World Week\*](#)**Client/Matter:** -None-**Search Terms:** Hamas**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results**Narrowed by:****Content Type**  
News**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 200324. [\*Letters detail year's top events\*](#)**Client/Matter:** -None-**Search Terms:** Hamas**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results**Narrowed by:****Content Type**  
News**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 200325. [\*Why there is no such thing as a free fish supper\*](#)**Client/Matter:** -None-**Search Terms:** Hamas**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results**Narrowed by:****Content Type**  
News**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

26. [SUICIDE BOMBER KILLS 19, WOUNDS 70 IN JERUSALEM](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

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News

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Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

27. [Letters from readers](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

28. [Arafat has shown that he is not interested in peace](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

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Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

29. [Bloody business watching the battle for Ramallah](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

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Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

30. [After Ferocious Fighting, Sri Lanka Struggles With Peace](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

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News

**Narrowed by**  
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31. [LETTERS TO THE EDITOR](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

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Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

32. [\*We're leaving - mostly, Sharon says Out of West Bank soon, prime minister says, except Bethlehem, Ramallah\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

33. [\*UNDERSTANDING YOUR WORLD: SHOWDOWN IN ISRAEL : SHARON VS. ARAFAT\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

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News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

34. [\*Inside story: A deadly silence: Israel is in turmoil; US troops are fighting in Afghanistan . But the Arab world is largely silent. The Middle East's leading commentator asks Libyan leader Muammar Gadhafi if he can explain why\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

35. [\*MIDEAST TURMOIL: THE AFTERMATH The Number of Dead Is in Dispute, But the Destruction in Jenin Is Clear\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

36. [Islam's deadly truth](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

37. [Squaring off in camps: Israel begins raids among Palestinian refugees clinging to dreams of returning home](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

38. [MIDDLE EAST CRISIS: CITY IN TERROR: CARNAGE AT CAFE OF PEACE; 13 KILLED IN TWO SUICIDE ATTACKS](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

39. [SPEECH REDEFINES CONFLICT THAT LIES AHEAD; ANALYSTS SEE AN EXPANSION OF U.S. -LED CAMPAIGN](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

40. [The price of betrayal: In the ugly war between Israelis and Palestinians, collaborators play a deadly game, risking death and dishonour for themselves and their families for generations to come. Alan Philips reports.](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003



41. [\*I won't be marching for peace this time\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

42. [\*The highs and lows to hit the headlines in 2002\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

43. [\*Barak addresses packed house at Stanford\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

44. [\*NEWS SUMMARY\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

45. [\*YOUR SAY\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

46. [\*Letters to the Editor\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

47. [HAVE YOU HEARD THE ONE ABOUT THE 1970S RACIST THROWBACK...](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

48. [Israelis begin West Bank pullback; Under pressure: Meanwhile, Israeli forces push deeper into other West Bank towns](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

49. [Israel to maintain operations Network of militants destroyed in two cities, defense minister says](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

50. [Israeli Troops Raid Arab Camps, Killing 11 in West Bank Fighting](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

51. [Middle East Crisis: The attack: Bombing shatters illusions in an oasis of civility: The killing of 11 people in a cafe used by liberal Israelis shows no one is safe](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

52. [BACKGROUND: ABU SAYYAF: Terror war targets Philippines ; Kidnappings mark tiny separatist band](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

53. [Victory and prosperity](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

54. [Jenin: the bloody truth](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
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55. [DERBY CELEBS WIN, PLACE & SHOW OFF](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

56. [DERBY CELEBS WIN, PLACE & SHOW OFF](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

57. [\*What Would Woodrow Wilson Do?\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

58. [\*NEWS SUMMARY\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

59. [\*Bus stops on the road to humiliation and fear\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

60. [\*On patrol with the killer Israel dreads\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

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News

**Narrowed by**  
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61. [\*End media bias against Israel ; 'Honest reporting would tell you that it is a war to destroy Israel '\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

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News

**Narrowed by**  
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62. [\*Boldly standing up for Israel : There is no moral equivalent between soldiers who protect the innocent and terrorists who murder them\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

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News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

63. [\*Arafat Remains Defiant Amid Rubble of His Compound\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

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Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

64. [\*6 Palestinians killed in fighting: Exploding Pay phone claims militant. U.S. ambassador criticizes Israel for restrictions on eve of Sharon's visit\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

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65. [\*Naming the Evildoers\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

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News

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66. [\*Holy war of words\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

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67. [Critics doubt Israel is ready to fight 'real' war](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

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68. [Palestinian martyrs are plentiful](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
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69. [MIDEAST TURMOIL: REFUGEE CAMPS Israeli Forces Pull Back From Jenin, But Blockade Still Remains](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

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News

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70. [For God's sake](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

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News

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71. [MR POWELL MUST SEE FOR HIMSELF WHAT ISRAEL INFLICTED ON JENIN; THE CREDIBILITY OF US POLICY ON THE CONFLICT HAS BEEN SHATTERED, WRITES ROBERT FISK](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

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News

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Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to

May 31, 2003

72. [MIDEAST TURMOIL: MIDEAST 14 Israelis Killed in Two Terror Attacks](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

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Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

73. [Our leaders decry Mugabe and threaten war with Saddam ... yet they stay silent on Sharon's flouting of international law;Diplomatic Editor Trevor Royle looks at how the West's pious condemnation of oppression applies in practice only to certain oppressors](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

74. [Inside story: Capture or kill: In a rare glimpse inside the Israeli military machine, John Kampfner and Dominic Allan join an elite commando squad in a night raid on a suspected Palestinian terrorist](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

75. [A Sept. 11 Survivor Is Hurt as Man Dies In Jerusalem Attack](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

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News

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Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

76. [THE MIDEAST TURMOIL: ATTACKS 3 ISRAELIS KILLED AND 50 WOUNDED IN BLAST AT MALL](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

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News

Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

77. [SIX ISRAELIS SLAIN BY ARAB GUNMAN](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

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News

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78. [U.S. , Syria , Israel compose volatile triangle; The United States has long had a rocky relationship with Syria and has turned up rhetoric. Israel drives much of the contention.](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

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Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

79. [Breaking up with Europe](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

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**Narrowed by**  
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80. [Confessions of a former Leftie](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

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News

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81. [South America Region Under Watch for Signs of Terrorists](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

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**Narrowed by**  
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82. [REVIEW OF THE YEAR: IT WAS A SCARY YEAR OF BOMBS AND TERROR ABROAD, WHILE AT HOME WE SUFFERED FRENZIED CONVULSIONS; OVERVIEW DAVID AARONOVITCH](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

83. [Letters to the Editor.](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

84. [For Arab Informers, Death; For the Executioners, Justice](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

85. [Year in Review](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

86. [When The Rule of Man Replaces the Rule of Law](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

87. [\*The blood donors\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

88. [\*ISRAEL IS LEAVING PALESTINIAN AREAS IN THE WEST BANK\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

89. [\*Powell faces changed Arab world\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

90. [\*CROSSROADS ON ROUTE MAP TO PEACE -2\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

91. [\*Supporting Israel , now and forever\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

92. [\*The last stand; The 'big defence' of Tikrit was nothing after all, but now there's a tougher job: Keeping the peace\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

93. [LETTERS TO THE EDITOR](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

94. [GUEST COLUMN: A bold stand for Israel ; Sadly, the gates were opened to a wooden horse called Arafat](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

95. [SUICIDE BOMBERS ; Murderous intent](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

96. [Selfish Selflessness?](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

97. [BACKGROUNDER: THE ISRAELI - PALESTINIAN CONFLICT: Intifada, retaliation and futility; In Mideast's endless spiral of violence, lessons of past are a babel](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

98. [PROFILE: ARIEL SHARON: HIS NATION WANTS PEACE. SO WHY IS IT TURNING TO THIS WARRIOR?](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

99. ['It's gone beyond hostility'](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

100. [No Peace in Sight, Israelis Trust in a Wall](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

## NEWS SUMMARY

The New York Times

April 1, 2002 Monday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2002 The New York Times Company

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

**Length:** 1131 words

### **Body**

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INTERNATIONAL A2-9

Sharon Speaks of War; Ramallah Made Off Limits

Calling Yasir Arafat "the enemy of the free world," Prime Minister Ariel Sharon declared Israel to be in a war. Mr. Sharon has made similarly bellicose statements about Mr. Arafat in the past. A1

A suicide bomber from the Islamic group **Hamas** killed himself, 14 others and wounded more than 40 in an attack on a restaurant frequented by Arabs and Jews in the coastal city Hafia. Two hours later, another suicide bomber exploded in a station for paramedics in a settlement south of Bethlehem, killing himself and wounding at least four medics, one of them seriously. A1

The Israeli government declared Ramallah a "closed military zone" after 40 international protesters, including journalists, entered Yasir Arafat's besieged compound. The government said the reporters were there illegally and that any who remained could lose their accreditation and have their offices closed. A8

Pope Calls for Mideast Peace

Pope John Paul II presided over Easter services appealing to Christian communities to work to end the spiral of attacks between Israelis and Palestinians. A4

Little Work for Japanese Youth

The Japanese recession's most invisible victims are young people entering a radically changed job market. While headlines lament the layoffs of 50-year-old workers who receive generous severance packages, the press pays little attention to hiring restrictions that are freezing out a generation. A3

NATION CHALLENGED A12-13

Bomb Attack Puts Chill On Churchgoers in Pakistan

Armed police officers guarded the gates at St. Thomas Church of Pakistan in Islamabad as a sermon spoke of terror and the fear of death. Two Sundays ago, a man with a bomb walked into a service at the city's other Protestant church and killed five worshipers, including an employee of the American Embassy and her daughter. A12

## NEWS SUMMARY

## NATIONAL A14-17

## Prescription Drug Issue Moves to Center Stage

Evidence that prescription drugs are taking center stage on the campaign trail is plentiful, including action by more than 30 state legislatures to pass bills to curb drug costs. A1

## Trash Train Slows

Tullytown, Pa., is working to find a replacement for the \$2 million to \$4 million it has received annually for letting New York City and Long Island dump trash in its landfill. A14

## A Debate Over Dredging

The Port of Portland is promoting a plan to dredge millions of tons of sand from the bottom of the Columbia River to allow ever-bigger ships to navigate the river. But fishermen, tribes and environmentalists are opposed, saying the activity could wreak ecological havoc in crab and fishing grounds. A14

## Appealing to the Faithful

Cardinal Bernard Law called on the faithful at the Cathedral of the Holy Cross in Boston to maintain their belief despite the scandal over sexual abuse of children by priests that has rocked the Roman Catholic Church this year. He did not apologize to victims of abuse by priests. Instead, he urged Catholics to focus their gaze on the "unseen mystery of Easter," the holiest day of the year for Christians. A15

## A Development or a Refuge?

The endangered desert lizard is at the heart of a battle between its protectors and a developer with visions of a 9,000-acre desert town between the southeast boundary of Joshua Tree National Park and the northern edge of the Coachella Valley Preserve in California, the last refuge for the lizards and dozens of other species. A15

## H.I.V. Fears

Hundreds of patients of a hospital in Jourdanon, Tex., have been tested for the H.I.V. virus after an H.I.V.-positive nurse admitted stealing doses of the painkilling drug Demerol and replacing it with a saline solution. The hospital fears the nurse may have used infected needles while making the switch. A16

## NEW YORK/REGION B1-8

## Family of Shooting Victim Disputes the Authorities

A man who was shot to death on Saturday night by a plainclothes police officer after breaking into a van has been identified as a Lower East Side resident with more than 30 arrests on larceny and drug charges, the authorities said. B3

## Ban on New York Lead Sinkers

The Legislature is on the brink of passing a bill that will ban the sale of lead sinkers used to weight fishing lines. The switch to sinkers made from nontoxic material could protect anglers and waterfowl. To the chagrin of some, it should not have taken at least a decade for such a bill to make it this far. B5

## Celebration and Solemnity

The celebration of the holiest day in the Christian calendar was an unusual blend of joy and solemnity -- a remembrance not only of Christ's Resurrection but of the thousands lost in terrorist attacks, of the perils of war and of the violence devastating the Middle East. B1

## ARTS E1-8

## Museum on the Move

## NEWS SUMMARY

The Museum of Modern Art will try to lure visitors across the East River to Long Island City with new shows and a sampling of the Modern's best works until its Manhattan site reopens in 2005. The Modern's directors are nervous about bowing off the Manhattan stage. E1

## SPORTSMONDAY D1-8

## Perfection for UConn

The University of Connecticut women's basketball team won their third title in seven years, defeating Oklahoma, 82-70, to finish the season with a 39-0 record. A1

## OBITUARIES B7

## R.V. Cassill

A teacher of creative writing, a book reviewer, and an editor who wrote 24 novels and 7 collections of short stories, he was 82. B7

## BUSINESS DAY C1-10

## Sharpening Focus on Enron

Prosecutors have opened a new phase in their investigation of the collapse of Enron, advancing beyond the indictment of Arthur Andersen to focus on executives of Enron, according to people involved in the case. As part of that effort, prosecutors convened a special grand jury. In federal courts, such grand juries are reserved for only the most complex and significant cases. A1

## A Journal Makeover

The Wall Street Journal will introduce a redesign next week, including the addition of color. The paper's executives say their goal is to expand beyond the paper's aging core of current subscribers. C1

## Internet Manager Criticized

The organization responsible for managing the Internet's address system has embarked on a reform effort that has ignited a contentious debate about its own future and the very notion of Internet governance. C1

## Fewer Trademark Applications

The number of applications for trademarks fell 23 percent last year. Some experts suggest the trend indicates less optimism about the economy. C2

## End of Poultry Ban

Russia agreed to lift a ban on American poultry, ending a three-week dispute. C2

## Business Digest C1

## EDITORIAL A18-19

Editorials: McCain-Feingold goes to court; improving aviation security; the state of the southern ice.

Columns: William Safire and Bob Herbert.

Bridge E5

TV Listings E7

Metro Diary B2

Weather B4

NEWS SUMMARY

Crossword E6

<http://www.nytimes.com>

## Graphic

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Photo

**Load-Date:** April 1, 2002

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**Missiles fired on camp: Palestinians claim carnage inflicted by Israeli gunships**

Times Colonist (Victoria, British Columbia)

April 8, 2002 Monday Final Edition

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**Section:** News; Pg. A1; News

**Length:** 1098 words

**Byline:** Hilary MacKenzie

**Dateline:** BETHLEHEM, West Bank

## **Body**

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BETHLEHEM, West Bank -- Heavy fighting raged in Nablus and Jenin early today, hours after Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon vowed to end the campaign in the West Bank "as expeditiously as possible."

Israeli missile and tank shells bombarded the Jenin refugee camp as Apache helicopter gunships fired from above. Witnesses said nearly 20 missiles were fired into the refugee camp this morning.

The attack came after troops used loudspeakers to warn militants about the attack and urge them to surrender, witnesses said.

Southam Newspapers and the Associated Press

Workers at a hospital near the camp said that 18 or 19 missiles had been fired at the camp, where some of the most fierce fighting has occurred during Israel's 11-day offensive in the West Bank.

The military would not comment on the fighting, but military sources said that about 150 men in the camp surrendered their weapons to soldiers shortly after midnight.

Jamal Abdel Salaam, a ***Hamas*** militant group leader inside the camp, said the militants have not surrendered and were ready to fight to the death.

The UN Security Council on Sunday insisted on "immediate implementation" of resolutions demanding an Israeli-Palestinian cease-fire and an Israeli withdrawal from Palestinian cities without delay.

Israel's continued military action against the Palestinians is "unacceptable" and a violation of international humanitarian law, said a statement agreed to by the 15-member council, which includes the United States, after an emergency meeting held at the request of Arab nations.

Israel's UN Ambassador, Yehuda Lancry, indicated there would be no immediate pullout, insisting that an Israeli withdrawal must be "strictly related and connected to certain Palestinian steps" including a meaningful ceasefire and the cessation of terrorist acts.

In Nablus, the Israeli army claimed to have seized control of the casbah, the old city after fierce street fighting Sunday that killed at least 14 Palestinians. "I expect it to end today or tomorrow," Maj. Gen. Dan Harel, chief of the

## Missiles fired on camp: Palestinians claim carnage inflicted by Israeli gunships

Israel Defence Forces operations section, said. "It depends on the amount of civilians that are within the area. We don't want them hurt, so we are working very slowly."

Israeli military officials, anxious to stamp out the wave of Palestinian suicide bombings targetting Israeli civilians, said they had found explosives laboratories, including a production line.

Army chief of staff Shaul Mofaz said at least 200 Palestinians have been killed and 1,500 injured in Israel's 10-day offensive, known as Operation Defensive Wall, in the West Bank. But eyewitness accounts from the Jenin refugee camp place the death toll higher, with reports of dozens of corpses lying in the streets.

Palestinian officials spoke of a "massacre" in Jenin.

They claim that more than 30 women and children have been killed.

Figures are difficult to verify because Israel's army has designated the West Bank towns a military zone and banned journalists and medics from working there.

The head of the United Nations Works and Relief Agency, UNWRA, called on the Israeli army to halt its "pitiless assault" on refugee camps in Nablus and Jenin.

"We are getting reports of pure horror," said UNWRA chief Peter Hansen. "That helicopters are strafing civilian residential areas; that systematic shelling by tanks has created hundreds of wounded; that bulldozers are razing refugee homes and that food and medicine will soon run out."

The United States repeated its call for Israel to withdraw from the occupied Palestinian territories "without delay" in advance of a visit by Secretary of State Colin Powell. But Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon resisted U.S. pressure, saying only that the operation, launched to combat Palestinian suicide bombers, would be speeded up.

U.S. President George W. Bush's national security adviser, Condoleeza Rice, said on the Sunday talk shows that the pullout should start "now, without delay, not tomorrow."

But she also signalled to Israel that it still had some time to complete its operation, saying it should not be "helter skelter and chaotic."

In his whistlestop tour to the region, NDP MP Svend Robinson called for an immediate withdrawal from the West Bank towns and an end to the "dehumanization, degradation and humiliation of the Palestinians."

Robinson earlier sparked a minor diplomatic flap when he defied Israeli defence forces' orders and tried to cross checkpoints to reach Ramallah to show support for Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat. Israeli forces accused him of holding up a UN food convoy and stalling the passage of Palestinians trying to enter and exit the Kalandria refugee camp on the outskirts of Ramallah.

Europe meanwhile upped the rhetoric against Israel, warning that it would discuss imposing economic sanctions if it continued with the incursions into Palestinian territory.

"Some countries are in favour of introducing sanctions very, very soon, others are more reluctant," said Josep Pique, Spain's foreign minister.

Thousands of Israeli peace campaigners took to the streets in Tel Aviv on Saturday night under the slogan "End occupation, start negotiation."

But the bulk of Israeli public opinion remained firmly behind Sharon's aggressive clampdown on terrorism, sparked after a spate of suicide bombings that killed and maimed innocent civilians.

In Gaza, Israeli soldiers shot and killed two Palestinians who were planting a large bomb near a Jewish settlement on Sunday, the military said.

### Missiles fired on camp: Palestinians claim carnage inflicted by Israeli gunships

An Israeli sniper killed a Palestinian policeman who was trying to extinguish a fire early today inside a compound at Bethlehem's Church of the Nativity, a Palestinian policeman holed up inside the church said.

The fire was apparently sparked by a stun grenade that Israeli troops tossed into the besieged compound, about 10 metres from the church, said the policeman, who only gave his first name, Salah.

When 23-year-old Khaled Syam went to put out the fire, an Israeli soldier shot him in the head, Salah said.

Israeli troops stopped and searched a car full of Palestinian firefighters who came to extinguish the blaze. The firefighters were eventually allowed to go to Manger Square and put out the blaze, but they weren't allowed to go inside the compound, Salah said.

The Israeli military said that it was investigating the reported incident and would not provide immediate comment.

Ibrahim Faltas, the superior of the Franciscan community in the church, said that he heard shooting and explosions, but he could not identify the source of the gunfire and blasts.

## Graphic

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Color Photo: Zia Mazhar, Associated Press; A Pakistani girl wearing symbolically blood-stained clothing brandishes a toy gun at a rally Sunday in Karachi to condemn the Israeli military offensive in Palestinian territories. Her scarf reads "God is Great."; Photo: Mohammed Sadek, AP; An Israeli soldier in an armoured personnel carrier heads towards the centre of Bethlehem Sunday, about one hundred metres from the Church of Nativity. Gunfire and explosions were heard in the area early today.

**Load-Date:** April 8, 2002

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End of Document

## *The extremists' war*

Herald Sun (Melbourne, Australia)

March 18, 2002, Monday

Copyright 2002 Nationwide News Pty Limited

**Section:** OPINION; Pg. 21

**Length:** 1067 words

**Byline:** ANDREW BOLT

### **Body**

---

With Israelis and Palestinians killing each other almost daily, it has become difficult to separate the good guys from the evil ones

WHEN suicide bombers blow up buildings in New York, we in the West have little trouble figuring who the baddies are.

Hell, no. We rush to help blast the crap out of al-Qaeda and the Afghan tyrants who sheltered them.

And if some civilians get in the way, despite our best efforts, that's sad. For them.

After all, we know that the greatest harm is done not when you fight terrorists, but when you let them win.

But what if the terrorists kill Jews, instead?

What if a suicide bomber walks up to a crowd of mostly women and children in Jerusalem, as one did three Saturdays ago, and blows nine people to bits?

What if another enters a Jerusalem restaurant, as occurred the next Saturday, and -- boom -- massacres

11 diners all in their 20s?

What if such terrorists kill commuters in Jewish buses, Jews eating in a pizza shop, Jews out shopping, Jewish babies in the arms of their mothers -- anyone, as long as they're Jews -- and do it week after week?

Ah, well, that's difficult. Then we have Phillip Adams on the ABC last week discussing with one of his pet Israel-bashers what the Jews did to deserve this mass murder.

THEN we have the Australian National University's Professor Amin Saikal talk of "the imbalance . . . between Israel as a powerful and determined occupying power and the Palestinians as a largely defenceless and occupied people".

Yes, those rich Jewish oppressors, splattered over the walls of some shop. And those poor, defenceless Palestinians, so brutalised by their Israeli neighbour that they have no choice but to find some Jewish family eating lunch and kill them all.

## The extremists' war

It is such an easy way to seem even-handed, isn't it, to look at any fight and say: There's fault on both sides. As bad as each other.

And, indeed, there are faults on both sides.

The Israelis were wrong to build settlements in territories they seized for security reasons while winning their wars for existence.

Some of their retaliatory raids after terrorist attacks have accidentally or even recklessly killed too many innocent Palestinians.

Far more should have been done to build economic links with the Palestinians, not least by letting their farmers get easy access to Israeli markets.

But faults on both sides do not mean both are as bad as each other. A man who hits too wildly in self-defence is not as bad as one who shoots your wife's head off to make a point.

Israeli soldiers shooting terrorists -- and, yes, civilians in crossfire -- are not to be likened to men sent with a wink from Palestinian authorities to blow up teenagers dancing at a disco.

And to help see the difference, compare what both sides in this war want.

What is Israel fighting for? For the right to live. That's why almost every peace initiative has come from the Israelis or their friends.

That's why the previous Israeli prime minister, Ehud Barak, offered to give 97 per cent of all occupied territories -- plus land to make up the difference -- back to the Palestinians, and let them share Jerusalem, too, if only they'd make peace.

Yasser Arafat, the terrorist who now heads the Palestinian Authority, refused. So what does his side want?

Well, they say they want at least this and the return to Israel of up to five million "refugees" and their descendants - mostly of the generation that left in 1948 to get out of the road while the armies of Jordan, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon and Iraq tried to blast the new Jewish state off the map.

That's five million hostile Palestinians "returned" half a century later to Israel, a land of just 4.9 million Jews and 1.2 million Arabs.

This would mean the destruction at last of the Jewish state that Arab armies failed four times to achieve. And it is this destruction of Israel and its Jews that seems to be the real aim of many Palestinian leaders.

See for yourself the Palestinian crowds celebrating after Jews were blown up in a Jerusalem restaurant.

Hear the Arafat-controlled TV station broadcast sermons from the mosques of Gaza, ordering: "Wherever you are, kill those Jews and the Americans who are like them."

Hear the Arafat-appointed Mufti of Palestine praying: "Oh, Allah, destroy America as it is controlled by Zionist Jews."

See [Hamas](#), the popular Islamic fascist movement, train tiny children to shoot guns, and declare in its covenant that the Koran orders Muslims to kill Jews, who must be driven from "every inch of Palestine".

Read the constitution of Fatah, the party led by Arafat himself, demanding the "complete liberation of Palestine, and eradication of Zionist economic, political and cultural existence" by "armed public revolution".

Watch Arafat foment hatred of the Jews by spreading poisonous lies, like the one he told on TV in January about Israelis who "murder our kids and use their organs as spare parts".

## The extremists' war

Read the Palestinian Centre for Public Opinion poll of 1571 Palestinians last month that shows 64.3 per cent support suicide attacks on Israelis.

Note that even a prominent Palestinian "moderate", Arafat's then Minister for Jerusalem, Faisal al-Husseini, said the real aim of peace talks was to create a "Palestine from the (Jordan) river to the (Mediterranean) sea" -- in other words, to replace Israel.

And remember, too, the four wars Israel has had to fight with its Arab neighbours just to survive.

More war may still be necessary, given how many Arab and Muslim leaders reject the very existence of this country of Jews.

L AST year, Ali Akbar Rafsanjani, Iran's former president and still powerful, heralded the day when "one atom bomb is dropped on Israel" and "the Jews living in Israel will have to wander once again".

Yes, Israel has done wrong. But in the end it is fighting much the same war that we've only just been plunged into - a war of civilisation against barbarity, of democracy against fascism, of reason and peace against terror and genocide.

And ask yourself: How can it give in to men who think nothing of killing Jewish children, and ever feel safe?

Does this mean I have no sympathy for Palestinians?

Not at all. I fear for them even more. Having to fight men who happily blow up women and babies is awful enough. Being led by such animals must be murder.

[bolta@heraldsun.com.au](mailto:bolta@heraldsun.com.au)

**Load-Date:** March 17, 2002

### 'Classic Israeli strategy'

Guelph Mercury (Ontario, Canada)

March 4, 2002 Monday Final Edition

Copyright 2002 Metroland Media Group Ltd

**Section:** OPINIONS; Pg. A7; NEWS

**Length:** 1046 words

**Byline:** SANDRO CONTENTA

**Dateline:** NABLUS, WEST BANK

## **Body**

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In the slang of the gangster epic *The Godfather*, the gunmen of the Al Aqsa Brigades have gone to the mattresses.

Like the movie mobsters hunkering down during a gang war, about 40 Palestinian fighters lounged on floor mattresses in a sprawling apartment last week, munching from two large platters of rice and meat, their automatic rifles and bazooka-like launchers stacked under a bed or in corners.

"We're between shifts," said militia commander Mahmoud Attiti, whose fighters spent the night shooting at Israeli soldiers that have invaded their Balata refugee camp.

Like most fighters of Al Aqsa Brigades, the armed wing of Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat's Fatah movement, these were in a hideout outside of the teeming refugee camp in Nablus, far from the reach of Israeli soldiers.

The Israeli army has dubbed last Thursday's invasion of Balata, and another Palestinian refugee camp in the West Bank town of Jenin, the "Colourful Journey" mission to crush "terrorists organizations" that take refuge there.

But civilians are pretty much all who remained in poverty-stricken Balata, struggling to cope with a military invasion that has left them without electricity and running water.

The electricity was knocked out, residents say, by Israeli helicopter missiles at the start of the raid. The camp's main water pipe was broken, it's water gushing onto the street, when Israeli bulldozers tore up the road leading to the camp.

Gunfire and bomb blasts rocked the camp at noontime Friday, forcing more residents to flee. About 2,000 of the camp's 20,000 people have evacuated, many telling stories of soldiers storming their homes to search for weapons. The soldiers then avoid becoming targets in the narrow alleyways by smashing holes in flimsy walls to move from one house to another.

"Shame on them," said Maysoun Awdeh, 25, fleeing with her three young children.

"They have destroyed my cupboards, my living room, my house. What have these children done to deserve this?" she said, holding her 20-day-old baby, Muhammad.

Her husband, Amjed Abu Mustafa, said 15 soldiers took over his home and drilled holes in two walls to access other homes. He claimed they threatened to cut off his finger unless he revealed where guns were hidden.

## 'Classic Israeli strategy'

"I don't have any weapons," said Mustafa, 35. "There isn't one house they haven't searched. They control the whole camp." Jassan Hamdan, a doctor with a Palestinian medical group, emerged from the camp and described residents "under complete stress."

"They're afraid... The situation in the camp is very critical and dangerous for the civilian population," he said in an interview.

The invasions of the camps have left at least 17 Palestinians and one Israeli soldier dead since early last Thursday. More than 100 Palestinians and three Israeli soldiers have been injured. Four Palestinians were killed in fighting at the Jenin camp yesterday. Israeli Cabinet Minister Tzachi Hanegbi said the raids would help prevent attacks on Israelis.

"This is for the sake of our way of life here, in malls, in cities, in streets," he told Israel Army Radio. "The classic strategy of Israeli military campaigns has been to move the fighting into enemy territory."

Brig.-Gen. Gershon Yitzhak, commander of troops in the West Bank, said the army had to deliver a message "that there won't be a safe place for terrorists." There have been no reports of arrests so far.

Many of the gunmen who have launched attacks during the 17-month-old Palestinian uprising against Israeli occupation in the West Bank and Gaza Strip have come from the camps.

In the West Bank town of Ramallah, where he is confined by Israeli tanks, Arafat told reporters: "I call upon the whole world to act quickly before a state of chaos engulfs the whole Middle East region."

U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan said Israel should immediately leave the camps. Some Israeli commentators questioned the sanity of such a mission, predicting it would fail miserably, and scuttle any attempts to broker a truce.

"One must be either stoned or a gambler to send the army in at this time and place," wrote Alex Fishman in a front-page commentary in the mass circulation newspaper, Yedioth Ahronot.

Israelis are clearly losing patience with Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, who has failed to bring the security he promised when elected a year ago.

An opinion poll last Thursday in the Maariv newspaper, conducted before the week's raids, showed that for the first time since Sharon's election a majority of Israelis, 53 per cent, were dissatisfied with his performance.

"He has not kept his promises, met expectations or delivered the goods," commentator Chemi Shalev wrote in Maariv.

At the Al Aqsa Brigades hideout, the fighters seem content to take turns firing at soldiers from a distance, and waiting until the army withdraws before returning to their homes and continuing the uprising.

One fighter walked around with an M16 rifle and a verse from the Koran glued to his bullet clip. Another slept buried under thick covers. One who went by the nom de guerre of Abu Hadab (the father of rage) showed off his Israeli-made hand grenade.

On the kitchen wall, where women cooked massive meals, were handprints in blood.

"Sharon will leave the camp dragging his tail behind him in failure," said Attiti, one of the many militia members on Israel's wanted list.

Attiti said soldiers had demolished his home inside the camp, and vowed to avenge it with attacks inside Israel. Most Brigade attacks have been against Jewish settlers or soldiers in the occupied territories. But several have been inside Israel revenge, they say, for Israel's assassination of one of their leaders -- including at least two by suicide bombers.



## 'Classic Israeli strategy'

Majid Al-Masri, another Brigades commander wanted by Israel, said he prefers gun attacks to suicide bombs, usually the deadly work of **Hamas** and Islamic Jihad, groups that reject Israel's existence.

"Gun attacks give you the pleasure of quenching your thirst and anger against Israelis while you're shooting. When you blow yourself up, you don't get that," he said.

At least 913 Palestinians and 280 Israelis have been killed since the uprising against Israeli occupation broke out in September 2000, when peace talks stalled.

Sandro Contenta is assigned to Torstar News Service's Middle Eastern bureau.

## Graphic

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Photo: Associated Press; Palestinian Mohammed Houti, 70, raises his hands as he looks at the damage caused to his house by Israeli troops who entered the Balata refugee camp in the West Bank town of Nablus Friday.

**Load-Date:** March 4, 2002

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## ***Palestinian Gunmen Kill 2 Israeli Soldiers - Correction Appended***

The New York Times  
February 11, 2002 Monday  
Late Edition - Final

### **Correction Appended**

Copyright 2002 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 4; Foreign Desk; Pg. 8

**Length:** 926 words

**Byline:** By JOEL GREENBERG

**Dateline:** BEERSHEBA, Israel, Feb. 10

### **Body**

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Two Palestinians with assault rifles drove up to the headquarters of the Israeli Army Southern Command here today and sprayed gunfire at soldiers sitting at a pastry shop across the street, killing two, before the attackers were shot dead by other soldiers and police officers.

Hours later, Israeli warplanes struck a Palestinian police compound in Gaza City near the headquarters of Yasir Arafat, and helicopters fired rockets at targets in the northern Gaza Strip.

Palestinian hospital officials said 37 people were wounded in the attacks in Gaza, none seriously. The United Nations said that two of its employees were among the wounded in Gaza City, and that the offices of its special coordinator in the Middle East were damaged.

The deadly shooting and retaliation, along with the firing of two rockets from the Gaza Strip into southern Israel, which caused no casualties, marked another surge of violence in more than 16 months of deadly conflict between Israelis and Palestinians.

After a brief incursion early Monday, the Israeli Army withdrew from the Palestinian-ruled city of Nablus, where it fought gunmen and briefly detained two men, Palestinian security sources and witnesses said. An Israeli Army spokesman said infantry units and tanks entered the city in response to Palestinian attacks originating there and "in order to prevent further attacks." There were no reports of casualties.

Returning from a visit to the United States, Prime Minister Ariel Sharon called a meeting of his security aides to discuss possible further responses. "The terrorism is increasing, terrorism which Arafat is directly responsible for, and the Palestinian Authority is taking no steps against it," Mr. Sharon said after his arrival. "This will require us to take decisions in light of the serious deterioration."

The attack in Beersheba, which was not claimed by any Palestinian group, occurred in the heart of the city, outside the walled headquarters of the Southern Command. Witnesses said two gunmen drove up in a car, got out and began raking the area with automatic-weapons fire.

## Palestinian Gunmen Kill 2 Israeli Soldiers

One of the attackers stood a few yards from Avraham Baldinger's pastry shop, where four women, three of them soldiers, were eating at outdoor tables, he said.

"Suddenly there was a hail of gunfire -- I've been in the army but I can't remember anything like it in my entire life," said Mr. Baldinger, who had been serving customers behind the counter. "I threw myself on the floor and shouted, 'Everyone lie down,' but those who were hit didn't make it in time. Glass smashed, the store was sprayed with bullets, people screamed. He was shooting -- it went on and on, it didn't end."

Two of the women, Lt. Keren Rothstein, 20, and Cpl. Aya Malachi, 18, were killed and the other soldier was critically wounded. Three other people were also wounded.

Maj. Guy Shacham, an army officer who was nearby, said he pulled out his pistol and opened fire on the attackers. "I focused on one of them and shot at him until he fell," he said.

The second gunman, wearing explosives on a belt, ran into a parking lot near a school, where he was shot and killed by police officers. Chief Inspector Yaki Arzi, one of the officers, said he saw the attacker hiding behind a car. "As he stood up I spotted an explosive belt with a white wire in the front," he said. "I started shooting and another officer opened fire until the terrorist lay motionless." Neither of the gunmen was immediately identified.

A few hours after the shooting, the half-stripped body of one gunman lay on the ground as police checked the M-16 and AK-47 assault rifles used in the attack. Blood stained the patio of the pastry shop, which was littered with army bandages and the backpacks of the soldiers who were shot. The shop windows were riddled with bullet holes. A blast shook the neighborhood as police sappers detonated the explosive belt.

After nightfall, Israeli warplanes attacked a Palestinian security compound in Gaza City near Mr. Arafat's office, injuring more than 20 police officers and civilians and blowing out windows of government offices and residential buildings in a wide area, witnesses and hospital officials said. The army said it had struck a headquarters of Force 17, an elite unit in the Palestinian security forces.

Two employees in the office of Terje Rod-Larsen, the United Nations special coordinator for the Middle East, were hurt by flying glass when windows in the building were blown out, a United Nations spokesman said. Mr. Rod-Larsen expressed outrage at the use of heavy bombs near civilian areas and United Nations offices, and emphasized that "Israel's security needs will not be met by hitting civilian targets or by destroying the Palestinians' ability to police and maintain order," a statement from his office said.

An Israeli Army spokesman expressed regret over the injuries to the United Nations employees, saying that the building was not an intended target.

The army said two new types of rockets fired from the Gaza Strip landed in the fields of two farming cooperatives in southern Israel, Kibbutz Saad and Moshav Shuva, causing no damage or casualties. The rockets were identified as Qassam 2's, with a range of more than four miles, built by the militant group Hamas. Three empty rocket launchers were later seized by soldiers inside the Gaza Strip, the army said.

Dori Gold, an adviser to Mr. Sharon, called the introduction of the Qassam 2 an escalation. "Israel has said many times that if these rockets were used, it would change the rules of the game," he said.

<http://www.nytimes.com>

## Correction

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Because of editing and transmission errors, an article yesterday about an attack by Palestinian militants on the headquarters of the Israeli Southern Army Command misspelled the surname of the United Nations special

## Palestinian Gunmen Kill 2 Israeli Soldiers

coordinator for the Middle East and the given name of an adviser to Prime Minister Ariel Sharon. The coordinator is Terje Roed-Larsen, not Rod-Larsen. The adviser is Dore Gold, not Dori.

**Correction-Date:** February 12, 2002

## Graphic

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Photos: Israeli medics assisted two soldiers struck in the gunfire attack in Beersheba. Two soldiers died and four people were wounded. (Agence France-Presse); A Palestinian gunman who was killed after opening fire on Israeli soldiers was examined by police officers. (Rina Castelnovo for The New York Times) Map of Israel highlighting Beersheba: A Palestinian attack in Beersheba killed two and drew retaliation.

**Load-Date:** February 11, 2002

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**Dare to enter the world of 'Rose Red' Young autistic girl in 'Rose Red' more scary than Carrie**

Charleston Daily Mail (West Virginia)

January 26, 2002, Saturday

Copyright 2002 Charleston Newspapers

**Section:** News; Pg. P7A

**Length:** 971 words

**Byline:** KEVIN McDONOUGH UNITED FEATURE

## **Body**

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A very long story about a very haunted house, the three-part, six-hour miniseries "Rose Red" (9 p.m., Sunday, ABC, TV-14, continues Monday, concludes Thursday) opens with a bang and then slowly builds to a series of convulsive shocks. Written by horror master Stephen King, "Rose Red" contains many familiar elements from his earlier tales. Remember the telekinetic terror in "Carrie"? She was a piker compared to Annie Wheaton (Kimberly J. Brown), a sweet, autistic child with the ability to turn on her record player with her mind. She has a peculiar fondness for swing music and the old song "Theme to a Summer Place." When the neighbors' dog attacks her and her sister, Rachel (Melanie Lynskey), Annie retaliates by causing boulders to fall from the sky and obliterate their house.

Flash forward 10 years. Ambitious paranormal psychologist Dr. Joyce Reardon (Nancy Travis) plans an investigation of Rose Red, a haunted Seattle estate. She needs the help of the teen-age Annie Wheaton and a team of eccentric psychics.

Much of the first two hours of "Rose Red" is devoted to explicating the legend of the haunted mansion and Reardon's difficulties in assembling her team of ghost-chasers. Reardon's faculty rival, Professor Miller (David Dukes), resents her embarrassing field trips into the paranormal, and he conspires to have her stripped of her tenure and embarrassed in the school newspaper. Sadly, the veteran actor Dukes died during the shooting of "Rose Red." The film is dedicated to his memory.

Undaunted by Miller, Reardon hopes to "wake up" Rose Red, the spot of many suicides, deaths and mysterious disappearances.

Running six hours including commercials, "Rose Red" has plenty of time to indulge in quirky character development. And no one here is quite as odd as Emery Waterman (Matt Ross) a tubby "pre-cognitive" who sees dead people while rooting around his 'fridge for fattening foods.

n "Rose Red" isn't the only compelling miniseries of the weekend. Victor Hugo Martin tackles a difficult and complex character in "Fidel" (8 p.m., Sunday, Showtime, TV-14, L, S, V, concludes Monday).

Saturday's highlight

Dare to enter the world of 'Rose Red' Young autistic girl in 'Rose Red' more scary than Carrie

n New York City is placed under martial law after a terrorist attack in the 1998 thriller "The Siege" (7:30 p.m., USA) starring Denzel Washington, Bruce Willis and Annette Bening.

#### Sunday's highlights

n "Biography" (8 p.m., A&E, TV-G) profiles "Star Wars" director George Lucas.

n Robert De Niro and Jean Reno star in the 1998 thriller "Ronin" (8 p.m., TNT, TV-14, V).

#### Cult choice

Idle gossip between socialites results in heartache and hilarity in director George Cukor's 1939 gem "The Women" (10:30 p.m., Turner Classic Movies).

n James Bond (Sean Connery) takes on an evil genius in the 1962 thriller "Dr. No" (8 p.m., ABC, TV-14, D, S, V). ABC will air 13 vintage James Bond films in 2002.

n Paulie resents an Italian interloper on "That's Life" (9 p.m., CBS, TV-PG).

n Gwyneth Paltrow hosts a repeat "Saturday Night Live" (11:30 p.m., NBC, TV-14) with musical guest Ryan Adams.

#### Sunday's highlights

n Scheduled on "60 Minutes" (7 p.m., CBS): the FBI's Boston scandal; August Wilson; the Hamas organization.

n Two goofy builders (Nathan Lane and Lee Evans) take on a mischievous rodent in the 1997 comedy "Mouse Hunt" (7 p.m., ABC, TV-G, S, V).

n "Biography" (8 p.m., A&E, TV-G) profiles "Star Wars" director George Lucas.

n Robert De Niro and Jean Reno star in the 1998 thriller "Ronin" (8 p.m., TNT, TV-14, V).

n A crooked nightclub owner may have killed a patron's father on "Law & Order: Criminal Intent" (9 p.m., NBC, TV-14).

n A busy professional (Elizabeth Perkins) tries to cope with her mentally ill sister (Kathy Bates) after the death of their mother (Lynn Redgrave) in the 2002 drama "My Sister's Keeper" (9 p.m., CBS, TV-PG).

n David Attenborough narrates "Blue Planet" (9 p.m., Discovery, TV-G), an ambitious documentary series about underwater life around the globe. Continues with two additional hours on Monday. Look for four more hours in May.

#### SATURDAY SERIES

The second "Cops" and NBC shows are repeats ... A widower raises two ailing daughters on "Touched by an Angel" (8 p.m., CBS, TV-PG) ... The mysterious death of a "reality" show cast member on "Law & Order" (8 p.m., NBC, TV-14) ... On back-to-back episodes of "Cops" (Fox), a tavern tussle (8 p.m., TV-14, V), suspicious drivers in Des Moines (8:30 p.m., TV-PG) ... A double murder strikes Manhattan's art scene on "Law & Order: Criminal Intent" (9 p.m., NBC, TV-14) ... A frustrated teacher takes the board of education hostage on "The District" (10 p.m., CBS, TV-PG, L) ... The hunt for a child abuser in Florida on "America's Most Wanted" (9 p.m., Fox, TV-PG, V) ... A serial killer targets gigolos on "Law & Order: Special Victim's Unit" (10 p.m., NBC, TV-14).

#### SUNDAY SERIES

- "King" and "Third Watch" are repeats ... Dale loses face on "King of the Hill" (7:30 p.m., Fox, TV-PG, L, V) ... Dad shows up with disturbing news on "The Education of Max Bickford" (8 p.m., CBS, TV-PG, L) ... Anne Robinson hosts "The Weakest Link" (8 p.m., NBC, TV-G) ... Unable to speak, Homer becomes a good listener on "The Simpsons" (8 p.m., Fox, TV-PG, L) ... Improvisations on "The Jamie Kennedy Experiment" (8 p.m., WB, TV-PG) ...

Dare to enter the world of 'Rose Red' Young autistic girl in 'Rose Red' more scary than Carrie

Lois gets a new look on "Malcolm in the Middle" (8:30 p.m., Fox, TV-PG, S, V) ... Disappointed by a longtime idol on "Nikki" (8:30 p.m., WB, TV-PG, L).

Reyes discovers a link between gruesome murders on "The X-Files" (9 p.m., Fox, TV-PG, L, V) ... A change of atmosphere on "Off Centre" (9 p.m., WB, TV-14, D) ... Malena leaves the baby for the first time on "For Your Love" (9:30 p.m., WB, TV-PG, D, L) ... The squad rush a donor heart to the hospital on "Third Watch" (10 p.m., NBC, TV-14).

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END TUNE IN TONIGHT 1-26-02

Weekend, Jan. 26-27, 2002 United Feature Syndicate

TUNE IN TONIGHT 1 of 3

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**Load-Date:** January 29, 2002

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## **BOOM BOOM BOOM Faceless in Paradise, 1997**

Daily News (New York)

January 3, 2002, Thursday

SPORTS FINAL EDITION

Copyright 2002 Daily News, L.P.

**Section:** NEWS;; SERIES

**Length:** 1073 words

**Byline:** By TOM ROBBINS

**Series:** BEST OF BIG TOWN REVISITING THE DAILY NEWS HISTORY OF NEW YORK

### **Body**

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

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

Guys like Gazi Ibrahim Abu Mezer.

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

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

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

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

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

A lot of the people he would kill certainly would be Jews, he said, and he would be as great an Islamic warrior as the bombers who recently had killed 15 people and wounded 150 in a Jerusalem market. He was very angry at the



## BOOM BOOM BOOM Faceless in Paradise, 1997

paradise America now in any case, for he had been nabbed for jumping a subway turnstile. Gazi Ibrahim Abu Mezer would avenge himself.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The cops understood.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

BOOM BOOM BOOM Faceless in Paradise, 1997

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

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

Originally published in BIG TOWN/BIG TIME.

**Load-Date:** January 3, 2002

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## **THE PALESTINIAN EXTREME: THE STORY OF HIBA, 19, A SUICIDE BOMBER. CAN THE ROAD-MAP PUT AN END TO ALL THIS?**

The Independent (London)

May 27, 2003, Tuesday

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**Section:** TITLE PAGE; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1179 words

**Byline:** SA'ID GHAZALI IN TUBAS, WEST BANK The picture of Hiba Daraghmeh released by Islamic Jihad after the suicide bombing eight days ago AP

### **Body**

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EVEN HER family is baffled that Hiba Daraghmeh insisted on covering herself from head to toe in a dark brown, all-enveloping robe at all times. The white veil she also wore - a badge of Islamic fundamentalism - concealed her head, mouth and nose. Only her almond-coloured eyes were visible to the outside world.

The shy 19-year-old student of English literature never spoke to men, and so avoided drinking coffee or tea at the cafeteria of Al Quds Open University in her home town, Tubas in the West Bank. All of her friends were women. Even her cousin, Murad Daraghmeh, 20, also a student at Al Quds, says: "I never saw her face. I never talked to her. I never shook hands with her."

The first time the world saw her young face unveiled was in a poster. Islamic Jihad released it, after her death eight days ago.

Hiba was a suicide bomber. She detonated the explosives around her waist outside the Amakim Shopping Mall in the northern Israeli town of Afula, killing three Israelis and wounding 48.

Eyewitnesses described a horrifying scene of rubble, shattered glass and great pools of blood. As casualties lay on the pavement, emergency workers hunted in the ceiling to recover body parts. One of the dead was a female security guard who had tried to bar the student from entering the building. With the others, she brought to 360 the victims killed by suicide bombers in 32 months of the intifada.

Monday last week had dawned like any other in Hiba's household. As usual, she said her prayers at dawn. She insisted on preparing the family breakfast of cucumber salad, bread, olive oil and thyme, and tea. Her mother, Fatima, 45, recalls: "We ate. She washed the dishes."

Then Hiba went outside to the garden where the family had almond and olive trees, pomegranates and roses. Her mother says: "She watered the plants and I noticed she was smelling the roses. She was laughing, and I asked her why. She told me, I feel that I am a new person. You will be very proud of me.' Then she left and never returned."

Before leaving town, Hiba visited her sisters, Jihan and Mariam. She returned a notebook to a classmate. She went to say goodbye to her grandfather.

## THE PALESTINIAN EXTREME: THE STORY OF HIBA, 19, A SUICIDE BOMBER. CAN THE ROAD-MAP PUT AN END TO ALL THIS?

The last time anyone in Tubas saw her, she was - as always - wearing her Islamic clothes. Four hours later when she got to Afula, she was dressed in jeans. She was also wearing a belt of explosives.

To the followers of Islamic Jihad, which recruited her, to many Palestinians and millions of Arabs and Muslims, Hiba Daraghmeh is the fifth heroine of the intifada. To Israelis and the international community she is a terrorist, a callous killer. Told of the atrocity, President George Bush vowed that it would never deflect Washington from the road-map to peace. He dismissed suicide bombers as "sad and pathetic".

Interviewed as the Israeli Cabinet was voting narrowly in favour of the Middle East road-map, Hiba's family say they are proud of her. They insist they knew nothing of her plans.

Only her grandmother Fozeh, breaks ranks and says she regrets her action and blames those who recruited her. She says: "She was too young."

They are staying with relatives now, for the family's house, large and comfortable, was dynamited by the Israelis the day after the bombing. Only the garden, where Hiba smelt the roses on the morning of her mission, remains.

On the rubble of their home, the family has plastered one of the Islamic Jihad's posters of her. There are two more on a wall in Tubas.

Hiba Daraghmeh was much more devout than her family. Obsessed by religious ideals, she was a fundamentalist Muslim. Her mother says: "At 15, she wore the Jelbab. At 16, she wore the veil."

The Jelbab is the flowing costume that envelopes the entire body. The white veil covering all but the eyes is a badge of fanatical Islam shunned by most Palestinian women including Hiba's mother, sisters and female relatives. "Throw it away, this veil," her grandmother remembers telling her. "You are too young and it is too hot." Her oldest sister, Jihan, 26, recalls: "Any time the radio or TV played a love song, she turned it off."

She was a model student, gaining 100 per cent in her most recent exams in Palestinian studies. In English literature she scored 89 per cent.

"She saw herself as a special person," Jihan said. She demonstrated that in her religious obsession. "She used to pray for two hours, standing, stooping and kneeling in devotion," Jihan added. "She spent most of her free time reading the Koran.

"When she was repeating its verses she said she felt unique. I thought she meant unique in her studies and religious feelings. I did not realise she meant she wanted to be unique in her death."

Aside from Hiba's religious zeal, the political environment she grew up in radicalises many Palestinians to the point where they make no distinction between soldiers and shoppers in a mall. A psychiatrist, Ahmed Abu Tawahina, explains: "The closures and daily incursions by the Israeli army, the martyrs' funeral, the eulogies recited by militants, the graffiti, revering suicide bombers as Istishadyeen - the martyr- attackers - are part of the political environment which nourishes suicide bombings."

The involvement of women in suicide bombings is a new and unsettling phenomenon for many Palestinians. Hamas, responsible for most suicide bombings, and for the four previous suicide bombings by women, opposes it because the organisation has enough male volunteers.

Islam does not prohibit the participation of women in the jihad. But Islamic Jihad would not encourage it, say members, unless the female suicide bomber insisted on doing it.

Hiba Daraghmeh might have insisted because of her own personal brush with the Israeli military authorities.

She was visibly affected by the trial of her 23-year-old brother, Bakr. Bakr had been shot in Nablus in a demonstration to commemorate the 1948 Palestinian Nakba, or disaster anniversary, when Israel was established.

## THE PALESTINIAN EXTREME: THE STORY OF HIBA, 19, A SUICIDE BOMBER. CAN THE ROAD-MAP PUT AN END TO ALL THIS?

He was arrested on charges of weapons possessions and carrying out attacks for Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades. The charge sheet includes the possession of an explosive belt. The Israeli prosecutor requested a 99-year prison term for him.

On the day her brother was arrested in June 2002, the army stormed the family house. One of the soldiers tore up Hiba's text books and a copy of the Koran, her mother says.

A week later, there was a curfew on Tubas. As she was walking to school, an army jeep stopped her and soldiers forced her to take the veil off. Her grandmother explains: "She was very angry. She was full of hatred against Jews. I believe this is the motivation for what she has done."

Immediately after a suicide bomber is named, the Israeli army demolishes the bomber's family house and arrests members of his or her family. The army prevents them from rebuilding on the same spot.

Murad Daraghmeh calls her a heroine. As he surveys the ruins of the family home, he says: "I am a coward. She is courageous. I will never be an Istishahdi. I have brothers and sisters. The army would arrest them. And the army would destroy my family house."

**Load-Date:** May 27, 2003

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## *Only in America: Building Bridges at a Unique Seder*

The Forward

May 2, 2003

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**Section:** News; Pg. 6

**Length:** 1189 words

**Byline:** Andrea Barron

### **Body**

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#### LETTER FROM VIRGINIA

Every Passover, Jews begin telling the story of the exodus from Egypt by reciting the Four Questions, starting with, "Why is this night different from all other nights?" This year, one Seder I attended was different not simply because of the matzo and the maror, but because of the people seated around the table.

There were eight Jews, including myself. But there were also nine Arabs and Muslims at the Seder: an Egyptian, two Yemenis, an Iraqi, a Lebanese, a Pakistani, a strawberry blonde American Muslim and two Palestinians - one of whom was the Palestine Liberation Organization's counselor for political and congressional affairs in Washington. Despite our ethnic and religious differences, we had one important thing in common: Everyone believed in a two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict - security for Israel and an end to Israeli control over the Palestinian territories occupied in 1967.

We all gathered on April 20 at Glencarlyn Road Baptist Church in Falls Church, Va., where Pastor Greg Loewer welcomed everyone and explained that his church was hosting the unusual event because it is about "peacemaking and bridge-building." The Passover story has always inspired him, he said, because it shows "how God provided a way for the ancient Israelites to gain their freedom and become a nation."

We used a traditional Haggada and placed Seder plates, salt water and Elijah's cup on the table. All the guests even had their own small Seder plates so they could better understand the parsley and matzo symbols, taste the bitterness of the horseradish and the sweetness of charoset. Mindy Reiser, a sociologist who attended Hebrew day schools in New York, lit the candles. Then we said kiddush and prepared to drink the first glass of "wine" - grape juice, actually, since this was a Baptist church and several of the Muslims do not drink wine.

Although we asked the Four Questions, said most of the blessings, spilled drops of grape juice for the 10 plagues and sang "Dayenu," "Adir Hu" and "Echad Mi Yodea," this was anything but a traditional Seder. One of our goals was to encourage dialogue about the Arab-Israeli conflict and co-existence among Jews, Arabs and Muslims. We expected a lively discussion, and that is what happened.

Tarek Khalil, who emigrated from Cairo six years ago, said he understood that the pharaohs were the enemy in the Passover story, not the Egyptian people. And he noted that the Koran also mentions how God delivered the ancient Israelites from Pharaoh.

## Only in America : Building Bridges at a Unique Seder

(Verse 2:49 says: "And remember, we divided the sea for you [the Children of Israel] and saved you and drowned Pharaoh's people within your very sight.") Still, he said he felt relieved when Reiser told him about the Biblical verse commanding the Jews: "Thou shalt not abhor an Egyptian; because thou wast a stranger in his land." (Deuteronomy 23:7).

Khalil presented an alternative interpretation for each cup of wine: The first cup stood for truth, the second for change, the third for tolerance, and the fourth for hope. "Jews and Arabs have to stop stereotyping each other," he said. "It's not true that all Arabs hate Jews and want to destroy Israel. And many Arabs have a false perception that Jews devote themselves to conspiring against Arabs and Muslims." He said he hoped the mainstream on both sides would prevent radicals from dominating their respective communities.

Ghaleb Darabya, the PLO representative, said that for him truth means "correcting the misperception pervasive in Congress that Palestinians don't believe in coexistence with Israel." Darabya, who comes from a Gaza refugee family, said "The PLO has recognized Israel since 1988 and affirmed this again when it signed the Oslo peace agreement. Groups like Hamas, they are not part of the PLO." He stressed that "Congress and U.S. Jews need to see the truth about Palestinian suffering - how people can't get to the hospital, how women are forced to give birth at the 163 roadblocks Israel has set up in the West Bank. Labor and Likud supporters in Israel debate all the time - American Jews should do the same since Israel's mistakes will affect them too."

Steve Silverberg, a Washington lawyer, said that he believes that there are many Jews like him who do not support Prime Minister Sharon's policies in the West Bank and Gaza, but that they have become more reluctant to criticize Israel since the breakdown of the Oslo peace process. "We're trying to break through all the horrible feelings that have developed between Jews and Arabs over the last two years," he said, "and show that both sides can still make public statements for peace."

In the spirit of asking questions, Darabya wanted to know why the blessing over the matzo includes the words: "All who are needy, come and celebrate Passover with us. Now we celebrate here, next year may we be in the Land of Israel." Did these words, he asked, mean all Jews should move to Israel? If not, then why were they still in the Haggada?

Paul Scham, a visiting scholar at George Washington University who recently returned to Washington after six years at the Truman Institute for Peace at Hebrew University, said these words were "never understood as an imperative for all Jews to physically return to the Land of Israel. Rather they expressed a yearning for return, especially when the Haggada first appeared over 1,500 years ago." He added that "it's important for Palestinians to understand that this yearning is an integral part of our Jewish tradition. That's why Jews feel offended when Palestinians or other deny their connection to the land."

Andy Shallal, an Iraqi-American restaurateur and political activist, wanted to focus on how people need to change themselves while they campaign for broader political changes. Shallal has been convening weekly Arab-Jewish "peace cafes" in one of his restaurants for more than three years. "I still believe that Palestinians are the victims in the conflict with Israel," he said. "But to move forward in the peace process, we have to appreciate the sense of insecurity pervasive in the Jewish psyche and why so many Jews see Israel like an insurance policy."

Abdulwahab Alkebsi, a Yemeni and the Middle East and North Africa program officer at the National Endowment of Democracy, said that moving forward meant that by next year at least one Arab country will have become a democracy and he will have one less country in his portfolio.

Alkebsi commented on how similar some of the Jewish prayers were to Muslim prayers. Then he passed me a note, asking if the Seder could break for 10 minutes so he and two other Muslims could pray. We all took a break while Pastor Loewer led them into a quiet library and pointed east, so they could pray facing Mecca.

When the Seder resumed, Alkebsi told everyone that in many parts of the Islamic world, Jews are perceived as enemies of Islam and Southern Baptists are among those Christians least tolerant of Islam. He said, "Only in America could three devout Muslims participate in a Passover Seder - a Jewish festival - and perform their communal prayers openly in a Southern Baptist Church."

Only in America : Building Bridges at a Unique Seder

**Load-Date:** June 14, 2006

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## NEWS SUMMARY

The New York Times  
April 29, 2003 Tuesday  
Late Edition - Final

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

**Length:** 1244 words

### **Body**

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INTERNATIONAL A3-12

#### U.S. Signs Cease-Fire With Iranian Group

American forces in Iraq have signed a cease-fire with an Iranian opposition group that the United States had designated a terrorist organization. The action raises questions about how consistently the Bush administration intends to apply a policy that had vowed to crack down on terrorist groups worldwide. A1

A political gathering of about 300 Iraqis from different religious and ethnic factions decided to call a national conference in a month's time to select a postwar transitional government for Iraq. None of the major candidates to lead that government attended the meeting. A1

President Bush gave an upbeat account of progress being made by the United States in restoring services and order in Iraq, but did not make any long-term financial commitment to rebuilding, nor give specifics about the length of an American presence there. A19

Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld, on a trip to the Persian Gulf and Afghanistan, said the United States would reduce its military presence in the region now that major combat in Iraq is over and Saddam Hussein's government no longer poses a threat. A19

#### Palestinian Balancing Act

With the Palestinian parliament expected to confirm a new government, Gaza is waiting for Muhammad Dahlan, the new security chief, to return from the West Bank. One of his tasks will be to deal with Hamas, one of whose top leaders has close ties to his family. A3

#### India-Pakistan Relations Thaw

Prime Minister Zafarullah Khan Jamali of Pakistan telephoned Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee of India, left, the first substantial conversation at such a high level since the December 2001 attack on India's Parliament for which India blamed Pakistan, and which brought the two countries to the brink of war. A5

#### Schroder Gains Support

## NEWS SUMMARY

Chancellor Gerhard Schroder of Germany, who has been facing a rebellion from labor unions and other leftist elements of his governing Social Democratic Party, gained some ground to help him promote his politically divisive plan to overhaul Germany's paralyzed economy. A8

## NATIONAL A22-27

## Homeland Security Aides Switch to Lobbying

With a budget of about \$40 billion this year, the new Homeland Security Department and Secretary Tom Ridge are obvious new targets for lobbyists, at least four of whom, according to disclosure forms filed in Congress, were top deputies at Mr. Ridge's White House office. A1

## Sniper Suspect Sought Lawyer

A police detective testified in Virginia that Lee Malvo, the younger defendant in the Washington area sniper shootings, was read his rights before confessing, but she continued to interrogate him without a lawyer after he requested one. A22

## Details in Hijacker Case

A federal judge ordered the Justice Department to provide Zacarias Moussaoui with details to support its theory that he was to participate in a terrorist hijacking separate from the attacks on Sept. 11, 2001. A21

## Charges Against an American

An American citizen detained for more than a month as a material witness in a terrorism case in Oregon was charged with plotting to fight against American soldiers in Afghanistan. A21

## Informer's Lies Sent On

American officials said secret intelligence on the Chinese leadership provided by a longtime F.B.I. informer was sent to top policy makers at the White House, even after it was suspected she might be a double agent for Beijing. A26

## Congress Tackles Tax Cuts

Congress resumed and Congressional Republicans quickly set out to devise a strategy to enact President Bush's proposed tax cut and repair a rift between House and Senate leaders over the size of the reduction. A26

## List of Policy Holders Revealed

After years of delay, German insurance companies are making public the names of 363,232 Holocaust victims who were covered by life insurance policies but whose records were previously sealed, an international insurance commission said. A26

## Shift to Terror at E.P.A.

According to interviews with senior agents, criminal investigators at the Environmental Protection Agency are working more on counterterrorism efforts and guarding Christie Whitman, the agency's administrator, than on environmental cases. A27

## NEW YORK/REGION B1-7

## Lawyers Use New Tactic In Crown Heights Case

Through 12 years and two previous trials, lawyers for Lemrick Nelson Jr. denied that he had been involved in the killing of an Orthodox Jew named Yankel Rosenbaum during the 1991 racial unrest in Crown Heights, Brooklyn. Now, Mr. Nelson's new lawyers are trying a new defense: Mr. Nelson did stab Mr. Rosenbaum, the lawyers said, but not because he was Jewish. A1

## Ground Zero Memorial Designs

## NEWS SUMMARY

Officials overseeing the competition to design a memorial to the victims of the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11, 2001, and the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center promised that all entries would be considered, even those that stray outside the official guidelines for the placement and content of the memorial. B1

## SCIENCE TIMES F1-8

## Many Stories, One Creature

Dragon images have been found throughout history from the Ishtar Gate of Babylon to the cliffs above the Mississippi River and even on bones carved by Inuits in climates where no reptile could live. Now scholars are struggling to explain how cultures that had no contact with one another constructed mythical creatures so remarkably similar. And why did dragons persist so long? F1

## Health &amp; Fitness F5

## SPORTS D1-7

## OBITUARIES C19

## Elaine Anderson Steinbeck

One of the first women to become a Broadway stage manager, who in later years kept bright the artistic torch of John Steinbeck, her late husband, she was 88. C19

## ARTS E1-10

## Sinead O'Connor Retires, Again

When Sinead O'Connor announced her retirement, not her first, from the music business last week, the press in Ireland dutifully took note. But the public seemingly failed to notice the departure of a singer who was once Ireland's biggest international star. E5

## BUSINESS DAY C1-18

## 10 Wall Street Firms Reach Settlement in Analyst Inquiry

Prosecutors announced a \$1.4 billion settlement with 10 Wall Street investment firms and two stock analysts. The agreement catalogs a far greater range of conflicts of interest than previously disclosed. A1

## MasterCard Settles Lawsuit

MasterCard International settled with Wal-Mart Stores and other retailers just as a multibillion-dollar lawsuit over its debit-card policies was about to go to trial. That leaves Visa USA to argue the case alone. C1

## Airline Workers Losing Perks

Billions of dollars in losses have forced airline unions to accept not just deep pay cuts, but also an overhaul of generous work rules that will drastically revamp how airline employees do their jobs. C1

## McDonald's Higher Earnings

The McDonald's Corporation recorded a 29 percent increase in first-quarter earnings based largely on favorable currency trends. But the company also logged losses in sales at stores open at least a year. C12

## Web Sites Hit in War on Spam

Last weekend, after anti-spam activists pressured an Internet provider to stop unwanted spam, scores of Web sites not related to the accused spammer were taken off the Internet. C2

## NEWS SUMMARY

Business Digest C1

World Business W1

EDITORIAL A28-29

Editorials: Finally, good news about SARS; finding fraud on Wall Street; crackdown on spam; Tina Rosenberg on how ideology is distorting an AIDS success in Africa.

Columns: Paul Krugman, Nicholas D. Kristof.

Crossword E4

TV Listings E9

Public Lives B2

Weather B8

<http://www.nytimes.com>

## Graphic

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Photo

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## Letters

The Tampa Tribune (Florida)

March 17, 2003, Monday,

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### **Body**

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#### Senior Drug Plan

Last week the Florida House of Representatives passed the most significant prescription drug program for seniors in Florida's history. Authored by Florida House Democrats, Silver LifeSaver Rx will save low-income seniors an average of 40 to 60 percent off the retail price of their prescription drugs. I am proud that this bill passed with strong bipartisan support.

Silver LifeSaver Rx works by using the buying power of the state of Florida. Just as a discount store is able to offer cheaper prices by purchasing in bulk, the state has been able to negotiate cheaper prices from drug companies. The end result: Our low-income seniors finally get some real relief from skyrocketing prices. Seniors who earn less than \$17,720 (\$23,800 for married couples) will qualify for the program. In the first year, we estimate that 100,000 seniors will take advantage of the program, costing Florida only \$11.6 million. Next year we expect the number to grow to 250,000 seniors, with the cost growing to \$26 million. Most of Florida's most prescribed drugs are on this list. For example, the frequently prescribed cholesterol drug Lipitor will drop from an average of \$115 for a month's supply of 20 mg tablets to between \$52 and \$65, depending on your income.

The Senate must approve this legislation before it goes to the governor for his signature. Assuming that this bill becomes law, I will provide more information on how seniors can sign up. This really is a positive moment for our seniors. For too long, low-income seniors have been hearing only promises from politicians. Now, thanks to bipartisan cooperation, Florida's seniors may finally be seeing the relief that they so desperately need.

CHARLIE JUSTICE

St. Petersburg

The writer is Democratic House representative for District 53.

#### Need Tort Reform

Regarding "Panel Sidesteps Bid To Cap Nursing Home Awards" (Nation/World, March 12):

As an ex-member of AARP and a very senior senior, I am embarrassed and outraged at the way the seniors acted in Tallahassee about the reform measure. I would like to recommend that the nursing homes be closed to all who have families and let them take care of the elderly as it used to be done. Then we would not have all of the problems that we have today. I would also like to say to Jim Wilkes and his fellow lawyers who feed off the misfortunes of others: Shame, shame. Tort reform is just one of the things that are badly needed in our society.

LYNNA DAVIS

## Letters

Thonotosassa

Not True Hunting

Regarding "Hunters Take Another Shot At Rural Hunting Lodges" (Metro, March 9):

Dave Singletary, owner of Dixie Sportsman's Hunting Lodge, offers nothing more than a "canned hunt" where the animals have limited area and no means of escape. This is not hunting by any means. It's merely an avenue for cowards, incompetent hunters and brutal people to extinguish the lives of sentient beings for the sake of "entertainment" and for a "trophy."

Canned hunts provide private breeders, animal dealers and disreputable zoos with a dumping ground for surplus animals and a financial justification for breeding. They exacerbate the problem of overbreeding of captive exotic animals.

Canned hunts guarantee a kill. Many true hunters frown upon canned hunts because it is such a sissy concept. It would be comparable to purchasing a Navy SEAL pin and claiming falsely to be a Navy SEAL instead of going through the real training. Taking the easy way out is never respected. Canned hunts should never be respected.

TREVOR CHIN

Tampa

The writer is president of Florida Voices for Animals. Web site:

[www.fvaonline.org](http://www.fvaonline.org)

Do Not Disturb

I could not believe my eyes when I read the suggestion by U.S. Rep. Ginny Brown-Waite, R-Brooksville, that we should dig up the bodies of American soldiers buried in France (Nation/World, March 13). To do so would be a sacrilege!

In the Revolutionary War, France supplied the Continental Army with arms, ships, money and soldiers to help fight the British, our common enemy, the same way we supplied war materials to Iraq in its war with Iran.

Those who died fighting in France were there to fight against Hitler and his armies. Freeing France was incidental to the main goal of destroying the Third Reich and its master, Adolf Hitler.

Every single American and those of other nations who died in World Wars I and II were heroes. They are buried in hallowed ground and under no circumstances should they be disturbed.

I'm a veteran of World War II and am adamantly opposed to this coming war in Iraq to grab their oil fields, hidden under the guise of dumping Saddam Hussein and his weapons of mass destruction. Should I be denied the right to be buried in a military cemetery?

SANDY OLEESKY

Sebring

Jingoistic Proposal

I am dismayed by the proposal of U.S. Rep. Ginny Brown-Waite, R-Brooksville, for repatriation of servicemen and women buried in American cemeteries in France and Belgium (Nation/World, March 13).

International negotiations are not new to the world, nor are they new to allies. To think that either full agreement or blind allegiance among allies is to be expected at all times is unrealistic and unreasonable. The United States would not stand for it, and Brown-Waite would probably be vocal in that regard. Such jingoism is not what's good for

## Letters

America and far from the best of America. Any serious and sincere person would realize that Brown-Waite's proposal is not only misguided, it is petty and a desecration of those grave sites.

Friends and allies do not eat from the same plate, but from the same table. This is as shamefully silly as the congressional cafeteria renaming french fries and French toast. We should be above this.

DAVE CAVANAUGH

Tampa

## Embarrassing Our Country

U.S. Rep. Ginny Brown-Waite, R-Brooksville, is another embarrassing hit on Florida politics. She should be ashamed of herself for trying to obtain notoriety at the expense of disturbing the peaceful rest of American soldiers in her misguided sense of patriotism. While I do not agree with the position of the French government and am much younger than the allegedly honorable representative, I do remember that, in a phrasing she might understand, if it weren't for the French, we'd still be speaking the Queen's English. Louis XVI's actions to support us during the Revolution not only bankrupted France, it led to a series of events that cost him his life and ended the French monarchy. Lay off the hyperbole, people; you are only embarrassing your country to the rest of the world.

MATTHEW COX

Temple Terrace

## Palestinian Terrorists

Saleh Mubarak attempted, again, to draw a moral equivalency between Israel and Palestinian terrorists (Local Voice, March 10). This is preposterous! He knows that Israel doesn't purposely target civilians, schools or other nonmilitary targets. The Palestinian terrorists do.

Palestinians send their kids to throw rocks at soldiers and tanks during a firefight and then have the gall to become angry when they are killed. I don't let my child play in a busy street, much less a gunfight! Israel kills a **Hamas** leader - yes, a terrorist - and Palestinians respond by blowing up a bus full of kids. There is no comparison. The Palestinians' continued attempt to convince the world that there is explains their lack of support here and around the world.

RANDY PARKER

Plant City

## Notes

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LETTERS

**Load-Date:** March 19, 2003

## NEWS SUMMARY

The New York Times  
February 20, 2003 Thursday  
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### **Body**

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INTERNATIONAL A3-12

#### U.S. Deadline for Turkey In Day or Two at Most

The Bush administration's impatience with Turkey boiled over, with officials saying the country had a day or two at most to accept an offer of \$26 billion in aid for allowing American troops to use its territory. A1

Refusal by Turkey to allow American forces to use its territory as a launching pad for a northern thrust into Iraq "would not be a show-stopper," but would greatly complicate an already complex war plan, senior Pentagon and military officials said. A13

Arab leaders quarreled openly over how to respond to the growing likelihood of an American-led war in Iraq -- even over whether they should meet to debate how to respond. A14

#### 9/11 Suspect Is Convicted

Nearly a year and a half after the Sept. 11 attacks, a court in Hamburg, Germany, delivered the first conviction in the case. The defendant, Mounir el Motassadeq, was found guilty of 3,066 counts of accessory to murder. A panel of judges sentenced him to 15 years in jail, the maximum term allowable under German law. A1

#### Still Mourning in Senegal

When the Joola, a ferry run by Senegal, capsized into the Atlantic last September, 1,863 people were killed, putting the sinking among the worst maritime disasters ever. Five months later, a city remains crushed by the loss. A1

#### Violence in the Mideast

Israel sent armored columns into the northern Gaza Strip and Nablus, killing at least 12 Palestinians. After Israel withdrew its forces, Hamas fired at least three rockets at the Israeli town of Sderot. A3

#### Calls From Doomed Subway

As Koreans digested the numbers on victims of Tuesday's subway fire, recordings of victims' final cellphone calls added to the sense of horror. A security camera caught the arsonist. A12

#### Rwanda Genocide Sentencing



## NEWS SUMMARY

A Protestant clergyman and his son were convicted of genocide and sentenced to prison by the United Nations tribunal dealing with the 1994 Rwandan slaughter. Members of Hutu gangs killed an estimated 800,000 minority Tutsi and moderate Hutu over three months. A3

## NATIONAL A18-29

## Ridge Reiterates Warning On Terror and Urges Calm

A week after his warnings about terror threats prompted a buying spree of duct tape and plastic sheeting, Tom Ridge, the secretary of homeland security, tried to recalibrate his message, urging calm while still imploring Americans to take prudent precautions in their daily lives. A1

## Columbia Inquiry Back to Liftoff

Investigators looking into the Columbia disaster are concentrating again on their early idea that a piece of insulation or other flying debris from the shuttle's fuel tank damaged a wing at liftoff, dooming the craft. A1

## Air Force Cadet Rape Inquiry

A team of senior Air Force officers from the Pentagon arrived in Colorado Springs to investigate reports that a number of female cadets at the United States Air Force Academy say they have been raped and sexually assaulted. A18

## Gas Prices Reflect War Fears

Beyond anti-war demonstrations and troop deployments, gasoline prices that have jumped to over \$2 in some places seem to be the most tangible evidence of the Bush administration's plans for war with Iraq. A20

## Gephardt Starts Campaign

Representative Richard A. Gephardt launched his second campaign for president in 16 years with a fierce attack on President Bush's economic and domestic policies. A28

## U.S. Reaches Borrowing Limit

The Bush administration acknowledged that the government had reached its legal limit on borrowing and would run short of cash by early April unless Congress once again raised the debt ceiling. A27

## Court Rejects Clergy Plea

A Boston judge rejected a motion filed by the Archdiocese of Boston that sought to dismiss nearly 500 civil lawsuits filed in the sex abuse scandal. A22

## SCIENCE/HEALTH

## New Theory on Martian Water

A new theory and a revised interpretation of earlier observations have bolstered the idea that Mars has more water than previously thought and encouraged speculation about life on the planet. A27

## NEW YORK/REGION B1-8

## Priest in Inquiry Denies Wrongdoing

A grand jury report on sexual abuse by Roman Catholic priests on Long Island suggests that Msgr. Alan J. Placa was the architect of policies that protected pedophiles and that three decades ago he groped teenage boys through their clothes. But had the grand jury spoken to him, Mr. Placa says, he would have denied virtually everything the report says about him. A1

## Support for Trade Center Plan

## NEWS SUMMARY

State and city officials involved in choosing a design for the World Trade Center site have begun lining up in favor of the plan by Studio Daniel Libeskind, which uses the ground zero pit as the setting for a memorial to victims of the terrorist attack, giving that plan important momentum in the week before the final site plan is chosen. B1

## Pataki Maintains Stance

Gov. George E. Pataki gave speeches in Buffalo and Rochester, reiterating his vow to stand firm against raising broad-based taxes to close a cumulative \$11.5 billion shortfall in the budget for this fiscal year and the next, which begins on April 1. B1

## Gardener Wins Mega Millions

Phin Suy, a gardener for the Central Park Conservancy, was the sole winner of a \$128 million Mega Millions jackpot. B1

CIRCUITS G1-8

HOUSE & HOME F1-14

ARTS E1-12

SPORTS D1-8

OBITUARIES B9

## Johnny Paycheck

One of the most influential country singers of the last 40 years and yet for stretches of his career a Nashville pariah who became more famous for what he did spectacularly wrong than what he did right, he was 64. B9

BUSINESS DAY C1-14

## Turner Ruffling AOL Feathers

Since resigning last month as vice chairman of AOL Time Warner, Ted Turner has emerged as a threat to AOL's stability as it struggles to overcome two years of upheaval, even hinting that he might further depress the company's stock with sales of his shares. C1

## Pauley to Leave NBC

Jane Pauley, the co-anchor of "Dateline NBC" and previously the long-serving anchor of the "Today" show, said she would leave NBC in May after 27 years. Ms. Pauley's decision not to renew her current contract stunned NBC management. C1

## F.C.C. Split on New Regulations

The Federal Communications Commission plans to ease regulations requiring four large regional bell companies to offer their networks and equipment to smaller rivals at low rates, but the commission's chairman had hoped for a complete repudiation of the old rules. C1

## Daimler Replies to Shareholder

DaimlerChrysler revealed a long rebuttal to a lawsuit filed on behalf of Kirk Kerkorian, the casino operator who was the top shareholder of Chrysler before Daimler-Benz acquired it. The suit accuses Daimler executives of misrepresenting the purchase as a "merger of equals." C1

Business Digest C1

World Business W1

NEWS SUMMARY

EDITORIAL A30-31

Editorials: Dollar diplomacy; reason No. 11: I've got big plows; who says no new taxes? Brent Staples on corporate radio.

Columns: Bob Herbert, William Safire.

Bridge E8

TV Listings E11

Crossword E8

Weather A26

Public Lives B2

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## Letters

The Tampa Tribune (Florida)

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## **Body**

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### A Better Plan Passed

Here's the rest of the story contained in Amber Degryse's letter regarding the work of the state Legislature on the women's heart initiative (Feb. 17). First, I hope your readers know better than to believe that the Florida House would turn down any federal dollars for women's health. Such an allegation is outrageous and preposterous. We all supported the legislation, and I personally served on the health care committee when the women's heart initiative was being developed.

The rest of the story is that the Department of Health grant proposal in question was very top-heavy in new bureaucrats. About two-thirds of the \$1 million grant was in salaries for new bureaucrats and only one-third was for direct services to women. In this case, the direct service was advertising for heart disease awareness. Because of this problem with the grant, the House Appropriations Committee chairman, Bruce Kyle, developed the House strategy to deny the grant and make the health department come back a month later with a better proposal with more dollars for direct services to women and less spending on bureaucrats.

It took real courage by Reps. Kyle, Waters, Brummer, Simmons and Bilirakis to vote "no" on the original grant and hold the health department's feet to the fire for a better plan that will put more dollars into advertising and ultimately save more lives of women.

Guess what? The new health department plan that was approved Feb. 13 will have \$300,000 more for direct services - in this case, advertising - and half as many new bureaucrats as originally proposed!

To set the record straight, women in Florida will be better off because several House members had the courage to do something that will actually save someone's life.

JOHNNIE BYRD

Plant City

The writer is speaker of the Florida House.

### Protesting Naked?

To the women who stripped naked to protest President Bush's policies on Iraq (Metro, Feb. 15):

1. As others have observed: Wrong president.

## Letters

2. If you want to surrender to radical Islamic fundamentalists like Saddam Hussein and his good buddy Osama bin Laden, showing even your ankles in public could get you beaten. Publicly stripping naked or making political statements will get you beheaded.

But for now you have your blood-bought freedom of speech - even the freedom to stupidly, immorally malign those who protect your freedoms.

ROBERT L. ANDREWS

Tampa

### Prayer Is Best Weapon

As the days quickly pass, war in Iraq seems impossibly unavoidable. The death and destruction of such a conflict, along with terrorist reprisals at home and abroad, may be very close to becoming reality. But are there legitimate answers for peace yet unknown? At this point, the very best answers may still be beyond us all.

Shortly after the Sept. 11 tragedy, religious leaders across our country brought us all together for prayer and reflection. Why not once again collectively reach out beyond our human limitations? Why not in this time of crisis jointly seek God's wisdom as a people "under God"? The power of our prayer is truly our greatest weapon.

Religious leaders of the Tampa Bay area, let's take action now! Please bring us all together for a special day of prayer. Encourage our nation to follow your lead on that very same day. In unison, let us join hands in our churches, synagogues and temples, look to God and pray for what seems out of our human reach: miraculous peace. With divine intervention, the impossible can truly become possible.

JOHN J. BRENNAN

Palm Harbor

### Worth The Hard Work

As a father, stepfather, grandfather, husband and Vietnam vet, I totally oppose the war with Iraq. There are a lot of countries with weapons of mass destruction, including China, Russia, Britain, North Korea and, yes, the United States. The whole issue of weapons of mass destruction is the wrong focus and a bit hypocritical.

War to me is a failure to resolve issues. It would seem to me that the United States, as a "world leader" - although we are now very isolated - could do much better than going to war. Where is the leadership? Why the rush to war? Our lack of creative and patient world leadership is not acceptable.

In addition, I believe that going to war is exactly what the terrorists and al-Qaida want us to do, as it opens up an opportunity for more destruction on their part, i.e., retaliation. Let's not give them that opportunity.

I know that working for peace is much harder and more frustrating to accomplish, but it is well worth it.

ROSS P. ALANDER

Tampa

### What's So "Small Scale"?

The article "U.S. Troops Setting Stage For Ground War In Iraq" (Nation/World, Feb. 13) states, "In addition to the ground operations, a small-scale air war against Iraq also continues." The same paragraph goes on to say, "On [Feb. 11], U.S. warplanes dropped more than a dozen bombs and on [Feb. 12] they returned to bomb ..."

Is there a difference between small-scale war and any other? I can imagine

the effect of one bomb in a place the size of California, but a dozen in one day and then more the next? Please explain how this action can be justified.

## Letters

JOANN ALTHOFF

Avon Park

## An Unjustifiable War

I agree with the millions of people around the world who demonstrated last weekend (Nation/World, Feb. 16): War in Iraq is unjustified at this point. War would result in the deaths of hundreds, maybe thousands, of innocent civilians and soldiers on both sides. War could ignite anti-American fervor in the Middle East and elsewhere, resulting in many more terrorist attacks on American soil.

Engaging in war means that we are willing to sacrifice the lives of our own people - husbands, wives, sons and daughters, in order to accomplish our goals. Saddam Hussein is evil - there is no doubt about that - but his actions to date do not warrant the tremendous sacrifices that would be required to depose him through war.

LINDA EASTON

New Port Richey

## Not Worth The Risks

Each person who is in favor of a war with Iraq ought ask himself one question: Do I believe that Iraq poses such a grave and imminent threat to the United States that it is worth my life or that of my offspring, sibling, spouse or parent? If that question cannot be answered in the affirmative, you ought not be in favor of a war that will kill someone else's loved one.

RICHARD P. FLATAU

Seminole

## The Missing Messages

To the peace advocates:

Where were your speeches and signs telling Saddam Hussein to show us the evidence of his destruction of his weapons of mass destruction and to stop his mass murderous ways?

Where were your speeches and signs telling Osama bin Laden and Yasser Arafat to stop their murderous ways?

Where were your speeches and signs telling Hamas, Hezbollah, al-Jihad, al-Qaida and all of the many other terrorist groups to stop their murderous ways?

Where were your speeches and signs telling North Korea's President Kim Jong Il to stop his development of weapons of mass destruction and his threats of mass murder?

Where were your speeches and signs asking the governments of China, Russia, Cuba, Libya, Iran and Syria to stop supporting terrorist organizations?

Please tell me - where were all these speeches and signs?

SOL KOPPEL

Beverly Hills

## Notes

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LETTERS

Letters

**Load-Date:** February 21, 2003

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## *Time is now on Saddam's side*

Ottawa Citizen

January 8, 2003 Wednesday Final Edition

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**Section:** News; David Warren; Pg. A7; Column

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**Byline:** David Warren

### **Body**

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It is becoming clearer by the day that the ideal time to invade Iraq and change the regime of Saddam Hussein would be -- any month in the year 2003.

We have a massive buildup of force and readiness around that country -- chiefly American, British, Turkish, and Israeli. It appears to be building toward a climax around the end of this month. The new moons are on Feb. 1 and March 1. The latter date is getting toward the last moment when ground troops, heavily encumbered with suiting against the chemical and biological weapons Mr. Saddam is expected to unleash, still have the benefit of fairly cool weather.

The Ottawa Citizen

Even without an invasion of Iraq, the coincidence of four or more aircraft carrier groups in the vicinity of the Gulf changes the power equation in the region. It means the U.S. is now overwhelmingly the leading regional military power, no matter who is its adversary.

But an optimal state of readiness and preparation cannot be maintained indefinitely. Even the logistics planners must have some idea of the "window" in which the attack will be ordered, and if nothing happens in this window, the morale of troops is compromised. That is just one of the realities: "Use it or lose it," where "it" means your edge.

Moreover, contrary to media reports, the various regional potentates, including the Turks and the princes of the different Gulf sheikdoms, are nagging the U.S. to get it over with. Each has a difficult domestic constituency to pacify, and the longer this takes, the harder to keep them down. I know that at least three regional leaders, including the Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia, have sent envoys to Washington to privately plead for speed. Each has also warned that if the U.S. doesn't follow through on this one promptly, they really will not have the stomach to go through the buildup again. (Publicly they say quite contrary things -- chiefly to assuage their "Islamist" and anti-American constituencies, who must be told they are at least trying to keep Mr. Saddam in power.)

Finally, each month that goes by gives Mr. Saddam and the international terror machine with which he is in communication (note "in communication with" -- he doesn't actually run most of it, only *Hamas*) have the time to prepare retaliation for the U.S. strikes. The advantage was previously with the U.S., which could build up forces and make preparations (including against possible terror strikes in the U.S.) faster than the adversary. But with that having got nearly as good as it will get, the advantage is transferred. From now on, time is on Mr. Saddam's side.

Which is a pity because the U.S. is currently stepping into a quadruple quagmire. The first is the North Korean crisis. On the face of things that crisis appears more urgent -- for Pyongyang already has nuclear weapons, and much besides. What this means is that it's too late to attack them. An Iraq in North Korea's position, in the heart of



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the Middle East, would be a far worse problem. That's why Iraq must be attacked -- because it is not too late, yet. But try to explain this to a public now accustomed to soundbites less than a 20th the length of this paragraph.

Second, by giving the UN a role, as is now indisputable, the Bush administration has conceded the power of delay to its enemies. UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan has made it clear he will do everything in his power to resist U.S. action. He sets the pace for the weapons inspectors. Behind the scenes, the U.S. has discovered that even when those inspectors are given U.S. leads, in live time, nothing happens. The inspectors on the ground in Iraq simply refuse to act in a timely manner on U.S. information. They have, however, stopped complaining that the U.S. isn't telling them anything.

Third, the U.S. has succeeded in stalling, until the Israeli election of Jan. 28, European and international pressure to compel Israel to make (dangerous and potentially suicidal) concessions to achieve (an unworkable) peace in its neighbourhood, including the creation of a strict timetable for a Palestinian state. The "quartet" of the U.S., European community, UN and Russia, will swing back into action immediately after the election. This will expose a series of fault lines between the U.S. and its allies, including an especially dangerous one between the U.S. and Britain.

But the fourth is the real killer. The world supply of oil has just nosedived, and so the price of oil will skyrocket, however temporarily, just when the U.S. is about to do something that can only aggravate this -- namely, take Iraq's two million barrels a day temporarily out of production, with the possibility of worse if production or shipment is interrupted elsewhere in the Gulf.

Throughout 2002, supply and demand kept roughly at pace, and it appeared supplementary reserves were available. Indeed, OPEC was begging the Russians to slow production against a potential global oil glut. This turns out to have been partly illusory, for the speed at which new Russian oil was getting to market turns out to have been more an artifact of imaginative Russian accounting systems than of efficient Russian engineering.

In the last several weeks, Venezuela, one of the world's leading oil exporters, has descended into complete chaos, taking a crucial two million barrels a day off the market. Whatever excess capacity was elsewhere is now fully engaged. Venezuela may stay down for months, and in the meantime, winter oil inventories are shrinking dangerously in the U.S. and Europe. Even if Venezuela comes back up, it will take time for the restored supply to get to consumers.

An Iraq campaign in the next several months will almost certainly trigger an international oil crisis. (There is a lesser, but similar problem in natural gas.) The scale of it is not predictable, but a shortfall aggregating to at least four million barrels a day is plausible.

The longer term position is by no means grim -- Iraq, once on its feet again, could be within a year at much higher levels of oil production, and so could Venezuela after Hugo Chavez disappears. But the oil market, on which so much of our economies depend, works from day to day, not from year to year. Whereas the damage that can be done in a day tends to last rather longer.

Can the U.S. afford to wait until the oil market returns to equilibrium, before it settles the issue of Iraq? No.

Read previous columns by David Warren at [www.canada.com](http://www.canada.com).

## Graphic

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Photo: Hussein Malla, The Associated Press; ***Female*** Iraqi army volunteers, holding AK-47 assault rifles, march during a military parade held in Diala province 70 kilometres northeast of Baghdad, Iraq, yesterday. Thousands of volunteers took part in the parade to mark the 82nd anniversary of Iraq's army.

Time is now on Saddam's side

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## *Islam no bar to political change of face*

The Australian

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**Section:** WORLD; Pg. 14

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**Byline:** Fareed Zakaria

### **Body**

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Why is the Middle East the political basket case of the world? The answer is more complex than the one offered by Osama bin Laden, writes Fareed Zakaria

IT is always the same splendid setting, and the same sad story. A senior US diplomat enters one of the grand presidential palaces in Heliopolis, the neighbourhood of Cairo from which President Hosni Mubarak rules over Egypt.

He walks through halls of marble, through rooms filled with gilded furniture -- all a bad imitation of imperial French style that has been jokingly called "Louis Farouk", after the last king of Egypt. Passing layers of security guards, he arrives at a formal drawing room, where he is received with great courtesy by the Egyptian President. The two talk amiably about US-Egyptian relations, regional affairs and the state of the peace process between Israel and the Palestinians.

MATP

Then the American gently raises the issue of human rights and suggests the Egyptian Government might ease up on political dissent, allow more press freedom and stop jailing intellectuals. Mubarak tenses, and snaps: "If I were to do what you ask, Islamic fundamentalists will take over Egypt. Is that what you want?"

The conversation moves back to the latest twist in the peace process.

Over the years, Americans and Arabs have had many such exchanges. When former US president Bill Clinton urged Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat to agree to the Camp David peace plan that had been negotiated in July 2001, Arafat reportedly responded with words to this effect: "If I do what you want, **Hamas** will be in power tomorrow."

The Saudi monarchy's most articulate spokesman, Prince Bandar bin Sultan, often reminds US officials that if they press his government too hard, the likely alternative to the regime is not Jeffersonian democracy but a Taliban-style theocracy.

The worst part of it is, they may be right.

The Arab rulers of the Middle East are autocratic, corrupt and heavy-handed. But they are still more liberal, tolerant and pluralist than those who would probably replace them. Elections in many Arab countries would produce politicians who trumpet views closer to Osama bin Laden's than those of Jordan's liberal monarch, King Abdullah.

## Islam no bar to political change of face

The emir of Kuwait, with US encouragement, last year proposed giving women the vote. But the democratically elected Kuwaiti parliament -- filled with Islamic fundamentalists -- roundly rejected the initiative.

Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah tried something much less dramatic when he proposed that women in Saudi Arabia be allowed to drive -- they are currently forbidden to do so, which means Saudi Arabia has had to import 500,000 chauffeurs from countries such as India and The Philippines. But the religious conservatives mobilised popular opposition and forced him to back down.

A similar dynamic is evident elsewhere in the Arab world. In Oman, Qatar, Bahrain, Jordan and Morocco, on virtually every political issue, the monarchs are more liberal than the societies over which they reign.

Even in the Palestinian territories, where secular nationalists such as Arafat and his Palestine Liberation Organisation have long been the most popular political force, militant religious groups such as Hamas and Islamic Jihad are gaining strength, especially among the young. And although they speak the language of elections, many of the Islamic parties have been vitriolic in their contempt for democracy, which they see as a Western form of government. They would happily come to power through an election, but then would set up their own theocratic rule. It would be, as the saying has it, one man, one vote, one time.

The Arab world is trapped between autocratic states and illiberal societies, neither of them fertile ground for liberal democracy. The dangerous dynamic between these two forces has produced a political climate filled with religious extremism and violence. As the state becomes more repressive, opposition within society grows more violent, goading the state into further repression.

It is the reverse of the historical process in the Western world, where liberalism produced democracy, and democracy fuelled liberalism. The Arab path has instead produced dictatorship, which has bred terrorism.

But terrorism is only the most notable manifestation of this dysfunctional relationship between state and society. There is also economic paralysis, social stagnation and intellectual bankruptcy.

Since September 11, 2001, the political dysfunctions of the Arab world have suddenly presented themselves on the West's doorstep. In the back of everyone's mind -- and in the front of many -- is the question of why. Why is this region the political basket case of the world? Why is it the great hold-out, the straggler in the march of modern societies?

Osama bin Laden has an answer. For him the problem with Arab regimes is that they are insufficiently Islamic. Only by returning to Islam, he tells his followers, will Muslims achieve justice.

Democracy for bin Laden is a Western invention. Its emphasis on freedom and tolerance produces social decay and licentiousness. Bin Laden and those like him seek the overthrow of the governments of the Arab world -- perhaps of the whole Muslim world -- and their replacement by regimes founded on strict Islamic principles, ruled by Islamic law (sharia) and based on the early Caliphate (the seventh-century Islamic kingdom of Arabia). Their more recent role model was the Taliban regime in Afghanistan.

There are those in the West who agree with bin Laden that Islam is the reason for the Middle East's turmoil. Christian preachers such as Pat Robertson and Jerry Falwell, and writers such as Paul Johnson and William Lind, have made the case that Islam is a religion of repression and backwardness. More serious scholars have argued -- far more insightfully -- that the problem is more complex: for the fundamentalists, Islam is considered a template for all life, including politics.

Classical Islam, developed in the seventh and eighth centuries, contains few of the ideas we associate with democracy. Elie Kedourie, an eminent student of Arab politics, wrote: "The idea of representation, of elections, of popular suffrage, of political institutions being regulated by laws laid down by a parliamentary assembly, of these laws being guarded and upheld by an independent judiciary, the ideas of the secularity of the state ... all these are profoundly alien to the Muslim political tradition."

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The Koranic model of leadership is authoritarian. The Muslim holy book is bursting with examples of the just king, the pious ruler, the wise arbiter. But the Bible has its authoritarian tendencies as well. The kings of the Old Testament were hardly democrats. The biblical Solomon, held up as the wisest man of all, was an absolute monarch. The Bible also contains passages that seem to justify slavery and the subjugation of women.

The truth is that little is to be gained by searching in the Koran for clues to Islam's true nature. The Koran is a vast book, filled with poetry and contradictions -- much like the Bible and the Torah. All three books praise kings, as do most religious texts. As for mixing spiritual and temporal authority, Catholic popes combined religious authority and political power for centuries in a way no Muslim ruler has ever been able to achieve.

Judaism has had much less involvement with political power because, until Israel's founding, Jews were a minority everywhere in the modern world. Yet the word "theocracy" was coined by Josephus to describe the political views of the ancient Jews. The founding religious texts of all faiths were, for the most part, written in another age, one filled with monarchs, feudalism, war and insecurity. They bear the stamp of their times.

Still, Western scholars of the 19th and early 20th centuries often argued that Islam encourages authoritarianism. This assertion was probably influenced by their view of the Ottoman Empire, a community of several hundred million Muslims labouring docilely under the sultan in distant Constantinople, singing hosannas to him before Friday prayers. But most of the world at the time was quite similar in its deference to political authority. In Russia, the tsar was considered almost a god. In Japan, the emperor was a god. On the whole, Asian empires were more despotic than Western ones, but Islamic rule was no more autocratic than the Chinese, Japanese or Russian versions.

If any intrinsic aspect of Islam is worth noting, it is not its devotion to authority, but the opposite: Islam has an anti-authoritarian streak that is evident in every Muslim land today. It probably originates in several hadith -- sayings of the Prophet Mohammed -- in which obedience towards the ruler is incumbent on the Muslim only so far as the ruler's commands are in keeping with God's law. If the ruler asks you to violate the faith, all bets are off: "If he is ordered to do a sinful act, a Muslim should neither listen to (his leader) nor should he obey his orders."

Religions are vague, of course. This means they are easy to follow -- you can interpret their prescriptions as you like. But it also means it is easy to slip up -- there is always some injunction you may be violating.

However, Islam has no religious establishment -- no popes or bishops -- that can declare by fiat which is the correct interpretation. As a result, the decision to oppose the state on the grounds it is insufficiently Islamic belongs to anyone who wishes to exercise it. This much Islam shares with Protestantism. Just as any Protestant with a little training can declare himself a religious leader, so any Muslim can express opinions on issues of faith. In a religion without an official clergy, bin Laden has as much -- or as little -- authority to issue fatwas as does a Pakistani taxi driver in New York.

The problem, in other words, is the absence of religious authority in Islam, not its dominance.

Consider the source of the current chaos in Arab lands. In Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Algeria and elsewhere, Islamist groups wage bloody campaigns against states they accuse of betraying Islam.

Bin Laden and his deputy, the Egyptian Ayman Zawahiri, both laymen, began their careers by fighting their own governments because of policies they deemed un-Islamic -- for Zawahiri it was Egyptian president Anwar Sadat's 1978 peace treaty with Israel, for Bin Laden it was King Fahd's decision to allow US troops on Saudi soil in 1991.

In his 1996 declaration of jihad, bin Laden declared the Saudi Government had left the fold of Islam and so it was permissible to take up arms against it: "The regime betrayed the ummah (community of believers) and joined the kufr (unbelievers), assisting and helping them against the Muslims." Bin Laden called for rebellion against the rulers, and many responded to his call.

There is also the question of timing. If Islam is the problem, then why is this conflict taking place now? Why did Islamic fundamentalism take off only after the 1979 Iranian revolution? Islam and the West have coexisted for 14 centuries. There have been periods of war, but many more periods of peace. Many scholars have pointed out that

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until the 1940s, minorities and particularly Jews were persecuted less under Muslim rule than under any other majority religion. That is why the Middle East was for centuries home to many minorities. It is commonly noted that a million Jews left, or were expelled from, Arab countries after the creation of Israel in 1948. No one asks why so many were living in Arab countries in the first place.

The trouble with thundering declarations about "Islam's nature" is that Islam, like any religion, is not what books make it, but what people make it. Forget the rantings of the fundamentalists, who are a minority. Most Muslims' daily lives do not confirm the idea of a faith that is intrinsically anti-Western or anti-modern. The most populous Muslim country in the world, Indonesia, has had secular government since its independence in 1949, with a religious opposition that was tiny, although it is now growing.

Then there is Turkey, with the fifth-largest Muslim population in the world, a flawed but functioning liberal democracy, a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation and perhaps soon to be a member of the European Union. Add fledgling democracies such as Nigeria and Mali, and you have a more rounded view of the world of Islam. It is not the prettiest picture. Most Muslim countries are in the Third World and share its problems of poverty, corruption and misgovernment. But there is no simple link between Islam and repression. As Freedom House noted: "The majority of the world's Muslims live in electoral democracies today." If there is a fundamental incompatibility between Islam and democracy, 800million Muslims seem unaware of it.

The real problem lies not in the Muslim world but in the Middle East. When you get to this region, you see in lurid colour all the dysfunctions that people conjure up when they think of Islam today. In Iran, Egypt, Syria, Iraq, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the Persian Gulf states, dictatorships rule in various stripes and liberal democracy appears far from reach. The allure of Islamic fundamentalism seems strong, whether spoken of urgently behind closed doors or declared in fiery sermons in mosques. This is the land of flag-burners, fiery mullahs and suicide bombers.

The US went to war in Afghanistan, but not a single Afghan was linked to any terrorist attack against Americans. Afghanistan was the campsite from which an Arab army was battling the US.

For the most part, the task of reform in the Middle East must fall to the peoples of the region. No one can make democracy, liberalism or secularism take root in these societies without their own search, efforts and achievements. But the Western world in general, and the US in particular, can help enormously.

The US is the dominant power in the Middle East; every country views its relations with Washington as its most critical tie. Oil, strategic ties, and the unique US relationship with Israel ensure Washington's involvement. The US will continue to aid the Egyptian regime, protect the Saudi monarchy and broker negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians. The question really is, should it not ask for something in return? By not pushing these regimes, the US would be making a conscious decision to let things stay as they are -- to opt for stability. It is a worthwhile goal, except that the current situation in the Middle East is highly unstable. Even if viewed from a strategic perspective, it is in the immediate security interests of the US to try to make the regimes of the Middle East less prone to breeding fanatical and terrorist opposition movements.

If we could choose one place to press hardest to reform, it should be Egypt (Iraq is another possible candidate for this role). Although Jordan has a more progressive ruler, and Saudi Arabia is more critical because of its oil, Egypt is the intellectual soul of the Arab world. If it were to progress economically and politically, it would demonstrate more powerfully than any essay or speech that Islam is compatible with modernity, and that Arabs can thrive in today's world. In East Asia, Japan's economic success proved a powerful example that others in the region looked to and followed. The Middle East needs one such homegrown success story.

This is an edited extract from *The Future of Freedom: Illiberal Democracy at Home and Abroad* by Fareed Zakaria, which is published by W.W.Norton and Co and will be distributed in Australia this month by John Wiley and Sons, \$44.95

Islam no bar to political change of face

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## *Israelis plant flag, but Arafat wins allies*

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**Section:** WIRE;

**Length:** 1191 words

**Byline:** By Jamie Tarabay Associated Press writer

### **Body**

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RAMALLAH, West Bank -- Israel planted its flag in Yasser Arafat's compound Saturday and demolished more of his besieged offices, prompting thousands of Palestinians to pour into the streets in the West Bank and Gaza Strip in protest. Four demonstrators were killed by army fire.

In the largely demolished compound, Israelis threatened several times over loudspeakers to blow up the building where Arafat is holed up -- the only one left standing -- unless wanted men inside surrendered.

Israel has said it does not intend to harm Arafat, and the army later said it had no plans of blowing up the building.

Arafat, who is confined to four rooms on the second floor of his office, appealed to militants Saturday to halt attacks on Israel but refused to hand over members of his entourage. He spent the day making telephone calls and faxes from a conference room in the battered building.

Israel, preparing for a long standoff, planted an Israeli flag atop Arafat's office building. Israel said it would not withdraw from the compound before the wanted men surrender -- and left open the possibility that even then troops might not leave.

Early today, Arafat's Fatah movement led protest marches in several West Bank towns, defying Israeli military curfews.

In Ramallah, just a few miles from Arafat's compound, troops fired tear gas and live bullets to disperse hundreds of men, women and children chanting "long live Arafat, long live Palestine." Two protesters were killed by army fire, hospital officials said.

Two more people were killed in the towns of Tulkarem and Nablus. In Tulkarem, gunmen traded fire with Israeli troops. In the town of Rafah in the Gaza Strip, about 5,000 people joined the protests, some firing submachine guns into the air and holding up Arafat pictures.

In the West Bank town of Jericho, about 400 protesters marched to a local prison, demanding the release of six men held under U.S. and British supervision as part of a deal that prompted Israel to lift its siege of Arafat's compound in May.

The foreign monitors threatened to leave, saying they felt endangered by the mob, according to security officials in Jericho.



## Israelis plant flag, but Arafat wins allies

The Israeli siege was expected to revive the Palestinian leader's sagging popularity, and put on hold recent attempts led by Arafat loyalists to force him to share power.

Arafat has been under Israeli siege before, including in 1982 in Beirut and for 34 days in the spring at his Ramallah headquarters, but he never seemed weaker.

The United States seeks to sideline him and Israel's prime minister reportedly is eager to expel him, held back only by warnings from Israeli security chiefs that such a step could backfire.

Three days into Israel's assault on Arafat's once sprawling headquarters -- launched in reprisal for a Tel Aviv bus bombing -- the main office building was surrounded by barbed wire, piles of debris and heaps of smashed cars.

Arafat and dozens of aides and security guards were confined to four rooms on the second floor of one wing after a tank shell destroyed the stairs to the third floor. Several more shells hit the building, and one dusted Arafat with debris.

At one point, when informed that troops had planted an Israeli flag on the office building, Arafat got up to take a look from a window, said a senior PLO official, Hani al-Hassan.

A picture taken by his personal photographer and released Saturday showed a grim-faced Arafat wearing thick, black-rimmed glasses, poring over papers at his desk, with several aides at his side. Beside him was a holstered pistol with belt, next to a desk calculator, a box of tissues and two bottles of mineral water.

Those trapped with him said Israeli troops demolished water pipes, the main kitchen and the pantry, but that there was enough water from rooftop tanks and stored food to last a few days.

The United States and the European Union have urged Israel to show restraint and have been trying to defuse the crisis.

The Bush Administration remained publicly silent Saturday about the events in Ramallah.

France demanded Israel halt the operation, saying it was unacceptable. The European Union's foreign policy coordinator, Javier Solana, said the raid would not help end terrorism, and would instead undermine efforts to reform the Palestinian Authority.

The United States apparently is also concerned that a new flareup in the Middle East could complicate its campaign against Iraqi President Saddam Hussein.

Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak called on President Bush to intervene immediately to stop the Israeli operation, the Middle East News Agency reported.

In the United States, the Rev. Jesse Jackson told The Associated Press that he telephoned Arafat and spoke with him "directly."

Jackson said both he and the secretary general of the Arab league had been trying, without success, to telephone President Bush and Secretary of State Colin Powell to register their opposition to the Israeli action.

"President Bush cannot give sanction to silence," Jackson said. --

Palestinian officials said Israel's demand for the surrender of wanted men, including West Bank intelligence chief Tawfik Tirawi, was just a pretext, and that Sharon's real objective is to humiliate Arafat.

"Sharon is implementing his plan of destroying the Palestinian Authority and the peace process, harming President Arafat and resuming the occupation," said Palestinian Cabinet Minister Saeb Erekat.

Israel TV's Channel Two cited security officials as saying the hope was that life would become so unbearable for Arafat as a result of the siege that he would choose exile.

## Israelis plant flag, but Arafat wins allies

Raanan Gissin, a Sharon adviser, left open the possibility that troops would stay on even if the wanted men surrender. "First of all, we want those people in our hands," he said. "Then we will consider what action, what further action we will have to take in order to ensure and defend our citizens."

Five Israelis and a Scottish seminary student were killed in Thursday's suicide bombing on a Tel Aviv bus, claimed by the Islamic militant **Hamas** group.

In a statement published by the Palestinian news agency Wafa, Arafat again called on militants to halt attacks inside Israel.

He did not directly address the surrender of the wanted men, though his aides have said they would not be turned over. "We are ready for peace, not for capitulation," he said in the statement, his first comment since the Israeli raid began.

Israel initially called for the surrender of 19 Palestinian officials, including members of the intelligence service and the Force 17 bodyguard unit. It detailed allegations against four of them, but never released a complete list.

On Saturday, a senior army officer taking reporters on a tour of Arafat's compound said Israel wanted 50 men to give themselves up. Army officials said the figure increased because Israel initially did not have a complete picture of who is inside.

Two senior Palestinians who have been in contact with Israeli officials said Israel never formally demanded the surrender. However, a third official, speaking on condition of anonymity, said the issue was raised by Sharon in a phone call.

The U.N. Security Council was to meet Monday to discuss the siege.

**Load-Date:** September 22, 2002

**Pre-emptive or presumptive ... Baghdad's in the balance; THE DUEL: Should Iraq be attacked?**

Australian Financial Review

August 24, 2002 Saturday

Late Edition

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**Byline:** Daniel Pipes and Jonathan Schanzer, of Philadelphia's Middle East Forum v Alice Mahon, British Labour MP and delegate to the NATO Parliamentary Assembly

## **Body**

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Daniel Pipes and Jonathan Schanzer, of Philadelphia's Middle East Forum, say Saddam Hussein's record demands a military campaign to remove him. Alice Mahon, British Labour MP and delegate to the NATO Parliamentary Assembly, says there is no basis for an attack on Iraq.

Daniel Pipes and Jonathan Schanzer

As US President George Bush prepares to depose Iraqi tyrant Saddam Hussein, American nay-sayers have emerged in opposition. Notably, Brent Scowcroft, a close colleague of Bush's father, counsels "don't attack Saddam" for fear that this would "undermine our anti-terror efforts".

Australian Foreign Minister Alexander Downer, however, did the right thing when he offered Australia's support for a prospective American military campaign. Here's why it's urgent to take this step.

\* Record. Hussein has a history of aggression. He invaded Iran in 1980. He conquered Kuwait in 1990. He assaulted Saudi Arabia and Israel with missiles in 1991. He blew up the Kuwait oil fields later that year. He's shot at US and British aircraft in the no-fly zone since 1992. He attacked the Kurdish regional enclave in 1996.

He is also linked to terrorism. Iraq harbours Abdul Rahman Yasin, one of the gang that bombed the World Trade Center in 1993. It also hosted the notorious Palestinian terrorist Abu Nidal, just found dead in Baghdad. He encourages Hamas suicide bombers by paying \$US10,000 (\$18,500) to their families. His terrorists tried to assassinate former US President George Bush Snr and the Emir of Kuwait. An Iraqi diplomat met Al Qaeda's Mohammad Atta before the September 11 suicide mission.

\* Casus belli. Hussein has a history of violating international law and developing illegal weapons. In February 1991, he signed an agreement accepting all UN Security Council resolutions passed after his invasion of Kuwait seven months earlier. He recognised Resolution 687, which demands Iraq's weapons of mass destruction (WMD) be "destroyed, removed or rendered harmless", and requires inspectors be allowed into Iraq.

But Hussein then played cat and mouse with the inspectors. "Iraq released detailed records of how many ballpoint pens it ordered in the late 1980s," notes a US Government report, but left out vital information about its "missile warheads capable of delivering biological and chemical agents".

## Pre-emptive or presumptive ... Baghdad's in the balance THE DUEL: Should Iraq be attacked?

Nonetheless, over seven years, inspectors did destroy at least 27,000 chemical weapons, 500 tonnes of mustard and nerve agents and thousands of tonnes of precursor chemicals. They disassembled much of Iraq's nuclear program, which had continued in violation of Resolution 687.

\* Dangers. Hussein has unquestionably used the past four years to build WMD. Adnan Saeed al-Haidari, an Iraqi civil engineer and a recent defector, informed American intelligence that Hussein was building WMD in eight locations throughout Iraq.

Khidhir Hamza, former chief nuclear scientist for Hussein's nuclear weapons development program and another Iraqi defector, estimates Iraq now has "12 tonnes of uranium and 1.3 tonnes of low-enriched uranium", giving Hussein "three to five nuclear

weapons by 2005".

Australian Richard Butler, former chief UN weapons inspector, says it is "foolish in the extreme" to believe that Hussein is not hard at work on WMD. If Hussein does get his hands on nuclear weapons, he will exploit them fully. He is the only ruler in power to have used WMD having deployed poison gases against both Iranians and his own Kurdish population.

Bush rightly states that the world must "confront the worst threats before they emerge". How can anyone recommend waiting until Iraq has nuclear weapons and uses them before defusing this problem?

The argument for pre-emption is compelling. Australia should support and join an American military campaign to oust Hussein.

Alice Mahon

A high-cost, high-risk strategy like war on Iraq deserves positive answers to two questions. Why is it necessary? And what are its likely consequences? The US's approach is unconvincing on both counts.

George Bush tell us the casus belli is Iraq's potential to deploy weapons of mass destruction and its links with terrorism. All such weapons are of the greatest concern (including America's own nuclear armoury). But the majority of Western experts agrees that Iraq does not possess them. This includes such authorities as former UN weapons inspector Scott Ritter, who resigned in 1998 after seven years of service saying Iraq's ability to produce mass destruction weapons had been completely removed.

Ritter visited the British Parliament recently to explain not only that there was no case for believing Iraq has these weapons, but it would also be inconceivable for the regime to develop them without the West becoming aware this was happening.

He points out, too, that there is no reason for presuming Iraq has terrorist connections.

Ritter is no bleeding heart when it comes to the question of Saddam Hussein. He is a card-carrying Republican and an ex-marine of 12 years' service that includes the Gulf War.

Bush, on the other hand, has been unable to come up with a shred of hard evidence to substantiate either claim. No doubt this helps account for the growing number of American politicians, including some loyal to the President, who are beginning to question his strategy.

Unsurprisingly, the threat of invasion prompted Iraq to open negotiations about re-establishing weapons inspection. On each occasion, the option of a non-military resolution has been rebuffed by the US.

If Bush is concerned about weapons of mass destruction, shouldn't he jump at the chance to send monitors back in? The imbalance of power between Washington and Baghdad means he could virtually dictate the terms. Instead, he has indicated that American wants to attack regardless.

Pre-emptive or presumptive ... Baghdad's in the balance THE DUEL: Should Iraq be attacked?

Iraq is a broken-backed state. Military action is simply not necessary. Should it take place, a number of undesirable consequences is likely to follow.

First, and perhaps most strategically important, would be another nail knocked in the coffin of international law. No UN mandate exists for such action and the Security Council shows no signs of bestowing it.

Second, military action would destabilise the region. The Arab street is disaffected enough over Bush's failure to broker an end to Israel's occupation of Palestinian territory, without the US trying to determine who governs Iraq.

Last, but not least, military action would harm the Iraqi people. War is a bloody business and civilians are the main casualties of modern warfare. Another generation of Iraqi women and children can expect to pay the price of US action.

In Europe, as in Australia, there is significant opposition to war. No matter how unpleasant Saddam Hussein may be, Iraq offers little threat to the outside world and a growing number of public figures is beginning to say so.

In Britain these range from the newly appointed Archbishop of Canterbury to a former chief of defence staff, and include nine of the country's most senior trade unionists. Successive opinion polls show a majority against US-led action.

As early as March, a parliamentary motion of mine attracted significant cross-party support and helped express the growing opposition to military action.

War on Iraq would be neither legal nor moral; nor would it resolve the issues it purports to address.

The West is in urgent need of a fundamental change in policy towards the Middle East.

Now is a good time to assert the primacy of political and diplomatic solutions.

**Load-Date:** April 4, 2012

**Chapter 8: Going to camp: Budding terrorist Ahmed Ressam learns the essentials of mass murder at an al-Qaeda-run training camp in Afghanistan.**  
**Hal Bernton, Mike Carter, David Heath and James Neff report.**

Ottawa Citizen

August 1, 2002 Thursday Final Edition

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**Section:** News; Pg. A5; Crime; Series

**Length:** 1171 words

**Byline:** Hal Bernton, Mike Carter, David Heath and James Neff

**Series:** Inside Jihad: Ahmed Ressam's War of Terror

**Dateline:** MONTREAL

## **Body**

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MONTREAL, March 1998 - Before Ahmed Ressam could embark on his journey to terrorist training, jihad and glory in Allah's name, he had pressing business: He needed a new identity. If he were a Canadian with a passport, instead of an Algerian without one, he could move around the world with ease.

He began with a blank baptismal certificate stolen from a Catholic parish in Montreal. He found the name of a priest who was at the church in 1970 -- his new year of birth -- and forged the priest's signature on the certificate. And he created a new name, Benni Antoine Noris.

The Seattle Times

That, along with a photograph, was all Mr. Ressam needed to get a passport. He didn't even have to take the forged certificate to the passport office himself, instead paying an acquaintance \$300 to pick it up.

Benni Noris, a Montreal native with a strangely Algerian accent, could now travel the world.

On the evening of March 16, with Canadian intelligence agents eavesdropping, Mr. Ressam said goodbye to his roommates. One of the men even cried as Mr. Ressam left to board the bus to Toronto.

Using his new name, Mr. Ressam bought an airline ticket and flew from Toronto to Frankfurt, Germany. There, he met with al-Qaeda contacts before flying on to Pakistan. He travelled by ground to Peshawar, perched at Afghanistan's rugged mountain border, where he met with Abu Zubaydah, the No. 3 man in al-Qaeda.

As a Palestinian teenager, Mr. Zubaydah had fought the Soviets in Afghanistan alongside Osama bin Laden. At 25, he was the emir of Mr. bin Laden's training camps, serving as gatekeeper and placement director. He set up cells, doled out money and helped co-ordinate al-Qaeda's operations around the world.

Mr. Zubaydah gave Mr. Ressam traditional Afghani robes and assigned him a trunk in which to store his western clothes. He told him to grow a beard so he would blend in with the Afghans.

For the next three weeks, Mr. Ressam stayed at the Peshawar safe house, talking to other raw recruits, studying the Koran and praying.

Chapter 8: Going to camp: Budding terrorist Ahmed Ressam learns the essentials of mass murder at an al-Qaeda-run training camp in Afghanistan . Hal Bernton, Mik....

In late April, Mr. Zubaydah gave Mr. Ressam an introductory letter and sent him by car over the Khyber Pass into Afghanistan. From there, Mr. Ressam and other recruits marched on foot down steep hills to the Khalden camp.

Khalden was a compound of four tents and four stone buildings. Recruits, 100 or so at a time, were grouped by nationality. There were Arabs from Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Yemen and Algeria, and Europeans from France, Germany, Sweden and Chechnya.

Among the 30 or so Algerians were two of Mr. Ressam's former roommates from the Malicorne apartment, Sahid Atmani and Moustafa Labsi. Once the Algerians finished their training, they were to be supervised by Abu Doha, an Algerian living in London.

By this time, al-Qaeda training was formalized. There was even a textbook, available in Arabic, French and other languages. The training incorporated methods American advisers had introduced to the Afghans in the 1980s in the war with the Soviets.

Early each morning, Mr. Ressam and the others were called to formation, then sent to pray. After a meal, they went through strength and endurance training. Scarred veterans of the Afghan war taught self-defence and hand-to-hand combat, using knives, garrotes and other weapons.

Trainees practised with small arms, assault rifles and grenade launchers provided by the Taliban, the Islamist rulers of Afghanistan. They learned about explosives and landmines. Representatives of terrorist groups, including **Hamas**, Hezbollah and Islamic Jihad, gave lectures on their organizations.

As Mr. Ressam was being trained in terrorist attacks, other Islamists pulled off two to near-perfection: On Aug. 7, 1998, powerful truck bombs shattered U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, killing 224 people and injuring more than 5,000. The Clinton administration quickly concluded that al-Qaeda was to blame.

On Aug. 20, U.S. navy boats in the Arabian and Red seas fired 70 cruise missiles at the training camps. Most missed their targets, and casualties were light. In Khalden, Mr. Ressam was unhurt.

That summer, Mr. Doha, the Algerian ringleader, visited Mr. bin Laden at his base in Kandahar. Mr. Doha said he had a newly trained cell of Algerians, based in Montreal, that would be available to cross into the United States and wage jihad.

By September, Mr. Ressam finished basic training and was sent to another camp, Darunta, for what amounted to terrorist graduate school. There, he took a six-week course in bomb construction. He copied into a notebook dozens of pages of notes and circuit diagrams and recipes for explosives.

Before they left Afghanistan one by one, the Algerians discussed potential U.S. targets -- an airport, an Israeli embassy, a military base. They decided the blast should coincide with the millennium.

In mid-January 1999, Mr. Ressam left Afghanistan with his notebook, \$12,000 U.S. in cash, and -- unknown to him - - a budding case of malaria. His assignment: Rent a safe house in Canada. Buy passports and weapons. Build a bomb to be used in the United States.

On his way back to North America, he stopped in Peshawar to pick up his western clothes and shave his beard. Based on his training about which airlines were lax in security, Mr. Ressam flew Asiana Airlines to Seoul, South Korea, then to Los Angeles International Airport, where he waited for a flight to Canada.

It was the morning of Feb. 7, 1999. At a U.S. checkpoint, an agent stopped him and took his passport. In his bag, Mr. Ressam carried a notebook with bomb recipes. He also carried a shampoo bottle filled with glycol and a Tylenol bottle of hexamine tablets -- two key ingredients for a bomb.

## Chapter 8: Going to camp: Budding terrorist Ahmed Ressam learns the essentials of mass murder at an al-Qaeda-run training camp in Afghanistan . Hal Bernton, Mik....

The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service agent checked the name "Benni Noris" and the passport number against a computerized watchlist. Although Canadian authorities had photographed Mr. Ressam leaving for an al-Qaeda camp, the INS was clueless.

Mr. Ressam was allowed to pass.

He took his first look around the U.S., the Great Satan. Families in Mickey Mouse garb. Men carrying golf clubs. Dark-suited women talking on cellphones.

Scouting the L.A. airport, one of the world's busiest, Mr. Ressam decided it was a perfect place to put his training into action.

### SERIES SCHEDULE

#### THURSDAY, JULY 25

Chapter 1: Past as prologue

#### FRIDAY, JULY 26

Chapter 2: The fountainhead

#### SATURDAY, JULY 27

Chapter 3: Leaving home

#### SUNDAY, JULY 28

Chapter 4: Sneaking in

Monday

Chapter 5: The terrorist tracker

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Chapter 6: It takes a thief

#### YESTERDAY

Chapter 7: Joining jihad

Today

Chapter 8: Going to camp

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#### SATURDAY

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Chapter 8: Going to camp: Budding terrorist Ahmed Ressam learns the essentials of mass murder at an al-Qaeda-run training camp in Afghanistan . Hal Bernton, Mik....

MONDAY, AUG. 5

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Chapter 15: Puzzle pieces

FRIDAY, AUG. 9

Chapter 16: The reckoning

SATURDAY, AUG. 10

Chapter 17: Nine-eleven

SUNDAY, AUG. 12

Inside Jihad epilogue

## Graphic

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Photo: The Associated Press; Detail from an al-Qaeda training camp registration form.; Photo: Reuters; Recruits wave guns and display copies of the Koran in this image from a video shot at an unidentified terrorist training camp in Afghanistan. Weapons were provided by the Taliban, in power at the time.

**Load-Date:** August 1, 2002

## **Do U.S. media tilt Mideast news?**

USA TODAY

August 5, 2002, Monday,

FINAL EDITION

Copyright 2002 Gannett Company, Inc.

**Section:** NEWS;

**Length:** 1155 words

**Byline:** Samuel G. Freedman

### **Body**

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This summer, a columnist for *The Jewish Week* newspaper in New York, wrote with poignantly mixed emotions about her sister's love affair with a German. Two days after the article appeared, an e-mail began coursing through the Internet, urging readers to punish the paper's "pathetic and sickening display of politically correct Jewish self-hatred" with a boycott.

This episode has nothing and everything to do with the growing friction between many American Jews and several major news organizations over coverage of the Middle East. The would-be boycott of *The Jewish Week* deservedly flopped. Yet the ready resort to such a tactic bespeaks the angry and suspicious mood within large quarters of the Jewish community.

As Palestinians merrily slaughter Israeli civilians and as American Jews understandably cast about for some way to aid their brethren, community leaders have called for boycotts of *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, the *Los Angeles Times* and other newspapers. CNN has apologized for imbalance in its coverage, while National Public Radio has been singled out by CAMERA, the media watchdog group, for a "striking anti-Israel tilt." NPR's member station in Boston, WBUR, has lost more than a million dollars in underwriting as a result.

I recently appeared at the annual convention of Hadassah, the women's Zionist group, for two panel discussions that included Kevin Klose, the chief executive officer of NPR, which reaches an audience of nearly 20 million Americans each week. Outside critics termed Hadassah a "collaborator" -- very loaded language, indeed -- for having invited Klose. They suggested that the NPR show *Fresh Air* recently had done a segment about Israeli and Palestinian doctors in Jerusalem's Hadassah hospital as some kind of payoff.

While the questions from the convention's audience managed to be tough and respectful simultaneously, I also heard plenty of belief in a sort of grand, unified scheme against Israel in the American media. Several people sincerely felt there was an agreed-upon "spin" that journalists were obliged to follow in their reports. Others were convinced that the talk-show host Alan Keyes had been dumped by MSNBC because of his pro-Israel politics rather than his low ratings.

I don't know how exactly one stops the conspiracy theories and paranoia, which, sadly, are grounded in the tragedies of Jewish history. The time has come, however, for a boycott on boycotts. This is a weapon so often used against Jews that we ought to think carefully before wielding it ourselves.

It's also a weapon that can work only once. After we've canceled the subscription or stopped making the donation, we have removed ourselves from the argument. There is a necessary and fruitful debate to be had on how to

## Do U.S. media tilt Mideast news?

improve the existing coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Hadassah contributed to it by engaging NPR and passing a resolution that "strongly condemns all forms of organized boycott."

As a Jew with both communal and personal ties to Israel, I know all too well the despair of seeing the Palestinian leadership give up imminent statehood in favor of armed struggle. One Israeli acquaintance of mine narrowly escaped the suicide bombing at Hebrew University last week. As a journalist, though, I refuse to believe that my professional colleagues in the USA have taken the Palestinian side in some lock-step, dogmatic way.

Any journalist, or news organization, deserves to have its feet kept to the fire by close, incisive analysis; CAMERA's pressure on NPR surely played a major part in the network's decision to have Klose address Hadassah and to make transcripts and audio of all of its Middle East stories available on its Web site. But for the many reporters and editors I know who handle Middle East news, the drumbeat of media criticism -- from Arab-Americans as well as Jews -- has grown so incessant that it approaches a case of diminishing returns. Why bother listening to the critics if they believe that everything you do is wrong?

I can hardly imagine a less appropriate cudgel than a boycott. For the first half of the 20th century, American Jews were restricted or outright banned by Ivy League colleges, elite hospitals, country clubs and tony neighborhoods. The Arab oil-producing states tried in the mid-1970s to turn United States policy against Israel with an oil boycott.

Even now, fashionable intellectuals in Europe seek to bar all Israelis from academic and cultural forums, while the European Union has considered economic sanctions against the Jewish state. Personally, I wouldn't want to be in the gutter with the highbrow bigots; I wouldn't want to use their means.

All of the anti-Israel agitation in Europe should tell us where the media truly are biased. European publications have eagerly trumpeted Israel's supposed atrocities, such as the Jenin non-massacre, and rationalized suicide bombings as somehow Israel's fault.

The scandal of CNN was that it broadcast (to my eyes) largely fair coverage of the Middle East to its American audiences while slanting its international programming to pander to a pro-Palestinian sentiment abroad.

American Jews have the right to advocate for a compensatory tilt here in favor of Israel -- but they have no right to get it. Journalism, especially in wartime and even more with 24/7 news cycles, will often be hurried, flawed and mistaken. News organizations far too often will parachute in reporters who have no foundation of knowledge about the Middle East. Television will remain in the thrall of the bloodiest visuals possible.

When an Israeli missile kills 14 civilians in addition to a **Hamas** terrorist, there is no way to wish away the damage to Israel's cause and image. As the editor of the Israel newspaper *Ha'aretz* put it in a speech in May, many readers "want to regard the newspaper as a source of solidarity and consolation, and not only as a mirror, reflecting and exposing reality."

What is plausible to press for is this: an understanding in all coverage of the conflict, in every article and broadcast, that the paradigm has changed. Israel from 1948 to 1967 was an object of sympathy, a plucky nation born from the ashes of the Holocaust, defending itself against hostile Arab multitudes. Israel from 1967 to 1993 was an object of skepticism and criticism, the putative Goliath to the Palestinians' David.

That familiar template should no longer apply. The intifada raging now is not just the same old stalemate between two peoples' struggling over one land. It is the expression -- in the form of suicide bombers and drive-by shootings and broken truces -- of a considered refusal of imperfect statehood in favor of terrorism and a kind of auto-genocide.

*Samuel G. Freedman, an associate dean of the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism, is the author most recently of Jew vs. Jew: The Struggle for the Soul of American Jewry. He is a member of USA TODAY's board of contributors.*

## Graphic

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GRAPHIC, B/W, Suzy Parker, USA TODAY (ILLUSTRATION)

**Load-Date:** August 5, 2002

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**Comment & Analysis: Israeli 'restraint' still means terror for the Palestinians:  
Jonathan Steele in Jenin Curfews, shootings and house demolitions happen  
daily**

The Guardian (London)

August 9, 2002

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**Section:** Guardian Leader Pages, Pg. 16

**Length:** 1131 words

**Byline:** Jonathan Steele

## **Body**

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It is hard to know which is more shocking: the mound of rubble in the centre of Jenin, which local residents call "ground zero", or the hole in Gaza city where an aircraft dropped a one-tonne bomb and flattened a house. The aftermath of the two most heavily debated episodes in Israel's latest war has been captured on scores of video clips but no preparation can prevent a wave of awe and anger from flooding over you at the scene - awe at the destructive power of modern weapons, anger at the indiscriminate slaughter of civilians.

The Jenin havoc took place over 15 days in April. Homes were first hit at random from helicopters and tanks with fire that, by the nature of its heaviness, could not be targeted accurately. After 13 Israeli soldiers died in an ambush, army bulldozers systematically levelled the area, crushing around 250 buildings, in some cases with their occupants inside. In Gaza last month the destruction took less than 15 seconds. Learning that Salah Shehadeh, the military leader of the militant Hamas group, was inside a building, an Israeli air force commander dispatched an F-16 to demolish it, even though it must have been clear that a one-tonne bomb on an apartment block at night was likely to kill everyone asleep. Nine children and five adults died, as well as Shehadeh.

After the recent UN report on Jenin and other West Bank cities the Israeli government's defenders have made great play of the word "massacre". They leapt on the fact that the report did not use the word and cited a total of 22 dead civilians rather than 500, as some Palestinian leaders had claimed. The notion of massacre is relative. In Kosovo and Chechnya the deaths of two dozen innocent people in a single military operation were often described as massacres. But the key criticism of Israel in the UN report on Jenin was not a matter of semantics nor the issue of how many civilians died. It was Israel's comprehensive violation of the laws of war.

The report pointed out that Israel is a contracting party to the Geneva convention, under which the Palestinian residents of the occupied territories are "protected persons". They may not be subjected to "humiliating or degrading treatment or acts of collective punishment or reprisals". Their property may not be destroyed unless it is "rendered absolutely necessary by military operations".

The UN criticised the protracted curfews and, in Gaza's case, the border closures imposed by Israel on Palestinian cities which have blocked medical supplies, ruined the Palestinian economy and exacerbated poverty. It condemned the vandalism of schools and government buildings by Israeli troops. It pointed out that, although Jenin was the focus of its inquiry, Nablus suffered more hardship and death during Israel's offensive. In 18 days of

Comment & Analysis: Israeli 'restraint' still means terror for the Palestinians: Jonathan Steele in Jenin Curfews, shootings and house demolitions happen daily

fighting, around 50 civilians died in Nablus while Israel lost four soldiers. More homes were wrecked in Nablus, although the area of destruction was not so compact as in Jenin.

Israeli leaders seem to have modified their strategy in the light of the international criticism of their behaviour in Jenin in April and the bombing of the house in Gaza city. In the newspaper Ha'aretz, the analyst Amir Oren wrote this week that the prime minister, Ariel Sharon, and the top brass are adopting a new policy of "restraint" in place of their previous tactic of immediate, costly and escalated responses to suicide attacks.

They are said to be waiting for the coming American war to remove Saddam Hussein, a new and more moderate leadership to replace Yasser Arafat and the completion of a security fence between Israel and the central part of the West Bank. In the meantime they will hold back from massive actions, provided the level of Palestinian terror attacks remains "tolerable". This is an undefinable and volatile concept, Oren conceded, and although the Israeli public's tolerance level today is much higher than it was a year ago, it could change suddenly. Another massive suicide bomb could produce demands for heavy reprisals again.

If this is the latest Israeli military spin, the reality for Palestinians is that even "restraint" by the Israeli army is enough to make their lives miserable. The army may no longer be destroying vast chunks of Palestinian cities, but it continues to terrify Palestinian civilians by indiscriminate shooting. One night last week I sat in a Palestinian home in Khan Yunis in the Gaza strip, while Israeli tanks lit up the night sky with flares. Prolonged bursts of machine-gun fire sent bullets flying only a few feet above the roofs of the city. Terrified women and children hurried into the dark streets to seek shelter with relatives or neighbours further away from the source of the firing.

The army still sends tanks and troops into Palestinian towns for forays of several days, as it did in Jenin last week, or for a single night as it did twice in the northern part of the Gaza strip. Curfews are slapped on or lifted without notice, making life for all Palestinians unpredictable and humiliating. All except "humanitarian" movement between Palestinian towns on the West Bank is banned.

House demolitions as a collective punishment are being stepped up. While UN-funded bulldozers slowly cart away the rubble of Jenin's city centre, cautiously searching for the unexploded munitions which still lurk there, Israeli dynamite teams are at work in other parts of Jenin. We saw a three-storey building which had been blown up a few hours before the UN report was published. The army said troops had found explosives and other evidence that the building was "a bomb factory". The troops' dynamiting wrecked several nearby shops and flats. "We are tired and exhausted", said one desperate trader as he showed us the ruins of his shop. "This is the worst time in 35 years of the occupation." In other parts of the West Bank more than 20 homes have been blown up in the last seven days because they belonged to suicide bombers or their families.

The US defence secretary, Donald Rumsfeld, took the Bush administration further into Sharon's grip this week by talking about the "so-called occupied territories". He seemed to justify Israel's tenure by arguing that Israel's neighbours jumped into war and "lost a lot of real estate because Israel prevailed". He used the outdated David and Goliath metaphor, describing Israel as a "toothpick that you can see three sides of from a high hotel". What he meant presumably was the Israel of 1967. The area which Israel occupies beyond the 1967 borders is illegally held and illegally treated. As long as the occupation continues, resistance in one form or another is bound to go on.

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For more information on the Middle East see the Guardian's special report at [guardian.co.uk/israel](http://guardian.co.uk/israel)

**Load-Date:** August 9, 2002

**What this truly shocking picture tells the world;  
As controversy rages over yet another Middle East horror...**

DAILY MAIL (London)

July 25, 2002

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**Section:** Pg. 12

**Length:** 1160 words

**Byline:** Philip Jacobson

## **Body**

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THE image burns itself into the mind's eye, as brutal and emotive as any to emerge from the seemingly endless cycle of death and destruction engulfing Israel and the Palestinians.

In the midst of a crowd of hysterical mourners, the tiny corpse of two-month-old Dina Mattar is borne aloft to the Gaza City graveyard reserved for 'martyrs' of the Palestinian cause.

The baby was killed on Tuesday when a one-tonne bomb dropped by an Israeli F-16 warplane demolished a complex of apartment buildings in which one of the most senior members of the militant **Hamas** organisation, Salah Shehada, was visiting his wife and three daughters.

The entire Shehada family died instantly, as did as many as 15 other Palestinians, several of them children: Dina was the youngest of the victims.

The picture of Dina's funeral is undoubtedly shocking - but not just because of her untimely death. Her lifeless body is waved like a weapon; her innocence is equally ammunition in a war of propaganda.

And in this picture is written all the bitterness and ruthlessness of this apparently unending conflict.

Events after her death followed a grim and familiar pattern.

From the Israelis, a clinical description of the 'liquidation' of an activist suspected of involvement in numerous terrorist organisations, and the calculation of lives saved from suicide bombers. For the Palestinians, funeral processions punctuated by bursts of rifle fire into the air.

Yet as Israel braces itself for the inevitable retaliation, there are legitimate questions to be posed about the eager exploitation of a child's violent death.

Is the young man in a flowered shirt who carries the body above his head Dina's father?

Or is he a member of one of the various Islamic militant groups that thrive in Gaza, and seize every opportunity to wring propaganda value from tragedy?

What this truly shocking picture tells the world; As controversy rages over yet another Middle East horror...

Over the past few months, there have been cases in which parents of youthful volunteers for martyrdom, sent out with belts of explosives to kill equally innocent Israeli citizens, were privately outraged by the Islamic fundamentalists' glorification of their child's death.

This is not to suggest that the popular fury aroused by such ruthless Israeli operations as last Tuesday's attack is in any sense artificial.

Having observed a good many funerals in Gaza and the occupied West Bank, I can testify to the intensity of the grief and rage they arouse. The real issue here is the manipulation of this heartfelt mourning by unscrupulous militant leaders, to whom an innocent victim serves merely as a prop for use in the ceaseless battle of words as well as deeds being waged against Israel.

They have no shortage of material. The readiness with which Mr Sharon's government authorises attacks on densely populated Palestinian areas, despite the risk of 'peripheral damage' to civilians, serves the Palestinian propaganda machine well.

The death of Dina illustrates, too, the deadly weapons that both sides employ - in technological terms so different, yet in effect exactly the same.

As has been demonstrated in blood, Israel possesses the technology to pop an air-to-ground missile neatly through the window of a wanted man's office.

But what if his secretary or his wife is there at the time? What if, as has happened more than once, a suspect car being hunted down from a helicopter gunship is blown up at a crowded crossroads? By contrast the technology of killing employed by the Palestinian bombers who seek out Israelis in their streets, shopping malls and restaurants may appear crude and primitive.

But I have seen the results of suicide attacks from close range and can testify that they can obliterate human beings, sometimes all too literally, just as effectively as an F-16 air strike.

If it chose, Israel could have produced its equivalent of the picture of Dina - many times.

Yet for a variety of reasons, Israel has generally refrained from exploiting the most horrific consequences of terrorist strikes.

The cameras never zoom in close on the grisly work of retrieving body parts, carried out by Orthodox Jewish volunteers as an act of religious devotion.

The media are usually permitted to attend the funerals of terror victims only if the families agree: many do, and the graveside scenes can be harrowing.

But in my experience, such grief does not inevitably give way to a thirst for revenge.

The widow of a young soldier who was burned alive in a bus bombing observed to me, when he was buried: 'He loved life and I want him to be remembered for that, not just as another victim of terror.' When two reserve soldiers were lynched by a Palestinian mob after straying into the town of Ramallah, a Palestinian cameraman filmed their broken bodies being tossed from a window.

Directors of Israel's state-owned television channel had serious reservations about screening the images, but went ahead because they would undoubtedly be shown to subscribers to CNN and BBC World.

Many of my Israeli friends found this unforgivable: 'It was as if these poor men were being murdered a second time for our personal viewing,' one said.

Yet an ultra-hawkish Israeli politician told me not long ago that he would like to see more publicity given to the consequences of terror attacks.



What this truly shocking picture tells the world; As controversy rages over yet another Middle East horror...

He said: 'It's a mistake to be too restrained when the subject is Israeli men, women and children getting blown to pieces.

'Pictures of Palestinian funerals go round the world in a flash - and who will ever forget the TV coverage of that Palestinian boy being shot dead beside his father during fighting in Gaza?' Behind the scenes, senior Israeli officials grudgingly concede that the propaganda battle of the Middle East still goes the Palestinians' way.

Blunt and uncompromising, Mr Sharon is not the easiest of leaders to 'sell', and the official spokesmen he chooses to represent his government to the outside world - some barely competent in English, others hostile to the foreign media - drive even hard-line Israelis to despair.

'You'll get someone like Hanan Ashwari (the Palestinian female politician) putting over the Palestinian case with authority and very articulately on CNN,' said an Israeli commentator.

'Then one of those hard-faced guys from our prime minister's office comes on and rants at the camera. You can almost feel foreign viewers getting turned off.' As we are often reminded, truth is the first casualty in war - but the truth is that innocent lives are being lost by both Israelis and Palestinians.

However cynically her short life and terrible death might be exploited, we should grieve for little Dina Mattar; but it is also incumbent on us to do the same for all those innocents who have perished at the hands of Palestinian terrorists.

The child in arms killed by a sniper's bullet; the shopkeeper who kissed his wife goodbye and never came home; the bus passengers immolated in their seats.

Photographed or not, they, too, deserve remembrance.

Philip Jacobson is a veteran Middle East correspondent.

## Graphic

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TINY VICTIM: DINA MATTAR WAS KILLED IN THE ISRAELI BOMBING

**Load-Date:** July 26, 2002

## *In Georgia, a Race Too Close to Call*

The New York Times  
August 19, 2002 Monday  
Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 1; National Desk; Pg. 10

**Length:** 1115 words

**Byline:** By PHILIP SHENON

**Dateline:** ATLANTA, Aug. 18

### **Body**

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No one would confuse the leafy suburban streets of Georgia's Fourth Congressional District with a seaside boulevard in Tel Aviv or with the dusty roads that crisscross the West Bank.

But the issues of war and peace in the Middle East may be what decide the primary on Tuesday between two African-American women battling for the Democratic nomination for this district's seat in the House. Recent polls suggest that the race between Representative Cynthia A. McKinney, a five-term incumbent who has received substantial financial backing from Arab-Americans, and Denise Majette, a former state judge supported by pro-Israel groups, is too close to call.

"This is turning into a small proxy war -- a little, Middle East proxy war," said Khalil E. Jahshan, executive vice president of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee in Washington.

The group's political action committee is urging its members to support Ms. McKinney, who is being opposed by pro-Israel groups because of her support for Arab causes. "One can raise all sorts of legitimate questions about McKinney's position on this or that issue, but she has been articulate on our concerns," Mr. Jahshan said.

Ms. McKinney has received campaign contributions from Arab-Americans around the country, including several who have come under scrutiny by the Federal Bureau of Investigation for possible terrorist links. Some of her contributors turned up as defendants in a \$1 trillion lawsuit filed last week in Washington by families of Sept. 11 victims; the suit accuses them of being "enablers of terrorism."

Ms. Majette has received donations from Jews from outside Georgia, raising almost twice as much over all as Ms. McKinney, more than \$1.1 million versus about \$640,000 for the incumbent. The challenger has accused Ms. McKinney of taking money from "people who have been named as Arab terrorists."

Ms. McKinney and her spokesmen, who did not return phone calls for comment, have defended the contributions as legal, and have suggested there is no need to return the money.

If Ms. McKinney loses, she will be the second House Democrat to be defeated this year in a race in which Middle East politics, and the influence of campaign contributions from both Arab-Americans and Jewish Americans, have

## In Georgia , a Race Too Close to Call

played a significant role. Representative Earl F. Hilliard, an Alabama Democrat who has also supported Arab and Muslim concerns, was ousted in a primary vote in June by Artur Davis, a candidate backed by pro-Israel groups.

The races in Alabama and Georgia are seen as evidence of new strains between African-Americans and Jewish Americans, who for decades were seen as unshakable political allies, given their shared history of discrimination. "Unfortunately, this is symptomatic of the tensions between the black and Jewish communities," said Abraham H. Foxman, national director of the Anti-Defamation League in New York, which is traditionally aligned with Jewish and pro-Israel groups.

But, Mr. Foxman said, it made sense that Jewish Americans would want to contribute to efforts to replace Ms. McKinney and Mr. Hilliard because of the lawmakers' records on matters of interest to the Jewish community.

Ms. McKinney, a 47-year-old educator-turned-politician with a liberal voting record and a confrontational style, is known in Congress for statements that border on the outrageous.

After Sept. 11, she suggested that President Bush ignored warnings of the attacks because a war on terrorism would be good for businesses allied with the Bush family. Senator Zell Miller, a fellow Georgia Democrat, described her accusations as "looney." Last fall, she apologized to a Saudi prince whose \$10 million donation of relief aid to New York City was rejected by Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani because of the prince's assertion that American foreign policy was partly to blame for the attacks.

Although her suburban Atlanta district is mostly black, Ms. McKinney has a sizable Jewish constituency, and Jewish voters here are alarmed by her support for Arab and Muslim causes. Their anxiety almost certainly grew with the announcement that Louis Farrakhan, the Nation of Islam leader who has been accused of anti-Semitism, intended to campaign for Ms. McKinney in Atlanta in the final days of the race.

In a recent appearance before the Islamic Foundation in Chicago, Ms. McKinney pleaded for support. "It's just not about a Congressional district," she said. "It's about the members of Congress who have the courage to come to the Muslim community."

She and Mr. Hilliard were among 21 members of the House who opposed a resolution in support of Israel's military response to Palestinian suicide bombings.

Her list of contributors reflects her support for Arab causes. A sizable number of the names on the contribution lists she has provided to the Federal Election Commission are those of Arab-Americans from outside Georgia, many of them respected lawyers, physicians and merchants.

Her opponents say they are concerned with the donations to Ms. McKinney from several people who have come under investigation for financial ties to terrorist organizations, including Al Qaeda. Among her donors is Abdurahman Alamoudi, the leader of a Muslim organization who has expressed support for Hezbollah, the Lebanese-based terrorist group, and Hamas, the violent Palestinian group; he has contributed the maximum \$2,000 to Ms. McKinney's campaign. Mr. Alamoudi was among the McKinney donors who were named in the suit last week by the Sept. 11 families. Some other McKinney donors are connected to Muslim charities that have been accused of raising money for terrorist groups.

In recent weeks, campaign officials have been quoted as saying that the donations in question would not be returned. "We don't racially profile our contributors," Ms. McKinney said in a debate this month. "All of our contributions are legal."

Ms. Majette, 47, a Brooklyn-born, Yale-educated lawyer, has tried to distance herself from the perception that she is the candidate solely of pro-Israel groups. Her campaign manager, Roland Washington, said in an interview that issues involving the Middle East would not be Ms. Majette's focus in Congress.

"Denise is pro-peace as it relates to the Middle East," Mr. Washington said. "But she is much more concerned with the local issues that are driving voters to look for an alternative to the current leadership. The campaign's focus is on economic development, infrastructure, child care, trying to reduce the cost of health care."

## In Georgia , a Race Too Close to Call

Her campaign has drawn financial support from other prominent Democrats, including Senator Miller, and from other local celebrities, including Henry Aaron, the former Atlanta Braves star.

<http://www.nytimes.com>

## Graphic

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Photos: Denise Majette, a former state judge who is supported by pro-Israel groups, has raised nearly twice as much money as her opponent. (Robin Nelson for The New York Times); Representative Cynthia A. McKinney has received substantial financial backing from Arab-Americans around the country. (Erik S. Lesser for The New York Times) Chart: "AT A GLANCE: Georgias Fourth Congressional District" POPULATION (2000): 629,690 RACE AND ETHNICITY WHITE: 37.9% BLACK: 53.5% HISPANIC (ANY RACE): 8.6% 2000 CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION RESULT Sunny Warren (R): 39% Cynthia A. McKinney: (D) 61% 2000 PRESIDENTIAL Bush: 28% Others: 2% Gore: 70% (Source: Georgia Legislative Reapportionment Office) Map of Georgia highlighting the Fourth Congressional District.

**Load-Date:** August 19, 2002

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## World Week

The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

July 31, 2002 Wednesday

Home Edition

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### The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

**Section:** Atlanta & the World;; Briefs

**Length:** 1129 words

**Byline:** RON TAYLOR

## Body

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Quality of life: Norway the best way?

Last week, for the second year in a row, Norway was named by the United Nations Development Program as the best place to live in terms of income, education and life expectancy. But now comes news of what passes for trouble in the Lake Wobegone of nations.

Among those viewing Norwegian life as less than perfect are the Royal Palace guards. Some of them have complained to labor officials that terrorism worries, World Bank protests and the royal wedding have forced them to work 98-hour weeks.

AJC

They say they are suffering back trouble, muscle strain and depression.

But back to the good news. The average Norwegian earns the equivalent of \$29,918 a year and can expect to live 78.5 years, says the newspaper Aftenposten. Norway spends about 2 percent more on education than the average for 30 leading industrialized nations. But Prime Minister Kjell Magne Bondevik thinks Norway can do better. "There are still many in need in our society," he said.

\* ON THE WEB: [www.undp.org](http://www.undp.org)

\* ON THE WEB: [www.aftenposten.no/english](http://www.aftenposten.no/english)

From president to pauper

In strife-torn Sierra Leone, life seems hard on everyone, including former military dictator Valentine Strasser. After becoming the world's youngest head of state when he seized power in the West African nation in 1992 at age 25,

## World Week

Strasser was ousted in a coup four years later and lived in exile in Britain for a while. Now, he's back home --- jobless, broke and living with his mother. "I'm basically living off my mother now. She's been very supportive," Strasser told a reporter last week. The government says Strasser is not entitled to benefits because he took power by force, but it did urge citizens last year not to throw stones at the former ruler, who, without a car, was wandering around Freetown on foot.

\* ON THE WEB: [www.sierra-leone.org/slnews.html](http://www.sierra-leone.org/slnews.html)

Come as you are, please

Munich, Germany, wants naked people to come back to one of its most famous parks. "We've lost many of the nudists who made the English Garden a special place," park director Thomas Koester told Reuters news agency. "Especially good-looking young **women** and men who made it such an attraction aren't here as much anymore. It's becoming a real problem." During the hot summer days of the 1970s and '80s, about 14,000 nudists visited the leafy 890-acre park each day --- a tenth of the 140,000 daily visitors. Today, according to Koester, the number has dropped to less than 1 percent. Officials worry that the absence of nudists will hurt tourism.

\* ON THE WEB: [www.reuters.com](http://www.reuters.com)

Crackdown on pigeons, toilets

Beijing continues its makeover for the 2008 Summer Olympics. Newspapers recently started outing men walking the streets without shirts. Now the target is pigeons. City officials are considering "environmental hygiene" regulations that would include a ban on the raising of pigeons outdoors --- the only place that many apartment-dwellers can do so. They could face fines of up to \$25 for putting pigeon coops on roofs or outside windows. The regulations also would provide new controls over garbage disposal, billboards and public toilets.

\* ON THE WEB: [www1.chinadaily.com.cn/](http://www1.chinadaily.com.cn/)

Britain jumpy about bullfrogs

Britain has found its version of the snakehead fish scare: the proliferation of North American bullfrogs. English Nature, the government agency that looks after the conservation of wildlife, warned last week that bullfrogs introduced to southeastern England could endanger the ecosystem if they are allowed to breed unchecked. The agency says bullfrogs are voracious eaters that will consume fish, other frogs, reptiles and small birds.

\* ON THE WEB: [www.guardian.co.uk/](http://www.guardian.co.uk/)

Protesters say it with diapers

The paternity suit against Peru's President Alejandro Toledo went to the streets last week. Hundreds of Peruvians gathered in Lima and washed diapers in protest of a Supreme Court decision overturning a lower court's order that Toledo take a DNA test. Lucrecia Orozco claims Toledo is the father of her 14-year-old daughter, Zarai. Protesters carried signs declaring "Toledo, take a DNA test" and "Dignity for Zarai." Orozco also has filed suit against the Supreme Court justices, alleging corruption and abuse of power.

\* ON THE WEB: [www.efe.es/](http://www.efe.es/)

Be as tall as you can be

## World Week

Yun Yun is in a hospital in Hangzhou, China, with two broken legs in metal frames, but she is happier than ever, according to the Shanghai Star. The 17-year-old girl was "suffering" from being not quite 4-feet-11. To become taller, she opted for leg-lengthening surgery --- another self-improvement trend in China, where tongue surgery for better English also has caught on. One reason for the obsession is height requirements at many universities in China. To be accepted into law school, **females** must be 5-feet-2 or taller, and males must be 5-feet-6 or taller --- the logic being that short advocates and judges lack authority in court.

\* ON THE WEB:

[www.chinadaily.com.cn/star/](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/star/)

Staying plugged in, Santa-wise

More than 100 Santa Clauses, Mrs. Clauses and elves from around the world gathered in an amusement park near Copenhagen, Denmark, to discuss topics ranging from the size of presents to reindeer food. It was the 39th straight year Santas from Europe, South America, Asia and Africa assembled for the three-day convention at Bakken park. "Why do the Santas meet in the middle of the summer? It's the only time of the year they have time to sit down and talk shop," said convention spokeswoman Tina Baungaard.

\* ON THE WEB: [cphpost.periskop.dk/](http://cphpost.periskop.dk/)

## WORLD WRAP

Former Defense Minister Alfred Moisiu was sworn in as Albania's president. . . . A.P.J. Abdul Kalam, a missile scientist who advocates nuclear weapons as a war deterrent, was sworn in as India's new president. . . . Police in southern Vietnam seized 25 truckloads of material used to make counterfeit Nike and Adidas sneakers. . . . Italian Health Minister Girolamo Sirchia recommended a "Vigilance Committee" to keep smoking from being glamorized on TV shows and commercials. . . . A vicar in eastern England is trying to raise money for "a proper Christian reburial" of 662 skeletons of local parishioners who died between the eighth and 10th centuries.

## QUOTED

"We are fed up with rhetoric. I have received so many slaps on the back from the United States government that it has begun to hurt. Offers are worthless. What counts is action."

## HEINZ MOELLER

Ecuador's foreign minister, criticizing U.S. policy at last week's summit of South American leaders in Guayaquil, Ecuador.

## HEAD TO HEAD

Differing views in headlines from around the world

Israeli occupation army steps up hunt for resistance fighters

--- The Jordan Times, July 28: [www.jordantimes.com](http://www.jordantimes.com)

Israel discounts **Hamas**-Tanzim cease-fire; insists on one force

--- Ha'aretz (Israel), July 28 : [www.haaretzdaily.com](http://www.haaretzdaily.com)

## Graphic

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Photo: When Crown Prince Haakon (right) married, palace guards complained of having to put in long hours. In Crown Princess Mette-Marit's arms is her son, Marius. / DAVE CAULKIN / Associated Press; Photo: Valentine Strasser; Photo: Two "elves" seek shelter from the rain on opening day of the 39th World Santa Claus Convention in Copenhagen. / THORKILD AMDI / AP; Photo: Zarai and her supporters wash diapers during a protest in Lima, Peru, last week. / SILVIA IZQUIERDO / Associated Press

**Load-Date:** July 31, 2002

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*Letters detail year's top events*

USA TODAY

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## **Body**

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Tensions grew between the U.S. and Iraq. Snipers instilled fear around the nation's capital. Corporate scandals spread, and Oscar night made history. But post-9/11 coverage elicited the most sentiment from readers -- more than 21,000 letters. Here are comments about the war on terror, as well as reprinted edited letters about other major events that shaped the year and touched our lives.

\*\*\*\*

Without a doubt, the biggest news story of 2002 was the war on terror. America's new war has changed our lives forever.

Everything we do from this point forward will have to incorporate security considerations to a greater extent than in the past.

Domestic politics, too, have been affected significantly, as guns -- at least for the time being -- take priority over butter. Patriotism has taken on a whole new meaning, as the country has become more united than it has been for some time. The economy has been affected and, it is predicted, will feel the impact of the new war to an even greater extent in the future, as more jobs focus on homeland security.

The national outlook, in general, has changed. Americans have become more concerned about family values.

In short, the Sept. 11, 2001 attacks and their aftermath have produced tremendous changes in America, and I do not believe we are even now aware of the long-term changes they will produce.

Harry Toder

Associate professor of sociology

and criminology

St. Catharine College

St. Catharine, Ky.

Homeland protection alters way of life

## Letters detail year's top events

USA TODAY reader Harry Bartlett raises some key, though disturbing, issues with his comments that new post-9/11 laws to protect the nation's security may jeopardize many of our basic rights ("Anti-terrorism laws endanger our rights," Letters, Dec. 2).

Whatever one's political views and ideology -- right, left or center -- I believe we all knew that the Sept. 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on America would unequivocally and forever alter the way Americans lived.

So, it was not surprising that after the 9/11 doomsday, supposedly more capable security units were created, and, in turn, laws and regulations that gave broader latitude to those security agencies were passed by Congress.

These laws, including the USA Patriot Act and the one creating the Homeland Security Department, give federal authorities more freedom to act, but also widen the legal ability of state and local police authorities to investigate, arrest, convict and imprison citizens, all for the sake of national security.

What we have here is the thin line separating proper police procedure -- necessary, yes, to bring about greater national security -- and police misconduct.

The possibility of the latter, as Bartlett stated, includes "the problems of giving the FBI more freedom to infiltrate -- or spy, if you will -- on political and religious gatherings and making it easier for federal authorities to eavesdrop on lawyer-client conversations." Borrowing from an old adage, the best we can hope for is that the good cops outnumber the bad cops.

Mike Vinson

McMinnville, Tenn. (Dec. 10)

Memorable Oscar night

I can't remember the last time I watched a television program that seemed endless.

But the Academy Awards' payoff was well worth it ("Historic night at Oscars," News; "Denzel, Halle strike gold," Cover Story, Life, March 25).

Seeing Halle Berry and Denzel Washington win Oscars for their performances in *Monster's Ball* and *Training Day*, respectively, was a sweet spot in the history of African-Americans.

There were tears of joy in our home. Halle's reaction was one of real shock, coupled with a stunning realization that she has earned her place in Hollywood in addition to opening a door for other actors of color. I dare say it is the first time that I truly felt the emotion behind a winner's many thank yous and words of gratitude. Halle relished the moment, and we did, too.

John G. Clemons

Leesburg, Va. (March 29)

Church seeks healing

The nightmare is over.

Apologies have been made and forgiveness asked for. Victims have told their stories ("Next step: Get pope on board," Editorial, June 17).

The only question remaining is whether these victims will forgive, and that, to be sure, is up to them. Yet, without forgiveness there can be no real justice and no real healing. More the Roman Catholic Church cannot do.

Some victims' groups seem to be more interested in vengeance than forgiveness.

## Letters detail year's top events

The Catholic bishops have exercised some mercy for priests who have previously offended, mostly elderly priests: They will no longer have a ministry. They will no longer be permitted to wear priestly garb. They must work in some obscure post away from people. Everything, except the death of their priesthood.

I don't know what more the bishops could have done for the victims and still remain Christian.

Peter J. Riga

Houston (June 18)

Scandals rock Wall St.

In recent months, Americans have been outraged to learn the extent of the corporate-accounting crisis ("Tougher business penalties sought," News, July 10).

Shareholders and pension holders have lost their savings while CEOs appear to have reaped ill-gotten gains.

It is time for both Wall Street and Washington to act decisively to reform a flawed system of corporate accountability.

President Bush's call for a return to honesty and integrity in American business is what's needed to restore trust in the system. He has challenged corporate executives to stand by their financial statements and to justify their lucrative salaries, and he's backing up his words with the threat of jail penalties for deceitful accounting.

Bush's plan includes the creation of a Corporate Fraud Task Force to provide direction for the investigations and prosecution of criminal activity, and tough penalties for crimes associated with corporate wrongdoing. The Senate acted responsibly when it approved a corporate-overhaul bill largely supported by Bush.

Robert Paul Ellentuck

Potomac, Md.

(July 17)

Kidnapped girl prevails

Erica Pratt, the 7-year-old who was snatched by two men in front of her Philadelphia home, deserves to be celebrated. What Americans should also recognize is that the problem-solving skills she used to escape reflect a determination born of intelligence and community experience ("Girl, 7, appears well after escaping from kidnappers," News, July 25).

All too often in this country, people have said that it's a waste of money to spend federal funds on impoverished children of color because doing so hurts those people the money is intended to serve by steering them away from the lower-level aspirations and occupations that suit them and their abilities.

What we need are more children such as Erica who exhibit advanced thinking skills, including the ability to solve problems and make the appropriate decisions.

Erica teaches all of us to persevere rather than surrender to the challenges life often presents. She stands as a beacon for the capacity of all Americans to succeed in the face of adversity and challenge.

Every child lost because of family circumstances, violence or poverty means we may have lost one who would have been an honorable CEO, a heroic firefighter or a police officer. We must grieve for those lost, and we must take a stand for those we love -- our children.

Eric J. Cooper, president

Letters detail year's top events

National Urban Alliance

Stamford, Conn. (July 29)

Mideast conflict mounts

The violence continues in the Middle East's Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Seven more innocent people, five of them Americans, were murdered by Arabs ("Explosion kills 7 at university: Americans among victims of **Hamas** bomb in Jerusalem," News, Aug. 1).

**Hamas** took credit, and its "spiritual" leader has warned "all Jews" to leave Israel and return to the countries from which they came.

This is further proof that, like Germany's Nazis, Arabs living in Gaza and on the West Bank are seeking nothing less than a new "final solution": the elimination of the Jews and Israel.

It is time for Israel to formally annex the Gaza Strip and the West Bank and move all Arabs living in those areas to Jordan and/or other Arab countries.

Bob Gorodetzer

Warminster, Pa. (Aug. 5)

Stop endless cycle of violence

The casualties of the recent bombing in Israel are more the victims of American and Israeli policies than they are victims of Palestinian terrorism.

Israel's policy of protecting its national-security interests is rooted in the continued exploitation, humiliation, subjugation and terrorism of a justifiably proud people who arguably have a greater right to be in that region of the Middle East than the Israelis.

That policy continues because the United States supports and tolerates it.

I think our country's backing of Israel is based on a still-powerful guilt over the Holocaust and the substantial economic and political power of America's pro-Israel lobby. To have peace, American and Israeli Jews must change their definition of national interest and elect leaders who truly want peace.

That would not only be the most ethical approach, but also the smartest.

The more cynical among us will say that since there has always been enmity between Jews and Palestinians, a downward spiral of death, violence and never-ending retaliation and counter-retaliation is inevitable. That will be true only if we deal with problems as we always have.

A new approach rooted not in reciprocal terrorism, but in the equal respect and clearly defined rights of all people would greatly boost the chance for peace. The perpetuation of existing policies will have the probability of a mutual destruction.

Dave Fredrickson

Belton, Texas (Aug. 5)

Augusta dispute heats up

I find it appalling that an antiquated, wealthy golf club can strive to have its cake and eat it, too.

## Letters detail year's top events

If Augusta (Ga.) National Golf Club can pay millions of dollars to CBS for TV rights to host The Masters golf tournament, then the public may need to boycott the network and other companies that support the men-only club ("Group might ask public to pressure companies whose execs are members," Sports, Sept. 5).

I have advised CBS that I'm off its viewers list, despite the network's coverage of such events as the U.S. Open tennis tournament. I have also advised several big-name advertisers of my decision.

I really thought we had won the fight for admitting women. I guess we will never win as long as we are dealing with "Masters." I don't think anyone wants to bring down the golf tournament, but it is time for change.

Ann Robson

Whispering Pines, N.C. (Sept. 6)

Men have a right to privacy

Are any other female sports fans fed up with Martha Burk, chairwoman of the National Council of Women's Organizations, and her whining about the all-male Augusta club's refusal to admit women?

I am sick and tired of "righteous" women who demand the right to butt into others' business. If Augusta wants to be a men's club, I say leave the issue alone.

Don't men have a right to have private clubs just as women have a right to female-only clubs? Society shouldn't be politically correct to the exclusion of a basic right to be left alone.

Thank God Augusta has what it takes to rebuff an attack by a small minority of vocal women.

I think most female sports fans agree with the concept of fair play. It appears that Burk offers only blackmail and threats. Are such tactics good sporting?

Rosemary Nichols

Amarillo, Texas (Sept. 6)

Saddam's weapon: Time

Can any world government reasonably doubt that Iraq's Saddam Hussein has weapons of mass destruction? President Bush is trying to overcome the "unreasonable doubt" of other nations' self-serving political agendas. Many leaders want to see Iraq actually use its weapons before they agree to any military action ("Quick action on Iraq sought: As U.N. talks, Bush asks Congress to vote," News, Sept. 19).

Saddam probably knows that the United Nations weapons inspectors will ultimately find enough evidence to implicate him. However, he's playing the U.N. like a puppeteer. I suspect he wants to use the inspectors to his advantage by securing more time, delaying access here or diverting attention there. He may use the extra time to fortify his defenses, delay an invasion until the heat of the desert summer and enhance his bargaining position by bringing his nuclear-weapons programs closer to a credible threat.

Time is on Saddam's side, and he knows it. I say reverse the process.

Rather than have U.N. inspectors scour Iraq's landscape for an indefinite period, the U.N. should adopt a resolution demanding full disclosure from Iraq.

Tell Saddam that he must immediately produce a full inventory detailing the quantity and location of every canister of chemicals, vial of microbes and ounce of fissionable material.

It is time to box Saddam in.

## Letters detail year's top events

John E. Merritt III

Cincinnati (Sept. 23)

Sniper attacks grip D.C.

A hearty "well done" to all law enforcement people involved in the capture of two men suspected in the sniper attacks that terrorized the Washington, D.C., area.

And let's not forget the tips and telephone calls from our fellow citizens who had suspicions and then had the courage to call. To them, an equally enthusiastic "thank you."

Let's all now stop holding our collective breath and get back to living our daily lives. It seems the nightmare is over.

Bruce R. Gary

Rhineland, Wis. (Oct. 29)

Voters deliver message

Former president Harry Truman, famous for his folksy one-liners, once said something to the effect that if voters have the choice of voting for a real Republican or a fake Republican, they will choose the real one every time.

Perhaps the Democratic Party learned something from the elections of 2002. If many Democrats vote like Republicans, why should the party have expected a big Democratic victory on Election Day ("GOP regains Senate, keeps House in a sweep for Bush," News, Nov. 6)? Many Democrats voted for President Bush's unfair tax cut and gave him almost unlimited power to invade Iraq. When these initiatives fail, and I think they will, then how will the Democrats be able to criticize them?

What alternatives are the Democrats offering their core constituency? One either stands for something or for nothing. Voting results show what happens when one stands for nothing.

Theodore Haynes

Orlando (Nov. 7)

Words stir race hostility

In the editorial "GOP, nation cannot afford leaders like Lott," I read at least six strikes against Sen. Trent Lott (Dec. 16).

The Republican senator from Mississippi, with his proud Southern heritage, has raised old controversies about the racial tension and cruel ostracism of the past, which need no resurrection. Lott has sharpened the sword and widened the wedge between whites and blacks, all while leading a party that carries a banner proclaiming it wants to engage more blacks into its rank.

As the Good Book says, "By your words you shall be justified, and by your words you shall be condemned."

The GOP leader's words, because of which he has offered numerous apologies, have wounded others. The deepest wound has been inflicted upon himself at his own doing. Words and actions testify plainly what is in the heart.

Isaiah J. Ashe

Huntsville, Ala.

TEXT WITHIN GRAPHIC BEGINS HERE

## Letters detail year's top events

## How events stack up

Mail volume reveals topics most on readers's minds. News events and number of letters received as of October 2002:

War on terrorism and homeland security: 21,461

Middle East: 13,776

Corporate scandals: 13,103

U.S. conflict with Iraq: 11,047

Catholic Church scandal: 7,277

D.C. area-sniper killings: 5,087

## Graphic

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GRAPHIC, B/W, Quin Tian, USA TODAY, Source: USA TODAY research (BAR GRAPH); PHOTO, B/W, Stephen Jaffe, AFP; PHOTO, B/W, Shannon Stapleton, Reuters; PHOTO, B/W, AP; PHOTO, B/W, Jack Gruber, USA TODAY; PHOTO, B/W, Sheila Tezano, AP; Protection: President Bush greets Homeland Security Director Tom Ridge, right, after Bush announces the creation of a new Department of Homeland Security in November. Ridge will head the department. <>Possible showdown: The U.S. and United Nations put Iraq's Saddam Hussein on alert about weapons of mass destruction. <>Corporate woes: Former WorldCom chief financial officer Scott Sullivan, center, is arrested in August after being charged with securities fraud. <>Bravo: Halle Berry makes history in March as the first African-American woman to take home best-actress award. <>Fear: John Lee Malvo, 17, left, and John Allen Muhammad made headlines as suspects in Washington, D.C.-area sniper shootings that killed 10 and critically injured three.

**Load-Date:** December 31, 2002

## *Why there is no such thing as a free fish supper*

The Times (London)

July 13, 2002, Saturday

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**Section:** Home news; 10

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**Byline:** Giles Coren

### **Body**

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The phone rang on Monday morning and a voice said: "Is there any reason why we shouldn't seat you next to Tom Parker Bowles at dinner tonight?"

An odd question with which to begin the working week, but a fair one in my case. For my answer was: "You mean, apart from the scoffing piece I wrote about him when he was busted for snorting coke, and the piece I wrote about his mother's sex life in a glossy magazine last month, and the time when I hinted misleadingly in the Times Diary that she was to be photographed nude by Helmut Newton? No, that should be absolutely fine."

In truth, I should not have gone to the dinner at all. But it was the fifth birthday party of Nobu, London's loftiest restaurant, and it was celebrating by feeding eight courses to an assortment of food writers, celebrity chefs and hangers-on (yes, I know, that's not what I would do either). A Nobu meal is never less than Pounds 100 a head and when it is being offered free you do not say no.

Bad decision. I consider myself lucky to be alive.

With the possible future stepson of the possible future king seated at a safe distance -and his line of attack blocked by such imposing household names as Fay Maschler and Raymond Blanc, not to mention Jill Dupleix of The Times -I reckoned I was safe. Nor did I see anything to fear when, after the meal, a delightful Scotswoman who had been going a little harder than necessary at the free grog plonked herself down opposite me.

A chap got up to thank Nobu San himself for flying all the way from New York to cook our meal, and then said: "Now, now, no anti-Zionist heckles from Miss Sharpe."

I did not grasp the reference. I was not aware that any blame has been attached to sushi chefs, or to the Japanese generally, for the plight of the Palestinian people. And, anyway, Miss Sharpe is a nice lady from Harpers & Queen who is concerned with champagne promotions and the like. I really didn't see how her views on the Middle East were of much relevance to anything.

Still. It would have gone off fine, had not the blotto Scotswoman started hooting, "Nothing wrong with anti-Zionists, you say what you like Jennifer, we're all anti-Zionists over here." In its drunkenness and bellicosity, her declaration of support for Jennifer's politics reminded me of the howls that ring out in the Blind Date studio when Cilla Black asks the audience if there's anyone from Cardiff.



## Why there is no such thing as a free fish supper

As she rolled squawking in her chair, conducting an imaginary orchestra with her half-full wine glass, it struck me that the real tragedy of Palestine is that, whereas Israel has most of the world's military arsenal ready to defend it, all the poor Arabs have is irritable Scotswomen who can't say no to a free sake.

"What?" she yelled at me, which was odd because I had only thought the above sentence, not said it aloud. In fact, I had not said anything out loud. I do not take sides on the Middle East. At least, not at dinner with drunken strangers over free fish. I may have looked a little askance, but a woman like that must surely be used to askance looks.

"My husband's Palestinian," she drooled. "I'm fed up with arguing with people like you." At this point, remember, I had still not opened my mouth.

"Are you Jewish?" she cried. Then, not waiting for a reply (which was as well for it is not an easy question to answer), she said again: "I'm fed up with talking to people like you," and turned her back on me with a theatrical flourish. Then she got up and walked away. Seconds later there was a cry of: "No Giorgio, don't do it!" and a scowly fellow with long hair and stubble rose from his chair and lurched towards me, swaying from side to side like John Wayne after a particularly long spell in the saddle. "Vot ees yoor nayim?" he said, his nose almost touching mine. I glanced inside his shabby jacket for fuses and bits of dynamite.

"Giles," I said immediately, for it was easier than the Jew question.

"Your foool nayim," he slurred.

"Giles Coren," I said.

"Ahhh," he said, poking at my chest with a grubby forefinger. "Sow, eet ees you!"

I covered my ears with my arms and adopted the recommended emergency brace position, but nothing went off. And he staggered away, presumably to call the lads at Hamas and tell them that he'd bottled it.

It turned out to have been Giorgio Locatelli, "celebrity chef" and owner of a nice Italian restaurant just off the Edgware Road to which I gave a very positive review in the Times Magazine a few months ago, but in which I mentioned, en passant, that I have never been much of a one for risotto. He must have been offended at what he saw as a racial slur -risotto is the cultural marrow of his nation, after all -and been smouldering about it all this time.

Now that is the sort of cultural defensiveness I can accept. For when I make free with my opinions of risotto I am making a bed in which I must be prepared to lie. But being boycotted by hysterical women who are too squiffy to express their half-baked prejudices in words is not my just social dessert.

Thus chastened, and disinclined to go out again to a place where journalists and chefs can lay their hands on free alcohol (determined, in fact, never to go out anywhere again, but to stay in, like most normal people, and eat take-out in front of The Sound of Music), I collected my coat and headed out into Park Lane to walk home in the rain.

And the moral of this story, for we all need morals, is that there really is no such thing as free sushi.

I see that the chaps at AOL Time Warner are planning a film in which Batman battles Superman. To the layman this no doubt sounds very interesting. Anyone interested in comics, however, will know that it is a plotline that the publishers of Superman and Batman, DC Comics, drag up every three or four months, every time one or other of the titles is flagging.

The problem with the scenario is that Superman could kill Batman with a sneeze. So what happens is that exposure to kryptonite makes Superman weak, and then exposure to some other chemical makes one or other of them bad. And then they biff each other.

If there is any hope for the film then it lies in the rumoured casting of Matt Damon as Soops. You will remember Matt Damon, of course, from his role in The Talented Mr Ripley. Perhaps what they are planning is a sort of

### Why there is no such thing as a free fish supper

Talented Mr Kent in which Clark Kent develops a homo-erotic obsession with Bruce Wayne during a Riviera holiday in the 1920s and pushes him off a boat because he is jealous of his fancy tights, expensive possessions and privileged millionaire lifestyle.

It's what Patricia Highsmith would have wanted.

**Load-Date:** July 13, 2002

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## **SUICIDE BOMBER KILLS 19, WOUNDS 70 IN JERUSALEM**

New York Sun (Archive)

June 19, 2002 Wednesday

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**Section:** FRONT PAGE; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1100 words

**Byline:** By ETGAR LEFKOVITS- Jerusalem Post

**Dateline:** JERUSALEM

### **Body**

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A Palestinian suicide bomber murdered 19 people and wounded some 70 more yesterday, when he detonated a large, nail-studded bomb as he boarded an Egged No. 32A bus here. Fifteen of the victims had been identified as of press time.

**Hamas** claimed responsibility for the attack, identifying the bomber as Muhammad al-Ghoul, a 22-year-old university student from the Al-Faraa refugee camp near Nablus. Ghoul wrote in a farewell note that he had tried twice before to carry out an attack, but was deterred by the presence of security forces.

The attack marked some grisly milestones. It was the second suicide bombing in the country in as many days, and the 70th in the past 21 months; it was also the most lethal attack in the capital since February 1996.

[The Israeli government said in a statement early today that it would react by retaking parts of the West Bank "as long as terror continues," marking "a change in how Israel responds to murderous acts of terror." The statement said "additional acts of terror will lead to taking of additional areas," the Associated Press reported.]

The blast came just hours after Jerusalem was put on the highest state of alert following intelligence warnings received Monday night of an impending terrorist attack. The alert is still in place today.

Jerusalem police chief Mickey Levy said the intelligence alerts were non-specific, and that Jerusalem's 4,000-strong police

force was deployed starting at 4 a.m.

The 7:57 a.m. rush-hour blast at a bus stop on Dov Joseph Road opposite Beit Safafa completely destroyed the bus, which was full of teenagers on their way to school and commuters on their way to work.

Fourteen of the dead were from the nearby Gilo neighborhood. The force of the explosion sent bodies flying from the bus, which was left a charred skeleton.

Prime Minister Sharon went to the scene of yesterday's terrorist attack, and near the corpses in body bags, pools of blood, and burned-out bus, wondered aloud about the Palestinian state presently high on the international agenda. "The horrible pictures of the acts of Palestinian murder that we saw here are stronger than any words," Mr. Sharon said.

## SUICIDE BOMBER KILLS 19, WOUNDS 70 IN JERUSALEM

"It is interesting what kind of Palestinian state they have in mind. What kind of Palestinian state? What are they talking about? The horrible thing that we see here is a continuation of Palestinian terrorism, and against this terrorism we must fight and struggle, and that we will do," Mr. Sharon said.

[President Bush was considering sending Secretary of State Powell on a peace mission to the Middle East, the Associated Press reported from Washington.

The president's announcement of his strategy for Palestinian statehood will be delayed at least until tomorrow or possibly Friday while he sorts through his options and his advisers consider the implications of the terror attack, White House officials said.

A senior U.S. official said Mr. Powell could leave as early as next week but that Mr. Bush had not yet made a decision.]

The bus driver, Rahamim Tzidkiyahu, 51, was killed in his seat, his hands still on the steering wheel. He had replaced the scheduled driver, who was late for his shift.

"I heard a tremendous explosion, and a huge ball of fire like a bonfire shot up from the bus," said eyewitness Dorit Menashe, 30, who was driving her car in the opposite traffic lane at the time of the explosion.

"There was shouting and screaming, and then silence," said the pregnant woman from her bed at Bikur Holim Hospital.

As rescue workers sifted through the debris, residents fearing for their loved ones began arriving at the scene.

"My sister! My sister!" cried one woman.

"My brother-in-law was on the bus!" yelled another.

Both women were dragged away by city social workers, who urged them to go to Jerusalem's four area hospitals, where some 70 wounded were being treated.

Eyewitnesses spoke of an eerie silence that hung in the crisp morning air as the destroyed bus stood in the middle of the thoroughfare.

"There was total quiet. I saw teenagers laying sprawled on the ground," said Rami Cohen, 45, who was driving his children to school.

"There was a 12-year-old girl on the floor of the bus, with blood on her head and hand. I struggled to get her out of the back window of the bus," Cohen said.

Passenger Michael Lasri, 15, said he immediately suspected the bomber, a heavyset man in a red shirt, the minute he boarded the bus, and that he ducked just before the blast.

"I saw him for only a few seconds, and by then he had blown himself up," said Mr. Lasri, who suffered cuts and bruises, from his bed at Hadassah-University Hospital at Ein Kerem.

Among the casualties were also several Israeli Arabs from Beit Safafa, including Susan Abed el-Rahman, a student at David Yellin Teachers' College, who boarded the bus together with the bomber.

"I was talking on my cellphone, and I didn't even pay attention to the man getting on after me," said a shocked Ms. Rahman, who was lightly wounded in the blast, from her hospital bed.

Last night, six people wounded in the attack remained in serious condition at Hadassah-Ein Kerem.

The last suicide bombing in Jerusalem was over two months ago, on April 12 at the city's Mahaneh Yehuda market. Six people were killed and 84 wounded in that Friday afternoon attack.

## SUICIDE BOMBER KILLS 19, WOUNDS 70 IN JERUSALEM

Yesterday's attack was the deadliest attack in Israel since the March 29 Passover Eve massacre in Netanya that killed 29 people, and was the worst attack in the city since February 25, 1996, when 26 people were killed in a No. 18 bus bombing.

The Jerusalem Municipality yesterday lowered its flags to half-mast in deference to the victims.

Throughout the day and last night, Gilo residents and rightwing activists demonstrated at the scene of the attack, calling on the government to banish Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat into exile.

Fifteen of the 19 victims' names were released by press time.

Shiri Nagari, 21: Worked at Bank Leumi, was to begin studies at Hebrew University in the fall

Leah Baruch, 59: Oversaw the official residence at Beit Hanassi for several years

Boaz Aluf, 54: A 'humble, family man' on his way to work at Bank Tefahot Galila Bugala, 11: Student at Paula Ben-Gurion school in Jerusalem Shani Avi-Tzedek: High school student Michal Biazzi: High school student Dr. Moshe Gottlieb: Chiropractor and grandfather who worked "to heal the people of Jerusalem and Israel" Liat Yagen, 24 Gila Nakav, 55 Helena Ivan, 63 Tatiana Braslavsky, 41 Mendel Barzon, 72 Baruch Gruani, 54 Raphael Berger all from Gilo The driver of the bus, Rahamim Tzidkiyahu, 51, from Armon Hanatziv. All victims were residents of Jerusalem.

**Load-Date:** November 4, 2003

## Letters from readers

Star Tribune (Minneapolis, MN)

May 1, 2002, Wednesday, Metro Edition

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**Section:** NEWS; Pg. 16A

**Length:** 1221 words

### **Body**

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#### Return to holy roots

I agreed with the first half of the Star Tribune's editorial on clergy sex abuse ("When in Rome / U.S. cardinals come up short," April 28).

But then it speculates that the reason the cardinals dragged their feet was because a zero-tolerance policy would decrease the already-dwindling number of priests.

The Star Tribune then suggests that the church should drop its requirement for celibacy and its ban on ordaining women, saying the church should follow the example of "other Christians in the catholic orbit."

I resent the paper's use of "catholic orbit." Christ established only one true church.

It is obvious how to increase the church's supply of good and holy priests; it just needs to install the programs and methods of successful seminaries.

\_ Phil Drietz, Delhi, Minn.

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#### Integrity trumps access

I commend Hubert H. (Buck) Humphrey for having served as an election judge this past year, having worked as both a judge and precinct chairperson for over 10 years. But I disagree with his support for the current election judge bill being considered by the Legislature ("Kiffmeyer should like election judge bill," April 27).

While it is critical to recruit more judges, it is my view \_ gleaned through years of voter contact and comment \_ that the integrity of the process is of utmost importance to the voters. Current state law addresses and attempts to ensure that. Have we so quickly forgotten the Florida debacle or often reported fixed elections in foreign countries?

\_ Rebecca Winegarden, Maple Grove.

#### Siding with a dictator

Apparently your distaste for Ariel Sharon, the democratically elected leader of Israel's national unity government, compels you to fawn over Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah, a dictator of a country with no religious freedom, civil or political rights, democratic elections, a free press or rights for women.

## Letters from readers

Perhaps you think President Bush should follow the orders of a dictator like Abdullah and rein in the actions of a democratic country merely attempting to defend itself. Perhaps you have forgotten that for 18 months the United States and Israel did everything but beg Yasser Arafat to halt the terrorists.

Perhaps you have overlooked Ehud Barak's courageous peace offer that was rejected by Arafat in 2000.

I don't recall Abdullah calling for an end to terrorism \_ or stopping the flow of Saudi funds for the terrorist groups \_ or encouraging Arafat to accept Barak's offer.

\_ Steven Haur, Burnsville.

No friend of peace

Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah may speak for the editorial writers of the Star Tribune, but he hardly speaks for your readers. Saudi Arabia supplied 15 of the 19 men who were responsible for the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks.

Saudi money continues to flow unabated into the coffers of Hamas, Hezbollah and other Palestinian terrorists. Just last week the Saudis held a telethon to raise tens of millions of dollars for the families of suicide bombers, and now the Saudis have purchased millions of dollars of television air time to repair their deservedly poor image.

It's time for the Saudis to engage in at least a little introspection \_ come to think of it, not bad advice for your editorial writers.

\_ Ilan Sharon, Minnetonka.

Earth's senators

Though Earth Day has come and gone, let's give thanks to our state's two senators for their reliable leadership in protecting and conserving our nation's natural heritage.

Sens. Paul Wellstone and Mark Dayton both cast heroic votes to prevent drilling for oil in the sensitive wilderness of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge ("Senators put Alaska drilling plan on ice," April 19).

Both recognized that drilling for oil in the refuge does little or nothing to reduce U.S. dependence on foreign oil or to address America's long-term energy needs.

The historic bipartisan vote was a major victory for those in favor of reducing our dependence on imported oil without harming our nation's natural treasures.

Several weeks ago, Minnesota's senators also voted in favor of increasing fuel efficiency standards in automobiles manufactured in the U.S. Though the bill failed, it would have been a large and realistic step toward reducing our nation's dependence upon imported oil.

Wellstone and Dayton have shown that they can be consistently relied upon to vote yes to conservation, yes to alternative fuels, yes to renewable energy and no to big oil and the special interests of big business.

We are one of only two states in the country that can boast two senators with perfect environmental scores from the nonpartisan League of Conservation Voters. Minnesotans care a great deal about preserving the environment, and Sens. Wellstone and Dayton represent our ethic with courage and conviction.

\_ Marty Broan, program manager, League of Conservation Voters, St. Paul.

Give him a doughnut!

Doug Grow's April 25 column ("Overdosing on doughnut hype?") sounded a bit grumpy. Next time, let him get one of those Krispy Kreme doughnuts, will you? Learn to share!

## Letters from readers

\_ Dan Thompson, Minneapolis.

## A bad move by MSHSL

The Minnesota State High School League recently recommended moving the Girls' State Volleyball Tournament to the Rochester Civic Center in 2003. Coaches, fans and student-athletes are stunned and disturbed about the recommendation by the MSHSL Board of Directors.

Although I am sure the people of Rochester would do a great job hosting the tournament, the issue goes beyond that.

The biggest issue is equal access \_ access for spectators and teams. Moving the tournament out of the metro area does not give the spectators easy access to view the tournament.

No matter how you look at it, having the tournament 90 miles south of the metro area is not going to be as convenient, nor is it going to attract as many spectators.

In terms of attendance, volleyball is the second largest tournament for girls. The volleyball tournament annually draws more than 20,000 spectators.

Moving the tournament from the Xcel Energy Center, one of the finest facilities in the country, to a less attractive venue that holds 5,000 spectators is a definite step down in prestige and status. No matter how it is framed, the move appears discriminatory to young women.

In terms of access, there is no comparison to that provided for the boys' tournaments and that provided for the girls' tournaments. All of the largest boys' tournaments are held in first-class facilities in the Twin Cities. Football is held at the Metrodome, boys' basketball will be held at the Target Center, boys' hockey and wrestling are held at the Xcel Center.

In sharp contrast, two of the largest tournaments for girls are being shipped out of the metro area. In addition to the volleyball tournament, the girls' hockey tourney is being moved to St. Cloud.

My hunch is that the decision to move the volleyball tournament was made without much consideration to the bigger picture of girls' sports in the state.

Good people can make poor decisions. This is a decision that should be reconsidered immediately.

I urge the board to review the governing values listed on the MSHSL Web site. The first value is "equity, fairness and justice."

\_ Stephanie Schleuder, president, American Volleyball Coaches Association, Minneapolis.

## Graphic

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CARTOON

**Load-Date:** May 1, 2002



**Arafat has shown that he is not interested in peace**

Hamilton Spectator (Ontario, Canada)

May 7, 2002 Tuesday Final Edition

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**Section:** FORUM; Pg. A11; Opinion

**Length:** 1250 words

**Byline:** Harold Pomerantz

## **Body**

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Like Robert Buie, the writer of the article that appeared last week under the headline "Israel's false claim to virtue," I am a resident of "suburban" Hamilton.

Unlike Robert Buie, I am Jewish.

Just because Buie is neither Jewish nor Palestinian does not mean he is an unbiased observer of the Middle East conflict.

In May 1948, five Arab countries invaded Israel. They were going to liberate "Arab Palestine" and thus created the Palestinian refugee problem and prevented the establishment of the independent Palestinian state in accordance with the UN partition plan. It wasn't ethnic cleansing by Israelis that created the refugees, but promises by the Arab states that Israel would be destroyed and the Palestinians would soon be able to live on the land that was promised to the Jews.

The Hamilton Spectator

The Arab countries perpetuated the Palestinian refugee problem by refusing to absorb their integration into the economy of the surrounding Arab states. Israel absorbed more than 700,000 Jewish refugees from the Arab countries, yet the 22 Arab countries in the region could not absorb a similar number of Palestinian refugees. Buie's claim that "Palestinians by the millions were forced to leave their homes" is absolutely false.

Buie calls Palestinian terrorists "freedom fighters." After all, they are only trying to defend their country and retrieve the land taken over by the Israelis in 1967. Is Buie suggesting that blowing up children in a pizzeria or people attending a religious celebration is somehow justifiable? You don't "defend" your country by blowing up the citizens of another country. The members of **Hamas**, Hizbollah, Islamic Jihad, al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade and other similar organizations are terrorists, not freedom fighters. They want to destroy Israel, create a Palestinian state in its place and destroy the Jews living there.

The land taken over by the Israelis in 1967 was occupied as a result of a war launched by the Arab armies. In accordance with Article 51 of the UN Charter, it is designated as captured territory in response to a war of aggression. Israel has accepted both UN resolutions 242 and 338 -- which calls for a withdrawal from the territories, based on secure borders, but subject to negotiations and in exchange for genuine peace. Egypt and Jordan negotiated peace and had their land returned. The Palestinian Authority pledged to do the same in 1993. Eighteen months ago, Arafat turned down a peace plan that gave in to almost all of the Palestinian demands. Without any counterproposals, Arafat unleashed his war of terrorism that Buie now tries to defend.

Arafat has shown that he is not interested in peace

Dennis Ross, the Middle East negotiator for the first Bush administration and then for former United States president Bill Clinton, has publicly announced the terms of the peace proposal rejected by Arafat. They included 97 per cent of the West Bank, Arab neighbourhoods in Jerusalem, East Jerusalem as a capital, refugees would be allowed to return to Palestine but not Israel, and a \$30 billion fund to compensate refugees. A land link to Gaza was also to be included.

But Arafat rejected this peace offer because he would not accept Israeli sovereignty over the Western Wall in Jerusalem and other holy sites. He also would not accept the plan for refugees, but insisted on their right of return to Israel. He was unwilling to grant any concessions for peace.

Arafat doesn't want peace.

He is a terrorist, not a statesman.

In Israel's attacks on the terrorist bases in the Palestinian territories, some Palestinian civilians have lost their lives. But if Israel really wanted to kill civilians, it would have attacked the terrorist bases from the skies as the Americans did in Afghanistan instead of going house to house risking the lives of their soldiers.

It is impossible to fight a war without civilian casualties. Israel attacked military targets in the middle of civilian-populated areas. Palestinian terrorists attack civilians in markets, malls, restaurants and hotels.

While Palestinians suffer more casualties than Israelis, it is not because their cause is more moral. How many Palestinians were murdered by suicide bombers in restaurants, nightclubs and religious celebrations? Most were killed because of terrorist activities. Israel is fighting a war against combatants who wear no uniforms, carry out their terrorist operations among the civilian population and shoot from houses, hospitals and churches. Remove a gun from a terrorist and he or she looks like a civilian. Women and children have been recruited as suicide bombers.

To say these suicide bombers are courageous is a lie. They are cowards. They target innocent civilians, women, children and even infants.

Buie does not seem to understand that the Palestinians have been living under the rule of the Palestinian Authority since July 1, 1994. If the people are suffering, it is the fault of their leadership. The millions of dollars of aid from the U.S., Europe and even Israel has been squandered to make war rather than build the economy. Those who make up the corrupt Palestinian leadership have lined their pockets with cash, paid off their terrorist armies, purchased illegal arms and created nothing but poverty and misery for their citizens.

Just how far back into history does Buie want to go? If more than 3,000 years in the Middle East is not enough history, what does that say about aboriginal claims to North America?

Israel occupies only 1 per cent of the Arab Middle East and less than 10 per cent of the original Palestine Mandate. But this is too much for the Palestinians and the Arab countries to endure.

There are five million Jews in Israel. They are there and they are not leaving. That is what Rabbi Irwin Zeplovitz meant when he wrote, "The Israelis will not give up their land."

As for the Israeli settlements, even Prime Minister Ariel Sharon has recognized that some settlements will be lost in a negotiated peace agreement.

Buie can excuse all sorts of terrorist acts committed by Palestinians. He can dismiss the wars in 1948, 1956 and 1967 when Israel was not even in possession of the so-called Palestinian lands. The Arabs' religious leaders call for the destruction of Israel. This is their Jihad. Surely Buie has heard of their promise to drive the Israelis into the sea.

I find it almost amusing that Buie states his position is that of Gandhi, "the philosophy and practice of non-violence because violence begets violence." Absolutely correct. Palestinian violence begets Israeli reprisals. Israel was attacked by suicide bombers, culminating in the death of 26 people in the now infamous Passover massacre.

Arafat has shown that he is not interested in peace

What did Buie expect Israel to do? Practise non-violence. It is the Israelis who have been living peacefully in their homes and have been seeking peace with their neighbours. Preach non-violence to the Palestinians, who are still talking about war.

Those who blame Israel for aggression against innocent Palestinians usually deny they are anti-Semitic. They claim to be just anti-Israel or anti-Zionism. In the February 2002 issue of Commentary magazine, Hillel Halkin wrote: "Israel is the state of the Jews, Zionism is the belief that Jews should have a state. To defame Israel is to defame the Jews. To wish that it never existed, or would cease to exist, is to wish to destroy the Jews."

Israel is a small, insignificant piece of land, but it is the homeland of the Jewish people. Israelis and Jews around the world will not give up Israel without a fight.

Harold Pomerantz lives in Dundas.

**Load-Date:** May 7, 2002

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## *Bloody business watching the battle for Ramallah*

The New Zealand Herald

April 1, 2002 Monday

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**Section:** NEWS; World

**Length:** 1099 words

**Byline:** By ROBERT FISK

### **Body**

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PSAGOT, West Bank - The grey smoke rose in a curtain over Yasser Arafat's headquarters, drifting high above two minarets and then smudging the sky-line south of Ramallah.

"I guess he's blown himself up," an Israeli paratrooper said with contempt. "That guy is finished."

We stood at the edge of the Jewish settlement just 400 yards from the first houses of the newly reoccupied Palestinian city - surrounded by Merkava tanks, Magah armoured vehicles and jeeps and trucks and hundreds of reservists tugging blankets and mattresses and guns from the backs of lorries.

"It's only just beginning, you know that?", the paratrooper asked. "They are idiots down there. They should know their terrorism is over. We're never going back to the '67 borders. Anyway, they want Tel Aviv."

A clap of sound punched our ears, a shell exploding on the other side of the hill upon which Ramallah lies. I wandered closer to the city, through a garden of daffodils and dark purple flowers to where an Israeli boy soldier was standing.

"I want to go home," he said blankly. I said 20 seemed to be too young to be a soldier. "That's what my mother says." He was eating itals matsa bread with salami, staring at the empty streets of Ramallah. "They've locked themselves in their homes," he said. "Do you blame them?"

I didn't. But it was a strange morning, sitting with the soldiers above Ramallah, a bit like those awful viewing platforms which generals would arrange for their guests in the Napoleonic wars, where food might be served while they watched the battlefield.

There was even a settler couple, cheerfully serving hot food and coffee to the reservists. The woman held out a bowl of vegetables and cheese for me. "My daughter's at Cambridge University," she said with a smile. "She's studying the history of the Crusades."

A bloody business, I remarked, and her companion cheerfully agreed. Religious wars are like that.

That's when I saw the four Palestinians. Just below us, next to the garden with the daffodils and the purple flowers, three of them were kneeling on the grass in front of a group of Israeli officers. All were blindfolded, their hands tied behind them with plastic and steel handcuffs, one of them with his jacket pulled down his back so that he could not even move his shoulders.

## Bloody business watching the battle for Ramallah

The Israelis were talking to them quietly, one of them on one knee as if before an altar rather than a prisoner. Then I saw the fourth man, middle-aged, trussed up like a chicken, stretched across the grass with his blindfolded face lying amid a bunch of flowers.

The paratrooper shrugged: "They all say they've done nothing, that they're innocent, that we just came into their homes and took them without reason. Well, that's what they say."

I mentioned the prisoners to the two friendly settlers. They nodded, as if it was quite normal to have four men bound and blindfolded in the little garden. When I asked the 20-year-old about them, he shrugged like the paratrooper. "They are not my prisoners," he said.

I walked round the corner of a building to the little lawn upon which they were being questioned. A soldier was now putting a new pair of cuffs on one of the kneeling men. Another Palestinian was repeatedly bowing his head before a door and his shoulders moved as if he was weeping.

None of it worried the soldiers. In their own, unique "war on terror", these prisoners were "terrorists". Indeed, another soldier eating a plate of greens said that he thought "all the people down there" were "terrorists".

In front of us a Merkava battle tank passed, roaring down the hill below in a fog of blue smoke, its barrel gently swaying up and down above its hull. "Tomorrow is going to be worse," the paratrooper said. "This is only the beginning."

Had he been reading the newspapers? Or did he know something I had missed? There are all kinds of rumours in the settlement of Psagot; that the West Bank is going to be totally reoccupied, that the Israelis intend to re-establish their so-called 'Civil Administration', that the Palestinian Authority will be dismantled and its leaders exiled.

The paratrooper's friend, a smiling sergeant who dwarfed both of us in size, thought it a good idea. "My only question is why we didn't do this weeks ago," he said.

More troops arrived in more trucks with their Galil assault rifles. Radio shacks were being erected, armoured vehicles positioned above Ramallah.

An officer asked what would happen if this operation failed. He answered his own question: "Sharon will be finished."

Yes, you could not help feeling, something was coming. On the road back to Jerusalem, I passed a rusting old bus opposite Maale Adumim, its windows covered in wire. Hands were gripping the wire and, behind them, 20 or 30 faces stared through the mesh.

The Palestinian prisoners were silent, looking out of the bus at the massive Jewish settlement, watching us, dark faces in shadow, guarded by a jeep-load of Israeli troops.

A few minutes later, I stopped to buy bread and chocolate at a Palestinian grocery store in east Jerusalem. The shoppers - men for the most part with just two veiled women - were standing below the store's television set, plastic bags of food hanging from their hands. Israeli television does not flinch in telling the truth about its own casualties. "The toll so far appears to be 14 dead," the commentator announced.

The Palestinians of Jerusalem understand Hebrew. A camera aboard a helicopter was scanning the roof of a Haifa restaurant, peeled back like a sardine can by a Hamas suicide bomber's explosives. A boy shook his head but an elderly man turned on him: "No," he said pointing at the screen, "that's the way to do it."

And I thought of a girl in Cambridge who is studying the Crusades, and what a bloody business we agreed it all was. And how religious wars tend to the bloodiest of all.

Bloody business watching the battle for Ramallah

<http://www.nzherald.co.nz/storyarchive.cfm?reportID=56522> Feature: Middle East

<http://www.nzherald.co.nz/storydisplay.cfm?storyID=155216&thesection=Story&thesubsection=&reportID=56522>  
Map

<http://domino.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF> UN: Information on the Question of Palestine

<http://www.israel-un.org/> Israel's Permanent Mission to the UN

<http://www.palestine-un.org/> Palestine's Permanent Observer Mission to the UN

<http://www.middleeastdaily.com> Middle East Daily

<http://www.arabicnews.com/ansub/index.html> Arabic News

<http://www.amin.org> Arabic Media Internet Network

<http://www.jpost.com> Jerusalem Post

<http://www.israelwire.com/su1.html> Israel Wire

[http://www.state.gov/www/regions/nea/peace\\_process.html](http://www.state.gov/www/regions/nea/peace_process.html) US Department of State - Middle East Peace Process

**Load-Date:** December 17, 2002

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## *After Ferocious Fighting, Sri Lanka Struggles With Peace*

The New York Times  
April 9, 2002 Tuesday  
Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 3; Foreign Desk; Pg. 6

**Length:** 1200 words

**Byline:** By CELIA W. DUGGER

**Dateline:** BATTICALOA, Sri Lanka, April 5

### **Body**

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The reclusive Tamil rebel leader who has dispatched more suicide bombers than anyone in the world, is expected to surface Wednesday for his first public meeting with reporters in more than a decade -- the most remarkable sign of a peace process now gathering momentum on the island once known as Ceylon.

Velupillai Prabhakaran, the leader of the Tamil Tigers, has battled the government of Sri Lanka for 18 years. He has been branded a terrorist by the United States and Britain and is wanted by India for the assassination of a former prime minister.

Now, after a cease-fire he signed with the government in late February, the guerrilla strategist is comfortable enough to surface without fear of government arrest.

During three months of successive cease-fires by the separatist Tamil rebels and the country's new government, no one has been killed on Sri Lankan soil. That in itself is an achievement. The fighting here has claimed more lives -- at least 62,000 -- in this small nation of 19 million people than the United States lost in Vietnam.

There have been many recent scenes that have Western diplomats shaking their heads in amazement.

On the first visit in 20 years by a Sri Lankan head of government to the northern Tamil town of Jaffna, Ranil Wickremesinghe, the new prime minister and a practicing Buddhist from the Sinhalese majority, was mobbed by rapturous Tamils last month when he showed his respect for Hindu tradition by taking off his shirt to enter a revered temple. Most Tamils are Hindu.

In government-held cities in the north and east, which would constitute the separate Tamil nation sought by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, large crowds have rallied openly for the Tigers, who are still formally banned in Sri Lanka.

The first face-to-face peace talks in seven years between the government and the rebels -- brokered by Norwegian diplomats -- are expected to begin in May or June. Sri Lankans of all ethnicities are relieved that the guns have fallen silent -- the ruling party won strong endorsement for its strategy in an overwhelming victory in local elections last month -- but a terrible anxiety underlies the hope of a negotiated settlement.

## After Ferocious Fighting, Sri Lanka Struggles With Peace

Mistrust between the Tamil Tigers and the large Muslim minority in the east could derail progress toward a settlement. Tiger leaders did not grant interviews requested in a letter delivered to them in the rebel-held north or through intermediaries here in Batticaloa in the east.

People in eastern Sri Lanka -- part of the territory rebels claim as the separate Tamil nation they call Eelam -- say they know firsthand the brutalities committed both by government troops and rebels.

In government-controlled areas, where Tigers are allowed ever greater freedom to operate, many fear that the rebels will also have greater freedom to abuse their power.

Any effort for peace is haunted by ghosts. In 1990, the Tigers massacred more than 125 Muslims during evening prayers at two mosques here in the Batticaloa district. That same year, the Tigers gave Muslims in the northern, Tamil-dominated Jaffna peninsula 24 hours to get out. Tens of thousands who fled are still homeless and living in camps.

Muslims, who say the Tigers have stepped up extortion of "taxes" from them since the cease-fire, have no direct representative in the peace talks, though their political support is crucial to the ruling coalition.

"Who will represent the needs and rights of Muslims?" asked Nawaz Muhammad, now a human-rights activist, who said his 22-year-old sister was abducted and killed by the Tigers in 1990.

Some Tamils, too, are fearful. A 19-year-old Tamil woman described her harrowing escape earlier this month from a Tiger training camp after being conscripted at gunpoint in February. She and three other young women -- one 17 and two 16 -- all had their long black hair crudely shorn. Despite threats of beatings if they ran away, the foursome spent five nights hiking, hiding and sleeping by day, until they stumbled on an army post.

The two youngest girls said they were kidnapped by the Tigers on March 26 as they walked through their village to a math tutor.

All four say they cannot go home.

"It's very scary," said the 19-year-old, talking of the Tigers roaming increasingly free. "If I go back to my village, I'll be spotted."

Many people wonder whether the Tigers, universally known by the initials LTTE, can change from a totalitarian military organization to a political party that submits to elections.

"Is the LTTE going to evolve into a Stalinist or Sandinista regime?" asked Milinda Moragoda, one of the two key officials in the Sri Lankan government on the peace talks. "I don't know."

Most analysts believe that the newly elected government is inclined to let the Tigers rule the north and east of Sri Lanka for perhaps two to three years without elections while negotiators try to resolve the conflict.

Mr. Moragoda said the government would seek to ensure democratic safeguards for the substantial Muslim and Sinhalese populations in the east, as well as the Tamils who dissent from Tiger domination. In any permanent settlement, the government has ruled out giving the Tigers a separate state, but has been willing to discuss much greater autonomy for Tamils within a democratic Sri Lanka.

Both sides are continuing to recruit troops and maintain their arsenals. The Tigers are a formidable, disciplined military force, with an estimated 4,000 trained soldiers. Suicide bombings are their trademark -- Mr. Prabhakaran has sent forth some 220 suicide bombers, compared to about 70 from Hamas, said Rohan Gunaratna, a researcher at the Center for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence at the University of St. Andrews in Scotland.

Under the cease-fire agreement, the Tigers have consolidated their position because rival armed Tamil groups have been required to turn over their weapons.



## After Ferocious Fighting, Sri Lanka Struggles With Peace

The government is taking risks that would leave the Tigers refreshed and strengthened for war if talks were to break down, as they have before.

The United States Embassy in Colombo recently warned the Tigers that they would face further international isolation if credible reports of recruitment of children and abduction and extortion continue.

Fear of the Tigers is palpable in Batticaloa. A leading citizen was plain-spoken in an interview about the group's terrorist tactics, then pleaded not to be quoted. "If I stick my neck out, they'll chop it off," he said.

One of the few fearless or foolhardy enough to comment publicly is the Rev. Harry Miller, a 78-year-old Jesuit priest from New Orleans who came to Batticaloa in 1948 and has been selected by the government to help monitor the cease-fire.

He said no one would dare speak out against the Tigers for dread of a severe retaliation. "They will get back at you one way or another and usually it will be quite horrible," Father Miller said.

He told of a family he knew that was pressured by the Tigers to give up a son -- and sent a mentally retarded son. The Tigers beat the young man badly and dumped him at the family's home. He had to be hospitalized.

"Will the parents make a report to the police?" the priest asked rhetorically. "People do not report against the LTTE."

<http://www.nytimes.com>

## Graphic

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Photo: Velupillai Prabhakaran, who has led a violent Tamil insurgency, agreed to a cease-fire with the Sri Lankan government in February. (Agence France-Presse)

**Load-Date:** April 9, 2002

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## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

St. Louis Post-Dispatch (Missouri)

April 17, 2002 Wednesday Five Star Lift Edition

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**Section:** EDITORIAL; Pg. D10; LETTERS

**Length:** 1199 words

### **Body**

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Choosing priorities in budget squeeze

Regarding the April 10 editorial, "Voodoo in Jeff City," you conveniently ignore the fact that a budget is composed of both spending and revenues. Spending is way out of control.

Although we've had a Democratic governor for the last three terms and a Democratic majority in both houses of the Legislature until recently, you lay the burden of making spending cuts at the feet of Republicans. If they don't stem the spending tsunami, then it's all the Republicans' fault. And if, God forbid, Republicans make the governor decide on spending cuts, then they're wrong for that, too. Could you be any more biased and slanted?

The best that the Post-Dispatch can do is dredge up old anti-Reagan slogans like "voodoo economics" while you blame anyone other than the Democrats. Why do you blame the minority members of the Missouri House rather than the governor and the majority party for putting forth a budget that overspends?

Don't go preaching about partisan politics when you play the same dirty game.

Roy Wood

Ballwin

What are the priorities of the Legislature? A look at two side-by-side articles in the April 10 Metro section is revealing.

While the House rejected use of a Rainy Day Fund to pay for services for the mentally ill, the disabled and the elderly, a House committee approved millions of dollars in state subsidies for a new ballpark and other improvements to sports venues, after legislators were treated to a reception and dinner at a country club by leaders supporting the new venues.

Gail Wechsler

St. Louis

The state of Missouri will be decreasing financial support to higher education. Is this part of a class war being waged by the wealthy against the poor?

We keep hearing that the American economy of the last 10 years is one of the best in history. A great number of billionaires, millionaires and wealthy have been created. The already wealthy have gotten much wealthier.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

So why are we cutting back on higher education? We now learn that 33 percent of the working population earn less than \$10 per hour; that 70 percent earn less than \$14; that 95 percent of the wealth is in the hands of 5 percent of the population, and the wealth gap is ever widening.

The wealthy can easily afford higher education, but what about the overwhelming majority of people? Cutting the higher education budget is a vote against the poor and a vote against the common good.

Edward Barlow

Columbia, Mo.

This is not the time to use the Rainy Day Fund. Legislators should balance the state budget without it.

Yes, it's painful, but it would require taking off only another 3.4 percent of fat.

The Rainy Day Fund was not meant to make up for overspending or intended for agencies' special programs. The Legislature must keep up the difficult work of cutting costs to the bone. The governor's plan for spending must include a way to pay for it, as the Constitution requires.

Do not vote to spend any of the Rainy Day Fund. Cut more spending.

Jim McCoy

St. Louis

Terrorism is defined in Mideast violence

An April 7 article by Harry Levins reported that there is no agreement on the definition of terrorism. He cites the Arab delegates to the conference of Islamic nations who label as "legitimate acts of opposition" murders specifically targeted at civilians, including women and children.

Since when did civilized people ever consider it "legitimate" to intentionally murder civilians gathered for a peaceful religious ceremony inside the internationally recognized border of their own country? When is it ever "legitimate" to send murderers time-after-time with the specific goal of killing and maiming as many civilians as possible?

President George W. Bush has correctly labeled as terrorists Hamas, Al-Aqsa Martyrs and Islamic Jihad. In describing those groups, why doesn't the Post-Dispatch label them as terrorists?

Martin H. Israel

St. Louis

Our so-called civilized world appears to have dropped two words from its vocabulary -- "peace" and "justice." There is no value placed on human life. Even without any world war, the killings are going on in every part of the world.

The only superpower, the United States, acts on its own both militarily and economically. Instead of world peace and justice, terrorism is rampant.

Human beings are born with God's spirit. They are not born as terrorists. They are made to become terrorists when weapons of mass destruction are used against them to deny them their freedom and their faith.

Occupation of land is terrorism. Arrogance is terrorism. Injustice is terrorism. The so-called peace process is a mockery when justice is denied. When the goal is not peace, and when justice takes a back seat, terrorism surfaces.

We, as a superpower, need to examine our policies and act in the interest of humanity and not merely out of materialism, militarism and racism.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

ShahinShah Ahmed

Chesterfield

Spare murderer's life

On May 1, Chris Simmons, a juvenile at the time of his crime, is scheduled to be executed by the state of Missouri. It is impossible not to be outraged by the horror of his crime. First and foremost, my sympathies are with the family of Shirley Crook, his victim. I cannot imagine their grief and loss.

As proved by countless other executions, though, this one will not bring healing for anyone. It will, in fact, continue the cycle of violence.

I have known Chris for almost three years through his participation in my weekly meditation class in Potosi. I also serve as his spiritual adviser. I can attest to his deep remorse for his crime, the turnaround in his character and the many ways he tries to repay his debt to society. Working with at-risk youth through the prison's Youth Enlightenment Program is one of his many efforts.

Life in prison without parole is a clear alternative here. A life sentence will assure that Simmons continues to pay his debt over and over and over. There is no justice beyond that, only vengeance and politics.

Commuting his sentence to life in prison would be a greater assurance for other youngsters hearing his message and not repeating his mistakes.

As teachers and parents, we know our warnings often fall on deaf ears. Not so, I've noticed, when youngsters hear it from men behind bars. Commuting Chris Simmons' sentence to life in prison is an investment in many children's future.

Sister Elaine AuBuchon, SSND

St. Louis

"Whales" cross river

Missouri legislators should be fair to St. Louis by passing a special \$500 loss limit exemption for the downtown President Casino so that it can compete with East St. Louis' Casino Queen, which has no \$500 limit.

This downtown casino employs hundreds of St. Louisans and provides millions of dollars in tax money to the city. But it is at a distinct disadvantage since it is the only casino in the state whose competition has no loss limits and is just five minutes away.

"Whales" -- the gambling industry's name for high rollers -- will invariably cross over the bridge and leave their dollars in Illinois.

It's time to level the playing field by passing this special \$500 loss limit exemption and giving the St. Louis casino an opportunity to compete more effectively, thereby providing much needed additional revenues for St. Louis.

Donald L. Roth

St. Louis

**Graphic**

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

PHOTO; Color Photo by POST-DISPATCH / FILE PHOTO - The President Casino

**Load-Date:** April 17, 2002

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**We're leaving - mostly, Sharon says Out of West Bank soon, prime minister says, except Bethlehem, Ramallah**

Charleston Gazette (West Virginia)

April 16, 2002, Tuesday

Copyright 2002 Charleston Newspapers

**Section:** News; Pg. P1A

**Length:** 1240 words

**Byline:** Hadeel Wahdan The Associated Press

## **Body**

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RAMALLAH, West Bank - Prime Minister Ariel Sharon said Monday that Israeli troops would press ahead with a campaign against Palestinian militants in two major West Bank towns despite U.S. pleas for a full withdrawal. Israel also grabbed a senior aide to Yasser Arafat whom Sharon says was behind suicide bombings.

But Sharon told President Bush in a telephone conversation Monday that Israeli troops would, within a week, pull out of Jenin and Nablus, White House spokesman Ari Fleischer said.

Sharon told CNN that Israeli forces would remain indefinitely in Ramallah, where they surround Palestinian leader Arafat's headquarters, and in Bethlehem until Palestinians occupying one of Christianity's holiest sites surrender for trial or exile.

"Altogether, we are on our way out," Sharon said of the campaign against Palestinian militants that began March 29. Early today Israeli tanks re-entered Tulkarem, one of two towns evacuated April 9. Witnesses said tanks rolled in from four directions, covered by attack helicopters. Israeli military sources said the incursion was aimed at making arrests, not reoccupying the town. Israeli tanks also surrounded the Askar refugee camp next to Nablus, residents said.

Secretary of State Colin Powell, meanwhile, continued his efforts to calm regional violence, visiting Lebanon and Syria. He also supported an Israeli proposal for a U.S.-led Mideast peace conference, saying it would be "a way to get the parties together and talking."

Powell said the United States would not host the conference, which Sharon wants Arafat excluded from.

Arafat said Monday he conditionally accepted the Israeli proposal but, in interview with Fox News, did not address Sharon's demand for his exclusion.

But Palestinian negotiator Saeb Erekat criticized the idea and said Israel should accept a peace initiative calling for full peace in exchange for an Israeli withdrawal from territories captured in the 1967 Mideast War.

U.S. officials said the next Powell-Arafat meeting would be Wednesday. Palestinian officials said the two sides were working on a joint statement. The first draft, obtained by The Associated Press, declares that the Palestinian goal of a state in the West Bank, Gaza Strip and east Jerusalem must be attained "through negotiations, not terror and violence."

We're leaving - mostly, Sharon says Out of West Bank soon, prime minister says, except Bethlehem, Ramallah

The statement, meant to be signed by Arafat, also calls for Israel to pull out of Palestinian-controlled areas.

On Monday, members of Powell's delegation met with Palestinian negotiators in the West Bank town of Jericho.

The Israeli withdrawal was far from the complete rollback that the American government is seeking. The two exceptions are Bethlehem, where Israeli forces are engaged in a standoff with more than 200 armed men in the Church of the Nativity, and Ramallah.

Sharon said Israeli forces will not leave Bethlehem until the standoff is over and will not leave Ramallah until those behind the October assassination of Tourism Minister Rehavam Zeevi are handed over.

On Monday, Israeli troops exchanged fire with Palestinians inside the Bethlehem church compound, built over the grotto where tradition says Jesus was born.

Two Palestinian policemen - one seriously wounded several days ago and the other reportedly suffering a nervous breakdown - surrendered, witnesses said. They were the first Palestinians to do so during the 12-day standoff.

Sharon told CNN Israel and the United States agree that the armed men inside the church must surrender and those deemed to be connected with terrorism should be tried in Israel or deported, perhaps with British assistance, to an unspecified country. The Palestinians reject that idea.

Meanwhile, in Ramallah, elite Israeli troops seized Marwan Barghouti, who Israel says leads Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigade, responsible for Friday's suicide bombing in a Jerusalem market that killed six people plus the woman bomber.

An elite Israeli force searching for militants captured Barghouti, 41, at the house of Fatah official Ziad Abu Ain, who also was detained, West Bank security chief Jibril Rajoub said. No shots were fired, Israel Radio said.

Israel accuses Barghouti, sometimes mentioned as a possible successor to Arafat, of direct involvement in nine different attacks that have killed 13 Israelis and a Greek Orthodox monk.

In a statement, the military said Barghouti, "as part of his work ... received large budgets from local and foreign groups, including [funds] authorized by the signature of Yasser Arafat."

Barghouti is head of the Tanzim, part of Arafat's Fatah organization, and "was considered the commander and guide of Al Aqsa Brigades, which are blamed for a large number of deadly terrorist attacks in which dozens of Israelis were killed and hundreds injured," the military said.

Defense Minister Binyamin Ben-Eliezer said Barghouti turned Tanzim into "the most murderous of the terrorist organizations committing most of the recent attacks against Israel, attacks of all types, but principally suicide attacks including female bombers, shootings and bombings."

Sharon cited Barghouti's arrest in explaining the importance of the military campaign.

"Just imagine if we had withdrawn one day earlier and he would have been free and he'd be able to continue," he said.

Barghouti and his nephew, Ahmed, were given to security forces for interrogation, the army said. Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres told CNN that Marwan Barghouti will be tried in Israel and "it will be basically open."

Rajoub warned against harming Marwan Barghouti.

"Killing or humiliating him will bring catastrophes for Israel and will expand the circle of violence," he said.

Also in Ramallah, Israeli forces arrested two leaders of the militant Hamas, Jamal Tawil and Fayez Abu Wardeh, Palestinians said. The Israeli military had no immediate comment.

We're leaving - mostly, Sharon says Out of West Bank soon, prime minister says, except Bethlehem, Ramallah

In the Jenin refugee camp in the northern West Bank, medics drove through rubble-strewn alleys Monday searching for bodies. It might take days to determine accurately how many Palestinians died in the fiercest battle of Israel's offensive.

Israel and the Palestinians have argued over who will retrieve the bodies - part of their dispute over what happened during the weeklong battle. Palestinian officials initially alleged troops killed hundreds of people, including many civilians, in the camp.

Israel estimated about 100 people were killed, most of them gunmen. Soldiers said Sunday they found 40 bodies.

Sharon told CNN he believes casualties in Jenin were in the "few dozens" and called claims of a massacre a "lie."

"There were very hard battles there, and I think the Israeli forces, not like any other armed forces being involved in a very hard battle, were very careful not to hurt civilians," Sharon said. "We don't have anything to hide there."

Israel Radio said 14 bodies were found Monday, but only seven were removed because some camp areas remain booby-trapped. Foul smells rose from beneath debris, and some residents have tried digging with their hands to check for people or animals.

Dr. Waiel Kaddam, a Palestinian Red Crescent doctor who was inside the camp, confirmed that seven bodies were collected. Medics, he said, were allowed only in one part of the camp, were not allowed to take pictures or film the scene, and lacked equipment needed to get to bodies.

"At the moment, it is very, very difficult," Kaddam said. "It seems that the bodies that we have to move with our hands are under a lot of rubble, and some bodies have ammunition around them."

**Load-Date:** April 16, 2002



## UNDERSTANDING YOUR WORLD: SHOWDOWN IN ISRAEL: SHARON VS. ARAFAT

Santa Fe New Mexican (New Mexico)

March 31, 2002 Sunday

Copyright 2002 New Mexican, Inc.

**Section:** OUTLOOK; Pg. F-1

**Length:** 1135 words

**Byline:** William M. Stewart

### **Body**

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Late last week, Israeli forces broke into the official compound of Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat. They were on a search-and-destroy mission, and though the Israeli government has stated it has no intention of harming Arafat, but instead to "isolate" him, there is no doubt that Prime Minister Ariel Sharon would break out the champagne if Arafat were to be "accidentally" killed. By Saturday afternoon, there was informed speculation that the Israelis intended to break into Arafat's living quarters and arrest him -- or worse.

While Israel's outrage at the continued acts of terrorism is justified, Sharon's actions border on madness. The Israeli leader is living up to his reputation as a bull in a china shop, and that is putting it delicately. His reputation among the Arabs, especially in the wake of the 1982 invasion of Lebanon, is that he is a war criminal. It was Sharon as defense minister who ordered the Israeli army to stand passively at the gates of the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps as hundreds of Palestinian men, women and children were slaughtered by a Christian militia allied with Israel. To Israel's everlasting credit, Sharon was later held to be "indirectly responsible" for the slaughter, and he was forced from office. It is one of life's cruel ironies that he is back in office.

Sharon's supporters will counter, "and if Arik is a war criminal, what does that make Arafat, a saint?" The answer is that Arafat is no saint; he too has blood on his hands. These two old warriors understand each other implicitly, and each wishes the other dead. There is no other way to put it. But there is, nevertheless, a huge difference between the two men: Sharon is an elected but highly controversial leader of a frightened and deeply divided country. Arafat is an elected leader of a people struggling to be free; he is the embodiment of Palestinian nationalism, even when that nationalism has turned ugly in its desperation, using terror as its only effective weapon. Sharon understands this completely, but as he is opposed to a Palestinian state (no matter what he says), he doesn't care what methods he uses along as the Palestinian national uprising is put down.

There is no indication that either President Bush or Vice President Cheney has the least understanding of what has brought about this situation. They are so focused on their international war on terrorism that, in their public statements at least, they see no distinction between Palestinian militants, Colombian rebels, al-Qaida or the government of Iraq. It's one size fits all, and this incredible obtuseness is helping to lead the Middle East into even greater disaster.

It is now clear that Arafat cannot control Hamas, and it is therefore absurd for Israel to hold Arafat personally responsible for each and every terrorist act in Israel. It becomes even more absurd when we consider that Israeli

## UNDERSTANDING YOUR WORLD: SHOWDOWN IN ISRAEL : SHARON VS. ARAFAT

forces, under Sharon's direction, have completely destroyed the Palestinian police, the very people Israel has called upon to prevent acts of terrorism.

Friday's provocative move by Israeli forces was in retaliation for the "Passover Massacre," in which at least 20 Israelis were killed and more than 100 wounded by a Palestinian suicide bomber. It was an appalling act, coming at the same time that Arab leaders meeting in Beirut declared they were ready for normal relations with Israel, if Israel withdrew from the occupied territories, recognized East Jerusalem as the capital of an independent Palestine and recognized the "right of return" of Palestinian refugees to their old homes. The main point here is that the Arab move was led by Saudi Arabia, without whose support no such move would be Israel's disproportionate response.

The United States, it seems, has decided to become more or less permanently re-engaged in what is still called the Middle East peace process. Gen. Anthony Zinni, the president's special Middle East envoy, is staying in the area despite the latest suicide bombings and Israel's response. Secretary of State Colin Powell on Friday called for Israeli restraint while recognizing the right of Israel to take whatever measures Israel feels are necessary to defend itself. Powell, however, came down heavily on the need for the Palestinian Authority to not only denounce terrorism but to take whatever measures are necessary to put an end to terrorist acts. His lopsided statements in support of Israel's military action was mitigated to some extent by later U.S. support of a U.N. Security Council resolution calling for an end to the violence and Israeli withdrawal from Ramallah and other areas.

No one except the extremists denies that terrorism is an evil that must be stopped. The latest bombings have put the peace process once again on hold, just when the prospects for a cease-fire seemed brighter than for many months. Indeed, that is the principal reason why the attacks took place. But terrorism itself is only the deadly symptom of the underlying problem, and that is the desperation, the now ugly and dangerous desperation, of a people denied their rights for many decades. To get at one, we must get at the other, a connection the U.S. government has singularly failed to make clear and make public.

This is where the U.S. role is crucial. Only the United States has both the prestige and the power to broker a successful resolution. Denouncing terrorism, as Powell did on Friday, without also mentioning the underlying causes, is why so much of the world views with suspicion the ability of the United States to be an honest broker. It is certainly true that those people who call for greater U.S. intervention generally want us to put more pressure on the Israelis than on the Palestinians.

How does the United States do that to an essentially democratic country that believes its survival is at stake? This is a very difficult situation, one in which we must tread forcefully yet delicately. At the heart of the dilemma is the devilish fact that Israelis, like the Palestinians, are part of both the problem and the solution. Israel has by far the stronger hand in this situation because it holds what the Palestinians want -- the land. But it is both psychologically and politically difficult -- excruciatingly difficult -- for the Israelis to give up something concrete, i.e., the land, for something nebulous, i.e., the promise of peace. Only the United States can reassure the Israelis that taking that chance is both worthwhile and necessary. And ultimately, any Israeli-Palestinian agreement will mean the presence of U.S. troops for an indefinite period. That is part of the price the United States pays for being a great power.

William M. Stewart, a former U.S. Foreign Service officer and Time magazine correspondent, now lives in Tesuque. He writes weekly on foreign affairs.

**Load-Date:** July 16, 2002

**Inside story: A deadly silence: Israel is in turmoil; US troops are fighting in Afghanistan. But the Arab world is largely silent. The Middle East's leading commentator asks Libyan leader Muammar Gadhafi if he can explain why**

The Guardian (London)

March 21, 2002

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**Section:** G2, Pg. 6

**Length:** 1163 words

**Byline:** Mohamed Heikal

## **Body**

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President Muammar Gadhafi invited me to meet him. Soon afterwards the Libyan presidential plane whisked me to Tripoli and, several hours later, back to Cairo. Thus it was that, 30 years after the last time I visited him, I was taken to the premises in which Gadhafi lives and works, in the Aziziya barracks, in the heart of the Libyan capital.

He was wearing a brown abaya, the traditional Arab cloak-like garment. It was made of the hair of the young **female** camel which, when spun and woven, has the texture of silk. He had one flap of the abaya tucked around his side and the other flung over his shoulder and thus tightly wrapped, the only other items of clothing that showed were a red pullover and the black taqiya on his head. The man who for years had the world guessing what he was going to do next, appeared much more sedate than the last time I encountered him. Perhaps it is the wisdom of age and experience. Gadhafi is approaching 60 and has been in power more than 30 years. Now, he appears more sage than revolutionary.

Now, too, he had more questions than answers. On the day I saw him, the main question on his mind was the same one that is preoccupying many people in the Arab world and abroad. We were sitting in the immense tent erected on the lawn in front of his former house, which was bombed by US aircraft in 1984. The house remains as the missiles left it. The missiles also killed a seven-year-old girl whom Gadhafi had adopted, and raised as though she were his own daughter. When he speaks of her, his eyes betray a profound sorrow.

Inside, the tent was surprisingly spacious and sumptuous. The interior is lined with a richly embroidered fabric, whose predominantly rose-coloured floral and geometric patterns are picked out in gold brocade. As we drank a cup of thick black coffee without sugar, then a cup of tea with milk, our conversation turned to next week's Arab summit in Beirut. Gadhafi predicted that Arab leaders in Beirut would produce little more than a rehash of last year's statement. He then posed the question that has him, along with many others, so baffled: "What has happened to the Arab street?"

"The Arab people have always spoken out," he said. "It was their voice that told their leaders to move this way or that. But, today, at a time when the Arab nation is facing critical pressures and Arab leaders must make the most crucial choices, that voice is silent and offers no guidance.

"The Americans control the world," he continued. "As for the Arab world, the Americans not only control it, they rule it. And what they are saying and doing is alarming. Their bias for Israel is absolute and they no longer even take the

Inside story: A deadly silence: Israel is in turmoil; US troops are fighting in Afghanistan . But the Arab world is largely silent. The Middle East's leading co....

trouble to disguise their hostility towards the Arabs, to the degree that the Arab world these days hears nothing from Washington but threats and recrimination.

"Yasser Arafat, jailed in his own home by Sharon's tanks, has been ordered to stop the intifada, even if that means driving the Palestinians to civil war. Iraq and Iran, along with Hamas and Islamic Jihad, top Washington's list of terrorist organisations. Even countries with long-established friendly relations with the US are not immune to the intimidation, and those governments that have concluded peace treaties with Israel are reproached for not doing enough. The entire Arab world is in a humiliating position.

"Yet, the Arab street, which the great powers would once take into their calculations because it is out of their reach and represents the voice of conscience that cannot be bullied into submission, is silent. What is wrong with the Arab street?"

I told my host that he was correct in his observation and that the phenomenon was palpable. But in my opinion this silence in the midst of the current crisis has a meaning. I added that I would venture a conjecture, simply for the purpose of contemplation, not as a conclusive solution to the question. There were several points, I said, that we should take into consideration.

First, when the Arab street moved, as it once did, that, alone, did not produce change. The Arab masses, no matter how great their outpouring in an Arab capital, cannot possibly adopt a concrete course of action. The most they can do is to make an appeal. Generally, the Arab people address their appeal to a government they trust in, or to a leader they believe represents them, confident that this government or leader will act in their name and take a position that responds to their collective feelings and aspirations. This implies the existence of a certain bond between the people and those responsible for drawing up national policies and taking the decisions that affect their lives.

Apparently, the Arab street has developed a profound sense that those whom it is asking to change the way of confronting the increasing hostility and violence of the US are the very individuals who surrendered the fate of the region to the US. After all, it is difficult for the defendant to serve as a competent advocate for a cause. It follows, therefore, that the Arab street feels that the bond between it and those that rule is broken, or tenuous at best, that mutual trust is lost, and, consequently, that its voice would simply drown in the winds. In short, I said, there is a deep-seated crisis of legitimacy in the Arab world, and this crisis is hampering the relationship between the Arab people and their systems of government.

We can sit in this tent until tomorrow morning, I said, discussing the causes for the gap between the feelings and aspirations of the Arab street and the ruling regimes in Arab capitals, and eventually we may or may not come to an agreement on a diagnosis. Ultimately, however, I believe that the key to the mystery of the current silence resides in the sense that the people feel their appeals would fall on deaf ears, or if heard, the response would be ineffective.

Is it not odd, I asked, that when the Palestinians look to foreign governments to help them, they turn first to European rather than to Arab governments? This is because the Arab governments are doing little more than scrambling to get Washington's ear in order to alert it to the Palestinians' national and humanitarian plight. As long as this remains the case, the Palestinians believe that Washington would rather hear about them from the Europeans than from the Arab regimes, which have toyed at helping the Palestinians for so long that they no longer have any credibility left.

Gadafy had been listening to me patiently, but I added one more observation. I said, if we take this attempt at an answer to our question one step further, and if we grant that the world abroad is just as surprised by the silence in the Arab street, which had once roared from the Gulf to the Atlantic, the conclusion we must draw is ominous indeed. What mystifies international capitals should be a source of great anxiety to the Arab regimes. This silence, which emanates from a crisis of legitimacy, is a very loud alarm.

Inside story: A deadly silence: Israel is in turmoil; US troops are fighting in Afghanistan . But the Arab world is largely silent. The Middle East's leading co....

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**MIDEAST TURMOIL: THE AFTERMATH; The Number of Dead Is in Dispute,  
But the Destruction in Jenin Is Clear**

The New York Times

April 12, 2002 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 1; Foreign Desk; Pg. 13

**Length:** 1117 words

**Byline:** By JAMES BENNET

**Dateline:** JENIN, West Bank, April 11

## **Body**

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Toward dusk today, black smoke rose from the ruins of Jenin's refugee camp, a fortress of Palestinian resistance that has crumbled before overwhelming Israeli force.

No one knows how many people have died here. Israeli officials have given estimates of 100 to 200, and said that most of the dead were armed men. Palestinians estimated twice that many, and said the dead included civilians cut down by random fire.

Many people have fled, and others have been taken prisoner by Israel. Some are probably buried in the rubble.

This evening Jenin was motionless except for the Israeli armored vehicles that have taken command of the ragged streets. It was silent except for the occasional bursts of machine-gun fire or tank shells.

Gray cinder-block walls in the refugee camp were scorched black and punched through by shells. A broad boulevard that was sliced through the camp had been jaggedly paved with the remnants of smashed buildings.

From a distance, the camp's center looked as though a giant's fist had come down upon it. At the edge of the wreckage, a two-story-tall armored bulldozer trailing an enormous steel spike crunched its way through a wall.

This city, Prime Minister Ariel Sharon says, has been a major source of Palestinian terrorism for decades. The refugee camp has spawned many suicide bombers. Israel's hope is that it has now tamed Jenin.

Late tonight, a low-flying airplane dropped burning white flares in groups of three over Jenin. Trailing white smoke, they drifted slowly to earth, blotting out the stars while illuminating with a ghostly light the wreckage and the surrounding valleys, striped with gray limestone.

Some Palestinians here seemed stunned by the onslaught. "You collapse when you see them bombing and destroying the camp," Mufida Sabaani, 35, said outside her home late this afternoon. "We see missiles falling on the camp. We see shells falling. We see fire."

Others sounded simply furious.

## MIDEAST TURMOIL: THE AFTERMATH The Number of Dead Is in Dispute, But the Destruction in Jenin Is Clear

Jenin's refugees are refugees once again. Across a steep, stony hillside here, a knot of women and children picked their way this afternoon around an Israeli patrol in the valley below. They were fleeing their home in the refugee camp, where they had been trapped by Israeli soldiers for a week, they said, 17 people held on one floor in their house.

"We just started feeding the kids now," said Wajeeha al-Huji, the matriarch of the clan. The group carried pita bread and water given them at the first house they had approached after making their escape.

Their men were gone, they said, taken prisoner by Israel. They did not know what had become of them.

Seeking news in turn of their own families, Palestinian men detained for a few days and then released are wandering the neighboring West Bank villages.

They showed the burns and scabs on their wrists from plastic handcuffs they said they were forced to wear for days. They described similar treatment: being kept blindfolded the whole time they were in custody, and being asked only a handful of questions, for example, about their names and those of their relatives. They said they were denied food and water, a charge rejected by the Israeli Army.

The former detainees said they were told not to go back to Jenin because they had no homes to go back to. "They told me, 'You have no house -- it has been destroyed,' " said Izzat Muhammad, 28.

Amjed Ahmed Hazem, a 35-year-old electrician, said soldiers accused him of being a member of the Islamic group Hamas before finally releasing him after five days. "I don't know what happened to my family," he said. "I don't know where they went."

The army "has taken full control of the camp," said Jacob Dallal, an army spokesman. "It's now the closing stage of the operation. The soldiers are still going house to house." He said the troops were still encountering some sporadic gunfire.

Leaning into a gentle slope, Jenin faces a swath of rich fields, now bright green and patched with yellow mustard. From a distance in the last two days, it has seemed a peaceful, pastoral place. But on closer inspection, the dust clouds at its outskirts resolve into groups of armored vehicles moving to and fro, and the motes in the sky prove to be Apache helicopters, sometimes freezing in the air to let loose their machine guns.

In normal times, Jenin is a crowded, busy place, isolated by Israeli checkpoints but still sustaining a hopping central market and one of the best falafel restaurants in the West Bank. But because of its densely populated camp, it is also one of the toughest cities for refugees of the 1948 Arab-Israeli war and their descendants. Before the attack, the camp contained about 13,000 people.

Children have been seen at dusk there making a game of shoving car parts and stones into the road, to block cars they suspect of containing undercover Israeli agents. Marching from the camp in mid-November, demonstrators hurled stones, small explosives and invective at scores of Yasir Arafat's security officers when the Palestinian leader attempted to rein in militants here.

Those protests were set off by the arrest of Mahmoud Tawalbeh, a popular leader of the uprising who was later released from prison in Ramallah during an Israeli incursion there. He was killed in the fighting here this week, Palestinians said.

In air raids during the 19-month conflict, Israel has destroyed Jenin's court, its police headquarters, its prisons and other public buildings.

Israelis and Palestinians traded accusations today about the status of the dead. Palestinians said Israeli soldiers had buried the dead in mass graves or carted them away to a nearby military base or collapsed houses on top of them. The Israeli Army denied all such charges. "They have not been touched," Mr. Dallal said of the bodies.

## MIDEAST TURMOIL: THE AFTERMATH The Number of Dead Is in Dispute, But the Destruction in Jenin Is Clear

The Palestinians, armed with semiautomatic rifles and improvised explosives, were hopelessly outgunned by Israeli troops backed up by helicopter gunships, tanks and antiaircraft guns. But Israeli soldiers said the Palestinians knew the urban terrain, the twisting alleyways running through the camp, and had prepared booby traps in houses and sewers. Twenty-three soldiers died in the fighting.

It was difficult to assess the claims and counterclaims, because Israeli forces were still turning journalists away from Jenin today. Some reporters entered when the curfew on the city was briefly lifted this afternoon. Others later found their way in on foot. But no one was able to make a detailed study of the aftermath of the fighting.

Some Palestinians said that one result of the fighting was clear: Peace was now impossible with Israel. "After all we have seen -- the bodies in the streets -- who wants us to think of peace," asked Mr. Hazem, the electrician.

<http://www.nytimes.com>

### Graphic

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Photos: Wajeeha al-Huji, 70, right, with her daughter Entasar, 40, fled the refugee camp in Jenin with a group of women. They said they had been trapped by Israeli soldiers for a week, 17 people on one floor of a house.; Yasir Hamdoneh ferried women and children who had fled from Jenin to the homes of relatives yesterday. Fighting in the city has died down. (Photographs by Ruth Fremson/The New York Times) Map of Israel highlighting Jenin: The Israeli Army says it has control of the refugee camp in Jenin.

**Load-Date:** April 12, 2002

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## *Islam's deadly truth*

Herald Sun (Melbourne, Australia)

March 28, 2002, Thursday

Copyright 2002 Nationwide News Pty Limited

**Section:** OPINION; Pg. 19

**Length:** 1265 words

**Byline:** Andrew Bolt

### **Body**

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Human rights groups say the West mustn't be scared of Islam. But how can we ignore the terrible bloodshed caused by Muslim fanatics?

HUMAN rights groups have been right to warn us not to overreact to the horrors of September 11.

But their own over-reaction scares me much more.

Yes, they do well to remind us that most Muslims want only peace.

But they insult us and endanger us when they say our fear of militant Islam just proves we are racists.

I'm sorry to speak so bluntly on this sensitive issue, but Mary Robinson, the former Irish president and now the United Nations Commissioner for Human Rights, has just shown how perverted the "debate" about Islam has become.

The Left-wing Robinson has long been accused of pandering to black racists and anti-Semitic Muslim despots.

But this month she set new standards in the hate-the-West hypocrisy of human rights groups by criticising us for the "Islamaphobia" she claims has gripped the world since Islamic terrorists slaughtered 3000 civilians in the United States on September 11.

What the globe's most powerful human rights activist apparently means by "Islamaphobia" is the suspicion many folk feel since hijacked passenger jets were flown into the World Trade Centre -- a suspicion that Islam may not be so cuddly as human rights activists like Robinson imply.

You might think 3000 bodies -- and the Muslims dancing with joy in Egypt and the West Bank -- give reason to feel a tad concerned.

But to Robinson, this concern seems to be more proof of how racist and dumb rich Westerners are, and how badly they need correcting, especially by Muslims.

AS she says in her statement: "Prejudice and misperception feed on ignorance and this needs to be confronted, especially through the mass media, with the truth."

## Islam's deadly truth

And she calls on Islamic communities to "become more active in countering ignorance" in the West "through offering positive information on Islam and Islamic beliefs".

That should be interesting. Will these communities urge us to follow the example of the Saudi Arabian newspaper al-Riyadh, which this month tackled "prejudice and misperception" by running a column by an academic claiming Israeli Jews were mixing the blood of Muslim children in their pastries?

Or should we learn from Egypt's state-controlled newspapers, whose own efforts to combat prejudice include running articles saying Israeli spies actually brought down the World Trade Centre, and that Jew-loving America deserved it.

It's a mystery how such reports come to be published, because Mullah Robinson declares after many nights of studying her Koran that "no one can deny that at its core Islam is entirely consonant with the principle of fundamental human rights, including human dignity, tolerance, solidarity and equality".

Well, no one except Sheik Osama bin Laden and his merry band of child-killers, I guess. And the leaders of Islamic Jihad. And Hamas. And terrorist-sponsoring Iran. And any other kill-them-all Islamic fanatics, who will no doubt be chastened to hear Catholic Robinson believes them to be unauthentically Muslim.

BUT Robinson goes still further: Islam has a human rights history that's inspiring.

"No one can deny, from a historical perspective, the revolutionary force that is Islam, which bestowed rights upon women and children long before similar recognition was afforded in other civilisation," she says.

And see the "acceptance of the universality of human rights by Islamic states".

Dear God, enough.

Robinson's weasel words are the most authoritative example of the intellectual cowardice and dishonesty of so many human rights activists -- a cowardice and dishonesty that makes them appear to take the side of Islamic terrorists against Western secular democracies. Of fascism against freedom.

To activists who think in bumper-stickers, Robinson is, of course, right.

Yes, there is Islamaphobia. But follow the news for a few days, and even the most tolerant reader might feel that's excusable.

Again, let me say most Muslims here, including the many I know personally, want no strife and give none.

But let me give a run-down of some of the Muslim activities reported in this city's daily newspapers just since last Saturday.

We learned, for instance, that Islamic terrorists linked to bin Laden are on a killing spree in Iraqi Kurdistan. The Iraqi Government has doubled the reward to the families of Palestinians who kill Jews in suicide missions (sanctioned by religious authorities) to \$47,000 each.

Yet another Islamic suicide bomber killed three shoppers in Jerusalem, and a Palestinian in police uniform murdered two international observers.

An Indonesian religious leader implicated in terrorism is openly instructing his 200 students to admire Osama bin Laden, but the Government refuses to crack down on Islamic extremist networks believed to have taken refuge on its islands.

Pakistan's dictator now wants another five years in power, in part to crush the Islamic terrorist groups destabilising his country.

## Islam's deadly truth

American diplomats in Pakistan were ordered to send home their families after Islamic terrorists threw grenades into a Christian church there, killing a diplomat's daughter and four other worshippers.

The United States is beefing up security for the trials of members of the Islamic terrorist network behind the September 11 atrocities, amid fears of reprisals.

And an Australian Muslim was jailed for 15 years for allegedly helping Islamic terrorists in Kazakhstan.

Don't fret -- it could have been worse. There's been no news this week of the bloody Islamic insurgencies in Algeria, Uzbekistan, Chechnya, Kashmir, the Philippines, Sarawak and Ambon.

There's also a lull in the battles in Afghanistan, Libya's mad Gaddafi has gone quiet, Sudan's genocidal Islamic leaders continue to get away with mass-murder and Iran's Islamic regime has been muted since it was caught a few weeks ago trying to smuggle a shipload of arms and explosives to Palestinian extremists.

And the papers didn't even report that Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood last week paraded its first Palestinian-style suicide bombers at Cairo's famed Islamic Al-Azhar University.

So what do we conclude from this litany of death and hatred? That "no one can deny" Islam is a religion of peace? Why won't Robinson tell the truth -- that far too many Islamic leaders are among the greatest threats to human rights?

Even our own Mufti of Australia, Sheik Taj Eldine el-Hilaly, last year praised suicide bombers to the men of his mosque.

IF Islamic groups take up Robinson's offer to help cure people like me of Islamaphobia, let me suggest how they could best begin.

Forget giving me improving lectures about racism.

Let them instead show me Islam means peace by sacking every Muslim cleric who praises killing of any sort.

Let Muslim Arab nations stop sponsoring or sheltering terrorists, not least those who kill for Allah.

Let Muslim leaders stop hacking off the hands of petty criminals, or slicing or stoning adulterers.

Let the Muslim world replace its countless dictatorships with democracies.

Let Muslim governments stop publishing newspapers or running TV stations which preach hate and murder, or show Israeli leaders drinking Palestinian blood.

And, here in Australia, let moderate Muslim leaders find the guts to do what they promise me in whispers and depose Hilaly as Mufti.

Lying words will no longer do. Honest deeds are needed, or Islamaphobia will grow, and, sadly, not without some reason.

[bolta@heraldsun.com.au](mailto:bolta@heraldsun.com.au)

**Load-Date:** March 27, 2002

***Squaring off in camps: Israel begins raids among Palestinian refugees  
clinging to dreams of returning home***

The Gazette (Montreal, Quebec)

March 10, 2002 Sunday Final Edition

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**Section:** News; Pg. A7

**Length:** 1086 words

**Byline:** JAMES BENNET

**Dateline:** JABALIYA REFUGEE CAMP, Gaza Strip

## **Body**

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Israel has for the first time stormed the fortresses of the Palestinian uprising, sending soldiers backed by tanks and helicopter gunships into camps like this one in a hunt, Israel says, for terrorists.

Now, Jabaliya is waiting to be hit.

Israeli soldiers have torn other camps apart, punching passages through walls to ransack house after house, and killing dozens of Palestinians in firefights.

Those raids have set off echoes of past violence among the three generations of refugees who are trapped by poverty, political calculation and their own longing for plots of land in what is now Israel.

New York Times

In attacking the camps, Israel is returning to the half-century struggle at the core of the conflict, as the grandsons of the Jews who won the 1948 war square off with the grandsons of the Arabs who lost it. For the Israelis, it is a familiar fight for their lives and homes. For the refugees, it is one more attempt to chase them, and their ageless hopes, away.

With a dreamer's smile and one word, Muhammad Aziz summed up his vision of home: "Paradise."

Simple Mud House

His paradise is a simple mud house with a wooden door with no keyhole and no need for one. In the village of Simsim, the house was set in a golden wheat field, shaded by fig trees and grape arbors, a 90-minute walk to the east.

That home has been gone for more than half a century, more than twice as long as Aziz, who is 24, has been alive. He has never seen Simsim, but he has heard his father describe it so often he sees it in his dreams. He means to return home one day.

There are millions of Palestinians like him, yearning to go home, to places where they have never lived. More than a million of the refugees from the 1948 war live in 59 camps scattered throughout the West Bank, Gaza, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon.

## Squaring off in camps: Israel begins raids among Palestinian refugees clinging to dreams of returning home

The camps have supplied the most fighters willing to kill themselves in the cause, Palestinians say. It is their vision of earthly paradise lost - not of a heaven full of obliging virgins - that motivates them, said Nizar Rayan, a leader of the Islamic group Hamas.

Most Palestinians have accepted a two-state solution under which they would build a state in the Gaza Strip and West Bank, the lands Israel occupied in the 1967 war. But Rayan, like many refugees, has no patience for that approach, floated most recently in a Saudi Arabian peace initiative. "My house is not within those borders," he said of the Saudi initiative.

"There is a lot of fiction surrounding this, of course," said Iyad Sarraj, a psychiatrist and refugee in Gaza City, referring to the ache for lost homes. "It becomes mythological. But I tell you, it is the most important element of the Palestinian psyche, if you want to understand it."

"Refugee camp" evokes a transience at odds with the leaden reality of this place. When Aziz's father, Rabah Ahmed Aziz, arrived, there was only sand. Then there were tents, and with them lice and streams of raw sewage in the sandy lanes. Now, there are the cinder-block and mud-brick homes - some, like his, with satellite dishes on their roofs.

The camps are administered by a UN agency created expressly for Palestinian refugees. Like other refugees, Rabah Aziz, the patriarch, does not own his home, built partly by the UN agency. He cannot afford to move out of the camp, he said, but he seemed startled by the suggestion that he might do so without returning to Simsim.

"If I thought this way," he said, "I would forget my country."

To many Israelis, refugees like Aziz have been manipulated by Arab leaders hoping to retain them as a weapon. Jews who came to Israel lost family and homes in places like Poland, Germany and Iraq. The refugee camps, many Israelis believe, have prevented the Palestinians from moving on.

But, Palestinians counter, in coming to Israel many Jews say they are returning to their biblical homeland. Why, they ask, is it unreasonable for Palestinian refugees to return to homes they left 50 years ago, rather than 2,000 years ago?

"I cannot deny this," said Aziz, when asked about Israelis' own right of return. Aziz functions as an elder, mediating disputes, and he has a capacity rare in this conflict to appreciate the other's position. "They have a right to the land," he said.

### The Catastrophe

But his solution, a return to the 1948 borders drawn by the United Nations for a tiny Israeli state in Palestine, seems preposterous to Israelis. Rejecting that original state, Arab nations attacked it, and people like Aziz fled as the Israelis drove them back and took the land. Aziz was 17.

For the Israelis, that fight is the War of Independence, and for Arabs it is The Catastrophe.

Under the UN definition, Palestinians qualified as refugees if they had lived in Palestine and lost their homes and their livelihoods in the 1948 war. Their descendants also qualify.

From 914,000 refugees in 1950, the number has grown to around 3.9 million. Seventy per cent of the people in the Gaza Strip and 30 per cent of those in the West Bank are considered refugees - 850,000 and 600,000 people, respectively. More than half do not live in camps. But rather than assimilating, many cling to deeds to property in places like Haifa and Jaffa, in Israel.

Israeli and U.S. negotiators were astonished when peace talks foundered more than a year ago, in part over the right of refugees to return. Invoking a UN resolution, Palestinians say they should return to their homes inside Israel. Israelis fear a flood of refugees would achieve through demography and democracy what the Arabs have failed to do by force of arms - the erasing of the Jewish character of the state.

Squaring off in camps: Israel begins raids among Palestinian refugees clinging to dreams of returning home

Hussam Khader, a Palestinian legislator from the West Bank camp of Balata, which the Israelis raided, has no patience for that argument. "Why should they have a state according to religion?" he said. "They should change their ideology, their racism."

Some Palestinian politicians say Israel should apologize for what happened in 1948 and offer several options for refugees.

In the middle of Jabaliya camp, near the bustling downtown of hardware shops, restaurants and a police station crushed by Israeli bombs, sits a three-sided stone monument, erected by the Ministry of Youth and Sport.

On one side, a bleeding tree is depicted, its leaves marked with names of villages, including Simsim, emptied by the Israelis. On another face appears a map of historic Palestine, with this inscription: "It's Palestine or fire, generation after generation."

## Graphic

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Photo: ABED OMAR QUSINI, REUTERS; A pregnant Palestinian woman walks with other women between Israeli tanks as she is taken yesterday to the hospital inside the Tulkarm refugee camp in the West Bank.; Photo: SUHAIB SALEM, REUTERS; Palestinian boys look at damaged Palestinian police headquarters yesterday at Jabaliya refugee camp in the northern Gaza Strip.

**Load-Date:** March 10, 2002

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**MIDDLE EAST CRISIS: CITY IN TERROR: CARNAGE AT CAFE OF PEACE;  
13 KILLED IN TWO SUICIDE ATTACKS**

The Mirror

March 11, 2002, Monday

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**Section:** NEWS; Pg. 6,7

**Length:** 1159 words

**Byline:** David Pilditch In Jerusalem

**Highlight:** MOMENT OF BLAST: Diners have hardly had time to react as smoke from explosion fills cafe; SHOCK: Wounded after cafe blast; DEVASTATION:; Survivors rush to help the injured and dying as the smoke begins to clear moments after the suicide bomber walked in

## **Body**

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ROY BETON was sitting at a table by the door of the Moment Cafe in Jerusalem when the suicide bomber walked in.

Roy, 22, thought it would be safer taking girlfriend Idit Turgeman there than the city centre, which has been the target of a wave of such attacks.

But minutes after they arrived the bomber joined a queue of people at the entrance and detonated powerful explosives, sending bolts, nails and pieces of metal ripping through the air.

Six men and five women, all but one in their 20s, were killed instantly - in a popular haunt for students and peace activists who believe violence from both sides will never end the deadlock.

Amazingly Roy, 22, sitting just three feet away, survived.

After emergency surgery to remove five metal bolts from his right leg he said: "It is a miracle I survived - many of my friends did not.

"I was just lying on the floor surrounded by bodies. I must have been shielded by the people who were killed."

It was one of two suicide attacks on Saturday night in which 13 Israelis were killed - including a nine-month-old girl - and more than 100 injured.

## MIDDLE EAST CRISIS: CITY IN TERROR: CARNAGE AT CAFE OF PEACE; 13 KILLED IN TWO SUICIDE ATTACKS

Two hours earlier three Palestinian gunmen opened fire with automatic rifles and hurled hand grenades into a hotel lobby in the coastal town of Netanya.

The militants struck when the streets were at their busiest at the end of the Jewish Sabbath.

The bomber chose one of the safest parts of Jerusalem, defying massive security surrounding the official residence of hardline Israeli Premier Ariel Sharon a few yards from the cafe. Sharon was not there at the time.

Minutes later Roy was pictured lying in the street covered in blood with Idit, 21, screaming in horror beside him.

He said: "We went to have drinks. The restaurant was very busy but eventually we got a table beside the entrance.

"Idit went to the bathroom. I told her not to be long because I would miss her.

"After she went, in 30 seconds, there was a boom. The ceiling fell down and metal and bits of bodies were flying everywhere.

"There were two girls sitting at the next table who fell on me and I ended up on the floor.

"I was terrified. My fear was that there was another bomb. I stayed under the table.

"Everywhere there was screaming and crying. People were telling those who could walk to go outside.

"I tried to help the girls near me but my injuries were too bad. I don't know how but I managed to stand up and scrambled through the bodies.

"I heard my girlfriend shouting my name. She was hysterical. I took her outside. I didn't want her to see the horrors."

Eran Schechter said: "There was an explosion of atomic proportions. The whole cafe filled with smoke. People started screaming, going wild. I had never seen such horrors.

"Suddenly I got up and I saw around 10 or 15 people laid out unconscious on the floor."

Jerusalem mayor Ehud Olmert said: "We are in a war, a very brutal war that has been waged against every Jewish person in the heart of Jerusalem. My city is bleeding, day in and day out, with tens of civilians killed."

When The Mirror arrived at the scene minutes later corpses were laid outside the restaurant in black bodybags. Windows were blasted out and wooden chairs lay in charred pieces.

The floor of the bar was awash with blood. Most sickening of all, pieces of flesh were strewn across the pavement and walls.

Twelve hours later religious volunteers were still scraping pieces of flesh from the ceiling and the branches of fir trees which line the cafe entrance.

The family of suicide bomber Ismail Hawarani proudly displayed photographs of the latest martyr to their cause.

He belonged to the militant group **Hamas** and lived in the Al-Arub refugee camp in Bethlehem.

He was out to avenge Palestinians killed when refugee camps were invaded by Israeli troops last week.

In the Netanya attack nine-month-old Avia Malka and an Israeli man were killed and 50 injured as guests left a party for a man due to marry this week.

Little Avia's parents had just brought her from South Africa for a holiday and to visit relatives.



## MIDDLE EAST CRISIS: CITY IN TERROR: CARNAGE AT CAFE OF PEACE; 13 KILLED IN TWO SUICIDE ATTACKS

The gunmen sprayed bullets through the streets as they fled, mowing down pedestrians.

Two of the attackers were chased by police and killed after a gun battle. The third man managed to escape. Beside the dead gunmen lay Yisrael Yahya, 27, who is believed to have been accidentally killed by police.

The Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade - which is linked to Palestinian President Yasser Arafat's Fatah faction - claimed responsibility for the attack.

Sharon called his Security Cabinet together and was swift to strike back.

In just 30 minutes Arafat's HQ in Gaza was pounded to rubble by Israeli gunboats and Apache helicopters. Twenty people, including civilians, were injured.

Arafat has been trapped by Israeli forces in his Ramallah offices since December.

An Israeli soldier was killed when troops stormed a refugee camp in Tulkarm and rounded up more than 600 men. At the Dheisheh refugee camp in Bethlehem four Palestinian boys were wounded by tank fire.

In Ramallah Palestinian Samar Awis died when his car was hit by rockets fired from an Israeli helicopter.

They had got the wrong man - his brother, Abed al-Karim Awis, is one of the leaders of the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade.

A 13-year-old Palestinian was shot dead near Nablus when Israeli soldiers opened fire on stone-throwing youths.

In Ramallah a suspected bomber was shot dead as he approached an Israeli checkpoint.

And a Palestinian opened fire at Israelis at the gate of a Jewish settlement in Gaza, killing one man before being shot dead.

Helicopter gunships rocketed a Palestinian security headquarters in the Jabalya refugee camp in Gaza Strip.

America condemned the violence and urged Israel to allow Arafat to attend a crucial summit in Beirut this month.

The Arab world warned that the Saudi land for peace plan to be discussed at the summit was the "last chance" for Sharon.

The growing international pressure reaped rewards last night when Sharon said he plans to end Arafat's confinement in Ramallah.

He said the latest suicide attacks made immediate release impossible but added: "At the end of the day I believe the conditions will exist in which we can do this."

Sharon said his decision was based on the Palestinian arrests of five men accused of involvement in the assassination of Israeli Tourism Minister Rehavam Zeevi in October. "I said once they were arrested I would let him leave," he said on TV. "Once you achieve your demands you must carry out your commitments."

Many shellshocked Israelis continued to call for an end to the violence that has made almost every corner of their country unsafe.

Roy Beton added: "Why does this happen? Why are they killing innocent people who go out just to make fun?"

His mother Devora, whose youngest son Tzachi, 18, narrowly escaped death in a suicide bombing in December, said: "Twice I have had a miracle.

"How long do we have to suffer like this? When will the Jews have a moment when somebody is not trying to kill them?"

MIDDLE EAST CRISIS: CITY IN TERROR: CARNAGE AT CAFE OF PEACE; 13 KILLED IN TWO SUICIDE  
ATTACKS

**Load-Date:** March 11, 2002

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**SPEECH REDEFINES CONFLICT THAT LIES AHEAD;  
ANALYSTS SEE AN EXPANSION OF U.S.-LED CAMPAIGN**

St. Louis Post-Dispatch (Missouri)

January 30, 2002 Wednesday Five Star Lift Edition

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**Section:** NEWS; Pg. A1; PROFILE; STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS; SIDEBAR STORY

**Length:** 1156 words

**Byline:** Philip Dine Post-Dispatch Washington Bureau

**Dateline:** WASHINGTON

## **Body**

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### WAR ON TERROR

By his tough language and forceful call for further action, President George W. Bush raised the ante Tuesday night in the U.S.-led war on terrorism.

Rather than merely praising the success of the effort thus far or urging Americans to remain vigilant, Bush issued a stern warning that the war on terrorism is in its infancy, with grave dangers facing the civilized world.

Nor did he mince words in condemning specific countries -- Iran, Iraq and North Korea -- as dangerous, undemocratic and having aided the terrorist cause.

"States like these, and their terrorist allies, constitute an axis of evil, arming to threaten the peace of the world," Bush charged.

In so doing, said some analysts, he raised the possibility that after Afghanistan, the U.S.-led campaign against global terrorism may not shift to a smaller front, as many have suggested, but rather involve another major conflict.

"This was incredibly important, because those are the nations that will be the most difficult to resolve but that present the greatest problems," said Jack Spencer, military expert at the Heritage Foundation. "Certainly with Iraq, the president began laying the groundwork for some sort of action."

By naming Middle Eastern groups fighting Israel and by citing those three countries unconnected with the attacks of Sept. 11, Bush expanded the war on terrorism, said Ivo Daalder. He is a former National Security Council official and now a foreign policy expert at the Brookings Institution.

"He has significantly redefined the war on terrorism, which used to be a war against terrorism with a global reach, and now is a war that includes the terrorist underground - ***Hamas***, Hezbollah. And, more importantly, it includes nations that are seeking to acquire weapons of mass destruction: Iran, Iraq and North Korea," Daalder said.

"In fact, he made a virtual declaration of war against these countries. . . . He has basically declared that the United States cannot accept the status quo there, that their regimes will have to change or their weapons-of-mass-destruction capability will have to be eliminated.

## SPEECH REDEFINES CONFLICT THAT LIES AHEAD; ANALYSTS SEE AN EXPANSION OF U.S. -LED CAMPAIGN

"This is not just a war against terrorism, it is a war against countries that have weapons of mass destruction - and that is a very big change," Daalder said.

Bush's address was full of tough applause lines that brought the U.S. political establishment to its feet, as he spoke of "terrorist parasites" or warned America's enemies, "You will not escape the justice of this nation."

"Terrorists who once occupied Afghanistan now occupy cells at Guantanamo Bay," Bush said.

Yet, the audience for Bush's words on the campaign against terrorism was abroad as well as at home.

While he warned nations that may have terrorists operating within their borders that "if they do not act, America will," Bush's speech failed to reach out to other countries by offering U.S. cooperation on other issues beyond terrorism, Daalder said.

### Dangerous world

In choosing to either reassure Americans that they are safer than before or alerting them to grave dangers that remain, Bush depicted an America surrounded by individuals and groups intent on its downfall.

"Thousands of dangerous killers, schooled in the methods of murder, often supported by outlaw regimes, are now spread throughout the world like ticking time bombs - set to go off without warning," the president said.

"Our discoveries in Afghanistan confirmed our worst fears and show us the true scope of the task ahead," Bush said. "And the depth of their hatred is equaled by the madness of the destruction they design. We have found diagrams of American nuclear power plants and public water facilities, detailed instructions for making chemical weapons, surveillance maps of American cities and thorough descriptions of landmarks in America and throughout the world.

"Most of the 19 men who hijacked planes on Sept. 11 were trained in Afghanistan's camps - and so were tens of thousands of others. . . . These enemies view the world as a battlefield, and we must pursue them wherever they are."

Terrorist training camps may have been eliminated in Afghanistan, but they continue in at least a dozen countries, Bush said, in remote jungles, deserts and urban centers.

In response, Bush said, the United States must shut down terrorist camps and bring terrorists to justice. Equally important, he added, will be preventing terrorists and hostile regimes from obtaining or using chemical, biological or nuclear weapons.

And he was particularly blunt in addressing regimes in North Korea, Iran and Iraq, saying that while they "have been pretty quiet since Sept. 11 . . . , we know their true nature."

The speech was direct and strong, as it had to be, Spencer said.

"What struck me was the clarity of the message. His message was winning the war," Spencer said. "He was using this opportunity to refocus our attention on the war ahead of us."

### Left unsaid

Bush spoke toward the end of his speech about doubling the number of volunteers in the Peace Corps over the next five years, and addressed its efforts to "encourage development, education and opportunity in the Islamic world."

He also called for leading the world toward better values. "We seek a just and peaceful world beyond the war on terrorism," Bush said.

## SPEECH REDEFINES CONFLICT THAT LIES AHEAD; ANALYSTS SEE AN EXPANSION OF U.S. -LED CAMPAIGN

But the speech was short on U.S. cooperation in tackling issues critical to other nations, such as hunger, poor health care, illiteracy, pollution or massive debt.

"The first part of the speech is a very militaristic approach to the war on terrorism and does not embrace any conception about how we can ameliorate conditions around the world in which terrorism breeds," Daalder said.

"He's increasing the money for bombs, he's increasing the money for barriers to protect the borders, but he's doing nothing to increase the money for diplomacy."

Yet, Daalder called it significant that Bush spoke of the Peace Corps and a domestic freedom corps, because those represent concrete ways for citizens to get involved in the campaign against terrorism.

"He is asking the American people to volunteer their time at home and abroad. The question is, are we going to devote the resources that will be required to enable the volunteers to serve?"

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Special guests for Bush's State of the Union

President George W. Bush singled out five special guests by name:

- \* Hamid Karzai, interim leader of Afghanistan.
- \* Sima Samar, Afghanistan's women's affairs minister.
- \* Shannon Spann, widow of CIA officer Johnny Micheal Spann, slain in Afghanistan.
- \* Hermis Moutardier and Christina Jones, flight attendants who thwarted a terrorist shoe-bombing.

Also seated among the special guests were three people with regional ties:

- \* The Most Rev. Wilton Gregory, Roman Catholic bishop of the Diocese of Belleville.
- \* Army Sgt. 1st Class Michael McElhiney of Kansas City, a Green Beret who lost an arm in Afghanistan.
- \* Anthony Williams, mayor of Washington and, from 1989-91, chief of the St. Louis Community Development Agency.

## Notes

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STATE OF THE UNION; Reporter Philip Dine: E-mail: [pdine@post-dispatch.com](mailto:pdine@post-dispatch.com) Phone: 202-298-6880

## Graphic

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PHOTO; THE ASSOCIATED PRESS Color Photos; (1) Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld gives a thumbs-up Tuesday as he arrives for the president's speech. With him (from left) are Treasury Secretary Paul O'Neill, Housing Secretary Mel Martinez and Sen. Patrick Leahy, D-Vt.; (2) Interim Afghan leader Hamid Karzai is applauded Tuesday after being acknowledged by President George W. Bush during the State of the Union address. Clapping (from left) are Lynne Cheney, wife of Vice President Dick Cheney; Shannon Spann, widow of CIA agent Johnny Michael Spann, who was killed in Afghanistan; and the president's wife, Laura Bush.

SPEECH REDEFINES CONFLICT THAT LIES AHEAD; ANALYSTS SEE AN EXPANSION OF U.S. -LED  
CAMPAIGN

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***The price of betrayal: In the ugly war between Israelis and Palestinians, collaborators play a deadly game, risking death and dishonour for themselves and their families for generations to come. Alan Philips reports.***

Ottawa Citizen

May 11, 2002 Saturday Final Edition

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## **Body**

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Down some crumbling steps just off Star Street, a winding alley in Bethlehem's old town, is the modest home of the family of Mohammed Deifallah, where 12 people live in three rooms. Arrested at the age of 14 for throwing a Molotov cocktail at Israeli soldiers during a demonstration, Mohammed spent four years in Israeli prisons. After being released in 1992 he worked as a garage mechanic. But the Palestinian police believe that while in prison he had acquired a second job -- as an informant.

Mr. Deifalla's family admit he was never a hero. "If he was put under pressure, he would confess quickly. He was that sort of boy," his mother, Huda, says. But she vehemently denies he worked for the Israelis. Outside the immediate family, however, it is hard to find anyone who does not believe Mr. Deifallah was that most despised of people: a collaborator.

In November 2000 an Apache helicopter hovering above Bethlehem launched a missile at Hussein Abayat, leader of a group of armed men who later became known as the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigade. It was a direct hit, killing him in his pickup truck along with two women bystanders.

Sunday Telegraph Magazine

Within two weeks, the Palestinian police had arrested Mohammed Deifallah. He quickly confessed that he had followed Mr. Abayat and informed the Israeli intelligence service of the movements of the green pickup he drove.

After a five-hour show trial before the Palestinian state security court, in which the defence was allowed half an hour to prepare its case, he was sentenced to death by firing squad. His videotaped confession -- full of inconsistencies, according to the family -- was broadcast on Palestinian television.

The death penalty was never carried out. Yasser Arafat, the Palestinian leader, stopped signing death warrants after the execution of two collaborators, one captured on video, provoked outrage abroad.

So Mr. Deifallah languished in prison in Bethlehem for a year, passing his 28th birthday there, until Israel made it clear its air force was going to flatten the prison, and he was moved to an apartment where he and other convicts were guarded as if in prison. The word on the street is that he tried to escape to the Israeli army when it reoccupied Bethlehem last month. But it is more likely a death squad abducted him while his jailers turned a blind eye.

The price of betrayal: In the ugly war between Israelis and Palestinians, collaborators play a deadly game, risking death and dishonour for themselves and their....

They took another suspected collaborator from the same apartment, Mahmoud Sabatin, accused (but never tried) of helping to supply a booby-trapped car to Atef Abayat, Mr. Abayat's cousin and successor as leader of the Al-Aqsa martyrs. Atef Abayat and two other people were blown up the day after the car was delivered.

Mr. Deifallah's younger brother, Salim, 27, rushed to the scene, arriving just as police were dispersing the crowd. He "There were about 200 people there spitting on the corpse and hitting it with iron bars," says Salim. "I managed to put the body on an ambulance." Mr. Sabatin's body was dragged through the town into Manger Square.

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Even before the two collaborators were killed, the clans of both men had disowned them, informing the public in newspaper statements justice should be done.

But at the Deifallah family home, Mohammed's relatives are in deep shock. Iman, his grief-stricken widow, shrieks and weeps as she paces the cramped living-room, while her sisters-in-law stare at the floor. "This is beastly," she says. "Even animals don't do this. Worse than the Nazis."

The hospital has refused to put a collaborator's body in the morgue, so it has been left in a corridor. The Palestinian Authority has refused to allow it to be buried in a Muslim cemetery. The only alternative is a graveyard on the edge of Bethlehem that is controlled by the Israeli army. But when Mr. Deifallah's brother and father go there, they are turned back by a sheikh and a couple of thugs. The issue is pressing: It is considered a great dishonour for a corpse to remain unburied past sundown.

The hospital calls, demanding the family pick up the body. "What can we do with it, put it in our front room?" wails Iman.

The next day the hospital tells them the police have taken the body. Iman sighs, "At last they will bury him." But they learn later that the body was dragged through the dumps around Bethlehem for another day by Palestinian militants.

On the fourth day, the family was allowed to bury the body in some waste ground. It was promptly covered with garbage.

The family is now destitute. Mr. Deifallah's parents, two sisters and a brother have all been fired by their employers, some on their own initiative, some under pressure from the police. His youngest sister, Mayada, 15, is an outcast at school. She knows no Palestinian family will accept her as a bride. Though they don't know it, Mr. Deifallah's two children -- Liliana, 4, and Ahmed, 11/2 -- have the mark of Cain on their foreheads.

After two days Iman could not stand to live in that cursed house. She asked to come back to her family home, but her father was adamant: "You may come back, but I will not have the children of a collaborator under my roof."

In despair she goes to a Christian refuge with her children. "I won't abandon my son and daughter," she says.

The family insists their son was innocent. His accusers say he was paid the equivalent of \$350 Cdn a month at first, then \$430 a month after the second intifada broke out in September 2000. But if he was so handsomely paid, says the family, where is the money? His wife used to take cleaning jobs to buy him cigarettes, they say.

"My son is a scapegoat," says Huda. "Someone in the Palestinian Authority security wanted Hussein Abayat killed and my son took the blame. He had no chance of justice. It is so easy to eat up the weak."

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Col. Talal Dweikat of the Palestinian General Intelligence knows all about collaborators: His job is to track down spies in the secret war with Israel.



The price of betrayal: In the ugly war between Israelis and Palestinians, collaborators play a deadly game, risking death and dishonour for themselves and their....

The Israelis have had stupendous success in this dirty war. The army has assassinated 59 Palestinians based on information that could have come only from traitors on the ground.

The colonel's job is not made easier by the fact that the Israeli air force regularly bombs the compound where he works in Nablus. If this were not an Islamic society, you feel he would offer his guests a glass of brandy to steady their nerves as the planes go overhead. He seems a thoughtful, well-educated man in his civilian clothes with a hint of pity for the men he rounds up.

"The Israelis concentrate on recruiting young men who are desperate to work in Israel or get medical treatment but don't have the right permits," he explains. "They also use women to blackmail them. They extract false confessions from them and then offer them a short sentence. ... The boys are a bit naive. They think that they can escape, but once trapped they are held for life."

He warns potential collaborators to think of their families. "If a collaborator thought of his family, he would never accept to do it."

Col. Dweikat agrees to produce three collaborators he is holding. One has been convicted, and two are simple village boys in their 20s who have not been tried. One of them says he was blackmailed with a nude picture of his sister (actually his sister's face, digitally superimposed on another woman's body). "It would have been a terrible shame on the family for the picture to be published," he says.

Clearly he was chosen not for his brains but because he was a neighbour of Mahmoud Abu-Hanoud, once Israel's most-wanted man. It took the army three attempts to assassinate him. The boy admits to having kept watch on Mr. Abu-Hanoud on two of these attempts.

The other collaborator was arrested at an Israeli checkpoint and tried to act as double agent, doing minor tasks for the Israelis while informing a friend in Palestinian military intelligence. But his Israeli controller, he says, quickly found out. "As you have friends in the Palestinian Authority, so do we," he was told.

The most notorious of the colonel's captives is Munzer Hafnawi, 43, the only one of the three to be tried and sentenced to death. The owner of a clothing store in Nablus, and allegedly a longtime collaborator, he was convicted of helping the Israeli army eliminate Mahmoud Madani, shot dead as he left a mosque in Nablus in February last year. Mr. Madani, a 25-year-old activist of the Hamas military wing, was said to be responsible for bombing two Israeli buses.

When Mr. Hafnawi is brought from his cell, he looks half-dead already. He is fasting, he whimpers, to acquire merit before meeting his maker.

According to the indictment, he was ordered to act like a good Muslim, pray regularly and ingratiate himself with Hamas. He gave Mr. Madani a job in his shop. When the Palestinian police came to arrest him, he tried to rub out the call register on his mobile phone. They found a number which, they say, is used by Israeli intelligence.

Mr. Hafnawi at first denies everything, then says he was playing a double game. "I warned Madani that the Israelis were trying to kill him. I told him to be careful," he says. The jailer scoffs.

Days after the interview, the jail was damaged in a bombing raid and Mr. Hafnawi escaped. But he was picked up six days later and killed.

It is clear these men were small fish. None was the type of man on whose word you would launch a missile into the heart of a crowded city. Many Palestinians believe the most valuable information must surely come from officers in Mr. Arafat's security services who tip off the Israelis about the most disruptive militants. In the days of peace it was called security co-ordination.

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The price of betrayal: In the ugly war between Israelis and Palestinians, collaborators play a deadly game, risking death and dishonour for themselves and their....

Decades of struggle have had a devastating effect on Palestinian society, sparking a seemingly endless cycle of clan vendettas.

Nothing exemplifies this more than the fate of Osama Kmeil, a legendary figure in the fight against collaborators from the village of Qabatya, near Jenin on the West Bank.

When the first intifada erupted in December 1987, he became the leader of a gang

of Black Panthers, an underground group set up to track collaborators. His gang is credited with killing at least five traitors in the village. There were no trials, although the gang members said they had "authorization" from the Palestinian leadership. He was arrested by Israel and given three life sentences of 25 years, then released in 1998 as part of the peace process.

It was then that the past caught up with him. According to his brother, Abdel-Salaam, a biology teacher, Mahmoud Dahbour (the brother of one of the collaborators who had been killed more than 10 years earlier) made four attempts to kill him. The atmosphere in Qabatya was like a Sicilian town riven by a vendetta.

"Osama and Mahmoud would glare at each other on the street," said Abdel-Salaam. But Osama felt protected by his job as a captain in the Palestinian Preventive Security police force, where many of the Black Panthers found employment in the days of peace.

However, last year this shield began to crumble as the Israelis bombed Mr. Arafat's Palestinian Authority almost into non-existence. So the wronged family felt they could safely settle the score. On their fourth attempt the family hired two 17-year-old boys, Khalid Ali Hussein and Jihad Abu-Khamireh, to restore their honour.

The boys, one of them Osama's cousin, lured him into a grove and shot him.

The two boys confessed that night and led the dead man's family to the body. The alleged organizer of the plot never admitted his role. The three suspects were handed over to the police. To speed up the wheels of justice, the court convened for an evening session and then resumed the next morning, with 400 armed men outside to hear justice being done.

Abdel-Salaam was in court to hear the judgment: 15 years for the organizer, and the death penalty for the two boys, commuted to 15 years in jail because they were still minors. "We ran outside and shouted, 'Fifteen years! They cheated us!'"

The crowd stormed the court, and shot the three accused. Then they buried Osama, with a crowd of 4,000 spontaneously gathering to join the procession.

The family that organized Osama's killing had waited 14 years for vengeance, but this is not a long time in a society where everyone seems to know the exploits of their great-grandfathers. "If the killing is unjust, then 100 years is not too long," said Abdel-Salaam.

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Even for the Al-Aqsa martyrs' Brigade, which dispatched Mohammed, the struggle is all in the family: Hussein Abayat was replaced by Atef, who has been replaced by Ibrahim. They are all cousins.

Ibrahim agreed to talk in a shop near Manger Square.

He is only 29 and looks like he has stepped out of a Hollywood film. He is clad in black, with a belt buckle saying 'US Marine Corps' and stubble merging into a military haircut. I ask him about the death of Mohammed.

"Justice has been done. He was sentenced to death. He made a confession. We were afraid that he would escape during the Israeli incursion so we dealt with him," says Ibrahim.

The price of betrayal: In the ugly war between Israelis and Palestinians, collaborators play a deadly game, risking death and dishonour for themselves and their....

The fact that both of the men killed were blamed for the death of a member of the Abayat family suggests clan revenge. "This is not a clannish business. It is justice," he insists.

One of his bodyguards says they had to make an example of Mohammed. "Some of the lads wanted to chop the body in pieces but we said No," the man says. "But we did drag the body through the town because we need a strong deterrent."

Neither side emerges with credit from this brutal tale. The Israelis prey on young men who are sexually frustrated, in need of a job or just cowardly. Palestinian society is merciless in its pursuit of those deemed to have transgressed.

Anyone who thinks the Palestinians will just give in to the Israelis should remember that, in this society, a man's memory lasts for generations when it comes to matters of honour.

## Graphic

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Colour Photo: Magnus Johansson, Reuters; Palestinian Rasmi Mahmoud Issa, a suspected Israeli collaborator, was murdered execution-style near his home in the West Bank town of Al Khader after being kidnapped last August.; Photo: Ahmed Jadallah, Reuters; Kamal, who uses a pseudonym, displays a hidden pager and a cellphone inside a wooden clock which he used to communicate with his Israeli masters in this photograph taken on Aug. 7, 2001. Kamal is now serving time in a Palestinian prison in the Gaza Strip for 14-years service as a collaborator for Israel.

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*I won't be marching for peace this time*

The Australian

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## Body

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A former leftie activist, Phil Craig has learnt to lead with the Right

WE were there for peace. We were there to confront the American cowboy warmonger. We were there to watch Emma Thompson on a lorry.

Anyone remember cruise and Pershing? Or Greenham Common? How about Frankie Goes to Hollywood? You only catch them on television archive shows now, but back in the early 1980s stopping NATO deploying those US missiles in Britain was the great anti-war cause. It was what you did if you were young, decent and liberal.

MATP

And how we decent young people hated Ronald Reagan. We all had that poster of him as Rhett Butler with Margaret Thatcher as Scarlett O'Hara. She promised to follow him to the ends of the earth. He promised to organise it.

No, he wasn't funny; he was dangerous. He wanted to confront what he naively called the Evil Empire. For Christ's sake, he even went to Berlin and shouted: "Tear Down that Wall!" Now, please understand, we had all read Animal Farm and none of us was that keen on the Soviets, but at least they'd given their people decent healthcare, hadn't they, and a fantastic underground system? Oh, and jobs for life, unlike the evil Thatcher.

Like a lot of Oxbridge lefties I ended up in the BBC current affairs department. Eight years after carrying my banner through Hyde Park I found myself in eastern Europe. Amazingly, the Wall had, indeed, been torn down. My assistant producer had family in the old East Germany and he wasn't too pleased to hear of my peacenik past. Did I have any idea how much people like him had hated people like me? Did I know how crushingly miserable life had been in eastern Europe, that the image of healthcare and jobs for life was strictly for the consumption of visiting Guardian reporters, and that the reality was grey, oppressive and corrupt?

And, most of all, did I not know how much it had meant when Reagan challenged the Soviet overlord, matching their SS-20s with his own missiles, inviting them into a spending race that they could not win? And that's why I won't be marching this time around. Because the US, even with a cowboy in charge, isn't always wrong.

Two paragraphs, both true:

The US has bankrolled and armed vicious regimes, refused to pressure Israel into making substantial territorial concessions in the West Bank, and has wilfully undermined international efforts to secure fair trade and environmental protections. Bad America, very bad.

I won't be marching for peace this time

For three generations the people of Europe have benefited hugely from the military and economic power of the US. That power disposed of first the Nazis and then the Soviets. In the last decade it has chased a fascist dictator out of the Balkans and a reactionary death cult from its laboratories in Afghanistan. Good America.

Very good America indeed, especially when you consider what the multilateral, UN, decent and liberal approach to world problems has given us in recent years: Rwanda, Srebrenica and a 12-year game of hide-and-seek in Iraq.

I like to imagine this weekend's protesters sitting in a cafe in Jerusalem, Baghdad or Damascus one day, in a revitalised, democratised and peaceful Middle East, and realising that the turning point was the removal of Saddam Hussein. Optimistic? Naive? I suppose so.

But some good will come out of regime change in Iraq. Reformers in Tehran will be inspired, Hamas will lose its major paymaster, and the Saudi oligarchs will think twice before they fund any more jihad-preaching madrasas.

I'd say the optimists have as good a chance of being right as the John Pilgers and the Harold Pinters, whose relentlessly negative predictions about recent Western military actions have been equally relentlessly wrong.

From my experience (and believe me, I know, I have to work with these people), mainstream left-liberal opinion remains resolutely opposed to the war, however many nasties Hans and his team can dig up in Saddam's back garden.

In the first week after September 11 a cartoon in The Guardian painted President Bush as an ape dumbly trying to impersonate Winston Churchill, while The Independent offered a blind, deranged Bush firing his cowboy six-shooter and treading on a dead Arab. And all this before a single American bomb had been dropped on Afghanistan, and with 3000 bodies -- we still thought 10,000 then -- warm beneath the rubble.

I called up a friend in the television business. We both said we were fearful. I was talking about Islamic terrorism, perhaps next time with a nuke, but it turned out he meant the mad cowboy in the White House.

It struck me then that, after so many years of opposing American foreign policy, the Left could not see beyond Vietnam-era slogans. It could not recognise that a toxic stew of rogue regimes, apocalyptic weapons programs and a perverted form of Islam posed a deadly threat. It posed a particularly deadly threat, come to think of it, to the values of the Left itself: to women's rights and gay rights; to secularism, pluralism and multiculturalism. In fact, you name the liberal ism and Osama was against it. But one ism still trumped all: anti-Americanism.

The coming endgame with Saddam will -- at the very least -- rid the world of a proven danger, and lessen the chances that the next terrorist attack will take out millions not thousands. If war comes, will innocent Iraqis die? Certainly. More than the Americans will admit, fewer than the peaceniks will claim. But innocents have been dying for decades under this revolting regime. We're told that war will drive Muslims into the arms of al-Qa'ida. But remember what bin Laden said in the days after September 11: America is weak, it cannot take casualties, it ran away in Somalia.

Throughout the 1990s the West responded tamely to attacks by bin Laden (the African embassy bombs, the USS Cole), to attacks by groups linked to Saddam (the Saudi barracks bomb, the assassination attempt on Bush's father, the first World Trade Centre attack), and to the continued refusal of Iraq to disarm as required by the Gulf War ceasefire. Ten years of this weakness only encouraged our enemies to be bolder.

There are those who cut through the normal anti-war drivel -- that it's all about oil, God, Dad -- and accept that the core justification for disarming Iraq is fear of a bigger version of September 11.

They may be opposed to war because they don't want to live in a world solely policed by the US. Fair enough, that's a real worry. But I'll take it over the insecurity of living in an unpoliced world, or trusting my future to the men in blue helmets.

I won't be marching for peace this time

Even Nelson Mandela, the conscience of the bloody world, tells me I'm backing a bunch of racist oil-imperialists. The only thing to cheer me up was the New Europe letter. Nelson may be against me, but at least Vaclav Havel understands. Which brings me back to Hyde Park in 1983.

Eastern Europeans know that when they suffered oppression it was America that tried to help them, and the Western Left who marched in tacit support of their oppressors. The politburo, as we later discovered, never believed that NATO would respond to the deployment of its SS-20s. It thought that the protests of Phil Craig and Emma Thompson and lots of other decent liberal people would make it impossible. It was wrong, and when faced with Western resolve it slowly realised that the game was up.

I still hope that Saddam will do the same and join Idi Amin for an ill-deserved retirement in Saudi Arabia. But I fear that all this marching will make him think that he still has a chance. And that could be more dangerous than any cowboy in the White House.

Phil Craig is a television producer and historian. His books on World War II *Finest Hour* and *End of the Beginning* are published by Hodder & Stoughton

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## *The highs and lows to hit the headlines in 2002*

EVENING CHRONICLE (Newcastle, UK)

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### **Body**

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In the second part of the Chronicle's review of the year we look at the stories that made the headlines from July to December. Newcastle United marched into the Champions league for the first time. Thousands of people lined Gateshead quayside to witness the opening of the 46 million Baltic Centre for Contemporary art. Miracle man John Scouler was dubbed the luckiest man alive when he suffered only minor injuries after being hit by a 100mph East Coast Mainline express. And there was bad news on the jobs front as almost 1,000 workers were axed at the Siemens Parsons plant in Newcastle and Dewhirst's Ashington factory.

HUNDREDS of dangerous sex offenders were revealed to be living in North East communities. According to the Home Office Northumbria Police is responsible for 553 sex criminals.

UNITED boss Freddy Shepherd increased his financial stranglehold over the club after sealing a 1.2m pound share deal.

STRIKES by 100,000 North East council workers brought services across the region to a standstill. Unison, GMB and TGWU union members staged a one-day walk-out over pay.

DAMAGES were awarded to two former North-East nursery workers when allegations they had sexually abused children in their care were found to be untrue by a High Court judge. Dawn Reed and Christopher Lillie were awarded 200,000 .

BENEFIT cheat Stephen Morien was sent down for ripping-off almost 25,000 in benefits. The jobless joiner was claiming incapacity cash from the benefits agency and evading council tax liability, but he was foiled by an anonymous tip-off.

THOUSANDS of people lined Gateshead quayside to witness the opening of the 46 million Baltic Centre for Contemporary art.

EUROPEAN judges made a crunch visit to the region to assess Newcastle and Gateshead's bid to become Capital of Culture 2008.

THE Chronicle airgun campaign picked up momentum after MPs from across the region lobbied Downing Street for tough new legislation.

## The highs and lows to hit the headlines in 2002

A COLLAPSED building brought parts of Newcastle to a standstill. A blunder during conversion work on a Grade I listed building on Grainger Street went badly wrong, threatening the building's historic foundations.

FOUR hundred jobs at the Siemens Parsons plant were lost to a factory in Slovakia, cutting the Heaton-based workforce by almost a half.

NEWCASTLE United's stunning 4-0 win over NK Zeljeznicar took our boys into the Champion's League for the first time. Sir Bobby's side were drawn to battle with Italian giants Juventus, UEFA Cup holders Feyenoord, of Holland and the Ukraine's Dynamo Kiev.

KUNG Fu masters from the Chinese State Circus used their heads to come up with a smashing solution to a rocky problem. They built a rockery for Norma Batey from Gateshead by cracking rocks over their head.

MIRACLE man John Scouler was dubbed the luckiest man alive when he suffered only minor injuries after being hit by a 100mph East Coast Mainline express train travelling between Newcastle and Edinburgh.

BANKRUPT factory bosses were cleared of negligence after worker's face was melted by molten plastic.

Dad-of-four John Slack was left almost blind in one eye and unable to work after being blasted by liquid heated to 260 degrees from a faulty machine.

JOHN Sayers was sensationally cleared of the gangland murder of Freddie Knights. Shaun Watson, Michael Dixon, Dale Miller and Edward Stewart got 38 years between them.

KILLER Shaun Watson spoke from behind bars and lifted the lid on the slaying of Tyneside hard man Viv Graham in a Chronicle exclusive.

FIVE surviving sextuplets born on Tyneside at a cost of 500,000 were jetted back to their native Libya. Mum Fawzia Adala gave birth to the six babies prematurely after arriving in Newcastle with her husband Jamal Abuhelfaia. One girl, Reem, died days later, but the others survived.

LITTLE William Hardy walked again thanks to your incredible generosity. Chronicle readers raised a staggering 50,000 in just three weeks to provide the youngster with the artificial limbs that will allow him to lead a normal life.

LITTER bug Kevin Ilderton was taught a harsh lesson when he was arrested for chucking paper from a cigarette packet into the gutter and refused to pick it up.

SWAN HUNTER ship builders secured part of a multi-billion pound warships order, creating 2,500 jobs at the Wallsend yard.

STRUGGLING Sunderland fell into the hands of former Leeds and England technical boss Howard Wilkinson, following Peter Reid's sacking.

A BARMAID scooped a 2 million Lotto jackpot. The 38-year-old watched the draw live at the Wheatsheaf Pub where she worked.

BALI bombing survivor Ian Findley from Co Durham told The Chronicle how he had been forced to identify his friend of 20 years among the piles of charred bodies.

TWO lucky Chronicle readers met Aussie songstress Dannii Minogue as she wowed fans at a special one-off gig at The Cluny, in Byker, Newcastle.

OUR bid to become European Capital of Culture 2008 was given a boost when we made the shortlist.

A SHARK weighing 21 stone was landed by stunned trawlermen at North Shields. The eight feet long cousin of the man-eating Great White Shark was thought to be one of the biggest ever found off the Tyne.



## The highs and lows to hit the headlines in 2002

THE TALL Ships Race 2005 will be coming to the Tyne it was announced, boosting the region's bid to become Capital of Culture. One hundred sailing ships will arrive on Tyneside, pumping 50 million in to the local economy and will be part of a five-year international festival in the run-up to 2008.

TYNESIDE'S version of the Louvre went on display at Newcastle's Hatton Gallery. Are You Sitting Comfortably? is a display of 23 toilets brightened up by a range of international sculptors and painters.

DEWHIRST clothing company closed the doors of its Ashington factory, leaving hundreds unemployed.

The jobs are being shipped to Morocco to cut costs.

THIEVES ruined a \$ 400,000 art exhibition after stealing a part of the display from the Baltic.

The ink drawing was taken from an Oyvind Fahlstrom work, which had previously toured the world.

FIREFIGHTERS across the North East staged their first 48-hour strike for 25 years.

AN EIGHT-day fire strike went ahead after John Prescott was accused of scuppering a last minute deal.

A PENSIONER died in a house blaze, less than an hour before the firefighters' strike was due to end. Green Goddesses tried to put out the fire in Jesmond, Newcastle, but couldn't save Norman Selby.

CHERYL Tweedy from Heaton, Newcastle was the first to secure her place in new band Girls Aloud with a massive 295,000 votes in the final of ITV Popstars The Rivals.

A SUSPECT in a Hamas terrorist trial which collapsed amid legal controversy was deported from Tyneside, after being held for seven months in Durham prison. Adnan Abdelah claimed he had worked with suicide bombers in Palestine.

BATTERED wife Donna Tinker had her murder conviction changed to manslaughter after her nine-year-old daughter gave evidence to an Appeal Court. The Tyneside mother of three stabbed her husband Richard to death with a vegetable knife.

FULL horror of the Selby rail disaster is revealed in an official report which said Newcastle train driver, John Weddle did everything he could to prevent the crash. GNER chef Paul Taylor of Longbenton and conductor Raymond Robson of Whitley Bay also died in the smash.

A RAILWAY worker, originally from Co Durham suspected of being the trophy rapist, appeared in court charged with nine counts of rape on young girls and women.

POPSTARS winner Cheryl Tweedy celebrated her Christmas number one after her band Girls Aloud with their song Sound of the Underground beat boy rivals One True Voice.

**Load-Date:** December 27, 2002

## *Barak addresses packed house at Stanford*

University Wire

October 17, 2002, Thursday

Copyright 2002 The Stanford Daily via U-Wire

**Length:** 1363 words

**Byline:** By Jennifer Graham & Will Oremus, The Stanford Daily

**Dateline:** Stanford, Calif.

### **Body**

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Emphasizing the importance of winning the war against terrorism, the urgency of ousting Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, and the unwillingness of the Palestinian leadership to work toward peace, former Israeli Prime Minister and Stanford alumnus Ehud Barak addressed the prospects of peace in the Middle East before a capacity crowd at Memorial Auditorium in Stanford, CA., last night.

In a speech tempered by humor but characterized by force, Barak called on audience members to summon the courage and determination of the World War II and Cold War generations in the current war on terrorism.

"We are in the opening year of an epic struggle," said Barak, who served as the 10th prime minister of Israel from 1999 to 2001. "Now in 2002, the greatest challenge to our generation is to free the world from the reign of terror and deliver freedom to people everywhere."

Barak opened his remarks by reflecting upon his experience at Stanford, which he described as two of the best years of his life.  
Stanford U.

"I feel here at home," said Barak, who in 1979 graduated with a master's degree in economic engineering systems. "Very few things that I have done have given me so much delight and so much positive response from people around the world than the fact that I can say I'm a Stanford graduate."

The topic quickly turned to the state of the post-Sept. 11 world, which Barak described as "uniquely turbulent and uncertain."

"A year after Sept. 11, it is still a time of testing, and the toughest tests may still lie ahead," he said.

Affirming the reality of the biological, chemical and nuclear threat posed by terrorist groups such as al Qaeda, Barak urged the audience to prepare for the consequences of what he described as a long but necessary struggle.

"Many innocent civilians, as well as people in uniform, may lose their lives along the way, but we have to win this first world war of the 21st century, and we will," he said.

"After Sept. 11, nothing about terror can ever be taken for granted or be seen as inconceivable," he said. "The choice is clear: Destroy world terror, or be destroyed by it."

## Barak addresses packed house at Stanford

Barak, who served in the Israeli Defense Force for over 30 years and is often described as Israel's most decorated soldier, illustrated the need for ruthless resolve as he recounted some of his most memorable operations against Palestinian militants. He told the audience about a successful raid he led on a hijacked airplane, and he described the execution of a Hamas leader he carried out while disguised as a female brunette - "with everything in place," he laughed, gesturing toward his chest.

Barak returned to the topic of the war against terrorism and praised the example U.S. President George W. Bush set by striking quickly in Afghanistan last year, an action he described as an effective deterrent.

"To the best of my judgment, the course that has been set by the Bush administration is the right one," he said.

Barak then segued into the merits of removing Hussein from power, stressing that no one can be sure when Iraq's leader will acquire a crude nuclear weapon.

"Previous violations of many United Nations Security Council resolutions provide the legitimacy to remove him before it is too late," he said, defending the "moral and strategic clarity" of Bush's motives for a strike against Iraq.

Barak said any future war with Iraq would be a "different ballgame" if action was not taken against Hussein before he acquired nuclear weapons, and he argued that the United States should quickly push for a U.N. resolution authorizing force if "full Iraqi compliance is not forthcoming."

In a press conference prior to his talk, Barak characterized the Israeli public as generally supportive of U.S. military action in Iraq. He cited an increased ability to vaccinate the populace against small pox and the further development of anti-ballistic missile systems as evidence that the country could adequately defend itself in the event of an Iraqi offensive.

He added that, if Iraq were to launch a substantial attack against Israel, it would not refrain from responding.

"We don't pretend it's for us to decide, but I believe that there is wide support in Israel for the need to disarm Saddam Hussein. Few [Israelis are] so naive as to believe that Saddam will disarm himself without being ousted from power."

"Freeing the region from Saddam Hussein would also create the opportunity for progress in peace between Israelis and Palestinians," he added, arguing that inaction is the greatest risk. "The last century has shown us what the price of paralysis can be."

Barak then addressed the state of affairs between Israel and Palestine, indicting Palestine Liberation Organization Chairman Yasser Arafat for walking away from the 2000 Camp David peace talks and outlining his own views on how the Israeli government should now proceed to achieve peace.

In reference to the current upswing in violence, Barak said, "In essence, it is a Palestinian attempt to impose upon Israel suicide bombings as a new diplomatic tool. Israel will never, ever yield to this terror."

Barak also recapped the proposal presented to Arafat at Camp David, contending that "this offer was much closer to the Palestinian demands than to the Israeli demands."

He said that Arafat, whom he derisively called Hussein's "best friend," "walked out of the room and deliberately and consciously turned to this suicide bombing and terror.

"Arafat does not have the character of President [Anwar] Saddat or King Hussein [of Jordan]," he said, arguing that Arafat's inflexibility and reluctance to take a controversial stand kept him from making a decision that would greatly benefit his constituents.

"Arafat on the most profound level does not recognize the right of Israel to exist as a Jewish state," he said.

## Barak addresses packed house at Stanford

Addressing the current state of affairs, Barak outlined the "three pillars" he thought should characterize Israeli foreign policy.

The first was to strike decisively against terror in all its forms, a policy he said was already in place under current Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon.

But, he added, "I believe we should have another two pillars to our strategy that are now missing."

One was to "leave the door open for the resumption of negotiations at any moment, with no preconditions except the complete absence of violence, based on the principles of Camp David."

The other was to "disengage" Israel from the Palestinians in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip by building a guarded fence around Israel proper, three main settlement blocks, and a slice of the border with Jordan. Stating that these enclosed areas would comprise "no more than 25 percent of the West Bank," Barak said that the plan would call for the relocation of Israeli settlers living beyond the fence.

Barak based his support of the fence proposal on the success of a 50-mile "pilot" fence already in place around the Gaza Strip, and noted that the West Bank fence would not represent a legal or formal annexation of the settlement blocks it enclosed.

"The terrorists do not know how to cross the fence," he said, eliciting laughter from pockets in the audience.

Aside from saving lives, Barak said, the partitioning of Israel from the bulk of the West Bank and Gaza Strip would be a necessary condition for maintaining a Jewish majority in Israel.

"If there is only one political entity in [the land between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River], it will inevitably become either non-Jewish or non-democratic," he said.

Barak reiterated the demands that Bush has presented to Arafat and discussed the benefits that could result from a new Palestinian leadership.

"The moment a different Palestinian leadership will emerge or appear, I assure you within several weeks you will see a majority of Israelis ready to go back to negotiations."

Barak concluded his speech with a summary of his major points and an appeal to the cause of social justice worldwide.

"Nothing should weaken our sense of purpose when we are fighting with terror and evil, but we should never lose sight of the poor of the earth," he said.

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**Load-Date:** October 17, 2002

## NEWS SUMMARY

The New York Times  
July 27, 2002 Saturday  
Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2002 The New York Times Company

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

**Length:** 1395 words

### **Body**

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#### INTERNATIONAL A2-5

##### Bush Promotes Trade Bill In Rare Visit to Capitol

President Bush went to Capitol Hill to rally House Republicans behind a broad international trade bill, which he said was essential for economic growth. Earlier, House and Senate negotiators agreed to give the president power to make trade deals that Congress cannot change, only ratify or reject. Republican Congressional leaders were trying to round up votes. A1

##### The Amazon Under Surveillance

An American-financed radar and sensor system has begun monitoring an area of Brazil that is larger than half the continental United States. The \$1.4 billion project will let Brazil determine who is flying through its Amazon airspace, track illegal logging and deforestation more efficiently, detect guerrilla incursions, protect Indian lands and inhibit the smuggling of rare and endangered animal and plant species. A1

##### More Russian Reactors in Iran

Moscow indicated it would continue building nuclear reactors in Iran like one that American officials have repeatedly warned could be used to develop nuclear weapons. That appeared to contradict remarks this month by Russia's atomic energy minister, who said cooperation with Iran in developing its nuclear-power industry was ending. A4

##### Pain of Riots Still Sharp in India

The violence that claimed almost 1,000 lives in the Indian state of Gujarat this spring has become a festering political sore because of accusations that India's governing Bharatiya Janata Party and the World Hindu Council were complicit in Hindu attacks on Muslims. A1

##### Palestinian Gunmen Kill 4

Two Israeli cars were ambushed near Hebron, in the West Bank, leaving four Jewish settlers dead and two wounded. Palestinian violence has surged since an Israeli warplane bombed a crowded area in Gaza on Tuesday, killing a Hamas leader and 14 other people. A3

##### A Milosevic Ally Testifies

## NEWS SUMMARY

Rade Markovic, the former chief of the Yugoslav secret police, sided with Slobodan Milosevic in testimony at Mr. Milosevic's war crimes trial at The Hague. Mr. Milosevic, the former Yugoslav president, appeared comforted by Mr. Markovic's supportive testimony at the trial, which was adjourned for summer recess until Aug. 26. A2

World Briefing A4

NATIONAL A6-9

#### Hope Flagging for Miners After Mishap Slows Rescue

Emergency crews, stymied through the day after a drill snapped off in an incomplete rescue shaft, labored to resume digging toward nine trapped coal miners in Quecreek, Pa. There were no new signs that the men were still alive in the air pocket where they sought refuge after water burst into the area where they were working. A6

#### Ancient Trees at Less Risk

Firefighters in California said they were close to overpowering the part of a wildfire that for several days has threatened 11 groves of sequoias containing some of the world's tallest and oldest trees. A6

#### Girl Killed in Missouri

A 6-year-old girl vanished from a suburban St. Louis house while waiting for a bowl breakfast cereal, and hours later her body was found less than a mile away. A6

#### Child Welfare Worker Arrested

A child welfare worker in South Florida was arrested Thursday night on suspicion of drunken driving after she passed out behind the wheel of a car while transporting a 7-month-old baby she had taken into custody. A9

#### Bones in Civil War Shipwreck

Navy divers have found what appear to be old human bones and possibly clothing inside the gun turret of the Monitor, the ironclad that sank 140 years ago off Cape Hatteras, N.C. A7

#### Meat Investigation Faulted

Congressional Democrats accused the Agriculture Department of conducting a sluggish inquiry into evidence that tainted meat had slipped into the marketplace, putting thousands of consumers at risk and even contributing to some illnesses. A9

#### House Votes for Security Post

The House approved the largest reorganization of the government since World War II, voting to create a Department of Homeland Security intended to marshal and fortify defenses against terrorism. Most Democrats voted against the measure in a dispute over worker protections and legal liabilities of companies that screen air travelers. The Senate is developing separate legislation. A8

A member of Al Qaeda, Mohamed Mansur Jabarah, who was involved in plans to blow up the United States Embassy in Singapore, is providing federal authorities with important details about that plot and other aspects of the terror group's operations, law enforcement officials said. A8

#### After War, Killings at Home

Three veterans of the war in Afghanistan have killed their wives in the Fort Bragg area in recent weeks, the Army said as it announced a re-evaluation of the North Carolina base's family counseling program. A7

#### Clintons Seek Reimbursement

Bill and Hillary Clinton asked a judicial panel to order the government to reimburse them for several million dollars in legal expenses from the Whitewater investigation. Their legal defense fund raised nearly \$7 million to pay their legal fees. A6

## NEWS SUMMARY

## NEW YORK/REGION B1-6

## Study Cites Lapses In 9/11 Police Leadership

The New York Police Department's response on Sept. 11 was effective in many areas but suffered from lapses in leadership and coordination and a lack of planning and training, according to a report by an independent consultant for the department. A1

## Looking Beyond Ground Zero

Governor Pataki said the Port Authority should look beyond the World Trade Center site to other places in Lower Manhattan to reclaim the commercial space lost on Sept. 11. A1

## Mother Accused of Killing Child

A Brooklyn woman high on drugs stabbed her 7-year-old daughter to death and critically wounded a friend who intervened, the police said. They said the woman later turned a pair of scissors on herself. Two other people who happened upon the scene were also attacked. B1

## 4th Trial Set for Ex-Officer

Federal prosecutors in Brooklyn said they would retry Charles Schwarz, who is charged with taking part in the torture of Abner Louima, and a judge set the trial to open in September. He was recently convicted of perjury. B1

The United States Senate has confirmed Roslynn R. Mauskopf as the United States attorney in Brooklyn. Ms. Mauskopf has been the New York State inspector general since 1995 and her nomination was backed by Governor Pataki. She declined to discuss her views on the Louima case or the prosecution of Mr. Schwarz. B3

## Russian Tea Room Closing

The storied restaurant, overhauled less than three years ago, could not attract enough customers, something its operators attributed to the slowing economy and a falloff in its tourist trade since Sept. 11. The last serving is tomorrow evening. B1

## Religion Journal B6

## OBITUARIES A12

## SPORTS D1-8

## No Backing Down on Cremation

The older daughter of Ted Williams said a November 2000 note signed by her father that said he wanted to be cryonically preserved would not deter her effort to have his body cremated, as called for in his 1996 will. D4

## BUSINESS DAY C1-16

## GE Capital to Be Restructured

General Electric, often criticized for the complexity of its structure and the resulting opacity of its numbers, said it would break its largest business by far, GE Capital, into four businesses, effective Aug. 1. C1

## Inquiry on Enron-Merrill Deal

The Justice Department is investigating a December 1999 transaction in which Enron sold a part-interest in electricity-generating barges in Nigeria to a special-purpose entity established by Merrill Lynch. C1

## Beating New Bankruptcy Laws

## NEWS SUMMARY

Lawyers and consumers groups predicted a rush of bankruptcy filings by people seeking to erase their credit card bills and other debts before tougher rules, which are near approval in Congress, take effect. C1

## Regulators Said to Lack Tools

Experts and government officials say several federal regulatory agencies are crippled by deficits of personnel and enforcement ability at a time when corporate scandals are pushing Congress to reassert its oversight powers. C1

## Stocks Struggle Back

The Dow rose 78.08 points, or 1 percent, to 8,264.39; the S. & P. 500 gained 14.16 points, or 1.7 percent, to 852.84; and the Nasdaq advanced 22.04 points, or 1.8 percent, to 1,262.12. C4

Business Digest C1

ARTS & IDEAS B7-16

EDITORIAL A10-11

Editorials: A bankrupt bill; the state of Puerto Rico; Dorothy Samuels on women's schooling.

Columns: Bill Keller.

Bridge B15

TV Listings B16

Crossword B14

Weather D8

<http://www.nytimes.com>

## Graphic

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Photo

**Load-Date:** July 27, 2002

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End of Document



## **YOUR SAY**

Herald Sun (Melbourne, Australia)

July 27, 2002, Saturday

Copyright 2002 Nationwide News Pty Limited

**Section:** NEWS; Pg. 24

**Length:** 1403 words

### **Body**

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Ousting

diversity

THE bohemian bourgeois (bo-bos) of St Kilda and Fitzroy are continually trying to push out the very people who have made their suburbs such diverse and desirable places to live in.

The Kooris and drug-users have almost gone, but St Kilda residents are recycling the anti-street-prostitution diatribe, and over at Fitzroy it's complaints about live music venues.

Can someone please tell the bo-bos to get over it or move to the outer suburbs?

Diana Blaze,

West Brunswick

Emergency

examination

NEITHER the Labor nor Liberal governments have been able to ease the burden on Melbourne's hospital emergency departments.

The chaos can only be resolved through open examination of all the relevant factors, followed by decisive action by the Government.

A taskforce must investigate Commonwealth funding in comparison with state spending, while determining how much money is required to meet the needs of emergency departments.

Sarah Benson,

health spokeswoman, Victorian Democrats, East Melbourne

Palestinians

to blame

IF Palestinians insist on using violence they only have themselves to blame if it is returned in spades by the Israelis.

## YOUR SAY

One sympathises with their plight but suspects their terror campaign is designed to arouse world sympathy when they are attacked in return. How would Australians react if some local ethnic group attacked cities with suicide bombers, no matter how just their cause?

Ron Sullivan,

Forest Hill

Peace first,

then a deal

A NUMBER of critics have almost demonised Israeli Defence Force actions in Israel and the Palestinian territories.

Of course, they are right to be concerned about the tragic events in the Middle East but why place the blame for the present conflict solely on Israel?

Jews have been living in Israel since the Dead Sea first started to feel poorly. Like the Palestinians, they have a historic right to live in the area.

Unlike the Palestinian leadership, Israel's democratically elected leaders recognise the Palestinians' right to an independent state and have made repeated peace offers.

The Palestinian leaders need to stop wallowing in "victimhood". They need to recognise that only through embracing peace and entering into negotiations will a fair and just peace be achieved.

Bill Anderson,

Surrey Hills

Broke his

promise

TWO years ago, as part of the Oslo Agreements, Salah Shehadeh was released from an Israeli prison after signing a promise not to engage in terrorism. It was a promise he did not keep.

**Hamas**, the organisation that Shehadeh commanded, proudly claims responsibility for dozens of atrocities.

It is the duty of every democratic country to defend its citizens but had the Palestinian Authority arrested Shehadeh, there would have been no need for this act of self-defence.

Debbie Freeman,

Bellevue Hill, NSW

Business

failures

DAVID Knott, chairman of the Australian Securities and Investment Commission, predicts more business failures due to a culture of board and management greed and incompetence.

However, as the corporate regulator, it is ASIC's responsibility to regulate such companies and not outsource its responsibilities to the insolvency industry.

ASIC allows these high flyers to get off scot free, and is it responsible for the corporate regulator to turn this responsibility into a political issue?

YOUR SAY

Board and management are far from incompetent as suggested by ASIC, judging by their remuneration.

Tony Bittmann,

Boronia

Priorities

all askew

WHAT a joke this State Government has become. Pandering to minority groups has set its priorities askew. It is a ludicrous situation where we have government-sanctioned prostitution and drug taking, yet a farmer has to get a permit to cut wood on his own property to keep his family warm.

Thankfully, we have an Upper House in Victoria that may be able to maintain some sense of priority until the political pendulum swings again.

Colin Hall,

Diamond Creek

A reward

for babies

THE Government must bribe working mothers to have children. Australia has an ageing population and it will continue to age unless a reward for having children is in place.

Many people do not realise that families require a double income to run a household because of the dramatic increase in the cost of living.

Sure, it's easy to sit back and call these women selfish, but who do you think will be complaining in 30 years when there is a shortage of doctors, teachers and other professionals to help run this country?

Leah Schroth,

Bundoora

Racism makes

matters worse

A MINORITY of Australian citizens believes banning Asian groups or other races from nightclub venues is a racist and unfair act.

While we all know something has to be done for the safety of citizens, we cannot make judgments because of the appearance of people.

The only way gangs and criminals are going to listen, no matter what their colour or nationality, is for them to face more serious consequences.

The more racist we are, the worse the outcome will be.

Katie Overson,

Wangaratta

Democrats

YOUR SAY

betrayed

SENATOR Murray should follow Senator Lees must resign from the Democrats if he will not or cannot agree with the party platform.

It's not a matter of

free speech, it's a matter of whether they are prepared

to implement the agreed party policy. Senators Lees and Murray have betrayed party members and voters.

The Democrats were founded by Don Chipp to "keep the bastards honest" but Lees and Murray have joined the bastards.

George Ooi,

Clifton Hill

Deafened

at the footy

I AGREE with Rex Condon about the sound at Colonial ("Deafened at stadium", July 25). I was at the Carlton v Melbourne match with my 21-year-old daughter in the gold medallion section at the Lockett end.

Half an hour before the game started, we couldn't hear each other talk and it was the same at half-time.

We got up and sat in one of the lounge bars and watched the game from there.

Fred Labozzetta,

Fawkner

Equality

in society

IT must be embarrassing to Aborigines that some of their leaders are prepared to push for any concessions they can get.

Imagine if we all had claims based on our ancestors having fished in the Thames, the Volga or the Rhine.

As long as there are those who feel that Aborigines should be treated as a protected species, we will get no closer to a harmonious society.

Integration and reconciliation are no easy matters and will not come by accentuating differences. The melding of our community can only come if all people are treated equally.

Martin and Wendy Vink,

Dandenong

Children their

own reward

PEOPLE complain about the lack of taxpayer-based maternity leave and limited payments from the first-child scheme.

## YOUR SAY

Some ask what are the rewards for the mums who stay at home to rear kids. I'm a stay-at-home dad, looking after two pre-schoolers and I find all of this whingeing unbelievable.

You have children to have children. You make money to raise children. You have arms to hold them, eyes to see them, minds to teach and mouths to kiss them with.

The rewards are the children.

Howard Kimber,

Collingwood

UN a place to

discuss terror

RE "Memorial for world" (July 25): there is already "a building where people from around the world can discuss the evils that cause terrorism and

the daily problems confronting mankind".

It's called the United Nations, but most delegates to the Western-funded gravy train think the problems of the world are caused by the United States, the United Kingdom and most of Europe.

They do not accept that rulers in their own countries might have some bearing on their problems.

Yes, there should be a fitting monument to all those killed, maimed and traumatised by terrorist attacks and it should be free of religious, political and racial connotations because these are the excuses for terrorist attacks.

Peter Allen Crawley,

Melbourne

Blackshirt

message

I MAY not fully agree with the tactics used by the Blackshirts, but as a divorced father I share many of their views.

Men do not get a fair go from the Family Court and other authorities involved in family law. If the Blackshirts were a women's group seeking the same attention they would be treated differently.

These men are only trying

to get a message across to

the public that would not be heard otherwise.

Graeme Peters,

Ivanhoe

**Load-Date:** July 26, 2002

## Letters to the Editor

The Daily Telegraph (Sydney, Australia)

December 10, 2002, Tuesday

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**Section:** FEATURES-TYPE- LETTER-COLUMN- LETTERSPHOTO; Pg. 20

**Length:** 2766 words

### **Body**

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Surely we can buy Elvis

During the recent emergency, the fire services have done a wonderful job with the resources at hand.

We have, however, been told by the government that the Errikson helicopters are too expensive to buy and it is cheaper to lease them as required.

These helicopters are only just arriving back in the country now when the worst of the current crisis is over.

How many more homes could have been saved if we had owned our own Elvis or similar when the crisis began?

Gary McCleary,

Emu Plains

With Australia's constant threat of summer fires, why is it that our State Government and Federal Government still persist in the hiring of heli-tankers at what I believe would be a cost of many millions of dollars?

MATP

Surely the public would not object to the purchasing of several of these vital pieces of fire-fighting machinery that no doubt can be adapted for other purposes when not required to fight fires.

Michael Solomons,

Harrington Park

Energy Australia, Integral Energy and to a lesser extent Telstra have been the target of criticism for the lack of speed in reconnecting services in fire-ravaged areas (Daily Telegraph, December 9).

They have defended their actions by putting the safety of their staff first. Rightly so, but what they have not said is that strategic services such as power and communication should not be cut in times of natural disaster.

It is these times that residents most need power to pump water and sustain communications and telephones to remain in contact with essential services.

The bulk of NSW's electrical distribution system and a small percentage of communication cables remains aerial; a leftover from the early 1900s.

## Letters to the Editor

Premier Bob Carr had the perfect opportunity to remedy this archaic situation but has not taken up the opportunity.

Greg Bleazard,

Bonnet Bay

My jaw dropped so fast it was almost unhinged when I heard Premier Bob Carr say on Sunday that private owners will have to be made to clear their properties.

About four years ago we had the local volunteer brigade out to do a cold burn on the treed 8ha of our block.

It cost us a donation to the brigade and a barbecue for the fellows who gave their time to help us make our block safe on which to live.

We were lucky to have timed it when we did because soon after, this activity was banned by the State Government.

I cannot believe Mr Carr's gall in placing the responsibility back on residents when it is State Government legislation that has caused the unsafe conditions.

We can live safely with trees and in the bush -- we just need a government that manages this in a proper fashion.

Jane McDonnell,

Moruya

Both Vanessa Chadwick and Terri Maddison (Letters, December 9) had valid points until they blatantly discriminated against smokers.

Being a smoker, I found their comments offensive, as I have been branded thoughtless, foolish and wicked.

I, for one, am very conscious of where my butts are going and resent being accused in this manner.

I agree that anyone who is so stupid as to throw a lighted cigarette butt from a car window should be punished.

However, not all smokers are that irresponsible. Non-smokers should be not so eager to brand all smokers as doers of evil.

Justine Seddon,

Seven Hills

All the volunteer firemen and women who are fighting these fires are heroes. They risk life and limb and receive no pay for their troubles.

I just hope that they are not injured while working, because if they are, they will have a hard time getting just compensation.

On January 1, 1998, at Wingello, in the Southern Highlands, eight volunteer fire fighters were called out to deal with a fire.

Their vehicle was caught in the fire. In a matter of moments, the driver David Quinlivan was dead and the other seven were severely burned. They are Mike and Andrew Neale, Gail and Frank Pritchett, Mike Young, Roger Robinson and John Luke Jr.

The seven remaining firefighters commenced legal action against the Forestry Commission and the State of NSW, among others.

## Letters to the Editor

This action is being opposed by the State Government and is being defended with extreme vigour. I do not understand why and can only presume that either no one wants to take the blame, or that they are resisting payouts to the victims.

All of these people have suffered and most have either lost their jobs or been extremely limited in what they can now do.

They should not be put on the back shelf and forgotten.

Jim Maspero,

Hornsby

Who cares, Carmen?

Goodbye Carmen Lawrence, your departure from the front bench will not be a loss.

What a joke, does she think anyone believes she is doing it for the good of the ALP?

Carmen always has a hidden agenda, perhaps a shot at the leadership or just trying to create havoc.

In any case, who cares?

Marilyn Grass,

Frenchs Forest

Courteous commuters

Give it a rest. Our commuters are not discourteous, quite the contrary.

Occasionally a traveller like Bryan Doyle (Letters, December 9) writes, slamming commuters for being discourteous or rude to pregnant women or less mobile passengers by not giving up their seats.

I have travelled on trains every working day for the past 20 years (mostly on the same line as Mr Doyle) and I have witnessed countless situations where seats are given up to less mobile passengers, particularly elderly persons or pregnant women. I, myself, have done so many times and often the person in question may have several offers.

Before Mr Doyle criticises all the passengers in that carriage for being rude, he should ask himself how many of them were asleep, distracted or just plain could not see the heavily pregnant woman.

Garry Boulding,

Glen Alpine

On path to rip-off

Holroyd Council's plan to charge banks for the use of public footpaths (Daily Telegraph, December 3) is an outrageous and blatant attempt at revenue raising which shows no concern for the convenience of local ratepayers.

A similar proposal was put forward by Bathurst City Council in October and was deferred after protests from the business community and local and state chambers of commerce.

It is unbelievable that any local council would attempt to introduce measures which discourage banks from providing services in their area or passing on costs to consumers.

Unlike the council, the State Chamber of Commerce (NSW) is concerned about the flow-on effect to retailers, especially smaller retailers in the area.



## Letters to the Editor

The more difficult it is for customers to withdraw money, the less inclined they will be to spend it at a business.

Like all other businesses accessed from a public footpath, banks already pay rates for the use of public space to access their services.

Margy Osmond, chief executive, State Chamber of Commerce

Heavens, it's a wonder

The heavenly event of the past week, seen spectacularly at Ceduna, is surely a sign to look up and wonder at the beauty which is for all to see.

The magnificence of those 32 seconds will live forever in the hearts of viewers from around the world.

The best part of it all will remain the new friends that were brought together. They are comrades with a common thought and appreciation of God's handiwork.

Surely we can meet again in a common cause, brought closer in understanding. We can, and we must, while time exists in which to do it.

Aury Norman, Loftus

I hate a sunburnt country

Does your paper ever get tired of all the endless Pommy-bashing?

I suppose coming from a country afflicted by drought, bushfires, deadly creatures lurking here there and everywhere, a hole in the ozone layer, a virtually worthless currency, appalling haircuts, a dubious history, a complete absence of culture, girly-sized beer glasses, atrocious television, Rove McManus' embarrassing attempts to conduct an interview, a disturbing inability to understand that football is a game played primarily with the feet, the misapprehension that swimming is a sport rather than a leisure activity, traffic light systems that ensure pedestrians are trying to cross the road at the same time that cars are turning into the supposed crossing, an obsession with what's going on in the UK (the country you're all so keen to say you're independent from), Savage Garden, a music industry based almost entirely around production-mill soap stars, the political importance of an amoeba on the global stage, a lack of the basic culinary skills required to cook decent bacon and sausages ...

Ooh, best take a breath there. All in all guys, we're pleased for you that, despite all your problems, you can still manage to beat a bunch of cripples at cricket.

Well done, Australia.

David Whitley, City

Terrorists never win

For more than 30 years, the PLO and offshoots, such as Hamas, have murdered innocent people, hijacked airliners and suicide-bombed Israelis.

Did they achieve their aim? No, there is still no state of Palestine and as long as the terror continues, there is not any likelihood of this.

The Tamil Tigers waged a terror war in Sri Lanka but achieved nothing until they decided to disarm and commence a dialogue for peace. Al Qaeda and Jemaah Islamiyah may commit atrocities, but the only thing they have achieved so far is to be hunted down and exterminated.

Up to now, history has shown that terrorism achieves nothing: no political power, no collapse of governments such as that of the US, no establishment of countries such as Palestine, nothing except murder of innocent people.

## Letters to the Editor

In fact the opposite is true; history has shown that people are far more likely to achieve their aims by peaceful dialogue and negotiation.

The state of Palestine would have been a reality long ago if it were not for the action of Hamas. There is a lesson to be learned here.

Ziggy Malter,

Dural

The argument that it is Saddam Hussein who is totally responsible for his people's misery (Letters, December 3) and not America's trade sanctions goes against evidence.

The truth is aid groups within Iraq believe it is the sanctions imposed by America that have claimed the lives of more than a million innocent Iraqis.

Sharif Hammoud,

Kingsgrove

The author of the Islamic web site should take an honest look at the Islamic religion and some of its so-called clerics, instead of lambasting on the Australian Government and media.

The cleric Abu Bakar Bashir was quoted as saying: "The Taliban were too soft, and Osama bin Laden is true Islam".

Islamic moderates should weed these fanatical elements out of their religion.

Pat Hutchinson,

Narromine

I was interested to see the Federal Government's terrorism awareness campaign features balaclava-clad people storming various locations. Obviously Peter Reith is gone but not forgotten.

Simon Squires, Crows Nest

Two summer icons

Amazing how two established icons of this country in Santa and Steve Waugh can be held to ransom by the petulance of a few.

Commonsense appears to rest with the majority who accept these two as much a part of our Australian summer as cicadas and daylight saving.

Unfortunately, myopic visionaries want to send them both into an unnecessary and premature retirement.

Take a reality check, Santa is joy to millions within this country: ditto Steve Waugh.

P. Harris, Miranda

What is all the fuss about over Christmas, Santa Claus and Jesus?

Santa Claus is simply an adaption from the early Netherlands Protestant Church in New Amsterdam of the Dutch, Sinta Klaes.

Saint Nicholas is universally recognised Patron Saint (get this one Mr Glanville) of schoolchildren and sailors.

## Letters to the Editor

Nobody can seriously suggest Jesus was actually born on December 25, and we know precious little (fact) about the other fellow, so what we are dealing with, at this time, is a total myth.

Mythology has long been the mainstay of many cultures so, long live Santa, Alleluiah (and happy birthday) Jesus but, let us get on with life, for Gods sake.

Warren McLean,

Leura

Please explain to me why it was wrong for a school principal to set the story straight for the six-year-old mentioned in your article (Daily Telegraph, December 3)?

How ridiculous is it that schools are entrusted with teaching children everything the best they can, but on this one point they are to stay quiet and even lie when asked about Santa.

This is particularly so at a Christian school such as Tyndale where there would be no doubt left in the mind of a parent enrolling their child as to the type (Bible-based) of teaching offered.

Mark Stubbs,

Seven Hills

As a teenager I am concerned about Australia's cultural identity and values in our society.

At school we are taught the basis of multiculturalism is empathy and equality between cultures. Multiculturalism should go both ways, but this is not what we are seeing.

Australia is well known for its ethnic diversity and this is why many people live here. Although these people should bring their culture here, part of being Australian is accepting everyone's culture.

Immigrants should come to live in Australia, not to create a replica of their previous home.

Surely we are not going to allow everything that has made Australia what it is today be taken from us, just to satisfy minority groups that do not share our tolerant nature.

It seems some people have forgotten that part of our culture is our history and traditions, and that these must be maintained.

J. Carter, Barraba

Case a timely lesson

The article "Gang wrongly jailed for rape" (Daily Telegraph, December 7) is an important story. Five black and Latino youths in New York, jailed for up to 13 years for the 1989 rape of a white woman jogger in Central Park, have now been shown (on DNA evidence) to be innocent.

The American media called them "animals", and the rapes were invariably reported in terms of race.

In this climate, justice was apparently dispensed with. Is there a lesson for us here?

Dr Scott Poynting,

Penrith

Let losers hold Ashes

Surely all of the controversy, argument and tension over the possession of the Ashes trophy is way off beam.

## Letters to the Editor

Correct me if I am mistaken, but my understanding is that the original Ashes was presented to the losing team. That being the case then England is the rightful holder of the Ashes.

The cricketing contest which came to be known as the Ashes series is surely a contest "of" the Ashes, not a contest "for" the Ashes.

Let the losing team continue to hold the trophy and the implication of "second-rate" that goes with it.

Brian Connors, Eastwood

Will this Pommie cricket team go down in history as The Vincibles ... the only team never to win a match on tour?

Don Driscoll, Wollongong

To the point

Fred Nile will be most delighted to hear that a New York jogger has been seen running naked round a park. The man, who wore nothing but a red cloth on his head, has proved a problem for the police, who cannot catch him. The Reverend Nile will be most happy, though. After all, even if he is an al-Qaeda terrorist, at least he cannot conceal any weapons or explosives.

Amy Fallon, Darlinghurst

Midnight Oil and Peter Garrett, in particular, changed my life. No concert was ever the same (and I remember every one). Bring on the final hurrah. I'll be the one wearing a black armband.

Shane A.Bassett, Terrigal

To all Christians and to all moralists, regardless of faith: the trouble with telling children that Santa Claus exists is that it is a lie.

Bobbie K.Gledhill, Glenbrook

Kind words

As a volunteer firefighter with the NSW Rural Fire Service involved in the fires of the last week, I would like to offer my deepest sympathies to those who have lost their homes or loved ones.

I would also like to praise those residents who have stayed behind and helped protect their properties.

Of particular note has been the efforts of those residents who are members of the NSW Fire Brigades Community Fire Unit. Their assistance has been invaluable in preparing streets for the onslaught of these devastating fires and in freeing up portable resources such as Rural Fire Service and NSW Fire brigade units.

Thanks should also go to all of the support agencies and community groups who have helped throughout this and other fire emergencies.

Finally, I would like to thank my colleagues from all paid and volunteer fire services who have put in long hours at the front line and those behind the scenes such as the control staff who co-ordinate the activities.

Warren Kelly, Buxton

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

Letters may be edited.

**Load-Date:** December 9, 2002

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## **HAVE YOU HEARD THE ONE ABOUT THE 1970S RACIST THROWBACK...**

The Sun  
May 3, 2002

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1185 words

**Byline:** Richard Littlejohn

### **Body**

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A FEW months ago I was invited to a "gentlemen's" evening at a top London hotel.

Should be a chuckle, I reckoned.

I reckoned wrong.

The entertainment was provided by a host of veteran comics, some of whom I had presumed were dead.

They might just as well have been.

Laugh? I thought I'd never start.

Think Roger De Courcey -

without Nookie Bear - and you begin to get the picture.

Some of them had starred in The Comedians in the 1970s. And haven't changed their act since.

It was like stepping into a time warp, as if the last 30 years had never happened.

I felt I had been beamed back into the Wheeltappers And Shunters Social Club.

In those days, I laughed along with all the rest. But I also wore flares, Budgie jackets and shirts with collars like the wingspan on a 747.

These guys hadn't only stuck with the same material, a few of them were still wearing the same suits, complete with frilly evening shirts and bow ties like Coco The Clown.

As soon as the first turn got to his feet my heart sank.

The "gags" came thick and fast. Mostly thick. Someone obviously forgot to tell them that the world has moved on and that crude jokes about "coons" and "Pakis" and women's private parts are about as fashionable as loon pants these days.

Don't get me wrong. I'll laugh at anything and anyone, so long as it's funny. I don't care who I offend, provided they deserve it.

## HAVE YOU HEARD THE ONE ABOUT THE 1970S RACIST THROWBACK...

But this was just crass.

I thought alternative comedy was supposed to have done for this lot what punk did for supergroups.

I've got no problem with racial humour. But the Kumars At Number 42 and Goodness Gracious Me do it so much better.

The best Asian comedy is like the best Jewish humour - sharp, clever, observant, self-mocking.

Thirty years ago black comics like Charlie Williams had to make fun of themselves to appease predominantly white audiences.

The new generation of black comedians have to make no such concessions.

And why the hell should they?

But what was most depressing was that the evening in question also featured young black comedians in dickie bows behaving like Kenny Lynch, circa 1969, putting down drunken hecklers with lines like: "If you don't shut up, I'm going to move in next door to you."

Don't do it, I wanted to shout.

As the wine flowed, the gags became increasingly moronic. When the booze ran out, I made my excuses and left. They were still going.

It would be unfair to single anyone out. But I will, anyway.

Stan Boardman.

Even 30 years ago he was a one-trick pony. And he's still doing his "The Jerrrmans bombed our 'ouse" routine today.

In a nod to modernity he now substitutes "al-Qa'ida" for "Pakis" in some gags. It's still not funny.

So what on earth possessed Leeds United to book Boardman for their Player Of The Year dinner? Leave aside the little local difficulty involving Jon Woodgate and Lee Bowyer earlier this year and the fact that Boardman is a Scouser.

He's hardly the obvious choice to entertain a mixed audience of Leeds supporters and businessmen.

You can rely on Boardman to sink to the occasion. And he didn't disappoint.

It might have been forgivable if his material had actually been funny. Or even original. But it wasn't.

And when a Sikh guest heckled him, the best he could come up with was: "Your elephant's outside".

It's 2002 and Boardman's still doing "Sabu" jokes.

God help us.

And what's worse he doesn't get it. "I'm not a racist. I do jokes about Aussies, Indians, Asians, Americans and the Irish."

Yes, but that's not the point.

Comics can get away with just about anything if they're clever, inventive and funny.

## HAVE YOU HEARD THE ONE ABOUT THE 1970S RACIST THROWBACK...

Boardman is none of those.

A few years ago I monstered Bernard Manning for making a young black waitress the butt of his jokes at a dinner in the

Midlands.

That's not comedy, it's bullying.

A truly gifted stand-up comedian, like Jackie Mason or our own Bob Monkhouse, would put down a heckler with style, not resort to childish racial abuse.

Leeds are now thinking about withholding Boardman's fee. We are talking stable doors here.

Next year, perhaps they'll be a little more careful in choosing the after dinner entertainment and go for someone with a little more sensitivity.

I don't think the Duke of Edinburgh's doing anything next May.

\* THE release of Yasser Arafat has been greeted by the broadcast media like the Second Coming.

It seems to have been conveniently overlooked exactly why he was holed up there in the first place.

The Israelis laid siege to his headquarters because he had been sending homicide bombers to murder Jewish civilians in pizza parlours, nightclubs, Bar Mitzvahs, while they observed Passover and in their beds.

If he had really wanted peace it was on the table a couple of years ago, but he chose war instead.

There are faults on both sides in the Middle East conflict. But in the skewed media reporting, Palestinian deaths are always murder, Israeli deaths are merely statistics.

My fears that this distorted view would stoke anti-Jewish feeling in Britain have been borne out.

A synagogue in Finsbury Park has been desecrated, in a frightening echo of the early days of Nazi Germany.

Coverage of this atrocity has been remarkably muted. I wonder if the reaction would have been as restrained had it been a mosque on the receiving end of such appalling vandalism.

All over Europe, these type of attacks and worse are on the rise. In Britain, as a writer in London's Evening Standard pointed out this week, anti-Semitism has become this month's must-have fashion accessory.

When will the Prime Minister speak out as forcibly in support of British Jews as he has repeatedly in favour of Muslims?

You don't have to support all Ariel Sharon's policies to be alarmed at the isolation of Israel and the defamation of the Jewish people.

Let's hope the Americans can enforce a lasting peace. But don't hold your breath. Arafat can't be trusted and his sidekicks in Hamas are already threatening to send 500 more homicide bombers to attack Jewish targets.

As the former Israeli premier Golda Meir once said: "There will only be peace when the Arabs learn to love their children more than they hate us".

\* THE relatively low-key May Day demonstrations in London were a triumph for the Metropolitan Police.

Not so much the way they handled it on Wednesday but because of their hardline tactics last year.



## HAVE YOU HEARD THE ONE ABOUT THE 1970S RACIST THROWBACK...

Numbers were well down this week. And the credit for that can go to the Met for bottling up demonstrators in Oxford Circus for several hours last May.

The protesters might have howled about an abuse of human rights but it concentrated their minds.

Funny how concern about global capitalism and the rainforests goes out of the window when faced with the prospect of a few hours without a cappuccino and access to a clean toilet.

There was more of a carnival atmosphere this time. Maybe next year we can revive our traditional May Day celebrations and stick up a Maypole in Parliament Square.

Any anarchist then still hell-bent on causing trouble would have to contend not only with the SPG but with a team of toolled-up Morris Dancers, too.

The Smash The Rich brigade wouldn't stand much of a chance against the Cloggies.

**Load-Date:** May 4, 2002

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**Israelis begin West Bank pullback; Under pressure: Meanwhile, Israeli forces push deeper into other West Bank towns**

Telegraph Herald (Dubuque, IA)

April 9, 2002 Tuesday

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**Section:** Pg. a1

**Length:** 1348 words

**Byline:** ASSOCIATED PRESS

**Dateline:** NABLUS, West Bank

## **Body**

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Under growing U.S. and world pressure, Israel began withdrawing today from two of the West Bank cities it occupied, Palestinian security sources said.

Tanks were rumbling out of Tulkarem and Qalqiliya as troops left buildings and schools after about a week's occupation, Palestinian security sources said, speaking on condition of anonymity.

Shortly after the pullout started, troops and tanks began a fresh incursion into the southern West Bank town of Dora, witnesses said.

Tanks and armored personnel carriers rolled into the town before dawn as helicopters provided cover from the air. The sound of gunbattles could be heard, witnesses said.

A statement issued by Defense Minister Binyamin Ben-Eliezer late Monday night said that the operation to wipe out militant networks in Qalqiliya and Tulkarem had been successful.

As Israel announced the limited pullback, its forces pushed deeper into other Palestinian strongholds Monday in house to house fighting backed by helicopters and bulldozers.

Although troops were leaving the two northwest towns, there was still a heavy Israeli presence in the major West Bank cities of Ramallah, Bethlehem, Nablus and Jenin.

Nevertheless, Prime Minister Ariel Sharon pledged to continue the 12-day-old offensive he launched in response to a wave of suicide bombings.

Powell said he was encouraged but hoped the moved would not be "a little bit of this and a little bit of that," with advances in some areas and pullbacks in others.

Monday's developments unfolded as Powell arrived in Morocco on the first stop of his peacemaking mission and was bluntly told by King Mohammed: "Don't you think it was more important to go to Jerusalem first?"

Israelis begin West Bank pullback; Under pressure: Meanwhile, Israeli forces push deeper into other West Bank towns

At Bethlehem's Church of the Nativity, fire broke out in the compound during a gun battle between Israeli soldiers and more than 200 armed Palestinians holed up inside, and the violence threatened the delicate ties between the Vatican and the Jewish state.

In the West Bank's largest city, Nablus, dozens of gunmen surrendered to Israeli troops while scores more lay wounded on blankets on a mosque floor. Some of the men were dying, and doctors lacking even the most basic supplies operated on others without anesthetics.

Israeli helicopters also pounded the Jenin refugee camp with missiles, and bulldozers flattened homes as gunmen retreated. Israeli officials estimated more than 100 Palestinians have been killed in the camp in recent days.

Israeli Brig. Gen. Eyal Shline said the armed men "seem to have decided to fight to the last, to make the battle as bloody as possible," and that several blew themselves up in suicide attacks on soldiers.

Addressing Parliament, Sharon said Israel's assault was a response to a "murderous insanity which has taken hold of our Palestinian neighbors."

He accused Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat of heading a "regime of terror" and said Israel would press on "until it has dismantled Arafat's terror infrastructure and the murderers hiding in different places have been arrested."

After the operation, Israeli forces will withdraw to unspecified buffer zones in the West Bank, Sharon said. He added that "the places we leave must have a responsible Palestinian leadership that will take over the areas."

Sharon appeared to be suggesting he would only do business with Palestinians not affiliated with the Palestinian Authority.

Palestinian reaction was angry. Cabinet Minister Saeb Erekat said Sharon's "endgame all along was to dismantle the Palestinian Authority," and that Israel would not find Palestinians to go along with such a plan. Erekat said Sharon was defying the United States by refusing to stop the offensive immediately.

In Jerusalem, U.S. envoy Anthony Zinni met with Sharon. U.S. officials said he restated demands for an immediate withdrawal from the Palestinian territories.

Sharon told Zinni that Israel must remain in the areas until the anti-terror campaign is completed to prevent a return of suicide bombers, said Sharon adviser Danny Ayalon. However, Ayalon said, withdrawals would begin soon.

Palestinian residents of Qalqiliya and Tulkarem, the two cities troops were preparing to leave in the northwest West Bank, offered relatively little resistance to the Israeli occupation. Militants in other cities, such as Jenin and Nablus in the north, have been battling Israeli forces for several days.

Israeli tanks and troops continue their siege on Arafat's office in Ramallah, preventing people from entering and leaving.

There was a widespread feeling in Israel that the timing of Powell's trip - he will not reach Israel until late this week - and some wording used by U.S. officials suggested an acquiescence with continuing the offensive for a few more days.

"While (Bush) calls for an Israeli pullout 'without delay' ... his secretary of state travels to the region in a slow, weeklong glide, even though the Americans know only his physical presence might block 'Operation Defensive Shield,'" Israeli commentator Chemi Shalev wrote.

Israeli troops and tanks rumbled into the West Bank on March 29, beginning a hunt for weapons, explosives and militants who have terrorized the country with suicide bombings and other attacks.

Israelis begin West Bank pullback; Under pressure: Meanwhile, Israeli forces push deeper into other West Bank towns

More than 1,500 Palestinians have been arrested by Israel since then, including 500 to 600 fugitives, among them 70 to 80 involved in planning attacks on Israelis, Israeli military officials said. Troops have confiscated 2,000 rifles and uncovered 15 labs for making explosives, the officials said.

Before daybreak Monday, Israeli attack helicopters began firing missiles at the Jenin camp after militants ignored calls to surrender. Jamal Abdel Salam, a resident and activist in the Islamic militant Hamas group, said army bulldozers flattened homes, and dozens of houses were destroyed.

By early afternoon, Israeli forces controlled almost the entire camp, the army said. The military said about 150 men put down their weapons and emerged early Monday, but Abdel Salam said only women, children and the elderly left the camp. The militants were ready to fight to the death, he said.

Two Israeli soldiers were killed in the camp Monday, the military said.

In Nablus, smoke rose from the Old City, a densely populated maze of stone buildings and narrow streets. Army officials said troops controlled about half the Old City, and that dozens of gunmen surrendered Monday.

In one rubble-covered alley, gunmen were trying to pull a seriously wounded comrade to safety. One rescuer was shot in the leg and fell over the wounded man before both were carried away, as helicopters fired from machine guns. The incident Sunday was witnessed by APTN cameraman Nazeeh Darwazeh, who also saw two bodies in the streets.

In Bethlehem, Israeli troops ringing the Church of the Nativity exchanged fire with some of the Palestinians who have been inside for seven days.

A senior Israeli army officer, speaking on condition of anonymity, said two border policemen who were shot and wounded by Palestinians threw a smoke grenade into the compound, sparking a fire.

The fire burned for about an hour in a second-floor meeting hall above the courtyard of St. Catherine's, a Roman Catholic church adjacent to the Church of the Nativity. It destroyed a piano, chairs, altar cloths and ceremonial cups, clerics said. Israeli troops searched Palestinian firefighters who came to extinguish the blaze, but eventually let them put out the fire by spraying water over the compound's wall.

Sharon told Parliament that soldiers would surround the church until the gunmen surrender. The Franciscans, meanwhile, accused Israel of violating a pledge not to attack the church. Church officials said the clerics were not hostages and would stay in the compound.

Sharon also said he was willing to meet with Arab leaders anywhere without preconditions to discuss a Mideast peace proposal.

He said a recent pan-Arab call for Israel's withdrawal from all occupied Arab lands in exchange for comprehensive peace had "positive elements."

But Sharon said Israel cannot accept a return of Palestinian refugees, an issue Arab nations say must be resolved before relations are normalized.

**Load-Date:** April 13, 2002

**Israel to maintain operations Network of militants destroyed in two cities,  
defense minister says**

Charleston Gazette (West Virginia)

April 09, 2002, Tuesday

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**Section:** News; Pg. P1A

**Length:** 1341 words

**Byline:** Laura King The Associated Press

## **Body**

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NABLUS, West Bank - After yet another stern warning from President Bush and under increasing world pressure, Israel began withdrawing early today from two of the West Bank cities it occupied, Palestinian security sources said.

Tanks were rumbling out of Tulkarem and Qalqiliya as troops left buildings and schools after about a week's occupation, Palestinian security sources said, speaking on condition of anonymity.

But shortly after the pullout started, troops and tanks began a fresh incursion into the southern West Bank town of Dora, witnesses said.

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As Israel announced the limited pullback, its forces pushed deeper into other Palestinian strongholds Monday in house-to-house fighting backed by helicopters and bulldozers.

Although troops were leaving the two northwest towns, there was still a heavy Israeli presence in the major West Bank cities of Ramallah, Bethlehem, Nablus and Jenin.

Hours after Secretary of State Colin Powell demanded "a clear statement from Israel that they are beginning to withdraw," the Defense Ministry said the staggered pullback from Qalqiliya and Tulkarem was planned for early today.

Nevertheless, Prime Minister Ariel Sharon pledged to continue the 12-day-old offensive he launched in response to a wave of suicide bombings.

"It's a start," White House press secretary Ari Fleischer said in Washington. "As the president said ... all parties in the Middle East have responsibilities and the president expects all parties to step up to them."

Powell said he was encouraged but hoped the move would not be "a little bit of this and a little bit of that," with advances in some areas and pullbacks in others.

Israel to maintain operations Network of militants destroyed in two cities, defense minister says

Monday's developments unfolded as Powell arrived in Morocco on the first stop of his peacemaking mission and was bluntly told by King Mohammed: "Don't you think it was more important to go to Jerusalem first?"

World oil prices spiked as much as 6 percent in a fresh wave of anxiety after Iraq said it was halting crude exports for 30 days to demonstrate support for the Palestinians. National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice said it would not deter Bush from seeking the Iraqi leader's ouster.

"We ought to remind them that they're going to have a hard time eating their oil," Rice said in a speech in Texas, suggesting that Saddam needs money from oil exports more than the United States needs Iraq's oil.

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Palestinian reaction was angry. Cabinet Minister Saeb Erekat said Sharon's "endgame all along was to dismantle the Palestinian Authority," and that Israel would not find Palestinians to go along with such a plan. Erekat said Sharon was defying the United States by refusing to stop the offensive immediately.

In Jerusalem, U.S. envoy Anthony Zinni met with Sharon. U.S. officials said he restated demands for an immediate withdrawal from the Palestinian territories.

Sharon told Zinni that Israel must remain in the areas until the anti-terror campaign is completed to prevent a return of suicide bombers, said Sharon adviser Danny Ayalon. However, Ayalon said, withdrawals would begin soon.

Palestinian residents of Qalqiliya and Tulkarem, the two cities troops were leaving, had offered relatively little resistance to the Israeli occupation. Militants in other cities, such as Jenin and Nablus in the north, have been battling Israeli forces for several days.

Israeli tanks and troops continue their siege on Arafat's office in Ramallah, preventing people from entering and leaving.

There was a widespread feeling in Israel that the timing of Powell's trip - he will not reach Israel until late this week - and some wording used by U.S. officials suggested an acquiescence with continuing the offensive for a few more days.

Israel to maintain operations Network of militants destroyed in two cities, defense minister says

Israeli troops and tanks rumbled into the West Bank on March 29, beginning a hunt for weapons, explosives and militants who have terrorized the country with suicide bombings and other attacks.

More than 1,500 Palestinians have been arrested by Israel since then, including 500 to 600 fugitives, among them 70 to 80 involved in planning attacks on Israelis, Israeli military officials said. Troops have confiscated 2,000 rifles and uncovered 15 labs for making explosives, the officials said.

Before daybreak Monday, Israeli attack helicopters began firing missiles at the Jenin camp after militants ignored calls to surrender. Jamal Abdel Salam, a resident and activist in the Islamic militant Hamas group, said army bulldozers flattened homes, and dozens of houses were destroyed.

By early afternoon, Israeli forces controlled almost the entire camp, the army said. The military said about 150 men put down their weapons and emerged early Monday, but Abdel Salam said only women, children and the elderly left the camp. The militants were ready to fight to the death, he said.

Two Israeli soldiers were killed in the camp Monday, the military said.

In Nablus, smoke rose from the Old City, a densely populated maze of stone buildings and narrow streets. Army officials said troops controlled about half the Old City, and that dozens of gunmen surrendered Monday.

In Bethlehem, Israeli troops ringing the Church of the Nativity exchanged fire with some of the Palestinians who have been inside for seven days.

A senior Israeli army officer, speaking on condition of anonymity, said two border policemen who were shot and wounded by Palestinians threw a smoke grenade into the compound, sparking a fire.

The fire burned for about an hour in a second-floor meeting hall above the courtyard of St. Catherine's, a Roman Catholic church adjacent to the Church of the Nativity. It destroyed a piano, chairs, altar cloths and ceremonial cups, clerics said. Israeli troops searched Palestinian firefighters who came to extinguish the blaze, but eventually let them put out the fire by spraying water over the compound's wall.

Sharon told Parliament that soldiers would surround the church until the gunmen surrender. The Franciscans, meanwhile, accused Israel of violating a pledge not to attack the church. Church officials said the clerics were not hostages and would stay in the compound.

**Load-Date:** April 9, 2002

## *Israeli Troops Raid Arab Camps, Killing 11 in West Bank Fighting*

The New York Times

March 1, 2002 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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

**Length:** 1354 words

**Byline:** By JAMES BENNET

**Dateline:** BALATA REFUGEE CAMP, West Bank, Feb. 28

### **Body**

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Israeli troops for the first time battled their way into this congested camp and into another camp, in Jenin, today, killing at least 11 Palestinians and losing one soldier in some of the fiercest fighting of the 17-month conflict.

Jackhammer bursts of Israeli machine-gun fire echoed off the surrounding hills as soldiers on foot and in hovering helicopter gunships traded shots throughout the day with Palestinian gunmen, who ducked in and out of alleyways too narrow to admit tanks.

Their lights flashing red, ambulances waited by the charred shells of cars on Balata's outskirts, regularly darting inside to scoop up another wounded Palestinian. The numbers of the wounded ran into the dozens, hospital officials said.

Although Israel has bombed targets in refugee camps before, the raids marked the first time ground troops had invaded such camps. The soldiers did not make it far into Balata or the Jenin camp, and encountered heavy resistance in both.

The Israeli government said the goal of today's raids had been to deny Palestinian militants havens to manufacture explosives and plan attacks. But Palestinian militants called the Israeli attacks a provocative escalation and promised reprisals, particularly for the attack on Balata, a stronghold of Yasir Arafat's Fatah faction. This afternoon, gunmen opened fire on Gilo, a Jewish neighborhood of Jerusalem occupied in the 1967 war.

Israel did not spell out why it had chosen to launch the attacks today. One Israeli commander, Colonel Aviv Cochavi, said he was ordered to plan the operation several days ago. Fatah militants recently stepped up attacks against Israeli soldiers and settlers in the West Bank, and Israeli security officials say some of the militants' leaders hide in Balata.

The new violence came as Palestinian officials and Arab leaders were praising an initiative floated by Saudi Arabia to resolve the deepening impasse. The plan would trade normalization of Arab relations with Israel for an Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank and Gaza Strip, lands it occupied in the 1967 war.

Although some Israeli officials have praised the Saudi proposal, the Israeli prime minister, Ariel Sharon, has kept his distance from it and his associates have played down its significance.



## Israeli Troops Raid Arab Camps, Killing 11 in West Bank Fighting

George J. Tenet, the director of central intelligence, and William J. Burns, assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern affairs, were in Saudi Arabia today for talks with Crown Prince Abdullah on his peace proposal.

The Israeli Army urged residents of the Balata camp who were not fighters to flee. But as residents from neighboring Nablus gathered a block from the camp's edge to watch, few Balata residents appeared to be leaving. Some said they had nowhere else to go. Others said that, having become refugees during the 1948 Arab-Israeli war, they were not about to leave their homes again. "We were refugees already twice," said Mahmoud Diyab, 80, who said he was pushed out of homes in 1967 as well as 1948. "Where to go now?"

The raid here began shortly after midnight, camp residents said, with a helicopter strike that knocked out the electricity. Palestinians accused Israeli forces of destroying some cinder-block homes as they punched through the camp's perimeter.

Balata is the largest West Bank refugee camp, with 22,000 residents packed into an area less than a third of a mile square. Israel regards it as a command center for the Aqsa Martyrs Brigades, a group linked to Fatah that has carried out several devastating attacks against Israelis.

Israeli soldiers killed four Palestinians here, Palestinian officials said. One of them, Kayed Abu Mustafa, was a leader of the Aqsa Brigades, Palestinians said. An Israeli soldier was killed in the fighting, but the army declined to describe how.

In Jenin, Israeli soldiers shot dead six Palestinian security officers and one 65-year-old man.

As gunfire rang through the streets and the smell of burning garbage and tires filled the air, some taxis made their way through Balata and barefoot children played in alleyways. One slender young girl smiled brightly as she rushed up to a stranger to display a pair of adult-sized blue jeans stained with blood.

As he stood outside his home in a bathrobe, pajamas, and black slippers, Daoud Abu Hamdon just shrugged when asked why he did not take his family and leave. "I believe it's safer for me to stay here," he said.

Young Palestinian men carrying semiautomatic rifles cast wary glances upward as they cursed two American-made Apache helicopters patrolling overhead against a pale blue sky. Since Israeli tanks could not roam through the teeming camp, the militants believed that they stood a good chance against the soldiers, if it were not for the helicopters.

"If Sharon is a man, let him confront us without Apaches," said one 30-year-old gunman, referring to the Israeli prime minister. "Let him fight us the honorable way -- man to man."

Late Wednesday night, a female suicide bomber from the Aqsa brigades blew herself up by an Israeli checkpoint in the West Bank, wounding three border policemen. Unlike the Islamic groups Hamas and Islamic Jihad, the Aqsa group has embraced the use of women and set up a women's unit, named for Wafa Idris, another female suicide bomber, said Naser Badawi, a senior member in Balata of the group.

Colonel Cochavi, a brigade commander of Israeli paratroopers involved in the Balata operation, called the camp "a greenhouse for hostile terrorist activities." He said that the soldiers "have no intention whatsoever to harm an innocent person. We are making all the arrangements necessary to ensure such people will not be hurt."

But he acknowledged, "I have no doubt that fighting in a densely built area has its share of disadvantages."

Palestinians in the camp accused the Israelis of firing recklessly. Marwan Barghouti, the leader of Fatah in the West Bank, called for mass demonstrations on Friday to protest what he called "the cruel massacres taking place."

Yossi Sarid, the Israeli opposition leader, called the mission "total craziness," urging Mr. Sharon to immediately withdraw Israeli forces from the camps. "This is a new phase in the war for the safety of the settlements," he said.

## Israeli Troops Raid Arab Camps, Killing 11 in West Bank Fighting

In a statement issued in New York, United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan called for the immediate withdrawal of the Israeli forces from the refugee camps and implored both sides to avoid further civilian casualties.

"What distresses me particularly is that this time, as a result of incursions into refugees camps by the Israel Defense Forces, large numbers of Palestinians are reported dead or injured," said the statement from Mr. Annan, who was in Germany on Thursday.

The State Department spokesman, Richard A. Boucher, said the United States had contacted Israel today to "urge that utmost restraint be exercised in order to avoid harm to the civilian population."

Palestinian gunmen claimed to have penned 14 Israeli soldiers inside a boys school here, but the army dismissed that assertion, confirming that the troops had seized the school but denying that they were under siege. It said that the soldiers entered the school while it was empty.

Like the refugee camps generally, the boys school is administered by the United Nations agency that looks after Palestinian refugees. In a statement, the agency said that the school had "suffered considerable damage," and it expressed "deep dismay and concern at the heavy casualties and loss of life" here and in Jenin.

Palestinian militants also claimed they had planted explosives around Balata that they had used to damage seven Israeli tanks. The army ridiculed that claim. But Israeli security officials said that Fatah militants in Balata had manufactured and stockpiled explosives in several buildings here.

Palestinians here had expected an attack for days. After Palestinian gunmen killed six Israeli soldiers at a West Bank checkpoint on Feb. 19, Israeli forces moved into Nablus and seized four Palestinian buildings overlooking the camp. Residents of Balata had shoved trash bins and ruined cars across the streets entering the camp in hopes of blocking any invasion.

<http://www.nytimes.com>

## Graphic

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Photo: Israeli armored vehicles entered the Balata refugee camp in the West Bank yesterday in some of the fiercest fighting of the 17-month conflict. (Agence France-Presse)(pg. A1); An electricity station was set afire yesterday when it was hit by an Israeli helicopter in Beit Jala, where gunmen had fired at a Jewish neighborhood. (Associated Press)(pg. A10)

**Load-Date:** March 1, 2002

**Middle East Crisis: The attack: Bombing shatters illusions in an oasis of civility: The killing of 11 people in a cafe used by liberal Israelis shows no one is safe**

The Guardian (London)

March 11, 2002

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**Section:** Guardian Home Pages, Pg. 5

**Length:** 1176 words

**Byline:** Suzanne Goldenberg in Jerusalem

## **Body**

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The habitués of the Cafe Moment arrived as they had on so many mornings, only yesterday this neighbourhood fixture in an affluent area of Jewish west Jerusalem was a gutted, blackened shell.

Workers from the ultra-orthodox Jewish burial brigades climbed over a trellis, collecting scraps of human flesh in white surgical gloves. A black-bordered death notice was tacked to the pine tree on the patio.

Eleven Israelis were killed here on Saturday, blown to bits by a **Hamas** suicide bomber who sidled into a crowd of people waiting for a table on the one night a week when Israelis cling to some semblance of a normal life.

In a city that has roughened around the edges after months of bombing and shooting attacks, Rehavia remained, until this weekend, an oasis of European civility, and Moment was a meeting place for secular, liberal Israelis in their 20s and 30s - artists, journalists, professionals - refugees from the dour religiosity of the holy city.

"This is like a second home for me here. Some weeks, I am here every day," said Enrique Jaffe, a naturopath who works at a nearby health food shop. "I passed by here last night, but I had the feeling there would be something in Jerusalem - not here especially, but some place - so I didn't come in because I was looking for a place where there would be better security."

Two of his friends were counted among the dead. A young woman working for Israel's foreign ministry was also killed.

A week ago, a Palestinian bomber blew himself up in a crowd of mothers and babies minutes after the close of Sabbath prayers, killing nine people. But that was an ultra-orthodox neighbourhood of Jerusalem.

Cafe Moment is across the street from the official residence of the prime minister, Ariel Sharon, who was not at home. This is perhaps the most heavily guarded precinct of Jewish west Jerusalem, and the presence of the men in open navy jackets, dark glasses and earpieces created a sense of security among its regulars.

Rehavia had never been a target before, and Moment had its own guard, sifting through **women**'s handbags at the entrance. Saturday night's attack shattered such illusions of security, bringing a disturbing intimacy to the attacks: now the bombers know their haunts, their habits.

## Middle East Crisis: The attack: Bombing shatters illusions in an oasis of civility: The killing of 11 people in a cafe used by liberal Israelis shows no one is ....

"It definitely came closer last night. I have a feeling it is coming closer and closer, and you can't escape because it is going to reach you somehow, somewhere," said Ariane Littman-Cohen, an artist. Her husband's brother is a co-owner of Moment, and the couple are regulars here. She spent several anxious moments rivet ted to her television set, which showed images of the bombing in Jerusalem, and a shooting in the coastal city of Netanya, which killed two more Israelis. "I kept staring at the television pictures, looking for my husband and my brother-in-law. I thought for sure they were dead."

Her husband slipped across the police cordon where workers were pulling blonde wooden bar stools from blackened debris and shattered glass. One woman turned up immediately after her release from hospital, with big dark glasses shoved on top of a bandaged temple. Some lit candles on the pavement where black body bags had been laid out only hours earlier. Others just stood and wept.

At a nearby square, a handful of peace activists unfurled banners for the daily vigil. On Saturday night, a dozen protesters had wandered over to Moment from a Peace Now demonstration outside Mr Sharon's residence, making their way home minutes before the 10.30pm explosion.

"We all hesitated, but in the end we decided to have coffee, and when we reached our homes, we learnt from the news that we had been lucky to have escaped from this explosion," said Arie Arnon, who is on the executive of Peace Now. "Maybe last night makes it more personal, but this can be anywhere. On both sides, they just kill without any references to who might be there."

A few days ago, a waiter foiled a suicide attack in an another haunt of well-heeled Jerusalemites, a cafe in the secular German Colony neighbourhood. When the bomber, a tall, broad-shouldered young man, sweating heavily in a heavy denim overcoat, turned up at the Capit cafe at lunchtime, a waitress duly brought him a glass of water. A more alert colleague shoved the bomber outside, ripped off the electric wire that snaked beneath this coat to the backpack of explosives and wrestled him to the ground.

The waiter's courage - rewarded with Dollars 5,000 (pounds 3,500) from a British Israeli millionaire - created a small bubble of safety. It was soon to be punctured.

"This was our cafe. It was here that we used to come in the morning for our espresso and croissant. In the evening, we would come here for a drink. To cling to what was left of our normalcy, of our secular sanity. To cling to what was left of our way of life," wrote Ari Shavit in a front page piece in the liberal Ha'aretz newspaper yesterday.

The commentary appeared to capture the mood of Israelis yesterday; it was read out constantly on talk radio programmes.

"When the young survivors start looking desperately for their friends, when the last of the victims with trembling lips are evacuated, and when the police try to restore some sort of order in the choas that has opened up in the heart of the city, this inconceivable thing coalesces with all the other inconceivable things of the last few months. Will the glaziers and painters really come here in the morning? Will we really come to sit here on the high bar chairs. Will it really be possible to resume our morning routine in a place where bodies are now strewn?"

At the police barricades outside Moment yesterday, some of the regulars were adamant they could. "Of course, I feel terrible, but I am still going to go out. I still live here, and I am not going to be afraid," said Tova Ohev Ami, who works at an estate agency down the road.

Her colleague, Ilana Cohen, was not so certain. "I think I will still come here in the daytime, but not in the evening, no."

Staring fixedly at the devastated hull of the cafe, Ms Ami said there was only one way to survive - crush the Palestinians into submission, as Mr Sharon said last week he plans to do.

"When they see that we are strong enough and we are not afraid, only then will they stop," she said. And she is not a rightwinger, she insisted, fumbling in her purse for her Labour party membership card. "When Sharon did not do

Middle East Crisis: The attack: Bombing shatters illusions in an oasis of civility: The killing of 11 people in a cafe used by liberal Israelis shows no one is ....

anything, or he did things that were too small, the bombings kept going on. We had dead. We had fear. But at least now we feel like he is doing something."

Others said force was not the answer. But in the absence of negotiations with the Palestinians, there was only one way to carry on: denial.

"In order to survive you must all the time erase everything you have been through," said Ms Littman-Cohen. "If I let all those thoughts come in I wouldn't be able to go on living, all those pictures of babies and women, ours and theirs. I have a daughter who is two-and-a-half and when I saw all those babies. . ." She gulped back the tears, unable to go on.

**Load-Date:** March 11, 2002

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**BACKGROUND: ABU SAYYAF: Terror war targets Philippines;  
Kidnappings mark tiny separatist band**

The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

January 25, 2002 Friday

Home Edition

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**The Atlanta  
Journal-Constitution**

**Section:** News;; Series

**Length:** 1131 words

**Byline:** GEORGE EDMONSON

**Series:** BACKGROUND

**Body**

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Washington ---The Philippines is one of the latest targets in the U.S. war on terror.

American troops began arriving this month to train and assist local forces in the hunt for the Abu Sayyaf, a guerrilla group operating in the southern Philippines and suspected of links to the al-Qaida terrorist network.

Anthropologist Thomas McKenna has been studying the separatist movement in the Philippines for more than 20 years and is the author of "Muslim Rulers and Rebels: Everyday Politics and Armed Separatism in the Southern Philippines." A consultant with SRI Consulting Business Intelligence, he discussed the issues by phone from Menlo Park, Calif. Here is an edited account:

Q: What is Abu Sayyaf and how did it get started?

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A: There's been a Muslim separatist movement in the southern Philippines since about 1968. Until 1995, there were two main separatist rebel groups: the Moro National Liberation Front --- "Moro" is a word for Philippine Muslims --- and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front. They're virtually identical. They're headquartered in different parts of the southern Philippines.

In 1995, a group came on the scene called the Abu Sayyaf, which in Arabic means "Sword of the Father." They were headquartered on the island of Basilan and in Zamboanga City. They used kidnapping, execution, they targeted Christian civilians, which is something that neither of the other groups had done. This had always been a fight against the government, not a fight against Christians. They used Islamic extremist rhetoric that was not used at all by the other groups.

## BACKGROUND: ABU SAYYAF: Terror war targets Philippines ; Kidnappings mark tiny separatist band

It's very much sort of a loose-cannon group. When they kidnapped a group of people, one of the demands was the release of the people being held for the World Trade Center bombing in 1993. This was extraordinary, unprecedented.

They don't have any significant popular support. Their activities, their tactics have been condemned by the two other groups. In fact, for a while the Muslims I know in the southern Philippines actually thought that these were agents provocateurs, set up by the government to make the Philippine Muslims rebellion look bad.

Q: Do Philippine officials know who belongs to Abu Sayyaf? How large is it compared to the other two separatist groups?

A: The other groups go up and down. But they probably averaged, over the last 10 years, 15,000 men under arms each.

For Abu Sayyaf, the estimates are rather wild. In their beginning, they probably never had more than a couple of hundred members. They then grew after they made a couple of really big hauls of very large ransom payments, millions of dollars. They used that money to hire young men. There are a lot of unemployed, very poor young men in these outlying regions where they operate. They got probably as many as 1,000 fighters.

We know that since they've been bottled up on this one island and their money's running out, a lot of the fighters have left. I would imagine that they're in the hundreds.

It's pretty well established that the founder was this fellow named Abdurajak Janjalani. He grew up poor in the city and got some education. He belonged to the MLNF for a while. There are various stories about how he was influenced. But he did apparently go to Egypt and came under the influence of a radical cleric there.

There were also some reports that there was actually an Arab missionary in Zamboanga City that strongly influenced Abu Sayyaf, and that this person was tied to al-Qaida. I don't know that that's true. It seems plausible to me.

Janjalani was killed in 1998 in a clash with the national police. His brother is still one of the commanders. His name is Khadaffy Janjalani, actually named after [Libyan leader] Moammar Gadhafi. There are many, many young men of that age in the Philippines named after Moammar Gadhafi, who was quite supportive of the separatist movement, but also of peace agreements.

And then there are a couple of other fellows with these noms de guerre. There's this fellow named Commander Robot, a wonderful Philippine-style nickname because he got shot one time and the bullet didn't penetrate, so he's "Robot."

And that's really all we know about them. They have satellite phones, cellphones, and they occasionally call in to a radio station in Zamboanga City.

Q: The Philippines is predominantly a Christian country, right?

A: It's about 95 percent Christian. It's the only majority-Christian country in Southeast Asia.

Q: Is Abu Sayyaf's view of Islam similar to that of the Taliban?

A: It's hard to say. In general, in the Philippines, Islamic practice has been completely dissimilar to what you see in Afghanistan. That's because of regional cultural differences. In Southeast Asia, women have much higher status, people are more easygoing; punishments and practice have been much less severe than the versions you find in parts of the Middle East. So, if in fact they are serious about this rhetoric, again it is quite, quite atypical from anything you actually find on the ground in any actual Muslim community in the Philippines.

Q: Some Philippine citizens have expressed concern about U.S. troops coming in. What do you think the likely impact of that will be on the country and the separatist groups?

## BACKGROUNDER: ABU SAYYAF: Terror war targets Philippines ; Kidnappings mark tiny separatist band

A: In general, Filipinos have generally positive attitudes toward the United States and fairly positive memories of the first 50 years of the 20th century [when the Philippines were an American possession]. That goes just as strongly for Philippine Muslims.

In fact, some older Philippine Muslims feel they were better treated under the Americans than they were under the Philippine government.

Given that, the mere fact of U.S. troops on the ground will not set Philippine Muslims off. For Filipinos in general, there will be some nationalist sentiment that says, "We don't want Americans here. They've got to get out."

Philippine Muslims, I think, will be a bit more nuanced: "Well, let's wait and see what happens. Gee, it might be better having American troops running after these guys than Philippine military troops."

Q: Is there something about the islands in the south that makes it easy for people to hide?

A: The interior of Basilan and these other islands is very heavily forested. This is rain forest, and much of the year it's very muddy and very hard to get around.

Just to give you an example, there was a famous Muslim bandit in the 1950s called Kamlun.

He tied down thousands of Philippine army soldiers for more than five years.

The only reason they did get him was that he got tired of running after five years and surrendered.

### BEHIND THE NEWS

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- \* Congress' return to work

- \* The dirty bomb

These and other Backgrounders from previous editions are available on: [ajc.com](http://ajc.com)

## Graphic

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### Map: TRACKING ABU SAYYAF

Fueled by ransom money and staffed by hired fighters, Muslim rebels operate out of south Philippines. American troops are being deployed to assist Philippine soldiers. Muslim separatist organizations have been operating in the Philippines for decades, but the relatively new Abu Sayyaf, with its alleged ties to international terror, has attacked civilians as well as the government. (Map of the Philippines; inset map provides detail and shows cities where Abu Sayyaf group operates.) Source: Jane's / New York Times; Photo: A Philippine National Police Special Forces member guards alleged Abu Sayyaf members brought to Manila from outlying islands in December to face trial. One expert estimates that the group's fighters number "in the hundreds." / BULLIT MARQUEZ / Associated Press

**Load-Date:** September 28, 2002



BACKGROUNDER: ABU SAYYAF: Terror war targets Philippines ; Kidnappings mark tiny separatist band

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## *Victory and prosperity*

St. Petersburg Times (Florida)

January 30, 2002, Wednesday, 0 South Pinellas Edition

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**Section:** NATIONAL; STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS; Pg. 1A

**Length:** 1217 words

**Byline:** SARA FRITZ

**Dateline:** WASHINGTON

### **Body**

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With conflict in Afghanistan winding down, President Bush warned Tuesday night that the United States' attention is turning to terrorists elsewhere in the world and governments - including North Korea, Iran and Iraq - that make up "an axis of evil" threatening world peace.

"Our war on terrorism is only beginning," he declared in his first State of the Union speech. "The United States of America will not permit the world's most dangerous regimes to threaten us with the world's most destructive weapons."

Bush appeared to be rejecting the cautious advice that caused his father, President George Bush, to end the Persian Gulf War in 1991 without invading Iraq.

BUSH

"We cannot stop short," he said. "If we stopped now - leaving terror camps intact and terror states unchecked - our sense of security would be false and temporary."

Then, having rallied his audience with martial themes, Bush vowed to revive the American economy with "the same spirit of cooperation we have applied to our war on terrorism." To do this, he pledged to pursue a long list of domestic programs that have been mainstays of his administration, including lower taxes, better schools, reliable energy and quality health care.

In his 48-minute speech, Bush said the focus of his domestic programs is to stimulate employment. "My economic security plan," he said, "can be summed up in one word: jobs."

The only genuinely new element of his domestic agenda was premised on volunteerism: the creation of a civilian defense corps and an appeal to every American to commit two years - 4,000 hours - over their lives to community service. The idea is similar to his father's "thousand points of light."

Increased volunteerism, he argued, is the natural result of the struggle that the United States has embarked upon since the Sept. 11 attacks.

"For too long our culture has said, 'If it feels good, do it,' " the president said. "Now America is embracing a new ethic and a new creed: 'Let's roll.' In the sacrifice of soldiers, the fierce brotherhood of firefighters, and the bravery

## Victory and prosperity

and generosity of ordinary citizens, we have glimpsed what a new culture of responsibility could look like. We want to be a nation that serves goals larger than self."

Without mentioning the name of terrorist leader Osama bin Laden, who has eluded American troops, Bush recounted how American forces - at an estimated cost of \$ 1-billion a week - had joined with allied troops to vanquish the Taliban regime and bin Laden's al-Qaida network in Afghanistan.

Inside the Afghan caves that once served as home to the al-Qaida leadership, Bush said, Americans found evidence of "the depth of the hatred" that the terrorists harbor against the United States. This included diagrams of American nuclear power plants and public water facilities, detailed instructions for making chemical weapons, surveillance maps of American cities and detailed descriptions of landmarks around the world.

Bush said the United States now knows "tens of thousands" of terrorists trained in Afghanistan and spread throughout the world. "A terrorist underworld, including groups like Hamas, Hezbollah, Islamic Jihad and Jaish-i-Mohammed, operates in remote jungles and deserts and hides in the centers of large cities," he said.

The president said the United States and its allies must prevent governments that sponsor terror from spreading their weapons of mass destruction. He listed three countries: North Korea, Iran and Iraq.

North Korea, he said, "is a regime arming with missiles and weapons of mass destruction while starving its citizens." Iran "aggressively pursues these weapons and exports terror, while an unelected few repress the Iranian people's hope for freedom." And he cited Iraq for plotting to develop anthrax, nerve gas and nuclear weapons for more than a decade.

"States like these, and their terrorists allies, constitute an axis of evil, arming to threaten the peace of the world," Bush said. "They could provide these arms to terrorists, giving them the means to match their hatred. They could attack our allies or attempt to blackmail the United States. In any of these cases, the price of indifference would be catastrophic."

To pursue this policy, Bush said he is requesting the largest increase, about \$ 50-billion, in defense spending since the Reagan administration. As a result, his budget for the 2002 fiscal year will show the first deficit since 1997.

The world is changing, Bush said, and old rivalries are being replaced by new alliances. He noted that the United States is working with Russia, China and India, and praised the leadership of Pakistan for expelling terrorists.

"We have a great opportunity during this time of war to lead the world toward the values that will bring lasting peace," said Bush, who was interrupted by applause more than 70 times. "All fathers and mothers, in all societies, want their children to be educated and live free from poverty and violence. No people on earth yearn to be oppressed, or aspire to servitude or eagerly await the midnight knock of the secret police."

While the president did not mention the collapse of energy giant Enron Corp., whose executives donated heavily to his presidential campaign, he sought to distance himself from it by urging U.S. corporate executives to be more accountable. He also called on Congress to enact new safeguards for 401(k) and pension plans. Such safeguards might have prevented Enron employees from losing their savings, which were heavily invested in company stock.

Although Bush did not dwell on domestic issues, he emphasized the importance of making last year's tax cuts permanent. Democrats have suggested the continued tax cut would increase the deficit and make it harder to enact expensive changes in social programs, such as Medicare and Social Security.

"Last year, some in this hall thought my tax relief plan was too small and some thought it was too big," the president recalled. "But when those checks arrived in the mail, most Americans thought tax relief was just about right."

Bush's new volunteer effort, which he called USA Freedom Corps, would expand the government's existing volunteer programs. The administration hopes to increase the Peace Corps from 7,000 to 15,000 volunteers, and recruit more than 200,000 new volunteers to AmeriCorps and Senior Corps. In addition, Bush would create a new civilian defense corps to assist in homeland security and public health.

## Victory and prosperity

With a greater than 80 percent approval rating that has flourished on a rush of wartime patriotism, Bush delivered his speech with confidence and determination. And he took time to introduce a number of people, Afghans and Americans, who have played a part in the drama over the past four months.

These included interim Afghan leader Hamid Karzai; Shannon Spann, the widow of CIA officer Johnny Micheal Spann; Christina Jones and Hermis Moutardier, flight attendants credited with thwarting the alleged shoe bomber; and Afghan Women's Affairs Minister Sima Samar.

## ON TERRORISM

"Our war on terror is well begun, but it is only begun."

## ON SECURITY

"While the price of freedom and security is high, it is never too high: whatever it costs to defend our country, we will pay it."

## ON THE ECONOMY

"When America works, America prospers; so my economic security plan can be summed up in one word: jobs."

## Graphic

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PHOTO, Associated Press, (3); PHOTO, Agence France-Presse (AFP); President George W. Bush gives his first State of the Union address.; Vice President Dick Cheney and House Speaker Dennis Hastert greet President Bush before his State of the Union speech. ; Interim Afghan leader Hamid Karzai, seated next to first lady Laura Bush, is applauded after being acknowledged in the president's speech.; President George W. Bush gives his first State of the Union address. (ran SS edition)

**Load-Date:** January 30, 2002

## *Jenin: the bloody truth*

Sunday Times (London)

April 21, 2002, Sunday

Copyright 2002 Times Newspapers Limited

**Section:** Overseas news

**Length:** 2912 words

**Byline:** Marie Colvin

### **Body**

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Was it a massacre? Marie Colvin in the ruins of the refugee camp found cold comfort for propagandists on either side.

THE first medical teams allowed into the Jenin refugee camp last week followed the chickens. Human senses were overwhelmed by the devastation and the stench of death, but the birds were not distracted. They were hungry. Two rusty-coloured fowl pecking away at a bundle in the street drew a Red Cross team to the remains of Jamal Sabagh.

He wasn't really recognisable to an untrained eye. His body had been lying there for more than a week. The Israeli army had banned ambulances from the camp for 11 days, and neighbours were too terrified to go to him.

Tank tracks led to his body, over it and onwards through the mud. What had once been a young man was rotting flesh mingled with shredded clothing, mashed into the earth. One foot was all that looked human.

Sabagh was no fighter, his brother and friends say. He was 28 and a father of three. His wife and children had fled on the first day of the Israeli invasion, Wednesday, April 3, but he stayed because he was diabetic and was too ill to run away. He was also afraid he would be mistaken for a fighter.

Two days later, he left his house when the Israelis yelled over megaphones that they were going to blow it up. He walked, directed by soldiers in armoured personnel carriers, with other men to Seha Street at the centre of the camp, carrying his bag of medicines. He joined the crowd. Soldiers yelled at him to take off his shirt, then his trousers. He clung to his bag of medicine as he tried to unbuckle his belt, and he was slow. The soldiers shot him, friends say.

Medical workers shooed away the chickens, wrapped Sabagh's remains in a rug, then lifted them into the back of a small open-bed truck. It drove off, past burned and shell-holed buildings, looking like a medieval plague wagon.

Across the narrow street was a forlorn pile of men's jeans, polyester tracksuit tops and cheap shoes - left by those who had got their clothes off in time, to prove they had no bombs strapped to their bodies, and had been taken to the Israeli army base at the nearby village of Salem.

As the rescue teams spread out over Jenin camp last week, after the Israeli army claimed victory in its battle against several hundred armed Palestinian radicals, it was clear something cataclysmic had occurred.

Instead of the Hawamish neighbourhood - previously a jumble of mismatched cinderblock homes - a vista lay open to the hills beyond.

## Jenin: the bloody truth

Stunned and dusty in this new world, returning Palestinians wandered around a moonscape the size of two football pitches. It was littered with the detritus of human life - blankets, a little girl's tartan skirt, a child's orange boxing glove, shoes, a musical keyboard. Women in hijab headscarves dug at the crushed rubble with buckets and bare hands. Five-year-old Ahmed Hindi cried: "I want to go home." He didn't know he was standing on it.

Images of this man-made earthquake zone have flashed around the world as evidence that the Israeli prime minister, Ariel Sharon, is responsible for another war crime in Jenin on a par with the massacre of Palestinians in the Chatila and Sabra refugee camps in Beirut 20 years ago.

Israel has responded that the devastation was the consequence of a pitched battle against entrenched terrorists.

What really happened? Tragedy doesn't necessarily breed truth. The propaganda war had begun before the white dust settled over Jenin.

Rafi Laderman, a personable Israeli reserve major, emerged from the battlefield and made the rounds of the media in his rumpled green uniform. His clear plastic spectacles signalled his real job as a marketing consultant.

Laderman insisted that all the buildings in the refugee camp had been destroyed by explosive booby traps set by the terrorists, or levelled by Israeli bulldozers because they "presented additional engineering difficulties" that could endanger civilians. He himself had stopped the fighting to lead Palestinian civilians to safety.

All that seemed disingenuous. Equally unlikely were Palestinian claims that the Israelis had killed 500 Palestinians in cold blood, most civilians, and buried them in mass graves under the rubble after running them over with tanks. Israel said about 70 had been killed.

Terje Roed-Larsen, the United Nations envoy to the Middle East, cut through the propaganda by stating the obvious: "No military operation can justify this scale of destruction. Whatever the purpose was, the effect is collective punishment of a whole society."

He and his family received telephone death threats from Israeli callers for his pains.

Under pressure from many sides - including the United States, Britain, the United Nations and the European Union - Israel has agreed to a UN fact-finding mission. The trouble with such missions, however, is that they become bogged down by obfuscation while evidence goes cold.

To get an objective idea of what happened in Jenin requires an almost forensic investigation, weeding out lies and half-truths and the rumours that a stunned and terrified population has come to believe are true. By doing so, I have come to conclusions that are unlikely to satisfy the propagandists of either side.

JENIN was bound to be a prime target for the Israeli military backlash after a Palestinian suicide bomber killed 28 Israelis as they sat down to dinner in Netanya on Passover eve three weeks ago.

There has been a refugee camp in Jenin since the foundation of Israel in 1948 when Palestinians fled there from the Haifa area. The first residents worried only for their next rations and fretted impotently as their rich orange groves in Haifa were rebranded Jaffa oranges by Israel and exported around the world.

Since then, Jenin has become a stronghold of radical Palestinian nationalism with a population of 11,000 refugees. The Israeli defence force (IDF) believes half the suicide bombers who have struck Israel in the past year were trained in the Jenin refugee camp.

When the Israelis invaded Ramallah on March 29, in retaliation for the suicide bombings, radicals in Jenin knew they would be next. Sources there said local leaders of Hamas, Islamic Jihad and Fatah, including its militant Tanzim and Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades offshoots, organised small fighting cells that included members from each group.

## Jenin: the bloody truth

At 2am on Wednesday April 3, five days after the invasion of Ramallah, Merkava tanks and armoured personnel carriers rumbled through Jenin and headed for the refugee camp on the edge of the city.

The Namal brigade and commandos entered from the west; the Golani brigade from the south; and the Fifth Brigade, a unit of reserve troops called up from their day jobs, went in under the command of Laderman.

The odds were far from equal. The Israelis had tanks, armoured personnel carriers and rocket-firing helicopter gunships. Its soldiers were in full battle gear with bulletproof vests, helmets and M-16s. Against them was a guerrilla force of several hundred men armed with Kalashnikovs and home-made bombs called kuwa - Arabic for elbow - manufactured from pieces of plumbing.

The two sides faced each other in a camp about 2A miles long by A mile wide. In this tiny battlefield the radicals not only resisted the might of the Israeli army longer than the combined Arab armies did in the 1967 six-day war, but turned themselves and their militant cause into the stuff of instant Palestinian legend.

"The fighting was the fiercest urban house-to-house fighting Israel has seen in 30 years," said Laderman.

The narrow dirt alleys provided perfect ambush hides for Palestinians who grew up in this maze. The Israelis tried to keep off the streets, progressing from house to house by breaking through the walls with explosives and hammers.

On the first night of the invasion, Israeli soldiers blew out the yellow metal door of Ismael Khatib's home in the Hawamish district and hauled him out to act as a human shield as they knocked on his neighbours' doors.

As they did so, two gunmen across the alley opened fire. Hugging Khatib in front of him with his left arm, an Israeli soldier balanced his M-16 on Khatib's right shoulder and fired back wildly.

Kuwa bombs were hurled by Palestinians. Khatib threw himself on the ground and crawled away, only to circle around and climb in his back window. "I felt like I died and came alive again," he says.

The next day another Israeli patrol crashed through the wall into his living room. They stayed, keeping him, his wife and children hostage in a room.

A far more serious ambush sealed the Hawamish area's fate. By Monday, April 8, most of the surviving gunmen had been forced into this neighbourhood. Early next day, 16 reservists of the Fifth Brigade moved into an alley in Hawamish, searching for a house to use as a lookout post. Their leader, Major Oded Golomb, set charges to blow the door.

As he did so, a Palestinian bomb exploded and gunmen began firing from the opposite roof. Thirteen Israelis were killed.

Israel's retribution was swift. Armoured bulldozers, two-storey behemoths as impregnable as a tank, began knocking down houses in Hawamish. Hurriya Kreini was in her home with her family when an Israel bulldozer began destroying the house without warning. She and her husband managed to push their children out of a window before the house tumbled down.

By Thursday, April 11, Hawamish had disappeared. That was the day the Israeli operation officially ended, but hours after the Israelis announced that the last 35 fighters had surrendered (they ran out of ammunition) I stood in a village called Borqin looking down into the camp. The sound of heavy machinegun fire still rose from the valley. Helicopter gunships shot bursts of heavy-calibre bullets. Explosions sounded and white puffs rose above the camp.

The Israelis let in the outside world slowly and grudgingly. The camp was finally opened to international aid agencies on April 14, but journalists were barred. Until only two days ago, Israeli soldiers shot at journalists they spotted trying to slip through the olive groves that slope up from the camp, or along a back dirt road.

## Jenin: the bloody truth

The obstruction fuelled speculation that the Israelis were trying to hide something. There were mass graves, some said; bodies had been hauled off in refrigerated trucks; others swore hundreds of bodies were under the bulldozed homes.

Israelis bridled. "Our mission was to penetrate into Jenin area and dismantle the terrorist infrastructure and we did that," insisted the ubiquitous Laderman. "I have a five-year-old daughter and now I feel I can let her out in the playground."

I eventually gained access last Tuesday, walking in with as open a mind as I could muster.

Late in the day, when all was quiet, I was walking past the Jenin hospital. Nearby, women and children were slowly making their way back to temporary lodgings after a day trying to find their homes and relatives. An armoured personnel carrier pulled up at end of street behind us. The Palestinians took no notice - until the soldier in the turret opened fire straight down the street with his machinegun.

I dived for shelter. Children cried in terror. The soldier initially fired over our heads, but now bullets flashed by at chest height. The screams turned to moans as the APC headed towards us down the street.

It rolled into sight, stopped the gunfire and swivelled the huge barrel to point directly at us. Then the soldier waved his hand in anger, yelling: "Go, go." I think he just wanted everyone off the streets.

If I was now convinced by claims Israelis opened fire indiscriminately on civilians, weighing up the truth of other allegations would be much more difficult. Even what can seem obvious is not necessarily true.

From a house hit by a missile in the centre of what the Palestinians now call their own Ground Zero, rescue workers pulled human remains that people said were of a small child. They lay on a rug and seemed indeed very small to the eye. But when I found a doctor, he was dubious.

"This person has been reduced; I think in a fire," the doctor said. "See that bone?" He poked around and found a large thigh bone. Not a child.

When I tracked down the owner of the house, he said that four fighters had been holed up in his house firing on the Israelis when a missile hit it.

Scores of interviews in the camp did show consistency, however. Story after story - from people who had not yet met one another since they fled - indicated the Israelis had used Palestinians as human shields and had taken families hostage to protect their makeshift posts set up in their houses.

In a house overlooking Hawamish, the Sabagh family were sweeping out after having Israeli soldiers there for eight days. Trying to scrub off Hebrew slogans, Jamili Sabagh, 52, said the family were held in a tiny room upstairs.

"They gave us no food, no water. The room they put us in was too small for 13 people. They fed our dog to torment us, and not the children," she said. "Our home was a garbage heap when they left."

It is one of the few on the block untouched by missile strikes, a sign that it was indeed used as a post by the Israelis.

Ismahan Stati is a pretty, shy university student. Israeli soldiers came to her house on the third day and blew open the door, she said.

"They took me as a hostage," she said. "They were afraid."

They knocked on a nearby house, and when nobody answered they blew open the door with a grenade fired from a gun. In fact, Afaf Dusuqi, 52, had been slow coming to the door and was killed instantly by the shrapnel.

Afaf's mother held her body, covered in blood, and screamed for an ambulance but the soldiers fired into the house to drive her back. "I was shaking with fear," Stati recalled.



## Jenin: the bloody truth

Outside the Dusuqi house, there is still blood on the concrete stoop, and there is a 6in hole in the yellow door where the lock used to be.

Afaf's body stayed in the house for five days until the family could smuggle it to the cemetery for burial in a hurried mass grave. I found her name scrawled on a stone where she will lie until her family can give her a proper burial. Doctors at the Razi hospital have her death certificate.

There is a bizarre twist to this story. A rumour began that Stati was a suicide bomber. The story started, her family believes, when a neighbour saw her standing in the group of soldiers, heard an explosion and ducked, then looked again to see the body of a woman.

The rumour is still around the camp, illustrating why every fact must be tracked down here.

Stories of cold-blooded executions were told to me in detail but could not be substantiated. A woman said she saw "with my own eyes" the execution of eight Hamas members and a 16-year-old boy who was the son of one of the men but had nothing to do with politics.

It sounded difficult to believe of the IDF, but she had a name. In the end, I found the true story; an awful tale, but not a cold-blooded assassination.

Fathi Chalabi, a bird-like elderly man, showed me where the Israelis had blown a hole in his door to enter his home at night. About 30 soldiers had forced their way in and separated out Chalabi, his son Wada'a, 32, and another man, Abed Sa'adi, 27, in the courtyard.

"They told us to face the wall and take off our shirts," Chalabi said. "They were looking for suicide bombers. But we were not. My son was the caretaker at school. He was one month from getting his university degree."

It was dark, and as Wada'a picked up his shirt, the Israelis spotted an elastic bandage he wore for back pain. Someone shouted in Hebrew. Chalabi remembers the officer's name was Gabi. They opened fire, hitting the two younger men, who fell on Chalabi.

The last he remembers is some kind of argument between the soldiers. Then they shone lights on the bodies and he played dead. "I was covered in Wada'a's blood," he said. The Israelis left up the alleyway. Dark dried bloodstains still marked the concrete when Chalabi spoke to me.

Equally callous was the shooting of Omar Nayel, a shop owner. "I was in my house looking out, trying to see what was happening," said Fathi Abu Aita, a neighbour. "I saw him walk across his courtyard, I think going to the loo." Two shots rang out and he fell. Nayel's body lay in the garden for days.

My conclusion after interviewing scores of refugees is that there is no evidence Israeli troops entered the camp aiming to "massacre" Palestinian civilians. But in many cases they shot first and did not take much care to find out if the target was a civilian or not.

Under the fourth Geneva convention, they are required to protect the civilian population, and wilful killing of a civilian is a potential war crime.

I am also certain that numerous Palestinians were held hostage in their homes while Israeli troops used the building as a base or a firing post, and that others were taken door to door as human shields, sometimes thrown into rooms ahead of Israeli troops.

Both are violations of international law, which protects civilians in wartime.

As for the bulldozing of the Hawamish area, this seems to have been out of a combination of fear and revenge rather than premeditated.

Jenin: the bloody truth

I asked Laderman how he felt now. He said he was satisfied that the "nest of snakes" has been snuffed out. As for the new generation of suicide bombers the military operation has probably created, he said: "They would have become suicide terrorists anyway."

Israel, my pride and my shame News Review, page 7.

**Load-Date:** April 22, 2002

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## **DERBY CELEBS WIN, PLACE & SHOW OFF**

Daily News (New York)

May 6, 2003, Tuesday

CITY FINAL EDITION

Copyright 2003 Daily News, L.P.

**Section:** GOSSIP;

**Length:** 1230 words

**Byline:** BY GEORGE RUSH AND JOANNA MOLLOY With Suzanne Rozdeba and Ben Widdicombe

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fiance Carson Daly and ex-beau J.C. Chasez, she found her way to Stuff Magazine's Crown Royal party, where she was dancing on the couch to DJ Skribble.

Despite Reid's strong showing, the roses must go to Anna Nicole Smith, who came to Louisville with her E! Entertainment camera crew and her dog Sugar Pie. On Derby Day she donned a frilly white blouse, pinstriped suit and jaunty black hat that made her look all proper.

But our Miss Smith is no slave to fashion. When she showed up at one event, a male fan gushed, "Anna, is that really you?" Anna demonstrated it was by lifting up her shirt, says a source.

Says her rep: "That would not surprise me at all."

Downey & out

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The troubled actor hit Montreal hard Saturday night. Downey, who is up there shooting "Gothika," started the evening at a fund-raiser for cancer survivors. Spies saw him scarfing down roast beef sandwiches and drinking a cola beverage. Then it was onto Milos for a few hours.

"He was definitely having a good time," says a source at the restaurant, which he left around 1:30 a.m.

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Justice is chilled

Ever wonder what they talk about up there on the podium, when a President is being sworn in? It's not always nice, according to Bill Clinton's former senior adviser, Sidney Blumenthal.

His new book, "The Clinton Wars," is excerpted this week on Salon.com.

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Blumenthal recounts the scene: "[Rehnquist] was grim while swearing in Clinton to his second term, with Hillary [Clinton] holding the Bible. Now Rehnquist turned to speak to him. 'Good luck,' he said. 'You'll need it.'

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The case of Paula Corbin Jones vs. William Jefferson Clinton had gone to the Supreme Court on Jan. 13, 1997, exactly one week before.

"The Clinton Wars" will be published May 20 by Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Friendly flack flak

Let's hope newlyweds Matt LeBlanc and Melissa McKnight are more honest with each other than his flack is with the press.

On Thursday, we called LeBlanc's fork-tongued mouthpiece, Joe Libonati, to see if it was true that the 35-year-old "Friends" star would wed the former model in Hawaii.

Absolutely not, Libonati insisted.

Only that's just what they did.

If you still care, LeBlanc and McKnight got married in a cliffside ceremony overlooking Anini Beach on Kauai.

Guests included "Friends" co-stars Jennifer Aniston, Courteney Cox and Lisa Kudrow. David Schwimmer and Matthew Perry were both said to be tied up on shoots.

The couple is said to be spending their honeymoon on the island, renting a \$16,000-a-week villa recently used by Harrison Ford and Calista Flockhart.

## DERBY CELEBS WIN, PLACE &amp; SHOW OFF

## Lowering the Boom?

Freddie (Boom-Boom) Washington is in more trouble, but this time Mr. Kotter won't be able to help.

Lawrence Hilton-Jacobs, best known for his wise-cracking "Welcome Back, Kotter" character, was arrested Sunday for allegedly striking his girlfriend.

The couple were in-line skating in Venice Beach, Calif., when officers responded to a commotion, according to police sources. Hilton-Jacobs, 49, was detained and charged with misdemeanor domestic battery after allegedly pushing his 42-year-old girlfriend to the ground.

A police spokesman said the matter would be referred to the Los Angeles City Attorney's office.

According to a search on Blockbuster.com, Hilton- Jacobs' 2002 opus, "Killer Drag Queens on Dope," is sadly unavailable on video.

## 'Peace Train' derailed

The '70s folkie formerly known as Cat Stevens has become a voice of moderate Islam since the Sept. 11 attacks. But Israeli officials are charging that thousands of dollars donated by the "Peace Train" songwriter for humanitarian causes in 1988 were rerouted to the terrorist group Hamas, GQ magazine reports.

The article by Jake Tapper claims that Stevens, who changed his name to Yusef Islam in 1977, gave the money to Mouhammad Abdel-

Rahman, a son of the notorious blind sheik Omar Abdel-Rahman, who was convicted in the 1993 World Trade Center bombing.

"We don't think this - we know it," Israeli government spokesman Daniel Seaman tells the magazine.

Islam also helped radical cleric Sheik Omar Bakri Muhammad get a lawyer after he was jailed for saying Britain's then-Prime Minister John Major was "a legitimate target" for assassination, the mag reports.

His brother, David Gordon, says Islam has distanced himself from radicals and argues "no one ever knows where the money goes" with such charities.

## Side dishes

NICOLE KIDMAN and Jude Law had lunch at the Mercer Kitchen on Saturday. But their reps scoff at speculation that the meal was romantic. Kidman's spokeswoman says they were meeting with Anthony Minghella, director of their movie "Cold Mountain"

THERE IS life after sitcom death, or so the generous souls at the New York Women's Foundation are joking.

Amy Carlson, whose character Alex Taylor was tragically killed off on NBC's "Third Watch" last week, is very much alive and will perform a monologue for 2,000 women, including emcee Ann Richards, honorees Eve Ensler and activist Stephanie Ferdman, and philanthropists Agnes Gund and Abigail Disney on Thursday morning at the foundation's breakfast at the Hilton. That's where the group will give away \$1 million to 37 city foundations - like the Center for Immigrant Families - run by women for women, and needed now more than ever

BETTE MIDLER is due to sing "Happy Birthday" today

to Safe Horizon, which is celebrating 25 years of victim assistance. Expected to join the Divine Miss M at the Waldorf are chairwoman Cynthia Lufkin, Dominick Dunne, Christine Baranski, Ed Koch, Jessica Seinfeld, Nicole Miller and Cornelia Guest.

## Graphic

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LOUIE D ROAD TEST: Robert Downey Jr., still in recovery, took a nighttime swing through Montreal, where he's filming "Gothika." JOHN BARRETT GLOBE RUN FOR THE POSES: Anna Nicole Smith donned pinstripes and a big hat in her bid to be the Derby weekend's top filly. FRED THORNHILL IPHOTO/GLOBE PHOTOS PITCH MEETING: Colin Farrell flirted with the Toronto Blue Jays' mascot after throwing out the first pitch at Skydome for game with the Anaheim Angels. HOLDING THE PHONE ANTHONY DIXON LONDON FEATURES INTERNATIONAL YO, ADRIEN! Oscar winner Adrien Brody strolled through SoHo, having an animated conversation on his cell phone. Could he have been chatting with new pal Nicole Kidman? PAUL ADAO NEW YORK NEWS SERVICE FAMILY MAN: It's small wonder little Michael Gandolfini needed lift - dad James made sure the boy's fourth-birthday weekend was one to remember. Besides several stops at the playground, where the "Sopranos" star was seen with pre-schooler son on the merry-go-round, the pair hit a West Village pizzeria for lunch and joined friends at the Crane Club for a party.

**Load-Date:** May 6, 2003

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SPORTS FINAL EDITION

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## Lowering the Boom?

Freddie (Boom Boom) Washington is in more trouble, but this time Mr. Kotter won't be able to help.

Lawrence Hilton-Jacobs, best known for his wise-cracking "Welcome Back, Kotter" character on TV, was arrested Sunday for allegedly striking his girlfriend.

The couple were in-line skating in Venice Beach, Calif., when officers responded to a commotion, according to police sources. Hilton-Jacobs, 49, was detained and charged with misdemeanor domestic battery after allegedly pushing his 42-year-old girlfriend to the ground.

A police spokesman said the matter would be referred to the Los Angeles City Attorney's office.

According to a search on Blockbuster.com, Hilton- Jacobs' 2002 opus, "Killer Drag Queens on Dope," is sadly unavailable on video.

## 'Peace Train' derailed

The '70s folkie formerly known as Cat Stevens has become a voice of moderate Islam since the Sept. 11 attacks. But Israeli officials are charging that thousands of dollars donated by the "Peace Train" songwriter for humanitarian causes in 1988 were rerouted to the terrorist group Hamas, GQ magazine reports.

The article by Jake Tapper claims that Stevens, who changed his name to Yusef Islam in 1977, gave the money to Mouhammad Abdel-

Rahman, a son of the notorious blind sheik Omar Abdel-Rahman, who was convicted in the 1993 World Trade Center bombing.

"We don't think this - we know it," Israeli government spokesman Daniel Seaman tells the magazine.

Islam also helped radical cleric Sheik Omar Bakri Muhammad get a lawyer after he was jailed for saying Britain's then-Prime Minister John Major was "a legitimate target" for assassination, the mag reports.

Islam's brother, David Gordon, says Islam has distanced himself from radicals and argues "no one ever knows where the money goes" with such charities.

## Side dishes

NICOLE KIDMAN and Jude Law had lunch at the Mercer Kitchen on Saturday. But their reps scoff at speculation that the meal was romantic. Kidman's spokeswoman says they were meeting with Anthony Minghella, director of their movie "Cold Mountain"

THERE IS life after sitcom death, or so the generous souls at the New York Women's Foundation are joking.

Amy Carlson, whose character Alex Taylor was tragically killed off on NBC's "Third Watch" last week, is very much alive and will perform a monologue for 2,000 women, including emcee Ann Richards, honorees Eve Ensler and activist Stephanie Ferdman, and philanthropists Agnes Gund and Abigail Disney on Thursday morning at the foundation's breakfast at the Hilton. That's where the group will give away \$1 million to 37 city foundations - like the Center for Immigrant Families - run by women for women, and needed now more than ever

BETTE MIDLER is due to sing "Happy Birthday" today to Safe Horizon, which is celebrating 25 years of victim assistance. Expected to join the Divine Miss M at the Waldorf are chairwoman Cynthia Lufkin, Dominick Dunne, Christine Baranski, Ed Koch, Jessica Seinfeld, Nicole Miller and Cornelia Guest.

## Graphic

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JOHN BARRETT GLOBE A RUN FOR THE POSES: Anna Nicole Smith donned pinstripes and a big hat in her bid to be the Derby weekend's top filly. LOUIE D ROAD TEST: Robert Downey Jr., still in recovery, took a nighttime swing through Montreal, where he's filming "Gothika." FRED THORNHILL IPHOTO/GLOBE PHOTOS PITCH MEETING: Colin Farrell flirted with the Toronto Blue Jays' mascot after throwing out the first pitch at Skydome for game with the Anaheim Angels. HOLDING THE PHONE ANTHONY DIXON LONDON FEATURES INTERNATIONAL YO, ADRIEN! Oscar winner Adrien Brody strolled through SoHo, having an animated conversation on his cell phone. Could he have been chatting with new pal Nicole Kidman? PAUL ADAO NEW YORK NEWS SERVICE FAMILY MAN: It's small wonder little Michael Gandolfini needed lift - dad James made sure the boy's fourth-birthday weekend was one to remember. Besides several stops at the playground, where the "Sopranos" star was seen with pre-schooler son on the merry-go-round, the pair hit a West Village pizzeria for lunch and joined friends at the Crane Club for a party.

**Load-Date:** May 6, 2003

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## *What Would Woodrow Wilson Do?*

The New York Times  
April 13, 2003 Sunday  
Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section 7; Column 1; Book Review Desk; Pg. 11

**Length:** 1466 words

**Byline:** By Gary Rosen; Gary Rosen is the managing editor of Commentary.

### **Body**

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#### TERROR AND LIBERALISM

By Paul Berman.

214 pp. New York:

W. W. Norton & Company. \$21.

IN the final chapter of his book "A Tale of Two Utopias" (1996), Paul Berman laid out the rival historical claims of Francis Fukuyama and Andre Glucksmann, big thinkers with very different notions of what the cold war's end would bring. Fukuyama, the optimistic American, looked forward, in his famous thesis about "the end of history," to the slow, sure spread of liberal democracy. Glucksmann, a Frenchman and chastened ex-Maoist, saw dark, even monstrous possibilities ahead in the likely reaction to the free world's triumph. Berman himself split the difference: "Since I am a critic and not a philosopher, I see no reason not to say that both messages seem true enough."

Though more of a gloomy Glucksmannite these days -- who isn't? -- Berman has not given up on the idea of a globe-sweeping democratic revolution. What has changed, as his new book attests, is his frame of mind. No longer content to sit back and watch the world-historical drama unfold on its own, he has exchanged his critic's pen -- employed with distinction over the years in the pages of this review and at magazines like The New Yorker, The New Republic and Dissent (where he sits on the editorial board) -- for the more personal, engaged style of an advocate.

In the raging debate over what to do about Islamism and Iraq, Berman has been that rarest of creatures, a banner-waving liberal interventionist, eager to see the United States stand, as he writes here, "for the freedom of others." "Terror and Liberalism" is his manifesto -- an eloquent, strangely quixotic, frustratingly uneven effort to chart a course between right-wing "realists," with their cold calculations of national interest, and left-wing "anti-imperialists," who recoil at their country's every international move. Neoconservatives occupy a similar ideological terrain, but, as Berman himself notes, his approach is too "drippy" for membership in that camp. Call his position Wolfowitz for lefties, or (to borrow an apt Woody Allen quip) a severe case of Dissentary.

Berman is reluctant to describe the present crisis as a "clash of civilizations." Samuel Huntington (who popularized the phrase) may have been prescient when he noticed, a decade ago, that "bloody borders" marked every point of contact between Muslim and non-Muslim peoples, but Islam itself, in Berman's view, explains only part of the

## What Would Woodrow Wilson Do?

problem. The Middle East's tyrants, terrorists and raving ayatollahs owe their nastiest qualities less to their own traditions, he believes, than to ours. They are, in a word, totalitarians.

Though hardly alone since Sept. 11 in making this claim, Berman is one of the few commentators who haven't used the label simply as an epithet. He wants us to see Osama bin Laden and Saddam Hussein -- not to mention such affiliated villains as the Taliban, Hezbollah and Hamas -- in a new light, as heirs to a mode of thought handed down by the Bolsheviks, fascists and Nazis, and anticipated in the words and deeds of Saint-Just, Dostoyevsky's Ivan Karamazov and an assortment of bomb-throwing anarchists. Left or right, Berman argues, liberalism's sworn foes have always shared the same ideal -- "submission," "the one, instead of the many," "the total state, the total doctrine, the total movement" -- and, upon encountering intransigent reality, have always brought in their wake the same bloody result: "a cult of death."

Does the totalitarian shoe fit? Berman makes a compelling case, particularly with regard to the Islamists, who have obligingly practiced the "politics of slaughter" everywhere they have appeared. From Khomeini's "human wave" attacks in the Iran-Iraq war, to the devastation wrought by the Algerian and Sudanese civil wars, to the suicide missions of "holy martyrs" in the Middle East, the United States and elsewhere, the toll in human lives has been in the millions -- mass death on a scale that would have made Hitler or Stalin proud. As for doctrine, Berman offers a long, subtle exegesis of the work of Sayyid Qutb (1906-66), the chief ideologist of the Islamist movement. Qutb emerges as a thinker of sinister depths, convinced that the modern West, and those Muslim societies influenced by it, suffer from a "hideous schizophrenia," brought on by the separation of civil and religious authority. Qutb's solution to the anomie and alienation? Jihad by an Islamic "vanguard" to restore what should never have been sundered.

Against this ominous backdrop, Berman rightly cheers the American rout of the Taliban, seeing it as a promising start to the sort of idealistic, antitotalitarian war that he hopes Washington will continue to wage. In Afghanistan, he writes, "the scenes of victory were plainly scenes of liberation" -- women flocking to schools, men shedding their "hated beards," movies and music back in the public square -- and the country found itself with a leader who was neither a warlord nor a mullah but, wonder of wonders, a "man with

democratic aspirations." For this, and against a chorus of liberal critics, Berman gives due credit to President Bush, but he worries (with good reason) about the limits of the administration's plans for securing Afghanistan's fragile achievement. Looking ahead, he takes Bush to task for failing to make democracy the centerpiece of his case for what Berman matter-of-factly calls "the next stage of the war, in Iraq."

That war is now a fact, of course, as Berman recognized it might be while writing his book. The great virtue of his account is to lay bare just what sort of evil the United States has chosen to confront. As he shows, Baath ideology is a noxious totalitarian brew -- a mix of mystical pan-Arabism, Soviet-style economic and political principles, and violent anti-Semitism, with a cult of the leader thrown in for good measure. Nor can anyone doubt Saddam Hussein's character. His rule in Iraq has been, as Berman observes, "irrational, paranoid, murderous, grandiose and demagogic," replete with serial atrocities and aggressions.

Still, Berman's treatment of the Iraq question is disappointing. Part of the problem is simply a failure to address this hottest of hot-button issues in anything like the necessary detail. "Terror and Liberalism" was conceived, as Berman tells us, in the immediate aftermath of the attacks of Sept. 11, and it reflects that origin, focusing intently -- and effectively -- on the nature of the Islamist threat. To this rich analysis, Berman has appended a few relatively brief sections dealing with Saddam Hussein and Baathism. They feel like an afterthought.

Berman devotes little attention to the wide-ranging debate about Iraq that absorbed so much ink and air time in the months leading up to the conflict. Indeed, though he concluded that war was justified, he rejects, with a wave of his hand, the primary arguments advanced for it. The grounds offered by President Bush, he writes, "looked dishonest"; they were "either unconvincing (the argument that Saddam was conspiring with Al Qaeda) or convincing but less than supremely urgent (the problem of Saddam's weapons program)." Instead, for Berman, the real rationale for "going after Saddam" was "Wilsonian, in a militant version." As he wrote in *Slate* after completing his book: "If disarmament is the goal, there is no reason we shouldn't keep up a pressure short of invasion. I would favor an

## What Would Woodrow Wilson Do?

invasion for a larger purpose, though, which is this: to begin a rollback of the several tendencies and political movements that add up to Muslim totalitarianism."

In this peculiar point of view there is something at once admirable and perverse. Berman undoubtedly stands on the side of the angels when he decries the foreign policy cynics of both parties. The United States can and should do far more to spark liberalization and democratic reform abroad, for reasons not just of high principle but of self-interest. He is right, too, to insist that the need for such a campaign is nowhere clearer than in our relations with the sundry despotisms of the Islamic world.

But the wish to bring liberty to Baghdad -- or Tehran or Riyadh -- is not, in itself, reason enough to take up arms. As any card-carrying member of the American left might be expected to know, war is an ugly business, an answer only to the gravest of threats. Berman saw no such threat in Iraq. He advocated toppling Saddam Hussein not to destroy his fearsome weapons but, more grandly, to repudiate his vicious regime. This sort of idealistic posturing may save Berman from being branded a Bushie, but it makes him seem unserious, even reckless. Much as we might detest totalitarian dragons, we gird ourselves to slay them, as the president has argued, only when they're on the loose and breathing deadly fire.

<http://www.nytimes.com>

## Graphic

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Drawing (Boris Kulikov)

**Load-Date:** April 13, 2003

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## NEWS SUMMARY

The New York Times  
February 18, 2003 Tuesday  
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**Section:** Section A; Column 3; Metropolitan Desk; Pg. 2

**Length:** 1557 words

### **Body**

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INTERNATIONAL A3-10

#### European Union Warns Iraq, But With Reservations

The leaders of the 15 members of the European Union warned Iraq that it must disarm "immediately and fully," but said that Europe wants to achieve this disarmament peacefully and war should only be envisaged as a last resort. A statement issued by the group appeared to represent an effort to paper over trans-Atlantic differences through firm demands while maintaining a distinct European position dedicated to a peaceful outcome. A1

Diplomats from the United States and Britain worked on a new resolution designed to present a short-term ultimatum to Iraq and to enlist maximum possible support on the United Nations Security Council for military action against Iraq. Weapons inspectors reported that, for the first time since inspections were resumed in Iraq, the U-2 reconnaissance aircraft flew over the country to provide intelligence for inspectors. A11

#### Officials Discuss Iraq Risks

Senior Bush administration officials are for the first time openly discussing what could go wrong in Iraq not only during an attack, but also in the aftermath of an invasion. Secretary of Defense Donald H. Rumsfeld has a four- to five-page, typewritten catalog of risks he refers to constantly. A1

#### Critical Point for Turkey Deal

Turkish leaders ruled out a deal to allow American combat troops to use their country as a base against Iraq without agreement first on a multibillion dollar economic aid package. A senior Turkish official said a final proposal would be presented to American diplomats last night. A12

#### Israel's New Wall Tangles Lives

Israel is having difficulty untangling the knotted populations, and their intertwined political and religious traditions, as it builds a new barrier fence in the West Bank through the northern outskirts of Bethlehem. A3

Israel pressed its campaign against Hamas in the Gaza Strip, using undercover troops to surprise and kill one militant and sending an armored detachment to level the family home of another. During the second operation, Israeli soldiers shot dead two Palestinians in a clash with gunmen. A3

## NEWS SUMMARY

## Oil Production In Venezuela

The state-owned oil company in Venezuela, though hamstrung by a 78-day strike by oil workers, could be producing 2.8 million barrels a day within a month, Venezuela's quota as set by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, the president of the company said. The announcement was quickly rebutted by dissident oil executives who say that reaching 2.8 million a day will take many more months. A9

## Reporters In U.S. Combat Units

On a scale never before seen in the American military, journalists covering any United States attack on Iraq will have prearranged slots with combat and support units and accompany them throughout any war. The media mobilization involves at least 500 journalists. A12

## NATIONAL A14-20

## Chicago Stampede Kills 21 At Illegally Open Club

At least 21 people were killed and 50 more injured in a terrifying stampede that, officials said, erupted at a nightclub after security guards used mace and pepper spray to halt a fistfight between two women. The second-story club was open in violation of a court order. A1

## NASA Vision Tends to Red Tape

NASA is dominated not by scientists and engineers who think big but by technical managers who rely largely on outside contractors who have themselves been rocked by consolidations, layoffs and lean economic times. As a result, researchers are producing fewer patents, and there has been a falloff in papers, too. A1

## Testing the Federal Shovels

Washington does not need President's Day as a reason to shut down. It needs just an inch or two of snow. Blanket it with a monster snowstorm and people start asking: How long will it take the most powerful city in the most powerful nation on earth to dig out? A1

## Son of Rebels Braces for War

When Joseph K. Goodwin graduated from Harvard, his ideas about where he was going did not include war. But now an Army lieutenant, he ascended the stage at the Army's Air Defense Artillery School graduation ceremony picked by his commanders as among the best to lead his fellow soldiers in battle. A13

## Not Quite Sotheby's

Some may not realize that in these murky and difficult days, the rich and the artificially beautiful are suffering too. Enter Jean Zimmelman, the owner of the Beverly Loan Company, a pawnshop near the corner of Santa Monica Boulevard and Rodeo Drive. A14

## Court Expands Patients' Rights

A federal appeals court has expanded patients' rights, ruling that consumers can sue a health insurance company for injuries resulting from the company's refusal to authorize medically necessary treatment. A14

## Support for Affirmative Action

More than 300 organizations announced they would file briefs in support of the University of Michigan's affirmative action policies. A14

## Medicare Savings Viable

About 30 percent of Medicare costs could be eliminated without harming the quality of care for Medicare beneficiaries. A14

## Problems at Fuel Tank Plant

## NEWS SUMMARY

The NASA plant where the insulating foam implicated in the Columbia disaster was applied to the shuttle's fuel tanks was described as a work environment where shortcuts were occasionally taken because of pressure to meet production deadlines or please upper management. A17

## Reviewing Presidential Tapes

Archivists from the three collections of presidential materials with tapes offered predictions about what the remaining tapes would show once they were released. A19

## NEW YORK/REGION B1-8

## Biggest Blizzard Since '96 Blankets the Northeast

The biggest blizzard in seven years buried the New York region and much of the Northeast in one to two feet of snow, disrupting air and highway travel and raising chest-high drifts on the wintry landscapes of 10 states. But for millions home on Presidents' Day it offered a holiday break, not hardships. A1

## Weighing the Value of Pain

In a well-appointed conference room with wraparound windows, high above the streets of Manhattan, one judge presides over what some families say is a singularly sad, deeply intimidating institution: the unofficial Supreme Court for the families of Sept. 11 victims who are in line to receive financial awards. B1

## SCIENCE TIMES F1-10

## Traffic Rules for Space

After decades of relatively ungoverned exploration and exploitation, rules of the road may be coming to the final frontier. In Vienna, a panel of scientists from space agencies around the world will submit to the United Nations Office for Outer Space Affairs recommendations for designing and flying space vehicles to reduce the amount of debris they produce and cut their chances of colliding with one another. F1

## Health &amp; Fitness F5

## FASHION B9

## ARTS E1-10

## New Attention for Painter

For many painters, exile from Hitler's Germany offered the only hope of surviving as artists. Klee, Kandinsky, and Max Beckmann were among those who fled. Otto Dix did not. It was a decision that would delay his postwar recognition as a major German artist of the inter-war years. Now new attention is being paid to Mr. Dix as a show of his drawings opens at the Georges Pompidou Center in Paris. E1

## SPORTS D1-7

## Oriole Pitcher Dies

A 23-year-old pitcher, Steve Bechler, left, in the Baltimore organization died at a Fort Lauderdale, Fla., hospital after collapsing a day earlier during an Orioles workout. The team's doctor said the pitcher, whose temperature had reached 108 degrees, died of multiple organ failure due to heatstroke. D1

## Jeter Clears Air

New York Yankee Shortstop Derek Jeter held a press conference to explain that he had cleared the air with owner George Steinbrenner. In December, Mr. Steinbrenner had criticized Jeter's focus and hinted that he stayed out too much. D1



## NEWS SUMMARY

## BUSINESS DAY C1-7

## Debate Over Economic Plan

President Bush has said that if his economic proposal passes, the economy will flourish and deficits will shrink. But if the plan fails, the government will be handcuffed by trillions of dollars in shortfalls. The administration's notions that changes in the tax code would increase the rate of saving and that the accumulation of enough capital would, by itself, lead to innovation are disputed among economists.

## Citigroup Considers Acquisitions

Citibank has been one of Citigroup's most profitable businesses. But with lower profits from retail banking overall and competitors pushing into its home turf in New York, Citigroup's executives are looking at acquisitions to keep the bank's share of deposits growing.

## Bid to Buy Canada Life

Great-West Lifeco, a Canadian insurer, agreed to acquire Canada Life Financial trumping an earlier bid by Manulife Financial. If completed, the deal would create Canada's biggest insurance company while expanding the interests of the Desmarais family of Montreal, one of Canada's most powerful business dynasties.

## The E.P.A.'s Ratings

Automakers are obsessed with ratings and lists. But there is at least one list many do not like to talk about: The Environmental Protection Agency rating on cars according to the amount of pollutants coming out of the tailpipe that contribute to smog.

## Business Digest C1

## OBITUARIES A21

## EDITORIAL A22-23

Editorials: The blizzard of 2003; reuniting the Security Council; Andres Martinez on California.

Columns: Paul Krugman, Nicholas D. Kristof.

Crossword E6

TV Listings E9

Public Lives B2

Weather D8

<http://www.nytimes.com>

## Graphic

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Photo

**Load-Date:** February 18, 2003

## *Bus stops on the road to humiliation and fear*

The Times (London)

December 28, 2002, Saturday

Copyright 2002 Times Newspapers Limited

**Section:** Overseas news; 27

**Length:** 1337 words

**Byline:** Stephen Farrell

### **Body**

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For Jews: safer where - the front or the back?

Israel has relaxed its movement restrictions for Palestinians on the West Bank, but tanks, barbed-wire fences and roadblocks still keep buses out of the main cities. Israel says the security cordons will stay until violence stops. Its commander in Nablus issued a stark warning: "They will suffer until they understand."

Thousands of Israeli civilians also commute by bus, and they are in constant fear of suicide bombers. A hundred passengers have died on buses run by the largest operating company since September 2000. Stephen Farrell spent a day travelling with ordinary Palestinians and Israelis.

THE 17-year-old schoolgirl is scared and has no qualms about admitting it.

Every day Revital Shmuelof takes Bus No 20 between school and her home in the Kiryat Menakhem suburb of Jerusalem and, as the green-liveried vehicle turns into Mexico Road, the reason for her fear becomes evident.

Hanging over a low stone wall there is a banner marking the spot where on November 21, 11 Israelis were killed and 50 wounded by a ***Hamas*** suicide bomber - in her home town, in her home street, on her bus route. "Angel we miss you. God will avenge your blood," reads the message to Hodaya Asraf, 13, the youngest of the victims.

None of Revital's relatives was on that morning rush-hour bus. "My brother and mother got on the bus just before it. They nearly missed it, but my brother made her run and if they hadn't they would have been on the next one. The one that . . ."

Revital is one of the two million Israelis who travels by bus every day, a figure that dips only slightly after each blast then reverts to normal. Like everyone, she has her own strategies for minimising the risks - scrutinising everyone for wires, a bulky midriff, nervousness, Arabic looks or suspicious mannerisms.

Passengers fall into two broad categories - those such as Revital who go to the back, hoping that a bomber won't get that far down the aisle, and those who go to the front.

Elkobi Ariel is a front man. As a guard on one of Israel's fortified Jewish settlements, he carries an Uzi sub-machinegun everywhere and believes in his ability to spot and shoot a bomber before any damage is done.

Many Palestinian suicide bombers have been caught or intercepted before reaching Israel's population centres, but that is little consolation to the scores killed each year.

## Bus stops on the road to humiliation and fear

In Jerusalem alone this year, more than 40 Israelis have died - among them 19 when a bomber named Ghoul blew himself up on Bus 32A travelling from the settlement of Gilo to Jerusalem, seven the next day when a bomber hit a bus stop at Jerusalem's French Hill district and the 11 killed in Mexico Road.

Although the sheer number of buses on Israel's roads makes guards impossible, bus operators have tightened up security. One driver said that police or undercover security units boarded his vehicle on average six times a day.

Haim Ochayun, a 50-year-old driver, has plied the No 20 route since the Yom Kippur war 29 years ago. "The driver of the No 20 which exploded left the bus stop five minutes before me. I knew some of the passengers who got killed or injured. There was one particular **female** passenger who always took the ride with me. That time she got early and went on the other No 20. She was killed."

Depressingly, there is little empathy for the "other" side. The commuters inhabit an utterly different world, locked in their own pain and unable to comprehend the other.

Mr Ochayun remembers fondly the days when he and the company's Arab drivers socialised together, attended each other's weddings and went to the Old City together. "That can never come back again, it looks irreversible," he concludes.

Why? "In my eyes it all started when the Palestinians saw Israel doing so well, and they stayed in their backward state. All their frustrations started from there, despite the fact that we gave them work and we advised them."

Handed a Palestinian bus ticket he smiles and says it only proves his point. "It's the same one they used to have. They have stayed ten years behind. Look at this machine, it's all computerised."

He pauses, deciding that enough blame has been laid. "I feel sorry for them. We are both in the same sinking ship."

### FOR ARABS: TWO HOURS TO TRAVEL A SINGLE MILE

AT THE last checkpoint before Nablus, Muhammad, the driver, slows down nervously.

He takes in the Israeli soldiers, the watchtower and the battered Israeli settlers' car with a Hebrew bumper sticker reading "Expel the Arabs". He is not among friends.

So far it has been an uneventful 45-minute journey from Ramallah on one of the first Palestinian buses to ply the reopened route that used to see 45 buses a day pass between the West Bank's two most important cities.

The door hydraulics on the blue-liveried Mercedes sigh open and a helmeted Israeli soldier appears, ordering all the men aboard to climb off, with their bags.

Wordless, they comply, one Palestinian student reaching for his crutches, then cursing as he bangs his broken leg against the doorframe. Behind him, Moussa Ibrahim, 65, complains that it is his fifth checkpoint since Hebron, with more to come.

Christmas has arrived in the West Bank, but goodwill is in short supply. As the Palestinians stand, ringed by soldiers who they regard as members of an occupying army, what little goodwill remains leaks out over the roadside, leaving a stain blacker and more deadly than diesel.

This is Route 60, the north-south Israeli road slicing through the West Bank from Hebron to Jenin. It was built to provide a fast link between the fortified Jewish settlements north of Jerusalem, which, although illegal under international law, are regarded by Israel as vital eyes and ears on the occupied territories.

Since the Israeli Army reoccupied most of the West Bank in June, settler cars, with their distinctive yellow Israeli licence plates, speed along unchecked while Palestinian cars either twist their way for miles through unpaved country roads to avoid roadblocks or risk the main road, with lengthy delays at checkpoints.

## Bus stops on the road to humiliation and fear

The driver, Muhammad Jazi, 39, is delighted that the services have resumed. For two years he earned not a penny, but now his 2,500 shekel (Pounds 320)-a-month salary has resumed and he can afford to feed his family without borrowing.

He expresses sympathy - but not much - for his Israeli counterparts who daily risk suicide bombings while sitting in vehicles identical to his: "I have nothing against them personally. I understand their fear of suicide bombers, but they have all the freedom of movement they want.

"For two years the Israelis have turned Nablus into a big prison, where their soldiers can kill anyone at any time. The settlers can shoot at this bus and no Israeli policeman is going to do anything about it. I feel very bad when I see scenes of Israelis killed, but I also feel very bad when my cousin's wife was not able to reach hospital to give birth or when Israeli soldiers strip a man naked at checkpoints and ask him to bark like a dog.

"If they give us our freedom, they can live in peace."

On the return journey Jamili Youssef sits in the front row, a quiet, headscarved Palestinian woman late for her daughter Amal's school Christmas party.

Amal, 11, is blind after contracting measles five years ago and attends the Helen Keller school in northern Jerusalem. There she will soon be joined by her younger brother, who contracted the disease while in his mother's womb.

Mrs Youssef left her home on the outskirts of Nablus at 7am and took two hours to travel just over a mile, waiting with scores of others at the checkpoint.

"It can take me four to five hours to get there," she sighs. "Many times the Israelis have turned me back, even at the gates of the school, saying I don't have the right papers.

"Sometimes my daughter is with me and can speak to them in Hebrew because she learns it at school. She argues and argues and even has a white stick, but every time they just say: 'Turn and go, I don't want to know.' "

**Load-Date:** December 28, 2002

## *On patrol with the killer Israel dreads*

Sunday Times (London)

December 29, 2002, Sunday

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**Section:** Overseas news; News; 21

**Length:** 1401 words

**Byline:** Hala Jaber Gaza

### **Body**

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LATE on Christmas Day, one of Israel's most wanted men was moving furtively from one safe house to another for the fifth time in less than 24 hours.

Wrapped in a khaki jacket, with the peak of his baseball cap pushed down over his face, Jamal Abu Samhadana travelled in five vehicles and walked through rain, thunder and lightning to reach the place where he would sleep that night. His mobile telephone was switched off because he had used the same number for as long as he believed he could without being detected.

For Abu Samhadana, 39, this was business as usual. As the founder of the Popular Resistance Committees, a militia made up of disenchanted members of all the Palestinian factions in the Gaza Strip, he is blamed by Israel for a long series of attacks on settlers and soldiers. These include the destruction of three tanks by landmines in separate incidents in which seven men died.

An Israeli newspaper report earlier this month called him one of the most coveted targets of Shin Bet, the internal security service. An aide, Mustafa Sabah, was killed by anti-tank rockets fired from a helicopter 25 days ago. He remains almost constantly on the move: in the course of last week he worked and napped in 70 different places.

Pinning Abu Samhadana down is therefore no easy task. "It is not always as bad as this," he said when we finally met late at night after two previous rendezvous had been called off.

"Over the last two years I have slept in more than 200 locations. I prefer not to sleep in the same place two nights in a row. In fact, I do not like to spend more than half an hour in any one place."

He yearns for the rare days when he can snatch time with his family, playing a computer game with his children or poring over their homework. Yet although his wife Amal is pregnant for the fifth time, he believes his family will be more secure if he is killed and longs for a martyr's death in combat. "My greatest ambition is to be a threat to the Israelis even when they are killing me," he said.

The strain of Abu Samhadana's secret life is evident in the lines around his eyes, but he never misses a chance to lighten the mood. When a 26-year-old comrade announced that his wife was expecting their ninth child, he declared: "You see, all our wives have got to do is smell our trousers and they get pregnant." His men roared with laughter.

## On patrol with the killer Israel dreads

Known to followers as "the Chef" because of his enthusiasm for making bombs with a variety of ingredients, he is hated with equal fervour by the Israeli military and Yasser Arafat's Palestinian Authority. He has defied repeated instructions from the authority to disband his organisation.

He maintains working relationships with other militant groups, including the military wings of Hamas and Islamic Jihad, which carried out Friday night's suicide attack on the West Bank settlement of Otniel when two gunmen killed four students.

"All factions liaise and exchange information - recipes for home-made explosives and military tactics - and at times we even co-ordinate attacks together since we all have a common cause," Abu Samhadana said.

He was the field commander of the Popular Resistance Committees until earlier this year, when he blew off part of his right arm while firing a rocket-propelled grenade at a Jewish settlement. A team of French surgeons from Medecins Sans Frontieres performed a 10-hour operation, taking a bone from his left leg and inserting it below the elbow to save the injured arm.

Although Abu Samhadana no longer takes part in the operations he organises, he is understood to have been behind attacks dating back to October 2000 when an Israeli armoured personnel carrier was blown up, injuring two soldiers. A month later his men shot dead the driver of an Israeli truck. Then they killed a settler in his car.

The beginning of 2001 saw a marked escalation. In three weeks they killed one Israeli in a shoot-out at the refugee camp at Rafah, two more on a bus at the edge of the town and another three in a suicide mission against the Jewish settlement at Kfar Darom.

But it was the destruction of the tanks this year that earned Abu Samhadana his place on the "most wanted" list. The 60-ton Merkava Mk 3 tanks have 120mm guns, 60mm mortars and ultra-sophisticated electronic equipment that should enhance the protection of crews.

Last February three soldiers were killed when their tank was blown up near the Netzarine settlement on the outskirts of Gaza City; three more died in similar circumstances in March; then another in September.

Abu Samhadana speaks bluntly about these operations. While the main aim was to kill as many soldiers as possible, he says, they were also intended to instil fear in tank crews "that these mean machines would not be able to protect them from our landmines".

He regrets his organisation's failure to carry out suicide attacks on civilian targets in Israel, saying he has decided to concentrate on killing settlers and soldiers because it is too difficult to penetrate the Israeli security cordon around the Gaza Strip.

But while he denies he is a terrorist, he applauds the havoc the suicide bombers have wreaked on ordinary Israelis during more than two years of intifada.

The bombings were necessary, he said, to "plant the seeds of terror" among them. "If my wife is afraid to send the kids to school, so should their wives be. If my sister is afraid of going to the market, so should they be afraid.

"Only when they suffer the same sense of insecurity and fear will the Israeli people demand of their government to ... allow us our statehood."

How does a man who cherishes his own family come to believe that the bombing of Israeli women and children can be justified?

Abu Samhadana comes from a clan with a long history of fighting the Israelis. Two elder brothers died fighting Israel in Lebanon. His father, mother, several other brothers and two sisters were all jailed during the first intifada, which started in 1987.

## On patrol with the killer Israel dreads

An elder brother, Sammy, is suspected by the Israelis of being the Gaza leader of the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades, a group that has carried out some of the bloodiest suicide bombings of the past year.

Abu Samhadana received three years' training in urban warfare and explosives techniques in East Germany in the 1980s, where he learnt his craft alongside militants from Cuba and Nicaragua. He spent the 1991 Gulf war in Iraq but returned to his homeland in 1994 with Arafat. Ever the rebel, in 1999 he was jailed for 18 months by the Palestinians after leading protests against food price increases.

He emerged from prison fired by a single-minded determination to wage his own war, regardless of the personal cost.

Abu Samhadana is philosophical about his fate: "You can take precautions but in the end only the pilot of the F-16 and God know who the target of the day is. There is no point in dwelling on that. Instead, I enjoy my wife and my time with my children."

His family moves at least once every two months and his sons, Attaya, 12, and Imad, 9, must always use false names when they introduce themselves to new playmates. "They have had to grow up before their time and be responsible and aware of the dangers around, but in the long run this will pay off. They are learning that freedom is not granted, but comes at a heavy price," he said.

"I go home wanting to play with them and be a normal dad doing normal things like going through their schoolwork and trying to switch off from the war. They want to talk war and learn about guns."

His daughter Reem, 4, and youngest son Mohammed, 2, do not yet know about the dangers. "Reem clings to my legs, kisses and hugs me constantly, brushes my hair and is always asking her mum to call me when I'm away," he said.

"My wife has had to become the man of the family, but when I arrive home she bathes me, feeds me, provides me with clean clothes and simply spoils me without asking for much in return.

"When I leave there are no tears or pleas to stay and no tantrums about the life I have chosen - just wise words to be careful and stay in touch when possible. She is some woman."

Abu Samhadana says he does not worry about what will become of them after his death. "I am certain they would live a better life than the one they have now," he said.

"At least the constant fear they live with would vanish and my brothers and sisters will make sure they have a comfortable home and a good future."

**Load-Date:** December 30, 2002

**End media bias against Israel;**  
**'Honest reporting would tell you that it is a war to destroy Israel'**

Windsor Star (Ontario)

November 2, 2002 Saturday Final Edition

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**Section:** OPINION; Pg. A11; Excerpt; Opinion

**Length:** 1529 words

**Byline:** I.H. Asper O.C. O.M. Q.C.

## **Body**

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Throughout my lifetime I have had an unshakable commitment to three cornerstones of my personal value system: my first commitment is to this great nation, Canada. My second is to Israel as a symbol and teacher of excellence for all of humankind and the third is to the media as the most honourable and steadfast advocate, defender and distributor of truth, honesty, fairness, freedom, democracy and human rights.

With a combination of sadness, fear and anger, I must now tell you that both Israel and the honour of the news media are under grievous assault.

And, even more painful for me, even though at first glance those two pillars should be separate, I regret to say, they are both threatened by the same cancer and have thus become inextricably linked. This is because dishonest reporting is destroying the trust in and credibility of the media and the journalists and the same dishonest reporting is biased against Israel, thus destroying the world's favourable disposition toward it.

I want to make it clear that I am not here speaking for our own media company, CanWest Global Communications, but only as a concerned Canadian and a long-time journalist myself. As well, because my company competes with most Canadian media, I will not make specific reference to our competitors' record, with one exception.

fundamental lies

That exception is the CBC -- because all Canadians own it and the governments we elect are responsible to us and it for its quality and integrity.

Before turning to specific examples and analyzing the causes of this outrage, we should touch on some fundamental lies on which many reporters and analysts base their view of the war.

The first and worst lie is what this war is all about. Dishonest reporting tells you that it's about territory and Jerusalem and Palestinian statehood and alleged refugees. Honest reporting would tell you that it is a war to destroy Israel and kill or expel or subjugate all the Jews. That is proved by the words and deeds of all the key Arab Palestinian leaders. But the media has bought and reported dishonestly and relentlessly the big lie. That big lie is that this war could be ended by Israeli land concessions.

vicious terrorist



End media bias against Israel ; 'Honest reporting would tell you that it is a war to destroy Israel '

The second fundamental big lie disseminated by world media, including those in Canada, is what gave rise to the current version of the Arab war of extermination of Israel and the Jewish people -- the so-called al-Aqsa uprising or intifada.

The truth is that when Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat, one of the world's most cruel and vicious terrorists for the past 30 years, that corrupt dictator and thief of billions of dollars of world-intended aid for his people, could not get the extravagant concessions he demanded from the Clinton Camp David meetings, he planned the uprising of terrorism as a means of intimidating the U.S. and Israel into giving in to his maniacal demands.

But he needed an excuse, an appealing argument in which to clothe his new latest war.

unleashed the rioting

And so, in early September 2000, when parliamentary opposition leader Ariel Sharon (he wasn't even prime minister) told both Israelis and Palestinian officials he intended to visit the Temple Mount in Jerusalem, legally part of Israel which is co-sited with the Muslim al-Aqsa mosque, they agreed and both Palestinian and Israeli Security detachments accompanied him on his brief tour.

This was the opportunity Arafat sought. He immediately unleashed the rioting, stone-throwing and armed attacks allegedly as a "spontaneous" uprising against Israel allegedly in response to Sharon's provocation!

It was then that most of the world media bought the propaganda that launched the second big lie of the current warfare: "Sharon's visit provokes Palestinian rebellion." They didn't even ask the fundamental question: Is this true?

The third big lie is that the current conflict arises from Palestinian frustration over the slowness of the so-called "peace process."

The central and conveniently ignored, fact is that the current warfare is merely the latest chapter in a war against the Jewish people. That war began in earnest 85 years ago, when in 1917, Britain and the League of Nations declared, with world approval, that a Jewish state would be established in Palestine.

military invasion

The region's Arabs have engaged in terrorist slaughter, riots and multi-Muslim states military invasion against the Jewish nation ever since. The only periodic lulls in this savage and often barbaric assault, specializing in seeking women, children and elderly victims, has occurred when the Arabs have been resoundingly defeated.

Then, they sue for peace, issue poor-me hand-wringing pleas for international help and use the lull in the battle to regroup, re-arm and plot their next assault -- and it is routinely launched.

Any reportage or commentary that is not clothed in this context is, at best, misleading, or ignorant and plain dishonest at worst.

A great deal of the dishonesty arises from the failure to report and the failure to opine on many factors which must be considered in judging the Middle East war. Such as:

\* Failure to report honestly an incident in February 2002. CNN reported "Israeli police shot and killed a Palestinian in a gun battle Sunday near an army base in northern Israel and another Palestinian died nearby when a car exploded."

CNN failed to report that the two Palestinians were in the process of attempted double suicide bombings. They were strapped with explosive belts.

\* Failure to report that money granted to the Palestinian Authority by Canada has gone to produce anti-Israel propaganda distributed to Palestinian children.

End media bias against Israel ; 'Honest reporting would tell you that it is a war to destroy Israel '

\* Failure to report how the Saudi, Syrian and Egyptian media continue to write and propagate the myth that Jews use human blood for their holiday celebrations. If the omissions don't adequately make the case of planned and engineered media bias, then the commissions of misleading reporting certainly cement a bulletproof case against the media.

The worst offender

And now let me turn to by far the worst offender in Canada.

\* The CBC, along with The New York Times and other left-wing media, will still not label the Palestinian murderers as terrorists. By any world recognized definition of terrorism, they are terrorists, but the CBC, particularly in the person of Neil Macdonald, simply refers to them as "militants."

\* CNN has reported that 30 Palestinian women have died in labour while being held up at Israeli check points. The story is a complete fabrication, generated from Palestinian spokesperson, Nabil Sha'att. To this day, CNN has neither published a categorical withdrawal nor the main proven fact, that not a single woman had died.

\* To prove that many journalists have been enlisted in the propaganda army of the Palestinians, in May last year, Fayad Abu Shamala, the BBC correspondent in Gaza for the past 10 years, spoke at a Hamas rally and declared: "Journalist and media organizations are waging the campaign soldier-to-soldier together with the Palestinian people."

Outraged complaints

BBC countered outraged complaints against his journalistic ethics, by saying that his remarks were made in a "private capacity."

But if nothing else in this entire sad and sordid story irrefutably demonstrates the dishonest reporting and inherent media bias against Israel, it is the Jenin massacre myth on which the herd of ravenous reporters descended with vulture-like hysteria.

Hysterical, hyperbolic Palestinian propagandists shrieked "massacre -- 5,000 innocents slaughtered," and the United Nations, the Third World pawns, dutifully closed ranks to condemn Israel, as is routine for that corrupt organization. Soon the Palestinians reduced their alleged death toll to 3,000. Then the number of alleged deaths claimed mysteriously dropped to a mere 500, but the media still sang the massacre melody.

The myth exploded

Finally, when the UN Commission declared that only 54 Palestinians had died and over half of them were armed combatants, the myth exploded. However, few media apologized or retracted the charges of falsely trumpeted to the world.

Why is this happening? The answer is plain to see.

Firstly, too many of the journalists are lazy, or sloppy, or stupid. They are ignorant of the history of the subject on which they are writing.

Others are, plain and simple, biased, or anti-Semitic, or are taken captive by a simplistic ideology.

The result is that the biggest casualties of the Palestinian-Israeli war are truth and the integrity of the media. Every one of us must do what we can to correct this travesty. It is time to say "enough!"

Finding the solution

The solution starts on the campus and in the journalism schools, then it goes to the boardrooms of the media owners and finally and most importantly, with the public.

End media bias against Israel ; 'Honest reporting would tell you that it is a war to destroy Israel '

At this time, the appropriate position for all Canadians should be to stand tall in support of honesty in reporting, as well as for the right of Israel to exist and to take whatever actions it needs to battle its savage attackers and to demand that our media and our politicians act with honour in this quest.

## Graphic

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I.H. Asper

**Load-Date:** November 5, 2002

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***Boldly standing up for Israel: There is no moral equivalent between soldiers who protect the innocent and terrorists who murder them***

The Gazette (Montreal, Quebec)

October 17, 2002 Thursday Final Edition

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**Section:** Editorial / Op-ed; Pg. A29; Excerpt

**Length:** 1359 words

**Byline:** F. DAVID RADLER

## **Body**

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(This article is excerpted from a speech to the Weizmann Institute of Science in Chicago on Oct. 6.)

It is not easy to be an Israeli today. Israel is faced with threats of terror, taunted by unyielding and unjust condemnation from the international community, yet the country continues to grow.

My partners and I have been in the newspaper business for 35 years. What began with a small newspaper in Sherbrooke has led to the ownership of such titles as the Daily Telegraph in London, The Gazette, the Ottawa Citizen and the Vancouver Sun and Province. We are also the owners of the Jerusalem Post and the biweekly magazine, Jerusalem Report.

Freelance

When buying the Jerusalem Post in 1988, I made the statement that this was a purely economic decision and that we would be no more emotionally attached to the Jerusalem Post than we would be had we purchased the South China Morning Post newspaper in Hong Kong. Of course, this proved not to be true.

Conditions in the Middle East have deteriorated since 1988, and we, along with other publishers, have been forced to make choices. We support U.S. President George W. Bush's war on terror. We, therefore, support Israel's war on terror.

Israel and the United States are on the front lines of the war on terror for the same reasons. Both are free and both are democratic. Bernard Lewis wrote in his most recent book, Islam: What Went Wrong: "It is precisely the lack of freedom (that is missing from Islamic countries) - freedom of the mind from constraint and indoctrination, to question and inquire and speak; freedom of the economy from corrupt and pervasive mismanagement; freedom of women from male oppression; freedom of citizens from tyranny." With the exception of Turkey, the national movements in most of Israel's neighbouring countries led to despots rather than democrats. These people were independent but not free.

While the military leadership of these countries robbed the people, it generated among the population a sense of humiliation. It also required an enemy. You need an enemy to justify a large military presence as well as to deflect the criticism of your own hijacking of the economy.

The best example of the requirement for military expenditures is the continuation, in Syria, of the Assad regimes, both father and son. They could settle with Israel tomorrow but recognize that there would be a downside to settlement as a result of the inevitable reduction of the military requirements. These rulers are propped up by their

Boldly standing up for Israel : There is no moral equivalent between soldiers who protect the innocent and terrorists who murder them

military. The Palestinian Authority is a brutal dictatorship and perhaps one of the most financially corrupt regimes in the world. It has not lived up to any of its obligations under the Oslo agreement, including removing the anti-Israel clauses in the Palestine National Charter. It has persuaded young people that a glorious eternity awaits them if they manage to murder Israelis while blowing themselves up.

Marwan Barghouti, head of Fatah-Tanzim, who is about to go to trial in Israel and who, according to Israelis, led, ran and set in operation terrorist actions against Israel along with his field commanders, was questioned in the New Yorker magazine on July 9, 2001, and asked: "And if you get 100 per cent? Will that end the conflict?"

Barghouti smiled, and then said something impolitic for a Fatah man: "Then we could talk about bigger things."

Such as?

"I've always thought that a good idea would be one state for all the peoples."

A secular democratic Palestine?

"We can call it something else."

The late Faisal Hussein, as reported June 24, 2001, by Al-Arabi in Egypt, said: "Had the U.S. and Israel realized, before Oslo, that all that was left of the Palestinian national movement and the pan-Arab movement was a wooden horse called Arafat or the PLO, they would never have opened their fortified gates and let it inside their walls."

The leaders of the so-called friendly nations, Jordan, Egypt and Saudi Arabia, refer to the difficulties of controlling "the Arab street." Are we to believe that the dictators in these countries, who have successfully repressed even the most mild opposition to their continued existence, have suddenly become so fearful of "the street"?

Are we to believe that spontaneous demonstrations by "the street" are possible in repressed Arab countries? For these countries, the "street" is nothing but a useful tool - a tool to influence the West but mainly a tool to distract their own citizens from their own failure in statecraft.

One of the so-called moderate states is Egypt. The country receives \$2 billion per year in American aid. When U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell visited the Middle East in April, President Hosni Mubarak snubbed the secretary, refusing to meet with him when Powell could not bring an early end to Operation Defensive Shield.

Mubarak has also expressed dissatisfaction against the U.S. plan to move against Saddam Hussein. While claiming to be a country that accepts Israel, Egypt's embassy in Tel Aviv has been leaderless since November 2000. Mubarak has made the cold peace even colder.

In April of this year, Egypt said it was downgrading cultural and commercial contacts with Israel, and Mubarak continues to allow the state-run Egyptian media to incite against Israel.

Egyptian doctors have refused to treat Israeli embassy personnel, thus necessitating the government of Israel to fly doctors to Cairo. This is not a moderate position. Notwithstanding his anti-Israel posturing, Islamic fundamentalists have not warmed up to Mubarak.

In a press release on the Islamic Web site Al-Muhajiroun, dated June 4, the U.K. branch called for "the immediate removal of Hosni Mubarak and his execution for his crimes against Muslims in particular and the civilian population in Egypt generally." Moderation might have its price in that part of the world.

Syria has never made claims to moderation. In July, among the visitors to Damascus was Kim Yong-nam, president of North Korea's Supreme People's Assembly Presidium. Just before Kim arrived in Damascus, Assad was hosting Ayatollah Mahmoud, Hashemi Shahroudi, head of the judiciary in Iran, and a prominent anti-Khatami hardliner. These visits coincide with other exchange visits with Cuba, Iraq and Sudan. One suspects that the common chord between these countries is simply where there is a problem, blame America.

Boldly standing up for Israel : There is no moral equivalent between soldiers who protect the innocent and terrorists who murder them

On Aug. 1, United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan released a report on Israel's military operation in Jenin and other West Bank cities and found no evidence to support Palestinian allegations of a massacre. At a General Assembly emergency special session on Aug. 5, delegates debated Annan's report and Israel's alleged war crimes against the Palestinians. The report itself, which wasn't favourable to the big lie, was described by various diplomats as follows:

S Palestinian ambassador to the UN Nasser Kidwa: "The notion that the report confirmed that no massacre had been committed was simply not correct."

S Kuwaiti ambassador Mohammed Abulhasan described Jenin as "the atrocious events in Jenin against an unarmed, innocent people using their legitimate right to resist occupation." And he called Israel's actions "the massacre which has caused the whole world to tremble."

Needless to say, a resolution that questions the validity of favourable treatment to Israel in Annan's report managed to pass 114-4, including all members of the European Union. The anti-Israeli tally of 114 might have been higher if at least 25 countries had paid their dues.

There is no moral equivalence between soldiers who protect the innocent and suicide bombers who murder them. It is also clear that **Hamas**, Islamic Jihad and Fatah-Tanzim are terrorists, not militants. Militants don't bomb campuses - terrorists bomb campuses. Militants don't explode buses - terrorists explode buses. Militants don't open fire at weddings, bar mitzvahs and Seder celebrations - terrorists do. When terrorists kill civilians in Israel, they should be labeled the same as we label the Al-Qa'ida terrorists of Sept. 11.

F. David Radler is publisher of the Chicago Sun-Times and the Jerusalem Post.

## Graphic

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Photo: GIL COHEN MAGEN, REUTERS; Israeli worker at the Shalon factory in Kiryat Gat assembles gas masks. Israel is faced with terror and taunted by unjust condemnation from the international community.; Photo: MARWAN NAAMANI, AFP; Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak chairs the 2000 Arab Summit in Cairo at which delegates condemned Israel.

**Load-Date:** October 17, 2002

## **Arafat Remains Defiant Amid Rubble of His Compound**

The New York Times

September 22, 2002 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section 1; Column 3; Foreign Desk; Pg. 8

**Length:** 1362 words

**Byline:** By SERGE SCHMEMANN

**Dateline:** RAMALLAH, West Bank, Sept. 21

### **Body**

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Sealed up with at least 200 men in his dust-choked offices while Israeli bulldozers leveled buildings just outside and issued dire warnings over loudspeakers, Yasir Arafat defiantly declared today that he would not capitulate. At the same time, he called on Palestinians to halt attacks inside Israel.

Outside the compound, an Israeli commander said the siege and the demolitions would continue until all the Palestinians inside who are wanted by Israel, whose number rose today to about 50, surrendered. Mr. Arafat has refused to give up the men.

The pressures and tension continued to mount steadily into the night. Israeli soldiers used bullhorns to warn Mr. Arafat and those with him that they intended to blow up a building just outside his headquarters, urging the men to surrender or risk being wounded or killed. Mr. Arafat refused.

There were no explosions as of midnight, but bulldozers and backhoes continued to hammer at remaining buildings in the compound while giant floodlights played over Mr. Arafat's building.

"This is a dangerous development," Mr. Arafat's aide, Nabil Aburdeineh, said by telephone from inside the besieged building. "They know that President Arafat is not the kind of man who surrenders or leaves by force."

Late in the night, thousands of Palestinian men, women and children heeded calls from mosques and converged on the central Manara Square in Ramallah to chant their support for Mr. Arafat and to pelt Israeli armored vehicles with stones. Israelis responded with tear gas and rubber bullets, and Palestinians said two people had been killed.

Violent demonstrations were also reported in Tulkarm, Nablus and Jenin, towns also under curfew, and Palestinians reported that one person was killed in Nablus and another in Tulkarm. Thousands of Palestinians were also reported demonstrating in Gaza, which is not under Israeli occupation.

In his first public statement since the siege began Thursday evening, distributed by the Palestinian news agency WAFA, Mr. Arafat declared, "We are ready for peace but not for capitulation, and we will not give up Jerusalem or a grain of our soil which we are guaranteed to us by international law."

He continued, "I reiterate my call to the reiterate my call to the Palestinian people and all our parties to halt any violent attacks inside Israel because Sharon exploits them as a cover to destroy the peace of the brave."

## Arafat Remains Defiant Amid Rubble of His Compound

The government of Prime Minister Ariel Sharon ordered the full isolation of Mr. Arafat after two suicide bombings on Wednesday and Thursday killed seven Israelis, and broke a 45-day lull in attacks inside Israel. Extremist Islamic organizations over which Mr. Arafat has no control, Islamic Jihad and Hamas, claimed responsibility for the attacks, but Mr. Sharon focused his retaliatory fury on Mr. Arafat, whom he holds directly responsible for all acts of Palestinian terror.

The government demanded that Mr. Arafat surrender wanted men in the compound with him. The commander of the operation, who asked that his rank and name not be used, said the number of wanted men had risen from 17 to about 50, of whom 10 ranked as most wanted. They include Tawfiz Tirawi, the once-powerful head of West Bank intelligence.

Earlier in the day, the Israeli army escorted a group of reporters to the compound. Two Palestinian flags fluttered from the roof of the three-story building in which Israeli officers said Mr. Arafat and all the other Palestinians were cooped up. Some windows were piled high with sandbags, others were closed with pink shutters.

Several other adjacent buildings still stood, all vacant and with varying degrees of damage. But giant Israeli military bulldozers and backhoes had already leveled all the buildings south of Mr. Arafat's, about a dozen, and the commander said they would continue until all buildings except the one were gone.

"My mission is to get all the wanted men out of the mukataa," the commander said, using the Arabic word for an administrative center by which the compound is known. "We will not stop until all the wanted men come out."

The commander laconically described the demolitions as "psychological combat." From time to time, he said, calls were broadcast over loudspeakers urging the men to come out and halt further destruction. Thirty-eight men had surrendered, but none of the wanted men, he said.

The commander's statements and what could be seen of the vast compound, which covers an area of about four city blocks, differed from some of the reports that Mr. Arafat's aides had provided from within, apparently because of their limited field of vision.

There was no evidence of a trench around Mr. Arafat's building, at least from one side, though it was ringed with barbed wire. There were also several buildings still standing to the north of his, including the administrative center, which had been connected to his building by a bridge and where guards had lived.

All the buildings other than Mr. Arafat's, however, were vacant and badly damaged either by shells or bulldozers. On the opposite side of the headquarters, all the buildings -- including many that already had been damaged in the extensive Israeli incursions last spring -- had been leveled, as were many stretches of the wall around the compound.

The commander denied that any shells had been fired at Mr. Arafat's building, but a photographer inside the compound said a tank shell had been fired through a window.

The commander said Mr. Arafat was free to leave anytime he wanted to. "My mission is not to arrest Arafat," he said.

Mr. Arafat has not left the compound in months, and is not likely to now, in part because his presence provides the only protection for the others inside.

The government reaffirmed today that its purpose is to isolate, and not to kill or exile Mr. Arafat. Israel's Channel Two television news reported that military officials said their ultimate objective was to confine him to a tiny space in difficult conditions until he asked for exile. He has declared that he would never leave the Palestinian territories.

The commander said that there had been some gunfire from the compound on the first night of the operation, but that it had largely stopped. One man was killed on Friday after he shot at the Israelis, he said.



## Arafat Remains Defiant Amid Rubble of His Compound

He said no one was being allowed to approach the compound, including Mr. Arafat's aides. The Israeli radio said Defense Minister Benjamin Ben-Eliezer had rejected one request from Mr. Arafat's second in command, Mahmoud Abbas, better known as Abu Mazen. At the same time, Foreign Minister Shimon Peres declined a request from Saeb Erekat, the senior Palestinian negotiator. The Palestinians had requested to see Mr. Arafat to discuss how to put an end to the siege.

Mr. Arafat has been confined to Ramallah since December, and to his compound since Israel carried out a major military offensive in the West Bank in March. The first siege ended in May after the United States negotiated an agreement to imprison several wanted men in Jericho under American and British guard, but Mr. Arafat has not ventured out since.

On Sept. 11, he addressed a meeting of the Palestinian Legislative Council in the administrative building adjacent to his headquarters. The bridge connecting that building to the one where he remains is now destroyed.

The new siege in Ramallah drew sharp condemnations from the European Union, and the White House urged Mr. Sharon to consider the consequences of his actions, citing progress that had been made in recent weeks toward political reform and restraint among moderate Palestinians.

"Significant, quiet progress had been made behind the scenes in the Palestinian Authority, and there had been a sustained period of quiet without homicide bombings in Israel," the White House press secretary, Ari Fleischer, said on Friday.

"Israel has the right to defend itself and to deal with security," he said, "but Israel also has a need to bear in mind the consequences of action and Israel's stake in development of reforms in the Palestinian institutions."

At the request of Arab states, the United Nations Security Council called an emergency meeting for Monday to discuss the situation in Ramallah.

<http://www.nytimes.com>

## Graphic

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Photos: Palestinians fired machine guns in the air last night during a demonstration in Gaza City, one of many in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.; Israeli bulldozers continued to raze buildings last night in Yasir Arafat's West Bank compound in Ramallah. (Photographs by Agence France-Presse) Map of the Israel highlighting Ramallah.

**Load-Date:** September 22, 2002

**6 Palestinians killed in fighting: Exploding Pay phone claims militant. U.S. ambassador criticizes Israel for restrictions on eve of Sharon's visit**

The Gazette (Montreal, Quebec)

October 14, 2002 Monday Final Edition

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**Section:** News; Pg. A21

**Length:** 1437 words

**Byline:** IBRAHIM HAZBOUN

**Dateline:** BEIT JALLA, West Bank

## **Body**

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A Palestinian militant, whose clan has been targeted previously by Israeli security forces, was killed yesterday when a public telephone exploded in his hand - one of six Palestinians to die in a day of violence, Palestinians said.

Mohammed Shtewie Abayat was speaking on the phone just outside the Beit Jalla Hospital near the West Bank city of Bethlehem when it blew up, killing him instantly, doctors said. Relatives said he belonged to a militia linked to Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat's Fatah movement.

Palestinians blamed Israel, as they have when two other members of the Abayat clan were killed over the past two years. The Israeli military declined to comment. There were concerns that the killing of Abayat could lead some Palestinians to seek retaliation.

AP

In other violence yesterday, Palestinians said a 4-year-old boy was fatally shot during what the Israeli army described as a firefight when troops entered the Rafah refugee camp to search for weapons-smuggling tunnels in the southern Gaza Strip.

Also, the U.S. Ambassador to Israel, Daniel Kurtzer, sent a strongly worded message to Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's office over the weekend, saying Israel had not met promises to ease tough restrictions imposed on the Palestinians, a diplomatic source said.

The move came as Sharon prepared to depart for the United States today in advance of a Wednesday meeting with President George W. Bush at the White House.

The Bush administration has strongly supported Israel in the Mideast conflict, especially in recent months.

However, Kurtzer's letter called on Israel to do three things: ease its military grip on Palestinian cities in the West Bank it occupied after suicide bombings in June; allow Palestinians greater freedom of movement, and turn over withheld taxes that Israel collected on behalf of the Palestinians, according to the diplomatic source and Israeli newspapers.

Israel's cabinet discussed the possibility yesterday of removing some military blockades in and around Palestinian areas and handing over the tax money.

6 Palestinians killed in fighting: Exploding Pay phone claims militant. U.S. ambassador criticizes Israel for restrictions on eve of Sharon's visit

However, cabinet secretary Gideon Saar said no decision was taken and Israel's response would depend on cessation of Palestinian attacks. He said the subject would be on the agenda when Sharon and Bush meet.

In Beit Jalla, Abayat's brother, Moussa, said the two had brought their mother to the hospital and 28-year-old Mohammed went outside to use the public telephone. Moussa Abayat said his brother "started to speak on it and it suddenly blew up. Parts of his body were everywhere."

"I believe it is an assassination of my brother," he said, adding that his brother was a member of the Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigade, which is linked to Arafat's Fatah movement.

Israel has carried out dozens of targeted killings against militants suspected of violence against Israelis. Israel has acknowledged carrying out many attacks, though in some cases, it has refused to confirm or deny involvement.

One member of the Abayat clan in Bethlehem, Atef Abayat, died when his car exploded in October 2001. Another, Hussein Abayat, was killed in an Israeli rocket attack in November 2000. Israeli accused both men of killing Israelis.

A number of Palestinian militants have been killed by exploding telephones in recent years.

In the most prominent case, an exploding mobile phone killed Yehia Ayash, chief bombmaker for the Islamic group Hamas, on Jan. 5, 1996. Israel never claimed responsibility.

Meanwhile, Israeli soldiers killed two armed men yesterday who crossed into southern Israel from Egypt, said Brig. Gen. Israel Ziv, commander of Israeli forces in the Gaza Strip. Three soldiers were wounded in a gunfight that broke out, he added.

The Ahmed Abu al-Rish Brigades, an offshoot of the Fatah movement, claimed responsibility for the infiltration.

Not far away, in the southern Gaza Strip, army troops entered the Rafah refugee camp to search for tunnels and clashes broke out that left two Palestinians dead, including the 4-year-old boy, Tawfik Hussan Bereka. Twenty-eight were wounded.

Palestinians said the soldiers blew up five houses. The army said one house was blown up but other houses were damaged when the army destroyed tunnels.

The army said it fired on Palestinians after militants shot at troops and threw grenades.

Moussa Bereka, a relative of the dead boy, said the 60 people in his extended family ran from the house in their pajamas. The boy was wounded as they ran and died later at the hospital.

"They did not even give us one minute to evacuate our belongings or to leave safely," Bereka said.

However, Ziv told The Associated Press that the occupants "were given at least 35 minutes to get out of the house."

In the West Bank, Palestinians said troops killed a 56-year-old woman and wounded two other women. The women were taking a side road to evade an Israeli roadblock near the town of Jenin when soldiers opened fire on their car, witnesses said. The military said it was checking the report.

Israeli forces shot five Palestinians to death, one of them a 4-year-old boy, in three separate confrontations yesterday, the Israeli army and witnesses said.

Palestinians said the 4-year-old was shot during what the Israeli army said was a firefight as troops searched for weapons smuggling tunnels in the Gaza Strip.

Meanwhile, the U.S. ambassador to Israel, Daniel Kurtzer, sent a strongly worded message to Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's office over the weekend, saying Israel had not met promises to ease tough restrictions imposed on the Palestinians, a diplomatic source said.

6 Palestinians killed in fighting: Exploding Pay phone claims militant. U.S. ambassador criticizes Israel for restrictions on eve of Sharon's visit

The move comes as Sharon prepared to depart Monday for the United States. He was to meet President George W. Bush at the White House on Wednesday.

The Bush administration has strongly supported Israel in the Mideast conflict, especially in recent months.

However, Kurtzer's letter called for Israel to ease its military grip on West Bank Palestinian cities it occupied after suicide bombings in June, according to the diplomatic source and Israeli newspapers.

The letter also all asked that the Palestinians be granted greater freedom of movement and that Israel turn over taxes that it has collected on behalf of the Palestinians.

Israel's Cabinet discussed the possibility Sunday of removing some of its military blockades and handing over the tax money.

Cabinet Secretary Gideon Saar said no decision was taken.

"Israel's policy is to ease humanitarian and economic conditions," Saar said.

"At the same time it is hard to include a dramatic change on the economic front while (Palestinian) terrorism continues."

Saar said that the subject would be on the agenda when Sharon and Bush meet.

Meanwhile, Israeli soldiers killed two armed men who crossed into southern Israel from Egypt, said the commander of Israeli forces in the Gaza Strip, Brig.-Gen. Israel Ziv. Three soldiers were wounded in a gunfight, he added.

The Ahmed Abu al-Rish Brigades, an offshoot of the Fatah movement led by Yasser Arafat, claimed responsibility for the infiltration. The announcement was made from loudspeakers at mosques in the Gaza town of Khan Younis.

It was not clear how the infiltrators entered Israel, though there is a tunnel network in the region that goes from one side of the border to the other, the Israeli military says.

Not far away, in the southern Gaza Strip, Israeli troops entered the Rafah refugee camp to search for tunnels and clashes broke out that left two Palestinians dead, including the four-year-old boy. Twenty-eight others were wounded, according to Palestinian witnesses.

Palestinians said the soldiers blew up five houses. The Israelis said one house was blown up but other houses were damaged when the army destroyed tunnels. They also said they fire on the Palestinians after militants shot at troops and threw grenades.

Moussa Bereka, a relative of the dead boy, said the 60 people in his extended family ran from the house in their pyjamas. The boy, Tawfik Hussan, was wounded as they ran and died later at the hospital.

"They did not even give us one minute to evacuate our belongings or to leave safely," Bereka said.

The Israeli commander, Ziv, said the troops entered the camp shortly after midnight and no houses were blown up until almost 5 a.m.

"The occupants were given at least 35 minutes to get out of the house," he told The Associated Press.

In the West Bank, Palestinians said troops killed a 56-year-old woman and wounded two other women. The women were taking a side road to evade an Israeli roadblock near the town of Jenin when soldiers opened fire on their car, witnesses said.

6 Palestinians killed in fighting: Exploding Pay phone claims militant. U.S. ambassador criticizes Israel for restrictions on eve of Sharon's visit

## Graphic

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Photo: NAYEF HASHLAMOUN, REUTERS; A Palestinian woman shouts in front of her demolished house at Israeli soldiers patrolling in the West Bank city of Hebron, yesterday.

**Load-Date:** October 14, 2002

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End of Document

## *Naming the Evildoers*

The New York Times

September 29, 2002 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section 7; Column 1; Book Review Desk; Pg. 12

**Length:** 1532 words

**Byline:** By Judith Miller; Judith Miller is a senior writer for The Times and an author, with Stephen Engelberg and William J. Broad, of "Germs: Biological Weapons and America's Secret War."

## **Body**

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### MILITANT ISLAM REACHES AMERICA

By Daniel Pipes.

309 pp. New York: W.W. Norton. \$25.95.

THE often bitter debate that raged among academics and national security analysts over whether militant Islam -- or "Islamism," as it became known -- threatened the United States presumably should have ended on 9/11. President Bush's warning to movements and nations that they were either with us or against us implied a worldwide campaign not just against Al Qaeda and the Taliban, but also against other Islamist groups that aimed to replace their own governments with Islamic states, that is, states ruled by Shariah, or Islamic law, as the Islamists defined it.

Bush's words alarmed many militant Islamic groups within the United States. Having denounced American policies and values before 9/11, and encouraged fellow Muslims to donate money to "charities" that financed terrorism abroad, they rushed to condemn the attacks, calling themselves patriots and stressing that Islam stood for peace. But even though Attorney General John Ashcroft asked for and received extraordinary investigative powers of questionable constitutionality, most of these militants need not have worried. The administration has resisted defining militant Islam as the enemy, particularly at home. Bush has been vague about the identity of America's enemies. They were not militant Muslims, nor Islamists who espoused violence, but generic "evildoers," "parasites," those "motivated by hate."

This vagueness is at the heart of the problem Daniel Pipes identifies in "Militant Islam Reaches America," a collection of essays he has written over the past decade. A scholar of the Middle East as well as a habitual polemicist, Pipes argues, in effect, that by failing to identify and target Islamism itself, particularly Islamism within America, the administration misses the point. Since the aim of all Islamists is to install autocratic, anti-Western theocracies in their quasi-secular countries, it does not matter whether they espouse peaceful or violent methods. Democracy for them is simply another means to an end. Once in power, he warns, Islamists would reject democracy, oppose other theological and intellectual views, restrict rights for women and religious minorities, ruin the economies of their countries and oppose Israel, world Jewry, the United States and the West.

In this harsh assessment, Pipes is supported by the miserable record of the militant Islamic regimes in Iran and Sudan, and formerly in Afghanistan -- the only places where Islamism has triumphed. He quotes Ali Belhadj, a leader of the Islamic Salvation Front in Algeria, which was poised to win elections in 1992: "When we are in power,

## Naming the Evildoers

there will be no more elections because God will be ruling." Such blunt statements encouraged Algeria's middle class to permit the army to cancel elections and accept harsh military rule, which continues to this day. An estimated 100,000 Algerians have been killed so far in the struggle.

Pipes is careful to distinguish between Islam, the faith practiced by over a billion Muslims, and Islamism, which he calls a 20th-century totalitarian ideology. He argues persuasively that scholars and officials should emphasize the differences -- that "the great majority" of Muslims disagree with the premises of militant Islam; that the United States should seek neither a "clash of civilizations" (a notion he rejects) nor a confrontation with Islam itself.

He also disagrees with many scholars and commentators -- Fouad Ajami, Olivier Roy and this reviewer, among others -- who have argued that the militant Islamic trend represented by Osama bin Laden has crested, at least in most Arab lands. On the contrary, he says, Islamism has been "on the ascendant for a full quarter-century," and is becoming ever more so.

Pipes often highlights similarities between the structure and methods of the Islamist groups and those of the fascists and Communists. While he cautions against seeing them as equivalent, his message seems to be that the new Islamic man should be combated with tactics similar to those employed during the cold war. He ignores the cost of America's obsession with Communism -- the perilous flirtation with nuclear annihilation, the violation of civil rights and liberties at home, the often mindless embrace abroad of any movement, however corrupt or autocratic -- including militant Islamist groups -- if it agreed to join the United States in its fight against the Soviet Union.

Complicit in Islamism's rise, Pipes argues, are the moderate Muslims, who have been silenced by the radicals with a combination of carrots and sticks. He cites not only the financial support that Saudi Arabia and others have provided to the militants, but also the Islamists' intimidation and murder of several of their most articulate critics. But surely the roots of modern Muslim passivity run deeper. Pipes pays too little attention to this key issue, which is a pity, since he argues that supporting moderate Islamic voices is critical to Islamism's defeat.

Close analysis, however, is not Pipes's goal. Unless we focus the war against terror on Islamism, and especially on the Islamists in the United States, he insists, the militants will triumph. Efforts by the two previous administrations to distinguish between "good" and "bad" Islamists -- though understandable given Washington's fear of offending Muslims in general -- were, in his view, self-defeating. He argues persuasively that Washington, in effect, ignored, and even courted, Islamic groups that knowingly fostered terrorism abroad, as long as they remained peaceful within the United States.

Pipes is at his best on the attack. He convincingly demonstrates that militants have gained legitimacy with the help of "bad advice" given to the United States government by Islamically correct scholars. In another essay he maintains that Islamism is not caused by poverty, citing Saudi Arabia, and he also shows how the Nation of Islam under Louis Farrakhan has fueled anti-Semitism among black Americans.

Still another essay deplores the extent to which some of the nation's most prominent -- or most vocal -- Islamic groups have defended and endorsed violence against Israeli civilians and used American freedoms to promote the Islamist agenda within the United States. But such sentiments are constitutionally protected speech and should not be confused with support for terrorism, a distinction that Pipes sometimes seems to blur. At the same time, his discussion of the extent to which Islamic groups have defended, and even praised, the criminal escapades of Jamil Al-Amin, better known to Americans over 50 as H. Rap Brown, should give readers concern. So, too, should his description of the government's inept, if ultimately successful, investigation of a Hezbollah cell in North Carolina.

Blunt and passionate, Pipes's book is occasionally inconsistent, and its policy recommendations sometimes appear ill considered. He endorses ethnic profiling -- "if it is true that most Muslims are not Islamists, it is no less true that all Islamists are Muslims" -- but he fails to discuss its potential dangers. And though he claims to respect Islam and its adherents, he finds that in the war on terror, "all Muslims, unfortunately, are suspect."

Pipes's intemperate tone can be forgiven because for over a decade now he has been one of the few scholars who have bravely warned of the Islamist threat, and he was often ridiculed for his alarm. Nevertheless, his prescriptions for what he calls the world's most dangerous movement barely mention the need to defend America's secularism,

## Naming the Evildoers

or the extent to which secular laws, values and traditions are under attack not only by militant Muslims but also by the Bush administration and its allies on the Christian right.

And Pipes devotes scant attention to Israel and the way in which Islamists have been able to capitalize on the outrage so many Muslims feel about what is happening to the Palestinians. While he is correct in arguing that a solution to the Palestinian-Israeli dispute would not destroy Islamism or deflect Islamists' animosity toward Jews, it is worth noting that **Hamas**, Islamic Jihad and Palestinian Islamist groups were deeply disconcerted by the 1993 Oslo peace accords between the Palestinians and Israelis. Islamism does not exist in a political vacuum.

In this book, Pipes provides what he believes are pragmatic ways to deter and contain Islam's militant trend -- like revising our immigration laws and watching our borders more closely -- while not alienating mainstream Muslims. But he cannot avoid raising the question of whether the problem of Islamism is inherent in Islam itself -- a profound issue on which this book does not dwell. The unpleasant fact is that no Muslim societies offer their people rule of law, economic development and active civil participation. Those that come closest, like Turkey and Malaysia, are the ones that have often brutally enforced secularism. While this is not Pipes's subject, even he cannot resist observing that the "hard work of adjusting Islam to the contemporary world has yet really to begin." Why that should be so remains to be explored.

<http://www.nytimes.com>

## Graphic

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Drawing (Peter Blegvad)

**Load-Date:** September 29, 2002



## *Holy war of words*

Herald Sun (Melbourne, Australia)

May 30, 2002, Thursday

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**Section:** OPINION; Pg. 19

**Length:** 1480 words

**Byline:** ANDREW BOLT

### **Body**

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Muslims should welcome free discussion of some of the more extreme ideas expressed in their holy books

HERE is a disturbing fact: the Islamic Council of Victoria seems scared when non-Muslims read and quote from the Koran.

So scared that it formally complained of religious vilification when the Catch the Fire Ministries of evangelical Christians publicised what it found in Islam's most sacred texts.

Telling people what is in the Koran and the almost equally hallowed Hadith (the collected sayings of the Prophet Mohammed) is, it seems from the council's complaint, likely to "incite fear and hatred" of Muslims, and to vilify their religion.

Bizarre. Does this mean that the more we know of Islam's teachings, the more concerned we non-Muslims are likely to be?

Let me be perfectly fair to the Islamic Council, which is led by men I respect.

It is complaining on behalf of three Muslim converts who attended a Catch the Fire seminar on Islam last March and heard things -- if they heard correctly -- that are indeed untrue and hurtful to Muslims.

For instance, the converts say Pastor Daniel Scott told the audience of up to 250 Christians that an Islamic leader had said that once Muslims reached 51 per cent of our population, they would force the rest to convert, leave or be killed.

If Scott indeed said that, and it is denied, that would be monstrous. But it's possible the complainants misheard Scott when he quoted a Jewish newspaper report of comments allegedly made by the Mufti of Australia, who said nothing about killing non-believers.

Again, if the complainants heard right, Scott was wrong -- disgracefully wrong -- to claim Muslims were commanded by their God to rape the women of non-believers. It would also have been false for him to claim Muslims were commanded to fight people in their community, and that they lie when they say they want peace.

Catch the Fire also should have told its audience firmly and often that the vast majority of Muslims in Australia are decent, law-abiding people -- and often with an admirable respect for family and community.

## Holy war of words

But -- but -- no one should pretend that Islam is a religion without flaws. Serious flaws. Flaws that help explain why so many Muslim nations are tyrannies, and why most of the world's worst terrorist groups quote the Koran as their inspiration.

These are flaws that we should be able to discuss honestly without fear of being punished under our absurd new Racial and Religious Tolerance laws, brought in by the censorious Bracks Government.

In fact, these are flaws that must be confronted particularly by the Islamic Council, and not denied.

Instead, the council has shown by its complaint against Catch the Fire that it either does not want a debate on Islam's more unpleasant teachings, or does not even know such teachings exist.

The council's complaint criticises 51 remarks that were made at Catch the Fire's seminar and on its website. These remarks are variously described in the complaint as vilifying and misrepresenting Islam, and spreading hatred, contempt, ridicule or revulsion of Muslims or their faith.

But the strange thing is that a great many of these terrible remarks are perfectly accurate summaries of what is found in the Koran and Hadith.

The council is in fact complaining about the teachings of Islam itself.

Let me demonstrate, by quoting comments the council objects to, and comparing them with the Islamic scriptures.

Complaint: That the seminar was told "Allah urges Mohammed into war and promises him lots of booty for it".

Fact: The Koran at 4:95 says, "God hath granted a grade higher to those who strive and fight with their goods and persons than to those who sit (at home)."

The Sahih Muslim collection of Hadith adds: "One who has killed an enemy and can bring evidence to prove it, will get his belongings."

Complaint: The seminar was told "Islam has to conquer all other religions".

Fact: When Mohammed's forces were weak, it is true that he said, "There is no compulsion in religion".

BUT when he'd conquered Medina, his tolerance vanished. The Koran records him ordering Muslims "not to make friendship with Jews and Christians" (5:51).

In fact, they must "kill the disbelievers wherever we find them" (2:191).

The sheik of Islam's holiest mosque, the Sacred Mosque of Mecca, has since confirmed in an introduction to the Sahih al-Bukhari collection of Hadith: "So at first 'the fighting' was forbidden, then it was permitted and after that it was made obligatory -- (1) against those who start 'the fighting' against you (Muslims) . . . (2) And against all those who worship others along with Allah."

Many Islamic terrorists and extremists agree.

Complaint: The seminar was told "Allah states in the Koran, kill them, but leave them if they pay zakat (an Islamic tax)".

Fact: The Koran does tell Muslims to "fight those who believe not in God . . . until they pay the jizya (a penalty tax for non-Muslims under Islamic rule) with willing submission" (9:29).

The Sahih al-Bukhari records what Mohammed did to converts who later abandoned Islam and stole some camels: "The Prophet sent (some people) in their pursuit and so they were (caught and) brought, and the Prophet ordered that their hands and legs should be cut off and that their eyes should be branded with heated pieces of iron, and that their cut hands and legs should not be cauterised, till they die."

## Holy war of words

Complaint: The seminar was told "Muslims are killed by other Muslims if they leave the Islamic faith".

Fact: The Sahih al-Bukhari records Mohammed saying, "Whoever changed his Islamic religion, then kill him". Afghanistan's Taliban regime took this order seriously. Pakistani courts have also sentenced Christian converts to death.

Complaint: The seminar was told "Muslim women, in particular, need to be saved because they suffer constant beatings at home".

Fact: If this was said, it is a gross insult to Muslim men. But the Koran (4:34) does tell men, that "as to those women on whose part ye fear disloyalty and ill-conduct, admonish them (first), (next), refuse to share their beds, (and last) beat them (lightly)".

This passage was cited in a magistrate's court this week by the barrister of a Muslim woman to explain why she obeyed her husband, who was charged with burning down their shop.

Complaint: The seminar was told the Koran "states that its founder and his men killed whole tribes of Jews, taking the women and children into slavery".

Fact: The Hadith records the infamous slaughter by Mohammed of some 700 captives of a Jewish tribe he defeated.

AS the Sahih al-Bukhari says, "The Prophet had their warriors killed, their offspring and woman taken as captives".

A former prime minister of Sudan in 1999 told the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights "the traditional concept of jihad does allow slavery as a by-product".

Complaint: The seminar was told Mohammed had at least "19 wives and concubines . . . one of which was . . . nine years old. Is this not the definition of a pedophile?"

Fact: The Sahih al-Bukhari tells of one of Mohammed's many wives that "the Prophet married her when she was six years old and he consummated his marriage when she was nine years old". That's pedophilia in this country.

Complaint: The seminar was told that Mohammed "taught that Jews are bad".

Fact: The Koran and Hadith repeatedly vilify the Jews. The Sahih al-Bukhari quotes Mohammed telling Muslims "you will fight with the Jews until some of them will hide behind stones. The stones will (betray them) saying, O, Abdullah! There is a Jew hiding behind me; so kill him".

This passage is quoted by the Hamas terrorist organisation in its charter as justification for murdering Jews.

I could go on, but you get the point. The Islamic Council is complaining about statements found in its own sacred texts.

DOESN'T it know what the Koran and Hadith say? Should it attempt to punish Victorians who alert the rest of us to these passages?

It is true that some moderate Islamic leaders think other passages of the Koran can be interpreted to make theirs a religion of peace, and no threat to anyone.

The Koran doesn't have to be interpreted as the Catch the Fire Ministries does, and most Muslims would not.

But there is no denying that other Muslim leaders -- powerful ones -- do indeed interpret the Koran in ways that should frighten anyone who believes in peace, tolerance, democracy and freedom of conscience and belief.

The Islamic Council is wrong to try to stop that vital debate from being held. It should be more concerned to reform Islam, and not stop those of us who think that job is now urgent.

## Holy war of words

And the proof is now in. The Bracks Government's ludicrous vilification laws now risk stifling a critical discussion. Shame on it.

[bolta@heraldsun.com.au](mailto:bolta@heraldsun.com.au)

**Load-Date:** May 29, 2002

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## *Critics doubt Israel is ready to fight 'real' war*

Deseret News (Salt Lake City)

June 16, 2002, Sunday

Copyright 2002 The Deseret News Publishing Co.

**Section:** WIRE;

**Length:** 1477 words

**Byline:** Associated Press

### **Body**

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QALANDIYA CHECKPOINT, Israel -- In 1967, Israel's army became a legend, routing three Arab armies massed on its borders. But those renowned warriors are gone now, peacefully retired from their military service.

A new generation of Israeli soldiers mans a checkpoint outside the West Bank town of Ramallah, facing not Syrian tanks and Egyptian infantry but Palestinians trying to get to work, or go home, or reach a hospital. Right now, the deadliest enemy is the suicide bomber, indistinguishable from ordinary humanity until he or she self-destructs.

"It's not exactly what we were trained for," said Maj. Oded Bar-Maoz, the deputy commander of the battalion manning the checkpoint.

For a generation, Israel's soldiers have used overwhelming force to patrol occupied areas -- and, for 20 months now, to fight lightly armed militants -- leaving some military experts questioning how they might do if they again were up against a well-equipped army.

"If you fight the weak, you become weak," said Martin van Creveld, a prominent writer on Israeli military affairs.

"The number of Israeli commanders who have participated in any kind of real warfare, there are maybe one or two left. All the rest are policemen," van Creveld said. "What will happen to an army of policemen in case there is a real war?"

Israel hasn't fought a serious battle since its armor clashed with Syrian tanks in Lebanon in 1982. For the rest of the time, it has vastly outgunned the militias and guerrillas it has fought.

In the six-week incursion into West Bank cities that ended in May, it used tanks, helicopter gunships and thousands of soldiers to fight a few hundred militants armed with submachine guns, mortars and explosives.

They continue to raid towns and villages and to operate dozens of checkpoints that make life a misery for the 3 million Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza.

"This job is very, very, very difficult," said Bar-Maoz, a 29-year-old full-time soldier whose Qalandiya checkpoint lies at the entrance to Ramallah. "In this kind of mission, morale is usually not good."

The checkpoint is actually a heavily fortified mini-base designed to protect the soldiers from attacks by snipers and suicide bombers, who have targeted the roadblocks themselves in the past.

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Wearing bulletproof vests and helmets and carrying assault rifles, the soldiers stand behind waist-high concrete slabs topped with sandbags and question villagers -- women carrying children, men returning from work.

Dozens of other Palestinians waiting in the orange light of dusk are kept behind a wide semicircle of concrete barriers and coiled razor wire. The distance between them is meant to protect the soldiers, but it also serves to further alienate them from the Palestinian public.

"There are lots of people here and you can't be sure who is going to be a suicide bomber and who is not," Bar-Maoz said. "Every soldier is a target."

It's a far cry from the military triumphs of the Six-Day War of 1967.

Surrounded by forces massed on three borders, its southern sea outlet under a throttling blockade and the U.N. peacekeeping force expelled by Egyptian order, Israel launched a surprise attack on June 5, 1967, that obliterated Egypt's air force in three hours.

Over the next few days, Israel devastated the forces of three hostile neighbors, quadrupled its size and emerged as the superpower of the Middle East.

But the army so proud of its pluck and ingenuity was badly humiliated by a surprise attack in 1973 by Syria and Egypt. It managed to push those armies back, but at great cost. Some 2,700 of its soldiers were killed -- one-seventh of the Arab toll.

Since then, Egypt and Jordan have signed peace treaties with Israel, but the threats still linger on the nation's borders, and are compounded by the distant but unsettling specter that the next war will be fought with long-range missiles, even weapons of mass destruction.

Syria has 380,000 active duty soldiers and 520 combat aircraft, but Israel is more worried about its northern neighbor's growing missile program and its ability to launch chemical and poison weapons into Israel's cities. Iraq also is believed capable of firing missiles tipped with chemical and biological weapons. During the 1991 Gulf War it fired Scud missiles into Israel, though they were wildly inaccurate.

Egypt has steadily modernized its army of 450,000 soldiers and 481 combat aircraft. Though Egypt and Israel signed a peace agreement in 1979, there is concern the Palestinian conflict could increase tensions. Jane's Information Group reported in January that Egypt had conducted military exercises whose hypothetical target was Israel.

Every Israeli male serves three years in the military, followed by several weeks a year in reserves, making up a force estimated at 185,000 active troops and 445,000 reservists, plus armor and 628 combat aircraft,

"It's still the strongest army in the Middle East," said Shai Feldman, director of the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies in Tel Aviv. He compared it to a philharmonic orchestra, stocked with virtuoso players of every classical instrument of war.

Brig. Gen. Gershon HaCohen, director of the Israeli Defense Forces doctrine and training division, said the constant threat of invasion coupled with operations on hostile Palestinian ground have forced Israel to create a highly adaptable "post-modern warrior."

"You must prepare the troops in order to engage in classical battle, but the same troops must also be prepared in the new kind of warfare," he said.

In this new warfare -- urban battles in hostile cities, searches for bombers and snipers -- the military cannot use its backbone of artillery and jets but must rely more on the training and skill of individual soldiers, he said.

## Critics doubt Israel is ready to fight 'real' war

As the military continues to try to quell Palestinian attacks, many in Israel remain worried about morale. Polls say a majority of Israelis favor a Palestinian state, and a small but vocal movement of reservists has refused to serve in the Palestinian territories.

Rules designed to keep the military out of politics forbade the soldiers at Qalandiya from airing their political beliefs, but many said that after nearly 70 suicide bombings that have killed more than 220 people inside Israel in the past 20 months, they don't feel so bad about checkpoint duty.

"If it's for the defense of our nation, that's our job, so we have to do it," Lt. Omer Brickman said.

Operation Defensive Shield meant taking over most of the Palestinian-run cities in the West Bank, where **Hamas** and other extremist groups have weapons and explosives factories and where they recruit, train and send suicide bombers into Israel. Hundreds of thousands of innocent people's lives were turned upside down. Dozens of wanted men were killed or arrested in the towns and refugee camps.

"No one is happy going into a refugee camp," said a former army chief of staff, Amnon Lipkin-Shahak. "But when you get the feeling it is a necessity and it is in order to save lives ... then I believe people understand why they have to go in."

But many Palestinians have come to view the army as "a gang that terrorizes a captive population" with checkpoints, military raids and assassinations, Palestinian lawmaker Hanan Ashrawi said.

The soldiers who seem so brave in Israel are considered by Palestinians to be cowards who hide in tanks and shell homes, she said.

"It doesn't take much courage to stand there in their (armored personnel carriers) and their bulletproof vests and humiliate people deliberately," she said. "They have turned every Palestinian into a victim."

At Qalandiya, soldiers speak of the emotional difficulties of their jobs -- of worrying that every approaching person is a potential attacker, but also trying to understand that most are decent people, frustrated by the humiliations and delays at the checkpoint.

The soldiers sometimes bring the elderly and parents with children to the front and send them across quickly, but the rest have to wait in the line of about 100 people.

When Sgt. Tom Almagor, 21, first arrived three weeks ago, he was scared of everyone. He would quarrel with Palestinians who showed up without the proper paperwork, and remain surly for hours afterward, snapping at anyone else trying to cross.

"At the end of the day, you feel empty. You feel like a rag," he said.

With the 7:30 p.m. closing time approaching and a huge line still waiting to cross, Almagor and Brickman abandoned their fortified posts, walked over to the Palestinians and began quickly waving them through before sealing off the city.

Many of the soldiers talked longingly of their previous, more classically military, assignment, patrolling the border with Lebanon. There the rules are clear, Bar-Maoz said. "You feel that you are defending your country and are not part of politics. There are no doubts about the mission."

On the Net: Israel Defense Forces: [www.idf.il](http://www.idf.il)

**Load-Date:** June 16, 2002

## *Palestinian martyrs are plentiful*

The Record (Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario)

April 5, 2002 Friday Final Edition

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**Length:** 1403 words

**Byline:** By Dudley Althaus Dudley Althaus

**Dateline:** BETHLEHEM, WEST BANK

### **Body**

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At 14, Shireen Ohda has mirthful eyes, a charming smile and the burning desire to commit suicide in an attack on Israelis.

"If I knew how to find the means to do it, I would," Shireen says, as her worried father listens in the living room of the family's comfortable, twostorey house in a Bethlehem refugee camp, just outside Jerusalem. "God willing."

As Israeli troops in the West Bank press a campaign that Prime Minister Ariel Sharon says is aimed at forcing Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat to end a rampage of suicide bombings and other attacks, many young Palestinians such as Shireen stand ready to press their own struggle.

"If Sharon calls us terrorists, then we should show him the terror," Shireen says quietly as her grandmother and other family members gather.

HOUSTON CHRONICLE

Many might dismiss such talk as teenage bravado and Shireen as a twisted fanatic. But two other teenagers from her neighbourhood, the Deheishe refugee camp, have carried out suicide attacks inside Israel in the past month, killing 13 people and injuring dozens.

Shireen, one of seven children from a close-knit family, is a personable girl with dreams of saving lives as a physician that rival those of taking them as a bomber.

"We are losing control of our children," says her father, Awad, 45, who works at an advertising firm. "I have made it crystal clear that if they do something like this, it will kill me, too. I cannot think of losing my children."

Shireen's own ideas about suicide might be influenced by her own travails. She has muscular dystrophy, a progressive disease that now makes walking difficult, her father says.

Shireen may or may not carry through on her violent threats, but other young Palestinians have, and still others most likely will.

Last Friday, Ayat Akhras, 18, a close friend of Shireen's older sister, Shuruq, blew herself up in a south Jerusalem supermarket, killing two Israelis. A popular and gifted student who was engaged to be married this summer, Akhras had taken care to do her homework the night before she died.



## Palestinian martyrs are plentiful

"It's great; it's wonderful," Shireen says of Akhras. "This is like revenge for the martyrs, for those who have died. The security of Israel cannot be at the expense of the tears of the children of the refugee camps."

In all, more than 60 suicide bombings have blasted Israeli targets during the 18-month Palestinian uprising known as the intifada, Israeli police say. The Palestinians' targets have been cafes, restaurants, buses and other public places. Many of the victims have been men, women and children with little or nothing to do with the military campaign against Arafat.

"Those children would have grown up to fight and kill us," Shireen says of the Israeli youngsters slain and injured in the bombings. "We already have children on our side being killed."

The uprising began after Arafat pulled out of a U.S.-brokered peace deal at Camp David that would have given Palestinians most, but not all, of the territory they are demanding in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Israelis and Palestinians blame each other for scuttling what many on both sides agree was likely their best hope for a negotiated solution.

In the ongoing conflict, Israel has relied on its powerful military, bolstered with some 20,000 reservists hastily called up over the weekend. Palestinians have countered with gunmen from a variety of militias and with young suicide attackers.

Israeli officials have accused Arafat's own militia and other armed groups of recruiting suicide squads. But militia leaders insist that they turn away far more volunteers for suicide than they can use. Many Palestinians agree. "Every day there will be 100 martyrs going out," says Sumer Akhras, the 22-year-old sister of the suicide bomber Ayat Akhras. "We're going to be coming from everywhere."

While most of the suicide bombers have been young men, a handful of women like Akhras have volunteered. The Islamic fundamentalist groups such as Hamas that have carried out most of the suicide attacks have refused to allow women to do them as a matter of religious principle. But others, such as the nationalist al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade, a radical offshoot of Arafat's own Fatah movement, have supported the notion of young women such as Akhras carrying out suicide bombings.

"It makes us feel good that she was a female," Shuruq Ohda, 16, says of Akhras. "She's an example to follow. She was a leader before she died, and she can be a leader now."

Most of the bombers have been from camps such as Deheishe, where a third generation of children are growing up hearing about properties lost when Israel was born 54 years ago. The children worship older "martyrs" who died in the struggle to win the lands back.

Israelis accuse Arafat and other Palestinian leaders of cynically inciting refugee-camp youths to violence -- either by directly ordering suicide attacks or spurring them on with inflammatory language. Although Arafat has routinely condemned attacks on civilians inside Israel, he has also used language about the fight to win an independent Palestine that pushes many buttons.

Palestinian parents, teachers and community leaders scramble to convince young adults that suicide is not a proper action. But youths thinking about bombings or other types of attacks find many sources of positive reinforcement.

Images of the uprising -- children throwing stones at Israeli tanks, funerals of fallen fighters, mothers weeping for dead sons -- dominate programming on Palestinian and other Arab television stations.

The photos and caricatures of dead fighters, both suicide attackers and those killed in clashes with Israeli soldiers, adorn walls across the West Bank and Gaza, accompanied by slogans encouraging rebellion.

A December poll conducted by the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research concluded that 85 per cent of Palestinians do not view violent acts against Israelis, even civilians, as terrorism.

## Palestinian martyrs are plentiful

Suicide attackers are considered martyrs here, a religious and political concept. Many believe the martyr gains assured access to heaven and the ability to intercede for the salvation of family members as well.

Families of suicide bombers often receive a payment -- as much as \$30,000 -- reportedly financed by Iraq, Saudi Arabia and other Muslim countries. In a land where unemployment hovers at 40 per cent and per capital income is less than \$1,700, such payments may be powerful incentive for some families.

Nearly half of the West Bank's two million Palestinians live in crowded and impoverished refugee camps such as Deheishe. About 80 per cent of the Gaza Strip's one million inhabitants are refugees.

With little chance of returning to their ancestral homes, relegated to the lowest rungs of Palestinian society and steeped in the politics of resistance to Israel, refugee children are the most desperate of this conflict's dead end kids.

"For the refugees who lost everything in 1948, there is nothing to lose now," says sociologist Norma Hazboun of Bethlehem University, a Roman Catholic institution. "For them, life becomes meaningless. The desire is very strong to regain the rights that they have lost.

"Being raised in a refugee camp means your whole life revolves around the national cause," Hazboun, a native of Bethlehem, says. "We as Palestinians breathe politics at every moment, at every second."

Martyrdom -- or death in the fight against Israel -- is a touchstone of Palestinian refugee culture, Hazboun says.

Last Friday, while besieged by Israeli tanks at his Ramallah headquarters, Arafat invoked martyrdom when he said he would rather die than surrender. He preferred, he declared, to be a "martyr, martyr, martyr." He called for millions of martyrs to march on Jerusalem.

"When I heard him say it, I cried," says Hazboun, who added that Arafat's use of the word triggered powerful emotions among Palestinians.

Another recent survey, this one conducted by Save the Children-United Kingdom, an aid organization working in the Palestinian territories, asked 120 children between the ages of eight and 14 to draw themselves as they imagined they would be in 10 years. A vast majority could not draw any pictures. "They said things like, 'I'll be dead. I'll be a martyr, or I will be gone,'" says Mary Louise Weighill, the agency's director. "They don't see any future."

Rapid population growth in Palestinian communities and few prospects for jobs that pay living wages make life even more dismal.

## Graphic

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Photo: Associated Press; With a mock explosive strapped to his head, a pro-Palestinian demonstrator protests in front of the United Nations office in Jakarta, Indonesia, yesterday. There have been more than 60 suicide bombers in the last 18 months.

**Load-Date:** April 5, 2002

**MIDEAST TURMOIL: REFUGEE CAMPS; Israeli Forces Pull Back From Jenin,  
But Blockade Still Remains**

The New York Times

April 19, 2002 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 1; Foreign Desk; Pg. 10

**Length:** 1364 words

**Byline:** By JAMES BENNET

**Dateline:** JENIN REFUGEE CAMP, West Bank, Friday, April 19

## **Body**

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Israel withdrew its forces to the outskirts of the city early today, Israel Radio reported, leaving the Palestinians to search the fetid ruins here for their dead and missing.

Israel's two-week operation here, the most violent of its wide-ranging incursion into the West Bank, was presented as a counterterrorist offensive that would, as Prime Minister Ariel Sharon vowed, leave no "seed of terror behind."

But as the operation winds down, Israel is continuing to treat Jenin as a threat. Its tanks and troops have formed a ring around the city, blockading it.

Israeli officials said that by Sunday their forces would leave other West Bank cities and towns they have occupied, with the exceptions of Ramallah and Bethlehem, where they have besieged wanted men.

But even as the Israelis pulled back from Jenin, Israeli tanks thrust today into Qalqilya, a West Bank city from which Israeli forces had withdrawn last week under American pressure, Palestinian witnesses told Reuters.

They said that tanks and armored vehicles moved into Qalqilya from two directions and that sporadic gunfire was heard.

An Israeli Army spokeswoman declined to comment on the reports, saying, "We're not specifying the deployment of our forces."

With this camp in tatters and Israeli forces still ranging through other Palestinian-controlled areas, Palestinian leaders expressed shock, and Israeli officials expressed satisfaction, over a statement by President Bush that Mr. Sharon was "a man of peace."

In his remarks, made in Washington on Thursday as he welcomed Secretary of State Colin L. Powell back from six days in the Middle East that yielded no cease-fire, Mr. Bush appeared to endorse Mr. Sharon's demand that the Palestinians turn over the killers of Israel's tourism minister, who Israel says are hiding with Yasir Arafat, the Palestinian leader, in his Ramallah compound. Under an agreement between Israelis and Palestinians, neither side must extradite a suspect provided he is jailed.

## MIDEAST TURMOIL: REFUGEE CAMPS Israeli Forces Pull Back From Jenin, But Blockade Still Remains

Saeb Erekat, the Palestinians' chief negotiator, said that after being arrested two months ago, the suspected killers were transported through the West Bank, from Nablus to Ramallah, in an official American vehicle, with coordination with the Israeli Army.

"The whole idea was that we would bring them to justice in a Palestinian court in Ramallah," he said. "Doesn't the United States president know that this transfer was done with the help of his people?"

In Ramallah on Thursday, Mr. Arafat received the Jordanian foreign minister, Marwan Muasher, together with Mr. Arafat's doctor, Ashraf al-Kurdi, who is based in Amman. Such visits are rare, and they occur only with the permission of the Israeli Army, which surrounds the Palestinian leader's office.

In a sign of how completely Israel controls the area, the army offered reporters footage of the Jordanians visiting the compound.

Surveying the wreckage here Thursday, Terje Roed-Larsen, the United Nations special envoy to the Middle East, called the scene "horrifying beyond belief."

"Combating terrorism does not give a blank check to kill civilians," he said.

He said that people might still be alive under the bulldozed ruins, among the buried bodies. "You can yourself smell the stench of death all over the place," he said. "No doubt about it -- there are bodies all over the place."

He accused Israel of blocking access to the camp for United Nations and humanitarian workers for 11 days. The Israeli army said that it was not safe to admit outsiders into the camp because of booby traps left by Palestinian fighters.

Israeli officials were furious over Mr. Roed-Larsen's remarks, accusing him of ignoring that 23 soldiers died in what they called fierce combat here. They said that in attacking the camp, Israel was reacting to Palestinian violence.

"Larsen is not telling the whole truth," said Gideon Meir, a spokesman for the Foreign Ministry. "He is totally ignoring what Israel went through. He is ignoring what Jenin was -- the capital of Palestinian terror."

Miri Eisen, an Israeli colonel, told reporters that Israeli forces in Jenin had caught 10 would-be suicide bombers who had already videotaped their farewell statements. She accused Palestinian leaders of lying in describing the Israeli operation as a massacre.

The number of dead remains unknown. Palestinian officials have spoken of a massacre of hundreds, but Israeli officials angrily rejected those accusations. Colonel Eisen said that the army knew of 25 corpses, though she acknowledged that more could be under the rubble. She said 23 soldiers had been killed and 75 wounded.

Behind the Jenin Hospital, in a pile of orange dirt beside a small bulldozer, 23 bodies have been temporarily interred. Dr. Muhammad Abu Ghali, the director of the hospital, has made a map showing where each body was placed, with each name, so that the bodies may eventually be claimed and buried properly.

On Thursday, he said, "they brought me one body and some pieces of body. The other parts are still inside the rubble." He said that the parts had been buried, and when the rest of the remains were found the body would be identified.

Some 13,000 people lived here before the Israeli soldiers attacked, but many have fled. Israeli officials said that perhaps 100 homes were destroyed, but officials from the United Nations agency that oversees Palestinian refugee camps were making their own count on Thursday.

Mr. Roed-Larsen said he was shocked to discover that the Israeli government had not dispatched teams to find and extract anyone who might be buried alive here.

## MIDEAST TURMOIL: REFUGEE CAMPS Israeli Forces Pull Back From Jenin, But Blockade Still Remains

On Thursday, in the village of Beit Hassan, near Nablus, Israeli helicopters attacked an isolated house in an orange orchard with rockets and machine-gun fire. Israeli officials said that the raid killed Hassam Atef Ali Badran, whom they identified as the leader in the West Bank of the military wing of the Islamic group **Hamas**. Three others were killed in the attack, Israel radio reported.

Also on Thursday, a young man who escaped from the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, where about 250 Palestinians have been holed up for more than two weeks, was shown on television saying that there was disagreement among the people inside. The young man, who was being treated by the Israelis after he had been shot, said that some wanted to leave but that Palestinian Authority officials insisted that all should either stay or leave together. The army also released footage taken from the air showing what it said were men pursuing someone trying to vault the wall of the church compound and pulling him back inside.

Today, a 38-year-old man was killed and a 19-year-old man wounded by Israeli fire when tanks moved to the edges of the Rafah refugee camp in the southern Gaza Strip and opened fire, Reuters reported.

The Israeli Army said it had detained 4,258 Palestinians for questioning since the start of its operation, of which 396 were suspected of involvement in anti-Israeli violence.

The Israeli curfew was lifted here briefly on Thursday, and the streets filled with Palestinians rushing out for food, sunshine and company.

People thronged through the destruction in the camp, some searching the shells of their homes for belongings they had not had time to collect when the army ordered them out. In one house missing its front wall, a woman shook the dirt off a lace doily, then shoved it into a garbage bag with other household items.

**Women** pressed their head scarves over their mouths and noses as they passed through the stench of decay. "God willing, we will smell your smell, Sharon," muttered one, holding an orange cloth over her nose.

By another partially destroyed house, people said they had unearthed the remains of a 12-year-old boy. Clotted with dirt, the body parts lay on a brown rug, and it was impossible to be certain of the age or sex of the body.

Sameeh Abu Sibaa, 43, supervised men digging for the remains of his father, Muhammed Abu Sibaa, 75. He said his father had been shot dead by an Israeli sniper when he stepped outside his home, then buried in the rubble when the house was later destroyed. "There's a martyrs' cemetery in the camp," said Mr. Abu Sibaa, a builder. "We will bury him there."

<http://www.nytimes.com>

## Graphic

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Photos: Israeli armor began to withdraw yesterday from Nablus, as part of a wider pullout from West Bank towns, except Ramallah and Bethlehem. (Rina Castelnuevo for The New York Times); Aliya Shahadi Abed and her son Rabad, 27, were reunited yesterday when he returned to the refugee camp in Jenin after being released from detention by the Israeli Army. The curfew in Jenin was lifted briefly yesterday. (Ruth Fremson/The New York Times)

**Load-Date:** April 19, 2002

## *For God's sake*

Courier Mail (Queensland, Australia)

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**Section:** FEATURES; Pg. 25

**Length:** 1532 words

**Byline:** Peter Charlton

### **Body**

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Yet another suicide bombing has shattered the peace of Passover in the Middle East. Peter Charlton looks at the links between religion and violence

THIS weekend Jews worldwide are celebrating Passover. Christians, too, celebrate their most important religious festival: the crucifixion of Christ -- the "Prince of Peace" -- and his resurrection three days later.

Yet in the very city where such momentous events were supposed to have happened, Israeli Jews and Palestinian Arabs are engaged in the most appalling violence: suicide bombings and terrorism on the part of the Palestinians; military actions, the legality of which verge closely on war crimes, by the Israelis.

There, the disputes are deep-seated, ranging well beyond the creation of the state of Israel after World War II.

One essential element of the tensions is land, and particularly Jewish settlers -- anywhere else in the world they would be called squatters -- occupying land belonging to the Palestinians; another is religious, where ancient enmities erupt, all too frequently, into killing. In the latest incident, the militant **Hamas** group has claimed responsibility for the suicide bombing that left 22 dead and scores more injured.

In the meantime, attempts to find a peaceful solution, based on a plan put forward by Saudi Arabia, have all but come to nothing.

Since the September 11 terror strikes on the United States, surely the single greatest example of religious violence in modern times, academics have stepped up their examination of the links, both historical and contemporary, between religion and violence.

But, as the social commentator Hugh McKay puts it, the social and political history of institutional religions is "pretty bleak". "From Judaism to Islam, the great religions of the world have an appalling record of violence and rapaciousness," he says.

Christianity doesn't emerge with a perfect record; the Spanish Inquisition was hardly an exercise of brotherly love.

Brian Victoria, who teaches Asian Studies at the University of Adelaide, has long studied the link between religion and war. He says there are three factors that turn the essentially peaceful message in most religions into warlike signals.

## For God's sake

"First, war inevitably involves people dying, being killed and both for the people who are dying and for their loved ones, particularly survivors, they look for 'What does this mean? Why did this person die?' " he says.

"We're trained, almost from childhood, to look to religion to provide those kinds of answers, especially about death.

"Second, I would suggest that despite the fact that we call ourselves civilised, for tens of thousands of years we realise the human race has lived in tribes, and as tribal peoples I'd suggest we still have very much that; we don't call them tribes today, we call them nations . . . we're still tribal people or have a tribal consciousness.

"And thirdly we have to recognise that it's very difficult to get ordinary people to put themselves in the line of danger to be shot. So when politicians of any country want young men and now, increasingly young women, to put themselves in danger, they have to inspire them. You have to make them believe this is for justice, for right, for democracy, for everything that we believe in, and therefore they're quite willing to use religion and particularly religious leaders, to endorse what are essentially political decisions."

IN THE aftermath of September 11, Pope John Paul II invited world religious leaders to join him in a day of prayer for peace, warning: "Religion must never become the motive for conflict. Never again violence. Never again war. Never again terrorism." Fine words. Even finer sentiments, but the reality is very different. Jack Miles, a senior adviser to United States President George W. Bush at the J. Paul Getty Trust and a member of the Pacific Council on International Policy, believes peace will come not when any particular terrorist network of secret agents has been surgically excised, but when an authentic alternative vision has emerged within Islam.

"But what of world Islam?" he asked in a recent article. "The border separating what Muslims call dar al-islam, the 'House of Submission (Islam)', from dar al-harb, the 'House of Warfare' seems increasingly to define a long irregular battlefield, one that as of September 11, 2001, stretches across four continents.

"With striking frequency, those post-Cold War conflicts typically termed 'local' or 'parochial' or at most 'sectarian' turn out to be battles between historically Muslim and historically non-Muslim populations." In other words, essentially religious conflicts.

Continued Page 26

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Professor Mark Juergensmeyer, of the University of California, Santa Barbara, agrees that violence in the name of religion has a long history. In *Terror in the Mind of God*, he argues that the fall of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War merely changed the grounds for conflicts, with fighting for religion replacing the ideological origins of the Cold War.

"People are sanctioned to kill in defence of country and defence of religion," he says. "For some entities, the fight is no longer my form of government against yours. It is my religion and my beliefs against yours."

According to Juergensmeyer, only 20 years ago the US State Department listing of international terrorist groups included just a handful of religious groups. But by 1998, more than half of terror organisations listed by then-secretary of state Madeleine Albright were religious in nature.

While some of these groups commit terror in the name of Islamic fundamentalism, that is just one type of religious-based violence -- alongside Protestant-Roman Catholic conflict in Northern Ireland, cult attacks on Tokyo's subway system in 1995 and the targeting of abortion clinics and their doctors in the US. "Every religion in the world has violence committed in its name," he said.

According to Julie Ingersoll, assistant professor of religious studies at the University of North Florida, since September 11 many religious leaders, especially Muslims, have argued that those who use their faith to justify violence are not authentically religious; that Muslims who justify violence are not "real" Muslims.

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In a conference paper presented last October 25, she said: "Many who are know little about Islam watch the news and find it difficult to make sense of such assertions in light of pronouncements that seem to justify terrorism based on Islam. The pronouncements of religious leaders just don't coincide with what we see on the news and there have been few attempts to reconcile the disjointed images. Does Islam provide some unique framework for advocating violence -- or more generally, does religion provide such a framework?"

"These are important issues, but this is a risky topic to engage because the public focus is limited to the specific question of whether or not Islam is violent, narrowing the possible answers inadequately to 'yes' or 'no'. In the face of insistence that authentic Islam is really peaceful, if one seeks to develop more complex understanding capable of explaining seemingly contradictory realities, one risks being lumped together with those who dismiss Islam as essentially violent and who hold anti-Muslim views."

A British academic, Karen Armstrong, has argued that religious groups have been forced to fight back against what they see as the onslaught of modernity and secularism. She says the history of the 20th century shows that secularist ideologies such as revolutionary socialism or Nazism have been just as, if not more, belligerent and cruel than any kind of religious crusade.

"Indeed, much of the religious violence that we've been witnessing in recent years throughout the world has been occasioned by secularist aggression," she says.

"Every single fundamentalist movement that I've studied in Judaism, Christianity and Islam is rooted in a profound fear. Fundamentalists, be they Christian, Jewish or Muslim, are convinced that the secular, liberal establishment is going to wipe them out, even in the US. In the Islamic countries, where secularism has been very, very accelerated, far more accelerated than it was in Europe where the process took 400 years and the new ideas could trickle down to all levels, secularism has been achieved at great speed and at great cost."

And, she adds, modern Christianity is not without its violence, pointing to Christian fundamentalist attacks on abortion clinics. "We tend to call these people white supremacists but in fact these are largely Christian, but there's a sort of network of people who adopt this kind of extreme Aryan fascist form of Christianity," she says.

"We're not even sure how many of them there are; there could be as few as 50,000 of them in the US, but nevertheless they are a presence."

"Every fundamentalist movement I've studied begins as an inter-religious conflict. Fundamentalists, be they Christian, Jewish or Muslim, begin by fighting their own co-religionists, whom they believe are making too many concessions to modernity."

'Every fundamentalist movement I've studied in Judaism, Christianity and Islam is rooted in a profound fear'

**Load-Date:** March 29, 2002



**MR POWELL MUST SEE FOR HIMSELF WHAT ISRAEL INFLICTED ON  
JENIN;  
THE CREDIBILITY OF US POLICY ON THE CONFLICT HAS BEEN  
SHATTERED, WRITES ROBERT FISK**

Independent on Sunday (London)

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**Section:** COMMENT; Pg. 25

**Length:** 1394 words

**Byline:** Robert Fisk Man of straw: Colin Powell is met by an army officer on his arrival in Israel and, below left, a Palestinian faces an Israeli tank in Jenin; YARON KAMINSKY/AP; REUTERS

## **Body**

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Why doesn't Colin Powell go to Jenin? What has happened to the world's moral compass - indeed to the United States - when America's most famous ex-general, the Secretary of State of the most powerful country on earth, on a supposedly desperate mission to stop the bloodshed in the Middle East, fails to grasp what is taking place in front of his nose? The stench of decaying corpses is wafting out of the Palestinian city. The Israeli army is still keeping the Red Cross and journalists from seeing the evidence of the mass killings that have taken place there. "Hundreds" - on Israel's own admission - have died, including civilians. Why, for God's sake, can't Mr Powell do the decent thing and demand an explanation for the extraordinary, sinister events that have taken place in Jenin?

Instead, after joshing with Ariel Sharon after his arrival in Jerusalem on Friday, Mr Powell is playing games, demanding that Yasser Arafat condemn Friday's bloody suicide bombing in Jerusalem (total, six dead and 65 wounded) while failing to utter more than a word of "concern" for the infinitely more terrible death toll in Jenin. Is Mr Powell frightened of the Israelis? Does he really have to debase himself in this way? Does he think that meeting Arafat, or refusing to do so, takes precedence over the enormous humanitarian tragedy and slaughter that has overwhelmed the Palestinians? Is President Bush - whose demand that Ariel Sharon withdraw his troops from the West Bank has been blandly ignored - so gutless, so cynical, as to allow this charade to continue? For this is the endgame, the very final proof that the United States is no longer morally worthy of being a Middle East peacemaker.

Even for one who has witnessed so much duplicity in the Middle East, it is a shock to reflect on the events of the past nine days. Let's just remember, as the Americans would say, "the facts". Almost two weeks ago, the United Nations Security Council, with the active participation and support of the United States, demanded an immediate end to Israel's reoccupation of the West Bank and Gaza. President Bush insisted that Mr Sharon should follow the advice of "Israel's American friends" and - because our own Mr Blair was with the President at the time - of "Israel's British friends", and withdraw. "When I say withdraw, I mean it," Mr Bush snapped three days later. But of course, it's now clear that he meant nothing of the kind.

Instead, he sent Mr Powell off on his "urgent" mission of peace, a journey to Israel and the West Bank that would take the Secretary of State an incredible eight days - just enough time, Mr Bush presumably thought, to allow his

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POLICY ON THE CONFLICT HAS BEEN SHATTERED, WRITES ROBERT FISK

"good friend" Mr Sharon to finish his latest bloody adventure in the West Bank. Supposedly unaware that Israel's chief of staff, Shaul Mofaz, had told Mr Sharon that he needed at least eight weeks to "finish the job" of crushing the Palestinians, Mr Powell wandered off around the Mediterranean, dawdling in Morocco, Spain, Egypt and Jordan before finally washing up in Israel on Friday morning. If Washington firefighters took that long to reach a blaze, the American capital would long ago have turned to ashes. But of course, the purpose of Mr Powell's idleness was to allow enough time for Jenin to be turned to ashes. Mission, I suppose, accomplished.

As Israel's indisciplined soldiery yesterday continued to hide their deeds from the outside world by preventing the Red Cross, aid workers, ambulances and journalists from entering the rubble of Jenin, Mr Powell was sitting idly by in Israel, calling for the "utmost restraint" from an army that has not yet finished filling the mass graves of Jenin. That he should see a visit to Yasser Arafat - the grotesque, corrupt old man of Ramallah - as the make-or-break issue of his "peacemaking" shows just how skewed Mr Powell's morality has become. Mr Arafat's advisers (let's not give any credit to the would-be "martyr-chairman" of the Palestinian Authority for this) shrewdly announced that it is for Mr Powell to condemn the killings in Jenin, for Mr Arafat could be expected to condemn the vicious suicide bombing in Jerusalem on Friday. And even though Mr Arafat mouthed the relevant words of contrition and condemnation yesterday afternoon, it makes little difference.

All last week, while Mr Sharon's soldiers were running amok in Jenin, White House spokesman Ari Fleischer was playing the role of Mr Sharon's point man in Washington. When Israel announced that its army was pulling out of three tiny West Bank villages - so tiny that no one had ever heard of them before - Mr Fleischer announced that this was "a step in the right direction". Then by Friday morning, when even the most dimwitted observer had grasped that something was terribly wrong in Jenin, Mr Fleischer was telling us that Sharon was "a man of peace". How much longer, one wonders, could this nonsense continue?

Of course, the Palestinians - or whoever directs the sepulchral, nightmarish campaign of suicide bombing, for it surely cannot be the preposterous Mr Arafat - are going for the jugular. The Al Aqsa Brigades or Hamas or Islamic Jihad clearly intend to ensure that Mr Sharon's ruthless operation fails (the Israeli reoccupation, after all, was supposed to be preventing these wicked Palestinian crimes) and to ensure that Mr Powell is made to look impotent. They seem certain to accomplish both goals. The Palestinian Authority, to all intents and purposes, has for now ceased to exist. That was surely one of Mr Sharon's intentions. And Mr Powell's weakness, his failure of nerve, his cowardice, are now likely to set off an Israeli- Palestinian war even more terrible than what we have witnessed so far.

But let's pause for a quick journey down memory lane; to September 1982, when Ariel Sharon was "rooting out the network of terror" in the Sabra and Chatila refugee camps in Beirut. Before sending Israel's murderous Phalangist militia allies into the camps, Mr Sharon told the world that the Palestinians had assassinated the Phalangist leader, Bashir Gemayel. This was totally untrue, but the Phalange believed him. And evidence is now emerging in Beirut that, long after the Americans had called for Israel to withdraw the killers from the camp, the Israeli army, commanded by then Defence Minister Sharon, handed more than 1,000 survivors over to those same murderers to be slaughtered over the following two weeks. This, primarily, is why Mr Sharon is so worried by the attempts to indict him for war crimes in Brussels.

Hasn't Mr Powell glanced through the State Department archives for 1982? Hasn't he read what Mr Sharon said back then, the same ranting about "terror networks" and "rooting out terror" that he employs today? A lexicon which Mr Powell himself is now enthusiastically using? Has he forgotten that the Israeli Kahan commission held Mr Sharon "personally responsible" for the massacre of those 1,700 civilians? Does Mr Powell really think that Jenin, albeit on a smaller scale, is much different? Even if we dismiss all the Palestinian claims of civilian butchery, extrajudicial executions and the wholesale destruction of thousands of homes, what on earth does he think the Israelis are hiding in Jenin? Why doesn't he go and look?

Yes, the Palestinians' suicide campaign is immoral, unforgivable, insupportable. One day, the Arabs - never ones to look in the mirror when it comes to their own crimes - will have to acknowledge the sheer cruelty of their tactics. They have not done this so far. But since the Israelis never attempted to confront the immorality of shooting to

MR POWELL MUST SEE FOR HIMSELF WHAT ISRAEL INFLICTED ON JENIN; THE CREDIBILITY OF US POLICY ON THE CONFLICT HAS BEEN SHATTERED, WRITES ROBERT FISK

death child stone- throwers in the early days of the intifada or the evil of their reckless death squads who went around murdering Palestinians on their wanted list, along with the usual clutch of women and kids who got in the way, is this any wonder?

In the annals of war, the conflict in the Middle East has reached a new apogee, but the story of the United States' involvement in the Middle East will never be the same again. Thanks to Mr Powell, President Bush and Mr Sharon, America's credibility has been shattered. Israel, it turns out, does indeed run US policy in the region. The Secretary of State sings from the Israeli songbook. So when, oh when, will the Europeans screw their courage to the sticking-place and become the peacemakers of the Middle East?

**Load-Date:** April 14, 2002

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## **MIDEAST TURMOIL: MIDEAST; 14 Israelis Killed in Two Terror Attacks**

The New York Times  
March 10, 2002 Sunday  
Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section 1; Column 2; Foreign Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1183 words

**Byline:** By SERGE SCHMEMANN

**Dateline:** JERUSALEM, Sunday, March 10

### **Body**

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At least 14 Israelis were killed Saturday evening, one a baby, in two Palestinian terror attacks -- one at a popular cafe in Jerusalem, and another on a seaside promenade in Netanya. The attacks underscored the enormous challenges facing America's renewed peacemaking efforts.

Both places were crowded on a typically busy Saturday night. At about 10:30 p.m., a resounding blast, set off by a suicide bomber, ripped through the Cafe Moment in the affluent Rehavia district of Jerusalem. The cafe is around the corner from the official residence of Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, who was at his ranch for the weekend.

About 100 people were in the cafe when a man joined a group of people in the courtyard and set off his bomb. Police said 11 people were killed and about 50 were injured.

The militant Islamic group **Hamas** claimed responsibility for the attack, and identified the bomber as a resident of a refugee camp in Hebron.

Two hours earlier, two men -- one of whom was said to be wearing an Israeli police uniform -- had attacked the hotel-lined Gad Machnes promenade in Netanya, north of Tel Aviv. They hurled a grenade into a hotel lobby and opened fire with automatic rifles, until police officers shot them dead.

A woman and an Israeli-Arab man, who was initially thought to be a third gunman, were killed in the attack, and a baby died later in a hospital. Twenty-four people were injured. The Aksa Martyrs Brigades, which is associated with Yasir Arafat's Fatah organization and has taken the lead in organizing attacks on Israelis, claimed responsibility for the attack, and said the two attackers were from a refugee camp in Nablus.

Early this morning, Israeli helicopters fired missiles at Mr. Arafat's seaside office building in Gaza City, destroying it, witnesses said. No one was at the compound.

At least 25 missiles fired by the Israeli attack helicopters slammed into the compound, collapsing walls. Israeli gunboats also took part in the assault, witnesses said. The Israeli military had no immediate comment.

Saturday's carnage was the latest bloodshed in one of the most violent stretches of the current Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which has become a virtual war of attrition. On Friday, Israelis killed at least 40 Palestinians, and the day before an Arab killed five Israeli teenagers.

## MIDEAST TURMOIL: MIDEAST 14 Israelis Killed in Two Terror Attacks

Warnings of impending terror attacks have been rife since Israel launched extensive sweeps through several Palestinian refugee camps on March 1.

On Saturday, while an operation in the refugee camp of Tulkarm appeared to be coming to a close, tanks began edging into the Dheisheh refugee camp in Bethlehem, and there were reports that the Israeli Army had taken up positions around camps in Ramallah.

The recent explosion of violence has prompted the Bush administration to try to revive stalled peace negotiations. President Bush announced last week that his special envoy for the Middle East, Gen. Anthony C. Zinni, would return to the region. After the announcement, both Mr. Sharon and Mr. Arafat made gestures intended to signal their readiness to resume talks.

Mr. Sharon announced he would no longer insist on seven consecutive days without violence as a condition for resuming negotiations, and Mr. Arafat arrested a man accused of assassinating an Israeli government official.

But Saturday's attacks, and the continued operations in the refugee camps, indicated how difficult it would be for General Zinni, a retired marine, to break the cycle of violence.

Israel denied that Saturday's attacks were in retaliation for its operations in the refugee camps. "Our reaction is this is a welcome that the Palestinian Authority prepares for Anthony Zinni," said Gideon Meir, a senior official in the Foreign Ministry. "This kind of attack we have been exposed to every week, every month, even before we went into the refugee camps."

Saturday's attacks came exactly one week after another suicide bomber struck in a religious neighborhood of Jerusalem, killing 10. During the week, another bomber set off his charge in a hotel in the Ariel settlement, and two others were stopped before they could explode their bombs.

The blast in Jerusalem scattered debris and blood almost a block from the cafe, which was rapidly surrounded by police, ambulances and the Orthodox volunteers who gather all human remains for burial.

In an adjacent building, Jonatan Gornan, 9, said he was watching television reports about the attack in Netanya when a tremendous explosion swept through his home. "The whole earth shook," the boy said. His mother rushed to close the windows and ordered the children to drop to the floor.

In Netanya, Meir Ben-Hamo, appearing on Israeli television, described what he had seen. "I couldn't understand who was who, and all I heard were bursts of fire. I saw people looking, asking around if someone had a gun on them. Nobody had a gun. We were helpless."

Among Israelis, the attacks were certain to deepen the profound sense of insecurity that has swept through the country.

Mickey Levi, the Jerusalem police chief, said, "We cannot be in every place." He said there had been warnings of an attack in northern Jerusalem, but not in the Rehavia district. He also said there was no indication that Mr. Sharon's residence was a target.

On Saturday, the Israeli Army conducted major operations in the refugee camp of Tulkarm, where Israeli soldiers have been conducting house-to-house searches since Thursday.

Several hundred Palestinians came out of the warren of narrow alleys this morning holding their hands over their heads in surrender. Some were old, some were young, some were injured, and many were accompanied by women or children. Israeli soldiers led them off to an empty lot.

The army said 600 people were detained, including 100 Palestinian Authority police officers licensed to carry guns, and 50 men with unauthorized weapons. Palestinians denied that any of those detained were guerrillas.

## MIDEAST TURMOIL: MIDEAST 14 Israelis Killed in Two Terror Attacks

The army also showed reporters a garage in which, Israeli officers said, Palestinians had been manufacturing rockets. They said 10 of them were ready to fire, and a soldier was at work dismantling the rockets, which were painted in the red, green and black colors of the Palestinian flag.

Israelis said the Tulkarm operation was in its final stages. The Palestinians said at least 16 of their people had been killed there, and the Israelis have reported the death of one of their soldiers.

Over the last week, the Israelis have also raided major refugee camps in Jenin, Nablus and the Gaza Strip.

The attacks came after an announcement by Prime Minister Ariel Sharon that greater losses would have to be inflicted on the Palestinians to force them to return to the negotiating table.

In Bethlehem, residents of Dheisheh, a hillside refugee camp where about 10,000 Palestinians live on 106 acres, said on Saturday that Israeli tanks and soldiers had rolled into the camp during the evening, triggering a sharp exchange of gunfire.

Then they stopped, and a tense silence settled over the area again, the residents said. The Israeli Army said only that "there is an activity going on there."

<http://www.nytimes.com>

## Graphic

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Photo: Smoke filled the Cafe Moment in downtown Jerusalem seconds after the suicide bombing there last night. (Zoom 77/Inbal Rose, Associated Press) Chart/Map: "One Week: A Grim Toll in the Mideast" From Friday, March 1, to Friday, March 8, more than 100 Palestinians and nearly 40 Israelis died as a result of the violence throughout Israel, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. On the map below, circles are scaled to represent increasing numbers of deaths per location. FRIDAY, MARCH 1 Fighting continued the day after Israeli troops raided two refugee camps. SATURDAY, MARCH 2 A Palestinian suicide bomber blew himself up in an Orthodox neighborhood in Jerusalem. SUNDAY, MARCH 3 At a checkpoint in the West Bank, a Palestinian sniper shot and killed 10 Israelis. MONDAY, MARCH 4 An Israeli tank shell ripped into a pickup truck in Ramallah, killing a woman and her three children. TUESDAY, MARCH 5 A Palestinian armed with an assault rifle attacked a night spot in Tel Aviv, killing three people. WEDNESDAY, MARCH 6 Israeli forces raided several areas in the Gaza Strip, inflicting heavy casualties. THURSDAY, MARCH 7 Five Israelis were killed by a Palestinian gunman in a Jewish settlement in the Gaza Strip. FRIDAY, MARCH 8 Israeli forces killed at least 40 Palestinians in assaults throughout the West Bank and Gaza Strip. (Sources: Palestinian Red Crescent Society; Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Associated Press; Haaretz)(pg. 22) Map of Israel highlighting the locations of where Israelis and Palestinians died. (pg. 22)

**Load-Date:** March 10, 2002

***Our leaders decry Mugabe and threaten war with Saddam ... yet they stay silent on Sharon's flouting of international law; Diplomatic Editor Trevor Royle looks at how the West's pious condemnation of oppression applies in practice only to certain oppressors***

The Sunday Herald

March 17, 2002

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**Section:** Pg. 12

**Length:** 1423 words

**Byline:** Trevor Royle

## **Body**

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Morality and the laws that shield it have not had a good week. While world leaders, mainly white and Western, rounded on President Robert Mugabe for rigging Zimbabwe's presidential elections through a barely concealed policy of intimidation and tampering with the polls, those same critics remained curiously silent about another country whose government was using far more rigorous methods to deal with its own opposition. In Israel, on the shores of the eastern Mediterranean and within a couple of hours' flying time of Europe's capitals, main battle tanks, F-16 strike aircraft and heavy weaponry were being deployed to hit back at urban terrorists whose weapons are stones, rifles and the suicide bomb.

Voters in Zimbabwe might have confronted gangs of thuggish militiamen and the gaze of secret policemen as they cast their votes, but in downtown Ramallah many innocent Palestinians were facing an even heavier punishment as the Israeli security forces put into practice the threat made by Israel's prime minister Ariel Sharon earlier in the week: "The Palestinians must be hit and it must be very painful: we must cause them losses, victims, so they feel the heavy price."

At the same time, President George W Bush, the leader of the world's only superpower, had sent his emissary to whip up support for the next phase of his war against terrorism. Dick Cheney, the US vice-president, arrived in London to brief Tony Blair on the evidence of Iraq's alleged construction of weapons of mass destruction and the need to act with extreme prejudice against its leader, Saddam Hussein. The question of British support will also have been discussed and its extent agreed. From the word go it was a done deal - Blair is unlikely to ruffle the special relationship at this stage of the post-September 11 operations - but Cheney will not find it so easy to convince European and Arab leaders that the US has the legal right to attack Iraq and topple its government.

Saudi Arabia, with its key command and control centres, has voiced its objections and has let it be known there can be no discussions about Iraq without linking the issue with Israel. Jordan's King Abdullah might not sleep so easily if his neighbour to the east comes under fire, and Iran will simply speed up its own nuclear programme if it sees the US acting unilaterally against a neighbouring Islamic state. They will listen attentively to the US argument that Saddam must be stopped, but for Cheney the best outcome from the Arab states will be the absence of overt condemnation and the private offer of moral support.

Our leaders decry Mugabe and threaten war with Saddam ... yet they stay silent on Sharon's flouting of international law; Diplomatic Editor Trevor Royle looks at ....

As for the Europeans, they are unlikely to break ranks, at least not in public and not for the time being. Fears have been expressed in Paris, Berlin and Rome that it would be against international law to attack Iraq without the authorisation of the UN Security Council, but balancing that is the need to maintain Nato solidarity. Even sceptical Russia has come on board, if only halfway. The Duma has warned the US against settling scores against Iraq but the leadership, through foreign minister Igor Ivanov, has quietly let it be known that Russia has no pressing desire to upset the US-drawn applecart.

But against that background of uneasy support there is a growing awareness that the problem of Iraq and the war against terrorism cannot be treated in isolation. Saddam may or may not be permitting the development of weapons of mass destruction, he may or may not have encouraged links with the al-Qaeda terrorist network - the evidence is unclear - but he is not alone in threatening peace in the Middle East. In the last fortnight well over 100 Palestinian civilians have been killed by the Israeli security forces in the streets of their own territory. Hundreds more have been wounded, many of them women and children; vehicles belonging to the emergency services have been destroyed; water and electricity supplies have been cut off; and shooting on sight has become commonplace, all actions which Palestinian activists believe to be breaches of the Fourth (1949) Geneva Convention, article 27 of which reads: "Protected persons are entitled, in all circumstances, to respect for their persons, their honour, their family rights, their religious convictions and practices, and their manners and customs. They shall at all times be humanely treated, and shall be protected especially against all acts of violence or threats thereof and against insults and public curiosity."

Even the most disinterested observer would agree that those terms of the Convention (IV) Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War have been broken over and over again as Israeli soldiers and aircrew use the weapons of modern technology to smash the Palestinians - or, employing Sharon's vocabulary, to create losses and victims. Granted, the Israelis are having to deal with the intractable problem of the despicable suicide bombers and terrorists hiding in the shadows, but the heavy checkmating by tanks and missiles is only creating a sorry rematch of attack followed by retaliation and vice versa. Every loss of Palestinian civilian life encourages the Hamas paradise-seeker to strap on a bomb and enter a crowded Israeli space to detonate himself and his victims into oblivion.

In addition to lost lives, the assault has destroyed the very infrastructure that outsiders such as the EU hoped would cement the peace process. Sources close to Javier Solana, the EU's defence and foreign policy envoy, have expressed their dismay at the wanton destruction of European-funded initiatives such as the airport at Gaza and administrative buildings in Ramallah, describing the lack of criticism as irresponsible. Germany and Britain were singled out - the former because historical considerations make the Germans loath to condemn Israel, the latter because many in the EU feel Blair is too tied to Bush to break ranks.

Ideally, Solana would like to see his organisation playing a bigger role in the Middle East, both as a peace-broker in Israel and as a moderating influence over Iraq. That the EU does have clout is shown by its policies towards Zimbabwe: there is a growing feeling that the extension of smart sanctions aimed at Mugabe, his family and their confederates might be the best way of exerting political influence over this bankrupt African country. Likewise, the EU should be able to put pressure on Sharon to stop using the mailed fist and start thinking about entering into a fresh dialogue with the Palestinian leadership.

Much will depend on the Americans and their willingness to talk candidly to a nation which is one of their main client states and a close ally. On taking up the presidency Bush's inclination was to leave the Israelis and the Palestinians to their own devices and not to get over-involved. September 11 changed all that, and the presence in Israel of his envoy Anthony Zinni is evidence of a desire to get the two sides together again. Unsurprisingly, Sharon ordered his armour and his troops to withdraw from the Ramallah front line, but they are still within striking distance, and that will not please Zinni. With him he brought the message that Washington wants to see a less heavy-handed approach being adopted. One of the main problems in this conflict is that the army and not the police enjoy primacy in security operations, and soldiers, many of them conscripts, are not always the best people to deal with internal security operations.



Our leaders decry Mugabe and threaten war with Saddam ... yet they stay silent on Sharon's flouting of international law; Diplomatic Editor Trevor Royle looks at ....

And then there is Sharon himself. Last week he shouted down his defence minister Binyamin Ben-Eliezer after his cabinet colleague proposed scaling back the operation in Ramallah, and he appears obdurate about entering into a new dialogue until there have been seven clear days of ceasefire. Zinni's arrival forced him to concede the latter point, but he is unwilling to yield too much on Israel's current internal security operations in case he loses the support of the right.

That leaves him open to criticism from both sides - for failing to contain the Palestinian terrorists and for failing to restart the talks and increasingly it makes him part of the problem. The operations in Ramallah have succeeded only in attracting criticism from the US, the Europeans and the Arabs. Just as bad, as a US diplomat points out, the activity distracts attention from Bush's wider aims: "We can hardly convince our allies that Saddam is out of control and threatens the peace of the Middle East, when we see Sharon sending in tanks and war planes to beat up the Palestinians."

**Load-Date:** March 19, 2002

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***Inside story: Capture or kill: In a rare glimpse inside the Israeli military machine, John Kampfner and Dominic Allan join an elite commando squad in a night raid on a suspected Palestinian terrorist***

The Guardian (London)

February 15, 2002

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**Section:** Guardian Features Pages, Pg. 5

**Length:** 1346 words

**Byline:** John Kampfner, Dominic Allan

## **Body**

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Four jeeps drive down a narrow alley, headlights turned off. It is 2am in the back streets of a small town in the West Bank. A team of commandos armed with semi-automatics and grenades jump out and take up positions around a whitewashed house. The commander, Mordechai, rings the buzzer. "Come and open the door immediately," his second-in-command shouts in Arabic. "Who is it?" a woman replies. "Your house will be destroyed if you don't open the door."

Another night, another raid deep inside enemy territory. We are with Sayeret Golani, the elite of Israel's elite forces. These people honed their skills in Lebanon in the 80s and 90s, fighting the Hezbollah. When Israel withdrew, the army disbanded many of its specialist units, thinking they were no longer needed. But since the second intifada, attitudes have changed. The specialists are very much back in demand.

Sayeret Golani are on a special mission - to snatch Nasser Zakarna, a **Hamas** operative who has already served three terms in Israeli jails. He is wanted alive for interrogation. Intelligence reports said Zakarna would be at home that night, armed. **Women** and children would be with him.

"The people we are after are ticking bombs. We don't stop until we get them," says "Chico", the commander of the Golani brigade. His full name is withheld for security reasons.

The inner workings of Israel's military machine have been a closely guarded secret, and we have been granted a rare glimpse inside. How do they gather intelligence? Who do they identify as targets? When and how do they go for them? And, most importantly, how do they determine when to arrest and when to kill?

"We prefer - or we are forced - to kill someone only when four conditions are met," Major-General Gyora Eiland, head of military planning of the Israeli armed forces, tells us. He reveals the list of criteria: "Number one: when there is no way to arrest someone. Number two: when the target is important enough. Number three: when we believe we can guarantee very few civilian casualties. And number four: when we believe there is no way that we can delay or postpone this operation."

Eighteen months into the second intifada, Israel's armed forces are locked in the psychology of permanent combat. There are any number of views on Ariel Sharon and the political big picture, and considerable doubts about the

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long-term strategy (or the absence of one). But when it comes to short-term military exigencies, there is a conspicuous consensus: a determination to arrest or assassinate every Palestinian deemed a terrorist threat.

Often it's a matter of only a few miles and a few hours between the terrorist cell - the engineer, organiser, suicide bomber - and the targeted Israeli town. This is what the Israelis call the ticking bomb, and time is always running out.

The Israelis have several ways of isolating and taking out Palestinian targets. Each has its advantages, as well as its logistical and political problems. But in all cases, the generals are clear that Jewish settlements in the West Bank and Gaza are now considered indispensable for operations. The advantage of having the access routes and forward positions easily outweighs the disadvantage of having to deploy soldiers to protect the settlers.

The most conventional method is to encircle Palestinian towns. Then there are ambush operations - with a shoot-to-kill policy when a suicide attack is deemed to be imminent. But many Palestinian fighters are hard to reach, concealing themselves deep inside their communities. This leaves assaults from the air - either from F-16 fighter jets, or Apache combat helicopters - a far more controversial measure. These sorties low over Palestinian towns are the ultimate demonstration of Israeli military might.

The helicopter pilots are trained to "detach" themselves emotionally from their targets. One tells us that even the most experienced are given information about targets on a need-to-know basis. "We don't know who is the target or what the target is," says Hagai, a deputy squadron leader. "We get only the coordinates." Concern over human rights prosecutions in international courts weighs heavily on them.

The constraints on the military have loosened since September 11, but they still exist. "Political consequences are part of the game," says Eiland. "Many times an operation can turn out to be a complete failure if it doesn't take into account the political aspects. Sometimes a military action can be very successful on a specific date and it can be a complete mistake if you carry it out a few days later" - ie after the arrival of a foreign statesman, or a new initiative by the Palestinian leadership.

This is the dilemma: do military operations slow down the cycle of violence, or cause more bloodshed? But the commanders are not thinking in these terms. For the moment, it is a matter only of getting to the next ticking bomb.

Gathering information from aerial surveillance, listening devices, through interrogation of prisoners and from numerous collaborators, the security services claim they are foiling 70-80% of planned attacks. That still leaves many that get through.

"Intelligence is our most important tool," says Gidon Ezra, former number two in Shin Bet, the domestic intelligence agency. He gives an example of the stalking of a particular terrorist: "You have to know where he will be to be able to arrest him. Then you understand that you can't arrest him, you can't reach him because he lives in the middle of Bethlehem. So you decide to kill him. You have to know how to reach him on his own." The planning is meticulous. "You have this information that he has got pigeons he has to feed. Now he goes to feed his pigeons . . . a helicopter hits him and kills him."

Another ticking bomb is Zakarna. Israeli intelligence has information that he has been using his house as a weapons factory. The arms cache is then moved to a different location in Qabatiya. After days of training and classroom briefings, the commandos of Sayeret Golani are ready. Every last detail has been practised. The unit has even used a cardboard model of Zakarna's house, detailing every room. Chico finishes his pep talk. "Anyone who panics is wrecking our mission. The moment you start shooting, and people get hurt, your brain shrinks and the decisions you make are wrong. Now it's only luck that we need."

It is after 1am. The commandos set off from their base near the West Bank town of Jenin. They crack jokes about their jeep to take their minds off the tension. As they reach the narrow winding streets of Qabatiya, they are relieved that nobody has yet spotted them.

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When they arrive at the target, they follow the drill. They ring the bell, once, twice; they whisper into each other's radios. Mordechai, the commander, gives the order to fire on the door with a shotgun to break through. The dog they brought with them starts yelping. They are shot at from a neighbouring house. Pinned against the white concrete wall at the front of the house, they return fire. Mordechai instructs his explosives expert to blow the door. It is at this point that Zakarna decides to bring his family out.

The women and children file out, their faces a mixture of dread and contempt. The men are ordered to kneel on the pavement. Their hands are tied while the house is searched for weapons. Zakarna and two brothers are led into the jeeps. The soldiers shut the women back inside the house. Zakarna is taken to an Israeli prison. His brothers are later released.

On one level, this was a textbook operation in a very difficult location. Perhaps it averted another suicide bombing. Who knows? But what, we ask Chico, about the next one, and the one after that? At what point will the army chiefs believe their work is done?

"I hope for an end, but to give you a practical answer, I don't think that in the near future we will see a happy end," Chico says. "I think for the time being we are not ready for that."

Israel Undercover, directed by Dominic Allan and presented by John Kampfner, is on BBC2 on Sunday at 7.15pm.

**Load-Date:** February 15, 2002

## *A Sept. 11 Survivor Is Hurt as Man Dies In Jerusalem Attack*

The New York Times

January 28, 2002 Monday

Late Edition - Final

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

**Length:** 1371 words

**Byline:** By JAMES BENNET

**Dateline:** JERUSALEM, Jan. 27

### **Body**

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Mark Sokolow escaped without injury from the second tower of the World Trade Center during the attack on Sept. 11.

Today he was walking with his family in the scarred central shopping district here when a Palestinian bomber set off an explosion that resounded throughout Jerusalem, killing herself and an 81-year-old man and wounding 113, most of them slightly.

"I was a lot luckier last time," Mr. Sokolow, a 43-year-old lawyer from Woodmere, N.Y., said as he recovered in a hospital here from shrapnel wounds to his face and leg. "This one involved my whole family."

After a frantic search for his wife and two of his daughters, he learned at the hospital that most of their wounds were also slight, though one girl, Jamie, 12, had shrapnel in her right eye. She was likely to retain her sight, doctors said.

The blast scattered burning body parts across Jaffa Road and sent a cloud of swirling dust and circling pigeons into the air, witnesses said. The attack was steps from where a Palestinian gunman raked the area with semiautomatic gunfire on Tuesday, killing two and wounding 20 before being shot dead by the police. If the bomber in the attack today intended to die, she would be the first **female** suicide bomber to strike in Israel since such attacks began here in 1994, the police said.

Minutes after the explosion, Ariel Ohayon, 30, sobbed, "Where's my wife?" as he searched through the pandemonium of wounded people, broken glass and shouting police officers. "My wife disappeared, and I don't know where she is." A rescue worker directed him to a nearby hospital, Bikur Holim.

As Jerusalem's police chief, Mickey Levy, visited the scene he suffered a heart attack. He was able to walk with assistance to Bikur Holim, where he underwent surgery. He was likely to make a full recovery within days, the police said.

Of the 113 wounded, the police said, 2 were wounded seriously and 5 moderately. The dead man was identified as Pinhas Toktaly, a seventh-generation resident of Jerusalem who was returning from an art class.

## A Sept. 11 Survivor Is Hurt as Man Dies In Jerusalem Attack

No group immediately claimed responsibility for the attack, and the bomber was not identified. "We're just not sure whether she was a suicide bomber or a terrorist planting the bomb," said Superintendent Gil Kleiman, a police spokesman. "We're going to be very careful before we come out with something like this."

Palestine suicide attackers have disguised themselves as soldiers and in one case as an Orthodox Jew. Women have been accomplices in such attacks, the police say, but Israeli soldiers and police officers generally do not scrutinize Palestinian women the way they do the men.

In Lebanon, the television station of the violent group Hezbollah identified the bomber as a student from Al Najah University in the West Bank city of Nablus. In student elections at Al Najah in November, violent Islamic groups like Hamas overwhelmed the Fatah faction of Yasir Arafat, 60 percent to 34 percent.

The last suicide bombing took place on Friday in Tel Aviv. The bomber, a man who has not been identified, killed himself and wounded two dozen people. That night, Israel retaliated with an F-16 attack on a Palestinian administrative compound in Tulkarm in the West Bank.

Mr. Arafat's Palestinian Authority condemned the bombing today and called on the United States to return its envoy, Anthony C. Zinni, to the region without delay. But the Bush administration, which is weighing possible sanctions against the Palestinian Authority, has put General Zinni's return on hold, saying Mr. Arafat has done too little to fight terrorism.

At the scene of the destruction today, Jerusalem's mayor, Ehud Olmert, blamed Mr. Arafat for the bombing.

"He is directly, individually and specifically responsible," he said, accusing him of "inspiring the atmosphere" for terrorism.

Palestinian officials say Mr. Arafat lacks the political strength to suppress violence while Israeli forces operate in their territory and Palestinians see little hope of progress in negotiations. The Israeli government says that it must enter Palestinian territory to safeguard its own citizens and that it will not negotiate while violence continues.

Since a cease-fire collapsed two weeks ago, violence has increased, and both sides have backtracked from tentative steps to restore confidence. In Bethlehem today, Palestinians stormed a prison and secured the freedom of nine militants jailed by Mr. Arafat's security services, Palestinian officials said. The demonstrators asserted that Palestinian security could not protect the prisoners in the event of an Israeli raid.

In the West Bank city of Ramallah, where he is confined by Israeli forces, Mr. Arafat told a group of Palestinian intellectuals that the Israeli siege was intended to force him to make concessions. He said the attempt would fail. "I wish to die a martyr for Jerusalem," he added.

The attack took place just below Jaffa Road's intersection with King George Street. In 16 months of conflict, that area had already been the scene of eight bombings or shootings that killed 28, besides the attackers.

At about 12:15 this afternoon, First Sgt. Vladimir Fishman of the Jerusalem police was on patrol on Jaffa Road, part of the increased police presence in the area. As he passed behind a truck, the bomb exploded across the street, near a Lotto kiosk outside the shoe store of Freiman & Bein.

"The whole area was scorched," Sergeant Fishman said, describing what he saw when he ran from behind the truck. "And I saw a body with a leg missing. There was also a head, which did not belong to that body." The body, he said, "was in flames."

Sergeant Fishman, 39, said he carried two wounded people to ambulances before noticing that shrapnel had struck him in the right ankle.

Some store owners on the block had just replaced windows broken in the gunfire attack on Tuesday, only to see them shattered again today. "This is life?" asked one shopkeeper, Edmund Barocher. "This is a way to live?"

## A Sept. 11 Survivor Is Hurt as Man Dies In Jerusalem Attack

The blast threw him into the air inside his shoe store, Mr. Barocher said, but he not venture out to see the destruction. "Who's got the strength anymore?" he asked.

Across from the shoe shop, Kami Malkan, 37, said his own store was "full of flesh -- it's unbelievable."

Boaz Sabbagh, 29, said he and his fiancée, Moriah Levy, 18, had been thrown by the bomb's concussion into the kiosk where he sells snacks and cigarettes. The kiosk has been his family's business for 40 years, but Mr. Sabbagh said he was through. "Business was down 70 percent, anyway," he said. "There's no point in continuing."

Down the street, the blast knocked plaster from the ceiling of the music store managed by Yossi Tzah, 31. "It's the main street of Jerusalem," he said. "Imagine this in the main street of Washington or New York. If this scenario was in the United States, the Arabs after 24 hours wouldn't be alive or would be in custody. We have too much patience in this country."

That music store played a role in a suicide bombing in August that killed 15 around the corner at the Sbarro pizzeria. The bomb was hidden in a guitar case bought at the store, according to the police, Mr. Tzah said.

Freiman & Bein, the shoe store, is a Jerusalem institution. With a carousel for children and a broad inventory, it continued to draw customers as the area became more dangerous. The Sokolow family from Woodmere, on Long Island, paid it a visit as part of a shopping expedition on the last day of a visit to the eldest daughter, who is studying here for a year. They had just walked out of the store when the bomb went off.

"I heard a loud whooshing noise and then a bang," Mr. Sokolow said. "I found myself running to the left, I think down the road. A number of people were pulling me out of the road to safety."

Mr. Sokolow, who once worked on the 38th floor of the second tower of the World Trade Center, said that originally only he and his wife, Rina, had planned to visit. They decided to bring their two daughters after the attack in New York. "I felt it was more important, more meaningful that we do this, come here and spend time in Israel," he said.

"I think it's important that people come here," he said. "I want to emphasize maybe they should stay away from places that are targets."

<http://www.nytimes.com>

## Graphic

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Photo: An Israeli was carried to an ambulance in Jerusalem yesterday after a bomber killed herself and a passerby. (Rina Castelnovo for the New York Times)(pg. A5)

**Load-Date:** January 28, 2002

## **THE MIDEAST TURMOIL: ATTACKS; 3 ISRAELIS KILLED AND 50 WOUNDED IN BLAST AT MALL**

The New York Times  
May 20, 2003 Tuesday  
Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 6; Foreign Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1468 words

**Byline:** By JAMES BENNET

**Dateline:** AFULA, Israel, May 19

### **Body**

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The fifth Palestinian suicide bomber to strike against Israelis in less than 48 hours detonated a shrapnel-packed bomb outside a mall here late this afternoon, killing a security guard and two bystanders and delivering a new blow to a peace effort that was already reeling.

The blast tore a ragged gash through the sheet-metal "Welcome" sign over the mall's entrance, splashed blood across the pitted limestone of its steps and so disfigured the dead that hours later the authorities were still trying to identify the bomber among the remains. Late tonight, the police said they believed the bomber was a woman.

The attack in this northern Israeli town, which wounded more than 50 people, was part of what the Israeli police called a "wave of terror" that has greeted the most intensive international effort to date to end the 31-month conflict. In Washington, President Bush said the violence was meant to destroy the peace effort and called it "sad and pathetic" that some people "cannot stand the thought of peace."

Mr. Bush said a new international peace plan, known as the road map, "still stands," but Israeli officials said the violence had strengthened their resolve to substantially change the plan, which lays out reciprocal concessions to achieve peace and a Palestinian state in just three years.

Dore Gold, an adviser to Prime Minister Ariel Sharon of Israel, said the plan "represents far more diplomatic give-and-take than it does a program that can actually be implemented on the ground." He said Mr. Sharon's proposed changes "will have all the more merit, considering what Israel's been facing."

A senior Israeli security official said the new attacks were aimed both at Israel and at Mahmoud Abbas, the first Palestinian prime minister, who has promised to disarm militant groups. "Everyone in the terror chain is very worried about this development," he said of the appointment of Mr. Abbas, who is also known as Abu Mazen. "They are determined to escalate and make every effort to carry out attacks in this period." He said Mr. Abbas had to take action.

The official attributed the new violence also to Syria and Iran, which he said were still fomenting terrorism among Palestinians while seeking to appear cooperative with the United States after the war in Iraq.



## THE MIDEAST TURMOIL: ATTACKS 3 ISRAELIS KILLED AND 50 WOUNDED IN BLAST AT MALL

Mr. Sharon had been scheduled to see President Bush in Washington on Tuesday, for a meeting that diplomats involved in the peace effort hoped would advance the plan. But he postponed his trip on Sunday, after a suicide bomber killed seven passengers on a Jerusalem bus. That attack was preceded by a suicide bombing on Saturday night in Hebron, in the West Bank, that killed two Israeli settlers, a man and his pregnant wife.

The bus bombing on Sunday morning was followed minutes later by another suicide bombing on Jerusalem's outskirts that killed only the bomber and wounded no one. This morning in the Gaza Strip, a Palestinian rode a bicycle packed with explosives toward an Israeli Army jeep, then detonated his charge, killing himself and slightly wounding three soldiers.

In a meeting on Saturday night with Mr. Sharon, the highest-level talks between the two sides in more than two years, Mr. Abbas laid out a security strategy but said he would not be able to act until Israel formally accepted the new peace plan.

Mr. Sharon countered with a longstanding proposal for a focused cease-fire and Israeli withdrawal. Under the proposal, Israeli forces would pull back from any given area that was once under Palestinian control, provided that Mr. Abbas succeeded in stemming Palestinian violence there.

Mr. Abbas, who was reluctantly appointed by Yasir Arafat under international pressure and has almost no popular support, is seeking political progress toward statehood to present his people with a tangible benefit to go with a crackdown on Palestinian violence. Mr. Sharon says Israel cannot engage in substantive political negotiations or make concessions like dismantling settlement outposts until the violence ends, to avoid rewarding terrorism. He also says Israel cannot relax measures like checkpoints as long as the violence continues.

"He has to emerge as a leader," the senior Israeli security official said of Mr. Abbas. "He doesn't do anything, he doesn't say anything, he doesn't take any action."

Mr. Abbas has been trying to negotiate a truce with Hamas and other groups. Today, Mr. Abbas's security chief, Muhammad Dahlan, appointed several senior officials in the Interior Ministry, which he hopes to use to revive Palestinian security forces.

Mr. Abbas condemned the bombing in Afula as "not conducive to Palestinian national interests," Reuters reported. He said Israel should accept the new peace plan to "open the way for the Palestinian Authority to maintain the law."

Israeli officials have also blamed Mr. Arafat for the renewed violence, accusing him of using it to undermine Mr. Abbas. Mr. Arafat has rejected the charge as propaganda and condemned all violence against civilians.

Before the bombing in Afula, the Israeli defense minister, Shaul Mofaz, said Israel might once again consider expelling Mr. Arafat from the region if he interfered with Mr. Abbas.

There have been at least six suicide attacks since Mr. Abbas took office at the end of April, compared with only a handful in the previous six months.

The surge of bombings is the most intense that Israel has experienced since at least last spring, before it launched its first major offensive into the West Bank. Until now, Israel had attributed the relative calm for Israelis of recent months exclusively to the work of its military, saying that terrorists were still trying just as hard to kill. But the senior security official said that the violent groups had now clearly stepped up their efforts.

Palestinian officials argue that the Israeli raids, targeted killings of militants and blockades of Palestinian areas provoke this kind of violence.

But the senior Israeli security official said that to combat the new attacks, Israel would have to continue shutting Palestinians into their cities, and possibly impose curfews more frequently.

## THE MIDEAST TURMOIL: ATTACKS 3 ISRAELIS KILLED AND 50 WOUNDED IN BLAST AT MALL

Having seen peace initiatives melt before previous waves of violence, Israelis, like Palestinians, were already deeply skeptical of the new plan. Many on both sides do not seem to be paying much attention to the renewed diplomacy.

Accounts from the police and witnesses to today's bombing here conflicted, and different claims of responsibility further muddled the picture. Islamic Jihad and a militia connected to Mr. Abbas's own Fatah faction, Al Aksa Martyrs Brigades, each claimed responsibility, and it appeared possible that they acted jointly.

The Fatah group identified the bomber as Hiba Daraghmeh, 19, a student of English literature from the West Bank village of Tubas.

The police said the dead included three men and one woman. The authorities were able to identify the men, the police said, and after learning that a **female** security guard had survived the attack, though severely wounded, they tentatively concluded that the dead woman was the bomber, said Gil Kleiman, a police spokesman.

But Maor Suissa, 19, said he thought the bomber was the man in blue jeans and a green shirt who was standing in front of him in line to get inside the mall. Again and again, the mall's security guard passed the wand over the man's body, and again and again it beeped a warning, as the man repeatedly asked, "Can I come in?" Mr. Suissa recalled, lying beneath a bloodied sheet in a hospital bed here.

A **female** security guard went over to help as the line backed up to half a dozen people. Then the man ahead of Mr. Suissa put one foot forward, as though to walk by the guards, and exploded, Mr. Suissa said.

Mr. Suissa said he rolled down the stone steps of the mall and ran past the bodies and pieces of people, feeling like he was burning all over. He saw his girlfriend watching him from the car, where she was waiting for him to return with take-out food from Burger Ranch. She was screaming as she watched him, he remembered, but he could not hear her.

Later, he learned that his eardrums were damaged. Mr. Suissa also had first- and second-degree burns to his face, hands and feet, and bits of metal scattered across his upper body.

Rosa Goldovsky, 56, a cleaning woman at the mall, had just stepped inside to get a plastic bag to empty the garbage bin at the entrance when she heard the blast, shortly after 5 p.m. "I ran outside with my broom," she said. "And I saw a lot of people covered with blood. A lot of people, running, running. Noise and blood."

As security workers and religious volunteers gathered the remains of the dead in black plastic bags at the mall entrance, Ms. Goldovsky stood patiently by in her blue smock, with her broom and dustpan in her hands, to complete the work.

<http://www.nytimes.com>

## Graphic

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Photos: Victims sat in an ambulance after a suicide bombing yesterday at a shopping mall in Afula, in northern Israel. (Deddy Lifshitz/Getty Images)(pg. A1); Above, Israeli police and rescue services searched for evidence yesterday in the wreckage of the bombed shopping mall entrance in the town of Afula. Below, Israelis nearby were terrified after the blast, the fifth suicide bombing in Israel in less than 48 hours. Three people were killed in Afula, and dozens were injured. (Getty Images); (Agence France-Presse)(pg. A12)

## THE MIDEAST TURMOIL: ATTACKS 3 ISRAELIS KILLED AND 50 WOUNDED IN BLAST AT MALL

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## **SIX ISRAELIS SLAIN BY ARAB GUNMAN**

The New York Times  
January 18, 2002 Friday  
Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 5; Foreign Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1270 words

**Byline:** By JAMES BENNET

**Dateline:** HADERA, Israel, Friday, Jan. 18

### **Body**

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A lone Palestinian gunman walked into a crowded reception hall here late Thursday night and opened fire with a semiautomatic rifle, killing 6 people and wounding at least 25, witnesses and the police said.

In retaliation, Israeli forces bombed the governor's headquarters in the Palestinian-controlled town of Tulkarm in the West Bank early this morning, the Israeli military said. Palestinian authorities there said one policeman was killed and at least 18 people were wounded and the government building was demolished.

Israeli tanks were also rolling through the West Bank city of Ramallah, where Israel has confined the Palestinian leader, Yasir Arafat, since early last month.

Military officials said troops had taken up positions closer to Mr. Arafat's headquarters and that additional tanks, armored troop carriers and infantry have been moved into the area. Troops also moved into several other neighborhoods in Ramallah. Israeli tanks had already been stationed for weeks near Mr. Arafat's headquarters.

The assailant's gun apparently jammed, witnesses said, and one of the guests hurled a chair at him, knocking him out onto the sidewalk, where a group of men beat him. Three police officers arriving at the scene shot him dead, the police said.

Some witnesses suggested that the man might have died from the beating. "We smashed his head," Shlomo Edry, 48, said in an interview outside the hall, where the gunman's body lay wrapped in white plastic beside a crimson stain and some bloody rags. Mr. Edry said he had sprinted across the street to help subdue the man.

Scores of children and adults -- many of them Russian immigrants -- had gathered for a bat mitzvah party, after the traditional Jewish service to mark a girl's transition to womanhood. The girl celebrating her bat mitzvah was apparently uninjured.

The assault on the reception hall, called David's Palace, came after four days of escalating violence. The renewed fighting, following a month of relative calm, has left in tatters the latest cease-fire between Israelis and Palestinians and perhaps with it the Bush administration's first sustained drive for a truce in the 15-month-old conflict.

## SIX ISRAELIS SLAIN BY ARAB GUNMAN

The Al Aksa Martyrs Brigades, a group linked to Yasir Arafat's Fatah movement, claimed responsibility for the attack here, calling it revenge for the bombing death on Monday of one of its leaders, Raed al-Karmi. Israel has not acknowledged or denied a role in the bombing in Tulkarm.

Some residents of Tulkarm, about 10 miles southeast of here, took to the streets late Thursday night after learning of the attack, shooting in the air and kissing one another.

The militant group identified the gunman in the attack here as Abdul Salaam Sadek Hassounah, a 24-year-old man from a West Bank village who was married just a couple of months ago.

Violence against Israeli civilians had substantially declined between mid-December and the beginning of this week, when Mr. Karmi died. In that period, two other Israeli civilians and one American who was a longtime resident of Israel were slain by Palestinian militants.

The Israeli government held Mr. Arafat responsible for the attack on David's Palace.

"These are murderers," Uzi Landau, the Israeli minister of public security, said in an interview with Israel Radio this morning. "Facing the Palestinian Authority, we have to fight."

Other Israeli officials had equally blunt words for the Palestinian Authority.

"We are not going to just be sitting back and letting the Palestinian organizations take their toll," said Avi Pazner, a government spokesman. "They are showing an insatiable appetite for murder, and we will have to deal with it, and we are going to deal with it. That's obvious."

Mr. Pazner denied a link between the renewed violence and Mr. Karmi's death. He said the cease-fire dissolved a week ago, when two Palestinian militants crossed the fence surrounding the Gaza Strip to attack a lightly defended military outpost, killing four Israeli soldiers before being shot down themselves.

The militant Islamic group **Hamas** claimed responsibility for that attack. "I think that this new cycle started a week ago," Mr. Pazner said.

Israeli forces had been on alert for an attack in the north for the last two days, Israeli officials said.

The shooting here was the worst attack on Israelis since Dec. 12, when three Palestinian gunmen detonated a bomb beneath an Israeli bus in the West Bank, then opened fire on the fleeing passengers and other vehicles, killing 10. Within hours of that assault, the Israeli government declared that Mr. Arafat had made himself "irrelevant."

In the two days that followed the bus attack, Israeli raids to arrest militants left 12 Palestinians dead. On Dec. 16, Mr. Arafat called for a "complete and immediate halt of all armed operations." That led to the cease-fire that lasted, at least in the West Bank and across the boundary in Israel, until Mr. Karmi's death.

The Israeli prime minister, Ariel Sharon, has been planning to hold a review of Israel's strategy toward the Palestinian Authority, which has limited powers to govern Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

The meeting has been postponed at least once but is likely to take place soon, official said.

Israeli generals have said the options could include a complete break in diplomatic relations and more aggressive military operations, like rounding up illegal weapons. Some members of Mr. Sharon's government are urging that he force Mr. Arafat into exile.

Earlier Thursday, in an exchange of fire near the West Bank city of Nablus, Israeli soldiers shot dead an armed Palestinian militant, the army said. The militant, Khamis Abdullah, 42, was also a member of the Al Aksa Martyrs Brigades.

## SIX ISRAELIS SLAIN BY ARAB GUNMAN

In an attack in Hadera on Oct. 28, two Palestinian gunmen opened fire on President's Street from a sport utility vehicle, killing four women before being shot dead.

The scene of Thursday night's attack was also President's Street, just a few blocks further north. Witnesses said the gunman had walked coolly through the glass doors onto the polished stone floor of David's Palace just before 11 p.m.

The buffet trays were at his left, the bar at his right beyond two four-foot vases containing enormous artificial sunflowers. Ahead of him, up three stairs in the main part of the hall, some guests were dancing, and the music was blasting, witnesses said.

Almost any Israeli family holding a big celebration -- a wedding or a bar or bat mitzvah -- hires security guards to screen guests at the door. The security guard was among the first victims on Thursday night, witnesses said.

As gunfire and screams filled the air, the guests fled in panic. Some tried to hide in the hall's walk-in refrigerator, witnesses said. One woman said she had used a tablecloth to try to bandage the wounded hand of another guest.

Shimon Asraf, who identified himself as the owner of David's Palace, told Israeli television that he had seen a man he called Yossi hurl a chair at the gunman when his gun jammed. "Yossi started kicking him in the head," he said. "He kicked him over and over again. He didn't leave him until he died."

Other witnesses that several men had joined in, attacking the man with bottles or kicking him.

A police inspector, Shimon Lugasi, told the Israel radio that the gunman was still alive when he arrived at the scene. "I saw a man lying on the floor with people surrounding him," the inspector said. "His arms were still moving as if he were trying to get up."

He said he feared that the man was carrying a bomb and was trying to detonate it. "Two fellow policemen and myself shot him dead," he said.

<http://www.nytimes.com>

## Graphic

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Photos: An Israeli police officer standing guard in Hadera near the body of a Palestinian gunman who opened fire in a crowded reception hall late last night, killing 6 Israelis and wounding at least 25 before he was killed. (Reuters)(pg. A1); Ninia Kardashov, 12, center, with unidentified relatives, after the attack late last night on a family celebration that followed her bat mitzvah. (Associated Press); Israeli forensic experts worked late last night outside David's Palace, a reception hall in the northern city of Hadera, where a Palestinian gunman walked into a family celebration and opened fire, killing six people. (Agence France-Presse)(pg. A8) Map of Israel highlighting Hadera: Another deadly Palestinian attack in Hadera took place last October. (pg. A8)

**Load-Date:** January 18, 2002

***U.S., Syria, Israel compose volatile triangle;  
The United States has long had a rocky relationship with Syria and has  
turned up rhetoric. Israel drives much of the contention.***

Star Tribune (Minneapolis, MN)

April 20, 2003, Sunday, Metro Edition

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**Section:** NEWS; Pg. 15A

**Length:** 1625 words

**Byline:** Eric Black; Staff Writer

## **Body**

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Whether one views Syria as a rogue nation or as a wrongly accused next target of the United States can depend largely on what one takes to be the key facts of Syria's conduct over recent decades and recent days.

U.S. officials say Syria sponsors terrorism, has aided Iraq and has chemical weapons. While there are some grounds for those claims, there also is evidence to counterbalance those allegations, experts say.

Take, for example, Syria's affiliation with terrorists. Syria supports Hezbollah and **Hamas**, which the United States considers terrorist organizations. But Abu Abbas, mastermind of the Achille Lauro cruise ship hijacking, was turned back at the Syrian border when he tried to escape Iraq this month, and he is now in U.S. custody. And Syria was helpful in the U.S.-led campaign against Al-Qaida even before Sept. 11.

Syria's young leader, 37-year-old Bashar al-Assad, reflects the difficulty of categorizing the country. He took over in 2000, after his father, Gen. Hafez al-Assad, died of a heart attack, ending his 30 years as Syria's dictator.

The first months of young Assad's rule included several experiments in liberalization — release of political prisoners, a fledgling independent media — which led the period called the "Damascus spring." But the experiments were soon curtailed, and Syria remains a one-party autocracy.

Some analysts, such as British Mideast scholar Raymond Hinnebusch, author of "Syria: Revolution from Above," said the United States should nurture the younger Assad's moderate reformist secular impulses. But by threatening war against Syria, Washington is likely to make reform seem too risky, Hinnebusch said.

But Patrick Clawson of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy said Assad's recent conduct shows he has already made his decision. Instead of leading a wave of reform, Clawson said, Assad is positioning himself as the leader of the radical rejectionist anti-Israel anti-American front within the Arab world.

Syria's foreign policy has long been characterized by unrelenting hostility to Israel. Like all Arab states, Syria opposed the 1948 creation of Israel. Syria played a large and provocative role in the crisis that led to the 1967 Arab-Israeli war. During that six-day war, Israel seized the Golan Heights from Syria and has occupied it ever since.

Syria participated in the 1973 Arab attack on Israel. Since then, it has led the Arab world's denunciation of Egypt and Jordan when those states recognized Israel.

U.S. , Syria , Israel compose volatile triangle; The United States has long had a rocky relationship with Syria and has turned up rhetoric. Israel drives much o....

The Syrian Cabinet alleged last week that all of Washington's recent tough talk toward Syria was "a response to Israeli stimulus and a service to [Israel's] goals and expansive greed."

Caesar Farah of the University of Minnesota also embraced this explanation. "Washington is picking on Assad because [Deputy Defense Secretary Paul] Wolfowitz and [Defense Secretary Donald] Rumsfeld think he's a threat to Israel," Farrah said. This view is widely held in the Arab world, Farah added, and "any Arab leaders who follow the American line will have a day of reckoning with the Arab people."

## Terrorism

Syria, like Iraq, emerged from the breakup of the Ottoman Empire during World War I. In the early 20th century it was controlled by France. Syria has been independent since World War II, except for 1958 to 1961, when it voluntarily merged with Egypt to form the United Arab Republic. That experiment in pan-Arabism ended as the result of one of many Syrian coups of the period. The coups ended in 1970, when Gen. Hafez al-Assad seized power.

Syria has maintained troops in Lebanon since 1976, when it intervened in the Lebanese civil war. Some foreign policy analysts, especially in Israel and the United States, view Syria as essentially controlling Lebanon, and they hold Syria accountable for the long guerrilla war waged across the Lebanese-Israeli border by Hezbollah. That's a key reason why the United States lists Syria as one of the world's six state sponsors of terrorism. Syria says Hezbollah militants are legitimate resistance fighters against Israeli occupation.

Clawson said that among the most provocative Syrian moves of recent weeks was allowing armed Hezbollah fighters to cross through Syria into Iraq at a time when Hezbollah-controlled media called for the killing of U.S. soldiers there. Washington Post columnist Charles Krauthammer suggests that Assad is laying the groundwork for a guerrilla war to drive U.S. troops out of Iraq.

"Sound far-fetched?" Krauthammer asked in his Friday column. "Then you have forgotten your history. Syria did precisely that to the United States 20 years ago in Lebanon. It was Syrian-supported Hezbollah terrorists who blew up the Marine barracks, killing 241 and driving America out of Lebanon."

But political scientist Martin Sampson of the University of Minnesota said many commentators exaggerate the degree of Syria's control over Lebanon and especially over Hezbollah, which gets money and arms from Iran.

"It's one thing to support Hezbollah, which Syria does," Sampson said, and another thing to control the spigot that turns Hezbollah on or off." He said some of the demands that Washington is making on Syria \_ such as that it get Hezbollah to stop attacking Israel \_ are beyond Syria's capabilities, perhaps by design.

## Saddam's enemy

Iraq and Syria are the two nations ruled over in recent decades by the Baath Party. But that common ground did nothing to promote friendship between Hafez Assad and Saddam Hussein, who hated and opposed each other at every turn. Syria angered the Arab world by siding with Iran during the 1980-88 Iran-Iraq war. In the 1991 Gulf War, Syria contributed 17,000 troops and 300 tanks to the U.S.-led coalition against Iraq.

In 1998, Syria began a rapprochement with Iraq, consisting mostly of trade opportunities, which probably included some smuggling across the Syria-Iraq border. This week the United States closed a pipeline that had been carrying Iraqi oil into Syria in violation of United Nations sanctions against Iraq.

When asked last week to back up U.S. allegations that Syria is pursuing weapons of mass destruction, Rumsfeld said the United States has evidence of Syrian chemical weapons tests within the past 15 months. White House Press Secretary Ari Fleischer read aloud from a 2002 CIA report alleging that Syria had "sought CW [chemical weapon] related precursors and expertise from foreign sources during the reporting period" and that "Damascus already held a stockpile of the nerve agent sarin, but apparently is trying to develop more toxic and persistent nerve agents."



U.S. , Syria , Israel compose volatile triangle; The United States has long had a rocky relationship with Syria and has turned up rhetoric. Israel drives much o....

Hans Blix, the chief U.N. weapons inspector, challenged Washington to present any evidence it has to back up its claims.

Syria has denied that it has such weapons. It says that it favors getting all weapons of mass destruction out of the Middle East, but that such an effort must include Israel's nuclear weapons. Syria sponsored a U.N. resolution to that effect last week.

Syria and its sympathizers point out that Washington isn't demanding that Israel get rid of its weapons of mass destruction, which, although Israel won't confirm it, are universally believed to include a nuclear arsenal.

A growing chorus of Arab commentators cites this as evidence that U.S. policy in the region is defined by a double standard that always favors Israel.

Even Hinnebusch, the British scholar who generally portrays Syria as a moderate state, said, "Syria does have its own chemical weapons as a deterrent against the big Israeli nuclear arsenal."

But Clawson, of the pro-Israel Washington Institute, said Syria's logic was circular and disingenuous. Israel, Clawson said, has long announced a readiness to embrace the goal of a Middle East free of all weapons of mass destruction when it has peace and recognition from its neighbors. But Syria has been a leader in rejecting Israel's right to exist, he said, so it should understand why its U.N. proposal is hypocritical and unacceptable.

Sampson of the University of Minnesota suggested that Assad has other priorities than Syria's relations with either Israel or the United States \_ namely the possibility that sectarian strife in Iraq might set off a rebellion in his country.

In both Iraq and Syria, minority groups have controlled the government. In Iraq, the Sunni Arab minority oppressed the Shiite majority. In Syria, about three-quarters of the population is Sunni, but the Assad family are members of the small Alawite sect, related to but different from Shiism.

If, in the chaos of postwar Iraq, the Shiite majority starts rioting against its former Sunni oppressors, Sampson said, it may spark heightened sectarian sentiments in Syria. That could set off an uprising of Syria's majority Sunnis against the continuation of Assad's Alawite rule.

"Viewed from Damascus, I think the threat from the Americans is at best number two on the list of your worries at the moment," he said.

\_ Eric Black is at [ebblack@startribune.com](mailto:ebblack@startribune.com).

## Syria

- Recent history: When the Ottoman Empire was broken up during World War I, Syria was administered by France until independence in 1946. Syria lost the Golan Heights to Israel in the 1967 Arab-Israeli War. Since 1976, Syrian troops have been stationed in Lebanon, ostensibly in a peacekeeping capacity.

- Size: 71,498 sq. mi. (slightly larger than North Dakota)

- Population: 17.2 million (July 2002)

- Ethnic groups: Arab 90.3%, Kurds, Armenians, and other 9.7%

- Literacy: male, 85.7%; **female**, 55.8% (1997)

- Government: republic under military regime since March 1963

- Exports: crude oil 68%, textiles 7%, fruits and vegetables 6%, raw cotton 4% (1998)

U.S. , Syria , Israel compose volatile triangle; The United States has long had a rocky relationship with Syria and has turned up rhetoric. Israel drives much o....

Source: CIA World Factbook 2002

## Graphic

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MAP; PHOTO

**Load-Date:** April 21, 2003

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## *Breaking up with Europe*

St. Petersburg Times (Florida)

April 13, 2003 Sunday

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**Section:** PERSPECTIVE; Pg. 1D

**Length:** 1502 words

### **Body**

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The United States and the European Union both want peace in the Middle East - but that's about all they agree on. While Washington believes that regime change in Iraq will usher in an era of regional peace and stability, Brussels worries that U.S. adventurism will make the clash of civilizations a self-fulfilling prophecy. Will war in Iraq prove to be an act of creative destruction, or simply destruction? Two outspoken thinkers from opposite sides of the Atlantic - Richard Perle, formerly a key Pentagon adviser, and Daniel Cohn-Bendit, leader of the European Parliament's Green Party - traded views and barbs at a debate last month in Washington at the invitation of Helga Flores Trejo, director of the Heinrich Boll Foundation.

Daniel Cohn-Bendit: If I could sit down with the president of the United States, I would say, "Mr. Bush, I am no pacifist, and I know military intervention can be absolutely necessary. When the Allies landed in Normandy in 1944, my parents took the first opportunity to conceive a child as a celebration of their new freedom."

Richard Perle: I never imagined we owe you to former U.S. President Dwight Eisenhower.

Cohn-Bendit: That's life. But recently, your government has been behaving like the Bolsheviks in the Russian Revolution. You want to change the whole world! Like them, you claim that history will show that truth is on your side. You want the world to follow the American dream, and you believe that you know what is best for Iraq, Syria, Saudi Arabia, North Korea, Africa, Liberia, Yemen and all other countries. Like every revolutionary, you have good ideas, but your problem lies in the means you want to use to realize them. Suddenly you want to bring democracy to the world, starting with Iraq. What happened to this administration, which began with promises and plans for a humble foreign policy and nonintervention?

Perle: A fair question. We are interested in democracy in Iraq because we are, in the first place, interested in disarming Saddam Hussein. Now, if we are going to remove Saddam to get rid of his weapons of mass destruction, consider democracy as an added benefit. The Middle East is unstable, and, in many ways, it is becoming more unstable. Democracies do not wage aggressive wars. We want to bring real stability to the region. That's why we want to change the political system in Iraq.

Cohn-Bendit: I do not question the value of democracy. On the contrary, I am asking how best to achieve democracy. First of all, remember former French general and later President Charles de Gaulle, who insisted to Dwight Eisenhower in 1944 that he, as a French leader, had to enter liberated Paris, however weak he was. The point was that only the French themselves - not an American general - could remake France after the shame of the country's collaboration with the Nazis. Second, you are making a mistake as you try to lead the region down the path toward democracy. The key to a peaceful and stable Middle East is Iran. In contrast to Iraq, Iran has a strong, organized civil society that is already very close to making a breakthrough toward democratization. Or, in a different

## Breaking up with Europe

category, we should really solve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Israel does not comply with U.N. resolutions any more than does Iraq. You will say that I cannot compare the two. But the Arab population makes this comparison. And as long as many people do not believe in you, you will have a difficult time in Iraq.

Perle: You are imagining a U.S. general riding roughshod over Iraqis and confirming the worst fears of Muslims around the world that we are an aggressive, imperialist power. I have another view. We have Ahmed Chalabi, chief of the opposition Iraqi National Congress, to enter Baghdad. Ending the current Iraqi regime will liberate the Iraqis. We will leave both governance and oil in their hands. We will hand over power quickly - not in years, maybe not even in months - to give Iraqis a chance to shape their own destiny. The whole world will see this. And I expect the Iraqis to be at least as thankful as French President Jacques Chirac was for France's liberation.

Cohn-Bendit: Oh, come on. It's not true.

Perle: Nobody has to say, "Thank you." It is quite sufficient for us to know that people in Iraq will no longer live in abject fear.

Cohn-Bendit: With Iraq, you are talking about nation-building. Yet we have not finished our job in Afghanistan. We see a backlash against women and deteriorating security. We have barely secured the capital, Kabul. It is my biggest fear that Afghan warlord Gulbuddin Hekmatyar will take over Kabul while you are fighting in Iraq. After the war, you will neglect Iraq and shift your attention to Syria, then Saudi Arabia. Because you are Americans, you have the biggest army in the world - you can do anything you want. This is revolutionary hubris.

Perle: I do not know that this is any American official's view.

Cohn-Bendit: Don't say that. After the war in Iraq, you will adopt this view. Syria is financing the Hamas terrorist organization, right?

Perle: Yes, and Syria is not alone. But I think we will have a very good opportunity to persuade Syria to stop sponsoring terrorism. I promise we will be more effective in that if we remove Hussein, rather than crawling back from where we are today, throwing up our hands, and saying, "It's too hard. We couldn't do it, we had too little support." Would you rather talk with Syrian President Bashar al-Assad about terrorism before or after the liberation of Iraq?

Cohn-Bendit: Before.

Perle: You think you would achieve anything?

Cohn-Bendit: That's why I am saying. Let's change the agenda together! Europe and America have to agree on means and ends if we want to trigger a peaceful domino effect in the Middle East. Solving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict must be part of this agenda. I accept wars that are necessary, but I still believe that war against Iraq is not necessary. I have proposed to contain Saddam Hussein with U.S. troops in the Gulf, and to convene a summit like the Helsinki Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe in 1975. The U.N. should declare a Palestinian state, and, with an international mandate, we should secure Israel and Palestine. This is where we could reach a mutual understanding! And if you put this project on the agenda, the whole region will look at America with different eyes.

Perle: The chances for a resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict will improve as soon as Saddam is gone. Iraqi opposition leader Ahmed Chalabi and his people have confirmed that they want a real peace process, and that they would recognize the state of Israel. There is no doubt about that if they come to power. We cannot expect the peace process to be any more promising than it is now as long as Saddam Hussein actively works against it - including raining rockets on Israel as he did during the 1991 Gulf War. President George W. Bush presented his vision for the Middle East on June 24, 2002. Yet his plan has not received the attention it deserves. Bush said, if the Palestinians establish themselves as interlocutors who operate without corruption and terrorism, then the United States will support the creation of a Palestinian state. Yet the Europeans are supporting Arafat and sending checks from Brussels. We have reached a dead end. The checks are standing in the

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way of the kind of democratic reform needed in the Palestinian National Authority that can open the door for peace.

Cohn-Bendit: This difference of opinion is not limited to Arafat. America has to learn that, after a war with Iraq, the trans-Atlantic relationship will change. Hitherto, it has been like a traditional male-***female*** relationship: Man calls, woman follows. Then, there was emancipation. I do want something new in Europe, and not the French way - anti-Americanism no matter what. Europe can take on responsibilities, and I dream that it will be able to handle alone something like Bosnia in the future. This new relationship is not against America, but it is not for America either. It is for Europe. European interests are not equal to American interests. You Americans did not believe in Europe before, with the euro. You laughed at us. We did it, and it is not so bad. And you will see, we will do much more. We have differing views on the Kyoto Protocol, and on the International Criminal Court. I understand the American position, because the two continents have completely different understandings of sovereignty.

Perle: If my prediction - that everything will go well with Iraq - becomes reality, then the damage recently done to trans-Atlantic relations will rapidly be repaired. We will still have the problem of French ambitions to build a Europe in opposition to the United States. And if the French are indeed creating a counterweight, do not call their relationship with the United States an alliance anymore. In that case we, as Americans, will have to consider how we deal with this European departure from the trans-Atlantic axis.

## Graphic

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PHOTO, Getty Images - Paul Vreeker; PHOTO, Photo courtesy of Foreign Policy magazine; A peace demonstrator in the Netherlands unfurls a love sign.; Pentagon adviser Richard Perle and Green Party leader Daniel Cohn-Bendit debate last month in Washington.

**Load-Date:** April 14, 2003

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## *Confessions of a former Leftie*

Sunday Mail (Queensland, Australia)

March 9, 2003 Sunday

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**Section:** FEATURES; Pg. 50

**Length:** 1480 words

**Byline:** Phil Craig

### **Body**

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British historian and TV producer PHIL CRAIG was a peace marcher long before September 11 and Bali. Now, he argues, President George Bush will be vindicated in his war on Iraq

WE were there for peace. We were there to confront the American cowboy warmonger. We were there to watch actor Emma Thompson on a truck.

Actually, of the day I marched in Britain against cruise and Pershing missiles what I remember best is the bemused look on the faces of a group of miners as Emma performed her mobile political cabaret.

Anyone remember cruise and Pershing? Or the Greenham Common missile base protests? You only catch them on UK television archive shows now, but back in the early 1980s stopping NATO deploying those American missiles was the great anti-war cause. It was what you did if you were young, decent and liberal.

And how we decent young people hated Ronald Reagan. We all had that poster of him as Rhett Butler with Margaret Thatcher as Scarlett O'Hara: "She promised to follow him to the ends of the Earth. He promised to organise it."

No, he wasn't funny -- he was dangerous. He wanted to tear up detente, he wanted to confront what he naively called "the Evil Empire". For Christ's sake, he even went to Berlin and shouted: "Tear Down that Wall!"

We'd all read Animal Farm and none of us was that keen on the Soviets, but at least they'd given their people decent healthcare, hadn't they, and a fantastic underground system? Oh, and jobs for life, unlike the evil Thatcher. What was the point of provoking them?

Like a lot of lefties, I ended up in the current affairs department of the British Broadcasting Corporation. Eight years after protesting, I found myself in Eastern Europe.

Amazingly, the Wall had, indeed, been torn down. My assistant producer had family in the old East Germany and he wasn't too pleased to hear of my peacenik past. Did I have any idea how much people like him had hated people like me?

Did I know how crushingly miserable life had been in Eastern Europe, that the image of healthcare and jobs for life was strictly for the consumption of visiting left-wing reporters, and that the reality was grey, oppressive and corrupt?

## Confessions of a former Leftie

And, most of all, did I not know how much it had meant when Reagan challenged the Soviet overlords, matching their SS-20s with his own missiles, inviting them into a spending race that they could not win? And that's why I didn't march this time around. Because America, even with a cowboy in charge, isn't always wrong.

Two paragraphs, both true:

\* The United States has bankrolled and armed vicious regimes, refused to pressure Israel into making substantial territorial concessions in the West Bank, and has wilfully undermined international efforts to secure fair trade and environmental protections.

Bad America, very bad.

\* For three generations the people of Europe have benefited hugely from the military and economic power of the United States. That power disposed of first the Nazis and then the Soviets. In the last decade it has chased a fascist dictator out of the Balkans and a reactionary death cult from its laboratories in Afghanistan.

Good America, yes, very good America indeed, especially when you consider what the multilateral United Nations' decent and liberal approach to problems has given us in recent years: Rwanda, Srebrenica and a 12-year game of hide-and-seek in Iraq.

I like to imagine peace protesters sitting in a cafe in Jerusalem, Baghdad or Damascus one day, in a revitalised, democratised and peaceful Middle East, and realising that the turning point was the removal of Saddam Hussein.

Optimistic? Naive? I suppose so. But some good will come out of a regime-change in Iraq. Reformers in Iran will be inspired, the violent Islamic group Hamas will lose its major paymaster, and the Saudi oligarchs will think twice before funding more jihad fanatics.

I'd say that the optimists have as good a chance of being right as the naysayers, whose relentlessly negative predictions about recent Western military actions have been equally relentlessly wrong.

Liberal British columnist Madeleine Bunting wrote a few days into the bombing of the Taliban that Afghanistan was America's new Vietnam. Last week she attempted to discount any cheering crowds that we might see in Iraq as "a few days' jubilation staged for the TV cameras".

Well, Afghanistan wasn't Vietnam, and CNN will not need to stage any jubiliations in Baghdad.

Why would a liberal want to dismiss the liberation of the Iraqi people? Because anti-Americanism trumps all her other instincts.

From my experience, mainstream left-liberal opinion remains resolutely opposed to the war, however many nasties chief UN arms inspector Hans Blix and his team can dig up in Saddam's back garden. It's also very much inclined to believe anyone but Bush or Powell when it comes to evidence about the nasties.

"Still not proven . . . no clear risk" is the consensus, even after Colin Powell's tape recordings, and even after British TV reporter Jane Corbin's excellent documentary showed just how the inspectors get the run-around.

I've made enough current affairs programs to understand and to share much of the case against America. But my feelings about the war on terror have been different from the start.

I was in Florida on September 11, 2001, researching a book on World War II. In the week after the attack, the airlines were down, so I drove across rural Florida and Georgia, watching the flags come out and the patriotic messages go up on the billboards.

People were calling the radio shows. One question dominated, the same one I heard in bars, shops and around dinner tables: "Why do they hate us so much?"

"It's just a minority," I said.

## Confessions of a former Leftie

I returned home and realised that it wasn't a minority at all. To my astonishment, it included many of my liberal friends, and writers and thinkers I admired.

In that first week a cartoon in The Guardian painted President Bush as an ape dumbly trying to impersonate Winston Churchill, while The Independent offered a blind, deranged Bush firing his cowboy six-shooter and treading on a dead Arab. And all this before a single American bomb had been dropped on Afghanistan, and with 3000 bodies -- we still thought 10,000 then -- beneath the Trade Towers rubble.

I phoned a friend in the television business. We both said we were fearful. I was talking about Islamic terrorism, perhaps next time with a nuke, but it turned out he meant "the mad cowboy in the White House". It struck me then that, after so many years of opposing American foreign policy, the Left could not see beyond Vietnam-era slogans. It could not recognise that a toxic stew of rogue regimes, apocalyptic weapons programs and a perverted form of Islam posed a deadly threat.

It posed a particularly deadly threat, come to think of it, to the values of the Left itself: to women's rights and gay rights; to secularism, pluralism and multiculturalism. In fact, you name the liberal "ism" and Osama was against it. But one 'ism' still trumped all: anti-Americanism.

The coming endgame with Saddam will, at the very least, rid the world of a proven danger, and lessen the chances that the next terrorist attack will take out millions not thousands. If war comes, will innocent Iraqis die? Certainly. More than the Americans will admit, fewer than the peaceniks will claim. But innocents have been dying for decades under this revolting regime.

We're told that war will drive Muslims into the arms of al-Qaida. But remember what bin Laden said in the days after 9/11: "America is weak, it cannot take casualties, it ran away in Somalia."

Throughout the 1990s the West responded tamely to attacks by bin Laden (the African embassy bombs, the USS Cole), to attacks by groups linked to Saddam (the Saudi barracks bomb, the assassination attempt on Bush's father, the first World Trade Centre attack), and to the continued refusal of Iraq to disarm as required by the Gulf War ceasefire. Ten years of this weakness only encouraged our enemies to be bolder.

Good, decent people are painting their "No War" signs; even Nelson Mandela, the conscience of the world, tells me I'm backing a bunch of racist oil-imperialists. Nelson may be against me, but at least Czech leader Vaclav Havel understands. Which brings me back to Hyde Park in London in 1983.

Eastern Europeans know that when they suffered oppression, it was America which tried to help them, and the Western Left which marched in tacit support of their oppressors. The communists, as we later discovered, never believed that NATO would respond to the deployment of its SS-20s. It thought that the protests of Phil Craig and Emma Thompson and lots of other decent liberal people would make it impossible.

I still hope that Saddam will do the same. But I fear that all this marching will make him think that he still has a chance. And that could be more dangerous than any cowboy in the White House.

**Load-Date:** March 8, 2003



## *South America Region Under Watch for Signs of Terrorists*

The New York Times  
December 15, 2002 Sunday  
Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section 1; Column 3; Foreign Desk; Pg. 32

**Length:** 1607 words

**Byline:** By LARRY ROHTER

**Dateline:** CIUDAD DEL ESTE, Paraguay

### **Body**

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The Triple Frontier where Argentina, Brazil and Paraguay meet has long been South America's busiest contraband and smuggling center, a corrupt, chaotic place where just about anything from drugs and arms to pirated software and bootleg whisky are available to anyone who can pay the price.

Its reputation has brought the area under close surveillance by the police and foreign intelligence services for decades. But since the Sept. 11 attacks, the Triple Frontier has been transformed into a sort of Casablanca, a center of intrigue scrutinized more intensely than ever for its suspected links to Islamic terrorists.

Argentine and American officials describe the area, with its large Arab immigrant population, as teeming with Islamic extremists and their sympathizers, and they say those businesses have raised or laundered more than \$50 million in recent years for terrorist groups. Their Brazilian and Paraguayan counterparts are more ambivalent, however, and say they need more evidence that the area has been used by terror groups in the past as a financing, logistical and recreation center.

In a sign of increased United States attention, the State Department's counterterrorism coordinator, Cofer Black, is scheduled to visit the Triple Frontier on Dec. 18.

In such a hotbed, the authorities say that nearly as plentiful as Islamic extremists since Sept. 11 are the spies and intelligence agents of a half dozen countries -- from China to the Middle East to the United States. "There are so many of us now that we are bumping into each other," a senior Argentine official said last month.

The question on nearly everyone's mind, especially after a map of the region was recovered from a Qaeda safehouse in Kabul, Afghanistan, is whether Osama bin Laden's operatives are also among those operating here. Acting on what they say was a tip from the United States last July, the Paraguayan police arrested a pair of Lebanese men, Ali Nizar Darhoug and Muhammad Daoud Yassine, who are uncle and nephew and were said to be raising funds for Al Qaeda.

Paraguay has no antiterrorism law, and Mr. Yassine was released and is reported to have left the country. Mr. Darhoug, owner of a perfume store and a pharmacy, is being held on tax evasion charges. "So far, nobody has been able to prove a single thing against me," he said after a bail hearing here late last month. "I'm not accused of terrorism and I'm not involved in terrorism."

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Early this year, the frequently sensationalist Paraguayan press reported that Al Qaeda and other Islamic terrorist groups had set up training camps; and, more recently, they have also talked of a secret terrorist summit meeting here. Intelligence officials monitoring the region are skeptical of such reports, though they acknowledge that Islamic fundamentalists are indoctrinating the region's young Muslim residents in extremist ideology.

But intelligence officials do say they have noticed worrisome signs that Islamic extremists are fanning out, especially to nearby countries that have established Arab or Muslim communities. Mentioned most often are Iquique, Chile; Guayaquil, Ecuador; and Maracaibo, Venezuela. At the same time, a parallel dispersion to smaller towns within the region also seems to be taking place. A recent Argentine intelligence report mentions Uruguaiana, a Brazilian town on the border with Argentina south of here, and Cascavel, also in Brazil, as well as Pedro Juan Caballero in Paraguay, as places where Muslim merchants with suspicious connections have surfaced.

What worries them most, intelligence officials say, are signs that Islamic extremists are also gravitating toward Sao Paulo, a bustling city of 18 million that is home to the largest concentration of Brazil's estimated 1.5 million Muslims -- an ideal hiding place for anyone intent on being overlooked.

Officials say the Triple Frontier has been used for years both to collect and launder money for terrorist groups and for mafias, as well as providing a haven for fugitives.

More than 20,000 Middle Eastern immigrants, most from Lebanon and Syria, live in the area. Many operate small businesses on the Paraguayan side, but the most successful commute daily across the bridge from homes in Foz do Iguacu, a tidy Brazilian city of 250,000 where neighborhoods are dotted with halal butcher shops and **women** walk in headscarves. There are a pair of Islamic schools there, four Arab language cable television stations and a gleaming mosque with a gold-tinted roof on Palestine Street.

Terrorists sought in the Middle East have been sent to the Triple Frontier to hide out in comfort, using fake passports or other documents manufactured in some of the same local workshops that also make phony credit cards, intelligence officials say.

Hezbollah, the Iranian-backed terrorist group, appears to be the dominant group in the area. But according to a recent Argentine intelligence report, "support activities" on behalf of **Hamas**, Amal and the Party for Islamic Unification have also been detected, and there is also evidence that Egypt's Islamic Brotherhood has used the area as a haven.

Since 1999, two men said by Egyptian authorities to have been central figures in the terrorist attack in Luxor that killed 58 tourists -- El Said Hassan Mokhles and Muhammad Ibrahim Soliman -- have been arrested here and are in custody.

In June, the Brazilian police also apprehended Assad Ahmad Barakat, a Lebanese businessman who is said to have been a Hezbollah enforcer and money launderer. The Paraguayan police raided his electronics store less than a month after the Sept. 11 attacks, but Mr. Barakat fled across the border to Brasilia, where he is fighting extradition.

Local officials say that money Mr. Barakat took from merchants was forwarded by local banks through the United States and Canada to Hezbollah accounts.

When the Paraguayan authorities first raided Mr. Barakat's shop, among the items they found was a letter from Hezbollah acknowledging receipt of \$3,535,149 from Mr. Barakat in 2000. One of Mr. Barakat's employees, Sobhi Fayad, is in custody on charges of having illegally transferred hundreds of thousands of dollars to the United States.

But Muhammad Youssef Abdallah, a Lebanese businessman who is the founder and caretaker of the main downtown mosque here, says the Triple Frontier is the victim of an unfair image stemming solely from its large Arab population.

"We have nothing to do with Hezbollah here, and Hezbollah doesn't need money from the people here," Mr. Abdallah said in an interview in a 19th-floor office above the mosque, from which all three countries were visible.

## South America Region Under Watch for Signs of Terrorists

"Their money comes from Iran, so they don't need to take anything from hungry merchants in a far-off place like this."

There are also indications that Islamic terrorist groups may have been using the Triple Frontier as part of a clandestine communications networks. In little more than a year, the Brazilian police have shut down a dozen telephone switching operations here and in other nearby cities, which experts say could be used to evade American satellites monitoring telephone traffic.

In October last year, for instance, the police in Maringa, about 125 miles to the east, detained a 33-year-old unemployed waiter who said he had been hired in Foz do Iguacu by a Lebanese businessman to rent a house and install telephone lines to switch telephone calls to and from the Middle East. Phone records indicate that much of the traffic involved countries such as Afghanistan, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia.

"I would get an international call, and the person would ask in English to call another number," the waiter, Ederaldo dos Santos, told the Brazilian newsmagazine Epoca.

Of the three countries that converge here, only Argentina has been attacked by Islamic terrorist groups. The Israeli Embassy in Buenos Aires was blown up in 1992, killing 28 people, and in 1994, the main Jewish community center in the Argentine capital was also destroyed, killing 86 people in what is still the world's worst anti-Semitic attack since the end of World War II.

According to the secret testimony of a defector from Iran's intelligence agency, offered to Argentine investigators during interrogations in 1998 and 2000, both bombings were organized by the Iranian Embassy in Buenos Aires. But Argentine intelligence and police reports have concluded that at least part of the planning took place in the Triple Frontier and involved a pair of Lebanese immigrants who still live and work here.

Based on an examination of telephone records, Argentine investigators found "evidence of coordination between the Triple Frontier area and 'sleeper cells' in Buenos Aires," in the words of a confidential government report obtained by The New York Times. Two main centers of activity were cited: the principal mosque in Foz do Iguacu and a travel agency there operated by Mr. Abdallah and the man who was then his partner, Farouk Omairi.

Mr. Abdallah acknowledged the phone traffic but said his former partner, Mr. Omairi, was responsible for all calls that were made to Iran or the Iranian Embassy and that none of the contacts with Iranian officials had to do with the terrorist attack. "He was trying to put together a business deal to sell them chicken," Mr. Abdallah said.

In a separate interview, however, Mr. Omairi, who now runs another travel agency in Foz do Iguacu, said, "This is all news to me. I don't remember having talked with anybody like that, and I don't know anything about any attack. Everybody is always picking on the Triple Frontier. Just because you're Lebanese doesn't mean you're involved with Hezbollah."

<http://www.nytimes.com>

## Graphic

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Photo: A mosque in Foz do Iguacu, Brazil, a city in a region that has drawn many immigrants from the Middle East. (Walter Astrada/Sudacaphotos, for The New York Times) Map of Paraguay highlighting Ciudad Del Este: Ciudad del Este, Paraguay, is a center of international intrigue.

**Load-Date:** December 15, 2002

## South America Region Under Watch for Signs of Terrorists

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**REVIEW OF THE YEAR: IT WAS A SCARY YEAR OF BOMBS AND TERROR  
ABROAD, WHILE AT HOME WE SUFFERED FRENZIED CONVULSIONS;  
OVERVIEW DAVID AARONOVITCH**

The Independent (London)

December 28, 2002, Sunday

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**Section:** OBITUARIES; Pg. 5

**Length:** 1535 words

**Byline:** David Aaronovitch Foreign tourists make their way through the debris caused by; October's terrorist bomb attack at Kuta Beach on the Indonesian island of; Bali Itsuo Inouye/AP

## **Body**

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THE PAST year was a scary one abroad and a stupid one at home. The inanities of our domestic concerns (as reflected in the news agenda) acted to divert us from the bony spectres of terrorism, war and international recession. Burrell drove out Hamas, Cheriegate chased away the war stories, a former TV weather-girl held the front pages, in both spring and autumn, with accounts of sex that was consensual and sex that wasn't.

If the year began with Afghanistan liberated, a new government in Kabul and the Muslim world unimploded, then that was almost as good as it was going to get. India and Pakistan angrily mobilised against each other on either side of the Kashmir border. In the Middle East the succession of suicide bombs, military retaliations and targeted assassinations (some not so targeted) strengthened the men of war who had occasioned them and progressively weakened the peace parties, who hadn't. In a Yeatsian cycle, Ariel Sharon became ever more popular, as increasing numbers of young Palestinians volunteered for counter-productive and murderous martyrdom. In November the bombers greeted the election of a dove, Amram Mitzna, to the leadership of the Israeli Labour Party, with a big suicide bomb in Jerusalem that killed 11 people.

If you can do nothing good, you can at least almost always do plenty of bad. At the Earth Summit in Johannesburg, Colin Powell was heckled and Tony Blair excoriated by supporters of the Zimbabwean leader, Robert Mugabe. Mugabe was busy putting the final touches to his Neronian end-strategy for the country he led to independence. At the beginning of 2002 there were still several thousand white farmers in Zimbabwe; at the end, just a few hundred. In December - as full economic collapse loomed - they were still finding the bodies of opposition campaigners who had disappeared during the elections.

Over in the US a sniper and his young friend brought civilisation to a temporary halt after deciding to just drive about a bit and shoot folks. In Nigeria the hosting of the Miss World contest was thought provocative enough to justify the massacring of a hundred or more Christians in a Northern city. But then, this is a part of the world where they still want to stone women to death for adultery.

Not that we Europeans had much to be smug about. Spring brought crocuses and budding fascism. In France, Lionel Jospin, the competent Socialist prime minister, lost out to the neo-fascist Jean-Marie Le Pen in the contest to take on Jacques Chirac for the presidency. Though Le Pen subsequently failed, events in the Netherlands were even more alarming. The anti-immigration party of the assassinated Pim Fortuyn won a posthumous victory over

## REVIEW OF THE YEAR: IT WAS A SCARY YEAR OF BOMBS AND TERROR ABROAD, WHILE AT HOME WE SUFFERED FRENZIED CONVULSIONS; OVERVIEW DAVID AARONOVITCH

another decent social democratic administration and entered government. By the year's end, the Fortuynites were in disarray, but in the meantime only timely floods saved Gerhard Schroder, the German Chancellor, from defeat at the hands of the right.

And bombs were going off. In October the body bags mainly enclosed the remains of young Australians, caught by a blast at a nightclub on the paradise island of Bali. A month later it was vacationing Israelis and dancing Kenyans who were scraped up from the rubble-strewn floors of the Paradise Hotel in Mombasa. Between the two explosions, Chechen rebels took an entire audience hostage in a Moscow theatre. How many they would have killed is a matter of conjecture; what isn't speculative is that 120 hostages died after inhaling an incapacitating gas released by Russian special forces.

All this re-emphasised the message of 11 September 2001, which was that no one is safe anywhere. No wonder, as we progressed at UN pace towards possible war with Iraq, that the tendency was to dig ourselves a tabloid hole in the ground, and then pull it in after us.

Thank God, then, for the escapist qualities of the Royal Family and our relationship with it. On 9 February, Princess Margaret died. On 30 March, as if somehow reminded of how death is accomplished, the Queen Mother followed her daughter. Hundreds of thousands of citizens and tourists, determined to be a part of history, confounded republicans by walking slowly past the coffin as it lay in Westminster Hall. On 4 June, the Queen, lauded for her sense of duty and imperturbability, stood on the balcony at Buckingham Palace and returned the gazes of one million revellers. The night before an ageing guitarist had played from her rooftop. That was as good as it got for the Royals; soon the forces that had elevated them were clamouring to bring them down again.

Child murder trumps most stories. Double child abduction in a small rural town, 13 days of searching and then the discovery of two bodies, that's a lead story the world over. Everyone except you and me descended on the municipality of Soham to interview locals, quiz each other about the fate of Holly and Jessica and speculate about how the police might have got it all wrong. Sightseers went to lay wreaths and take happy snaps among the gravestones. When a school caretaker and his girlfriend were charged in relation to the murders, many newspapers couldn't wait for the tedious formalities of the trial. Maxine Carr and Ian Huntley were convicted on the evidence of former girlfriends, boyfriends, pub landlords and people who'd once met them by the seaside, and found guilty.

Murder frenzy was succeeded by sex frenzy. In her memoirs Edwina Currie revealed that she had been inside those famous underpants. Not once, but many, many times. This revelation of ancient knobbing came just in time to divert sensible attention away from the careful build-up to the Conservative Party conference, where the 25 new policies sank without trace in a sea of media prurience.

Sex frenzy gave way to royal frenzy. Suddenly, with the collapse of the trial of Paul Burrell, Diana's "rock", we discovered that the Queen wasn't a paragon of duty after all, but was instead (according to some of our journalists) a Nixonian cover-up merchant, attempting desperately to prevent the truth coming out about palace buggery. This garbage filled the newspapers and the airwaves for weeks, and it began to tell us far more about the abuses of media power and pressures of media competition than it ever did about the Queen or about buggers. It told us that we now governed by frenzy.

Her Majesty was just one victim. It was also a year of showbiz convulsions. Who could the Mirror or the Mail get sacked next? Would it be Sven Goran Eriksson, revealed to have enjoyed the cool, leggy embraces of Ulrika Jonsson, and thus likely to be too steamed up to be able to manage the England team properly in the forthcoming World Cup finals? Sven stayed. Barrymore did not. The open verdict into the death of a man in the comedian's pool also meant open season on Barrymore. He was fired from everything, including the book that he was writing for BBC Publications (BBC Publications? And Nation Shall Speak Truth Unto Nation?) By October, Ulrika was back with her own memoirs, not quite naming a man who had allegedly raped her and several other women. Others lacked her scruples, or were braver, and a television presenter was outed and fired, without - as yet - any charge being brought against him.

REVIEW OF THE YEAR: IT WAS A SCARY YEAR OF BOMBS AND TERROR ABROAD, WHILE AT HOME  
WE SUFFERED FRENZIED CONVULSIONS; OVERVIEW DAVID AARONOVITCH

That left just enough time before the year's end to run yet another story about the complicated biochemical and chemical lives of Angus Deayton and to mount a successful campaign to get him fired by the BBC. A dangerous precedent: the names of BBC executives in drama and light entertainment who haven't taken cocaine would constitute a short list indeed.

And we ended with Cheriegate, the ultimate frenzy, in which the PM's wife was discovered not to be doing anything wrong, but in so doing to have misled the press. This appalling sin could be propitiated only by revelations of kooky alternative therapies and sneering at her altogether too resonant middle-class determination to do her best for her children. Still, Cheriegate did answer the question "Who governs Britain?". Media frenzy.

In the boring world, Stephen Byers and Estelle Morris resigned, and the firefighters struck and discovered - too late - that a missile once fired cannot be recovered. There was a massively overblown "scandal" about A- level marking.

The economy slowed, and it became painfully apparent that, on the public services, the Government was making it up as it went along.

But what of the opposition? Iain Duncan Smith is dead in the water, and all the real fun is to be had marching and phoning. Hundreds of thousands turned out to bemoan the fate of the countryside, a fate that - paradoxically - they were mostly responsible for themselves. And many thousands also marched against any war with Iraq. Even more voted for Winston Churchill as the greatest Briton in one of the most flatulent exercises of its kind ever mounted by the BBC, and for Tony Blackburn to be the last to leave a small part of the Australian jungle, adjacent to a luxury hotel.

On 18 December a "senior Whitehall source" told journalists that it was a "high probability" that terrorists would, at some point, commit a successful atrocity in the United Kingdom. Roll on the Carr-Huntley trial. Roll on 2003.

**Load-Date:** December 28, 2002

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## *Letters to the Editor.*

UK Newsquest Regional Press - This is Bradford

October 2, 2002

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**Section:** News

**Length:** 1563 words

**Byline:** David Knights

### **Body**

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SIR - I have been following the correspondence regarding the flow of traffic in Keighley, and it was heartening to hear that Cllr Mitchell had welcomed Mr Dyson's comments and spent some time with him discussing the subject.

As Cllr Emmott made the point that any comments would be welcome, it might be useful if the traffic, transport and environmental committee could also consider the situation of the B&Q roundabout at peak times.

Presumably the scheme to create a wider road on the Hard Ings bypass, between this roundabout and the one at the Skipton Road end, is still on the list of works to be carried out in the future, no doubt with a better plan for the roundabouts.

But in the meantime, while the new road markings on the B&Q roundabout have eased the situation slightly by reducing the traffic from the dual carriageway from two lanes to one lane, when going straight ahead there is quite a melee at peak times, which I feel could be alleviated somewhat by introducing peak time traffic lights.

It may be argued that traffic would increase the queues, particularly from the dual carriageway, but this must be weighed against the amount of stationary traffic on the roundabout at present, causing motorists to become rather frustrated at not being able to get across without making a mad dash across the roundabout.

WILFRED ELLIS

Parkway, Steeton

Sir - This is in reply to Frank Brammah's letter (KN Sept 20).

Islamic Jihad and ***Hamas*** are no more different than the Israeli IDF. The main difference between the two is that the IDF has massacred 1,600 Palestinians, using tanks and helicopter gunships, to inflict maximum civilian casualties, and Islamic Jihad has killed 300 Israelis, using suicide bombs. I believe the figures speak for themselves as to who is the biggest threat to peace in the Middle East.

Mr Brammah points to the fact that "Israel has been under siege since its birth", well, Mr Brammah, perhaps that is because the Israeli state hacked and butchered thousands of Arabs en route to independence. Is it any wonder Arabs hate Israelis?

The massacres of Sabra and Shatila, to name a couple, only 20 years ago, are still vivid in the memory of every Arab.



Letters to the Editor.

Israel was created through violence, and as the saying goes "What goes around, comes around".

Thameena Majeed

(address supplied)

SIR - In memory of Sarah McKie.

Your comments in the Opinion column brought back happy memories of Sarah McKie and her family.

Knowing Sarah for nineteen years has obviously impacted on my thoughts. I for one was privileged to have known such a happy person, who I will never forget.

Her memory will live on due to the goodwill of the public and will also help many people, not only in this region but also throughout the country. Sarah was respected and admired by all, due, in no small part to her upbringing by her parents, Anne and Malcolm.

ROSE GREENWELL

Shirley Street, Haworth

SIR - For most of us the ability to speak comes naturally and is not something which is thought deeply about.

To speak and to be understood is an important aspect of daily life and one which affects an individual's life chances education, the job one gets, the home and lifestyle we enjoy and the friends we make are just a few examples.

The article (KN Sept 13) dealing with the cutting of speech and language services shows how the Health Authority and Education Authority fail to grasp the enormous implications of their actions.

Speech and language have a tremendous impact on the future of those children with problems. To use children as financial pawns is short sighted and abhorrent. I hope those families involved will voice their anger at the proper authorities.

Mrs Racktoo in the article says that "the evidence is that well-informed adults can deal with these situations just as well."

Surely this is an understatement. Well-informed adults can only be as good as the information they receive from the speech and language therapist.

As a parent I feel speech and language services should be extended and not cut and they should work more closely and in unison with the education authority.

Children with speech and language difficulties should be treated as important, as decisions made now could affect the sort of lives they lead in the future.

KAREN MCNULTY

Information Officer

Downs Syndrome Support

Group,

Elm View, Steeton

SIR - I was amazed and shocked to read the account "Four years in jail for sex attack on girl" (KN Sept 20) in a paper usually sympathetic to victims of the evils of modern life.

## Letters to the Editor.

What justification can there be for publishing in such detail an account of the attack for the whole of Keighley to read?

Will the poor girl be grateful? She had to suffer the attack, tell her story to the police, which must have been very traumatic, and now she has to see it described, brutally I might say, all over the town.

The protection of anonymity is a fragile one and should include more than suppression of the name. Surely the account should have emphasised the shame on the head of the criminal, and kept the details of the girl's suffering to the court room.

I noticed the case advertised on placards about the town; to sell the newspapers? Please do not allow the Keighley News to sink to this level.

D L WATSON

(Address supplied)

Editor's note: Far more than a name is suppressed to protect anonymity for example, the school attended.

SIR - Regarding Thomas the Tank Engine competition as won by Deborah Hudson.

We are writing to give a big thankyou to all at the Keighley News and KW&VR for our smashing day out to see Thomas the Tank Engine and his friends.

The event was extremely well run and with a great deal of enthusiasm, and we can't wait until Thomas's next visit.

GEORGIA and BRIONY

REID

Harper Grove, Sutton

SIR - On Radio 4 this morning, (Tuesday) there was an item about Hilda Morrell who died in mysterious circumstances in the mid 1980s.

She was a nuclear scientist and her nephew, Robert Green, served in the Royal Navy during the Falklands War.

He believes there is evidence that the secret services were involved in her death because she was critical of the government's nuclear policies and the questions surrounding her death have not been answered.

It just happens to be one illustration of how far any government will go to protect its military secrets, be it UK, USA or Iraq. All governments believe in strong military force not only as a response to any perceived threat but also as a matter of status.

Yet our Prime Minister has the audacity to put himself on a high moral plinth when talking about Saddam Hussein and his policies. Britain has its Trident nuclear weapons arsenal of 114 warheads, each with the power of eight times the bomb dropped on Hiroshima, and Britain is one of the major weapons exporter in the world.

Britain forcibly removed the people of Diego Garcia in the early 1970s to make way for an American military base from which today B52 bombers fly to attack Afghanistan and Iraq. A case of ethnic cleansing if ever there was. Britain allows high level radioactive waste to be shipped around the world for commercial profit.

That Saddam Hussein is a tyrant is true, but it is true in respect of his own people. If he is a direct threat to the region ( I do not see how he is a direct threat to either the USA or Britain), then the underlying causes must be examined.

Letters to the Editor.

The preamble to the United Nations Charter begins: "We the peoples determined to save future generations from the scourge of war." War will not rid the world of war.

It is only by developing and using a common, legal framework, in which human rights and the dignity of all are enshrined, that the peace we all yearn for be found.

Such ways do not make for jet-setting, strutting heads of state, but rather for long-term persistent negotiation, with openness and good faith, searching for the truth. It is time that "we the people" made our voice heard that war is not an option.

SYLVIA BOYES

Wimborne Drive, Keighley

SIR - I am at present researching my mother's family tree and, in particular, I am seeking information on my grandfather, Joseph Brooksbank.

All I know about him is that he was born in 1878 and in 1925 he married my grandmother, Mary Ann Parker, on March 28, at the Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, West Lane, Haworth. At the time of their marriage, Joseph lived at 25 Price Street, Haworth, and Mary Ann at 19 Price Street.

I believe my grandfather had been previously married.

If anyone has any information about who his parents were or any brothers/sisters he may have had and any information about his first marriage, I would be most obliged if you could either phone me on 01733 270772 or e-mail me on [capricorn1352-@btopenworld.com](mailto:capricorn1352-@btopenworld.com).

Also, any information on Mary Ann Parker would be most welcome.

Mary Ann was born in 1886, in Hunslet, Leeds.

J M BARNES

Thorney, Peterborough,

Cambs

SIR - The British Korean Veterans Association is trying to contact former members of HM Armed Forces who served in Korea/Japan from 1950-1953, and also those servicemen and women who served in these two places at a later date with the peace-keeping force from 1953 to 1957.

This appeal includes former members of the Merchant Navy, Naafi, Red Cross and WRVS. Anyone interested should contact me at the address here: a stamped-addressed envelope would be helpful for replies.

BRIAN HOUGH

Ex-Kings Liverpool

Regiment, National

Recruitment Officer, BKVA,

11 Wardle Brook Walk,

Hattersley, Cheshire

SK14 3JG.

Letters to the Editor.

**Load-Date:** October 2, 2002

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**For Arab Informers, Death; For the Executioners, Justice**

The New York Times  
September 2, 2002 Monday  
Late Edition - Final

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

**Length:** 1374 words

**Byline:** By SERGE SCHMEMANN

**Dateline:** TULKARM, West Bank, Sept. 1

## **Body**

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The woman is in obvious anguish, moving constantly, slapping her hands, clutching her face, occasionally succumbing to a deep moan. Below the Muslim head scarf, her eye is black.

"My daughter made a mistake," she said. "My daughter fell into the trap of my brother. My daughter was cheated by her uncle. My daughter was an informer. Everybody looks at us in a different way. I want to turn the page. I want a decent life."

As Muyasar Ibrahim ranted on, her other children, ranging from a toddler to a young man, huddled anxiously around her at the entrance to their three-room hovel at the end of an alley. They alternately urged visitors to leave and glanced fearfully at a clutch of Palestinian youths laughing and watching from the alley.

On Friday, the 43-year-old woman's 17-year-old daughter, Rajah Ibrahim, was shot dead as a collaborator by members of the militant Aksa Martyrs Brigades. Six days earlier, Ms. Ibrahim's sister, 35-year-old Ikhklas Khouli, was similarly killed. Six months earlier, Ms. Ibrahim's husband was executed.

In the street, there was no pity, no doubt that justice had been done.

Collaboration has always ranked as a heinous crime among the Palestinians. Dozens of men have been killed as collaborators, often publicly. Ms. Khouli and Ms. Ibrahim, however, had the distinction of being the first **women** executed in the current uprising, and their deaths attracted considerable attention.

The band of neighborhood boys happily led reporters to show them Ms. Khouli's similarly meager home a block away -- or at least its remains. After she was killed, the family moved in with her daughter's husband in a village a few miles away, and two days later the home was burned down. Now a broken door and a few charred mattresses litter the darkened rooms.

"We don't want them to come back," explained an 18-year-old who gave his name as Mahmoud.

"They should have hanged them in front of everybody," shouted another youth. "She deserved it."

In a pharmacy around the corner, the middle-aged proprietor was reminded that Ms. Khouli, a widow, had seven children, who are now orphans. "What, she didn't know she had children?" the woman retorted. "If she hadn't

## For Arab Informers, Death; For the Executioners, Justice

followed this path, nobody would have touched her. Inside, I do feel sorry for them, but I cannot help them. What you plant, you harvest."

In a videotaped confession Ms. Khouli made before she was shot, in all the accounts given in the streets and in a furtive interview with members of Al Aksa Martyrs Brigades, the story was that the women had been working for Ali Yassin, the brother of the two women. A "well known" collaborator, as people described him, he had fled to Israel and now worked with the Israelis.

Some said he had threatened the women, others that he gave them money. But the consensus was that he had recruited them -- one to use her many children to report on the movements of Palestinian militants, the other to plant a bomb.

Outside the Tulkarm hospital, in the center of the city, a man pointed to the spot where Ms. Ibrahim was shot. It was about 5 p.m. when he heard the firing, and as he ran up, he saw three masked men leaving and the body, with bullet wounds in her legs and head. The bullets were still visible in the pavement today.

It was during curfew, and no other witnesses have come forward.

In an unusual move, a spokesman for the Brigades agreed to an interview. Everybody was talking about the executions, he said, and he wanted to explain.

After a furtive meeting in the open street, during which the man and a clutch of his comrades repeatedly glanced in all directions and made calls on their cellphones, he led reporters to an apartment hung with posters of Aksa "martyrs," who had been killed in clashes with Israel. An AK-47 assault rifle hung over one.

The most prominent poster was of Raed al-Karmi, a 27-year-old leader of the group in Tulkarm who was killed by a hidden bomb in January. Many Palestinians, and some Israelis, say his death broke an informal cease-fire that had been in force for several weeks, and prompted Al Aksa, an offshoot of Yasir Arafat's Fatah movement, to begin carrying out attacks inside Israel, which until then had been largely the work of Hamas and Islamic Jihad.

To the Israeli Army, Mr. Karmi was a terrorist, whom they had already tried to kill in September. In Tulkarm, he has been a folk hero, a warrior to whom songs were composed, who commanded fierce loyalty in the streets.

Rajah Ibrahim, the man explained, had been responsible for bringing in the bombs that killed Mr. Karmi and for burying them at a spot he often passed. Before the uprising, most of the men in Tulkarm worked in Israel, which is right outside the town. Most of them were barred from entering Israel, but women -- including Ms. Ibrahim, a seamstress -- were still allowed to cross.

"While in Israel, Rajah was recruited by her uncle," said the spokesman, a burly man who would not give his name. "She met with two Israeli officers and her uncle at the checkpoint, with two other girls, who are now in Israel, who are known to us. They gave her two bags, a black one and a red one. One of the girls led her to the place where she should put the bomb, and the other helped her dig a hole for it. Her brother kept an eye out."

The militants in Tulkarm were wary of men coming back, but nobody noted a girl carrying bags. "It came as a big surprise to us to realize that Israeli intelligence started using Palestinian women and girls in certain missions," the man said.

"To be honest, the girl didn't know what she was doing," he said. "She was promised a better job, more money. She knew it was a bomb, but not for whom. She didn't ask why."

Ms. Khouli was accused of providing the information that led to the killing of another militia leader, Ziad Daas, by an Israeli commando on Aug. 7. The man said she had sent her 17-year-old son, Bakir Khouli, to watch Mr. Daas's movements, and relayed them to her brother by calls from a cellphone he gave her.

## For Arab Informers, Death; For the Executioners, Justice

In the videotaped confession released by Al Aksa, Ms. Khouli appears resigned as she details her actions in response to an invisible interrogator. She did it, she says, because her brother threatened to kill her. "Everything I say is of my own free will," she says.

What else do you want to say to Palestinians? "I want to tell everyone, women and men, young or old, that even if you are threatened, don't get into this." The tape ends there.

Throughout the interview, the Aksa spokesman sought to explain that killing collaborators was not the policy of the group, that the collapse of the Palestinian Authority had imposed this task on them. He insisted that the militia had taken pains to make sure that their charges were substantiated. "The interrogators were experienced and qualified intelligence men from the Palestinian Authority, trained in Britain and the United States," he said.

"I know about human rights," he continued. "But when we feel threatened, we need to react. I am a wanted man, so I might face the same fate. This is self-defense."

Thirteen men have been assassinated in Tulkarm alone, he said, and more than 100 elsewhere in the West Bank and Gaza.

"The Americans in Afghanistan, they did not pay attention to the rights of prisoners," he contineud. "I want to draw attention to a simple fact: if the Palestinian Authority existed, if there were courts, jail, a security apparatus, we would quit this role."

The spokesman insisted that the interrogators did not press the women or their families -- that they had volunteered their information. But the black eye Muyasar Ibrahim, Rajah's mother, brought back from her three days of interrogation tell a different story.

So do the ugly welts on Bakir Khouli's back. He and his siblings are now in a village a few miles from Tulkarm, at the home of his brother-in-law. The slight youth emerged from the house, fidgeting and looking at the ground. He declined to talk about his interrogation, or his mother, but after some prodding he raised his T-shirt. It was an electric cable, he says. Yes, it was during the interrogation. In earlier interviews, he said he would have confessed to anything to stop the pain.

"It's over now," he mumbled. "Everything's over. We want to open a new page. It's not easy."

<http://www.nytimes.com>

## Graphic

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Photos: An unidentified sister of Rajah Ibrahim, who was killed by militants on accusations of collaborating with Israel, hiding yesterday behind a curtain placed at the entrance to the family home in Tulkarm. (Rina Castelnuevo for The New York Times)(pg. A1); The two Palestinian women killed by militants in the West Bank town of Tulkarm on accusations of collaborating with Israel were Ikhklas Khouli, left, a 35-year-old mother of seven; and Rajah Ibrahim, 17. They are shown on video supplied by Al Aksa Martyrs Brigades, which killed them. (Agence France-Presse); (APTN)(pg. A6)

**Load-Date:** September 2, 2002

## *Year in Review*

The New York Times  
December 29, 2002 Sunday  
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**Section:** Section 4; Column 1; Week in Review Desk; Pg. 4

**Length:** 3453 words

### **Body**

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#### JANUARY

Euro becomes legal tender in Europe.

The jobless rate rose in December to 5.8 percent, a level it last reached in April 1995.

President Bush chokes on a pretzel, faints and falls off couch while watching TV.

Palestinian gunman kills six Israelis at bat mitzvah celebration.

Kmart files for bankruptcy.

The journalist Daniel Pearl is reported missing in Pakistan.

10,000 pages of records on priest sex-abuse cases released in Boston.

Palestinian woman becomes the first **female** suicide bomber.

Broadband Internet giant Global Crossing files for bankruptcy.

**AXIS OF EVIL** -- In his first State of the Union address, on Jan. 29, President Bush called North Korea, Iran and Iraq "an axis of evil." Many allies worried that the United States would act unilaterally against the countries, while hawks within the administration were delighted that the president took such a muscular stance against Iraq.

**CHURCH SCANDAL** -- Roman Catholics and others were outraged by revelations in files from 84 civil suits involving the Catholic archdiocese in Boston. Included were depositions by bishops who were aware of sex-abuse accusations against the Rev. John J. Geoghan Jr., who was convicted later in 2002 of indecent assault.

#### FEBRUARY

Mike Tyson begins a monthlong quest for a state that will grant him a boxing license.



## Year in Review

Senate hearings on the Enron scandal begin.

Federal grand jury indicts John Walker Lindh for conspiring to kill Americans.

Israel attacks Palestinian security headquarters after 2 Israelis are killed.

Colin Powell articulates a policy of "regime change" in Iraq.

Lindh pleads not guilty to charges that he conspired to kill Americans.

Canadian figure-skating pair is awarded gold medals to share with Russian team, after revelations of influence peddling and improper judging.

Daniel Pearl is declared dead.

Italian police uncover plot to put chemical bomb in a tunnel near U.S. Embassy in Rome.

Gunmen kill 10 minority Shiite Muslims praying in a mosque in Pakistan.

REGIME CHANGE -- Secretary of State Colin L. Powell, right, testifying before the Senate, said the administration was settling on a plan for "regime change" in Iraq --a phrase borrowed from the Clinton administration. Expanding on earlier remarks made before a House committee, Powell's testimony seemed to emphasize the potential for war with Iraq in the near future.

CORPORATE MELTDOWN -- At a tense Senate hearing on Feb. 26, Jeffery K. Skilling, Enron's former C.E.O., listened as Sherron S. Watkins, a company whistleblower, accused him of playing a pivotal role in Enron's collapse. Skilling, in turn, complained that Enron managers had been called everything from hucksters to criminals during the monthlong investigation, which was a dramatic first chapter in a year full of corporate scandals and collapses.

## MARCH

Early March: Odyssey spacecraft finds evidence that vast regions of Mars may abound in water, suggesting that life could have once existed on the planet.

Boston church leaders agree to provide list of alleged priest- abuse victims.

Palestinian suicide bomber kills at least nine in Jerusalem.

10 Israelis shot to death at a Jerusalem checkpoint.

Israel kills 17 Palestinians in retaliatory raids.

Kmart announces closing of 284 stores.

Israel says it is willing to negotiate a truce with the Palestinians.

March 12: new terrorism alerts unveiled.

U.N. passes resolution backing creation of a Palestinian state.

## Year in Review

Accounting firm Arthur Andersen charged with obstruction of justice in Enron debacle.

Three days before visit from President Bush, car bomb kills nine near American embassy in Peru.

Halle Berry becomes first black woman to receive Best Actress Oscar.

Comedian Milton Berle dies at the age of 93.

Arab world agrees to relations with Israel if land is returned.

Israel invades Yasir Arafat's headquarters; 5 Palestinians, 1 Israeli die.

Britain's Queen Mother dies at 101.

A BLOODY MARCH -- March was one of the bloodiest months in the Middle East since the war in 1967. Israeli tanks pushed into Palestinian refugee camps for the first time, then bombarded Gaza from the land, sea and air. Suicide bombers attacked a conservative Jewish neighborhood, then a popular cafe. Washington and the United Nations pressured Israel to pull back its forces. By midmonth, the U.S. envoy, Gen. Anthony C. Zinni, went to the region with an American peace plan. Prime Minister Ariel Sharon of Israel agreed to a cease-fire, but by month's end the bloodshed was continuing. A suicide bombing in a hotel during Passover dinner killed more than a dozen people, prompting Sharon to call Yasir Arafat an "enemy of the free world" and to send Israeli tanks into Arafat's Ramallah headquarters.

## APRIL

Rep. James A. Traficant Jr. of Ohio is convicted on April 11 of taking bribes and kickbacks from businessmen and his own staff.

Israel seizes Bethlehem and another West Bank town.

President Bush urges end to Mideast violence; sends Colin Powell.

Powell meets with Yasir Arafat at his headquarters.

A violent week in the Mideast. Fighting continues in the West Bank. Gunfire damages the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem. More than 4,000 Palestinians are arrested and by week's end 28 Israeli soldiers are killed.

Suicide bombing during Powell's trip.

Cardinal Bernard Law dismisses demands for his resignation over sex scandals.

President Hugo Chavez of Venezuela returns to office two days after a coup.

Pope summons U.S. cardinals for talks on sex-abuse scandals.

Powell fails to win Mideast cease-fire.

Scientists discover an inchlong bug; first new insect group since 1914.

Catholic church adopts new policy, but stops short of zero tolerance for abusive priests.

## Year in Review

AOL Time Warner announces biggest quarterly loss in U.S. history.

Israeli forces take control of Hebron, on the West Bank.

Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf wins referendum but Islamists gain.

A new bug: Mantophasmatodea

**SIEGE AND SUICIDE** -- Despite efforts by Secretary of State Colin L. Powell to broker a cease-fire in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the tit-for-tat violence continued, with the cycle of suicide bombings and Israeli military raids increasing the toll of dead and injured on both sides. Ignoring American pleas to withdraw from the West Bank, Israeli raids that were directed at the "Palestinian terrorist infrastructure" grew in intensity.

**HOLLYWOOD NOIR** -- In a B-movie version of the O.J. Simpson case, Robert Blake, the faded star of the 1970's TV series "Baretta," was arrested with his bodyguard and charged with plotting to kill Blake's wife, Bonny Lee Bakley. Bakley was shot to death on May 4, 2001, as she sat in her husband's car outside a Los Angeles restaurant. Blake, 69, pleaded not guilty to criminal charges of murder and conspiracy. He is in jail pending trial.

**MAY**

Early May: Scientists announce the invention of robo-rats. The rodents are fitted with tiny remote-controlled backpacks to guide them through mazes via a laptop computer.

Israel ends lengthy siege of Arafat's compound.

Numbers show jobless rate for April jumped to 6 percent.

May 3: Catholic Church of Boston withdraws from settlement with victims abused by a priest.

France re-elects President Jacques Chirac over right-winger Jean-Marie Le Pen.

Criminal trial begins of Arthur Andersen for obstruction of justice in the Enron case.

Wisconsin student arrested for planting 18 pipe bombs in rural mailboxes in 5 states.

Israel ends Palestinian siege of Church of the Nativity.

Palestinian-run territories free of Israeli troops for first time in six weeks.

Israel's Likud party rejects creation of a Palestinian state.

Yasir Arafat pledges new elections and government reform.

Pakistan and India exchange fire across their border; fear of nuclear war mounts.

East Timor becomes the world's newest nation.

Senators demand White House turn over information about contact with Enron.

Founders of Adelphia Communications Corp. relinquish control of the failing company.

## Year in Review

Bush and President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia sign sweeping arms treaty.

**BAD NEIGHBORS** -- The conflict between India and Pakistan threatened to escalate into full-scale war after India blamed Pakistan for an attack at an Indian Army barracks in the disputed state of Jammu and Kashmir that killed 32 people. The two nations, both nuclear powers, mobilized one million troops along the Kashmir border. British and American officials rushed to calm tensions.

**BELATED JUSTICE** -- It was the final page of an infamous chapter in the nation's civil-rights history. Bobby Frank Cherry, a 71-year-old former Klansman, was convicted of murder in the 1963 bombing of a black church in Birmingham, Ala., that killed four girls. He had been on a 1965 F.B.I. suspect list, along with two other men who were convicted earlier, one in 1977 and one last year. The verdict was as complete and as satisfying as a human being could ever hope, said Doug Jones, the lead prosecutor.

## JUNE

On June 28, Amtrak and the Bush administration reach a tentative agreement that would provide enough cash to keep the railroad running through October, but this was only a stop-gap measure for the perennially troubled national railroad.

U.N. report indicates weapons inspectors are preparing for possible new mission in Iraq.

Palestinian car bomb detonates next to a moving bus; 17 dead.

Israeli assault sends a tank shell through Arafat's bathroom.

Lennox Lewis knocks out Tyson in the 8th round in Memphis.

Hamid Karzai is elected Afghan president.

The 1972 Antiballistic Missile Treaty with Russia is officially dissolved by the U.S.

President Bush calls pre-emptive action against potential enemies "a new doctrine."

American bishops vote to bar any priest found guilty of sexual abuse of a minor.

Palestinian bomber kills 19 bus riders and himself with nail-studded bomb.

Palestinian suicide bomber kills several at Jerusalem intersection.

Earthquake in northern Iran kills at least 500.

President Bush says Arafat must be replaced.

WorldCom says its cash flow was overstated by \$3.8 billion.

Supreme Court upholds use of government vouchers for religious school tuition.

A Forest Service employee in Colorado and a part-time firefighter in Arizona are charged with setting the largest fires in their states' histories.

**BUREAUCRATIC SECURITY** -- Responding to Congressional oversight hearings on terrorism, President Bush on June 6 asked Congress to create a new cabinet department for homeland security. As the first major redesign of

## Year in Review

the federal government since Truman's time, the new department would combine 22 federal agencies -- but not the C.I.A. or the F.B.I. President Bush later named Tom Ridge to head the department.

**NEW GOVERNMENT** -- On June 11, the grand council, or loya jirga, met in Kabul to hold Afghanistan's first election in more than 20 years. It included every ethnic group and region. A large majority elected Hamid Karzai, Afghanistan's interim leader, to a two-year term. Seeking to build on his nation's fragile stability, Karzai outlined his new national agenda, including creating an army and police force, and improving schools.

## JULY

American bombing raid in Afghanistan kills an estimated 40 civilians and injures 100.

Steve Fossett completes first-ever solo balloon trip around globe.

Baseball legend Ted Williams dies at 83.

Gunmen assassinate Afghan Vice President Abdul Qadir.

Study finds hormone replacement therapy can do more harm than good.

A British-born militant is sentenced to death in Pakistan for Daniel Pearl's murder.

Fed chairman Alan Greenspan calls corporate culture blighted by "infectious greed."

WorldCom submits largest bankruptcy filing in U.S. history.

Israeli attack kills **Hamas** leader, but also 14 others, including 9 children.

House expels James Traficant, who is later sentenced to eight years in prison.

Pope makes first public statement on sexual abuse scandal.

Senate fails to pass bill providing some prescription drug benefits to the elderly.

On July 11, French scientists announce the discovery in Chad of the skull of a seven-million-year-old hominid, which they called Toumai. It is the earliest known ancestor of the human family.

**AMERICAN TALIBAN SENTENCED** -- On July 15, John Walker Lindh, the 21-year-old Californian who fought for the Taliban in Afghanistan, pled guilty in a Virginia courtroom to felony charges and agreed to serve 20 years in prison. With Lindh standing before him, Judge T.S. Ellis III of Federal District Court said, "You were willing to give your life for the Taliban but not for your country." Mr. Lindh was formally sentenced on Oct. 4.

On July 28, after beginning to lose hope, rescue workers break through a coal-mine wall and pull nine trapped miners to safety. Disney would pay \$1.35 million (\$150,000 to each miner) for the television and book rights.

## AUGUST

On Aug. 18, Maryland officials put chemicals in three ponds to try to kill the dreaded snakehead fish.

Two former WorldCom executives charged with falsifying books.

## Year in Review

14 people die in continued violence in Israel and the West Bank.

Christian school in Pakistan is attacked; six people are killed.

ImClone founder indicted on charges of insider trading and fraud.

U.S. Airways files for bankruptcy.

Disastrous floods sweep through Prague.

Bush urges Senate to approve Homeland Security Dept.

German chancellor says his country won't participate in any U.S.-led war in Iraq.

Israelis agree to withdraw troops if Palestinians reduce tensions.

The terrorist Abu Nidal is reported dead in Iraq.

Bush says he is open to a nonmilitary way to replace Saddam Hussein.

Bush unveils plan to help prevent forest fires; critics say it only helps loggers.

Pentagon tells 14,000 military reservists that they may be required to extend their duty.

4 Arab men in Detroit and a Muslim convert in Seattle indicted on terror charges.

Major League Baseball and players reach agreement and avert strike.

Jazz great Lionel Hampton dies at age 94.

CORPORATE PERP WALK -- Scott D. Sullivan, left, was arrested on Aug. 1 and charged with orchestrating a multibillion-dollar accounting fraud that helped bankrupt WorldCom. Also arrested was David F. Myers, who would later plead guilty to securities fraud. WorldCom is the parent of MCI, the nation's second-largest long-distance company. Its founder, Bernard J. Ebbers, resigned under pressure in the spring but was not indicted.

VIOLENT CYCLE -- Violence surges in Israel as **Hamas** retaliates for Israel's assassination of a leader of the militant group in July. Attacks kill 22 people in one week, including 9 on July 31 at Hebrew University (5 were Americans) and 9 on a commuter bus.

## SEPTEMBER

White House opens campaign to focus attention on threat from Iraq.

Bush and Tony Blair of Britain say world must confront Iraq.

Government says violent crime hits lowest level since 1973.

Terror alert raised to 2nd-highest level; some U.S. embassies closed.

Remembrance of Sept. 11 terrorist attacks.

## Year in Review

Ex-Tyco executives charged with looting company.

Bush tells U.N. to act on Iraq.

North Korea admits to kidnapping Japanese citizens decades earlier.

Bush asks Congress for authority to "use all means" to disarm Iraq.

Gerhard Schroder of Germany is re-elected after criticizing U.S. on Iraq.

Sen. Robert G. Torricelli of New Jersey ends re-election bid under ethical cloud.

**CAMPAIGN TO CONFRONT IRAQ** -- Starting after Labor Day, the Bush administration stepped up its criticism of Iraq and its attempts to develop weapons of mass destruction. The president lined up British support, made it clear the United States was prepared to act alone in ousting Saddam Hussein and challenged the United Nations to act. The Security Council would eventually approve a plan to revive inspections, but this left open the possibility of American military action if Iraq didn't cooperate.

**ANNIVERSARY OF TERROR** -- Observances of the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks were held across the country. President Bush led ceremonies in New York, Washington and at the Pennsylvania crash site of United Flight 93. Tens of thousands of people gathered at the place where the World Trade Center towers once stood.

**OCTOBER**

On Oct. 26, the Russian military, using a debilitating gas, storms a Moscow theater that had been seized by Chechen rebels. Hundreds were saved, but 129 hostages succumbed to the deadly gas.

Enron's Andrew Fastow charged with inflating profits.

Hunt begins for sniper in Washington suburbs.

Lindh receives a 20-year sentence.

Congress approves use of U.S. military might against Iraq.

Bomb at a Bali nightclub kills nearly 200 people.

ImClone founder pleads guilty in the biotech company's insider trading scandal.

U.S. says North Korea admits to a secret nuclear arms program.

Chechen gunmen seize crowded Moscow theater.

Two arrested in D.C.-area sniper shootings.

Sen. Paul Wellstone dies in a small-plane crash.

Russian commandos end theater siege in Moscow.

An American diplomat is assassinated in front of his home in Jordan.

## Year in Review

Ariel Sharon's coalition collapses in Israel.

For three weeks, the suburbs around Washington were terrorized by sniper attacks that left 10 people dead. The shootings, with an assault rifle like the one above, ended after the arrest of two suspects, John Allen Muhammad and John Lee Malvo.

ELECTION STAND-INS -- Before the Congressional election, two prominent Democratic ex-senators were added to the ballot. Former Senator Frank R. Lautenberg was drafted to replace Senator Robert G. Torricelli of New Jersey, who had withdrawn after a growing scandal over improper gifts. And after Paul Wellstone of Minnesota died in a plane crash, his state's Democrats turned to former Vice President Walter Mondale. (Lautenberg won and Mondale lost.)

## NOVEMBER

The White House spokesman, Ari Fleischer, after the sweeping Republican victories on Nov. 5. The party won control of both houses of Congress.

U.S. missile kills a top Qaeda leader and five others in Yemen.

Bush administration promises "zero tolerance" if Iraq does not disarm.

Osama bin Laden's audiotaped voice praises terror attacks in Moscow and Bali.

Iraq accepts tough new U.N. resolution on inspections.

Palestinian militants shoot Israeli troops and settlers; 12 dead.

U.N. arms inspectors return to Iraq for first time in four years.

Scientists report creating the first vaccine to prevent cervical cancer.

Bush administration eases clean-air rules for utilities and industry.

Two leading Palestinian militants are killed in Israeli airstrike.

Henry Kissinger to head probe of Sept. 11 preparedness; backs out on Dec. 13.

Bombers in Kenya kill 12 at Israeli-owned hotel; Israeli plane averts missile strike.

NOVEMBER SURPRISE -- Two days before the Nov. 5 elections, Newt Gingrich, the former House speaker, said, "This is the least decided election in my lifetime." After the dust settled, the Republicans and especially President Bush were the big winners, regaining the Senate, where they now control 51 seats, and adding 6 seats to their slim majority in the House. The results also flew in the face of historical precedent, which decrees that the party holding the White House usually loses seats in midterm elections. President Bush spent three weeks aggressively campaigning for his party, including for his brother, Jeb, right, who was re-elected governor of Florida.

## DECEMBER

Al Qaeda claims responsibility for Kenya attacks.

Files claim 8 priests in Boston had sex with teenage girls and used cocaine.



## Year in Review

Bush administration says it has solid evidence of Iraq's weapons program.

Figures show unemployment rate rising to 6 percent in November.

Iraq hands over arms declaration to the United Nations.

United Airlines files biggest bankruptcy in aviation history.

Senator Trent Lott apologizes for racially insensitive comments.

President Bush says Lott's comments were "offensive and wrong."

Cardinal Bernard Law resigns as Boston archbishop.

Conseco Inc. files for bankruptcy protection amid accounting irregularities.

Colin Powell says Iraq is in "material breach" of U.N. resolution.

Senator Trent Lott resigns as Senate Republican leader.

North Korea begins removing international monitoring cameras at nuclear plant.

Bill Frist of Tennessee elected Republican leader of Senate.

North Korea warns of "catastrophe" unless U.S. bargains over the North's nuclear program.

**STORM CLOUDS IN IRAQ** -- Shortly after United Nations inspectors returned to Iraq, Saddam Hussein's government filed 12,000 pages on the status of its weapons programs. American and U.N. officials found the report wanting.

**LOTT STEPS DOWN** -- Senator Trent Lott, the majority leader from Mississippi, resigned his leadership post, but stayed in the Senate, after a tempest created by his remarks at Strom Thurmond's 100th birthday party. He seemed to suggest that the country would have been better off if the segregationist Dixiecrat ticket in 1948 led by Thurmond had prevailed. Senator Bill Frist of Tennessee, a White House ally, was elected majority leader.

<http://www.nytimes.com>

## Graphic

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Photos (Reuters); (Associated Press); (Getty Images); (Vincent Laforet/The New York Times)

**Load-Date:** December 30, 2002

## *When The Rule of Man Replaces the Rule of Law*

New York Sun (Archive)

May 14, 2002 Tuesday

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**Section:** EDITORIAL & OPINION; Pg. 6

**Length:** 1522 words

**Byline:** Barbara Amiel

### **Body**

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Last Tuesday on the Today program, the South African judge Richard Goldstone and the American legal expert Abraham Sofaer locked horns over the new International Criminal Court, which will come into being on July 1.

Mr. Sofaer, who opposes the new court, claimed emphatically that it would have no jurisdiction over war crimes committed in civil disputes such as those in the former Yugoslavia or Rwanda. Mr. Goldstone responded equally emphatically that the court did have jurisdiction. The two were excruciatingly polite and diametrically opposed.

"The court has no power to deal with intranational genocides," asserted Mr. Sofaer, a law professor, former judge and senior legal counsel to the State Department. "Sorry, that is absolutely incorrect," replied Mr. Goldstone, chief prosecutor for the U.N. tribunals on Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia, as well as chairman of the International Bar Association's Task Force on Terrorism.

"I am quite confident it does not," returned Mr. Sofaer, adding, "moreover, I might say the court has no power over terrorist crimes."

Sarah Montague, host of the interview, was as puzzled as most listeners must have been. "Surely Justice Goldstone knows what he is talking about?" she offered.

This little attempt at mediation brought no joy. Here were two erudite, knowledgeable men in complete disagreement on a crucial fact. Yet in a sense, both men were completely correct or, indeed, completely incorrect, which is one of the fundamental problems with the court.

In Rome in 1998, the charter and rules for the ICC were drafted. Ever since, the concept of the court has been continually evolving. This "evolution" has a good and bad side. So long as everything is not set in stone, shortcomings can be rectified and safeguards put in.

The bad side has two aspects. The first is that, as in the Today debate, those favoring the ICC can't be pinned down, because they can always allude to the ICC evolving and problems being resolved.

But precisely because the ICC is an amorphous construct, with flexibility in its procedures, jurisdiction, and even definitions of crimes, it is the perfect example of what liberal democracies have tried to guard against.

Our free societies are based on the (known and predictable) rule of law - not the rule of men. For example, the crime of "aggression" is now part of the ICC's mandate, but the definition of what constitutes aggression will not be

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decided for seven years. Signing on to prosecute or be prosecuted for a crime that has yet to be defined seems mad.

As an independent, supranational construct, the ICC will inevitably reflect the ideas of the people who control it. This makes it extremely vulnerable to being hijacked by any force that has the organization, numbers and audacity to do it - just as the U.N. and its organizations have at times been hijacked.

The U.N.'s 2001 Durban conference on racism, convened by the U.N. Commissioner for Human Rights, Mary Robinson - which turned into a gang-up on Israel - is a perfect example. The entire proceedings were flavored by such practitioners of human rights as Cuba, Algeria, Iran, and the Congo, with a cameo role for Chairman Arafat.

Indeed, the U.N.'s Human Rights Commission is a sorry excuse for its name. The 53-member commission's priorities reflect its most successful activists - North Korea, Sudan, Syria, Libya, Cuba, and several of the nastier African regimes such as Zimbabwe, all of which ought to be subjects of Unhrc's ministrations, rather than its members.

Last April 15, six European Union countries endorsed a Unhrc resolution that, among other unhappy measures, "recalled particularly" the 1982 General Assembly resolution legitimizing "all available means, including armed struggle" to establish a Palestinian state: In essence, giving the green light to suicide bombers.

That the same sort of coalition could hijack the ICC is not fanciful. The U.N. General Assembly asked for input to the ICC by the NGOs that made Durban such a nightmare. One is hard put to know what such groups as the "Information Workers for Peace," "Pax Christi International," or the "Women's Caucus for Gender Justice in the ICC" could contribute to a non-politicized ICC.

The International Red Cross was also invited to the ICC's Rome conference, where it made submissions. But the Red Cross is no role model for equity or justice. This organization allows the Red Crescent to replace the cross on Islamic ambulances, but has refused for more than 50 years to admit or give official recognition to the Star of David.

The second bad thing about this amorphous ICC is that, whether or not it is hijacked, whether or not it goes after appropriate villains or inappropriate ones, it will not be able to enforce its rulings against the big powers. America, China, and Russia have not ratified it, for good as well as terrible reasons.

The result is that the very people most capable by their sheer power and size of the sort of crimes the ICC wishes to deter are the least likely ever to be prosecuted. Its supporters say this is no reason not to make a start on prosecuting war crimes, even if only in smaller countries.

They argue that it is better to do something than nothing. But any national system of justice would consider it a fundamental miscarriage of justice if only shoplifters were prosecuted, but not corporate criminals. Such two-tiered justice would be unacceptable in any equitable system.

Superpowers will always interpret international law as they like. The ICC's preamble states that it will not interfere in the internal affairs of any state. National sovereignty did not stop NATO from interfering in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia in Bosnia and Kosovo.

Perhaps its action was right, perhaps wrong, but enticing as it might be to some to see Madeleine Albright or Tony Blair in the dock, one knows it won't happen.

It is Slobodan Milosevic who is now on trial for war crimes in the Hague before a U.N.-convened court. In 1995 he was the hero of the hour when he came to America for the negotiations at Dayton, Ohio - after he had openly committed half the deeds for which he is now on trial.

Perhaps such double vision is necessary. If Mr. Milosevic had been charged with war crimes then, as he could easily have been, the Dayton accords would not have been achieved.

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The more one thinks about it, the more it becomes apparent how dangerous this new body will be. We will have an international court and an independent prosecutor, selecting at will the criminals he and a small cabal choose to prosecute, without the restraints that elections or even a palace revolution create in a sovereign nation. ICC-type institutions are created by idealistic trail-blazers such as Mr. Goldstone or the obtuse Ms. Robinson, then wrested from their hands by Hamas & Co.

It really is better to do nothing, no matter how long a reckoning takes. South Africa took Desmond Tutu's advice and did not prosecute either ANC members who "necklaced" black opponents or the whites who enforced apartheid.

Would the former Soviet Union or the former German Democratic Republic have been better off if their murderers had been brought to an international court?

The very question illustrates the double standards that flow from the rule of "men" as opposed to the rule of law. The international community left the USSR, South Africa, and other African nations alone to work out their version of truth and reconciliation.

But it was deemed acceptable to interfere with Chile's way of working out its problems when a Spanish magistrate went after General Pinochet. Law subservient to trendy ideology is fashion, not justice.

The ICC's definition of genocide is "the intent to destroy in whole or in part a national, ethnical, racial or religious group". There is no mention of class, education, or economic groups, so presumably it is still all right to guillotine the aristocracy, starve the petty bourgeoisie and eliminate the intellectuals or any group declared subversive by the state.

Article 8 (2bviii) of the ICC's war crimes mandate, concerning an occupying power's transfer of population "directly or indirectly," is flexible enough to be used by prosecutors to go after any side they single out in a conflict - eg Israel.

It is telling that, before signing, France tabled seven points that allow it to bypass this "crime" of occupation, in addition to reserving its right to use nuclear weapons and undertake any action so long as it is labeled "self-defense".

Meanwhile, in Rwanda, the U.N.-convened trials are stumbling along amid charges of high-level corruption and intimidation of witnesses. In the Hague, Mr. Milosevic is being tried, but only after we blackmailed the former Yugoslavia by bombing and linking all aid to turning him in.

Which seems to sum up the ICC's ultimate dilemma: If such a court wishes to protect the peace, it may have to make a mockery of justice, as the world did in Dayton. If it insists on justice, it may have to go to war, as NATO did in Yugoslavia. It seems better to put away our zeal and remember that justiciable matters are best left to sovereign nations - and the rest to God.

**Load-Date:** December 3, 2003

## *The blood donors*

The Times (London)

April 23, 2002, Tuesday

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**Section:** Features

**Length:** 1549 words

**Byline:** Scott Parkes and Nick Day

### **Body**

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In a three-day TV marathon, Saudi citizens donated Pounds 70 million, including expensive cars and gold jewellery, to the families of Palestinian suicide bombers. Scott Parkes and Nick Day report.

The unseasonal drizzle did nothing to deter the crowds. The queue ran into the high hundreds. There were rich alongside poor; men, women and children; entire families. Newlywed couples pledged their savings, fathers gave away their daughters' dowries. They came with gold, electrical goods, jewellery. One man offered to donate a kidney.

What they had in common as they waited in the street was their eagerness to give, and to give generously, to their brethren suffering under the onslaught of the Israeli Prime Minister, Ariel Sharon.

But few of the people who turned up at the Riyadh offices of Saudi state television could surpass the generosity of 26-year-old Mohamed al-Qahtani. He had come to offer his car to the cause. "I hope it will reach the Palestinian areas," he announced proudly, "so a Palestinian fighter can use it to blow up a military barracks and kill soldiers."

This was clearly no ordinary telethon.

The Saudi television appeal was presented by sober-faced men dressed in traditional red and white head-dresses and the long white robes worn by virtually all Saudi males. A weird mix of election night coverage and theological seminar, it raised around Pounds 70 million.

Meanwhile the munificence of Mohamed and his comrades was repeated across the Arab world. Similar television appeals have been broadcast in other Gulf states and with similar success. In Abu Dhabi, more than Pounds 34 million was raised. Another in neighbouring Bahrain saw more than Pounds 7 million pledged. Telethons held in Dubai and Qatar raised Pounds 24 million and Pounds 6 million respectively. The grand total across the region could surpass Pounds 150 million. In Saudi Arabia, the money was officially raised in the name of the Saudi Committee for the Support of the al-Quds Intifada, a group set up to support the Palestinian uprising. But some of it -no one knows quite how much -will be spent on compensating the families of Palestinian suicide bombers. The rest will provide more traditional humanitarian aid -food, clothing and medicines for those who have suffered under the Israeli Defence Force's incursions into Palestinian territory. The first caravan of 100 trucks loaded with 2,500 tons of food, drugs and medical equipment left Riyadh for Palestine at the weekend.

## The blood donors

The head of the committee, Prince Naif bin Abdul Aziz, the Interior Minister, said in a statement: "The committee will continue to provide direct assistance to the families of Palestinian martyrs and those wounded while resisting the occupation."

The appeal, launched by King Fahd, was backed from the very top of Saudi society, as one might expect (state-run television is directly controlled by the Ministry of Information). Fahd's involvement may not just reflect his concern for his Arab brethren; it could owe something to political opportunism at home. There is mounting anger in Saudi Arabia (public opinion does not forget or approve of the monarchy's support for America's actions in the Gulf War), and the ruling family's grip on power is not as steady as it once was. The King's backing for the appeal against Israel -and thus, indirectly, its main supporter, America -plays well on the streets.

Sheikh Saleh bin Hussein Ayed, of the Islamic Affairs Ministry, speaking on screen to the Palestinians, told them: "We love you. We cannot forget you or ignore what's happening to you by the Israeli aggressors."

King Fahd reiterated Saudi Arabia's support for the Palestinian "martyrs" and immediately pledged 10 million riyals (almost Pounds 2 million). Senior royals, including the de facto ruler, Crown Prince Abdullah, followed suit with their own hefty donations. Prince Alwaleed bin Talal, one of the world's richest men, gave 100 million riyals (Pounds 18.5 million) to the fund. He is the Saudi royal whose \$ 10 million donation to the New York relief fund was returned by Mayor Giuliani after he criticised US policy on the Palestinians.

When the donation number appeared on screen, the phone lines opened -and the queues began to form. The scenes on Riyadh's streets were repeated across the country, with a large slice of Saudi Arabia's 23 million citizens lining up outside banks in villages, towns and cities, waiting to pay into a special account set up to help the Palestinians. By the 3am deadline on the 11-hour first day of the telethon, the committee had collected over 210 million riyals (Pounds 38.7 million).

When the telethon ended, Saudi television studios in Riyadh and Jeddah looked like vast Aladdin's caves. Giant tin trunks were stuffed with heavy gold bangles and pearl necklaces. Electrical appliances, wheelchairs and dresses were stacked in a corner. Cars, including a Rolls-Royce donated by a princess, and even ambulances were parked outside.

Though the Saudi authorities bristle at claims that the telethon was aimed primarily at helping the families of suicide bombers, their people saw things a little differently. A six-year-old boy, an Arab newspaper reported, walked into a donation centre with a plastic gun slung over his shoulder and fake explosives strapped around his waist. He made a symbolic donation of fake Semtex. Other children donated slingshots so their Palestinian cousins could stone Israeli troops.

Zayad Abu Zayyad, a member of the Palestinian Legislative Council, insists: "This money is collected for everybody who has had their lives ruined by the Israelis. Many people are in bad shape. The economy is in bad shape." But he admits that some money will go to the families of suicide bombers. "What is the guilt of the families? They suffer as much if not more than everybody else. It's not like a suicide bomber asks their family's permission. Money will not bring their child back to life. In the UK, the families of the IRA and even IRA members themselves have access to social security -we do not have that here. The number of suicide bombers is almost nothing compared to the people who are affected in Palestine by the action of the Israelis."

Raid Qusti, a Saudi writer, flushes with pride at the generosity of his people. "I have never seen anything like it. When people were asked on screen why they were giving, they always answered that they just wanted to help their suffering brothers and sisters in Palestine. They want to help the martyrs."

Qusti agrees with the official Saudi government definition of martyrs in this context as "Palestinians who are victimised by Israeli terror and violence." He adds: "People in the West think the word 'martyr' only applies to suicide bombers. This is not true, a martyr is anybody who gives themselves wholly to a noble cause. They do not necessarily die for it."

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He also thinks suicide bombers are misunderstood by people in the West, and their families should not be held to account.

"A suicide bomber is so oppressed that he feels the only way to fight is to blow himself up. Is it up to the West to judge where the money should go? The whole world must be able to see that what is happening in Palestine is a crime against humanity. I think we should go further than hold telethons; the Arab world should boycott all American products." Nothing enrages the Arab world more than what happened in Jenin, Bethlehem, Ramallah, Nablus and right across the West Bank. It has united Arabs more completely than Osama bin Laden's calls for universal Muslim jihad. Of course, conventional aid is also coming in from governments -and not just those with traditional Arab links. In Jerusalem last week, the US Secretary of State Colin Powell noted the dire situation in some Palestinian towns and announced a \$ 30 million US contribution to the UN Relief and Works Agency on top of the \$ 80 million already contributed annually.

None of that, of course, will end up paying for explosives. But terrorism does not come cheap, and those eager to practise it need cash. So where do they get it from? Dr Mahmood al-Zahar, a spokesman for Hamas in Gaza, refuses to say where his organisation raises its funds and how it spends them. "Muslims around the world support our aims. They give us their prayers and their money."

It is thought that suicide bombers are assured that their families will be taken care of after they obliterate themselves and as many Israelis as they can take with them.

"The martyrs are heroes," Dr al-Zahar says. "Their families are honoured with respect and people bring gifts and prayers for them."

Meanwhile, on the streets of Jeddah, Abdul Rahman, 19, makes his small cash donation at a bank. He knows exactly where he wants the money to go. "I hope the families of suicide bombers receive my money. I would like to give it to them personally. Why should they not be rewarded and looked after? They are the only ones standing up to the Israeli tanks and helicopters destroying Palestinian homes. Anybody with a fair mind can see that what is happening in Palestine is wrong.

"They are desperate. What would you do in their situation? They are at war. Why doesn't America arm the Palestinians? They are right to attack the Israelis in this way. There is nothing else they can do."

**Load-Date:** April 23, 2002

## **ISRAEL IS LEAVING PALESTINIAN AREAS IN THE WEST BANK**

The New York Times  
March 19, 2002 Tuesday  
Late Edition - Final

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**Length:** 1458 words

**Byline:** By JAMES BENNET and MICHAEL GORDON

**Dateline:** JERUSALEM, Tuesday, March 19

### **Body**

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Israeli ground forces began withdrawing early today from Palestinian-controlled territory in Bethlehem and two other West Bank towns, the Israeli Army said, as Israel moved under American pressure toward meeting Palestinian conditions for formal cease-fire talks.

The withdrawal came during a visit by Vice President Dick Cheney, who arrived on Monday for meetings scheduled in advance with Israeli officials but not with any Palestinians, a planning discrepancy that had some annoyed Palestinians vowing not to meet with him.

The Israeli government decided to pull back after a rare joint session of Israeli and Palestinian security chiefs, drawn together by Gen. Anthony C. Zinni, who as the Bush administration's envoy here is pushing hard for a truce after two previous attempts failed.

As hulking tanks and armored personnel carriers rolled out of Bethlehem toward Israeli territory after midnight, Israel appeared to be signaling a halt, at least for as long as a cease-fire appears within reach, to its most sweeping assault since the invasion of Lebanon 20 years ago.

Israel began storming Palestinian towns and refugee camps in the West Bank and Gaza Strip late last month, in what it described as a hunt for terrorists and munitions factories after devastating suicide attacks.

Mr. Cheney has been touring the region to garner Arab support for a possible war on Iraq. But he has instead found his trip dominated by appeals to address the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

At a ceremony outside Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's office, Mr. Cheney reaffirmed the Bush administration's commitment to ending the violence after nearly 18 months and, ultimately, achieving a settlement under which Israel would live peacefully beside a Palestinian state.

"To realize that vision," Mr. Cheney said, "the Israeli people must have confidence that their existence as a Jewish state living within secure borders is accepted by all, first and foremost by Israel's neighbors in the region."

Mr. Cheney, who rode with General Zinni from the airport to his first meeting with Mr. Sharon, said he would speak to the prime minister about "steps that Israel can take to alleviate the devastating economic hardship being experienced by innocent Palestinian men, women and children."



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Mr. Sharon said Israel was "making every effort to reach an immediate cease-fire."

Early this morning, the army said its forces were moving out of the neighboring towns of Bethlehem and Beit Jala, just south of here, and also drawing back from positions on the outskirts of Jenin, in the northern West Bank. The army said forces were also pulling out Beit Hanoun, in the Gaza Strip.

The withdrawal appeared to meet American requirements of Israel, but American officials were unsure that it would be enough to placate the Palestinian leadership and produce a cease-fire. Palestinian officials have been pressing Israel to pull its forces out of all Palestinian-controlled territory.

Together with General Zinni, Mr. Cheney met again Monday night with Mr. Sharon, over dinner, and planned to see the prime minister early today as well.

But Mr. Cheney's visit, scheduled to last 24 hours, was clouded by a misunderstanding with the Palestinian leadership, stemming from a decision not to schedule visits with any Palestinians in advance.

The vice president's aides said he had left room on his schedule for a possible session with Palestinians this morning, but Palestinian officials expressed irritation at what they described as a slight. They said no one but Yasir Arafat, the Palestinian leader, would agree now to meet with Mr. Cheney.

"At this point, I don't think anybody will meet him if he doesn't meet President Arafat," said Nabil Aburdeineh, a close aide to Mr. Arafat.

Mr. Cheney's aides did not rule out such a meeting, though they called it highly unlikely. It would represent a victory for Mr. Arafat and a blow to Mr. Sharon, who has called the Palestinian leader irrelevant.

President Bush has refused to meet so far with Mr. Arafat or even to shake his hand, and Mr. Cheney suggested on landing on Monday that the Palestinian leader was still not doing nearly enough to combat terrorism. "We continue to call upon Chairman Arafat to live up to his commitment, to renounce once and for all the use of violence as a political weapon," he said.

Before withdrawing from Bethlehem and Beit Jala, Israel sought assurances that Palestinian security forces would stop Palestinian gunmen who have been firing on areas of Jerusalem that Israel occupied during the 1967 war.

Officials familiar with the negotiations said Palestinians were pushing for further Israeli concessions, including a withdrawal from other areas occupied by Israeli troops that by treaty are supposed to be under Palestinian control. But Mr. Aburdeineh indicated Monday evening that if Israel fulfilled its stated plans, that might be enough to permit formal cease-fire talks.

"Seeing is believing," he said. "Let's wait and see. If they withdraw, then we will talk."

Though progress was slow and he was still skeptical of success, Mr. Aburdeineh said, "For sure we are moving in the right direction."

Even so, two crude rockets, manufactured by the Islamic group **Hamas**, were fired on Monday from Gaza, landing south of the city of Ashkelon, the Israeli Army said. No one was injured, but Dore Gold, a spokesman for Mr. Sharon, called the attack "a deeply disturbing development." The Israeli Army and border police officials also reported intercepting Palestinian gunmen heading for cities or settlements.

Otherwise, Monday was relatively calm in Israel, the West Bank and Gaza, with all sides cautioning against expectations for an imminent breakthrough.

The next Israeli-Palestinian-American security meeting is not scheduled to take place until Wednesday. Monday's meeting was the first led by General Zinni since early January. In a statement, he called it "professional, serious and constructive."

## ISRAEL IS LEAVING PALESTINIAN AREAS IN THE WEST BANK

Shimon Peres, the Israeli foreign minister, suggested on Monday night that if the progress continued, Israel would permit Mr. Arafat to attend a summit meeting of Arab nations next week in Beirut, Lebanon. "If this continues, I believe Arafat will be able to travel to Beirut," he said.

Before he left Kuwait on Monday, Mr. Cheney came under pressure to prevail upon the Israelis to let Mr. Arafat attend the meeting. "This would be a credit to the United States that it has something for the brothers in Palestine," said Sheikh Sabah al-Ahmed al-Sabah, first deputy prime minister of Kuwait.

American officials deflected questions about Mr. Arafat's attendance, saying that it was not their decision.

Mr. Sharon sought once again on Monday to stress his view that the United States and Israel were fighting the same conflict with the same methods. "Terrorism is terrorism is terrorism anywhere in the world," he said. "There is no 'good terrorism' or 'bad terrorism.' "

But there has been a shift in the American approach here. After months of pressing only Mr. Arafat to end violence, the administration pushed Mr. Sharon last week to stop the offensive into Palestinian territory, which resulted in the deaths of dozens of Palestinians, including civilians.

The administration's change is one of nuance. American officials have continued to demand in the first place a cease-fire, to be achieved through talks focused on security. But they have also begun putting weight on a so-called political horizon for the Palestinians, in an effort to assure them that a halt to the violence will advance their nationalist goals.

On Monday, Mr. Cheney spoke of resuming "a political process that will end the half-century of conflict."

Palestinian officials have been heartened by the American shift, and by a United Nations resolution envisioning a Palestinian state that cleared the General Assembly last week with American sponsorship. But they said they were still waiting to see whether the new language would be accompanied by a substantive change in negotiations.

Diplomats here said that a willingness to address Palestinians' political concerns accounted for the headway that General Zinni had made. "He's come with a much, much better sense of reality," said one diplomat sympathetic to the Palestinians.

One Western observer here, speaking on condition of anonymity, said the Bush administration had discovered that security talks would fail without the prospect of political progress.

"What's changed is that the situation got increasingly and dramatically worse," he said, "and there was an increasing realization in the administration that as unpleasant as these issues are, and as intractable as they at least seem, you can't ignore them. At a certain point, realities impose themselves, even on a superpower."

<http://www.nytimes.com>

## Graphic

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Photos: Palestinian children, top, watched an armored vehicle yesterday in Beit Jala in the West Bank as Israeli troops withdrew from Palestinian-controlled territory. Vice President Dick Cheney, in Jerusalem with Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, right, reaffirmed the White House's commitment to ending violence in the region. (James Estrin/The New York Times); (Musa al-Shaer/Agence France-Presse)(pg. A1); After a meeting of security chiefs organized by Gen. Anthony C. Zinni, left, Israel began to pull out of three West Bank towns, including Bethlehem. (Associated Press); (Rina Castelnovo for The New York Times)(pg. A12) Map of Israel highlighting Bethlehem: Early this morning the Israelis were moving out of Bethlehem. (pg. A12)

## ISRAEL IS LEAVING PALESTINIAN AREAS IN THE WEST BANK

**Load-Date:** March 19, 2002

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## **Powell faces changed Arab world**

Christian Science Monitor (Boston, MA)

April 10, 2002, Wednesday

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**Byline:** Philip Smucker Special to The Christian Science Monitor

**Dateline:** CAIRO

**Highlight:** Israel suffered its biggest military loss of the current intifada yesterday, as Powell met with Egypt's president.

### **Body**

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As Secretary of State Colin Powell pressed Arab leaders to help quell Palestinian suicide attacks, a newly militant Arab world looks prepared - short of a complete Israeli pullout from the West Bank - to rebuff US diplomatic efforts.

The Middle East has changed from what it was even in late February of 2001, when Mr. Powell embarked upon his first overseas mission as a new and ambitious US Secretary of State. That was a time when he could still expect warm smiles and offers of unstinting support from moderate Arab states.

But in Egypt yesterday, and in Morocco on Monday, Powell discovered just how much Arab opinion has shifted. And, in response, he is making some adjustments to his official positions on the Palestinian-Israeli crisis. In Morocco on Monday, Mr. Powell described his own mission as one meant to persuade moderate Arab leaders to publicly condemn suicide bombings and other militant activities against Israelis. But King Mohammed VI stunned some observers by asking Powell: "Don't you think it was more important to go to Jerusalem first?"

Powell will make five stops for discussions with Arab and European leaders before arriving in Israel the end of this week.

In Egypt yesterday, the reception was less severe, but far from warm. Protesters at the al-Azhar Islamic university burned Israeli and US flags ahead of Powell's visit, chanting "burn, burn the flag of America."

Powell emerged from a meeting with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, saying he would meet with Palestinian Authority President Yasser Arafat later this week. The US had been hesitant to commit to a meeting with Mr. Arafat in the week leading up to yesterday. He added: "I think that it is up to all of us to recognize that the suicide bombings - all of this has to be brought to an end. I would ask all the leaders of the Arab nations and the Palestinian nation to say to their people that this is the time to stop this kind of activity."

## Powell faces changed Arab world

In Israel, new violence gave urgency to Powell's mission. While Israel pulled out of some areas in the West Bank yesterday, in partial accordance with US wishes for a complete withdrawal, Palestinian sources claimed that new incursions had been made as intense fighting continued in several areas. Thirteen Israeli soldiers were killed and nine wounded in fighting in the Jenin Refugee Camp, according to an army spokesman. More than 100 Palestinians have been killed in battles inside Jenin over the past week.

Meanwhile in the Arab world, there is a growing disenchantment with how the Palestinians are being treated. Government-appointed clerics in Egypt, who hold great sway here, have pointedly reversed their position toward Palestinian-led suicide attacks against Israeli targets in recent days.

"The whole region is far more militant than it was," says Hala Mustafa, a political and social analyst with the Al Ahram Newspaper Group in Egypt. "Religion, as never before, is playing the main role in mobilizing people - both Palestinians and their Arab neighbors."

One of the slogans being chanted by Egyptian protesters angry at Israeli military incursions into the West Bank is particularly disturbing, says Ms. Mustafa. "The demonstrators are shouting that 'Israel is the enemy of God!' - a slogan very popular with Algerian extremist groups" that have enmeshed that country in a bloody civil war.

"And because there is no real Arab army as such, Arab youth and demonstrators feel that they have no other way except to fight back through militant groups," she says. "In Syria, the population supports Hizbullah; and in Palestine, they support groups like Hamas and Islamic Jihad."

Mustafa says even Arab women have become more militant in the past year. "The ones you see in the streets are not acting in a modern way," she says. "They are covering their heads with veils."

For them, Wafa Idris, the first Palestinian woman to attack inside Israel on Jan. 27, is a new heroine.

Though hard-line states like Syria and Iraq have rarely concealed their support for suicide strikes against Israel, even moderate Arab leaders are now implicitly backing what the US government defines as "terror" - suicide bombings by the Palestinians. The attacks are seen as a quid pro quo meant to bring about an Israeli pullout.

Egypt's government has called on its top religious leaders to explain the new militant stance, as they claim the government hasn't changed its position. "Our official stance against these attacks has not changed," says presidential spokesman Nabil Osman. "To put civilians in harm's way - either Palestinians or Israelis - is definitely the wrong policy. But we must look at the root causes of such attacks. If there was no occupation, we would not be talking about suicide bombing."

Sheikh Mahmoud Ashour, a deputy of the grand imam of Al Azhar, the mosque-university that is the highest center of religious learning in the Sunni Muslim world, starts by defining "jihad," or holy war, versus what he calls "terror." (See story, below.)

"Terror is when you threaten people who live in security, and usurp the rights of others," he says, sitting in his spacious office that provides guidance to Egypt's well off and poor alike. "Jihad is when people resist those who

## Powell faces changed Arab world

usurp their territory. The prophet Muhammad says that those killed without their land, money, or honor are true martyrs."

Sheikh Ashour insists that it is Israel that has "breached all Islamic and Christian values." He justifies the Egyptian religious establishment's new support for the suicide attacks, which he refers to as "self-sacrifice" as a means to an end.

The man he works for, Sheikh Al-Azhar Muhammed Sayyid Tantawi, had until recently ruled that all attacks on civilians were forbidden.

This stance had been backed by the most senior cleric in Saudi Arabia, Abdul Aziz Alash-Sheikh, who ruled that most of the attacks are suicidal in nature - with suicide being explicitly forbidden by Islam.

"If it will lead to the end that Israel will acknowledge the peace and human rights of the Palestinians that they have usurped, the attacks are justified," he explains. "As soon as the US forces the Israelis out of the occupied territories, we will be committed to peace again. But let the Israelis commit first to peace, and we will follow suit."

Cleric signals shift toward harder line in moderate Egypt

Egypt's top religious adviser, Mufti Ahmed al-Tayyeb, has called Palestinian suicide bombers "martyrs of the highest order."

The mufti's remarks, along with similar statements given by Egypt's other top cleric, Sheikh al-Azhar, suggest a new institutional and religious stance from within moderate Egypt, which has previously condemned suicide attacks on civilian targets.

In an interview with the Monitor, Mufti Ahmed al-Tayyeb - newly-appointed this year to his influential post by Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak - defended the acts of Palestinian bombers as heroic deeds that express the Islamic idea of jihad, or holy war.

The mufti called it the right of Palestinians to attack civilians, pointing out that all Israelis - women, men and children - are considered part of an "occupying force."

In February, a slightly more moderate stance had been taken by Sheikh Mohammed Sayed Tantawi, the grand sheikh of Cairo's al-Azhar mosque and university, who was quoted by Egypt's Middle East News Agency as saying that the bombers were defending their people's dignity, but that they should not intentionally target the weak.

The mufti explained the Palestinian attacks in the context of an overall defensive strategy, which he said the Muslim world supported. "The Palestinians have a plan and a vision to defend themselves and we believe in this plan," said Mr. al-Tayyeb, who was surrounded by several prominent government advisers as he spoke. "The faithful are being martyred to force the Zionist occupiers to reconsider their plans."

## Powell faces changed Arab world

Some political analysts in Egypt have warned that the mufti's new stance could inflame youthful passions across the country, which is already fertile recruiting ground for international terror organizations, including Osama bin Laden's Al Qaeda.

Asked if he did not consider the suicide attacks against Israelis to be in any way similar to the suicide strikes against the World Trade Center and the Pentagon last September, the mufti insisted that there was absolutely no comparison to be made. He charged that Mr. bin Laden's attacks against the United States were now being exploited by Ariel Sharon as an excuse to rampage through the West Bank in a so-called war against terror.

"What happened in the United States is terrorism, what is happening here is not the same," he insisted.

The mufti described Palestinian suicide attacks on Israeli targets as a last means of defense for a defenseless and humiliated people. He asked: "If the Germans invaded London, wouldn't the British people support the idea of self-sacrifice?"

He also downplayed the possibility that such attacks would spread beyond Israel and the occupied territories, since there were, in his words, "no Arab leaders at war with their own people."

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## CROSSROADS ON ROUTE MAP TO PEACE -2

Scotland on Sunday  
April 20, 2003, Sunday

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**Section:** Pg. 14

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**Byline:** Ian Mather

### **Body**

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#### Iran

KNOWN as Persia until 1935, Iran has a distinct cultural identity within the Islamic world by retaining its own language and championing the Shi'ite branch of Islam.

It became an Islamic republic in 1979, when fundamentalist clergy headed by Ayatollah Khomeini forced the Shah into exile. In 1980 Iran was invaded by Saddam Hussein's Iraq, resulting in a bloody eight-year war.

Two decades later, the victory of the liberals over the conservative elite in parliamentary elections in April 2000 signalled a sea change. But the victory was incomplete, and a power struggle between reformers and conservatives dominates the political scene.

The hardliners are represented by the head of state, Ayatollah Khamenei, who is appointed for life. The liberal camp is headed by President Mohammed Khatami. Khatami's first win by a landslide in May 1997 represented a major setback for the conservative clergy. He was re-elected for a second term in June 2001 after winning 77 per cent of the vote. Khatami's support for greater social and political freedoms has made him popular with the young - over 50 per cent of the population is under the age of 25.

Despite the progress in recent years, Iran was on President Bush's "axis of evil" list along with Saddam's Iraq and North Korea. The US State Department calls Iran the world's "most active state sponsor of terrorism" and it provides funding and sanctuary to the Lebanese Shi'ite militants of Hezbollah, which Iran helped to found, and the Palestinian groups, Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad.

It also has a nuclear programme and is building a nuclear reactor with Russian help at the southern port of Bushehr. Tehran insists that the programme is purely for peaceful uses. The US says Iran does not need nuclear energy because it has large resources of gas and oil.

Unlike the US, Britain and EU countries have renewed diplomatic relations and prefer to encourage the reformist elements by engaging with Iran instead of isolating it.

#### Jordan

JORDAN'S Hashemite monarchy rules over what is left of the kingdom formerly known as Transjordan, now deprived of the West Bank seized by Israel in the 1967 war. Since then Jordan has struggled to accommodate an explosive population mix of Bedouin tribesmen from the east bank of the Jordan and Palestinian refugees from the



## CROSSROADS ON ROUTE MAP TO PEACE -2

west bank. Civil war between Palestinian troops and the Jordanian army in 1970 resulted in the expulsion of Palestinian forces from the country. From these unpromising beginnings the late King Hussein built a country that is reasonably prosperous and tolerant by Arab standards.

Jordan has suffered as a result of the war in Iraq. Instinct and economic necessity tied the country to Saddam's regime. With no oil reserves of its own Jordan relied totally on supplies from Baghdad, half of which it received free. During the 1991 war King Hussein came out in support of Saddam. Despite international sanctions, the steady flow of heavy lorries between the Jordanian port of Aqaba and the Iraqi border continued after 1991.

Yet Jordan is a reliable US ally in the region with a moderate and relatively democratic leadership under King Abdullah II and a long-standing peace treaty with Israel.

It has a parliament, but the monarch appoints the prime minister, the Cabinet and the members of the upper house, the House of Notables. The lower house, the House of Deputies, is elected. But the last elections due in November 2001 were postponed by the king and have not yet been held.

But because it has been the linchpin of Middle East peace efforts and a vital buffer between Israel on one side and Syria, Iraq and Saudi Arabia on the other, its plight is attracting international sympathy. The EU has announced 35m in emergency funds to Jordan. Saudi Arabia has promised it free oil for three months, and sent a first shipment of 100,000 tonnes of crude oil to Aqaba last week.

#### Turkey

NATIONALIST Kemal Ataturk created the modern Turkish state in 1923 from the remnants of the Ottoman Empire, replacing religious laws with secular ones.

Nowadays Turkey is a democracy, but its elected politicians have to tread carefully. The powerful military sees itself as the guardian of the constitution, and it has deposed elected governments four times - in 1960, 1971, 1980 and 1997.

The Cold War years were good for Turkey. The West overlooked political and human rights abuses because Turkey was a key Nato member and a bulwark against the Soviet Union. But since the end of the Cold War Turkey's human rights record has been subjected to close scrutiny, especially since Ankara began its drive to become a member of the European Union.

Last week was not a good one for Turkey. Prime Minister Abdullah Gul did not attend Wednesday's ceremony in Athens at which 10 EU candidate states signed treaties to join next year. Turkey itself has not yet been given the go-ahead to start accession talks by the EU.

Turkey is bitter that Cyprus, which is represented by the internationally recognised Greek Cypriot government alone, signed the treaty in a major blow to Ankara's long-standing policy of maintaining that the island should not be admitted before its Greek and Turkish communities are reunified.

The Iraqi crisis came at a bad time for Prime Minister Gul's pro-Islamist government, elected last November on an anti-war platform. It already has its hands full trying to grapple with an economic recovery plan and pushing a major domestic reform package to prepare for EU negotiations.

Turkey also fears the resurgence of Kurdish nationalism following Saddam's overthrow. More than 30,000 people died in fighting between Turkish forces and secessionist Kurds in east and south east Turkey in the 1980s and 1990s.

#### Saudi Arabia

THANKS to its vast oil reserves, Saudi Arabia has gone from a backward desert kingdom to one of the wealthiest nations in the world in just a few decades.

## CROSSROADS ON ROUTE MAP TO PEACE -2

Named after the ruling Saud family, who first came to power in the 18th century, the country includes the Hijaz region, the birthplace of the Prophet Mohammed and the cradle of Islam. Saudi Arabia has become identified with the uncompromising application of religious laws, ranging from beheadings and amputations to restrictions on women, such as a ban on driving.

With foreign migrants accounting for 65% of the workforce, there are fears that comfortably-off, idle Saudi youth are being drawn to radical Islamist groups, and especially the cause of Osama bin Laden, himself a wealthy Saudi.

This is why, since the fall of Baghdad, Saudi Arabia has gone into diplomatic overdrive. Its rulers are obsessed with stability, and the massive upheaval that has just been forced on neighbouring Iraq is deeply disturbing to a royal family that cannot tolerate the slightest dissent within its own borders.

Last week Riyadh hosted two major conferences to review the implications of the overthrow of Saddam. Saudi Foreign Minister Prince Saud al-Faisal flew to Damascus, while Britain's Foreign Secretary, Jack Straw, and Sudanese president Omar al-Beshir, were among high-level visitors to the Saudi rulers.

Now that the threat from Iraq has gone, the Saudis have put the US troops who have been on its territory since the 1991 Gulf War on notice to leave.

The Saudi rulers want to be seen in the Arab world as ridding the country of the 'infidel forces', yet the House of Saud is locked into an intimate political, commercial and military relationship with the world's only superpower, which it needs for its own protection.

There is no sign of democracy flowering in Saudi Arabia. After the 1991 war, Washington put pressure on Riyadh to set up a consultative council allowing for broader political participation. But the moves towards judicial and political reform have proved virtually meaningless.

The consultative council has no real power, while beheadings and amputations of limbs remain routine punishments carried out in public in front of the mosques. All political and economic power remains in the hands of the Saudi royal family and its 40,000 princelings.

## Afghanistan

AFGHANISTAN'S history is mostly the story of vicious inter-tribal warfare and conflicts against foreign powers. Britain fought three wars in Afghanistan as part of the 'Great Game' to defend India against Russia's expansion into central Asia, but failed to subdue the Afghans. The Soviet Union, which invaded Afghanistan in 1979, also failed to impose its will. Its troops managed to control the towns and the country's few major roads, but were continually harassed by Islamic Mujahedin who were backed and supplied by the US. Among the Mujahedin leaders who benefited from the CIA's largesse was Osama bin Laden.

A third of the population of Afghanistan fled, mostly into refugee camps in neighbouring countries. The exodus continued after the Soviet Union withdrew its troops in 1989 as Afghanistan descended into anarchy, which in turn spawned the Taliban. They imposed the strictest Islamic laws of any country in the world and were notorious for the subjugation of women, forcing them to wear veils in public and denying them education.

After September 11, 2001, the Taliban refused to hand over Bin Laden or close down the al-Qaeda terrorist training camps, and were ousted from power by an American-led onslaught.

Since then life has improved, but not by as much as the Americans hoped. At a Loya Jirga (Grand Assembly) in June 2002, Hamid Karzai, an American choice, was elected president of a transitional authority of a coalition government of leaders from across the political spectrum. It has an 18-month mandate to hold a nationwide Loya Jirga to adopt a constitution and a 24-month mandate to hold nationwide elections.

Women are now free to go outdoors without wearing the veil, and girls are once again being educated in schools. But the country suffers from enormous problems. Regional warlords run their own fiefdoms, and the writ of Karzai's

## CROSSROADS ON ROUTE MAP TO PEACE -2

government barely extends outside the capital. There is growing evidence that the al-Qaeda network is re-establishing itself.

There is great poverty, a crumbling infrastructure and a deadly legacy of millions of unexploded land mines. The majority of the population continues to suffer from insufficient food, clothing, housing, and medical care, problems exacerbated by continuing American military operations and political uncertainties. Poppy production for opium, which had been largely stamped out by the Taliban, is now back to its peak.

Political parties are in a state of flux, but as yet there is no sign of democracy on the Western model starting to take root.

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## *Supporting Israel, now and forever*

Ottawa Citizen

October 17, 2002 Thursday Final Edition

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**Section:** News; Pg. A19; Excerpt

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**Byline:** F. David Radler

### **Body**

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Unambiguous: These remarks are excerpted from Mr. Radler's speech on Oct. 6, when he accepted a tribute from the Weizmann Institute of Science. Mr. Radler is the publisher of the Chicago Sun-Times and the Jerusalem Post.

It isn't easy to be an Israeli today. They are faced with threats of terror, taunted by unyielding and unjust condemnation from the international community, yet the country continues to grow. So do its institutions.

The Weizmann Institute has grown into a great centre of research, learning and advancement for all mankind. It was founded in 1934 on the unshakable belief by Haim Weizmann that a free and democratic state would need a research centre as good as and as path-breaking as any in the world.

Citizen Special

My partners and I have been in the newspaper business for 35 years. What began with a small newspaper in Sherbrooke, Que., has led to the ownership of such titles as the Daily Telegraph in London, the Ottawa Citizen and the Vancouver Sun and Province. We are also the owners of the Jerusalem Post and the biweekly magazine, the Jerusalem Report. While the Post is not our largest newspaper, I suspect I would not be standing before you today had it not been for the purchase of that newspaper in 1988.

At the time of the purchase, I made the statement that this was a purely economic decision and that we would be no more emotionally attached to the Jerusalem Post than we would be had we purchased the South China Morning Post newspaper in Hong Kong. Of course, this proved not to be true.

Conditions in the Middle East have deteriorated since 1988, and we, along with other publishers, have been forced to make choices.

We support President Bush's war on terror. We, therefore, support Israel's war on terror.

In Europe, the Middle East conflict is framed as a colonial affair, which depicts Israel as a heartless bully and the Palestinians as innocent victims. This view is widely embraced by the European left, which has romanticized Yasser Arafat as a Third World freedom fighter. In the United States, this depiction is not nearly as prejudiced.

Among U.S. media, the Mideast is often portrayed as a contest between two sides whose passions are excessively inflamed, but ultimately whose behaviour is morally equivalent. Columnist George Jonas wrote in the Ottawa Citizen, "Impartiality may be a virtue, but it's nonsense to be impartial between tyranny and democracy while seeking to protect human rights" ("Amnesty International's 'impartiality' abuses human rights," Aug. 12).

## Supporting Israel , now and forever

This position can be clearly depicted in the news and opinion pages of another Chicago daily newspaper. In an effort to create a balance in covering the Middle East, the public editor of this other Chicago newspaper has, among other things, described Ariel Sharon as responsible for the Sabra and Shatila massacres. He also stated that President Bush was overly concerned about the multimillion-dollar, 50-tonne arms shipment from Iran that the Israelis intercepted at sea.

Our Chicago newspaper, the Sun-Times, has been clear and unambiguous. We recognize that Israel has made numerous offers of territorial and economic concessions to achieve peace. Not only have those offers been rejected, but the concessions have likely succeeded in enhancing terror.

Israel and the United States are on the front lines of the war on terror for the same reasons. Both are free and both are democratic. Prof. Bernard Lewis wrote in his most recent book, *Islam: What Went Wrong*: "It is precisely the lack of freedom -- freedom of the mind from constraint and indoctrination, to question and inquire and speak; freedom of the economy from corrupt and pervasive mismanagement; freedom of women from male oppression; freedom of citizens from tyranny..." With the exception of Turkey, the national movements in most of Israel's neighbours led to despots rather than democrats. These people were independent, but not free.

While the military leadership of these countries robbed the people, they generated among the population a sense of humiliation. They also required an enemy. You need an enemy to justify a large military presence as well as to deflect the criticism of your own hijacking of the economy. The best example of the requirement for military expenditures is the continuation in Syria of the Assad regimes, both father and son.

They could settle with Israel tomorrow, but recognize that there would be a downside to settlement as a result of the inevitable reduction of the military requirements. These rulers are propped up by their military. The Palestinian Authority is a brutal dictatorship and perhaps one of the most financially corrupt regimes in the world. It has not lived up to any of its obligations under the Oslo agreement, including removing the anti-Israel clauses in the Palestine National Charter. It has persuaded young people that a glorious eternity awaits them if they manage to murder Israelis while blowing themselves up.

Marwan Barghouti, head of Fatah-Tanzim, now on trial in Israel and who, according to Israelis, led, ran and set in operation terrorist actions against the state of Israel along with his field commanders, was questioned in the New Yorker magazine on July 9, 2001, and was asked: "And if you get 100 per cent? Will that end the conflict?"

Barghouti smiled, and then said something impolitic for a Fatah man:

"Then we could talk about bigger things."

Such as?

"I've always thought that a good idea would be one state for all the peoples."

A secular democratic Palestine?

"We can call it something else."

The late Faisal Hussein, as reported June 24, 2001, by Al-Arabi in Egypt, said: "Had the U.S. and Israel realized, before Oslo, that all that was left of the Palestinian National movement and the Pan-Arab movement was a wooden horse called Arafat or the PLO, they would never have opened their fortified gates and let it inside their walls." He also stated: "The Oslo agreement, or any other agreement, is just a temporary procedure, or just a step towards something bigger... We distinguish the strategic, long-term goals from the political phased goals, which we are compelled to temporarily accept due to international pressure... (Palestine) according to the higher strategy (is): 'from the river to the sea.' "

The leaders of the so-called friendly nations -- Jordan, Egypt, Saudi Arabia -- refer to the difficulties of controlling "the Arab street." Are we to believe that the dictators in these countries, who have successfully repressed even the most mild opposition to their continued existence, have suddenly become so fearful of the "street"?

## Supporting Israel , now and forever

Are we to believe that spontaneous demonstrations by the "street" are possible in repressed Arab countries?

For these countries, the "street" is nothing but a useful tool -- a tool to influence the West, but mainly a tool to distract their own citizens from their own failure in statecraft.

One of the so-called moderate states is Egypt. The country receives \$2 billion U.S. per year in American aid. When Secretary of State Colin Powell visited the Middle East in April, Hosni Mubarak snubbed the secretary, refusing to meet with him when Powell could not bring an early end to Israel's Operation Defensive Shield.

Mubarak has also expressed dissatisfaction against the United States's plan to move against Saddam Hussein. While claiming to be a country that accepts Israel, the Egyptian embassy in Tel Aviv has been leaderless since November 2000. Mubarak has made the cold peace even colder.

In April, Egypt said it was downgrading cultural and commercial contacts with Israel, and Mubarak continues to allow the state-run Egyptian media to incite against Israel. Egyptian doctors have refused to treat Israeli embassy personnel, thus necessitating the government of Israel to fly doctors to Cairo.

This is not a moderate position. Notwithstanding his anti-Israel posturing, Islamic fundamentalists have not warmed up to Mubarak.

In a June 4 press release on the Islamic Web site, Al-Muhajiroun, the U.K. branch called for "the immediate removal of Hosni Mubarak and his execution for his crimes against Muslims in particular and the civilian population in Egypt generally." Moderation may have its price in that part of the world.

Syria has never made claims to moderation. In July, among the visitors to Damascus was Kim Yong-nam, president of North Korea's Supreme Peoples Assembly Presidium. Just before Kim arrived, Assad was hosting Ayatollah Mahmoud Hashemi Shahroudi, head of the judiciary in Iran, and a prominent anti-Khatami hardliner. These visits coincide with other exchange visits with Cuba, Iraq and Sudan. One suspects that the common chord among these countries is simply where there is a problem, blame the United States.

On Aug. 1, United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan released a report on Israel's military operation in Jenin and other West Bank cities and found no evidence to support Palestinian allegations of a massacre. At a General Assembly emergency special session on Aug. 5, delegates debated Annan's report and Israel's alleged war crimes against the Palestinians. The report itself, which wasn't favourable to the big lie, was described by various diplomats as follows:

Palestinian Ambassador to the UN Nasser al-Kidwa: "The notion that the report confirmed that no massacre had been committed was simply not correct."

Kuwaiti Ambassador Mohammed Abulhasan described Jenin as "the atrocious events in Jenin against an unarmed, innocent people using their legitimate right to resist occupation." And he called Israel's actions "the massacre which has caused the whole world to tremble."

Needless to say, a resolution that questions the validity of favourable treatment to Israel in Annan's report managed to pass 114-4, including all members of the European Union. The anti-Israeli tally of 114 might have been higher if at least 25 countries had paid their dues (and been eligible to vote).

The Chicago Sun-Times clearly and proudly affirms its unambiguous faith in freedom and democracy. The Sun-Times finds no moral equivalence between soldiers who protect the innocent and suicide bombers who murder them.

We are also clear that Hamas, Islamic Jihad and Fatah-Tanzim are terrorists, not militants.

Militants don't bomb campuses -- terrorists do.

Militants don't explode buses -- terrorists do.

Supporting Israel , now and forever

Militants don't open fire at weddings, bar mitzvahs and Seder celebrations -- terrorists do.

When terrorists kill civilians in Israel, we have no problem labelling them the same as we label the al-Qaeda terrorists of Sept. 11.

Through different owners and different leaders, the Chicago Sun-Times has stood tall with the state of Israel and the Weizmann Institute. This is a legacy that will never, never change.

**Load-Date:** October 17, 2002

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***The last stand; The 'big defence' of Tikrit was nothing after all, but now there's a tougher job: Keeping the peace***

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## **Body**

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In the end, Saddam's Last Stand in his home town of Tikrit turned out to be a chimera -- as wild and fantastic as so many of the illusions on which his regime turned.

On Day 26 of the war, American tanks rumbled into what was said to be the Iraqi regime's last stronghold and found that resistance was as hollow as the legs of one of Saddam Hussein's ubiquitous statues.

But elsewhere, Anglo-American forces came up against the realization that the peace may prove a more difficult struggle than the war.

Long before dawn, the U.S. tanks began to move into the town to which many had predicted Saddam would flee.

It was the place where, during the 1991 Gulf War, he sent his family and many close relatives, back to the bosom of his Albu Nasir tribe. Some 2,500 diehards of the Republican Guard and the Fedayeen were said to be holed up in the city.

The Independent, London

But the much-vaunted last stand of the Baathist regime failed to materialize.

Coalition forces moved in past abandoned Iraqi tanks, parked in long lines, making them easy targets for the Allied bombardment, which had continued though the night.

Everywhere lay military equipment jettisoned in apparently recent days.

One Tikriti resident said of Saddam's troops: "They ran, mostly right at the beginning. And some had already fled two or three days ago," he said.

"From the beginning we knew it was over and that Saddam had no chance." Within four hours, U.S. tanks had secured the centre of Tikrit. Sporadic resistance was experienced but no serious battle. And yet there was no sign of the jubilation seen when other Iraqi cities fell.

A statue of a resplendent Saddam on horseback stood unscathed and pristine pictures of him still adorned lamp posts. Shops were boarded up.



The last stand; The 'big defence' of Tikrit was nothing after all, but now there's a tougher job: Keeping the peace

When the U.S. troops moved into what had been Saddam's most fortified palace, they found it deserted. It had been looted even before they got there.

They moved through it, and then through the town, house by house, looking for any remnants of the old guard. Some troops seemed quite frustrated. The war had ended not with a battle but with a whimper.

Elements of the Republican Guard had melted away, much as the regular army had in almost every other engagement, with no sign of the Soviet-style defence in-depth that Republican Guard divisions demonstrated in the last Gulf conflict.

U.S. sources spoke of some 20 Iraqis killed in the fighting.

Talk was heard of a secret deal with Iraqi commanders. A few Fedayeen with little more than machine-guns and rocket-propelled grenades were dotted about.

But even these had apparently retreated north to an army camp -- which was then heavily strafed by helicopter gunships.

But, at the biggest palace, American tanks were parked outside the domed gateway and a giant bronze statue of Saddam on horseback with giant rockets at his feet looked only preposterous. The conventional war was over.

Yet still the U.S. military spokesmen were cautious. Tikrit had fallen, and the Americans also finally took the town of Qaim on the Syrian border after fighting for it for two weeks.

But the smaller towns and villages -- bypassed during the rapid advance north -- remained to be secured.

Of course, it was far from over. But all that was left now was the messy part.

In the south, it was announced, prisoners of war tried to break out of a detention camp in Umm Qasr, attacking guards with rocks. None escaped, but a number of prisoners were injured as the situation was brought under control.

There were still restrictions on the movement of aid convoys farther north than Nasiriyah because the risk of ambush was still high.

And U.S. Brigadier General Vincent Brooks announced that up to 80 leather "suicide vests" -- complete with C4 explosives, ball bearings and detonators -- were missing from a batch of about 300 found in a Baghdad school last week after forces loyal to Saddam fled.

In Najaf, the armed mob surrounding the house of the country's leading Shia cleric, Grand Ayatollah Ali Sistani, was disbanded by tribal leaders just hours ahead of the mob's deadline for him to leave the country.

The leaders of the siege were reported to be the same group who hacked two prominent clerics to death last week inside the nation's leading Muslim shrine.

Factors were at work in the Najaf situation which hinted at the wider problems Iraq will face in the months and years to come.

The mob was led by Mukkada al-Sadr, the son of Ayatollah Mohammed al-Sadr who was murdered by the Iraqi government in 1999.

One of the two leading imams murdered at the Shrine of Ali was Abdul Majid al-Khoei, who had recently returned to Iraq from 12 years exile in London calling for reconciliation. The al-Sadr family has a long-standing rivalry for influence with the al-Khoei clan.

The last stand; The 'big defence' of Tikrit was nothing after all, but now there's a tougher job: Keeping the peace

It was but one example of the ancient tribal, ethnic and religious rivalries that Saddam's police state kept in check. Now it's gone, old scores are being settled everywhere.

Yesterday in Kirkuk ethnic tensions were growing. Kurds returning to the city were trying to evict Arabs living in homes from which the Kurds had been ejected over the years by Saddam's "Arabization" program.

A problem of a different order assumed more menacing proportions. A top Iraqi commander, General Ali al-Jajawi, the former Republican Guard commander in Mosul, who switched sides during the war, backed Washington's claims that Syria has been giving refuge to members of Saddam's regime.

Saddam's Baath party deputy, Izzat Ibrahim, and other top figures had fled to Syria shortly before Mosul fell last Friday, he said.

His revelations gave added potency to claims made by President George W. Bush and the U.S. Defence Secretary, Donald Rumsfeld. They accused Damascus not only of providing sanctuary to Saddam's cronies but also claimed Syria had chemical weapons.

The verbal attack on Syria appears to have opened a fault-line between the United States and Britain. The British Foreign Secretary, Jack Straw, on a tour of Kuwait, Qatar and Saudi Arabia, sought to downplay Syria's new status as an honorary member of the Axis of Evil.

"There is much evidence of co-operation between the Syrian government and the Saddam regime in recent months," Straw said.

But the country was not "next on the list" of potential U.S. targets, he said, though it clearly had some questions to answer.

The trouble is that the White House will not like the answer it gets.

"We say to him," the Foreign Ministry spokeswoman in Damascus, Buthaina Shaaban, said of Bush, "that Syria has no chemical weapons and the only chemical, biological and nuclear weapons in the region are in Israel, which is threatening its neighbours and occupying their land."

Such a line is provocative considering most analysts believe the main purpose of the threats against Syria is to put pressure on Damascus to stop aiding militant anti-Israeli groups like Hamas and Hizbollah.

Machiavellian minds see this as the quid pro quo, which persuaded the Israeli Prime Minister, Ariel Sharon, to make some conciliatory remarks on the peace process with the Palestinians the previous day.

To further stir the pot, Britain's Foreign Office minister Mike O'Brien held a meeting with the Syrian President, Bashar al-Assad, in Damascus and officials said afterwards that things had gone well.

It may all, of course, be good cop/bad cop. Or we may be seeing the first sign of division between the Allies' main partners.

Either way the message was being heard in other capitals. North Korea is softening its position, South Korean officials said.

And in Tehran, the foreign ministry announced that Iran will deny Iraqi leaders entry; any who entered illegally would be tried for war crimes.

In Baghdad, the problems were much more micro. Hospital looting seemed to have abated. Some kiosks and food stores re-opened and traffic jams began to clog the streets.

The last stand; The 'big defence' of Tikrit was nothing after all, but now there's a tougher job: Keeping the peace

But it was clear that only a very small part of this city, perhaps as little as 20 per cent, was firmly under control of the Americans. Journalists going to most parts of the city had to travel in armoured vehicles for fear of being fired upon.

The library of the Ministry of Religious Endowment -- containing priceless Islamic manuscripts -- also went up in flames.

Some small progress was made. U.S. troops did find an abandoned palace that belonged to Saddam's eldest son, Uday; they found Cuban cigars, liquor, watches and pin-up pictures of cars and women -- including photos of Bush's twin daughters.

American Marines selected a couple of hundred men from a crowd of 2,000 Iraqi policemen who turned up at the city's police college after a plea for them to help stem looting.

The first contingent of British troops to return home -- 210 Royal Marines and other troops -- landed without ceremony at RAF Brize Norton as part of what the ministry of defence called "the initial stage of a general draw-down of forces in the Gulf."

If the battles are over, the politics are only just beginning. After the EU foreign policy chief, Javier Solana, tried to pour oil on the troubled waters around Syria, the Americans hit back.

"Syria is indeed a rogue nation," said the White House spokesman Ari Fleischer.

Then Rumsfeld said Syria had conducted a chemical weapons test "over the past 12 -15 months."

Reports from inside the White House suggest that "there are some pretty influential voices here in Washington, who may ultimately call for action against Syria."

Saddam's delusions may be over.

But the world may yet have cause to fear others from another source.

## Graphic

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Photo: Kevin Frayer, the Associated Press; The 'big defence' of Tikrit was nothing after all, but now there's a tougher job: Keeping the peace; Photo: Chris Helgren, Reuters; U.S. marines occupy Saddam Hussein's palace in Tikrit. The soldiers got there at about the same time as throngs of Iraqi scavengers. Some had even looted it before the U.S. arrived.; Photo: Kevin Frayer, the Associated Press; An Iraqi family stands in a street in Tikrit, home town of former leader Saddam Hussein, as smoke from the U.S.-led coalition bombing is seen behind. The last city of Saddam's loyalist forces is slowly falling.; Photo: David Guttenfelder, the Associated Press; A U.S. soldier points a handgun at the head of a man arrested in the streets of Baghdad yesterday, with a group of men driving a vehicle filled with weapons. The troops accused the 'Arab' fighters of attempting to ambush the Americans.; Photo: Jack Gruber, Usa Today; U.S. soldiers stockpile heavy machine-gun shells as the task force clears explosives or weapons left behind by fleeing Iraqi soldiers in Baghdad.; Photo: Securing Tikrit, restoring order diagram

**Load-Date:** April 15, 2003

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The Daily Telegraph (Sydney, Australia)

July 30, 2002, Tuesday

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**Section:** FEATURES-TYPE- LETTER-COLUMN- LETTERSPHOTO; Pg. 18

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### **Body**

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Democrats' game solution

With the Democrats demonising each other and excising any recalcitrant senator from their ranks, it is Australia which is the real victim of this farce.

These people are paid a comfortable salary to ensure Parliament continues to provide a safe and secure environment for the people of Australia.

As Democrat senators indulge in playground spit fights, perhaps they should consider the reason they sit in the senate, to represent their respective states.

Perhaps it is time we introduced a Big Brother voting system to the Parliament -- this would be real democracy in action.

People could vote each week on which senator should be removed from the Parliament, as they are removed their state government could nominate a new person to represent their interests.

MATP

Eventually we might actually end up with a group of people who can focus on the well-being of Australians rather than being self-seeking pontificators at public expense.

Wayne Brown,

Queanbeyan

It is with some sadness that we see the possible third force in Australian politics being reduced to nothing more than a token party.

It is because of the actions of two of its members who have now effectively resigned. They should both surrender their seats back to the party.

They won those seats representing the Democrats, not themselves personally.

As a loyal Australian, I feel we have been sold down the river. May the Democrats rest in peace.

S. Molan, Ballina

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

For politicians to leave

the party to which they were elected to parliament and then to retain their seats

belittles those who vote

for them.

No doubt they receive most of their votes because they belong to a particular party. If they leave that party they should leave parliament, then renominate as independents at the next election.

If their decision means the loss of the balance of power, then bad luck.

As for being a member-in-exile? In the first place you must bide by your party's policies or get out completely.

G.W. Kelly, City

Senator Natasha Stott Despoja's comment on television on Sunday that she did not have any idea that anyone was even thinking of resigning from the Democrats and she saw no reason at all for anyone to do so, is incredible. Is she really that naive?

She apparently believes an elected person's parliamentary seat belongs to the party, not to the person elected.

The law of this land, however, states absolutely unequivocally, that it is the person who is elected, not the party.

If Ms Stott Despoja does not like it, she should lobby to have the law changed, instead of making a claim based on idiocy.

Geoff Cass, Tewantin

Don Chipp rightly perceived that many Australians are more concerned with good, democratic governance of our nation than with any party political issue.

That is why the Democrats' constitution places the real power with the rank and file members rather than the party's politicians.

The present leaders' accession gives evidence of that.

An overwhelming majority of the membership of the Democrats were opposed to John Howard's GST, yet Meg Lees, when she was leader, like the vast majority of politicians, chose to follow her own judgment.

Let us hope the destruction of Australia's only genuinely democratic political body does not become the next injury inflicted on our nation by yet another politician who has forgotten they are there to represent us, not themselves.

Robert James-Herbert,

Eschol Park

Andrew Murray tells us, "I am now a member of a profession characterised at its worst as opportunistic, cynical, manipulative, self-serving, dishonest and not to be trusted".

Well, mate, you got all of that right.

G. O'Gorman,

Binalong

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The Australian Democrats was founded to "keep the bastards honest", but all it is now, under Natasha Stott Despoja, is a Clayton's Labor Party.

Parliamentary members just reject whatever the Federal Government is trying to pass. Go on Natasha, try telling people you are still relevant. They are deserting you in droves.

Jim McLean,

Ingleburn

Cheryl Kernot and alley cat Natasha Stott Despoja prove that politics is no place for these types of females.

Good luck Meg in your new position as an independent. You are a real politician.

B. Stephens, Ryde

Two sides to conflict

Bruce Wilson's opinion piece (Daily Telegraph, July 27) represented everything that is wrong with the media's coverage of the Middle East.

He condemned Israel for its Gaza missile attack but seemed to forget that Palestinian terror groups such as Hamas and Islamic Jihad regularly murder Israeli civilians.

Many of the Israeli victims of Hamas have been women, children and even babies.

Only on Saturday, an Israeli family (mother, father and child) was killed by Palestinians in an act of murder.

Just once I would like to see Bruce Wilson dedicate an opinion piece to condemning Palestinian terrorist violence.

Ian Fraser,

Rockdale

Why 4WDs have image problem

Much of the advertising for four-wheel-drives features people driving like total whackers (over roundabouts, school construction sites and so on). What does this say about the target audience?

Greg Irvine, Burwood

The ongoing campaign against four-wheel-drives is a classic example of a media-induced hysteria, fuelled by people such as Harold Scruby, the self-appointed chairman of the Pedestrian Council.

I wonder if he, or other detractors, have ever driven a modern four-wheel-drive? I teach an increasing number of Sydney owners how to safely and responsibly operate their four-wheel-drives in the bush. More and more people are discovering the pleasures of off-road driving, opening up a range of family holidays and short breaks, which simply are not available to drivers of conventional vehicles.

Yes, some form of upgraded licence would be a positive step but so would ensuring that pedestrians only cross roads at marked crossings and cyclists obey all road rules, especially the one about stopping at red lights.

Richard Robertson, Moss Vale

Motive behind asylum scam

Your front-page story, "Puppet on a string" (Daily Telegraph, July 25) at last exposed the real facts behind the Ali Bakhteyarei asylum scam.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

From start to finish, this stunt has been orchestrated by the so-called Refugee Action Collective (RAC) and the International Socialist Organisation (ISO).

According to the report, the ISO provides extensive funding to the RAC and also provides it with on-call protestors as its demonstrations held around the country.

The RAC is headed by Cyrus Sarang, a refugee from Iran. Reportedly, Sarang says the RAC does not encourage violence in its bid to free all refugees in Australia.

However, an ex-RAC member, Maqsood Alshams, said he left after the group encouraged violence. "I have witnessed a number of times in which they provoked detainees inside detention to violence," he said.

So what do we have here? Ali Bakhteyarei, knowingly or not, is the pathetic pawn of an extremist rabble of far-left anarchists whose true agenda, as always, is to tear away at the foundations of our society.

Now the socialist plot has been exposed the duped bleeding hearts should be red-faced -- but they will not be, of course. They will remain blinded by the glare of their sanctimonious self-righteousness.

Alan Heatley,

Elanora Heights

Koalas not at risk

In an article headed, "Koala dies in scientific study," (Daily Telegraph, July 26), the director of the Total Environment Centre is quoted as saying the Pilliga koalas are already under threat from logging.

That statement needs to be corrected. It is another example of misinformation, which is often used in an attempt to discredit the timber industry and those communities which manage those forests for productive conservation.

A report completed in 2000, Koala Population Status in the Pilliga Forests, and a review of threatening factors, by Rod Kavanagh and Elizabeth Barrott, clearly shows that logging is not a threat to the koala population.

The report refers to a decline in the koala population during the period 1930-1980 due to widespread hunting by Europeans for their skins and for sport.

Ringbarking of eucalypts was also seen as a contributing factor in the decline along with thorn-stick injuries and wildfire. These statements are supported in NSW State Forest Report 2001.

Population increase by koalas in the Pilliga since the early 1980s has been associated with the cessation of both hunting and the broadscale ringbarking of eucalypts.

The number of koalas living in the Pilliga forests during the late 1990s is estimated conservatively to be at least 15,000 animals.

If only there was a willingness to focus attention on the real environmental issues such as eradication of introduced plants and animals, far reaching environmental goals could be achieved.

Geoff Wilkinson,

NSW state manager,

Timber Communities Australia

Scientific studies have shown koala populations to be on the rise in the Pilliga over the last 20 years.

A study undertaken by State Forests and the University of Sydney in 2000 states, "The highest frequency of detection of the koala occurred in the western and central Pilliga, the zones in which logging is most widespread."

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Native forest logging does not mean the destruction  
of wildlife.

Jane Harding,

Baradine

Blunt warning

I have just flown to Bali with Qantas and was told at the airport that since September 11, no sharp objects can be taken on board the plane.

However every child on the plane was issued with an activity pack that contained a pencil sharpener with a steel blade that could easily be unscrewed and lashed to one of the metal knives, forks or spoons that were also provided to us with our meal.

The resulting weapon would be almost as effective as the box cutters used by terrorists during the attacks on the World Trade Centre.

Ian Collopy,

Newport

Working at being obese

The current debate swirling around the overtime epidemic has overlooked one fundamental point: by insisting on their employees working excess overtime, employers are contributing to the poor health of many young Australians.

Far too many parents are so work preoccupied that they simply do not have time to prepare good, wholesome meals. Too often they have to resort to takeaway outlets to keep their families fed. As a consequence, as work hours increase, so too do the obesity problems among young Australians. That is a national disgrace.

Our political leaders and employers should be roundly condemned for allowing such a state of affairs to arise, let alone continue.

Tom Henderson, Urunga

Word power

SPADE

A word that has caused controversy, one that, according to the World Wide Words website, serves to remind us that sensitivities over language in the US run especially deep. The specific occasion was a recent council meeting in which a speaker said: "I think we should call a spade a spade." A councillor, an African-American, objected saying that was an "ethnically and racially derogatory remark". Most people know that to call a spade a spade means we should be straightforward, use blunt or plain language. Most Americans also know that "spade" is a rather outmoded, derogatory slang term for an African-American. Putting the two ideas together, though, requires a person whose sensitivity to possibly offensive language is greater than their knowledge of word history. First, the spade in the expression is not the same spade as in the slang term. The first is undoubtedly the digging implement. The second is the suit of cards. In the latter case, the allusion was to the colour of the suit, and originally appeared in the fuller form "as black as the ace of spades". The abbreviated form "spade" seems to have evolved early last century. Though they are the same word historically, both derive from Greek spathe, for a blade or paddle, the one you dig with came into Old English from an intermediate Germanic source, while the card sense arrived via Italian spade, the splural of spada, a sword. An oddity is that "to call a spade a spade" is a mistranslation. The original was a line the Greek writer Plutarch wrote some 2000 years ago about the Macedonians. He intended much the same idea -- suggesting the Macedonians were too unsubtle to do anything other than use blunt words -- but he used the



## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

word skaphe, variously a trough, basin or boat. It seems the medieval scholar Erasmus misread it when translating the line into Latin and Nicholas Udall copied him when making his 1542 English version. The phrase has been in the language ever since.

## ESCHATOLOGICAL

In a letter published in The Daily Telegraph on July 15, Gareth Smith of Byron Bay wrote: "The planet-shaking military might of the US is allied to fundamentalist Christian eschatological and apocalyptic beliefs." Eschatology, of Greek derivation, is the part of theology concerned with death, judgment, and destiny.

In search

## HARDY FAMILY

There will be a reunion of the Hardy family in September 2002. I am looking for descendants of Minnie Mary May Maude Holt (born late 1800s, died circa 1973) and Percival James Hardy (born 1889 Narrabri; died late 1950s/early '60s). Percival had three siblings: Michael, Andrew and Alice. Percival and Minnie married in Muswellbrook in 1917 and settled in Narrabri. They had eight sons and two daughters: Douglas, Leslie, Merle, Kevin (all deceased), Harley, Trevor, Wilfred (Connie), Ivan, Donnie and Thelma. Please contact Karen Buckley (nee Hardy) on 0418476509 or [klbucko@hotmail.com](mailto:klbucko@hotmail.com).

## TRAIN TIMETABLES

Anyone with old NSW Railway country timetables (circa 1950s) showing the various branch lines in country NSW, please contact Bruce Cooper on 0755241808 or e-mail [brucelaurel@ezweb.com.au](mailto:brucelaurel@ezweb.com.au).

## BRITISH COLOUR CODE (BCC) SYSTEM

I am seeking any person or group who have at some time used, or come in contact with, the above-named system of colour coding and recognition. In particular I am trying to obtain manual/s or source material concerning same as used by the British and Australian armed forces until recently. Please reply to Ray Cousins at 47 Lachlan St, Windale, NSW, 2306, or phone 49485147 or

fax 49485145.

## JACK LOWRY

I believe a late uncle of mine, John Francis (Jack) Lowry, who was born in Mt Morgan, Queensland, moved to Newcastle to work and live. I understand some of his family may still live in Newcastle and would love to hear from any relatives who may be living in the Newcastle area. Contact 86 Cedar Rd, Palm Cove, Cairns, Qld, 4879, 0740590021, [mikejglowry@bigpond.com](mailto:mikejglowry@bigpond.com).

## MICHAEL (MICK) LYONS

I am looking for Mick Lyons, last known living in Marrickville, opposite police station. My husband was a great friend but lost contact. I believe he could have moved to the Cronulla area. My husband's name is Alan but Mick knew him as Justice. Please contact Pam, 98260071.

## BELMORE BOYS HIGH

A reunion of Belmore Boys' High 6th form 1974 is being held on Saturday, August 17. If you didn't go on to 6th form and you would like to come you will be most welcome. Please contact 42680706 (home), [donsta@ozemail.com.au](mailto:donsta@ozemail.com.au).

## DAVID WITHERS

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

I am trying to contact David Withers, ex Knox Grammar School 1988. Please contact Tim Barrett on 0412673703 or [timbarrett@optusnet.com.au](mailto:timbarrett@optusnet.com.au).

## BIDWILL HIGH SCHOOL

There will be a reunion for Year 10 of 1982 at Rooty Hill RSL in October. Contact Debbie Andrews on 47330374 or e-mail [ddeb@optusnet.com.au](mailto:ddeb@optusnet.com.au).

## BERINBA PUBLIC SCHOOL, YASS

Calling on all past students, staff and parents of Berinba Public School, Yass. The school will celebrate its 30th birthday on September 14. Come and celebrate at the Yass Soldiers Club with a great night of fine food, entertainment, nostalgia, auctions, prizes, trivia and dancing. Further information available by contacting Narelle Alcorn on 62262540 or Cathy Cooke on 62263195.

## PAULINE DUNCOMBE

Attended primary school at St Johns, Auburn, in late 1940s, lived at Lidcombe with sister and mother and father, married and moved to Lane Cove in mid-'50s. Son James was born while living at Lane Cove, last known address, would like to catch up. I also married and my maiden name was Paulette Clarke, now can be contacted on 96831772 and married name is Paulette Brooks, also [Omega@telpacific.com.au](mailto:Omega@telpacific.com.au).

## MISSING PERSONS WEEK

National Missing Persons Week occurs from August 4-10, 2002. Each year, more than 30,000 people go missing in Australia -- that's one person every 17.5 minutes. Police cannot single-handedly find all people lost, missing, abducted, or wanted. The Missing Persons Register, <http://www.personsmissing.org>, helps close the gap. Additionally, information is available about adoptions, genealogy and reunions. TMPR is a free community service sponsored by The Personals Network. It acts as an international resource library and advertisers database, with people finding services, search tools, advice and much more.

If you have a reunion or are seeking information, send the details to In Search, Letters Editor, PO Box 2808, GPO Sydney, NSW 2001 or email us at [letters@dailytelegraph.com.au](mailto:letters@dailytelegraph.com.au). Include a contact name and phone number. Emails should not include attachments.

## Exchange

Q For ages I have been trying to find a recording of Frankie Laine singing They Call The Wind Maria. Also, I have been looking for a Sammy Davis Jnr album in which he does his impressions, as well as singing. I believe it was a hit album in the 1950s/'60s.

Philip J. Robinson, Neutral Bay

I have a CD of Sammy's Greatest Hits which, in addition to him singing, also has him doing brilliant impersonations of well known people singing Rock-A-Bye Your Baby (With a Dixie Melody). As a matter of fact I have two copies of the CD and will gladly send one to Mr Robinson if he contacts me on 96861695 anytime.

Richard Leader, Baulkham Hills

The record is Mr Show-Business by Sammy Davis Jnr, record No.MFP A8186 (Music for Pleasure). The track is The Way You Look Tonight, Side 1, Track 1.

Beryl Ross, Sydney

Q In 1974, '75 and '76, Scholastic Book Club provided books to us at my primary school. I remember reading a book about a couple of kids in inner-city Sydney who were trying to save a park from being built over by a

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

businessman. Towards the end of the story (which I think was based on an Aboriginal myth), the businessman heard a dog talk and was turned into a tree/rock in the park. Is there anyone out there who can help? If so, please e-mail me at [daniel--vaughan--au@yahoo.com.au](mailto:daniel--vaughan--au@yahoo.com.au).

Daniel Vaughan, Sydney

The book in question is An Older Kind of Magic by Patricia Wrightson. Published by Puffin, ISBN No.0140307397.

Janice Sandercock, Curlewis

Q Does anyone remember a country and western singer and former USAF Colonel Jimmy Dean? Are his records still on sale?

Mel Clark, Newcastle

My brother has at least 40 Jimmy Dean songs on CD and would be happy to make a tape for Mr Clark. Contact 0407979285 or leave a message with my mother on 46473369.

Jean McGregor, Narellan

Q In the 1950s there was a barn dance called The Albert Crawl. Where are the bobby-soxers who did it? How was it performed?

M. Jenkins, Liverpool

The Albert Crawl was a dance started at The Albert Palais in Leichhardt. Two people stood together with their arms joined out front, two steps forward, lift back leg, bounce, do a slight twist and repeat. This was a great dance and I still do it. It was also danced at Vic's Cabaret at Strathfield and The Hut, Rose Bay, and Surryville Dance Hall in City Rd. I don't ever remember doing this dance progressively.

Beverley Prouting, The Oaks

## QUESTIONS

I am trying to find an LP record that was released in the 1960s. It is called Two Heids are Better than Yin by Robin Hall and Jimmie McGregor on Monitor Records, or a cassette recording of one track called Gin I were where Gaudie Runs. This is for a Scottish clan which the track is about, Clan Leslie.

Barrie Leslie, Sydney

I have asked this question before but it appears nobody could answer it, so I will try again. In the 18 century, when the North American colonists rebelled against British rule, why didn't the areas (now part of Canada) known as Quebec, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island join the rebellion?

John B. Bevan, Sydney

Can anyone help me find a very old record of John Charles Thomas singing The Green Eyed Monster With The Thirteen Tails? I would love this reminder of my childhood.

W. Mather, Deepwater

Was the army 146 General Transport Company stationed in Kensington in 1946-47?

M. Forest, Bexley

\* Is there a question to which you've always wanted to know the answer? Or can you answer a question? Send questions or answers to Exchange, Letters Editor, PO Box 2808, GPO Sydney NSW 2001 or email

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

[letters@dailytelegraph.com.au](mailto:letters@dailytelegraph.com.au). A selection will be published but we are not able to enter into individual correspondence.

To the point

S. Grant (Letters, July 27) believes John Howard has equal compassion for both the parrot and the boat people. He is right -- the PM would like to see them both returned.

B. Colbourne, Auburn

We have had a Royal Commission into organised crime, the police force, HIH Insurance and the building industry. Now how about one for the abduction of Hector?

Bill Cremen, Illawong

Kind words

Many sincere thanks from TV viewers in Forster, NSW, to the Department of Communications, IT and the Arts for installing a translator so as to re-transmit a crystal-clear TV picture instead of having to watch six heads and six tennis balls.

The project is a part of the Federal Government's

\$42 million television black spot program and soon will expand to Pacific Palms, Smiths Lake and Stroud.

Terry Groves, Forster

My granddaughter recently gave birth to her first child at the Royal Hospital for Women, a subsidiary of Prince of Wales Hospital, Randwick.

I would like to thank the doctors and nurses of this hospital for their efficiency, promptness and care.

Special thanks go to Rina Basdeo whose kindness and cheerful approach created an astonishing environment, which resulted in my granddaughter's immediate recovery.

Angelo Frigel, Fairfield

**Load-Date:** July 29, 2002

**GUEST COLUMN: A bold stand for Israel;  
Sadly, the gates were opened to a wooden horse called Arafat**

Windsor Star (Ontario)

October 26, 2002 Saturday Final Edition

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**Length:** 1792 words

**Byline:** F. David Radler

## **Body**

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It is not easy to be an Israeli today. They are faced with threats of terror, taunted by unyielding and unjust condemnation from the international community, yet the country continues to grow. So do its institutions.

The Weizmann Institute has grown into a great centre of research, learning and advancement for all mankind. It was founded in 1934 on the unshakable belief by Haim Weizmann that a free and democratic state would need a research centre as good as and as path-breaking as any in the world.

My partners and I have been in the newspaper business for 35 years. What began with a small newspaper in Sherbrooke, Que., has led to the ownership of such titles as the Daily Telegraph in London, the Ottawa Citizen and the Vancouver Sun and Province.

We are also the owners of the Jerusalem Post and the biweekly magazine, the Jerusalem Report. While the Post is not our largest newspaper, I suspect I would not be standing before you today had it not been for the purchase of that newspaper in 1988.

At the time of the purchase, I made the statement that this was a purely economic decision and that we would be no more emotionally attached to the Jerusalem Post than we would be had we purchased the South China Morning Post newspaper in Hong Kong. Of course, this proved not to be true.

Conditions in the Middle East have deteriorated since 1988 and we, along with other publishers, have been forced to make choices.

excessively inflamed

We support President Bush's war on terror. We, therefore, support Israel's war on terror.

In Europe, the Middle East conflict is framed as a colonial affair, which depicts Israel as a heartless bully and the Palestinians as innocent victims. This view is widely embraced by the European left, which has romanticized Yasser Arafat as a Third World freedom fighter. In the United States, this depiction is not nearly as prejudiced.

Among American media, the Mideast is often portrayed as a contest between two sides whose passions are excessively inflamed but ultimately whose behaviour is morally equivalent.

GUEST COLUMN: A bold stand for Israel ; Sadly, the gates were opened to a wooden horse called Arafat

Columnist George Jonas wrote in the Ottawa Citizen, "To be impartial between tyranny and democracy the better to protect human rights is like being impartial between wood and copper the better to conduct electricity. In plain words, it's nonsense."

clear and unambiguous

This position can be clearly depicted in the news and opinion pages of another Chicago daily newspaper. In an effort to create a balance in covering the Middle East, the public editor of this other Chicago newspaper has, among other things, described Ariel Sharon as responsible for the Sabra and Shatila massacres.

He also stated that President Bush was overly concerned about the multimillion-dollar, 50-ton arms shipment from Iran that the Israelis intercepted at sea.

Our Chicago newspaper, the Sun-Times, has been clear and unambiguous. We recognize that Israel has made numerous offers of territorial and economic concessions to achieve peace. Not only have those offers been rejected, but the concessions have likely succeeded in enhancing terror.

Israel and the United States are on the front lines of the war on terror for the same reasons. Both are free and both are democratic.

Prof. Bernard Lewis wrote in his most recent book, Islam: What Went Wrong: "It is precisely the lack of freedom -- freedom of the mind from constraint and indoctrination, to question and inquire and speak; freedom of the economy from corrupt and pervasive mismanagement; freedom of women from male oppression; freedom of citizens from tyranny...."

With the exception of Turkey, the national movements in most of Israel's neighbours led to despots rather than democrats. These people were independent but not free.

Could settle tomorrow

While the military leadership of these countries robbed the people, they generated among the population a sense of humiliation. They also required an enemy.

You need an enemy to justify a large military presence as well as to deflect the criticism of your own hijacking of the economy.

The best example of the requirement for military expenditures is the continuation, in Syria, of the Assad regimes, both father and son.

They could settle with Israel tomorrow but recognize that there would be a downside to settlement as a result of the inevitable reduction of the military requirements. These rulers are propped up by their military.

The Palestinian Authority is a brutal dictatorship and perhaps one of the most financially corrupt regimes in the world. It has not lived up to any of its obligations under the Oslo agreement, including removing the anti-Israel clauses in the Palestine National Charter.

They have persuaded young people that a glorious eternity awaits them if they manage to murder Israelis while blowing themselves up.

Marwan Barghouti, head of Fatah-Tanzim, about to go to trial in Israel and who, according to Israelis, led, ran and set in operation terrorist actions against the State of Israel along with his field commanders, was questioned in the New Yorker magazine on July 9, 2001 and was asked: "And if you get 100 per cent? Will that end the conflict?"

Barghouti smiled and then said something impolitic for a Fatah man: "Then we could talk about bigger things."

Such as?

GUEST COLUMN: A bold stand for Israel ; Sadly, the gates were opened to a wooden horse called Arafat

"I've always thought that a good idea would be one state for all the peoples."

A secular democratic Palestine?

"We can call it something else."

The late Faisal Hussein, as reported June 24, 2001, by Al-Arabi in Egypt, said: "Had the U.S. and Israel realized, before Oslo, that all that was left of the Palestinian National movement and the Pan-Arab movement was a wooden horse called Arafat or the PLO, they would never have opened their fortified gates and let it inside their walls."

He also stated: "The Oslo agreement, or any other agreement, is just a temporary procedure, or just a step towards something bigger... We distinguish the strategic, long-term goals from the political phased goals, which we are compelled to temporarily accept due to international pressure... (Palestine) according to the higher strategy (is): 'from the river to the sea.'"

The leaders of the so-called friendly nations, Jordan, Egypt and Saudi Arabia, refer to the difficulties of controlling "the Arab street."

Are we to believe that the dictators in these countries, who have successfully repressed even the most mild opposition to their continued existence, have suddenly become so fearful of the "street"?

Are we to believe that spontaneous demonstrations by the "street" are possible in repressed Arab countries?

For these countries, the "street" is nothing but a useful tool -- a tool to influence the West but mainly a tool to distract their own citizens from their own failure in statecraft.

so-called moderate

One of the so-called moderate states is Egypt. The country receives \$2 billion per year in American aid. When Secretary of State Colin Powell visited the Middle East in April, Hosni Mubarak snubbed the secretary, refusing to meet with him when Powell could not bring an early end to Operation Defensive Shield.

Mubarak has also expressed dissatisfaction against the United States's plan to move against Saddam Hussein. While claiming to be a country that accepts Israel, the Egyptian embassy in Tel Aviv has been leaderless since November 2000. Mubarak has made the cold peace even colder.

In April of this year, Egypt said it was downgrading cultural and commercial contacts with Israel and Mubarak continues to allow the state-run Egyptian media to incite against Israel.

Egyptian doctors have refused to treat Israeli embassy personnel, thus necessitating the government of Israel to fly doctors to Cairo. This is not a moderate position. Notwithstanding his anti-Israel posturing, Islamic fundamentalists have not warmed up to Mubarak.

In a press release on the Islamic Web site, Al-Muhajiroun, dated June 4, 2002, the U.K. branch called for "the immediate removal of Hosni Mubarak and his execution for his crimes against Muslims in particular and the civilian population in Egypt generally."

Moderation may have its price in that part of the world.

Syria has never made claims to moderation.

the common chord

In July, among the visitors to Damascus was Kim Yong-nam, president of North Korea's Supreme Peoples Assembly Presidium.

GUEST COLUMN: A bold stand for Israel ; Sadly, the gates were opened to a wooden horse called Arafat

Just before Kim arrived in Damascus, Assad was hosting Ayatollah Mahmoud, Hashemi Shahroudi, head of the judiciary in Iran and a prominent anti-Khatami hardliner.

These visits coincide with other exchange visits with Cuba, Iraq and Sudan.

One suspects that the common chord between these countries is simply where there is a problem, blame America.

On Aug. 1, United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan released a report on Israel's military operation in Jenin and other West Bank cities and found no evidence to support Palestinian allegations of a massacre.

At a General Assembly emergency special session on Aug. 5, delegates debated Annan's report and Israel's alleged war crimes against the Palestinians.

The report itself, which wasn't favourable to the big lie, was described by various diplomats as follows:

Israel's actions

\* Palestinian Ambassador to the UN Nasser al-Kidwa: "The notion that the report confirmed that no massacre had been committed was simply not correct."

\* Kuwaiti Ambassador Mohammed Abulhasan described Jenin as "the atrocious events in Jenin against an unarmed, innocent people using their legitimate right to resist occupation." And he called Israel's actions "the massacre which has caused the whole world to tremble."

Needless to say, a resolution that questions the validity of favourable treatment to Israel in Annan's report managed to pass 114-4, including all members of the European Union. The anti-Israeli tally of 114 might have been higher if at least 25 countries had paid their dues.

The Chicago Sun-Times clearly and proudly affirms its unambiguous faith in freedom and democracy. The Sun-Times finds no moral equivalence between soldiers who protect the innocent and suicide bombers who murder them.

We are also clear that **Hamas**, Islamic Jihad and Fatah-Tanzim are terrorists, not militants.

Militants don't bomb campuses -- terrorists bomb campuses. Militants don't explode buses -- terrorists explode buses.

Militants don't open fire at weddings, bar mitzvahs and Seder celebrations -- terrorists do. When terrorists kill civilians in Israel, we have no problem labelling them the same as we label the al-Qaida terrorists of Sept. 11.

Through different owners and different leaders, the Chicago Sun-Times has stood tall with the state of Israel and the Weizmann Institute. This is a legacy that will never, never change.

## Graphic

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STATE IN UPHEAVAL: An Israeli flag flies from the Mount of Olives in east Jerusalem, with the Old City's Dome of the Rock mosque in the background. AP photo: Jacqueline Larma

**Load-Date:** October 29, 2002



## **SUICIDE BOMBERS ;** **Murderous intent**

The Advertiser

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### **Body**

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THERE is a weapon that can wreak more mayhem and bloodshed than a mortar or a landmine - the human bomb.

The suicide bomber has become the most potent weapon in the highly flammable Middle East crisis.

What sort of passion drives teenage schoolgirls to wrap themselves in high explosives, stroll into a crowded supermarket and blow themselves into oblivion? These are not clinical psychopaths or the pathologically insane. They are ordinary people living very ordinary lives.

Claims that the suicide bombers have been brainwashed and are heavily under the influence of cult-like extremist groups have been disputed.

Israel's Institute of Forensic Medicine says it has conducted extensive tests on the remains of suicide bombers. Institute director Dr Jehuda Hiss reports that the bombers are "fully lucid at the moment of death".

"No alcohol and no drugs are known to us," Dr Hiss says. "They are motivated by some psychological motive prior to the suicide attack."

Family and friends of suicide bombers say they killed themselves as an act of "absolute faith" - martyrdom, not suicide. "It is an honour to be able to blow yourself up in this way," says the friend of one bomber.

Suicide bombers are typically unmarried men in their late-teens and early-20s, although one recently was an 18-year-old girl. They act in the belief that they will go straight to paradise. Recruits are reassured that their families will be looked after materially.

Since January, 155 people have been killed in suicide bomb attacks in the Middle East. Men, women and children have been slaughtered in cafes and other public venues where they once felt safe, going about their daily lives.

Planners of the suicide attacks work in distinct cells, operating independently from towns and refugee camps in the West Bank.

An investigation by a London Middle East correspondent reveals suicide bombers are meticulously selected. They undergo a thorough screening process.

## SUICIDE BOMBERS ; Murderous intent

"Once contact is made, the recruit would be slowly drawn into the organisation's military network," the report says. "But the preparation for the actual attack is long and arduous. Operatives from Hamas and Islamic Jihad would keep an eye on the young men spending time at local mosques and investigate them. Did they pray regularly? Were they emotionally stable? Did they have financial troubles? How strong was their faith?"

Explosives are made in bedroom laboratories in the refugee camps and towns of the West Bank. They cost little and are highly unstable.

Israel is building a security barrier along the 345km perimeter of the West Bank in an attempt to block suicide bombers. It will cost about \$1.8 million a kilometre.

This week the Israeli Government announced it is investigating the possibility of expelling families of suicide bombers, in an effort to crack down on attacks. However, observers believe these moves will do nothing to stop the carnage.

## the TEENAGER

AYAT Akhras was just 18 years old, a schoolgirl. While the average teenager gets into trouble with drugs and motor vehicles, Ayat was into something much more sinister.

Some might say she was simply naive, a blind follower of misguided idealism. An impressionable, rebellious youngster. Whatever her true beliefs, Akhras is dead.

On March 29, this fresh-faced young girl strolled casually up to a West Jerusalem supermarket crowded with Friday afternoon shoppers. She was carrying a harmless-looking shoulder bag, as many teenagers do.

A few minutes later the supermarket was torn apart by a massive explosion. Besides Akhras, two other people were killed - a 16-year-old Israeli girl and a security guard - and 25 suffered horrific injuries.

Akhras's ordinary-looking shoulder bag was in fact packed with explosives. And she was on a mission - to kill as many people as possible.

The man who drove Akhras to her target has told how she sat calmly next to him in his red Toyota utility, with the explosives at her feet.

"I told her, if you don't want to do it, I'll throw the bag out the window and drive you home," Ibrahim Sarahna, a 36-year-old Palestinian father of six, said after his arrest. "But she replied: 'I am not afraid."

"I want to kill people. I am ready to die."

Sarahna dropped her off and says: "Five minutes later I heard ambulances and police cars. I turned on the radio . . . I was happy that she had succeeded."

The day before the attack, Akhras sat with her fiance Shadi Abu Laban and talked about graduating from high school and getting married, giving him no idea about what she was planning.

Described by family and friends as a "quiet, diligent schoolgirl", Akhras had kept it secret that she had joined the militant Al Aqsa Martyr's Brigade, a militia affiliated with Yasser Arafat's Fatah movement.

Classmate Rania Abdullah says she saw Akhras about 8.30am on March 29 in the streets of the Dheisheh refugee camp. "She said 'Hi,' and then I continued walking," Rania recalls. "I was surprised when I heard that she blew herself up in Jerusalem."

Her friends say they are pained at losing her but they understand why she carried out the attack.

"It was a courageous act and all of us wish to be in her shoes," Rania Abdullah says.

## SUICIDE BOMBERS ; Murderous intent

Akhras even made a farewell video, in which she says: "I am going to fight instead of the sleeping Arab armies who are watching Palestinian girls fighting alone."

After being told of her daughter's death, Fatma Akhras, who has six other children, said: "Why didn't she tell me she was going to die? I would have stopped her."

### the QUIET ONE

BEFORE he set out to make the ultimate protest, Mohammed al-Ghoul sat in his room and wrote a note to his family. "This operation doesn't mean I like to kill," the 23-year-old Palestinian student said. "I hate to kill or be killed."

And then, early on Tuesday last week, in the heart of Jerusalem, al-Ghoul boarded a rush-hour bus crowded with commuters and schoolchildren and blew himself up. Twenty people - including al-Ghoul - were killed and 50 wounded.

The handwritten note from al-Ghoul to his family, including six brothers and three sisters, gives a chilling insight into the tragedy of the Middle East and the shocking waste of life. "I did it so that future generations will have a better life," he said.

Al-Ghoul also revealed that he had planned three earlier attacks but they had been aborted. "This time, I hope I will be able to do it," he wrote. "How beautiful it is to kill and to be killed - not to love death, but to struggle for life, to kill and be killed for the lives of the coming generation."

To his mother, he wrote: "Don't be sad, don't cry, but be proud that I am a martyr."

Friends describe al-Ghoul as "quiet, affable, popular and devout". One of his brothers, Jihad, 35, says: "He loved life and was loved by everybody. He was very quiet. Mohammed was so kind, polite and even-tempered."

Al-Ghoul was single, a devout Muslim and for some time had links with an extremist Islamic group. He had just begun a master's degree in Islamic law. He was not a known terrorist but was an activist.

Palestinian civic leaders and intellectuals have pleaded with militants to stop the attacks: "We urge those behind (the attacks) to reconsider their positions and stop pushing our youth to carry out these attacks."

### the FIRST WOMAN

Wafa Idris was a sweet-natured woman who worked to save lives.

In fact, she risked her life to save others. As a volunteer paramedic with the Red Crescent (the Islamic equivalent of Red Cross), Idris rode in ambulances to the scene of violent clashes between Israeli soldiers and Palestinians. She evacuated the injured on stretchers, often under fire, and had been hit by rubber-coated steel bullets.

One morning in January this year, Idris awoke cheerfully, dressed in black trousers and a green jacket and, according to her mother, joked with children playing outside nearby as she left the house.

Four hours later, Idris walked into a shoe store in central Jerusalem, wearing a backpack. Seconds later, an explosion ripped through the shop and shredded everything in sight. Two people died - including an 81-year-old man - and 150 suffered shocking injuries.

Wafa Idris, 28, had blasted her way into history as the first Palestinian woman to carry out a suicide bombing.

In the wake of the January 27 attack, the Idris family grieved. However, amid the grief and despair, her 60-year-old mother, Wasfia Idris, made a profound comment: "I hope every daughter will do what my daughter did."

Such is the confused passion that pulses through the Palestinian community. "If I had known what she was going to do, I would have stopped her," said the mother who had just lost a daughter.

## SUICIDE BOMBERS ; Murderous intent

However, she added: "I am proud of her, of course."

Sister-in-law Wisam Idris said: "She said it was better to die a martyr than to live in humiliation. But we were shocked. We didn't expect her to do this."

Manal Shaheen, 29, who grew up with Idris, says: "She was very strong. Never scared. A person with her character could do such a thing."

An expert on terrorism says the use of women as suicide bombers "ruins the stereotyping that makes security easier."

Wafa Idris was married at 15, had miscarried a baby and been told she could never have children. Divorced at 25, she lived with her mother in a one-room shanty in the squalid Al-Amari refugee camp in the West Bank, 8km from Jerusalem.

Her auburn hair and pale complexion may well have allowed her to pass easily through Israeli checkpoints. If Idris had been stopped and searched, Israeli border police would have discovered that this timid-looking woman with the sweet smile was, in fact, carrying a backpack crammed with 9kg of highly lethal homemade explosives.

Soon after her suicide bombing, Iraq President Saddam Hussein ordered that a monument to her be erected in the centre of Baghdad.

Possibly the most disturbing observation came from a teacher at the UN aid-agency run school Idris attended, who said: "Wafa is the first. But she won't be the last."

the FAILURE

NOT many suicide bombers get to tell their story - tell just what is going through their mind in the seconds before they detonate the explosives designed to kill them and anyone who happens to be around them at the time.

"I wanted to be with God," says Zeidan Zeidan, a 20-year-old Palestinian who failed in his mission to kill. "It is better to go there than do nothing here."

Zeidan was standing at a busy highway junction in central Israel on May 8, wearing a backpack laden with explosives. The device only partially exploded, wounding Zeidan. There were no other casualties.

Lying in an Israeli hospital, being treated by Israeli doctors, Zeidan has only one regret: that his murderous mission failed.

"I am sorry it didn't work," he says. "Because now I will not have a better life in paradise."

However, Zeidan has had second thoughts about a suicide bombing. "I wouldn't do it again," he explains. "I would become a fighter . . . but I wouldn't want to hurt

myself."

**Load-Date:** June 28, 2002

## Selfish Selflessness?

The Chronicle of Higher Education

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### **Body**

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What motivates suicide bombers? Anger? Religious fervor? Nationalism? Desperation? We asked several experts to explain the suicide-bombing phenomenon, and why it has attracted so many volunteers.

Dipak Gupta, a professor of public administration and urban studies at San Diego State University and author of *Path to Collective Madness: A Study in Social Order and Political Pathology* (Praeger, 2001):

The term "suicide" by itself implies an extreme act of emotion. Therefore, it is easy to view suicide bombing as irrational acts carried out by a handful of fanatics. Yet data from the period 1991 to 2001 show that, up to the attacks on September 11 and the almost daily occurrence of suicide bombing in Israel, 554 people from eight countries in the world were killed and nearly 2,500 were injured by acts of suicide bombing. Of them, 40 percent were killed in Israel, 37 percent in Sri Lanka, with Russia and India with 9 percent and 7 percent each. The rest of the killings took place in Turkey, Pakistan, Lebanon, and Yemen (the U.S.S. Cole bombing).

Most of us have a fairly well-defined profile of a typical suicidal terrorist. He is a young man between 18 and 24, born in poverty, with little or no education, a victim of some personal tragedy, a despairing, stern, moralistic zealot with nothing to lose. He is ignorant of the outside world. The attainment of martyrdom solves all his earthly problems, from having a harem of 72 virgins in paradise to someone giving money to his family on earth.

However, empirical evidence provides a much more complex picture. While most suicide bombers are men, the Sri Lankan guerrilla group, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, has used women for a long time. Recently, even in the Islamic Middle East, women are turning up as suicide bombers. Although 83 percent of the bombers are single, many of them had steady relationships at the time of their self-immolation; 47 percent are educated. As for extreme religiosity, the LTTE does not stress religion as a motivating force. Even Hamas (the Islamic Resistance Movement) has become somewhat more secular in recent years.

If we look at the incidents of suicide bombings over time, we clearly see a pattern where for each group, they cluster together in response to some external political event. Therefore, it is clear that suicide bombings are not spontaneous outbursts of emotion but are carefully calculated strategic moves by the leadership of the terrorist groups. In fact, the leaders can simply turn on or off suicide bombings like a spigot, as part of their strategic moves. They recruit their human weapons by using the same techniques as any other cult groups with paranoid worldviews, where threats to the community become paramount and immediate.

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Ariel Merari, director of the Political Violence Research Unit at Tel Aviv University, who has profiled more than 50 suicide bombers:

## Selfish Selflessness?

The point is there is no profile of the suicide bomber. There are a couple of demographic features in common for most suicide terrorists -- young age, for instance. A second feature in common is that almost all of them are single; very few are married. In socioeconomic status, they are a cross section of Palestinian society. I don't believe any one of them would be hospitalized in a mental institution on psychiatrist's orders. Not only that, there is no common personality type, as far as I can tell.

When I first studied suicide terrorists in the early '80s, I had a hypothesis that these were guys who just wanted to commit suicide for personal reasons. In Islamic society as well as in Christian and Jewish societies, suicide is forbidden. I thought that they had found a socially acceptable excuse for carrying out what they wished to do anyway for personal reasons, but now they were heroes instead of being pitied or condemned.

However, looking closer at the suicides, through psychological autopsies and interviews with some would-be suicides in jail, I found that most of them were not suicidal. Actually the population as a whole does not fit the risk factors for suicide: They don't suffer from any discernible depression, they don't use alcohol or drugs, there is no history of previous suicide attempts.

I came to understand that the phenomenon of suicide terrorism is not a personal or individual phenomenon; it is a group phenomenon. In certain societies -- societies at war, let's say -- there are many people who volunteer to carry out high-risk missions. But of those who express this kind of willingness to sacrifice and a hatred toward the enemy, only a few end up doing it. The difference is in the organizational process in preparing a suicide bomber and in making sure he or she doesn't change his or her mind.

The organizational process has three important elements. One is pep talk to strengthen the ideology. The candidate is ideologically motivated anyway; otherwise he wouldn't volunteer. Another element is group pressure. The most important thing is getting a personal commitment from the candidate, before carrying out the mission. These candidates are filmed on camera, stating that they are going to carry out an act of martyrdom, saying farewell to their family and friends and so on. Once they do it, they are called a "living martyr," a person who is dead but still alive. This is a commitment that is practically impossible to break. There has not been a single case of suicide bombing done by a person on his or her own whim, in which a person just got himself a hand grenade and blew himself up together with the enemy. In all cases, the organizational process is the key.

One misunderstanding about suicide terrorism is that it is generally attributed to religion in general and to Islam in particular. This is not so. In Lebanon, two-thirds of the suicides came from secular organizations. It's neither an Islamic phenomenon nor a religious phenomenon; religion is just one more element in the persuasion, but it is neither necessary nor sufficient.

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Martha Crenshaw, a professor of government at Wesleyan University and editor of *Terrorism in Context* (Penn State University Press, 1995):

This certainly is the most intense rash of suicide bombings we've ever seen. We know that there are lots of volunteers, and they have come more and more from places that you wouldn't expect -- from within Israel, from cities in the West Bank that were not known to be havens of extremism -- so it's not just people from refugee camps in Gaza. We also know, generally, from a psychological point of view, that teenagers, young people, are very impressionable, and that the problem of teenage suicide is something that even affects Western societies that are quite prosperous, including the United States. There are a number of things fitting together, and of course you add onto that a belief system that is deliberately taught to you -- that says this is a socially valued thing to do, it's not discrepant behavior -- and you can imagine the attraction to young people who have very little else to do.

One factor that has not been sufficiently studied is the experience of the earlier intifadas that began around 1987. How many of today's suicide bombers were children then? What kinds of experiences of violence did they have in that period? These were people who were probably both experiencing violence and performing acts of violence, throwing stones, at a very early age.

## Selfish Selflessness?

It's usually a young person -- someone who's been indoctrinated into doing this, who now feels a sense of desperation, particularly with the use of force against the Palestinian areas. They want to do something, and there aren't many other things that they can do. Suicide is not unattractive to young people. Becoming a so-called martyr brings renown to them. Every time you walk down the street, you see posters of the martyrs; you hear everyone talking about how brave they were. From their point of view, it's framed as something extremely honorable. From our point of view, it doesn't seem that way, but you have a situation where powerful leaders and authority figures in the Palestinian movement are either praising it or not condemning it. If you want to be a hero, it's a perverse way of being a hero.

I've argued for a long time that terrorism had the potential to really embitter civil conflict or even regional conflict. It was always regarded as something trivial -- that what counts was the opposing armies, and if you didn't have an army, you didn't figure. And now we see that terrorism can have an enormous effect on the course of a conflict. It's not something that's simply expressive and minor in terms of an overall conflict.

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Clark McCauley, codirector of the University of Pennsylvania's Solomon Asch Center for Study of Ethnopolitical Conflict and a professor of psychology at Bryn Mawr College:

Suicide bombing is appealing for the same reason that terrorism is the warfare of the weak. It's the only thing they've got. Now that it looks like it's producing results and really hurting the enemy, that reinforces it all the more.

For the person pushing the button, it's not anger that makes it possible. It's something much more positive than anger. It's a choice for the good, for the cause, for my people, what I understand my God wants. It has to be something positive, because I don't think many people are ready or capable of giving themselves up to death on the reward of only being able to hurt the enemy. It's just too weak. You have to have an answer to the question, What does it mean that I've lived and I died?

It's an inadequate answer to say, I hurt the enemy. The enemy is only the enemy because of who you care about. It's the cause you're making a sacrifice for; you're joining in, you hope, a glorious or at least better future. There's no immortality in making someone suffer. The immortality has got to be in your connection to the group and to something that's going on after your death.

As soon as the Palestinians have some hope of a state of their own, the bombings will go down, just as they went down after the Oslo accords. That's part of what's wrong in thinking that this is hatred, because the whole implication of hatred is that it's something continuing, that it's bad and it always will be bad. It leads you to think that there is a long-term unavoidable enmity, but that's not right. You get to see how politics is the predictor of how the violence goes.

**Load-Date:** May 20, 2002

**BACKGROUND: THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN CONFLICT: Intifada,  
retaliation and futility;  
In Mideast's endless spiral of violence, lessons of past are a babel**

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**Body**

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The intifada, or uprising, started when an Israeli army truck plowed into a group of Palestinians, killing four and injuring 17. Palestinians living in refugee camp squalor rioted the next day.

Israel dispatched hundreds of troops to the Gaza Strip. They were met with stones and Molotov cocktails. Israel, eventually, responded with bullets. The United States expressed "serious concern" and urged Israel to show restraint.

A year and a half later, more than 425 Palestinians and 17 Israelis were dead.  
AJC

That was the first intifada, which began in late 1987 and ended in 1993 with the dawning of a promising era of peace and reconciliation. The second intifada, currently under way, has proved much bloodier and has seemingly killed any prospects for peace.

Roughly 18 months into this intifada, at least 1,247 Palestinians and 400 Israelis had been killed by Saturday. The toll mounts daily.

Another week of Middle East violence ends today with Easter, a week distinguished as much by its overwhelming sense of futility as its level of violent one-upmanship.

Wednesday's so-called Passover Massacre, in which 21 Israelis were killed by a Palestinian suicide bomber in Netanya, was another gruesome, yet not all that surprising reminder of a Mideast gone mad. Thursday, Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat called, sort of, for an immediate and unconditional cease-fire.

That same day, Arab leaders meeting in Beirut, Lebanon, agreed to "recognize" Israel in exchange for Israeli withdrawal from land in the West Bank, Gaza Strip and East Jerusalem.



BACKGROUNDER: THE ISRAELI - PALESTINIAN CONFLICT: Intifada, retaliation and futility; In Mideast's endless spiral of violence, lessons of past are a babel

Friday, though, Israel's tanks and troops once again invaded the West Bank, surrounding a defiant Arafat in Ramallah. Another suicide bomber, an 18-year-old woman, self-detonated in Jerusalem. Saturday, another bomber attacked a Tel Aviv cafe.

Meanwhile, the Bush administration comes under escalating criticism for not doing enough to end the cycle of death.

And so it goes in the Middle East, where one numbingly familiar tragedy always begets another.

Wyche Fowler likens the current level of destruction to the "Troubles" before Northern Ireland's shaky peace.

"The Israeli government has to understand that these bombings are outside the control of Arafat," Fowler, a former U.S. senator from Georgia and ambassador to Saudi Arabia, said Friday. "They are directly targeted at sabotaging any political talks leading to recognition of the two states."

Violence and war have been Middle Eastern handmaids since long before the state of Israel was carved from rocky Palestine in 1948. Not surprisingly, Palestinians and Arab neighbors attacked the fledgling Israeli state. Israel won the war and annexed territory set aside for the Palestinians. Only East Jerusalem, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip remained in Arab hands.

Eight years later, Israel was joined by British and French troops in seizing the Suez Canal from Egypt. U.S. and Soviet suasion eventually forced the aggressors to withdraw. But the United States, with billions in defense dollars, would turn Israel into the region's unparalleled military power.

America's lopsided support of the Jewish state also fueled growing Arab resentment against the United States, anger that most dramatically manifested itself in the Sept. 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon.

In 1967, Israel's might was unleashed upon Egypt, Jordan and Syria, hostile neighbors who had massed thousands of troops along Israel's borders. The lightning-quick pre-emptive strikes during the Six Day War crushed the Arab foes and buffered Israel's borders.

Israel also claimed the remainder of Jerusalem and began establishing settlements in Palestinian-controlled territories. The Palestine Liberation Organization started raids against Israel. Arafat assumed PLO control two years later. Terrorism --- acts of liberation to Palestinians --- ensued, most notably when 11 Israelis were killed at the 1972 Olympics in Munich, Germany.

In October 1973, Egypt and Syria attacked Israel during the so-called Yom Kippur War. Stalemate ensued. The United Nations Security Council called for a cease-fire between Israelis, the Palestinians and their benefactors and a "land for peace" swap.

By the late '70s, Arabs and Israelis had grown tired of near-constant war. In 1978, President Carter negotiated a peace treaty between Egypt and Israel. Israel returned the Sinai to Egypt but kept the Gaza Strip. The Camp David accords also supported limited autonomy for Palestinians. The PLO rejected the pact.

Peace is relative in the Middle East. In 1982, the Israelis invaded Lebanon seeking to wipe out PLO guerrillas. A blood bath followed when Lebanese Christians slaughtered 1,000 Palestinian refugees. Arafat fled to Tunisia. Israeli troops stuck around for three years before leaving an ungovernable Lebanon to its own bloody devices.

Anger over Israeli control of the West Bank and Gaza Strip simmered until that Israeli army truck went off course in the Gaza Strip in 1987. The fighting, characterized by Palestinian youths hurling rocks at Israeli soldiers firing bullets, ebbed and flowed for six years.

Boycotts, strikes and other nonviolent actions succeeded in currying international sympathy for Palestinians. Israel was condemned for its harsh reprisals. Opprobrium escalated when then-Industry and Commerce Minister Ariel

## BACKGROUNDER: THE ISRAELI - PALESTINIAN CONFLICT: Intifada, retaliation and futility; In Mideast's endless spiral of violence, lessons of past are a babel

Sharon, the former general infamous for his role in Lebanon, moved into the Muslim quarter of Jerusalem's Old City.

By 1993, both sides had again grown weary of death. The Oslo accords granted limited Palestinian self-rule in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The warring neighbors also agreed to recognize each other's right to exist.

Another illusory peace descended upon the region. Israel continued to build settlements across the West Bank and Gaza Strip, further angering Palestinians. President Clinton came tantalizingly close to brokering real peace between Israelis and Palestinians in July 2000 at Camp David redux.

For 15 days, the enemies holed up in the Maryland countryside with Clinton pressuring them to accept a deal requiring Israel to relinquish up to 96 percent of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Palestinians would control the Temple Mount in East Jerusalem; Israelis would control the Western Wall. An undetermined number of Palestinian refugees could "return" to Palestinian territory.

The deal fell apart, largely because Arafat wasn't satisfied. He angered Clinton by offering no alternative "land for peace" plan. But he solidified his political base back home. The outcome of a failed peace was never in doubt. Ariel Sharon, soon to become prime minister, made sure of that.

In September 2000, Sharon visited the Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem, the Muslim shrine whose grounds also serve as the Temple Mount, holy to Jews. Palestinians rioted. The second intifada began.

But this uprising has proved far deadlier than its predecessor. Stones and bullets have been supplemented with suicide bombers and F-16s. Israelis are bearing a far heavier toll than before.

Pizzerias, discos, wedding halls, commuter buses --- all have been targets of Palestinian suicide bombers, which now include more secular Arabs and women. Polls show most Palestinians support attacks on civilians. Even many dovish Israelis no longer believe peace is possible. Oslo appears dead.

Sept. 11 was supposed to change the bloody equation. The United States, in dire need of Arab support for its war on terrorism, would broker peace between Israelis and Palestinians. President Bush called for creation of a Palestinian state, sending envoy Anthony Zinni to mediate.

Resolution of the conflict appeared even more critical as the United States made plans to topple Iraq's Saddam Hussein. But Arab leaders across the region warned Vice President Dick Cheney this month against undertaking any attack on Hussein.

Those same rulers, during the past week's Arab League summit in Beirut, endorsed a Saudi peace plan calling for normalization of relations between Israel and the Arab world. Israel must withdraw from land captured during the 1967 war. The partition of Jerusalem, the dismantling of settlements, the fate of Palestinian refugees --- all these seemingly intractable issues --- would be resolved.

"Several things have come into confluence [including] the extraordinary adoption by the entire Arab League of the Saudi peace plan and the fact that both sides are exhausted by the carnage and killing," Fowler said. But "no one can separate the two parties except the United States, and the Bush administration has not chosen to take that step."

ON AJC.COM: Go online for daily news updates and photos from the Mideast crisis.

## Graphic

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BACKGROUNDER: THE ISRAELI - PALESTINIAN CONFLICT: Intifada, retaliation and futility; In Mideast's endless spiral of violence, lessons of past are a babel

Graphic:

ISRAEL

> PEOPLE

Population: 5.9 million (2001 estimate)

Infant mortality rate: 8 deaths/1,000 live births

Life expectancy at birth: 79 years

Literacy: (age 15 and over who can read and write) 95%

> GOVERNMENT

Type: Parliamentary democracy

Head of government: Prime Minister Ariel Sharon

> ECONOMY

Gross domestic product: \$110.2 billion (2000 estimate)

Unemployment rate: 9 percent (2000)

PALESTINIAN TERRITORIES

West Bank and Gaza Strip (includes Palestinian territories and Israeli settlements)

> PEOPLE

Population: 3.3 million (2001 estimate)

Infant mortality rate: 23 deaths/1,000 live births

Life expectancy at birth: Gaza Strip: 71 years; West Bank: 72 years

Literacy: (age 15 and over who can read and write) 85%

> GOVERNMENT

Type: Palestinian Authority, including elected Palestinian Legislative Council, has some domestic power. Pending a final settlement, Israel retains authority over external and some internal security matters.

Head of government: Yasser Arafat

> ECONOMY

Gross domestic product: \$4.2 billion (2000 estimate)

Unemployment rate: 40 percent (2000)

A TRAGIC TIMELINE

> September-October 2000: Fighting erupts between Palestinians and Israelis.

> December: Israel fires rockets into Nablus and Ramallah.

> Dec. 23: Israeli and Palestinian negotiations end in failure in Washington.

> Feb. 5, 2001: Sharon wins by a landslide over Prime Minister Ehud Barak in a special election in Israel.

> Feb. 14: Palestinian bus driver steers into a crowd of Israelis at a bus stop.

> May 18: Palestinian suicide bomb attack at a shopping mall in Netanya. Israeli jets hit Palestinian targets in the West Bank.

> June 1: Palestinian suicide bomb attack at a Tel Aviv disco.

> July: Israel attacks **Hamas** compound in Bethlehem.

> Aug. 9: Palestinian suicide bombing at a Jerusalem pizzeria.

> Dec. 2: Palestinian suicide bombings in Jerusalem and Haifa.

> Dec. 4: Israeli helicopters and warplanes hit Palestinian targets in the Gaza Strip and West Bank.

> Jan. 18, 2002: Israeli army surrounds Yasser Arafat's compound in Ramallah.

> Jan. 27: Palestinian woman becomes first **female** suicide bomber.

BACKGROUNDER: THE ISRAELI - PALESTINIAN CONFLICT: Intifada, retaliation and futility; In Mideast's endless spiral of violence, lessons of past are a babel

- > Feb. 14: Israel launches a midnight raid on three Palestinian towns and a refugee camp in the Gaza Strip.
- > March 12: About 20,000 Israeli troops invade refugee camps in the Gaza Strip and reoccupy Ramallah.
- > Wednesday: Palestinian suicide bomb attack in a hotel dining room in Netanya.
- > Thursday: The Arab League endorses Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah's peace proposal. Israel, despite reservations, calls the idea "a very interesting development."
- > Friday: Israel declares Arafat an enemy and launches a major offensive against the unofficial Palestinian capital of Ramallah.

CONFLICT'S COSTLY HUMAN TOLL

Number of deaths

Graph compares number of deaths for Palestinians and Israelis from Sept. 2000 --- March 30.

TOTAL DEATHS

Sept. 2000 --- March 30

Palestinians: 1,248

Israelis: 400

Graphic includes a map of the Middle East with detail of Israel and the Palestinian Territories; inset globe highlights area shown; inset map of Georgia shows size comparison of Israel and Georgia.

Source: The Associated Press, CNN, Atlanta Journal-Constitution files. Research by WAYNE SNOW / Staff.

/ CHUCK BLEVINS / Staff, TROY OXFORD / Staff Photo:

President Clinton meets with Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat at Camp David in July 2000. Clinton had hoped to broker a deal before leaving office early the next year. / DAVID SCULL / Associated Press

**Load-Date:** March 31, 2002

## **PROFILE: ARIEL SHARON: HIS NATION WANTS PEACE. SO WHY IS IT TURNING TO THIS WARRIOR?**

The Independent (London)

January 25, 2003, Saturday

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**Section:** COMMENT; Pg. 17

**Length:** 1940 words

**Byline:** DONALD MACINTYRE

### **Body**

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The scene at Likud's headquarters in Tel Aviv's King George Street on Thursday evening was a surreal cross between an electoral rally and the teenage disco, and karaoke evening it would become as soon as the political business was over. Soft drinks, paper cups, pretzels, crisps and cakes were piled on tables in the foyer. And when they weren't making mobile phone calls and blowing bubble gum, the excited members of the party's youth movement, many well under voting age, sang and swayed to a catchy - and cheesy - campaign jingle that makes much of the quasi- rhyme between "Shalom" and "Sharon" and goes something like this: "The people want peace, the people want livelihood, the country wants Likud, the country wants Sharon."

Many of the audience were waiting as much for the dancing and singing afterwards as for the man himself. But when he arrived, flanked by several ministers but for all the world with the air of a genial grandfather at a bar mitzvah, the "hero of Israel", as he was billed by the compere, Likud's Yuval Steinitz, was greeted with enthusiastic chants of "40 seats". This is, to put it mildly, the more hopeful end of the predictions for Likud's presence in the Knesset next week. But all make Likud the biggest single party.

Once at the rostrum, and after appreciatively telling his young audience how confident it made him that Israel had people it could count on to "carry the torch" in the future, he went on to make a speech that did not even mention his Labour opponent Amram Mitzna. Instead it was fairly vintage Sharon - a contemptuous rehearsal of his Labour predecessor's attempts at making peace with the Palestinians. "We will not give into terrorists," he declared.

Whatever other victories Ariel Sharon is or isn't winning, he looks, if the polls are right, like having an electoral one this week - all the more remarkable since political opponents strike a chord with many Israelis by saying the country is in its worst state since the early 1950s, economically as well as in terms of security.

How has he made it happen, especially after an election campaign rocked by corruption allegations against his family and his party? Henry Kissinger said, to his face, that he had heard Sharon was the most dangerous politician in the Middle East - a judgement shared in most of the Arab world); how does a politician like that get elected by voters who, the polls also suggest, have a strong desire for a negotiated peace? How does a man thought fit to become prime minister by only one per cent of voters after he resigned in shameful circumstances as Defence Minister 20 years ago come to the top job not once or twice?

Even to start understanding Sharon, you have to go right back to the beginning. He was born in 1928 in the co-operative farming village or moshav at Kfar Molal, 15 miles north of Tel Aviv in the coastal plain of Sharon. His father, Samuil Scheinerman, a poor Russian immigrant farmer, was a passionate Zionist but, unlike most of his

## PROFILE: ARIEL SHARON: HIS NATION WANTS PEACE. SO WHY IS IT TURNING TO THIS WARRIOR?

neighbours, no socialist. "If anything stood out about his character," Sharon says in his ghosted but in many ways revealing - and revealingly titled - autobiography, *Warrior*, "it was his individualism." The tensions this generated within the moshav may well have taught Arik, as he is often known, an early lesson in the defiance of even his closest colleagues he has shown throughout his career.

He joined Hagganah, the underground precursor of the Israeli Defence Force, when he was 17 and made his mark as as inspirational - as well an indisputably physically brave - leader when he was a platoon commander in the 1948 War of Independence. The prime position he occupies in Palestinian demonology isn't hard to understand. In 1953 he went on to command the notorious Unit 101 that led ruthless cross-border operations against Palestinians after raids on Israeli villages, the bloodiest of which laid waste the West Bank village of Qibya, killing 69 people, half of them women and children, in revenge for the the murder of a Jewish woman and her two children. One of the Israeli heroes of the 1967 war, when he commanded an armoured division, he went on successfully to "pacify" the refugee camps by the systematic destruction of homes. so opening the roads for anti-terror patrols. And as a reserve general he helped to win the 1973 Yom Kippur war with a daring crossing of the Suez canal.

He had become a politician when it was clear he was not going to be Chief of Staff. As Minister of Agriculture in the Likud government that took office under Menachem Begin in 1977, he personally pioneered the expansion of the Jewish settlements that have continued remorselessly to take over Arab land in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Although Sharon did help to clear a road block to the 1978 Camp David accord by telling Begin that the Sinai settlements could be evacuated without endangering security, and helping to supervise the operation, his pursuit of settlement expansion is fully in line with his opposition to any idea of Israel returning to pre-1967 borders specified in UN resolutions. He no longer believes, as he once did (and some of the extreme right- wing politicians with whom he may be forced to start talking coalition this week still do) that if the Palestinians want a state they can have it east of the Jordan river, with Amman as its capital. But even that is his head ruling his heart.

It was when he was Defence Minister during the invasion of Lebanon in 1982 that his career might have come to a permanent halt. Having sanctioned an advance to Beirut in what now appears to have been in defiance of what Begin wanted, he sent Phalangist militiamen into the Sabra and Chatilla refugee camps, supposedly to clean out pockets of Palestinian militia; in revenge for the murder of their leader Bashir Gemayel, the Phalangists massacred up to 800 refugees, including women, children and old people, in probably the blackest act in all the Middle East's bloody history. After a judicial commission censured Sharon for "having disregarded the danger of acts of vengeance by the Phalangists", and amid a massive wave of popular protest in Israel, Begin left him no choice. He resigned.

The strength of his comeback was foreseen by very few. But that almost certainly arose from a fatal tendency to underestimate his sheer political skill - illustrated, among other things, by his brilliance in once again seeing off an attempt by his old rival Binyamin Netanyahu to replace him as leader in the run-up to these elections. When he was censured by Likud Central Committee for his public endorsement of a Palestinian state as part of an eventual peace settlement, he was able to defy it by projecting himself as a statesman. Opposing the peace accords of the 1990s when he was in opposition, he rose again through a series of government offices when Likud was in power.

What catapulted him again into international prominence was when he triggered the second Intifada in September 2000 by making his hugely provocative and ill-timed visit to the Temple Mount - sacred for Muslims as well as Jews. It did not itself cause the uprising that had been fomenting because of Palestinian frustration at the peace process's lack of progress. But the resulting crisis and killings, which Sharon has insisted he did not expect, probably helped to persuade the Israeli electorate to put him in power in the 2001 election as the strong man who could alone bring peace. After, and his opponents would say despite, the endless cycle of suicide bombings and killings by Palestinian militants on the one hand, and the brutal incursions, occupations, assassinations and destruction of homes by the Israeli Defence Force that has since followed, it looks as if it will again.

Many Israelis clearly hope that a government of the right can deliver peace in the way that one on the left can't. On the other hand, his critics would say he has during his premiership blocked progress just when it seemed possible. The assassination of the Hamas leader Mahmoud Abu Hanoud at the time of a US peace mission in November 2001

## PROFILE: ARIEL SHARON: HIS NATION WANTS PEACE. SO WHY IS IT TURNING TO THIS WARRIOR?

and the later assassination of the then little known Al Aqsa brigade militant Raed al-Karmi two months later are cited as examples. Equally, Arafat's unwillingness or inability to stop murders of civilians has strengthened Sharon's appeal.

The question remains whether the unspecified "painful concessions" Sharon has continued to say he would be prepared to make if killings by militants stopped, not to mention the - at present unlikely - event of a different Palestinian leadership, would be remotely enough to satisfy even the most moderate sections of Palestinian opinion.

Sharon has fought a skilful campaign. He has used a touch of charm as well as a certain ambiguity about his plans to underpin his insistence that he wants a "path to peace". He has been adept at appealing to the centre ground, helped by extreme right opponents who have claimed that a vote for Likud is a vote for a Palestinian state. He would much prefer a coalition with Labour and another national unity government to keep him in power than to depend on some of those very opponents.

He himself, while not a brilliant speaker, has, according to Professor Gadi Wolfsfeld, of the Hebrew University, managed to package his appeal in more moderate language than in the past. As a result, he says, many Israelis, "clutching at straws", hope that his victory will not after all mean "more of the same", as his opponents credibly insist it will.

However, as Wolfsfeld also points out, Sharon has no real record of supporting negotiated settlements on offer in the past. Nor has he ever detoured from his "plan" - utterly unacceptable to the increasingly desperate Palestinians - to give them 42 per cent of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip with no withdrawal from existing settlements.

It's impossible to say exactly what will follow a Sharon victory, if there is one on Tuesday. But unless and until his friends in Washington are prepared to apply the kind of pressure they have conspicuously failed to exert so far, it's hard not to see it as a bleak one.

### LIFE STORY

I Born 1928, in Kfar Malal, in the Sharon Valley, in British-ruled Palestine. Originally named Ariel Scheinerman.

I Family Father Samuil and mother Devorah were Zionist farmers who emigrated from Russia at the end of the First World War.

I Marriages First wife Margalit died in a car accident in 1962; her sister Lili, who became his second wife, died in 2000 of cancer; two sons living, Omri and Gilad; his first son, Gur, died in 1967, aged 11.

#### I Education

Israeli Officers' Training School (1945-47); studied Middle-Eastern history at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem (1952-53) and military theory at British Army Staff College (1957-58); gained a law degree from Tel Aviv University (1966).

#### I Military career

Joined the Haganah, forerunner of the Israeli Defence Force (1942); led an infantry company in the War of Independence (1948); founded "101" commando unit (1953); led a parachute brigade in the Sinai campaign (1956); head of Brigade Group in Six Day War (1967); commander, central section of Sinai Front, Yom Kippur War (1973, pictured left); Defence Minister during Lebanon invasion (1982).

#### I Political career

Co-founder of Likud (1973) and member of Knesset (1973-74); head of various ministries from 1977 to 1992; leader of Likud since 1999; elected Prime Minister in 2001

PROFILE: ARIEL SHARON: HIS NATION WANTS PEACE. SO WHY IS IT TURNING TO THIS WARRIOR?

I He says

"I was born on a farm. I don't get my strength from the political apparatus, but from nature, from flowers."

I They say

"The pivot of Israeli politics" - Reuven Hazan, Israeli political scientist.

**Load-Date:** January 26, 2003

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## *'It's gone beyond hostility'*

Guardian Weekly

August 28, 2002

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**Section:** INTERNATIONAL NEWS; Pg. 7

**Length:** 1928 words

**Byline:** Suzanne Goldenberg

**Highlight:** After two and a half years in Jerusalem, the Guardian's award-winning Middle East correspondent is moving to a new post in Washington. She looks back on the desperate violence she has witnessed during the intifada and reflects on how both Palestinians and Israelis have been brutalised by the experience

## **Body**

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There was gunfire on the day I moved out -- a crack or two, followed by a burst of automatic fire and silence before the familiar wail of the ambulances made it horribly clear that this wasn't fireworks or a car engine backfiring.

The fatal shooting -- a Palestinian gunman shot dead a security guard from the telephone company before being killed himself along with a Palestinian bystander -- was just around the corner at the Damascus Gate of the walled city, and sounded very loud from our front porch. The packers, strangers to Jerusalem from the sleepy northern town of Atlit, were shaken. When they had walked through the door, less than three hours before, the television was showing scenes of carnage from a suicide bombing of a bus in the Galilee. Another attack? They turned on a radio to hear the latest score of death, but almost immediately resumed packing.

The moment was a last reminder of the intimacy of the violence of the past 22 months. Most Israelis -- even if they and their loved ones have never been close to a Palestinian suicide attack -- can identify at least with the location: their bus route, their cafe, their falafel stand. So can Palestinians, with Israeli tanks thundering along the streets of their cities and towns in the West Bank.

Children rattle off the calibres of the weaponry deployed around -- and far too often at them -- by the Israeli army. Almost every Palestinian I have met can count someone within their immediate family either dead or injured by Israeli soldiers. Some unfortunates have been shot twice, in their own homes. All have stories of lesser injury: the casual brutality with which Israeli soldiers restrict normal movement at checkpoints, the mix of fury and boredom after 50 days of living by Israel's clock, under near-constant curfew. But despite the proximity in which they live and die, Israelis and Palestinians, in the main, are interested in knowing only their strand of the story. And while it would seem clear to the outside world that Ariel Sharon and Yasser Arafat have brought only disaster, Israelis and Palestinians appear not to be suffering from doubts but from certainties.

Increasingly Israelis are resistant to hearing or seeing anything that challenges their version of events, a national cant that basically says: "We are the victims, they are terrorists, and the whole world is against us."

Palestinians, naturally, see themselves as universal victims as well. The competition for victimhood reached its apogee a few days after September 11, when Palestinians and Israelis held candlelight memorials with astoundingly similar placards: "We know how you feel, we are victims of terrorism too."

## 'It's gone beyond hostility'

The sanctification of victimhood has gone further since then. Liberal Israeli commentators talk about the rise of McCarthyism. At the same time as supporters of Israel rage against the sacking of two Israeli academics from the editorial boards of obscure journals of translation in Manchester, lecturers at Israeli universities face disciplinary measures -- sometimes at the instigation of colleagues -- for expressing, in the classroom, support for the tiny movement of conscientious objectors. Peace activists -- they exist only on the margins of Israel's far left nowadays -- are threatened with legal proceedings for encouraging the investigation of Israeli soldiers for war crimes.

The limits of Israel's democracy are as circumscribed as they have ever been, says Jeff Halper, an American peace activist who immigrated here in 1973. "It's gone beyond hostility. You are simply dismissed. People don't listen to you. They have no idea what in the hell you are talking about. It is so clear to people that we are the good guys, and they are terrorists that just want to kill us."

Such certainties do not exist any more in Western countries. Since the Vietnam war, Americans have viewed their military with a large dose of scepticism. Nobody seriously believes the army is always right. But despite two years of atrocity and siege, and growing criticism in Europe and even in the United States of Sharon's pursuit of a military solution, Israelis continue to see themselves as part of an ideal. Many believe that their country operates on a higher ethical standard than most. Phone-in callers to radio chatshows regularly congratulate themselves -- with no apparent irony -- on living in the best country in the world before going on to bewail the mess the Palestinians -- not their own leaders -- have got them into. Israeli politicians and generals are fond of describing their army as the most "moral" force in the world, and its citizens generally believe them.

And so none of the Israelis I spoke to were as struck as I was at the photographs that have begun appearing in Israeli newspapers since the army re-occupied the West Bank in June. The first searing image appeared at the beginning of July: a grinning Israeli soldier looming over two Palestinian captives, kneeling in their underpants before a cache of seized weapons. Their hands were bound behind their backs, and they were blindfolded. Once fearsome Palestinian terrorists turned into human trophies of war. The photographs reminded me of the pictures taken by British souvenir hunters more than 150 years ago, after the crushing of a rebellion by Indian soldiers against the East India Company in a whirlwind of massacres and sieges in 1858. Once fearsome opponents turned into human trophies of war.

Since arriving in Jerusalem in February 2000, seven months before the eruption of the Palestinian uprising, I have lost count of the times I have heard Israelis describe Palestinians as animals, savage beasts intent on inflicting terror. Only Israelis rarely use the word Palestinian; their neighbours are more commonly described as Arabs, part of that collection of more than 20 countries most have never seen. "Only an animal could do something like this," said a young woman at the illegal Jewish settlement of Emmanuel the day after Palestinian militants killed nine people in an ambush. "Not even animals kill just for the fun of it, like they do."

Waves of suicide bombings have done much to feed that impression, enabling Israelis to deny the Palestinian humanity. So has the footage from the West Bank and Gaza shown on Israeli television: children waving their hands in the air for the cameras in celebration of a suicide attack, the ritual of martyrs' funerals, with masked men bristling with weaponry firing guns in the air as a final send-off. In recent weeks a few Palestinian intellectuals have spoken out against the cult of bombers, recognising that suicide attacks are destroying their own society from within -- and its image from without -- at the same time as they are rendering it near-impossible for activists inside Israel to mobilise greater public support for peace. But even these petitions and advertisements against suicide bombings are not voiced in moral terms. And they have not explicitly condemned suicide bombings but cocooned their criticism in the phrase "attacks against civilians in Israel".

A few days after one such petition was published in Israeli newspapers, one of the signers, a university lecturer, told a friend in Ramallah: In her heart of hearts, she still felt that the Israelis had not absorbed their full share of suffering yet. Halper and others argue that the mutual blindness between Israelis and Palestinians is far older than the current intifada. "The problem is that Zionism never recognised that there exists a Palestinian people; in other words, a people with a distinct identity, with a distinct character, with a history of their own, with legitimate claims to the country," he says.

## 'It's gone beyond hostility'

"I look at the intifada like a prison revolt, and the attitude of the Israelis is, 'what right do these inmates have in our country to resist our rules?' One thing that is hard to explain is this tremendous rage at the Palestinians in which you dehumanise them, in which you can just do anything to them with utter disregard to them as human beings. That rage comes because these are people that don't accept our exclusive claims to the country and therefore we have to eliminate them."

It is, of course, also true that many, many Palestinians are unwilling to admit the humanity of Israelis. The other week I watched the funeral of 15 Palestinians, including nine children and three women, killed when Israel dropped a one-tonne bomb on a crowded district of Gaza City to assassinate the founder and military commander of Hamas.

Tens of thousands of Palestinians coursed down Gaza's main street, furious and vengeful. Munira Shurab, a middle-class housewife, watched them pass from her balcony. "The hate in my heart now is too big to describe to you. I never thought I was capable of hating so much but, day after day, the anger increases," she says.

I have watched a similar transformation among other acquaintances in the West Bank and Gaza: a trained Hebrew teacher, who studied in Israel, who now feels incapable of maintaining former contacts with Israeli peace activists; peace educators who now find it impossible to ring their fellow teachers in Israel -- though they find themselves wondering after a bombing or a shooting if their colleagues are alive. Such sentiments cut across class and geography. The Shurabs are an ambitious family. Munira's eldest son, Amjad, has just completed the first year of a law degree. He says he wants to be a lawyer because Palestinians desperately need a state based on the rule of law. He also believes that suicide bombings are perfectly defensible.

Many Palestinians have tried this argument on me. Israelis have F-16s, Apache helicopters and tanks, they say, all we have are our human bombs. A corollary goes something like this: even if Palestinian militants open fire on Jewish settlement blocks, the range of the weapons is so poor they generally miss or inflict little damage, so why does that count as violence?

At the heart of these arguments is the belief of many that in this nasty war for a state, the Palestinians can afford no distinction between civilian and soldier. "There are no civilians in Israel. All the Israelis are military, all of them," says Amjad Shurab.

No women, no children, no ordinary people struggling to survive. Only massed ranks of soldiers, not quite human. It's a reasoning I have encountered dozens of times among Palestinians. There is no difference, they say now, between Sharon or any other Israeli leader. None can be trusted to negotiate a just peace; at heart, all are the same.

It is a kind of thinking that has overwhelmed Israeli society. Where racist remarks were once confined to a close circle of friends, the old inhibitions have slipped away. The slow winding down of a Friday afternoon into the Jewish Sabbath is a rarefied time in Jerusalem, a few hours when the city relaxes. Government offices are shut. Shops and banks close early. Errands done, people pass the afternoon in cafes, as did we last week.

They were playing Edith Piaf and conversations started easily in Hebrew, English, Russian and French -- for once not on "the situation" but movies, living in America, bad driving habits. Then the man at the end of the table chimed in. "Erasure", he said, inspired by talk of an Arnold Schwarzenegger movie. "That's what Israel needs to do." There was a moment's embarrassed silence. We were strangers after all. But he persisted. "Imagine if you could erase them all, starting from Jerusalem, Tulkaram and Ramallah."

## Graphic

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'It's gone beyond hostility'

Picture, no caption, Photo, Force majeure . . . an Israeli soldier guards two Palestinians who were captured as they approached a Jewish settlement, Gadi Kabalo

**Load-Date:** September 7, 2002

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## *No Peace in Sight, Israelis Trust in a Wall*

The New York Times

December 17, 2002 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 4; Foreign Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 4017 words

**Byline:** By JAMES BENNET

**Dateline:** KIBBUTZ METZER, Israel, Dec. 11

### **Body**

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The steel gate drew open and, in shorts and sandals, Doron Lieber walked briskly into the chilly, early morning darkness. He walked outside the rusting barrier that the kibbutz children call the "stupid fence," because it did not stop the mysterious terrorist who last month shot dead two of their friends, their friends' mother, and two others before escaping. He walked outside the "clever fence," the silver, electrified one that the Israeli government installed immediately afterward.

A left turn through fields he has farmed for 30 years pointed Mr. Lieber toward the limestone hills and olive groves of the West Bank, which Israel occupied in 1967 and where Palestinians dream of a state of their own. The boundary was less than half a mile away, silhouetted against a rising sun.

Mr. Lieber has new companions on his thrice-weekly walks -- trucks that bounce back and forth to the 50-yard-wide gash that Israeli bulldozers have opened inside the boundary of the West Bank. It is the construction site for a separation wall or fence -- both terms are used -- planned to stretch at least 70 miles, though its precise path is still being debated. Another fence is under construction to envelop Jerusalem.

Under Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, Israel's master builder, Israelis are transforming the land at the root of their conflict with the Palestinians at a rate unequaled since they first occupied the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Settlers have built dozens of outposts on far-flung hills, spreading their handhold across the West Bank. Soldiers have dug ditches and strung barbed-wire fences around Palestinian cities.

But those efforts shrink beside the wall. With cement, guard posts and an electrified warning fence, the Israelis are seeking to split the two populations apart, creating a physical separation as stark as the social one has become.

From the Palestinian side, the wall looks like a land grab, as clear and pure as hate.

But from the Israeli side, its meaning is more layered. The wall represents a tortured compromise with the politics, values and history of Israeli Jews. On the one hand, fences evoke in Israel the pioneering ethos of the state's origins in small, protected communities. But on the other, they echo the European horror -- the camps surrounded by barbed wire -- that spurred Israel's creation.

## No Peace in Sight, Israelis Trust in a Wall

Out of these conflicting influences, the wall is developing as an uneasy hybrid. It is a separation fence that still mixes both peoples on each side -- in smaller, fenced enclosures. It is a boundary fence that does not create the internationally recognized border that many Israelis want.

Although he defies the logic of the fence with his pre-dawn walks in the open, Mr. Lieber, like most Israelis, is reaching a separate peace with it. He has accepted the growing barrier as necessary, he said, at least for "a few tens of years" to come.

This has been a year of separation, of division. Violence in the Middle East has pushed Israelis and Palestinians farther and farther apart and made hopes of reconciliation -- seemingly so reasonable just a few years ago -- look vain. Liberals like Mr. Lieber, still yearning for a new Middle East but ever more isolated in an Israel dominated by the right, have come to countenance the wisdom of walls.

Tom Segev, a dovish Israeli historian, called the idea of separation "a kind of magic medicine" that "reflects desperation."

"The whole concept of the fence is so interesting, because it demonstrates how there really is no solution to the conflict at this time," Mr. Segev said. "It's a conflict that can be managed, but it's a conflict that can't be solved."

Mr. Lieber believes Israel is making a historic mistake by building the wall through Palestinian fields, rather than right on top of the West Bank boundary.

"Before the fence, we lived here like good neighbors," he said, after the quiet returned in the dusty wake of another jouncing truck. He thinks the location of the fence provoked the attack on the kibbutz.

Moving in the opposite direction, Palestinians still take Mr. Lieber's route to smuggle themselves into Israel. With the Palestinian economy in ruins, most are desperate to work, but a few, security officials say, are eager to blow themselves up.

Mr. Lieber, 47 years old and the father of six, does not carry a weapon. "I'm a man of peace," he said, with an easy grin that lightly mocked the boast. "Whoever carries a gun ends up using it."

Until the attack on Nov. 10, Mr. Lieber believed that such attitudes, and the relations they helped nurture between the kibbutz and neighboring Arab villages, were the only defenses he needed. Now he is unsure. "If I can say it metaphorically, something cracked in here, close to the heart," he said, putting one palm against his chest.

The killings have cast an enduring shadow over this tranquil enclave, which today marked the close of the 30-day ritual mourning period for the two boys. They have darkened the world view of a collective that was already struggling to find its place in a new, harder Israel, where the old left-wing pioneer dreams of a democratic, secular Jewish society at home in the Middle East have been eclipsed by the extremism and harshness that violence generates.

In the airy kibbutz kindergarten is an alphabet chart in Hebrew, Arabic and English, recalling the possibility-filled years, not so long ago, of the dying Oslo peace agreement: "R" is for respect, "N" is for Norway, "H" is for hope. Nearby, children now play at catching the vanished gunman, dreaming up robots and Pokemon creatures to hunt him down.

### Chosen for Attack

Unlike Palestinian gunmen who have wildly sprayed buses or settlements, the killer who attacked Metzger had the discipline to reach the kibbutz's heart before opening fire.

First he killed Tirza Damari, 42, out for a late-night walk with her boyfriend, who escaped. Then the gunman ran to the home of Revital Ohayon, 34, a single mother who had rented here because it was a nurturing environment for

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her boys, Matan, 5, and Noam, 4. Her home was the converted children's house, where all the kibbutz children slept until a few years ago.

The man tried to burst through the front door; the gash he left is still there, above the small pairs of boots and sandals that still wait. He made his way to his right, past the slide in the playground, climbed through a window, and killed all three.

Back outside, he killed Yitzhak Drori, 44, the kibbutz secretary, who was driving to the scene. The gunman then apparently escaped over the fence.

Residents of Metzger believe the kibbutz was a target because it was an example of co-existence. "They wanted to make a statement," said Dov Avital, a kibbutz leader.

Al Aksa Martyrs Brigades, a militant group connected to the Fatah faction of the Palestinian leader, Yasir Arafat, claimed responsibility for the killings, which came the night after Fatah representatives met in Cairo with leaders of the fundamentalist group Hamas in a bid to halt attacks in pre-1967 Israel. Metzger is in pre-1967 Israel.

At issue in the continuing talks, mediated by the European Union, are questions of strategy, ideology and the clarity of the Palestinian cause. Some Fatah leaders believe that by attacking only Israeli soldiers and settlers in the West Bank and Gaza, Palestinians would signal that they are fighting occupation, not to destroy Israel.

But Hamas wants to destroy Israel. What the Aksa Brigades want, and even if they know what that might be, is murkier.

"It was a technical mistake," said a 27-year-old Aksa spokesman in the West Bank city of Tulkarm, referring to the Metzger attack. "You're in a position where it's mixed borders. It was night. They didn't know where they were," said the man, who declined to be identified.

Israeli security officials say that the attack originated from Tulkarm. The army arrested a man they identified as the mastermind, Muhammad Naifeh, but it has yet to find the chief suspect, Sirhan Sirhan, 19.

The Aksa spokesman said that his group had "severe discussions" after the attack, and was trying to restrict violence to the West Bank. But, he acknowledged that, with Tulkarm regularly under curfew and emotions running hot, there was still some dispute between "the political and military wings of Fatah."

Another member of Al Aksa, Jamal Yehiyeh, said his view of the '67 line had changed. In a Tulkarm street last month, as he kept an anxious eye out for Israeli patrols, Mr. Yehiyeh said he was once enthusiastic about the Oslo vision of two states.

But just that morning, he said, he saw six Palestinian bodies, including children, in the morgue. "We paid too heavy a price," he said, as the conversation turned to Metzger. "The Israelis who are living here who want peace, they should go back to their countries."

Overhearing, Ali Abu Habli, a Tulkarm lawyer, angrily objected. "Our religion, our values conflict with that," he said, his voice rising as Mr. Yehiyeh shook his head. "The Israelis are killing our children, our women, our men. I don't want to reach the point where we are treating them the way they treat us."

A few days later, Israeli forces attempted to arrest Mr. Yehiyeh. He escaped, shot in the hand.

The village of Qaffin, just north of Tulkarm, is not seen by Israel as a hot spot. It lies 10 minutes' walk east of Metzger, past the crumbling concrete posts that mark the West Bank boundary and then across the construction site for the wall.

Taisir Harasheh, the mayor, said that he would believe that the Israelis were concerned about security if they were building the fence on the Green Line, as the West Bank line has been known ever since it was first sketched on a map in green ink after the 1948 war that followed Israel's creation.

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Instead, the wall's path has already sliced through the village's olive groves, uprooting trees just before the harvest, and Mayor Harasheh said it would block the village of 9,000 people from 60 percent of its land. "If you make your neighbor hungry, you give him motivation to fight you," he said.

Most of the men in the village once worked in Israel, earning up to \$50 a day in construction. A handful still works in Metzger's fields. Most residents survive now on savings, help from relatives abroad, and agriculture.

When Israeli forces posted maps on olive trees depicting the wall's route, villagers panicked. The plans called for a 55-yard-wide strip through almost four miles of village land. They described a concrete barrier 3 feet high, topped by more than 25 feet of electrified warning fence and flanked by asphalt roads.

Israel offered some compensation for land under the fence, but not for village land on the Israeli side. A gate would let farmers reach their trees, Israel promised. Villagers expect that gate to be shut when there is an attack. They expect it to stay shut.

Those whose land has been bulldozed have rejected compensation, perhaps out of principle, but also on instructions from the Palestinian Authority, led by Mr. Arafat.

Mayor Harasheh is a marine engineer who speaks fluent English and has taught himself Hebrew. He spent years traveling the world on ships.

As dump trucks leveled the site, which resembled an endless jet runway, the mayor could see the loom of the Mediterranean, unreachable but less than eight miles away. Before the 1948 war, Qaffin's land stretched almost that far. Metzger sits on land the village lost then.

"I look at the horizon, and I feel really depressed," Mayor Harasheh said. "I don't see any solutions."

One of several armed Israeli guards approached the mayor. Behind him trailed another guard, with an armload of oranges from the village trees. The guard told the mayor that village children had been pelting his men with stones.

"I'm telling you, please deal with the situation. It's better than having someone injured," the guard said.

"The kids don't listen," Mayor Harasheh replied sadly, in Hebrew.

## The Dream of Co-Existence

Among the first projects of the founders of Kibbutz Metzger was a fence. The yellowed duty roster from Metzger's first day -- Sept. 8, 1953 -- records that Dov Cier had guard duty.

While the fence and guards sent one message, the kibbutzniks tried to send another, and so did their neighbors. "We dreamed," Mr. Cier, 72, recalled the other day after lunch in the kibbutz cafeteria. "This was the idea of socialism. We believe in brotherhood between people."

On that first day, the people of the neighboring Israeli Arab village of Meisir, which has no fence, brought the kibbutz water. Now, the water systems of the two communities are joined.

Mr. Cier and the rest of the kibbutz's founders came from South America, and members prided themselves on remaining friendly, as Israeli society grew angrier and more afraid.

The kibbutz, whose very name means border, used to supplement its income by offering "the school for co-existence," giving tours to Jewish tourists and schoolchildren of its grounds and then of Meisir. But though Metzger could once sell co-existence, no one is buying it anymore, and the business has dried up.

Like all the kibbutzim, Metzger, which has about 210 members, is struggling to fit into modern Israel, economically and socially.



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These people were, in Mr. Segev's phrase, "the original nobility of Zionism." But as the socialist ideals faded, as Zionist models changed, the kibbutz children found themselves born into a loving but sometimes suffocating world. They yearned for more freedom. So they left.

Hoping to attract younger members, the graying kibbutzniks are adapting their formula. Members still contribute all they earn to the collective, but those who give more get more back in their personal budgets. Children live with their families, rather than together in a "children's house."

Having struggled with a generational divide, some kibbutzniks worry about the hold of Israel on its young. They speak of a cynical generation with less certainty about the Zionist cause. As he watched the trucks rumble toward the construction site from his patio here, Ben-Zion Hevroni said that for that reason, the new fence must become a border.

"Otherwise, I think there is no chance for us," he said, with great weariness. "All this idea of the Zionists, to come and build a homeland after 2,000 years, to live in a place called Israel and tah, tah, tah -- all this will disappear. People are getting more and more cynical."

Before the attack here, Kibbutz Metzer pressed the Israeli Army to shift the fence the fairly short distance to the Green Line, to save the orchards of Palestinian Qaffin, even at some cost to its own land.

That effort has lost steam. "You know, I don't mind now about Qaffin," said Mr. Hevroni's wife, Nava, who found herself shielding her 8-year-old daughter with her own body during the attack. "I just want the wall."

The wall reflects the complexity of Israeli politics and the way religion infuses debate: An idea that gathered force on the left, it is the product of a hard-line right-wing government, yet some of its most vehement critics are of the right themselves.

Israel's military leaders insist the fence has no political message, only a security function. Yet, regarding the West Bank as their biblical birthright or as a security buffer against invasion, Israeli hawks fear that the wall will become a de facto border.

They also worry about settlers who may be left on the other side. These concerns help explain the wall's winding, still tentative route, which largely avoids the Green Line and encloses some Israeli settlers, while also trapping thousands of Palestinians on Israel's side.

Mr. Hevroni, whose first name means "son of Zion," has a brother, Israel, who is a settler. Ben-Zion Hevroni, 53, said that he often wondered, in his many years as a soldier and reservist, if he would be dispatched to retrieve Israel at rifle point. Now he hopes others will do it.

He said he was by no means certain that peace would come if Israel departed the West Bank. "But I don't care," he continued. "If there is a border, I have a moral right to fight for my country. I don't feel it now, with my brother on the other side."

If the settlers are forced out of the West Bank, he continued, "I will educate the next generation: 'It's O.K. This is your country.' "

### Children in the Conflict

Ayala Yichyeh has noticed that it is when they are happiest that the pupils in her kindergarten class remember their friends Matan and Noam. At a recent birthday party, the children wound up talking with their teacher "about whether you could do a birthday for a child who was dead."

Mrs. Yichyeh, a 47-year-old mother of 5 and a member of the kibbutz for 30 years, is left with 16 pupils, in a sun-filled class merrily strewn with simple toys -- blocks, dolls, a discarded gas mask. There is a "peace corner" for

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children to talk through disputes: one yellow chair is painted with lips, another with an ear, a third with a heart; the children switch seats as they take turns speaking, listening, and feeling.

At 5 and 4, the ages of Matan and Noam, children are at a cusp, perceiving more than they can quite understand, understanding more, perhaps, than they can quite express. Against a classroom wall, one child's drawing portrays a night sky and a house. Beside the house, a menacing figure hovers above a chaotic swirl of scribbled lines.

The children know the killer is at large. Whenever Gil Hovar returns from reserve duty in Gaza, his son Nadav asks if he has killed the terrorist. Mr. Hovar tries to explain that he would prefer that the man be arrested, not killed.

Mrs. Yichyeh took the children to see the site for the wall. "I have to give them something to feel better," she said. "They are very afraid."

Last year, Mrs. Yichyeh's class held four joint sessions with a class from Meisir, the Israeli Arab village. This fall, a session was planned to teach the children about the olive harvest, but it was postponed after a suicide bomber struck a bus within earshot of Metzger.

Mrs. Yichyeh said she is determined to do something jointly this year. But a few parents are balking, which is perhaps hard for some in this idealistic place to admit.

"Some of the parents -- not all of them -- some of them told me -- very few, but there are some parents -- they told me they're afraid, not from the people of Meisir, but that someone could come across the border and do something to our children," she said.

Mrs. Yichyeh said it was important to teach the Jewish and Arab children that "they are equal, and they are different. They are not the same children, but they are our children."

In Meisir, one of the kindergarten teachers, Aida Abu Rkiya, 43, also looks forward to a joint session. "We found that the language was not a barrier," she said of last year's classes. "They were taking each other's hands and playing."

She said that the morning after the Metzger attack, the teachers began as usual by asking the 26 children how they felt. "Some said, 'We aren't happy today because the kids were killed in the kibbutz,' " she said. Villagers paid condolence calls on the kibbutz.

Israel, a country of six million, has an Arab minority of about one million. Mrs. Abu Rkiya used to participate in Metzger's "school for co-existence," and she was amused by the astonishment of Jewish visitors that the Arabs had computers and ate similar food.

Mrs. Abu Rkiya said that her pupils talked about what they saw on TV. "They ask a lot of questions about why the army raided Tulkarm," she said, "why they killed a Palestinian." But they had not begun talking about the fence, she said.

The "Compassion" kindergarten in the Palestinian village Qaffin does not have the resources of its counterparts, and it does no joint sessions with different and equal children. A few drawings of the cartoon cat Sylvester adorn the walls. The teacher, Fakhrieh Ammar, 35, contends with 70 children in two classes.

Her pupils did not mention the attack in Metzger, she said. But the children do have impressions of the conflict, she said. One boy said that soldiers raided his home at night and arrested his uncle. Another reported that his father had been detained for two days while crossing the Green Line for work. Some children were helping in the orchards when the soldiers arrived to clear the area for the start of construction on the fence.

The children here want to grow up to be soldiers, she said, not understanding that they are Palestinian and the soldiers are Israeli. For them, she thinks, being a soldier means being powerful, unassailable.

"They see things on the TV, and on the ground, and they start asking: 'Why?' " Mrs. Ammar said.

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## 2 Small Tombstones

Avi Ohayon, the father of Matan and Noam, had not encountered death before the loss of his children, and he says he "didn't know where to put the pain."

"I just miss them. I miss them," he said. "I miss hugging them, I miss playing with them. I miss their smiles. I miss their being there for me. That's why I say everything in my life has been ruined."

His voice catches. "I must have done something very wrong."

On a Thursday evening, Mr. Ohayon, 34, sits with his legs tucked underneath him on a futon couch in his modest apartment in the seaside town of Caesarea. He wears blue jeans and a white T-shirt. He has a wispy black beard, because he is obeying the ritual and not shaving during the 30 days after the deaths of his sons and his ex-wife, his best friend since he was 16.

The television is on, but muted. A colt runs silently through a field. The album cover of Pink Floyd's "The Wall" is propped near Mr. Ohayon's stereo.

Mr. Ohayon, who works as an editor for Israel's Channel 2 television, talks about strangers' pitying glances when he buys cigarettes. He talks about watching parents with their children on the platform as he catches a train, one of his sons' favorite excursions. He talks about picking out small tombstones.

"I had to go and see rocks and say, 'Wow, this rock is exactly for my son. This stone is exactly what Noam would like.' " There was not enough space for the lines he wanted inscribed.

He has not returned to work, because his job requires his total concentration. "If I'm concentrating, I'm afraid I'll forget my kids for 15 minutes," he says, "and it frightens me." He is scared all the time now.

Mr. Ohayon has developed a roll of film he found after the boys were killed. The pictures show the boys on vacation in Eilat: clowning with Popsicle sticks, sleeping curled up together on a bed. In one grinning pose, Noam reveals a missing front tooth.

In his sorrow, Mr. Ohayon has started thinking about how to solve the conflict. Asked about politics, he talks about fences. On the table before him is a two-year-old report by the Israeli comptroller about the risks of a fence along the West Bank. With bitterness, Mr. Ohayon says that while politics delayed the project, those risks -- international criticism, increased suicide attacks -- were realized anyway.

He has concluded that Israel is stuck, rotating governments as it has oscillated for the last 10 years between left-wing and right-wing solutions, both of which have failed.

There must, he suggests, be a third option. Otherwise Israel is waiting for "a thousand funerals" -- for a terrorist attack so devastating that the military would respond with overwhelming force. That attack, he muses, could be 30 seconds away.

So why wait? "To solve the problem means thinking about us," he says. "Not what we are willing to give, but what we want for ourselves. Not giving 20 percent of the territories for their promise not to kill anyone outside the Green Line, not to give 50 percent of the territories for their promise to stop terror, not to give 90 percent for their promise for peace. We should stop thinking about giving, and start thinking what do we want for ourselves."

Pain appears to be hardening Mr. Ohayon, as it is hardening many on the other side of the wall that is taking form.

Israel could hold on to the territories, Mr. Ohayon suggests, and accept three million Palestinians within those borders, or draw the line some place else. "But," he said, "Make a border, not a fence that makes little ghettos."

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## Graphic

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Photos: Avi Ohayon, right, mourning members of his family killed in an attack on Kibbutz Metzer. (Rina Castelnovo for The New York Times)(pg. A1); A Palestinian man, Fathi Ammar, and his son Anas riding through the construction site for Israel's wall near the village of Qaffin. The mayor of the village says the wall, which cuts through Qaffin's olive groves, will block the villagers from 60 percent of their land.; Near Qalqilya, on the West Bank, Israel has built part of its separation wall, seen at left from the Palestinian side. At Kibbutz Metzer, right, Doron Lieber stands next to a fence erected after an attack that killed five people. (Photographs by Rina Castelnovo, for The New York Times)(pg. A13) Map of Israel shows the location of Kibbutz Metzer: Israel's wall will separate Kibbutz Metzer from Qaffin, a Palestinian village. (pg. A13)

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