

Date and Time: Thursday, May 2, 2024 6:09:00 PM EEST

Job Number: 223358026

Documents (100)

1. [ARAFAT'S HOLY WAR IN PIECES](#)

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, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

2. [NEWS BRIEFS](#)

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, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

3. [Intifada's children: picking up the pieces](#)

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, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

4. [From World Pariah to Statesman: Arafat's Four Decades of Struggle](#)

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, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

5. [LEBANON FIGHTING DEFIES DIPLOMACY AFTER DEATH OF 75](#)

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, 1987 to
Dec 31, 1997

6. [*A POLICE FORCE UNDER SUSPICION < MANY PALESTINIANS LIKEN THEIR OFFICERS TO THE ISRAELIS THEY REPLACED.*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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News

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Dec 31, 1997

7. [*In seeking order, don't forget about liberty*](#)

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, 1987 to
Dec 31, 1997

8. [*What can we do to stop the madness?*](#)

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, 1987 to
Dec 31, 1997

9. [*Melting pot blows its lid*](#)

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, 1987 to
Dec 31, 1997

10. [*Timeline for 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, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

11. [THE NEWS IN BRIEF](#)

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, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

12. [THE NEWS IN BRIEF](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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News

Narrowed by

Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

13. [THE NEWS IN BRIEF](#)

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, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

14. [Islam: A hedge against evil?: More than a religion, it is a civilization animated by a common spirit far more humane than the West realizes](#)

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, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

15. [THE NEWS IN BRIEF](#)

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, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

16. [Islam: A hedge against evil?: More than a religion, it is a civilization animated by a common spirit far more humane than the West realizes](#)

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, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

17. [THE NEWS IN BRIEF](#)

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, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

18. [Ticking towards disaster; The West is ignoring all the signs that the Middle East is about to explode, says Robert Fisk](#)

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, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

19. [THE NEWS IN BRIEF](#)

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, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

20. [THE NEWS IN BRIEF](#)

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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21. [The News in Brief](#)

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, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

22. [MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT: THE PALESTINIANS; How Palestinian Policemen Were Drawn Into the Conflict](#)

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, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

23. [Intefadeh started with market stabbing; Uprising seen as both protest, terrorism](#)

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, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

24. [MIGRANTS RESHAPING ISRAELI LABOR< BORDERS SEALED, PALESTINIANS LOSE JOBS TO LOW-PAID FOREIGNERS.](#)

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, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

25. [THE NEWS IN BRIEF](#)

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, 1987 to

Dec 31, 1997

26. [THE NEWS IN BRIEF](#)

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, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

27. [THE NEWS IN BRIEF](#)

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, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

28. [THE NEWS IN BRIEF](#)

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, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

29. [THE NEWS IN BRIEF](#)

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, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

30. [THE NEWS IN BRIEF](#)

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, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

31. [THE NEWS IN BRIEF](#)

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, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

32. [ISRAELI ARMY SAYS SECURITY WAS LAX AT MASSACRE SITE](#)

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, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

33. [THE NEWS IN BRIEF](#)

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, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

34. [Dialogue is no longer enough ; Muslims in the Arab world are despairing of the West's attitude to them, argues Robert Fisk](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

35. [Stalked by the shadows of history; Britain , once a safe haven for European Jews, now has the worst record for anti-Semitic attacks, writes Peter Popham](#)

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, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

36. [Blown to pieces in the name of Allah; At his funeral, Anwar Aziz's young widow smiled and said: 'My happiest time was the day of his martyrdom'](#)

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, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

37. [Blown to pieces in the name of Allah; At his funeral, Anwar Aziz's young widow smiled and said: 'My happiest time was the day of his martyrdom'](#)

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, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

38. [Harsh Tone Of Campaign Becomes Issue](#)

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, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

39. [Palestinians' faith even stronger for their suffering](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

40. ['Of course we want peace. But how do we get it?': Israelis will go to the polls tomorrow with the bus bomb atrocities uppermost in their minds. Patrick Cockburn returns to the Jaffa road in Jerusalem, scene of the carnage in March, to gauge the mood of ordinary voters](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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News

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41. [AARP is making a mistake in lending its name to HMOs](#)

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, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

42. [Lust to the left of us, lust to the right: A liberal reveals why he loves those right-wing babes](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

43. [November 4th, 1995: A Jew Assassinates Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin](#)

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, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

44. [August 9th, 1995: Montreal's Biker War Claims The Life Of An 11-year old boy](#)

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, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

45. [Shameless in Gaza](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

46. [*Giving peace a chance*](#)

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, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

47. [*USF sees academic freedom where others see poor security*](#)

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, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

48. [*Nowhere to Go: The Palestinians After the War*](#)

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, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

49. [*Hatred disfigures Promised Land*](#)

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, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

50. [*LETTERS FROM THE PEOPLE*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Content Type
News

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Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

51. [*Jabs Are Sharp but Familiar In New Jersey Senate Debate*](#)

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, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

52. [*Society seems confused about babies and abortion*](#)

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, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

53. [*Top stories of the year*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

54. [*Mideast intrigues play out at USF*](#)

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, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

55. [*Hebron Massacre: Israelis can be terrorists too; The litany of Middle East atrocities, says Robert Fisk, reveals a double standard over 'enemies of peace'*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

56. [*OUR FIGHT IS RIGHTEOUS*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Dec 31, 1997

57. [LETTERS](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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58. [Upbeat mood belies intifada sacrifices: After a year of rebellion, Palestinians rate their achievements above their losses](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Dec 31, 1997

59. [The Contemporary Collector's Art](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Dec 31, 1997

60. [The Accountant Is a Terrorist](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Dec 31, 1997

61. [Critics say rights lost in terror fight](#)

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, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

62. [*THEATER: Theater on the Verge in the Middle East; Palestinian Drama Is An Expression Of Identity, 'Even Sanity'*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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63. [*MIDEAST ACCORD: THE OVERVIEW; ISRAEL AND P.L.O. REACH ACCORD TO TRANSFER WEST BANK AREAS*](#)

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, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

64. [*MIDEAST ACCORD: THE OVERVIEW; ISRAEL AND P.L.O. REACH ACCORD TO TRANSFER WEST BANK AREAS*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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News

Narrowed by

Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

65. [*WINNERS IN THE WIND!; DONCASTER BREEZE-UP SALES PREVIEW*](#)

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, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

66. [*A SON OF ISRAEL : Rabin's Assassin -- A special report.; Belief to Blood: The Making of Rabin's Killer*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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News

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Dec 31, 1997

67. [TOURISTS FLOCKING TO SAMPLE THE DELIGHTS OF CAPE TOWN DON'T SEE THE SUBURBAN WAR BETWEEN GANGS AND VIGILANTES OUT TO DESTROY EACH OTHER, MARY BRAID WRITES.; ERNIE "LAPEPA" PETERS RIGHT, AT A FUNERAL: PAGAD SAYS THE NEXT ONE HE ATTENDS WILL BE HIS OWN, BUT HE SAYS HIS TIME HAS NOT COME YET.](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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News

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Dec 31, 1997

68. [MEDIA OUTLETS: LISTED ALPHABETICALLY](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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News

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Dec 31, 1997

69. [ACTION ON FOAL FRONT; FOALS ON OFFER](#)

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, 1987 to
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70. [Algeria in Ferment -- A Special Report.; In Algeria , Hope for Democracy but Not Economy](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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News

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Dec 31, 1997

71. [SOUTH AFRICA 'S GUILTY SECRET; These days tourists are flocking to sample the delights of CapeTown. But in the suburbs a war is raging between local gangs and the vigilantes out to destroy them](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

72. [Arafat's homeland](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

73. [1995: An Eventful Year](#)

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, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

74. [The Islamist Who Runs Turkey , Delicately](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

75. [Despite GOP complaints, our civil justice system works](#)

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, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

76. [TALENT ON DISPLAY; FRENCH RACING AND BLOODSTOCK; ANDREW CAULFIELD, THE SPORTING LIFE'S BLOODSTOCK EXPERT, ON THE STAR ATTRACTION S AT THE AGENCE FRANCAISE YEARLING SALE](#)

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, 1987 to
Dec 31, 1997

77. [THE TRIALS OF A PEACE SEEKER -- A special report.; Terrorism Forces Peres From Brink of Triumph](#)

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, 1987 to
Dec 31, 1997

78. [BULL MARKET FORECAST FOR TRADE IN FOALS; TATTERSALLS' DECEMBER SALES PREVIEW](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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News

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Dec 31, 1997

79. [Outside In](#)

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, 1987 to
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80. [TWA FLIGHT 400: WAS IT ANOTHER MASSACRE?](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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News

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81. [TRAVEL / Christmastime for everyone; In Japan it might mean a celebration in a hotel bed. In Russia it's merrier than it used to be. Our correspondents report on how it's marked and marketed around the world](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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News

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82. [LOTS AND LOTS TO OFFER; KAREL MIEDEMA RUNS THE RULE OVER THE STALLIONS WHOSE PROGENY WILL BE ON OFFER AT THE NATIONAL YEARLING SALE NEXT MONTH](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

83. [Passion Set in Stone](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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News

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84. [WHY NEGATIVE ADS ARE GOOD FOR DEMOCRACY](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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85. [ARAZI'S ATTRACTIVE SQUAD; FRENCH RACING AND BLOODSTOCK](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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86. [Out of America : Spartan Senate wages war on the free lunch](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Dec 31, 1997

87. [MANAGER SQUARE; IN THE MUSLIM CITY OF BETHLEHEM](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1987 to
Dec 31, 1997

88. [MAGIC IS SENDING A HIGH; PREVIEW OF THE TATTERSALLS BREEZE-UP SALE AT NEWMARKET
ON TUESDAY AND WEDNESDAY](#)

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, 1987 to
Dec 31, 1997

89. [TEMPTING PRIZE AWAITS; THE ST LEGER YEARLING SALES PREVIEW; ANDREW CAULFIELD
PREVIEWS THE ST LEGER YEARLING SALES AT DONCASTER](#)

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, 1987 to
Dec 31, 1997

90. [Year-end chronology](#)

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, 1987 to
Dec 31, 1997

91. [TATTERSALLS PREVIEW: OFFERING UP A PLETHORA OF TALENT; ANDREW CAULFIELD SORTS
OUT THE POSSIBLE STAR ATTRACTIONS IN THE MAMMOTH OCTOBER YEARLING SALE](#)

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, 1987 to
Dec 31, 1997

92. [ALZAO HOLDS STRONG HAND; TATTERSALLS OCTOBER YEARLING SALES PREVIEW; ANDREW CAULFIELD RUNS THE RULE OVER THE LOTS ON OFFER AT NEXT WEEK'S OCTOBER YEARLING SALES](#)

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, 1987 to
Dec 31, 1997

93. [Soldier's death blamed on Hamas](#)

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, 1987 to
Dec 31, 1997

94. [ARAB BOMBERS WERE DISGUISED AS 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, 1987 to
Dec 31, 1997

95. [LETTERS TO THE EDITOR](#)

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, 1987 to
Dec 31, 1997

96. [Timetable of Bomb terror;100 are slaughtered as Israel shells women and children in UN base](#)

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, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

97. [Palestinians Reject Israel 's Crackdown 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, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

98. [Arab man runs down tourists](#)

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, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

99. [Reprisal fears grow after Arab kills female Israeli soldier](#)

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, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

100. [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, 1987 to Dec 31, 1997

ARAFAT'S HOLY WAR IN PIECES

Sunday Herald Sun

February 5, 1995 Sunday

Copyright 1995 Nationwide News Pty Limited

Length: 2853 words

Byline: HATTERSLEY R

Body

THE rain began at noon and by six o'clock the streets of Gaza City were under 60cm of water. Wild cats, wet and miserable on the islands of high ground, arched their backs and hissed whenever a rat from the overflowing sewers splashed into the water. Outside the offices of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, police and militiamen sat, machineguns across their knees, under a canvas awning, smoking and staring silently into the night. The dozen soldiers who stood in the foyer of the PLO headquarters shifted from foot to foot. All of them were generals. A soldier who brought out coffee offered the first cup to an elegant, grey-haired man who, suitably refreshed, delivered his message: "Call him Mr President. That would be best; Mr President." Yasser Arafat, President of the Palestinian Interim Self-Government Authority, stood at the far end of the room. His brown uniform was decorated with two metal badges, the shoulder flash of the Palestinian Army and the three pens which he always carries where a sergeant wears his stripes. The black and white cravat matched the carefully arranged keffiyeh under which, his detractors say, he is tonsured like a monk. Underneath the famous stubble, his face was an unhealthy white - a pallor which his supporters say is the result of an 18-hour working day spent in the artificial light of his shuttered office. His hands were whiter still - small, soft as a woman's and carefully manicured. At the other end of the cramped office, his bodyguard made room for the assorted soldiers and civilians who had been invited to hear the leader's progress report on the foundation of an autonomous, but not yet independent, Palestine.

Arafat spoke in almost perfect English. "First of all, you must remember one thing. It is Palestine which is paying the price of peace. Everybody else is receiving the price of peace." Perhaps it was a mistake to follow so dramatic a declaration with a general question. But it is difficult to adjust to Arafat's unique physical attribute: his eyeballs are on springs. They dart out of their sockets for emphasis, then retreat back into his skull. He paused before beginning to explain why, after 50 years of unrelenting hatred, he had decided to give peace a chance. Then he gave a 20-minute description of Middle East politics since 1945. It veered wildly between boasts about war to the death and stories of attempts at compromise. As long ago as 1974, the PLO National Council said it would accept authority over whatever corner of Palestinian territory the Israelis were prepared to relinquish. And five years later Arafat accepted the inevitability of negotiating with Israel. His enemies now claim he has sold out. Some very senior officials of the PLO, including the Foreign Minister, chose to remain outside Gaza, arguing the PLO executive should not be held in the still-incomplete state of Palestine. It is difficult to imagine how Arafat can hope to run a country when its Government is not even home. Yet, unless he can hold it together, there will be civil war in Palestine. The campaign to win back Palestine for the Palestinians began more than 40 years ago, long before Israel occupied the West Bank of the Jordan. So Arafat is entitled to feel some satisfaction that he is home at last. But he shows no sign of joy. At each stage of the peace process - the Madrid discussions, the secret meetings in Norway and the consummation on September 13, 1993, on the White House lawn - he made concessions. And now they are being held against him by his own people. For Arafat it has been better to travel than to arrive. His account of the long campaign is dominated by attempts to vindicate his own record. His attempts at peace have been, he insists, "sabotaged by the American Jewish lobby who brought pressure to bear on President (George) Bush". His hatred of

ARAFAT'S HOLY WAR IN PIECES

"American Zionists" seems far greater than his animosity towards Israel. "Without them, we could have had peace years ago. So much more would have been done." All around him there is bitter disappointment, and the disillusion is rapidly turning into despair. Inside the Gaza Strip and on the West Bank, Hamas and the Islamic Jihad - both responsible for two recent bombings in Israel which have claimed dozens of lives - claim only they now speak for radical Muslims. Palestinian refugees spread across the Middle East fear that they will be left to rot in their camps while Arafat does business with the old enemy. Professor Edward Said, one of the many distinguished Palestinian expatriates who monitor Palestine's progress from abroad, broadcast his judgment on a year of peace from New York. Arafat, he said, was "perpetuating Israel's occupation by other means". Arafat knows that the first year home ought to have been different. His complaints about how bad things have become are the responses of a politician who knows that he does not control the country that he governs. "Unemployment in Gaza is 58 per cent. On the West Bank it is 52 per cent. Our schools have 65 children in each class and every school has two shifts - one class in the morning and another in the afternoon. We have 0.6 hospital beds for every 1000 population." He reels off the depressing statistics with the facility which comes from regular repetition. "We were promised \$700 million of aid last year. So far, \$68 million has arrived." Some of Arafat's enemies attribute the horrors of life in Gaza to the PLO's administrative incompetence. Even his once-faithful lieutenant, Ms Hanan Ashrawi, admitted "Arafat's whole life was turned upside down by the Oslo and Washington agreements". "Overnight, he was required to transform himself from a revolutionary into something he had never been before," she said. Perhaps the transition from revolution to government was too difficult to be accomplished in a single year? The eyeballs advanced to demonstrate anger. "WHY do they never say this about (South African President Nelson) Mandela? Why did they not say it about (first Kenyan Prime Minister Jomo) Kenyatta?" Under British rule, Palestinians went to "many Arab countries and became important administrators". "There is no shortage of talent. The time has come for them to return. And so they would. But Israel will not let them in." He shrugs to signify disbelief at the wickedness of his enemies. The idea of protesting to Israel is dismissed as naivety. "I told you. They say security. Security excuses everything." He warms to this theme. "They do not want me to succeed. They will not have elections, though the agreement said they must be held. They knew that before elections are held they must give us the proper borders. We cannot have elections in half of Palestine." Had the President tried to put diplomatic pressure on Israel? "Who would do that? Who do they listen to?" America seemed the obvious possibility. "America? You are joking?" The suggestion that the US had a special responsibility for making the peace plan work was cut short after mention that America had "sponsored" the 1993 peace agreement. The small, white hands clenched into fists and beat the table. "The Americans sponsored nothing. I sponsored it. Me. Nobody else." To claim credit for the success of 1993 is to accept at least some of the blame for the failures of the previous 40 years. Would the journey to Madrid, Oslo and the White House lawn have taken so long had he chosen a different route? The answer was a categorical "No". He felt no remorse for the bombs in the buses, the old women caught in the crossfire, the airline passengers killed in hijacks and the children whose lives were sacrificed in impotent demonstrations against Israeli tanks and armored cars - 18,000 Israeli deaths in all. Does he resent, or is he surprised, that the world still thinks of him as a terrorist? "You say terrorist. What about the terror against the people of Palestine? What about the deaths from starvation and bombing in the refugee camps. For your information," the eyeballs turned into antennae, "72,000 of my people were killed or wounded. That was terrorism. We were not terrorists. We were at war." There is a strange irony in the claim that Israel is hell-bent on genocide. But Arafat is too passionate in his hatred to think of such subtleties. "They wanted to wipe out the PLO. They wanted to do it in Lebanon and they wanted to do it in Tunis. At first, when we were in Beirut, (former Israeli Defence Minister Ariel) Sharon wanted to capture me. He wanted to catch me in a net and fly me out, hung from a helicopter. Yes, he did. He did it to other PLO leaders. In a net hanging from a helicopter." When he arrived in Beirut (in 1982) he sent me a message. He was willing to let all Palestinians out of Lebanon. Unarmed. Waving the white flag. When we said 'no', he decided on genocide. "The PLO evacuation of Beirut in August 1982 remains one of the 20th century's most memorable images. The lorries which carried the defeated army to the docks were cheered every mile of the route - for the Lebanese people were delighted to see them go. The PLO has caused far more death and destruction in Lebanon than they had been able to inflict on Israel. Before the withdrawal had been negotiated, had the PLO soldiers never feared that they would all die and the dream of free Palestine would die with them? "Not at all. The Syrian brigade said that we had no hope and asked, 'How is resistance possible?' But I never doubted. You will recall what I said at the time. 'We are smelling paradise.' That is what I said." Arafat's official spokesman corrected the translation. "The winds of paradise are blowing. That is what you said." That ambiguous phrase might, at the time, have meant that they would die in a good cause. Arafat added: "I have been ready to give my life for Palestine since I was 16." He then gestured around

ARAFAT'S HOLY WAR IN PIECES

the room. I AM not the only one. These men, too. All their lives. They have given everything since they were young men. Arafat rarely talks about his childhood and adolescence, and only the bare facts have ever been recorded. He was born in Cairo, in 1926, the son of a Palestinian merchant. His mother died when he was five and he was brought up as part of his uncle's family in Jerusalem. It was not a happy boyhood. When he returned to Egypt to study engineering, the legend began to take shape. Thanks to his childhood piety, which had inspired him to read the Koran for three hours each day, he was attracted to the fundamentalist Muslim Brotherhood. But most of his revolutionary zeal was displayed in the student movement. He specialised in the dramatic gesture. The message "Don't forget Palestine" that he sent to the President of Egypt was written in his own blood. He remembers with particular pleasure the second-hand tank he bought as a symbol of the need for Arabs to re-arm. "It was a very old tank. German. The dealer let me have it very cheap. He was a sympathiser, a Palestinian. We put it outside the office of the Arab League." When Colonel Nasser came to power in Cairo, the Muslim League was suppressed and Arafat (at a student conference in Czechoslovakia) was warned it would be unwise to return to Egypt. He spent the next seven years in Kuwait, initially practising his trade as a civil engineer and eventually as a partner in a building company. His critics claim that he became a millionaire, but squandered his fortune on high living. The nearest he has come to such an admission was reported in Playboy magazine. Apparently, when in Kuwait, he owned four cars - two Chevrolets, a Volkswagen and a Thunderbird. These days he refuses to discuss it. "I was a human being and I did what human beings do," was all he would say. The next indiscretion he was prepared to admit was marriage in 1984, at the age of 60, to Suha Tawil, who was 26. Arafat himself must take most of the blame for his wife being regarded as a distraction from his work. For three years after the wedding, he would not confirm that it had taken place, and he now refuses to talk about the wife who sees him once or twice a month. No one who knew him as a young man, after his return to Cairo from Kuwait, can recall anything about his social life. All they remember is the politics - particularly the fearless condemnation of the old Arab regimes, which he regarded as corrupt and in the pockets of the British. In 1955 he turned his public wrath on Col. Nasser. Israel retaliated against Arab sabotage in Jerusalem by destroying an Egyptian army barracks in Gaza. The reinforcements sent to rescue the garrison were wiped out. Forty years later, Arafat still describes the feelings of humiliation which followed the Gaza raid as a "turning point - one of the times when I began to know what I must do". It is not surprising that Arafat was - and remains - unloved by other Arab leaders. His supporters disrupted the authoritarian calm of their regimes. The presence of large groups of his followers within their borders makes them vulnerable to attacks from Israel. And the demand for an independent Palestine slows progress towards a comprehensive Middle East settlement. It is not so long ago that King Hussein of Jordan thought Palestine belonged to him. And Syria regards reclaiming the Jewish settlement of Golan Heights as more important than creating a new nation on the banks of the Jordan. He has been attacked by Arabs as often as he has been assailed by Israelis. But he is reluctant to admit it. "They supported me. They always supported me." Reminded of his record - expelled from Beirut and Libya, bombarded by the Syrians, outlawed by the Egyptians and shelled by the Jordanians in their capital, Amman - Arafat mutters: "It is a big story." Then, in a moment of sudden frankness, he provides a resume of the complicated plot. "Some of the Arabs were not willing to have an independent Palestine state which would change the whole picture in the area." Was it his disenchantment with the old regimes which prompted his potentially self-destructive support for Saddam Hussein's 1991 invasion of Kuwait? Two possibilities have been suggested. One of them is pressure from the extremist rank and file of the PLO. The other is a spasm of fellow feeling for the one Arab leader who was prepared to defy the US. Arafat affected bewilderment. "But I was always against the Gulf War. It was destructive of Arab unity."

So what do the Palestinians need to give them hope that there is a better solution to their problems than civil war? "End the settlements. It was invasion and the invaders must withdraw. Let me remind you that they are still trying to drive us out . . . they are sending Christians to Gaza. It is not the Jewish homeland at all. It is anything to drive us out." Of 450,000 settlers, 150,000 are Christians. We know because the churches are full. "If progress is further delayed, we will suffer more. We will not surrender." The President is confident of his ability to withstand the onslaught and intrigue of the men who, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin says, are "killing Israelis for the purpose of killing the peace process". And he has no sympathy with Rabin's insistence that "peace has no meaning without security". "Rabin talks of security, but he makes security impossible," Arafat said. "To keep peace in such countries as Palestine, you need one policeman to every 100 people. That would mean a Palestinian police force of 24,000 men. Yet the Israelis will only allow 6000. HOW can that be the 'strong police force' required by the Declaration of Principles? They want it all to break down. But we will not let it happen." Some certainly hope not.

ARAFAT'S HOLY WAR IN PIECES

Elias Freij - the PLO (and Christian) Mayor of Bethlehem, whose judgment is respected by even the Israeli Government - has said: "Were it not for Arafat's prestige, authority, intelligence and wisdom, the Oslo (peace) accords would not have been signed." He added that "if the peace process goes, Arafat goes with it. And if Arafat goes, the future would be terrible". The President led the way back into the vestibule. The generals, still standing about in much the same positions they had occupied two hours earlier, took virtually no notice. One of them was called over. It was General Nasser Yussuf, Chief of Police, and, according to gossip, the man who was urging a showdown with the fundamentalists. He was confident: "Everything is under control." There had been a small demonstration that afternoon, but it was only the "relatives of men who had been imprisoned earlier in the week". **Hamas** was "not a threat". The Islamic Jihad had "very little support". He asked if I could return the next day when I would see "how everybody supports the Chairman". But the next day the crowd which spilled out of the Islamic Mosque demonstrated against Arafat, and General Yussuf's police opened fire. Fourteen Palestinians were killed. The rioting went on for two days. In his Independence Day proclamation, Arafat predicted this year's celebrations would be in Jerusalem. But it has taken the Jews 12 centuries to keep their traditional saying of "Next year in Jerusalem" and it is a privilege they will not be giving up easily. - MAIL ON SUNDAY END OF STORY

Graphic

THE FACE OF TERROR DURING THE 1972 MUNICH OLYMPICS, WHEN ARAB EXTREMISTS MURDERED ISRAELI ATHLETES. PALESTINIAN CONGRESS CHAIRMAN EL SAYED KHALED EL FAHOUM POINTS THE WAY WITH ARAFAT IN 1972. ARAFAT'S WIFE SUHA. THE POPE SHOWS YASSER ARAFAT AROUND THE VATICAN DURING HIS 1988 VISIT TO ROME. YASSER ARAFAT. ISRAELI LEADER YITZHAK RABIN AND ARAFAT SHAKE ON THE PEACE DEAL AT THE WHITE HOUSE, WITH US PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON.

Load-Date: October 1, 2003

End of Document

NEWS BRIEFS

Charleston Gazette (West Virginia)

March 27, 1994, Sunday

Copyright 1994 Charleston Newspapers

Section: News; Pg. P4A

Length: 1329 words

Body

U.S. to try diplomacy to cap nuclear programs

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan _ The odds for success are slim, but the United States appears set to launch a major diplomatic effort aimed at capping the nuclear programs of arch rivals Pakistan and India. South Asia is one of the most volatile regions in the world, and both Pakistan and India have advanced atomic programs that they refuse to open up to international inspectors.

The Asian states have not given any hints that they are ready to make concessions. The Americans appear to be taking the initiative as part of President Clinton's attempt to halt the spread of nuclear weapons worldwide.

The Americans traditionally have had close military ties with Pakistan, and are ready to make an offer: 38 F-16 fighter jets will be sent to Pakistan if it agrees to cap its nuclear weapons program and allow outside verification.

U.S. sanctions would be lifted temporarily to allow Pakistan to take delivery of the planes.

N.Y. tree, 60, killed in construction accident

NEW YORK _ Ashes to ashes, mulch to mulch.

The death of a 60-year-old Blue Atlas Cedar, a victim of a

NEWS BRIEFS

construction accident, brought out dozens of mourners. They bid farewell to a tree's leaving too soon.

About 75 people who attended the funeral Friday listened to someone sing "Amazing Grace." There was a reading of Joyce Kilmer's poem, "Trees." You know the one: "I think that I shall never see A poem lovely as a tree."e"

City Parks Commissioner Henry Stern delivered a eulogy for the tree, a gift from Japan 30 years ago during the World's Fair.

"It was very touching," Stern said. "But the tree will live on. Its cuttings were taken and planted elsewhere in the park."

The 35-foot tree, with its 60-foot branch span, died when a contractor was trying to move it to make way for expansion of the National Tennis Center in the borough of Queens. A total of 180 trees are being relocated.

Synagogue arson shames Germans into protests

BERLIN _ Germans, shamed and enraged by the Passover-eve synagogue firebombing that recalled Nazi pogroms, poured into Luebeck's streets on Saturday, and political leaders urged mass protests.

The attack early Friday, in which neo-Nazis are suspected, charred a room where the city's small Jewish community was to sit down today for the synagogue's first Seder since the Holocaust.

There were no injuries. But the attack wounded the sensibilities of Germans frustrated by a violent minority of Nazi revivalists.

Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel called on Germans to show their disgust with the religious and racial intolerance of rightist militants through demonstrations and candlelight vigils.

"The Germans must make it clear abroad that these attacks are serious, isolated incidents of which we are ashamed," Kinkel told

NEWS BRIEFS

the Bild newspaper. Authorities offered a \$ 30,000 reward.

Rocket kills Afghan mourners at home

KABUL, Afghanistan _ A rocket crashed into a home where mourners were preparing to bury a war victim Saturday, killing nine people. At least 14 others were killed as scores of rockets pounded the capital.

"It's the most rockets we have heard in weeks," said Dr.

Naseer Sahak of Wazir Akbar Khan Hospital, which provided the casualty count.

The latest outburst of fighting between the forces of President Burhanuddin Rabbani and his rivals began Friday evening and lasted throughout the day Saturday.

Hospital workers and witnesses said a rocket slammed into a main market in the center of town Friday, killing six people who were buying fruits and vegetables. As mourners gathered Saturday at the home of one of the victims, a rocket crashed into the dwelling, killing nine people.

Five others died in shelling elsewhere in the city.

"All of these leaders bring fighting to Kabul," said Hajira

Zia, a relative of one of the victims. "Why do they kill civilians

? We are all refugees."

Menendez lawyer solicits money by mail

LOS ANGELES _ Erik Menendez's lawyer has sent letters asking supporters to help raise money for the Menendez brothers' murder retrial.

"If I were rich, I would gladly represent Erik again for

free," Leslie Abramson's letter said. "But the harsh reality is

that I support a family and am already seriously in debt because of the inadequacy of the fee I received to represent Erik in the first trial."

NEWS BRIEFS

The letter adds, "We need to raise over \$ 1 million to finance the case solely with contributions."

Court records show Abramson was paid \$ 790,000 for the first trial, which ended in a mistrial after separate juries couldn't reach a verdict.

Erik, 23, and Lyle, 26, admitted shooting their parents, but said they killed out of fear because of years of abuse. Prosecutors said the motive was greed for the parents' \$ 14 million estate.

The letter, dated March 11, is part of a money-raising campaign Abramson started after the first trial.

Abramson says she she needs more money to stay on the case. A judge denied her request to have taxpayers pay her \$ 100 per hour, up to \$ 250,000, for the second trial.

OPEC freezes oil output after failing to agree

GENEVA _ OPEC agreed to freeze oil production for the rest of the year Saturday after failing to find a formula to cut output and push prices up.

Iranian Oil Minister Gholamreza Aqazadeh called the accord "unfortunate" and criticized rival Saudi Arabia, the world's largest oil producer, for refusing to accept proposals for sizable production cuts to prop up prices.

"This is the best we could have done under the circumstances," said Saudi Oil Minister Hisham Nazer.

Analysts predicted prices would skid at least a dollar or two more a barrel because of the cartel's inability to act.

"This is certainly not the best solution to the problem," acknowledged OPEC Secretary-General Subroto at the end of two days of bargaining at a luxury hotel in Geneva.

With markets awash with oil, prices are hovering near their lowest levels in five years. OPEC oil is selling for more than \$ 7 a

NEWS BRIEFS

barrel below the cartel's \$ 21 target.

Human rights agency to probe police excesses

NEW DELHI, India _ For the first time, India's human rights commission will investigate alleged excesses by police in the northern state of Punjab, where a 10-year insurgency has killed nearly 17,500 people.

The National Human Rights Commission, created last year by Parliament, will send a team to Punjab in April, United News of India said, quoting unnamed officials.

The commission, headed by a retired chief justice of the Supreme Court, also is investigating alleged abuses by troops in the Himalayan state of Kashmir, where Muslim guerrillas are fighting for an independent nation.

Police in Punjab still have sweeping special powers provided to combat guerrillas, even though the Sikh separatist rebellion there has almost ended.

In December, police in the city of Amritsar arrested four women on charges of stealing a purse, locked them in a police station and had the word "pickpocket" tattooed on their foreheads.

Amnesty International, in a report last year, condemned the Punjab police as responsible for the disappearance of dozens of civilians whom Amnesty believes were killed in police custody.

Israeli troops disarm settlers after clash

HEBRON, Occupied West Bank _ In an unusual show of force, Israeli soldiers disarmed and detained several Jewish settlers after a confrontation Saturday at the Tomb of the Patriarchs, where a settler killed 30 Palestinian worshipers last month.

Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, meanwhile, said he would not move settlers out of the tense city of Hebron "at this stage," but hinted he might later.

NEWS BRIEFS

In several neighborhoods in Hebron, soldiers clashed with Palestinian stone throwers Saturday after the army lifted a monthlong curfew imposed to quell protests after the Feb. 25 massacre.

Scores of youths pelted troops from behind barricades made from scrap metal and burning tires. Three Palestinians were wounded by army gunfire.

Soldiers also fired tear gas to disperse several hundred Palestinians gathered at the ruins of an apartment house leveled this week in an army raid, in which three gunmen from the Muslim militant group **Hamas** were killed.

Load-Date: January 31, 1995

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Intifada's children: picking up the pieces

Guardian Weekly

October 31, 1993

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Section: LE MONDE; Pg. 15

Length: 1198 words

Highlight: Gaza's children have been left emotionally disturbed by years of hostilities. Dominique Le Guilledoux reports on the efforts of a group of Palestinian women to repair the damage

Body

NAHIDA, Tahani, Amal and Itedal are Palestinian women who have been striving to counter the effects of war on young children in their community. In 1991, with no peace accords then in sight, they set up a children's centre in the town of Khan Ynis, in Gaza, with the help of the French-run Enfants Refugies du Monde.

The aim of the Al Shuruq Wal Amal (literally: Sunrise, Hope) centre -- a prefab that does its best to look a cut above the neighbouring shanty town -- is to help Palestinian children forget the war. It tries to ensure, for instance, that the pictures they draw are not full of exploding grenades, machine-guns, Israeli soldiers and guerrillas.

Nahida, Tahani, Amal, Itedal and their fellow mothers dress elegantly, some in western clothes, others wear the veil. They are militants who have distributed food to refugee camps, taken part in demonstrations, set up their own women's committees affiliated to various factions making up the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) and, in some cases, been to jail.

"Look, they're beginning to talk about life," says Amal, holding up some of the children's better efforts. A picture by five-year-old Ibrahim shows the Egyptian pyramids, camels and bedouin tents, and one by Myriam, 6, a field of flowers, children, balloons, a car at traffic lights and a grey sun.

But neither Ibrahim nor Myriam could resist sticking a weapon or an explosion in one corner of their pictures. Yet they are "cheerful" images, according to Amal, compared with what they used to depict: death's-heads, hands clawing at barbed wire, or daggers in the shape of Palestine stuck in the middle of a blue star and accompanied by the slogan "Don't die before killing your attacker".

Every day Amal does her best to persuade the children to give up their habit of "signing" their pictures within the various symbols of the Palestinian movement. "Otherwise you got them showing war scenes. They start changing 'I belong to Hamas', 'I belong to Fatah', 'I belong to the PFLP [Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine]', and they scribble all over, or tear up, the drawings of those who aren't on their side."

One day Taha, aged 11, was very tense when he turned up at the centre. Normally a very quiet and thoughtful boy, he started screaming at the other children. He acted violently but refused to say why. In the art classroom he started painting Israeli soldiers and, in the distance, armed and masked Palestinian commandos. In the foreground a soldier was kicking a child.

Intifada's children: picking up the pieces

What had happened was that Taha had been walking along a street when he got caught up in a lash between demonstrators and soldiers. Only with pictures, not words, was he capable of describing what had happened to him.

Ahman, aged 4, could not speak for four days. The women at the centre tried in vain to ask him what had happened. "We took it in turns," says Amal. "It was painful for him, but he eventually told us: one night, Israeli soldiers had burst into his home looking for his uncle. The uncle had tried to escape by scrambling over a wall. The soldiers shot him and he collapsed on to the nails that had been embedded in the wall."

From that day on, Ahman refused to leave the house or be separated from his father. "He even asked his father to go with him when he went from the living room to the kitchen. His father couldn't take any more of it -- he tended to be a violent man. When some children arrive in the morning, you can sense they want to lash out, break things, especially after their homes have been searched. Israeli soldiers can't resist smashing the place up."

Sharif's case was more complicated. He was present when masked Palestinians burst into his home and hit his uncle with iron bars, accusing him of drinking alcohol and smoking hashish, then shot him several times in the knees and dragged him around the room.

With his uncle banished on the grounds he was "a danger to society" and his father serving a 12-year sentence in an Israeli jail, Sharif found himself, aged 12, the only "man" in the family, and responsible for his five sisters, mother and aunt.

"He was panic-stricken. He couldn't concentrate on any activity for more than minute or two. He'd hit other children viciously, trying to hurt them as much as possible. The only colours he used when painting were grey and black. He'd turned into a little grown-up: we had to obey him when he ordered us to pick up his toys."

Amal and Itedal remember the hours they spent trying to reassure Sharif, explaining that he was not the only person in that situation. In the little plays they got the children to perform, they always gave Sharif the part of a conciliator. He ended up playing along with them, and quite enjoyed dressing up as a judge and calming the fury of two people who were at each other's throats. "We could tell he was itching for a fight, but he stuck to his role as an arbitrator. That calmed him down."

Music, drama and toys are used therapeutically. "The children's first reaction when they get a Lego set is to build an army. In the courtyard, one group pretend they are Israelis and the other Palestinians."

The women then try to coax the children to take part in a session where they are encouraged to assemble pieces of wood into bridges and houses. The little fighters become architects and designers, and are forced to work out what they are going to build, whether it be simple or complicated. "But you can see some of them having to restrain themselves from smashing the whole lot up."

"We also try to restore a feeling of security -- which was no easy matter during the intifada, because we ourselves didn't feel safe," says Itedal, who has to feed a family of 12 with her salary as an organiser at the centre. "The schools were often closed. And when they did stay open the children found that although they had escaped the violence of the streets they now had to cope with violence from their teachers. Teachers had little training and had to handle classes of 50 pupils; they often lost control and got into the habit of hitting the kids. Now they want to change their attitude."

THE centre's organisers say that its 300 children have gradually become sociable again and improved their concentration. "They have learnt to shout less and listen to each other; they have learnt autonomy and freedom, though they find it hard to accept rules."

Previously, most kids displayed symptoms of emotional instability, hyperactivity, aggressiveness, anxiety and depression. They suffered from headaches, loss of appetite, enuresis, insomnia and stomach cramps.

Recently the centre was attacked by a commando of Palestinian communists and PFLP members. As the women running the centre cover the whole spectrum of political opinion in the PLO, some of them are themselves

Intifada's children: picking up the pieces

communists and PFLP members. They protested as loudly as the others, with the result that the commando offered to reimburse the centre for what it had smashed.

The women of the Khan Yunis centre believe there is still much to be done: at the meeting they were holding while watching the famous Washington handshake, they decided to open another centre, this time for teenagers.

Graphic

Photograph, Children at a demonstration in Gaza . . . but behind the confident public face lurks insecurity, JIM HOLLANDER

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From World Pariah to Statesman: Arafat's Four Decades of Struggle

Christian Science Monitor (Boston, MA)

September 20, 1993, Monday

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Section: THE WORLD; Pg. 1

Length: 1303 words

Byline: Lamis Andoni, Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Dateline: AMMAN, JORDAN

Body

BEHIND the khaki fatigues, the black-and-white checkered headdress, and the stubbly beard - the trademarks of Yasser Arafat - lies a restless soul determined to go down in history as the savior of the Palestinian people.

But after four decades of struggle, Mr. Arafat has undertaken a series of transformations. Suddenly a respected leader who appears on talk shows with United States senators, he seems untarned by the "terrorist" label that the Israelis used for decades.

He has abandoned his attempt to reclaim all of Palestine from the Israelis and has instead accepted a tiny foothold of autonomy in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank city of Jericho. He calls it a precursor to statehood, but the Israelis say a Palestinian state will never come to pass.

The transformation from fiery revolutionary to pragmatic politician has not altered the dreamer: Deep down Mr. Arafat apparently still believes that every step he takes could pave the way for future Palestinians to reconstruct their national identity in a state of their own.

His unpredictable political style has made him the most controversial Palestinian leader. More than once he has been denounced by Palestinian opposition groups as a pariah and traitor, but these critics have always returned to the umbrella of Arafat's Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), recognizing him as the

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symbol of Palestinian nationalism.

A lifelong struggle

Arafat began his political career while still an engineering student in Egypt. As the head of the General Union of Palestinian Students, he gained the eye of President Gamal Abdel Nasser, who eventually introduced him to Soviet leaders.

In the 1950s Arafat started engaging in military activities against Israel, and at one stage collaborated with the Muslim Brothers, the only political party involved in guerrilla activities at the time. But his focus was on founding a Palestinian resistance movement independent from Arab governments and ideological political parties. Working in Kuwait in the construction business, he made enough money to finance his nascent movement.

Fatah, the Arabic acronym for the Palestinian Liberation Movement, was formally initiated on New Year's Eve 1965 when it launched a military operation against a power station inside Israel.

The aim of the organization was to recruit Palestinians everywhere and launch guerrilla attacks against Israel that would drag the Arab states into a war with the Jewish state to liberate Palestine. Fatah gained momentum after Israel's 1967 defeat of its Arab neighbors.

This defeat proved vital to Arafat's rise. The mass support that Fatah gained after the 1967 war enabled him to take over the PLO, which was created by Arab governments in 1964, giving him increased prominence in the Palestinian cause.

Following the 1967 Israeli-occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, Arafat slipped into the territories, where he spent 10 months living in disguise and recruiting troops for Fatah. Known as Abu Ammar, his nom de guerre, Arafat has always identified himself with Palestinian militancy.

Arafat's original aim was to wage guerrilla warfare from within Israel, but he was forced to flee, he says, when one of his recruits betrayed him. He has continued his battle from bases in Lebanon, Syria, Algeria, Kuwait, and Tunisia.

Over the years Arafat has tried to maintain the PLO's independence from the Arab countries. He has insisted that his aim has been to ensure that Palestinians are able to speak for

themselves.

Arafat turned to diplomacy after 1982, when he was driven out of Lebanon by Israel.

But as early as 1974 he flirted with the idea of a two-state solution for Israel and Palestine. In 1988, when King Hussein of Jordan relinquished his claim of responsibility for the West Bank, Arafat declared his desire to see an independent Palestinian state established alongside Israel.

Ruthless but liberal

Even though there are few who question his dedication, his refusal to concede to demands for collective leadership have alienated many comrades, old and new. Many Palestinian intellectuals charge that he surrounds himself with cronies instead of independent thinkers.

Arafat's leadership style and unilateral decisionmaking are viewed by many PLO officials and analysts as a main factor in the gradual erosion of Palestinian institutions over the years.

No one within the PLO has any illusions about his ruthlessness in marginalizing opposition. He does not hesitate to cut down his critics until they toe the line, and often resorts to dramatics. His tears seem ready to flow at any moment.

But Arafat's outbursts are more often an expression of genuine emotion than a tactic to coerce support. This reporter has seen him on many occasions, privately and publicly, crying over the loss of a comrade or the siege of his people.

Arafat has an uncanny ability to pay attention to those around him. People who have known him for years say they are stunned at how - in the middle of a busy day or night of work - he observes and records the tiniest details. He remembers his guests' personal preferences and detects slight changes in the appearance or mood of those around him.

Not a handsome man in the conventional sense, he can be extremely charming to women. Many Palestinian women in the movement confide in him and take his advice on personal matters.

His claim to be a feminist has some grounds to it. Arafat, or Al-Khityar (the old man), as many Palestinians dub him, is a social liberal who does not share the double standards in judging women's

From World Pariah to Statesman: Arafat's Four Decades of Struggle

behavior that many politicians in the Arab world maintain.

But his liberal approach to women's rights has not led to a greater role for women in the PLO.

Two years ago, Arafat shocked even his friends by marrying a Christian. That angered some Muslims, but to those who know him, religious tolerance has always been one of his strongest points. He has always reserved a seat in the PLO executive committee for a Christian.

As Muslim radicals gain prominence, especially in the Gaza Strip, Arafat has been careful to preserve the secular identity of the PLO - a trait that had enabled the organization to maintain its role as the umbrella for Palestinian Marxists as well as right-wing Islamists.

The leap

The challenge posed by rising Islamist groups such as the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) is considered one of the reasons that prompted Arafat to accept the "Gaza-Jericho first" option for Palestinian autonomy, even though he concedes that it falls far short of minimum Palestinian aspirations for statehood.

Arafat also had lost key financial support, both from the Gulf states protesting his support for Iraq during the Gulf war, and from the fall of the Soviet Union.

His recognition of Israel, on terms that other Palestinian leaders found loathsome, has provoked unprecedented opposition. But Arafat is undeterred. Over the last decade, he became convinced that the Palestinians stood no chance if they did not adapt to the changing world and abandon some of their revolutionary idealism in the absence of real Arab support.

His giant leap landed him a visit to the White House, an event that was unthinkable less than a month ago.

But there he stood, in his military dress and his kaffiyeh (headdress) folded in the shape of Palestine, alongside Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and President Clinton. So long dismissed as an international outcast, Arafat seemed surreal to Palestinian observers.

His supporters and critics alike wonder about the price Arafat has paid for his dramatic moment in Washington. The major

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opposition groups, whose leaders were glued to their television sets, seem perplexed. They have not joined in the calls of his assassination, advocated by two small extremist groups, nor have they labeled him as a traitor.

Arafat has again proved true to his own description of himself and his people: "We are like the legendary phoenix which always rises from the ashes."

Graphic

PHOTO: PLO CHAIRMAN: Palestinians in the Gaza Strip carry a banner depicting Yasser Arafat on Sept. 9, in support of his acceptance of a plan for limited self-rule in the Israeli-occupied territories., FAYEZ/AFP

Load-Date: September 19, 1993

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LEBANON FIGHTING DEFIES DIPLOMACY AFTER DEATH OF 75

The New York Times

April 20, 1996, Saturday, Late Edition - Final

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Distribution: Foreign Desk

Section: Section 1; ; Section 1; Page 1; Column 6; Foreign Desk ; Column 6;

Length: 1492 words

Byline: By SERGE SCHMEMANN

By SERGE SCHMEMANN

Dateline: JERUSALEM, April 19

Body

Despite a flurry of diplomatic efforts to end the fighting, and despite the global outcry over the fiery killing of at least 75 Lebanese civilians by Israeli guns on Thursday, exchanges of shells and rockets in southern Lebanon continued unabated for the ninth day today.

The mass deaths generated a swirl of diplomatic moves to secure a cease-fire, involving, at last count, the United States, France, Russia, the European Union and the Group of Seven industrial nations.

Diplomatic leaders were converging on Syria, which dominates Lebanon and has sanctioned the attacks by anti-Israeli guerrillas there, and also holds the key to reining them in.

Secretary of State Warren Christopher is expected in Damascus on Saturday, along with Foreign Ministers Yevgeny M. Primakov of Russia, Herve de Charette of France and Susanna Agnelli of Italy. Mr. Christopher's chief Middle East coordinator, Dennis Ross, met with Israeli leaders today and is also headed for Syria on Saturday.

There were reports that senior officials of Lebanon, Iran and Hezbollah, the fundamentalist Muslim organization against which Israel staged its attacks in southern Lebanon, met today with Syrian officials in Damascus.

Through it all, the mutual shelling continued. Israeli military officers said their strikes had been scaled down in the aftermath of Thursday's disastrous strike against a United Nations base packed with refugees. But Israeli military and Government leaders defiantly insisted that they had had no choice but to press the fight in parallel with the diplomatic efforts.

Israeli security officials reported that guerrillas of Hezbollah, or the Party of God, had fired 65 Katyusha rockets today, and that Israeli artillery, helicopters and gunboats had shelled targets across southern Lebanon. Gunships reportedly shelled a Palestinian refugee camp near Tyre and the main coastal road near the port.

[Israeli fighter planes struck again early Saturday near villages southeast of Tyre, Reuters reported, quoting local witnesses.]

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Though everyone involved expressed hope for a quick cease-fire, estimates on when one might be reached varied widely. Syrian and French officials spoke of a cease-fire within 24 to 48 hours, and Prime Minister Shimon Peres of Israel said, "It's possible -- it's not certain, but there is a chance."

The Americans, however, were more cautious. "I'd steer you away from any reports that something is imminent," said the White House spokesman, Michael D. McCurry, who was in Moscow with President Clinton.

Mr. Christopher told reporters in The Hague: "I hope we're drawing closer. I use the word 'hope' because we're not quite there."

There was no immediate word on what might be holding up a cease-fire. What was clear was that Israel was determined for now to press on with its military actions and to achieve its goals. Though Israel has never spelled those out in detail, the primary one is to secure a Syrian guarantee that Hezbollah will cease firing rockets into Israel.

Mr. Peres decided to continue the attacks at an emergency meeting of his Cabinet on Thursday evening. There, Foreign Minister Ehud Barak and other ministers argued that Israel would lose any chance of achieving any of the operation's goals if it agreed to halt fire before reaching an agreement, according to Israeli news reports.

Mr. Peres has appeared stern and determined since the killings at the United Nations base.

At his news conference on Thursday night, he declared that he had "sorrow in his heart" over the loss of civilian lives, but he stopped well short of an apology. He insisted that Hezbollah was solely to blame for forcing Israel's hand and for hiding behind civilians, and that Israel was within its rights in attacking a rocket launching site, even if it was near a United Nations base.

Today his chief peace negotiator, Uri Savir, maintained the tough line. "If the Katyusha attacks continue, there will be no cease-fire," he said. "The Syrians are acting like they have tough nerves. This is no doubt a difficult and sad day, but we too have strong nerves."

Mr. Peres and his military commanders insisted that Israeli gunners acted within their standing orders in returning fire after Hezbollah guerrillas launched two Katyusha rockets and eight mortar rounds from a site only a few hundred yards from the United Nations base. Several Israeli artillery rounds slammed into shelters packed with Lebanese civilians.

A military officer said that the Israeli soldiers knew where the United Nations base was, but that their orders were to return fire immediately. Officers insisted that the gunners were not aware of the refugees, and that they had followed standard procedures in warning the Fijian troops to take cover.

But United Nations officials said that the first artillery rounds landed at 2:13 P.M., and that the warning had come only at 2:16 P.M.

Despite widespread dismay among Israelis over the images of shattered bodies and the accompanying chorus of condemnation from abroad, many Israelis seemed to share the Government's conviction that Israel had been left no choice but to act militarily to halt Hezbollah's attacks.

"It hurt me, just like it hurt to see the attacks in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, but we need security," said Orly Jordan, sitting with her husband in their grocery store in Jerusalem. "These people are playing with human lives. What happened was a war, a war of survival. I don't justify it, but there was no alternative."

Others seemed horrified that the Government seemed to be treating the killings as simply the cost of war.

"As Jews, it doesn't befit us to do such things," said an elderly women walking with her grandchildren. "We're not supposed to make war on women and children. I can't turn on the TV and see the scenes. I'm ashamed to see them. It's not enough to say we're sorry."

LEBANON FIGHTING DEFIES DIPLOMACY AFTER DEATH OF 75

Part of the Israeli dismay was a profound disappointment that what was initially promoted as a "surgical operation" that promised to achieve peace without undue casualties or reproaches turned into a debacle in which Israel might be forced to return to where it began, with little to show for the operation.

"Suddenly, everybody woke up to the fact that Lebanon is Lebanon and war is war, that there's no such thing as a clean war," said Hemi Shalev, a commentator for the newspaper Maariv. "I would assume that this has lowered expectations about what can be achieved as a result of the operation. This is probably positive, because expectations were too high."

"The key as usual is the American-Syrian channel, what sort of influence Americans can bring on Assad," he said referring to President Hafez al-Assad of Syria. "It always gets back to the same place."

After similar Israeli attacks in 1993, the United States brokered an unwritten agreement that neither side would strike the other's civilians. Israel opened the current strike after charging that Hezbollah had interpreted the agreement to mean that it could strike at the Israelis from civilian villages, and that any retaliatory Israeli strike entitled the guerrillas to send rockets into northern Israel.

With the current operation, the Israelis hoped to secure firm, written guarantees from Syria against any more Katyusha attacks, coupled with broad curbs on Hezbollah activities. Though Syria has agreed to return to the 1993 agreement, it has insisted that Israel recognize Hezbollah's right to continue fighting against Israel inside the buffer zone, which Israeli has occupied since withdrawing from the rest of Lebanon in 1985.

At The Hague, Mr. Christopher said the United States was working on a two-stage approach: "The first phase is a cease-fire, and the second would be to have a deepening and a clarification of the 1993 understanding and have this written down."

Israeli television reported tonight that France and Russia had prepared another proposal, calling for an immediate cease-fire followed by the disarming of Hezbollah and an unconditional undertaking by Israel to withdraw from Lebanon.

The Israeli Government issued a warning today that Islamic fundamentalist groups might try to take revenge against Israelis and Jews for Thursday's killings. Hamas, the militant Palestinian group that has been responsible for most of the suicide bombings inside Israel, has warned of creating a "sea of blood" in Tel Aviv.

The Government said in a statement, "Given the threats of revenge attacks against Israeli targets following Israeli army activities in Operation Grapes of Wrath in Lebanon, security has been increased at Israeli and Jewish sites abroad."

Israelis were also concerned about a call today to a French news agency in Beirut by a person claiming to speak for a group calling itself the Organization of the Oppressed on Earth. The caller said that the group holds Ron Arad, an Israeli airman missing in Lebanon since 1986, and that he would be executed in 48 hours unless the Israelis stopped shelling. There was no immediate way to verify the claim.

Graphic

Photo: As two Israeli soldiers loaded artillery shells for firing at Muslim guerrilla targets yesterday, a third prepared himself for the Sabbath. (Agence France-Presse) (pg. 6)

Load-Date: April 20, 1996

LEBANON FIGHTING DEFIES DIPLOMACY AFTER DEATH OF 75

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**A POLICE FORCE UNDER SUSPICION < MANY PALESTINIANS LIKEN THEIR
OFFICERS TO THE ISRAELIS THEY REPLACED.**

The Philadelphia Inquirer
APRIL 11, 1996 Thursday SF EDITION

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The Philadelphia Inquirer
Found on Philly.com

Section: NATIONAL; Pg. A01

Length: 1359 words

Byline: Jere Downs, INQUIRER STAFF WRITER

Dateline: GAZA CITY, Gaza Strip

Body

Two years ago, when the Israeli army left Gaza in a hail of stones after almost three decades of occupation, Palestinians talked of turning the hated Israeli military complex and prison in the heart of Gaza City into a museum or a hospital.

But the symbol of Israeli occupation - where rock-throwers of the intifadah uprising were imprisoned behind high stone walls and barbed-wire fences - instead became the headquarters of the Palestinian Police.

"We know it is a bad image for us," said Farid Ibrahim, spokesman for the combined military and police force. "But we have nowhere else to go."

Some in Gaza might not think the site is inappropriate. Welcomed with dancing in the streets when the Israelis left, the police today face considerable hostility from the Palestinian people. They are accused of detaining people without charge, beating political and criminal suspects, and refusing to allow human-rights investigators to see prisoners.

Furthermore, in cooperating with Israel to help combat the recent wave of suicide bombings, Palestinian police have conducted massive roundups of suspected terrorists - a practice all too familiar during the Israeli occupation.

"There is no doubt we have committed some of the worst sort of violations, arresting the people, abusing them physically and psychologically," said Gen. Nasir Yusef, a former general in the guerrilla Palestine Liberation Army who now commands the force. "We want to provide security in the proper manner, and respect the rights of people, but we are under enormous obligation to stop the terror."

It wasn't terrorism that Nasir Nasrullah was suspected of when he was brought to the police station last month. An unemployed father of six, the 27-year-old Nasrullah was arrested after Palestinian police broke up a fight at his house. At the station, he was beaten by an officer who left the imprint of a rifle butt on his cheek, requiring 28 stitches and leaving a disfiguring scar.

A POLICE FORCE UNDER SUSPICION < MANY PALESTINIANS LIKEN THEIR OFFICERS TO THE ISRAELIS THEY REPLACED.

"Not even an Israeli would do this to me," said Nasrullah. "At least with the Israeli police, I know who is my enemy. This Palestinian officer should behave better, for the good of our society."

Human-rights advocates say the police are resorting to tactics they endured themselves during their own time in Israeli-run jails.

"I call it an occupation mentality. They don't know any other method of operating," said Abu Nidal, an investigator for the Gaza Center for Rights and Law. "The violence our society is accustomed to is like a Pandora's box. Once it is opened, you cannot put it away."

While police don't deny wrongdoing, they say they sorely need equipment, training and time to achieve the skills of professional peace officers in a society conditioned to the anarchy of war.

"We want to stop the violations," said Ibrahim. "But we are ignorant of even the most basic police principles."

Ibrahim got some American-style training last year, when he was one of seven officers sent to Philadelphia to learn local police practices. Now, he'd like some American-style equipment: He wants to get Mayor Rendell to donate used bullet-proof vests to the Palestinian force when new ones are purchased.

* Here in the city where Samson pulled down the temple of the Philistines, where ancient stone buildings still stand next to half-built concrete block hotels, the former Israeli jail has long been the seat of power. The compound, which takes up two square blocks in a commercial district of cafes, market stalls, clothing stores and electronics shops, was the headquarters of the British in the early part of this century.

The prison roster tells the story of modern times in Gaza City: Of the 1,100 prisoners being held here last weekend, only about 150 were jailed for actual criminal offenses, from auto theft to drug smuggling.

All the others were political suspects, rounded up in response to Israeli pressure to crack down on terrorists responsible for four recent suicide bombings in Israel.

After that wave of arrests, bands of Palestinian youths threw stones at Palestinian police, the police say.

"People say they are fed up with the occupation, and [that] we are just a new occupation," said Lt. Inas Shalbi. "Our soldiers are used to stopping people with the power of their gun. We have to teach them to stop people with the power of their mind."

The majority of the police belong to the National Security Force, a sort of lightly armed, ramshackle army whose members are former guerrillas of the defunct Palestine Liberation Army. There is a General Security Force, or intelligence service, primarily charged with rooting out terrorist elements in Palestinian society. About 6,000 officers are members of the Civil Police. About a thousand of those are in the **female** corps - headed by a former PLA guerrilla who served 10 years in an Israeli jail after she bombed a movie theater - which performs mostly clerical tasks.

Finally, the Coastal Police can be said to exist, but just barely. Its operations room contains only a desk, two beds and a locker. Its only speedboat sits broken and pulled up on the sand about a half-mile from where sewage from refugee camps spills into the Mediterranean.

In all, the police number 30,000, making the force a significant source of employment in the impoverished Palestinian economy.

* Supporters of **Hamas** and Islamic Jihad - the groups that claimed responsibility for the recent bombings in Israel - may dominate police concerns in the urban slums of Gaza City. But the problems are different in the refugee camps and towns of the rural south of the Gaza Strip.

A POLICE FORCE UNDER SUSPICION < MANY PALESTINIANS LIKEN THEIR OFFICERS TO THE ISRAELIS THEY REPLACED.

There, rates of car theft, smuggling and burglary have risen following the massive unemployment that occurred when Israeli security measures sealed the borders of the occupied territories.

"We have had 20 auto thefts in the two months since Israel prevented our workers from going to their jobs," said Col. Ismael Chafia, commander of Gaza's southern police district.

The mood in Chafia's office is lighter than that in Gaza City. When the colonel described the burglary of an electronics store, for example, he chuckled: "They erased their fingerprints - and everything else - by firebombing the shop." And on the car thefts: "Our people are not very good at crime. One man stole a car in his town and tried to use it as a taxi there."

Since there is no place to store their weapons in the small police complex, Chafia's officers take their machine guns home at night. The limited supply of handcuffs is kept at the station; on patrol, officers simply tie the hands of unruly suspects. Eight officers on motor patrol in a blue Ford Bronco share one radio.

Even in rural areas, though, some crimes have political overtones. Recently, an alarmed Palestinian called police to say his neighbor was heading toward his house with a bulldozer. The driver was trying to seize back land he said belonged to his family before the Israelis demolished their home and drove them from their farm 27 years ago, Chafia said. Both sides were persuaded to hold off taking matters into their own hands, he said, until a Palestinian court can decide the matter.

Everywhere in Gaza, ancient Arab traditions of clan justice complicate police authority.

For example, the officer who beat Nasrullah was punished by the system: He is serving a 90-day sentence for aggravated assault. Nevertheless, Nasrullah seeks a vengeance he says no formal process can satisfy.

"My community will see me as weak until I beat this man," said Nasrullah. "I will revenge eye for eye if it takes my whole life to find him."

In another case, a father in southern Gaza hanged his daughter when he discovered she had committed adultery. He was sentenced to one year in prison.

"We do not consider this to be really a form of murder," explained the local police chief, Mohammed Tito al-Wahed.

Meanwhile, police throughout Gaza try to win respect for the law from citizens who have come to view all officials with distrust.

"People drive right past you when you try to direct traffic," said Maj. Izzedein el-Haddad, as he and five colleagues patrolled the narrow alleys of a refugee camp. "Sometimes they do not realize we are not the occupiers. We are for them."

Graphic

PHOTO;

PHOTO (1)

1. Nasir Nasrullah, who was arrested after Palestinian police broke up a fight at his house last month, still bears the scar of a beating by an officer who left the imprint of a rifle butt on his cheek.

Load-Date: October 28, 2002

A POLICE FORCE UNDER SUSPICION < MANY PALESTINIANS LIKEN THEIR OFFICERS TO THE
ISRAELIS THEY REPLACED.

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In seeking order, don't forget about liberty

St. Petersburg Times (Florida)

April 7, 1996, Sunday

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Section: PERSPECTIVE; LETTERS; Pg. 2D; LETTER

Length: 1500 words

Body

Re: Prayer issue underlines schools' drift from teaching values, by Jerry Waltman, March 31.

Jerry Waltman wrote: "Let us begin with the proposition that order is an essential component of any society. Chaos is simply intolerable. If so, there are only two ways to achieve order: Either it has to be imposed from the top, or the people must impose it on themselves through self-discipline."

While I agree with the proposition as stated, Waltman doesn't address the next step in the logical chain, and by leaping over it he begs the question which divides the camp on issues like school prayer. Namely: How much order is needed to foster a healthy society?

LETTERS

It is misleading to portray the debates over school prayer, "family values," gay rights, censorship of the media, etc., as pitting those who want order against those who want chaos. We should more properly characterize such debates as between those who are more willing to sacrifice liberty for order, and those who are less willing to sacrifice liberty for order.

For every increase in social order is, by definition and implication, a decrease in individual liberty. And once having ceded liberty to the state, it is very difficult to get it back.

Thus, let us begin with a different proposition - that the greatest danger faced by any society is an unbridled state. For every time we "let the camel's nose into the tent," we must be wary. The camel may decide to come in and sit on us, and camels are difficult to move. So we do the sensible thing, and fence off certain areas of our lives, telling the camel "You're not allowed here."

And the First Amendment specifies religion as one of those fenced-off areas where the camel may not enter.

Waltman concludes that "If the principles of piety, justice and a sacred regard for the truth, love to their country, humanity and universal benevolence, sobriety, industry and frugality, chastity, moderation and temperance animated the public schools today, it could well be that the movement for school-sponsored prayer would subside."

And perhaps it would. If we believe thus, let us advocate those values, and not state-mandated religion. For the two have nothing whatever to do with each other. The former is an honest attempt to inculcate (what one believes to be) principles of good citizenship; the latter is an oppressive attempt to enforce one's religious beliefs upon others. One is a permissible expression of social order; the other is an unacceptable denial of individual liberty.

So . . . what are you trying to do, Mr. Camel?

In seeking order, don't forget about liberty

Cris Brown, Clearwater

The Navy's shame

Re: In effort to clean up, Navy betrays justice, commentary by Philip Gailey, and Judge blocks Navy from discharging lesbian sailor, both March 31.

Hold it, Mr. Gailey! Take a look at these two pieces in your paper, please. In your own article you've adopted a somewhat apologist stance with regard to any fallout of shame for perpetrators of the Navy's 1991 Tailhook ugliness. You do say that there is a new air of wariness in the Navy today that careers may be tarnished by even the allegation of sexual harassment.

But you do go on to ignore the fact that there was precious little discipline handed out as a result of Tailhook and that Officer Paula Coughlin, who'd been shorn of her dignity - and, incidentally, her panties - there and was one of many humiliated that day, did eventually have to resign a promising military career. The perpetrators escaped with anonymity and lives intact. Officer Coughlin did not.

Your revered Cmdr. Robert E. Stumpf is indeed reputed to have had a string of outstanding evaluations, but when he went to the shameful Tailhook Convention certainly guilty of knowing about that yearly convention's orgy-like atmosphere, yet "happened to drop by the hotel room" where he was at least approached by a stripper, I have to say "Give me a break!" The fact that he was found innocent of any wrongdoing at the time deserves - no, requires - a reopening of that investigation into his role at Tailhook. He is proud of his Navy? He was there and did nothing to close that sewage tank down? Mr. Gailey, re-examine your myopic take on that picture!

And now, the other story proudly proclaims that a Judge Sullivan has blocked the Navy's attempt to discharge a lesbian sailor! The Navy illegally launched an investigation into this woman's sexual preferences - bad enough. But, again, she is being victimized because she refused the advances of a Navy officer - his response was to throw a drink on her and throw her down on the ground. I ask, why isn't the story "Navy petty officer indicted for assault on a female colleague who refused his advances"? Obviously, the Navy thinks it can worm out of that charge by spitefully charging the victim with (horrors!) being a lesbian - which is legally none of their business anyway!

Navy military women, beware. The message is decoded for all to read: Female U.S. Navy personnel are male sailors' "comfort women"!

Sally Howard, St. Petersburg

Eyes of hate

Although I do not disagree with the column written by Bill Maxwell (Palestinian hatred wells in the eyes of children, March 31) about the Palestinian and Muslim children concerning their suffering, I do feel that he should have included a little bit of history.

Some mention of the 1967 Arab-Israeli war and its cause and results should have prefaced his story. The fact that the territory taken by the Israelis for purposes of survival due to the threats of all the Arab nations required safeguards. Removal of the Arab populations in these territories, unfortunately, was one of these safeguards.

No mention was made of the fact that none of the Arab nations did anything to help these refugees. The only efforts made were to promote hatred for the Israelis. The Jordanians were afraid of the Palestinians and isolated them as did other Arab nations.

In seeking order, don't forget about liberty

If the Arab countries had been successful with their plans, Maxwell would have been looking at Jewish children, if there were any left, and seen the terror and hate in their eyes.

If Maxwell feels the terror caused by Hamas does not reflect the same feelings and anguish by the Israelis, he wasn't looking very hard. Too many of the Israelis were victims of the Holocaust, a much more vicious fate than the Palestinians have endured.

Children are always the most severely affected by prolonged suffering, and I deplore the situation described in his column.

The Palestinian children will never feel good about themselves regardless of what the Israelis do. They will only feel good if their parents and leaders try to eliminate their own hatred and develop a positive and cooperative attitude.

Sumner M. Sapiro, Tampa

We are sorely disappointed with the plaintive column written by Bill Maxwell describing the hatred he observed in the eyes of Palestinian children during his recent visit to Israel and the West Bank. We are offended that he sees fit to recite a litany of Palestinian propaganda. We are angered that Maxwell has seen fit to rewrite history as well.

Maxwell's column is one-dimensional, inaccurate and incomplete. He fails to note that the Palestinians have a responsibility for their situation. Certainly he has observed that African-Americans have demonstrated that they recognize this to be true. As for the Palestinians, it has been said that "they have never missed an opportunity to miss an opportunity." They have rejected many chances for peace. Frequently they have picked the wrong side - Saddam Hussein, for example.

Israel has attempted to help the Palestinians by providing housing, medical care, schools, technical assistance, etc. only to have much of such aid rejected. Meanwhile, despite the Peace Accords, the PLO Charter still has the destruction of Israel as an objective and Arafat continues to use inflammatory rhetoric calling for jihad against Israel.

It is obvious that Maxwell did not bother to look into the eyes of the Jewish children orphaned by the terrorist attacks nor did he bother to look at the Jewish children who sleep in bomb shelters to avoid terrorist bombs. Israel has been the first to acknowledge Palestinian peoplehood. When will the Palestinians acknowledge the reality of Israel?

Norman N. Gross, president,

Promoting Responsibility In Middle East Reporting (PRIMER),

Palm Harbor

It was with deep sadness that I read Bill Maxwell's March 31 column.

The hope of our being able to escape the tribal view toward other humans seems to be a fantasy. How can we overcome prejudice and hatred when the voice of reason is so foreign we cannot express it?

Cannot we see the fear of constant, unknown danger in the eyes of the Jewish children? The children are the pawns in the games men play. The enemies of Israel financed the stone throwing, making it profitable for the young men.

Raking the coals of hatred, Mr. Maxwell, will not clear these children's eyes.

In seeking order, don't forget about liberty

Esther D. Liebler, Port Richey

Load-Date: April 9, 1996

End of Document

What can we do to stop the madness?

St. Petersburg Times (Florida)

December 1, 1992, Tuesday, City Edition

Times Publishing Company

Section: EDITORIAL; LETTERS; Pg. 13A; LETTER

Length: 1313 words

Body

If Europe is not willing or able to stop the slaughter in Bosnia-Herzegovina, is there nothing we can do to ameliorate the suffering of so many refugees? Fifty years from now will we still be saying, "I just didn't know."

The town of Prozor is in a wooded valley along the advancing frontier of the Croatian statelet of Herzeg-Bosne. Until recently it was a town of street cafes with a population of 15,000, a third of them Muslim. Earlier this month almost every Muslim house in Prozor was gutted by fire or destroyed by mortar shell. Shop windows were raked by bullets and their contents looted. Approximately 5,000 people have now disappeared. Though some were seen being removed while under guard, it is assumed that the others have fled to the mountains, been captured or killed. It has been confirmed by the Bosnian Army that there are no Muslims left in Prozor as a result of this "ethnic cleansing."

There are atrocities on both sides. Refugees fleeing the Serbs are now being forced back across the front lines by the Croats. Can we not do something to stop this madness? How can we stand by and watch a people be decimated once again?

LETTERS Kathi Rudawsky, Safety Harbor

Russia unravels

Re: An unraveling Russia also a threat to U.S., by Richard Nixon, Nov. 21.

What is the basis of former President Nixon's incomprehensible call to the American public to "champion" the human rights of Russian-speaking people in the Baltic states? What human rights are being violated there? Why didn't he name even one?

Nixon incredibly is playing right into the hands of Boris Yeltsin, who has concocted the rights issue as an excuse for keeping hundreds of thousands of Russian troops in three sovereign countries, all also members of the United Nations. With unparalleled cynicism, the latter promulgates falsehoods about those who, more than any others, suffered under the country which he today heads: 50 years of systematic ethnic cleansing through killings, deportations and the massive relocation into these countries of thousands upon thousands of Russian workers; 50 years of a genocidal campaign against these nations' language and culture. Having at last emerged from their nightmare, when they take steps to salvage and restore what they still can, Yeltsin - and now Nixon - presume the right to still dictate to them how they should live their national lives.

What is at the core of this veritable smear campaign is the deliberate confusing of human and minority rights with those of citizenship, as if these were synonymous - as if entry into a country must automatically lead to the latter,

What can we do to stop the madness?

as if the question of allegiance itself were immaterial. In the very bastion of democracy - Switzerland - even being born there does not make one a citizen. And, according to the prime minister of Sweden, a Russian national could easier become a citizen of the Baltic country of Estonia than of his own country, which, by whatever standard, could hardly be called undemocratic.

Far from plotting the oppression of its minorities, Latvia, for example, has recently been cited as the foremost of all post-communist states in which Jewish cultural life has seen a rebirth and flowering - and this with the active help and support of the Latvian government itself. How concerned is Yeltsin about the human rights of his own minorities?

It is grotesque to believe that by laying down just, democratic principles for citizenship in their countries, the Baltic governments are creating a threat to the United States. The obvious threat, not only to the United States but to the world order itself, is a Russia which still persists in deliberate disinformation in pursuit of expansionist aims.

Mara L. Ritums, Clearwater

Re: An unraveling Russia also a threat to U.S., Nov. 21.

Richard Nixon has always been a national disgrace, immoral and worse.

Living as he does, at our expense, and using a public forum to inform all the "unemployed" and "under-employed" in the United States that Russia needs U.S. funding is ludicrous: Ridiculous. Not very funny.

A. M. Griffin, St. Petersburg

Stash that trash

I am writing to you about the litter on the Pinellas Trail. I have seen trash, broken glass, cans and plastic. My mom, grandmom and I have been walking on the trail every night, and it makes me mad when I see this. Someone even wrote an obscene message on the trail. But I have also seen turtles, frogs and lots of flowers - even bird tracks where it is not finished yet.

Please, people, take the time to put your trash in the trash can.

Meghan Mello, age 8, Crystal Beach

Not color, but actions

Re: "No forgiveness," Rodney King says, Nov. 23.

I have compassion for all black people who were enslaved, and as a white female I am ashamed of my ancestors' ignorance of the dignity and value of every human, regardless of color. Therefore when I read Rodney King equating his situation to that of the slaves, I was livid.

Comparing his circumstance to that of the enslaved is an insult to his ancestors: They were innocent of wrongdoing - he was not. This free man chose to recklessly drive over 110 miles per hour in a residential neighborhood while high on drugs! Is he sorry for endangering the lives of the families living there? What if an innocent toddler had been brutally run over and killed? Would he still be so righteous? Would we still be so quick to consider him a victim?

It is not the color of the skin but the actions of the man. I believe every human of every color ultimately agrees with that. Excessive force may not be the means to a solution, but neither is a criminal who is not forced to take responsibility for his actions.

What can we do to stop the madness?

Shannon Goodyear, St. Petersburg

Promises, promises

This is in reference to people running for office.

Promises, promises, so many promises. To be able to travel around the country for months before election and say, "I'll give you this, I'll give you that, and I'll do this and I'll do that." It all sounds great - it's wonderful - our country will be fixed in no time.

Now let's keep track of what was done and at the end of four years, we must see the results. If the president failed to fulfill at least 50 percent of what he promised to the people before his election, then there should be no chance for a second term - no lifetime pension or other benefits that come with being president.

Jennie Barnes, Palm Harbor

Looking for leaders

Re: Arafat has been keeping his head down by Jack Payton, Nov. 17.

I commend Payton for presenting facts about the Palestinians that are seldom reported by the media.

Israel has been criticized for being extremely cautious in accepting Palestinian representatives in the peace negotiations. However, as Payton points out, there are reasons for caution. Leaders of the Palestinians, the PLO and, more recently, Hamas, have condoned terrorism and violence not only against their perceived enemy, Israel, but against their own people. They will never recognize Israel's right to exist and will continue to disrupt the peace process through violence and intimidation.

Payton is correct. The Palestinians must look elsewhere for their leaders if there is to be peace in the Middle East.

Randi Crouse, Clearwater

Will he run again?

Re: But does he love the job? by Martin Dyckman, Nov. 22.

Will Gov. Lawton Chiles run again in '94? From what he has shown so far, it would be a waste of efforts and campaign contributions.

Dorothy Patrick, Valrico

Share your opinions

We invite readers to write to us. Letters for publication should be addressed to Letters to the Editor, P.O. Box 1121, St. Petersburg, FL. 33731, (FAX number, 893-8675). They should be brief and must include the handwritten signature and address of the writer.

Letters may be edited for clarity, taste and length. We regret that not all letters can be printed.

What can we do to stop the madness?

Graphic

BLACK AND WHITE CARTOON, Don Addis; A Nazi swastika embedded in the pot of a floral arrangement with a card reading 'A New Germany' and a banner reading 'Happy Reunification'

Load-Date: December 7, 1992

End of Document

Melting pot blows its lid

Scotland on Sunday

October 15, 1995, Sunday

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Section: Pg. 13

Length: 1511 words

Byline: As Its Racial Chasms Widen, America Is Increasingly Becoming Prey To Terrorism, Says Ros Davidson In San Francisco As Its Racial Chasms Widen, America Is Increasingly Becoming Prey To Terrorism, Says Ros Davidson

Body

TOLERANCE in American society will be tested again today when the Million Man March, organised by Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan, takes place in Washington.

Less than a fortnight after the OJ Simpson verdict underscored America's racial rift, thousands of black men are to converge near Capitol Hill for a day of atonement, prayer and inspiration.

Backers say it could be the largest protest meeting since the anti-war demonstrations of the 1960s. Although women are not invited to attend, some leaders of the march hope it will launch the most widespread African-American movement since the days of nationalist Marcus Garvey 70 years ago.

Yet during the last few weeks, controversy over Farrakhan and the men-only format has escalated.

Farrakhan is one of the most divisive figures in US politics.

While 44% of blacks view him favourably, only 3% of whites and 2% of Hispanics agree.

Critics, including some African-Americans, recall that he has made public comments that are viciously anti-semitic, anti-women, homophobic and intolerant of religions other than Islam.

The possibility that he might emerge as a significant anti- government African-American leader this week is hardly comforting for those concerned that the US is becoming overly fragmented.

Indeed the widespread perception, especially among whites, that there is a new racial polarisation feeds the fear many Americans already have: that the democracy which holds their country together is unravelling dangerously.

Although many US citizens have long felt disenfranchised because of race, gender or sexual preference, there has also been a perception of an ideal American-ness, a melting pot that everyone supposedly joined. But with the third millennium just four years away, it seems the dream is increasingly shattered, even for those it had previously benefited.

Farrakhan, who started planning the march in December, has taken centre-stage in the aftermath of political upheaval.

Melting pot blows its lid

Since last November's Congressional elections, Republicans have urged tough restrictions on social spending, especially welfare, and the ending of affirmative action. A surge in racism has been fuelled with anti-black books such as *The Bell Curve* and *The End of Racism*, which depict blacks as inferior intellectually and culturally.

Whether or not black nationalism or even civil unrest increases after today's Million Man March, it is startling that America's racial chasm seems so deep just as domestic terrorism and political extremism are also on the rise. And experts predict that terrorism and hate crimes will become more frequent, at least in the near future, with the dramatic shift of politics rightwards, the end of the Cold War, rapid technological change, the increasing gap between rich and poor, and the breakdown of traditional social units.

The country's psychological climate has already changed because of recent terrorist incidents, says Brian Jenkins, a top terrorism expert at Kroll Associates, one of the world's foremost private investigation agencies.

Indeed it was Kroll, which has worked for the Russian and US governments and major corporations, who was rushed in after New York's World Trade Centre blast to secure the building again.

Prompting the change in mood are the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Centre - supposedly the first strike in a conspiracy to bomb and assassinate until the US changes its Middle East policy - the Oklahoma blast in April, last week's sabotage of the railway in Arizona, and factors such as the Unabomber and the closure of the two main New York airports and the Chicago airport briefly this summer, also because of events in the Middle East. Previously, Americans had seen terrorism as a problem only occurring overseas, although minor incidents have always plagued the US.

Jenkins, a former Green Beret who has advised top US officials including Henry Kissinger and George Shultz, predicts terrorism will increase over the next six to 12 months or so. The World Trade Centre bombing broke an apparent taboo against major terrorism within the US.

And he says the history of terrorism only tells us the second event is more likely than the first.

"We have some difficult years ahead," agrees Jeffrey Simon, author of *The Terrorist Trap; America's Experience with Terrorists*.

The Unabomber and Arizona perpetrators are still at large, while several other events increase the likelihood of attacks - the upcoming trial of the alleged Oklahoma bombers, the sentencing of those convicted in the World Trade Centre bombing, including Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman, and the trials of two outstanding defendants, the extradition of a Palestinian *Hamas* leader arrested this autumn in the US, and the UN's 50th anniversary celebrations next weekend in New York.

For right-wing extremists, the Simpson verdict and today's march in Washington may also be seen as proof of the race war they believe is inevitable. Such polarisation may well exacerbate racist paranoia, although anti-immigrant and anti-black views have roots that are centuries old.

The paramilitary groups such as the Michigan Militia, so infamous in the aftermath of Oklahoma, have grown steadily since the end of the Cold War - with its identifiable external enemy - and after the passage of gun control laws. Indeed in the last two years, militias have sprouted in almost every state.

Members may now number an estimated 100,000, says Noah Chandler of the Centre for Democratic Renewal, which tracks such groups. About a quarter of those are hard-core neo-Nazis, members of the Ku Klux Klan or racist skinheads, according to the Simon Wiesenthal Centre.

'Hate incidents' are becoming more frequent, and are expected to continue increasing, say experts.

Apart from rising racial, social and economic tension, the US has long been an unusually violent country with a homicide and imprisonment rate far higher than any other western democracy.

Melting pot blows its lid

Violent crimes have accelerated in recent years and the US has the widest gap between rich and poor in the West, a gap that has increased since the 1970s, according to studies released this April.

After more than 7,000 hate crimes, in which people are targeted for their race, ethnicity,

gender or sexual preference, were reported in 1992, the FBI started tracking them separately with a specialised task force.

Even before the Oklahoma bombing, federal officials in the western US had also been the target of threats and violence for more than a year.

Members of paramilitary militias and hate groups often believe that the federal government is conspiring with what they call the "New World Order" to take away their land and civil rights. Three weeks before the deadly Oklahoma attack, a bomb ripped out windows in a government forestry office in Nevada.

That same week in Montana, a self-styled militia leader threatened public officials, including two judges, saying: "There cannot be cleansing without the shedding of blood."

As the Million Man March has approached, full-page advertisements in the New York Times have denounced Farrakhan's characterisation of Judaism as a "gutter religion" and his stated admiration for Adolf Hitler. Several prominent black women, including former Black Panther and Sixties activist Angela Davis, denounced him at a press conference on Friday as sexist and bigoted.

Meanwhile the other leaders of today's march, including the Rev Benjamin Chavis of the country's oldest civil rights group, the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, have started to play down Farrakhan's role to shore up support for the event.

As Brian Jenkins of Kroll Associates commented: "The rhetoric of Farrakhan is as worrisome as that of the Michigan Militia."

The wild bunch: America's violent fringe

Hundreds of militias and covert subversive groups exist all over the US. Some are racist; others right-wing, but all claim to be anti-authoritarian. The leading groups are:

Unorganised Militia of the United States: Founded by Indianapolis lawyer Linda Thompson after the assault on the Branch Davidians at Waco.

Claims to have three million members.

Militia of Montana: White supremacist movement founded by David and John Trochmann. Has close links with the ultra right-wing Aryan Nations Church in Idaho.

Northern Michigan Militia: Commanded by former air officer Norm Olson and active throughout the state of Michigan. Membership estimated to be 12,000.

Guardians of American Liberty: Umbrella militia group with members in Texas, Arizona, California and Nevada.

American Citizens Alliance: Affiliated to Florida State Militia, it promotes anti-semitic and racist publications and has warned members to beware of "federal scumbags" infiltrating the organisation.

Lone Star Militia: Texas-based militia run by Robert Spence, self-styled Imperial Wizard of the True Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Claims 11,000 members.

Police Against the New World Order: Underground militia led by John McLamb, a former police officer in Phoenix, Arizona. Allied to white supremacist Populist Party leader James 'Bo' Gritz.

Melting pot blows its lid

Load-Date: October 18, 1995

End of Document

Timeline for 1997

The Gazette (Montreal, Quebec)

December 27, 1997, Saturday, FINAL EDITION

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Section: THE REVIEW; Pg. B2

Length: 1606 words

Byline: THE GAZETTE

Body

Jan. 5.

The Canadian government announces it will apologize to former prime minister Brian Mulroney and pay his legal bills in the Airbus affair. In return, Mulroney will drop his libel suit over statements that he had accepted money to promote the purchase of Airbus jetliners.

Jan. 16

An international tribunal rules that Ottawa's efforts to boost the Canadian magazine industry violate world-trade rules.

Jan. 17

Fifty-seven Canadian peacekeeping troops are accused of sexual misconduct and drunkenness while on duty in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Jan. 24

Guy Paul Morin is awarded \$ 1.25 million from the Ontario government in compensation for his wrongful murder conviction.

Jan. 26

In football's Super Bowl, the Green Bay Packers beat the New England Patriots.

Feb. 4

A funeral is held in Rwanda for Rev. Guy Pinard, a Quebec-born priest who was gunned down as he gave communion at his parish church in a Rwandan village. On the same day, five UN employees looking into human-rights abuses in Rwanda are ambushed and shot to death.

Feb 4

Israeli helicopters collide over northern Israel; 73 soldiers are killed.

Feb. 10

Timeline for 1997

Thousands riot in Albania over collapsing pyramid schemes.

Feb. 19

Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping dies at 92.

Feb. 23

A gunman shoots at tourists at the Empire State Building in New York City. He kills one, wounds six others, then kills himself.

Feb. 26

Celine Dion picks up two Grammy Awards, including album of the year.

Feb. 27

The T. Eaton Co. department-store chain files for bankruptcy protection, saying some of its stores must close.

Feb. 27

Divorce becomes officially permissible in Ireland.

Feb. 28

An earthquake in Iran kills 1,000 people and leaves 40,000 homeless.

March 6

Queen Elizabeth launches the royal Web site.

March 9

Celine Dion wins the Juno Award for best female vocalist.

March 11

The Alberta Tories led by Ralph Klein win the provincial election, taking 63 seats in the 83-seat legislature.

March 20

U.S. tobacco company Liggett, manufacturer of Chesterfield cigarettes, admits that smoking causes cancer and settles with 22 states suing for costs of treating people with smoking-related diseases.

March 22

Five members of the Order of the Solar Temple are found dead after a house fire in St. Casimir, Que.

March 26

Thirty-nine members of the Heaven's Gate cult are found dead in California after a mass suicide.

March 27

Bre-X stock plunges after the news that its Busang mine in Indonesia contains insignificant amounts of gold.

April 15

Timeline for 1997

At Mecca, a fire in a sprawling, overcrowded tent city causes the death of 300 Muslim pilgrims and leaves 1,300 more injured.

April 21

The Ontario government passes a bill to turn metropolitan Toronto into a megacity, which will be the fifth-largest metropolis in North America.

April 30

Mario Tremblay quits as coach of the Montreal Canadiens.

April 22

Manitoba declares a state of emergency because of flooding of the Red River; up to 28,000 people are eventually forced to flee.

May 4

Bre-X Minerals announces that the Busang gold field in Indonesia is virtually worthless as a mine, and that glowing reports of the gold lode appear to have been a hoax.

May 12

Russian President Boris Yeltsin signs a peace accord with Chechnya's separatist leaders. Chechnya's demand for independence, which led to a 21-month war in which an estimated 40,000 people died, is not resolved.

May 16

President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire relinquishes power to rebels led by Laurent Kabila, after ruling Africa's third-largest country for 32 years. The next day,

Kabila declares himself president of "the Democratic Republic of Congo."

May 31

The Confederation Bridge opens, linking P.E.I. to the mainland.

June 1

In an election in France, President Jacques Chirac's centre-right coalition is defeated by Socialists.

June 2

Timothy McVeigh is convicted of the April 1995 bombing in Oklahoma City that killed 168 people.

June 2

Jean Chretien's Liberal party wins Canada's federal election, with a slim majority. The Reform party becomes the official opposition.

June 25

The Russian space station Mir is damaged in a collision with a cargo vessel during a docking attempt.

June 30

Hong Kong reverts to Chinese rule at midnight after 156 years of British rule.

Timeline for 1997

July 8

NATO leaders vote to invite Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic to join the alliance.

July 9

Danielle House, Miss Canada International, is convicted of assaulting a woman in a bar.

July 12

Russell MacLellan wins the Nova Scotia Liberal leadership; he takes over as premier on July 18.

July 17

K.R. Narayanan, a member of India's lowest class, is elected president.

July 20

An IRA ceasefire comes into effect.

July 24

The same Scottish scientists who in February announced the cloning of Dolly the lamb disclose that they have cloned another lamb that carries human genes. This one is named Polly.

July 24

Mayor Pierre Bourque loses his majority on Montreal city council.

July 30

Seventeen people are killed by suicide bombers in a crowded Jerusalem vegetable market.

July 31

Phil Fontaine of Manitoba becomes the leader of the Assembly of First Nations, replacing Ovide Mercredi.

Aug. 12

Ontario Hydro announces plans to close seven nuclear reactors after a report says they are running at minimally acceptable standards.

Aug. 10

Quebec film director Jean-Claude Lauzon and actor Marie-Soleil Tougas are killed in plane crash in northern Quebec.

Aug. 20

Israeli bombers carry out raids against suspected bases of Hezbollah guerrillas in Lebanon, killing civilians, a day after rockets were fired into northern Israel from across the Lebanese border.

Aug. 31

Diana, princess of Wales, is killed in a Paris car crash that also takes the lives of her companion, Dodi Fayed, and their chauffeur, and injures a bodyguard.

Sept. 8

Timeline for 1997

Gordon Stuckless, a former employee at Toronto's Maple Leaf Gardens, pleads guilty to sexually abusing boys at the hockey shrine.

Sept. 14

Canada's nine English-language premiers and territorial leaders develop a plan for consulting citizens on national unity.

Sept. 15

Two popular diet drugs, fenfluramine and phentermine, are withdrawn from the market in Canada and the U.S. after evidence showed that they can cause heart problems.

Sept. 19

Student Diane Falconi of Richmond Hill, Ont., wins a record \$ 21.8 million in a lottery.

Sept. 25

Two agents of Israel's Mossad secret service, carrying Canadian passports, try to assassinate **Hamas** spiritual leader Sheikh Ahmed Yassin.

Sept. 26

Earthquakes in central Italy kill 11 and injure 120.

Sept. 26

Fires in Indonesia spew vast smoke clouds over Southeast Asia.

Sept. 26

An Indonesian jetliner crashes in Sumatra, killing 234.

Oct.. 9

Italian playwright Dario Fo wins the Nobel Prize for literature.

Oct . 13

A bus carrying 48 people on an outing from a seniors' centre crashes in a ravine near Saint-Joseph-de-la-Rive, killing 44, including the driver.

Oct. 26

Jacques Villeneuve becomes the first Canadian to win the Formula One championship.

Oct. 23

The Hong Kong stock market tumbles 10 per cent after three days of collapsing share prices, sparking a financial crisis that will become known as the Asian flu.

Oct. 26

In baseball, the Florida Marlins defeat the Cleveland Indians to win the World Series.

Oct. 29

Plan is announced for a \$ 75-million revitalization for Simpsons on Ste. Catherine St. W.

Timeline for 1997

Oct. 30

British nanny Louise Woodward is convicted of second-degree murder in the death of a baby in Massachusetts.

Nov. 5

Bre-X Minerals declares bankruptcy.

Nov. 10

Russia and China reach agreement on their 4,500-kilometre border, ending 300 years of hostility over the issue.

Nov. 10

Voters choose Mel Lastman to become the first mayor of new megacity Toronto.

Nov. 16

The Toronto Argonauts win football's Grey Cup over the Saskatchewan Roughriders.

Nov. 18

A constitutional amendment that would allow the division of Quebec schools into linguistic rather than religious school boards is passed by the House of Commons.

Nov. 19

Across Canada, mail delivery halts as 45,000 postal workers strike over wages, job security and changes to letter-carriers' routes.

Nov. 19

Bobbi McCaughey, 29, of Des Moines, Iowa, gives birth to septuplets.

Nov 25

An APEC summit of 18 world leaders in Vancouver calls for action on greenhouse gases and the inclusion of human rights on future APEC agendas.

Nov. 26 The inquiry into Canada's blood system says proper safety precautions could have prevented infections from tainted blood.

Dec. 3

Canadian postal workers return to work after federal legislation forces an end to the strike.

Dec. 3

A treaty banning land mines is signed by about 120 countries in Ottawa.

Dec. 11

At a meeting in Japan, 166 countries agree on a treaty called the Kyoto

Protocol to protect Earth's atmosphere by curbing greenhouse gases.

Dec. 12

Timeline for 1997

In a landmark decision on the land claims of British Columbia's Gitsxan and Wet'suwet'en bands, the Supreme Court rules the constitution protects aboriginal title to land.

Dec. 14

Atom Egoyan's film *The Sweet Hereafter* picks up eight Genies.

Dec. 23

Terry Nichols, 42, is convicted of involuntary manslaughter and conspiracy in the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing that killed 168 people.

Dec. 23

Terrorist Ilich Ramirez Sanchez, 48, better known as Carlos the Jackal, is sentenced to life term in Paris for triple murder.

Graphic

Photo:

Photo: Seko

Photo: Egoyan

Graphic/Diagram:

Photo: Villeneuve

Photo: McVeigh

Photo:

Photo: Morin

Photo:

Photo: Tougas

Load-Date: January 20, 1998

THE NEWS IN BRIEF

Christian Science Monitor (Boston, MA)

August 22, 1995, Tuesday

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Section: THE NEWS IN BRIEF; Pg. 2

Length: 1459 words

Byline: Compiled by Cynthia Hanson, Abraham McLaughlin, and Peter Nordahl

Body

The US

First Lady Hillary Clinton wants to go to China for the UN women's conference that begins in two weeks. But China's continued detention of American Harry Wu and its slow response to visa and hotel requests from would-be attendees have heightened calls for her to stay home in protest. She is expected to decide this week. Senators Dole and Lugar said Sunday she shouldn't go.

Microsoft and the Justice Department were expected to try, for the second time, to convince a federal judge yesterday to approve an antitrust deal hammered out over four years. Microsoft agreed to alter contracts with computer manufacturers that allegedly shut out competitors. The Justice Department agreed not to press antitrust charges. Meanwhile, consumers are ready to line up for copies of Microsoft's Windows 95. Some stores plan to stay open past midnight tomorrow so enthusiasts can buy copies early Thursday - the official launch day.

The Federal Reserve Board was expected to meet today. But with inflation steady and economic growth picking up, few believed it would lower interest rates. Since the Fed cut rates July 6, the economy improved overall.

The CIA used a terrorist-turned-informant to track down the infamous terrorist, Carlos the Jackal. But the informant was instrumental in two 1980s bombings in Europe in which Americans were wounded, the New York Times reported yesterday. The sticky dilemma of using informants with dubious backgrounds has caused the CIA to review its policies. The agency refused to comment. Unnamed sources said the CIA would likely hire the same informant again today but criticized it for not alerting the Justice Department to the situation.

Dr. Kevorkian attended his 25th assisted suicide yesterday, his lawyer said. Kevorkian advocates physician-assisted suicide for those termed terminally ill. The Michigan Supreme Court ruled in 1994 the Constitution does not give people the right to commit suicide. And since the US Supreme Court refused to consider Kevorkian's appeal, new charges against him are possible.

Pharmaceutical giants Upjohn and Sweden-based Pharmacia A.B. announced a \$ 13-billion merger Monday. The new firm will be the world's ninth largest drug company. It is a sign of hot competition in the industry.

Judge Ito was expected to begin hearings yesterday on whether to allow the O.J. Simpson jury to see taped interviews with detective Mark Fuhrman in which he makes racial slurs. The defense says Fuhrman is a racist who wouldn't be above planting evidence to incriminate Simpson. Based on past rulings, Ito may allow the jury to see only scenes directly relevant to the case.

THE NEWS IN BRIEF

The AFL-CIO launched a \$ 1 million ad campaign in 26 congressional districts Sunday. The ads derided GOP plans to cut OSHA's workplace-safety enforcement budget by 33 percent. Labor says decreased OSHA funds will lead to fewer inspections and lower employer compliance. The ad campaign is part of interim AFL-CIO president Thomas Donahue's attempt to shore up support for this fall's hotly contested union elections.

Alabama chain gangs have been so efficient at cleaning up roadways and digging ditches, that state officials have decided to use them for more strenuous labor. For the first time since the 1960s, inmates are crushing rocks into road gravel with sledgehammers. Critics and inmates have filed suit, saying the chains violate civil rights. Florida and Arizona have started their own programs. Michigan and Wisconsin are setting them up.

Air China agreed to buy as many as 15 new Boeing 777s Monday. The order, which is subject to Beijing's approval, is worth up to \$ 1.9 billion. European-based Airbus Industries had hoped to get the bid by seizing on strained Sino-US ties.

Archer Daniels Midland said Mark Whitacre, a former executive-turned federal informant, took \$ 9 million from the firm, the Wall Street Journal reported.

The World

Israeli Prime Minister Rabin suspended final negotiations with the PLO over control of the West Bank yesterday after a bomb blew apart a commuter bus in Jerusalem. Five people were killed, more than 100 wounded. An anonymous caller claimed the suicide attack was carried out by the militant group Hamas. The Israeli Army closed access to the West Bank and Gaza Strip. On Sunday, Rabin rejected calls to investigate allegations of Israeli war crimes against Egyptian prisoners of war. And he ordered an immediate solution to a water shortage that has left Palestinian homes in Hebron without running water. (Story, Page 7.)

The meeting of the five-nation "contact group" on Bosnia scheduled to discuss today new US peace proposals was postponed following the death of three US peace negotiators in an accident outside Sarajevo Saturday. The negotiators were to have met officials from Russia, Britain, France, and Germany in Geneva to brief them on their diplomacy in the Balkans. A US diplomatic team headed home from Bosnia with the bodies of the three men. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke called the men irreplaceable, but efforts are under way to create a new team.

Iraqi President Hussein's plan to attack Saudi Arabia and Kuwait this month was aborted when a top aide, Lt. Gen Hussein Kamel Hassan, defected to Jordan, he claims. Hassan headed Iraq's clandestine weapons program. His statement could not be confirmed. Rolf Ekeus, UN envoy in charge of eliminating Iraq's weapons of mass destruction, arrived in Jordan for talks with Kamel Hassan yesterday. Also, US Assistant Secretary of State Robert Pelletreau met in Kuwait yesterday with the emir.

Rescuers cut through the remains of two Indian trains yesterday while police sought the signalman blamed for India's worst-ever train wreck. It occurred outside Firozabad station in northern India. At least 335 people were killed, 500 injured.

France supplied ammunition to the Hutu-dominated Rwandan army during the genocide carried out by Hutu soldiers and militias last year, a BBC TV program said Sunday. The French foreign ministry called the report false.

Imprisoned leaders of the Cali cartel are ruling their drug empire from jail while dining on caviar and lobster, Colombia's largest newspaper reported Sunday. Gourmet food and fancy communications equipment found in a house near La Modelo prison were to be smuggled to Cali leaders inside, police said.

Voters rejected the Kremlin-backed gubernatorial candidate in Yeltsin's home district yesterday,. The race may be a bellweather for December parliamentary elections. Russian troops and Chechen rebels squared off near Grozny yesterday after rebels stormed a police station, threatening a peace pact.

THE NEWS IN BRIEF

The head of a Tibetan Buddhist search team for a successor to the Panchen Lama has been hospitalized for more than four months, a Chinese official for Tibetan affairs said yesterday. He denied reports the abbot was being detained. Beijing criticized the Dali Lama's announcement of a successor in May without its approval, and says he is trying to split Tibet from China. Also, organizers of a women's conference in China say some NGOs are cancelling their trips because of visa problems. China has been accused of discriminating against human rights advocates.

Time is running out for peace in Northern Ireland, the head of the Irish Roman Catholic church told the BBC yesterday. Cardinal Cahal Daly urged Britain to hold talks with Sinn Fein.

Etcetera

Monica Seles topped off an impressive tennis comeback Sunday by cruising past South Africa's Amanda Coetzer 6-0, 6-1 in the finals of the Canadian Open in Toronto.

More than 1,000 surfers formed a chain along the French Atlantic coast Sunday to protest pollution of the sea. The demonstration occurred at the world surfing championships at Lacanau.

Filmmakers working in Minnesota on a sequel to "Grumpy Old Men" are looking for a big star with gills. (No, not Kevin Costner.) They're offering \$ 500 for a live flathead catfish weighing more than 60 pounds, to back up a 55-pound fish already on hand. The state record for catfish is 70 pounds. "Grumpier Old Men" will again star Jack Lemmon and Walter Matthau.

Top-Grossing Films, Aug. 18-20

(Preliminary figures)

1. "Mortal Kombat," \$ 23 million
2. "Dangerous Minds," \$ 10 million
3. "A Walk in the Clouds," \$ 7.65 million
4. "Something to Talk About," \$ 5.7 million
5. "Waterworld," \$ 5.3 million
6. "Babe," \$ 5.1 million
7. "Apollo 13," \$ 3.8 million
8. "The Net," \$ 3.7 million
9. "The Baby-Sitters Club," \$ 3.6 million
10. "A Kid in King Arthur's Court," \$ 2.4 million

- Associated Press

" I want to stress that we have 12 months of peace.

I think we have an opportunity now, and it's slipping through our hands."

- the primate of all Ireland, Cardinal Cahal Daly, urging London to return to talks with the IRA's Sinn Fein

Graphic

PHOTOS: 1) The first trekkers: The Clintons visited Grand Teton National Park on Sunday while on vacation., DOUGLAS C. PIZAC/AP; 2) Palestinian woman stands behind empty containers on an outing to get water in Hebron Aug. 20., EYAL WARSHAVSKY/AP; 3) Zachery Calvin competes in a hula-hoop contest during the annual Family Festival Saturday in Hays, Kan., CHARLIE RIEDEL/AP. Map, China., DAVE HERRING STAFF

Load-Date: August 23, 1995

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THE NEWS IN BRIEF

Christian Science Monitor (Boston, MA)

August 25, 1995, Friday

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Section: THE NEWS IN BRIEF; Pg. 2

Length: 1486 words

Byline: Compiled by Cynthia Hanson, Abraham McLaughlin, and Peter Nordahl

Body

The US

The US and China continued a diplomatic dance around Harry Wu, the Chinese-American rights activist who was convicted of espionage and sentenced to 15 years in prison and expulsion from the country Wednesday. It wasn't clear if he would have to serve the jail time prior to expulsion. China's Foreign Ministry deferred to the court on the issue; the court said he could be released "if his attitude is good." A quick expulsion could help mend Sino-US ties, which China said Wednesday were at a 16-year low. (Story, Page 5.)

Congressman Reynolds of Chicago will likely resign, a friend said Wednesday. He faces a mandatory prison term for having sex with a minor. The House Ethics Committee began its own probe in June and could recommend expulsion. The two-term Democrat is also being investigated for improper use of campaign and personal funds. The son of civil rights activist Jesse Jackson is one of several Democrats planning to run for Reynolds' seat.

The Citadel asked a judge to remove Shannon Faulkner from the gender-discrimination lawsuit yesterday that she spent 2-1/2 years pursuing. It said dropping her means "no other woman is entitled now to admission." Faulkner's lawyers have said two more women will join the suit.

The Justice Department is proceeding with its antitrust investigation of Microsoft, Attorney General Reno said yesterday. The statement sent the software giant's stock sharply downward.

"How many of the first one hundred positive integers contain the digit 9?" SAT questions like these stumped US high schoolers less this year as they scored their cumulative best since the early 1970s. SAT officials said Wednesday that big gains came in math and that Asian-Americans remain the top scorers. Other minorities have made broad gains to close a historical gap. (Answer: 19.)

Initial jobless claims rose by 10,000 last week, the Labor Department said yesterday. But a more reliable index - the four-week average - fell to its lowest level in six months: 344,750.

Iowans' paychecks rose the most last year - 9.6 percent - while Montana residents eked out the smallest gain in per capita income - 3.3 percent, the Commerce Department said yesterday. The Plains and the Great Lakes regions had the largest increases. Western and Rocky Mountain states had the smallest gains. (List, at right.)

"There is 2,000 pounds of hopping hamburger," said an announcer of a big bull at the Wyoming rodeo President Clinton attended Wednesday. In Washington, meanwhile, Clinton's Budget Director Alice Rivlin outlined which departments would continue to work if the government shuts down this fall. Republicans have threatened to block a

THE NEWS IN BRIEF

vote to raise the national debt ceiling above \$ 4.9 trillion - a move that would shut down the government - in order to balance the budget.

A new survey counters Internet stereotypes: It found that 34 percent of Net users are women. The poll by O'Reilly & Associates also found that 52 percent of Net users made \$ 50,000 or less.

US Immigration agents raided three Los Angeles sweatshops Wednesday. Some 55 Thai, Mexican, and South American immigrants were taken into custody. The raids were prompted by a tip made soon after a high-profile bust on Aug. 2 in El Monte, Calif.

When can a frozen chicken be sold as "fresh"? Only if it hasn't been frozen below 26 degrees F., said the Agriculture Department yesterday. In a chicken war that's wrangled Washington, the new standards are a victory for California poultry producers who claimed that Arkansas producers dominated the market by keeping the birds at 0 degrees - the old standard for "fresh" - trucking them far and wide, and still selling them as fresh.

The World

Leaders of Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Croatia have "agreed in principle" to meet in Indonesia to discuss ending the conflict, a senior Indonesian official said yesterday. Also, Robert Owens, a former State Department legal adviser, will head a new four-man team replacing three key diplomats killed in Bosnia Aug. 19. President Clinton announced the appointments Wednesday after memorial services for the diplomats. US mediators will meet in Paris next week with Bosnian President Alija Izebegovic. And 75 Ukraine peacekeepers were pulled out of the UN "safe area" of Gorazde late Wednesday. (Story, Page 1.)

Zaire stopped expelling refugees to Rwanda yesterday. A UN envoy met with Zaire's prime minister after Zaire expelled 13,000 Hutu Rwandans and Burundans. More than 133,000 others fled into Zaire's hills. Zaire began expelling the refugees last Saturday because the country feared a Tutsi-Hutu conflict after the UN lifted an arms embargo against Rwanda Aug. 16.

Israel's secret service arrested an Islamic militant Wednesday suspected of masterminding two suicide bombings that killed 12 people. The capture of Abdel Nasr Issa and 29 accomplices dealt a severe blow to Hamas. "The Engineer," the Islamic militant group's master bombmaker, remains at large. An apartment filled with chemicals and bombmaking equipment and a car packed with explosives were also found. News that the suspected mastermind was in custody before the blast started debate in Jerusalem yesterday over how much force should be used to pry information from militants.

In a speech Wednesday, King Hussein broke Jordanian ties with Iraq, attacked President Hussein's rule, and called for change in Baghdad. He used the announcement to improve ties with the Gulf and Washington. (Opinions, Pages 18 and 19; Editorial, Page 20.)

A rumbling volcano on the British Caribbean island of Montserrat forced thousands to evacuate. Heavy rains from approaching storms added to the discomfort yesterday.

Russian and Chechen negotiators agreed Wednesday rebels will disarm and Russian troops withdraw from two regions of Chechnya, despite recent violence. Also, Russian President Yeltsin has been absent from the public for about a week. Aides rushed to dispel speculation on his whereabouts and health.

Guatemalan President Ramiro de Leon Carpio Wednesday praised a two week truce announced by leftist guerrillas to occur before Nov. 12 presidential elections.

Australia was expected to submit documents at the International Court of Justice in The Hague yesterday, joining New Zealand in an effort to stop nuclear testing by France in the South Pacific. Meanwhile, Greenpeace's Rainbow Warrior 2, flagship of a protest flotilla sailing to the test site, arrived Wednesday in Tahiti and vowed to challenge French military authorities at sea. (Story, Page 1.)

THE NEWS IN BRIEF

Swedish police said Wednesday an Algerian held in Stockholm in connection with a Paris bomb attack has an alibi, but French authorities still issued a warrant for his arrest.

Weary of the ongoing bungled election process, Haitians are bemoaning newly scheduled runoff elections for Sept. 17 - final balloting for local officials and Parliament. Also, Bahaman investigators heard tales of torture, cannibalism, and at least 150 missing passengers from Haitian refugees aboard an intercepted freighter bound for southern Florida.

Etcetera

If you've been finding it harder to buy a car, you have company. Comerica Bank, based in Detroit, says it took 30.6 weeks of median family income before taxes to buy a car during the second quarter, up from 30.3 weeks during the first three months of 1995.

He has glided past the Statue of Liberty and headed north to Rhode Island. Chessie has roamed where no manatee has gone before. He also has animal protection groups concerned. They may have to airlift the warm-water creature back home to Florida if he doesn't start backtracking soon. The Coast Guard flew him home last year.

Alfred Eisenstaedt, who died while on vacation on Martha's Vineyard Wednesday, was a master photographer for Life magazine. He took the famous VJ Day picture of a sailor kissing a woman in Times Square.

A team of Ukrainian scientists wants to send a \$ 28 million "party" blimp on tours over the Grand Canyon. The craft would carry 80 tourists and have a restaurant and perhaps a gaming room. Skeptics question whether the group can get the proposal off the ground. Among challenges is a pending review of canyon airspace ordered by Congress.

Environmental groups have released a study called "Loose the Noose" that says businesses could save thousands of dollars by downsizing air-conditioning systems and letting workers take off their jackets and ties.

Highs and Lows of State Per Capita Income

1. Connecticut \$ 29,044
2. New Jersey \$ 27,742
3. New York \$ 25,731
4. Massachusetts \$ 25,609
5. Maryland \$ 24,847
46. Utah \$ 17,172
47. West Virginia \$ 17,094
48. New Mexico \$ 17,025
49. Arkansas \$ 16,817
50. Mississippi \$ 15,793

US Average \$ 21,699

- US Commerce Department

THE NEWS IN BRIEF

" The decision to withdraw from the so-called safe haven

contradicts the very firm promises of protection made only a month ago."

- Stephane Oberreit, a Doctors Without Borders representative, on the UN pullout from Gorazde

Graphic

PHOTOS: 1) Jesse Jackson Jr., BETH A. KEISER/AP; 2)A New Jersey farmer looks over his cornfield - one of many that may not survive a long dry spell., ALLEN OLIVER/AP; 3) Cambodian women hold a .6 mile banner reading "Women Weaving the World Together" in Phnom Penh Aug. 24. It will be joined to a 12 mile banner at the World's Women Conference in Beijing., OU NEAKIRY/AP. Map, Montserrat., DAVE HERRING - STAFF

Load-Date: August 26, 1995

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THE NEWS IN BRIEF

Christian Science Monitor (Boston, MA)

August 28, 1995, Monday

Copyright 1995 The Christian Science Publishing Society

Section: THE NEWS IN BRIEF; Pg. 2

Length: 1445 words

Byline: Compiled by Cynthia Hanson, Abraham McLaughlin, and Peter Nordahl

Body

The US

President Clinton and Chinese President Jiang are expected to meet in October to try to improve Sino-US relations, Undersecretary of State Peter Tarnoff said Sunday. Taiwan will be a top issue at the summit. China regards Taiwan as a renegade province and wants assurances that Washington will not recognize it as a country. US-Chinese relations improved, meanwhile, after China released Harry Wu, the Chinese-American rights activist on Thursday. The move prompted Hillary Clinton to announce that she will attend the UN women's conference in Beijing next month. Mrs. Clinton said her China trip will be "about giving a voice to women." (Story, Page 1.)

The first family planned to camp under the stars last night in the foothills of the Teton mountains. Mr. Clinton said Saturday that a week of hiking, rafting, and camping has convinced him to increase efforts to protect the environment. Citing pollution concerns, he blocked a proposed gold mine that would be three miles from Yellowstone's border.

The shuttle's O-ring problems are fixed, NASA said Friday. Shuttle Endeavour's postponed launch is now set for Thursday.

Senator Packwood and his accusers now agree on the need for public hearings. In a surprise reversal Friday, the Oregon Republican said the only way for him to receive a fair hearing is to make it public. He has been accused of making unwanted sexual advances against 19 women over the past three decades.

Senator Dole is returning \$ 1,000 from a gay Republicans group, saying his presidential campaign won't accept donations from groups whose views he opposes. It is the first contribution the campaign has returned for ideological reasons. Dole's support, meanwhile, has slipped among Republican voters, from 42 percent last month to 35 percent, according to a Time/CNN poll released Friday.

California's Governor Wilson formally kicks off his campaign for the White House this week. A seven-state tour begins in New York today. And TV ads in New Hampshire will promote Wilson as the first governor to tackle immigration, to repeal affirmative-action laws, and to sign a "three-strikes" law for career criminals.

THE NEWS IN BRIEF

Congressman Reynolds says he won't announce whether he will quit until Saturday. He was convicted last week of having sex with a minor. House minority leader Gephardt said Thursday that Reynolds should resign before he is faced with hearings that could lead to his expulsion.

Students may read Bibles and distribute religious literature in public schools. But organized prayer in classrooms or assemblies led by students, teachers, or school officials is not allowed. This, according to new administration guidelines on school prayer completed Friday. White House aides said they hoped to clear up confusion over the issue that has led schools to clamp down on all expressions of faith. They also want to blunt a Republican drive for a constitutional amendment on school prayer.

Honda's former top US sales executive was sentenced Friday to five years in jail in what prosecutors called the biggest-ever commercial bribery case. In all, 22 former Honda executives and dealers face punishment in a scheme that spanned 30 states and involved \$ 15 million in bribes during the 1980s.

Philip Morris took back sensitive documents after a settlement over an ABC news report last week. But Congressman Waxman and attorneys for a class-action lawsuit said Thursday they want access to the papers, which they say reveal how Philip Morris manipulates nicotine levels to hook smokers.

The World

A reconstituted team of US negotiators planned to leave for Europe yesterday to press a new Bosnia peace initiative. The team planned to fly to Paris, where Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke planned to meet Bosnia's Muslim President Izetbegovic today. The team also plans to attend a meeting Tuesday of the contact group, which oversees Bosnia peace efforts. Meanwhile, more peacekeepers were scheduled to leave the "safe area" Gorazde yesterday. The pullout of all but a handful of unarmed UN monitors was to be completed by tomorrow.

Two members of the Muslim militant group Hamas suspected of involvement in bomb attacks were sentenced to prison Saturday by a secret Palestinian military tribunal. Israel opened the West Bank border yesterday, but left Jericho cordoned off after Palestinian police refused to hand over the two militants. Israel also closed the town because of reports of suspects hiding there. Separately, Jordan and Egypt, once at odds over Iraqi President Hussein during the Gulf war, held talks regarding Baghdad in Amman Saturday. (Story, Page 1.)

Northern Ireland announced Friday plans to speed releases over five years of about 400 guerrillas on both sides of the conflict if peace holds. Secretary Sir Patrick Mayhew also promised reviews of counterinsurgency laws, policing, and possible troop cuts. He reiterated the need for guerrillas to surrender their weapons for negotiations to take place. Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams criticized Britain Saturday for failing to call for new peace talks a year after the paramilitary cease-fire. The concessions on guerrilla prisoners' remissions were inadequate, he said. Ireland's former Prime Minister Albert Reynolds said yesterday the guerrillas should be allowed to join talks without giving up arms.

Women in nearly every country gained voting rights this century, but getting them elected is harder than it was in the late 1980s. Women's share of seats in national legislatures declined nearly 15 percent worldwide in 1988 to just over 11 percent, according to a survey by the Inter-Parliamentary Union. The detailed 1945-95 survey released Saturday shows only Nordic governments reflecting balanced gender representation.

THE NEWS IN BRIEF

President Jacques Chirac has the lowest popularity rating of any modern French president at a similar stage of his term. His adherence to nuclear testing in the South Pacific and impatience over reforms are blamed for the severe dip, an opinion poll showed Saturday.

The Kurdistan Democratic Party claimed Sunday that a rival Kurdish faction from Turkey - the PKK - launched major attacks on its bases in northern Iraq, seeking to wreck a peace pact.

As many as 300,000 people in northern Sri Lanka face hunger due to a standoff between the Red Cross and the government ahead of a widely expected army offensive against the Tamil rebel stronghold there, government officials said yesterday.

A US Drug Enforcement employee was killed in Karachi, Pakistan, while waiting for a bus. Muhammad Shahnawaz Toor and his son were shot by a man on a motorcycle. The son was said to be in critical condition.

Latin America smugglers have shifted their routes, flying over Brazil's unmonitored Amazon rain forest. Brazil hopes to target that area with a \$ 1.4 billion surveillance network of satellites, radar, and infrared sensors.

Etcetera

Plant a tree and help save the planet. That's the message of a new study. Its research shows that plants in the Northern Hemisphere absorb about half the carbon dioxide emitted by burning fossil fuels. That's more than previously thought. The study says plants are as important as the oceans in balancing the so-called greenhouse effect.

The three tenors - Luciano Pavarotti, Placido Domingo, and Jose Carreras - have finally harmonized their busy schedules and will launch their first world tour next year, according to Britain's Sunday Times.

A bicycle made near the beginning of the century for playwright George Bernard Shaw sold for \$ 820 Saturday at Scotland's first international cycle auction in Edinburgh.

A 210-megawatt wind-power project planned for northwestern Maine would be the first built in New England, the biggest east of the Mississippi, and one of the largest in the world. Kenetech Windpower plans to erect hundreds of huge high-tech windmills along 150-foot-wide corridors carved out of forest land.

The Coca-Cola Company has become the first American firm to open a plant in Vietnam since the US restored diplomatic ties with that nation.

World's Top 10 **Women** Tennis Players

This list is current through Aug. 25, but it could change soon: The US Open begins today. (Story, Page 14.)

1. Steffi Graf, Germany

THE NEWS IN BRIEF

1. Monica Seles, US
 2. Arantxa Sanchez Vicario, Spain
 3. Conchita Martinez, Spain
 4. Jana Novotna, Czech Republic
 5. Mary Pierce, France
 6. Kimiko Date, Japan
 7. Magdalena Maleeva, Bulgaria
 8. Gabriela Sabatini, Argentina
 9. Lindsay Davenport, US
- Associated Press

" We have too much at stake both in China and the United States to neglect this relationship and try to isolate each other."

- Undersecretary of State Peter Tarnoff, on maintaining Washington-Beijing ties

Graphic

PHOTOS: 1) Celebrations of the 75th anniversary of women's right to vote were held Saturday in many cities, including New Haven, Conn. Many dressed in early 1900s clothing., BOB CHILD/AP; 2) Harry Wu arrived home Friday., KURT ROGERS/SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER/AP; 3) A Rwandan refugee, who fled Zairean soldiers expelling Hutus from Zaire, rebuilds his hut destroyed by soldiers near Goma, Zaire Aug. 26. He returned after the UN intervened on their behalf., JEAN-MARC BOUJU/AP. Map, Northern Ireland., STAFF

Load-Date: August 29, 1995

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Islam: A hedge against evil?: More than a religion, it is a civilization animated by a common spirit far more humane than the West realizes

Hamilton Spectator (Ontario, Canada)

September 23, 1997 Tuesday Final Edition

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Section: FREE PRESS; Pg. FP6; News

Length: 1640 words

Byline: Ali A. Mazrui

Body

Westerners tend to think of Islamic societies as backward-looking, oppressed by religion and inhumanely governed, comparing them to their own enlightened, secular democracies.

But measurement of the cultural distance between the West and Islam is a complex undertaking -- and that distance is narrower than they assume.

Islam is not just a religion, and certainly not just a fundamentalist political movement. It is a civilization, and a way of life that varies from one Muslim country to another, but is animated by a common spirit far more humane than most Westerners realize.

Nor do those in the West always recognize how their own societies have failed to live up to their liberal mythology. The New York Times

Moreover, aspects of Islamic culture that Westerners regard as medieval may have prevailed in their own culture until fairly recently. In many cases, Islamic societies may be only a few decades behind socially and technologically advanced Western ones.

In the end, the question is what path leads to the highest quality of life for the average citizen, while avoiding the worst abuses.

Consider that Westerners regard Muslim societies as unenlightened when it comes to the status of women -- and it is true that the gender question is still troublesome in Muslim countries. Islamic rules on sexual modesty have often resulted in excessive segregation of the sexes in public places, sometimes bringing about the marginalization of women in public affairs.

And yet British women were granted the right to own property independent of their husbands only in 1870, while Muslim women have always had that right. While in many Western cultures daughters could not inherit anything if there were sons in the family, Islamic law has always allocated shares from every inheritance to both daughters and sons.

The historical distance between the West and Islam in the treatment of women may be a matter of decades rather than centuries.

Islam: A hedge against evil?: More than a religion, it is a civilization animated by a common spirit far more humane than the West realizes

Recall that in almost all Western countries except for New Zealand, women did not gain the right to vote until the 20th century. Great Britain extended the vote to women in two stages, in 1918 and 1928. The United States enfranchised them by constitutional amendment in 1920.

France followed as recently as 1944. Switzerland did not permit women to vote in national elections until 1971 -- decades after Muslim women in Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq and Pakistan had been casting ballots.

Furthermore, the United States, the largest and most influential Western nation, has never had a female president.

In contrast, two of the most populous Muslim countries, Pakistan and Bangladesh, have had women prime ministers. Benazir Bhutto headed two governments in Pakistan. Khaleda Zia and Hasina Wajed served consecutively in Bangladesh. Turkey has had Prime Minister Tansu Ciller.

Muslim countries are ahead in female empowerment, though still behind in female liberation.

Westerners consider many problems or flaws of the Muslim world to be products of Islam and pride their societies and their governments on their purported secularism.

The United States has had separation of church and state under its constitution for more than 200 years, but American politics is hardly completely secular.

Only once has the electorate chosen a non-Protestant president -- and the Roman Catholic John F. Kennedy won by such a narrow margin, amid such allegations of electoral fraud, that we will never know for sure whether a majority of Americans actually voted for him.

Jews have distinguished themselves in many fields, but they have so far avoided competing for the White House, and there is still a fear of unleashing the demon of anti-Semitism among Christian fundamentalists.

There are now more Muslims -- an estimated six million -- than Jews in the United States. Yet anti-Muslim feeling and the success of appeals to Christian sentiment among voters make it extremely unlikely that Americans will elect a Muslim head of state anytime soon.

When first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton entertained Muslim leaders at the White House last year to mark a special Islamic festival, a Wall Street Journal article actually cited that as evidence that friends of Hamas had penetrated the White House.

In Western Europe, too, there are now millions of Muslims, but history is still awaiting the appointment of the first to a cabinet position in Britain, France or Germany.

Islam, on the other hand, has tried to protect minority religions through ecumenicalism throughout its history. Jews and Christians had special status as People of the Book -- a fraternity of monotheists. Other religious minorities were later also accorded the status of protected minorities (dhimmis).

Jewish scholars rose to high positions in Muslim Spain. During the Ottoman Empire, Christians sometimes attained high political office: Suleiman I (1520-1566) had Christian ministers in his government, as did Selim III (1789-1807).

The Moghul Empire integrated Hindus and Muslims into a consolidated Indian state. Emperor Akbar (1556-1605) carried furthest the Moghul policy of bringing Hindus into the government.

In the 1990s, Iraq has had a Chaldean Christian deputy prime minister, Tariq Aziz.

In the 20th century, Islam has not often proved fertile ground for democracy and its virtues. On the other hand, Islamic culture has not been hospitable to Nazism, fascism or communism, unlike Christian culture (as in Germany, Italy, Russia and Czechoslovakia), Buddhist culture (Japan before and during the Second World War, Pol Pot's Cambodia, Vietnam, North Korea) or Confucian culture (Mao's China).

Islam: A hedge against evil?: More than a religion, it is a civilization animated by a common spirit far more humane than the West realizes

The Muslim world has never yet given rise to systematic fascism and its organized brutalities.

Hafiz al-Assad's Syria and Saddam Hussein's Iraq have been guilty of large-scale violence, but fascism also requires an ideology of repression that has been absent in the two countries.

Apart from the dubious case of Albania, communism has never independently taken hold in a Muslim culture.

There are no Muslim equivalents of Nazi extermination camps, nor Muslim conquests by genocide on the scale perpetrated by Europeans in the Americas and Australia, nor Muslim equivalents of Stalinist terror, Pol Pot's killing fields or the starvation and uprooting of tens of millions in the name of five year plans.

Nor are there Muslim versions of apartheid such as that once approved by the South African Dutch Reformed Church, or of the ferocious racism of Japan before 1945, or of the racist culture of the Old South in the United States with its lynchings and brutalization of black people.

Islam has never spawned an Inquisition in which the burning of heretics at the stake was sanctioned.

Cultures that had condemned human beings to burn and celebrated as they died in the flames, even hundreds of years before, were more likely to tolerate the herding of a whole people of another faith into gas chambers.

Islam has been a shield against such excesses of evil. In fact, Islam brings to the calculus of universal justice some protection from the abyss of human depravity.

Saddam Hussein's use of poison gas against Kurdish villages in Iraq in 1988 is more clearly comparable to Nazi behaviour. But even Saddam's action was the use of an illegitimate weapon in a civil war rather than a planned program to destroy the Kurdish people. It was an evil incident rather than a program of genocide.

Many people feel that President Harry S. Truman's dropping of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki was also an evil episode.

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In terms of quality of life, is the average citizen better off under the excesses of the Islamic state or the excesses of the liberal state, where political tension may be low but social violence has reached crisis proportions?

Tehran, the capital of the Islamic Republic of Iran, is a city of some 10 million. Families with small children picnic in public parks at 11 p.m. or midnight. Residents of the capital and other cities stroll late at night, seemingly unafraid of mugging, rape or murder.

This is a society that has known large-scale political violence in war and revolution, but one in which petty interpersonal violence is much rarer than in Washington or New York.

Iranians are more subject to their government than Americans, but they are less at risk from the degradations of their fellow citizens.

Of all the value systems in the world, Islam has been the most resistant to the leading destructive forces of the 20th century -- including AIDS. Lower levels of prostitution and of hard drug use in conservative Muslim cultures compared with other cultures have, so far, contributed to lower-than-average HIV infection rates.

Western liberal democracy has enabled societies to enjoy openness, government accountability, popular participation and high economic productivity. But Western pluralism has also been a breeding ground for racism, fascism, exploitation and genocide.

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Humankind must also consult Islam about how to check the worst in human nature -- from alcoholism to racism, materialism to Nazism, drug addiction to Marxism, as the opiate of the intellectuals.

One must distinguish between democratic principles and humane principles.

In some humane principles -- including stabilizing the family, security from social violence, and the relatively non-racial nature of religious institutions -- the Muslim world may well be ahead of the West.

Load-Date: October 14, 2002

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THE NEWS IN BRIEF,

Christian Science Monitor (Boston, MA)

August 1, 1995, Tuesday

Copyright 1995 The Christian Science Publishing Society

Length: 1434 words

Byline: Compiled by Abraham McLaughlin, Shelby Siems, and Peter Nordahl

Body

The US

The Walt Disney Co. will acquire Capital Cities-ABC Inc., the companies said yesterday. The merger of entertainment and communications giants is valued at about \$ 19 billion and is the second-largest merger in US history. (Story, Page 1.)

President Clinton and Senator Dole presented very different welfare-reform plans to the nation's governors in Burlington, Vt., yesterday. Of biggest concern to the governors: how to equitably divide federal welfare funds among states; and the strings attached to federal block grants. Dole said the GOP would give almost unlimited powers to define welfare benefits and force recipients to work for aid. Clinton was expected to announce a lifting of some federal rules, including one requiring states to give extra food stamps to welfare recipients whom they require to work. He was also expected to speed federal approval for state welfare plans. (Story, Page 1.)

Whitewater hearings are a "search in a dark room for a black cat which isn't there," former White House counsel Bernard Nussbaum said to the New York Times yesterday. Nussbaum, who is increasingly portrayed as the "heavy" in the White House's guarded response to presidential aide Vincent Foster's 1993 death, was expected to testify yesterday. He denies GOP critics' charges that he blocked the search of Foster's office on Hillary Clinton's orders.

The role of the military was expected to be the lead topic at congressional Waco hearings yesterday. Attorney General Reno was expected to testify today. On Sunday, the hearings' co-chair, Congressman Zeff, said he has information that Clinton "wanted to be informed every step of the way" and may have given the final okay for the deadly raid on the Branch Davidian compound.

A US-China summit this fall is "very difficult for me to envision" without the release of Chinese-American activist Harry Wu, Secretary of State Christopher said yesterday. He was expected to meet with Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen in Brunei today to try to mend Sino-US ties. But China said yesterday that the US must "correct its mistake" over allowing the Taiwanese president to visit the US. China did not specify the US action it seeks. Both countries' presidents reportedly want a summit. But Clinton risks harsh criticism from Wu's congressional supporters should the summit occur before Wu's release.

An American says she's ready to take the CIA to court over its refusal to release information on the whereabouts of her husband, a Guatemalan guerrilla who vanished more than three years ago. Jennifer Harbury said the CIA has not responded to a request she filed six months ago under the Freedom of Information Act. Her husband, Efraim Bamaca Velasquez, disappeared in 1992.

THE NEWS IN BRIEF,

Chicago's air-traffic-control center, the busiest in the US, will get new equipment soon, Senator Simon and Representative Weller, both of Illinois, said. The 30-year-old computer has experienced a string of breakdowns recently. An interim system may be in place by mid-1996, the Chicago Tribune reports.

About 25 people were arrested in Los Angeles during the second night of protests over the police killing of a teenage boy. Police were pelted with rocks by people holding a charity car wash for the boy's family. Police say the boy was carrying a gun. Friends says it was a flashlight.

The availability of methamphetamine, the illegal drug of choice in the US West, is spreading. It's in Wyoming, the Midwest, and Atlanta's suburbs, says Thomas Constantine of the Drug Enforcement Administration. It is half the price of cocaine, and amateur chemists can make it.

Foreign tourists are coming to the US in droves. The weak dollar is expected to entice \$ 77 billion in tourist spending for the US in 1995, the Commerce Department said. But as more people travel worldwide, the US could lose out if it maintains its currently low level of tourism advertising abroad.

The World

Croatian soldiers yesterday pressed toward the self-declared capital of rebel Serbs after the rebels reneged on a promise made Sunday to halt attacks on Bihac, the besieged Bosnian enclave. The promise was made to allow UN observers to deploy along the border and to stop blocking UN aid convoys to the enclave. The US, Russia, and European powers will meet in Washington tomorrow to discuss peace efforts. (Story, Page 1.)

Japanese officials yesterday scrambled to cope as depositors withdrew large sums from Tokyo's largest credit union, Cosmo Shinyo Kumiai, after the media reported it had serious problems. The moves, including stop-gap funds from the Bank of Japan and a plea to an industry group to find someone to take over Cosmo's business, came amid concern about the Japanese financial system's health.

In a crackdown on a powerful, nonviolent Muslim group, the Egyptian government has stated that Islamic rule will not be imposed in Egypt. The edict comes after Friday's roundup of 200 Muslim Brotherhood activists in two cities. Israel has told the US it will request extradition of a Hamas leader for attacks against Israelis. The Palestinian police chief said Sunday Jewish settlers in the West Bank town of Hebron would have to accept eventual PLO rule or leave. Israeli police yesterday detained 16 right-wing Jewish activists who tried to break into a Jerusalem mosque.

Russia's Constitutional Court upheld the legality of the invasion of breakaway Chechnya yesterday, one day after Russian negotiators and rebels reached an agreement halting the war. Despite the pact, shooting continued. Though a political solution appears distant, the agreement does represent a breakthrough toward peace.

The number of deaths from Chile's earthquake on Sunday rose to three. Dozens of homes were severely damaged and many more bordered on collapse. Meanwhile, in Japan, coastal areas were put on tidal-wave alert as the first waves from the quake reached Japan. They were only 1.2 to 12 inches in height, however.

Sri Lanka's Tamil Tiger rebels said that of 180 people killed in an attack on four army bases on Friday, 128 were women, including two suicide bombers. A traitor had forewarned the military of the attack.

A wave of firebombings of Turkish businesses in Germany entered its second week yesterday. The Turkish ambassador demanded better police protection against suspected Kurdish militants. Assailants, presumed to be Kurdish separatists or right-wing radicals, hurled Molotov cocktails through windows of Turkish-owned travel agencies in Bochum and Bremen.

Iraqi President Saddam Hussein pardoned all political prisoners and suspected government opponents on Sunday. The surprise gesture was apparently aimed at softening criticism of his human rights record and ending international sanctions.

THE NEWS IN BRIEF,

Ferdinand Marcos Jr., the son of former Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos, was convicted of tax evasion and sentenced to nine years in jail and fines.

Although China seems to be holding fast to its claim on the Spratly Islands, some nations at a meeting of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) sense a shift in its hard-line stand. The islands are claimed by China, Vietnam, Taiwan, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Brunei.

Etcetera

Baseball's Hall of Fame Sunday inducted modern-era players Mike Schmidt and Richie Ashburn, Negro Leagues star Leon Day, turn-of-the-century-pitcher Vic Willis, and National League founder William Hulbert.

Feel free to split infinitives and don't worry about starting a sentence with a "but" because some age-old rules of English grammar are just schoolroom mythology, says the "Plain English Guide," to be published by the Oxford University Press Aug. 10. It has raised some grammarians' eyebrows.

"Waterworld," the \$ 200 million Kevin Costner sea epic, finished No. 1 at the box office last weekend in theaters across the US, grossing \$ 21.6 million. "The Net" finished in second place.

Best-Selling Books, Hardcover Fiction

1. "Memnoch the Devil," Anne Rice (Knopf)
2. "Beach Music," Pat Conroy (Doubleday)
3. "Lightning," Danielle Steel (Delacorte)
4. "The Rainmaker," John Grisham (Doubleday)
5. "The Bridges of Madison County," Robert James Waller (Warner)
6. "Rose Madder," Stephen King (Viking)
7. "The Celestine Prophecy," James Redfield (Warner)
8. "The Witness," Sandra Brown (Warner)
9. "Dangerous to Know," Barbara Taylor Bradford (HarperCollins)
10. "Let Me Call You Sweetheart," Mary Higgins Clark (Simon & Schuster)

- Publisher's Weekly

" He wanted to know. He wanted to be involved in the decision process."

- Rep. Bill Zeff on President Clinton's role in the 1993 Branch Davidian raid at Waco, Texas

Graphic

THE NEWS IN BRIEF,

PHOTOS: 1) Protests erupted Sunday outside the governors' meeting over the scheduled execution of former Philadelphia radio reporter Mumia Abu-Jamal for the killing of a police officer., AP PHOTO/TOBY TALBOT; 2) Israeli police evict a Jew who ignored evacuation orders from a West Bank settlement yesterday., AP PHOTO/NATI HARNIK; 3) Inductees Mike Schmidt (left) and Richie Ashburn at Hall of Fame ceremonies Sunday., RUSTY KENNEDY/AP. Map, Spratly Islands., DAVE HERRING - STAFF

Load-Date: August 2, 1995

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**Islam: A hedge against evil?: More than a religion, it is a civilization
animated by a common spirit far more humane than the West realizes**

Hamilton Spectator (Ontario, Canada)

September 15, 1997 Monday Final Edition

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Section: CANADA & WORLD; Pg. C7; News

Length: 1640 words

Byline: Ali A. Mazrui

Body

Westerners tend to think of Islamic societies as backward-looking, oppressed by religion and inhumanely governed, comparing them to their own enlightened, secular democracies.

But measurement of the cultural distance between the West and Islam is a complex undertaking -- and that distance is narrower than they assume.

Islam is not just a religion, and certainly not just a fundamentalist political movement. It is a civilization, and a way of life that varies from one Muslim country to another, but is animated by a common spirit far more humane than most Westerners realize.

Nor do those in the West always recognize how their own societies have failed to live up to their liberal mythology.
The New York Times

Moreover, aspects of Islamic culture that Westerners regard as medieval may have prevailed in their own culture until fairly recently. In many cases, Islamic societies may be only a few decades behind socially and technologically advanced Western ones.

In the end, the question is what path leads to the highest quality of life for the average citizen, while avoiding the worst abuses.

Consider that Westerners regard Muslim societies as unenlightened when it comes to the status of women -- and it is true that the gender question is still troublesome in Muslim countries. Islamic rules on sexual modesty have often resulted in excessive segregation of the sexes in public places, sometimes bringing about the marginalization of women in public affairs.

And yet British women were granted the right to own property independent of their husbands only in 1870, while Muslim women have always had that right. While in many Western cultures daughters could not inherit anything if there were sons in the family, Islamic law has always allocated shares from every inheritance to both daughters and sons.

The historical distance between the West and Islam in the treatment of women may be a matter of decades rather than centuries.

Islam: A hedge against evil?: More than a religion, it is a civilization animated by a common spirit far more humane than the West realizes

Recall that in almost all Western countries except for New Zealand, women did not gain the right to vote until the 20th century. Great Britain extended the vote to women in two stages, in 1918 and 1928. The United States enfranchised them by constitutional amendment in 1920.

France followed as recently as 1944. Switzerland did not permit women to vote in national elections until 1971 -- decades after Muslim women in Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq and Pakistan had been casting ballots.

Furthermore, the United States, the largest and most influential Western nation, has never had a female president.

In contrast, two of the most populous Muslim countries, Pakistan and Bangladesh, have had women prime ministers. Benazir Bhutto headed two governments in Pakistan. Khaleda Zia and Hasina Wajed served consecutively in Bangladesh. Turkey has had Prime Minister Tansu Ciller.

Muslim countries are ahead in female empowerment, though still behind in female liberation.

Westerners consider many problems or flaws of the Muslim world to be products of Islam and pride their societies and their governments on their purported secularism.

The United States has had separation of church and state under its constitution for more than 200 years, but American politics is hardly completely secular.

Only once has the electorate chosen a non-Protestant president -- and the Roman Catholic John F. Kennedy won by such a narrow margin, amid such allegations of electoral fraud, that we will never know for sure whether a majority of Americans actually voted for him.

Jews have distinguished themselves in many fields, but they have so far avoided competing for the White House, and there is still a fear of unleashing the demon of anti-Semitism among Christian fundamentalists.

There are now more Muslims -- an estimated six million -- than Jews in the United States. Yet anti-Muslim feeling and the success of appeals to Christian sentiment among voters make it extremely unlikely that Americans will elect a Muslim head of state anytime soon.

When first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton entertained Muslim leaders at the White House last year to mark a special Islamic festival, a Wall Street Journal article actually cited that as evidence that friends of Hamas had penetrated the White House.

In Western Europe, too, there are now millions of Muslims, but history is still awaiting the appointment of the first to a cabinet position in Britain, France or Germany.

Islam, on the other hand, has tried to protect minority religions through ecumenicalism throughout its history. Jews and Christians had special status as People of the Book -- a fraternity of monotheists. Other religious minorities were later also accorded the status of protected minorities (dhimmis).

Jewish scholars rose to high positions in Muslim Spain. During the Ottoman Empire, Christians sometimes attained high political office: Suleiman I (1520-1566) had Christian ministers in his government, as did Selim III (1789-1807).

The Moghul Empire integrated Hindus and Muslims into a consolidated Indian state. Emperor Akbar (1556-1605) carried furthest the Moghul policy of bringing Hindus into the government.

In the 1990s, Iraq has had a Chaldean Christian deputy prime minister, Tariq Aziz.

In the 20th century, Islam has not often proved fertile ground for democracy and its virtues. On the other hand, Islamic culture has not been hospitable to Nazism, fascism or communism, unlike Christian culture (as in Germany, Italy, Russia and Czechoslovakia), Buddhist culture (Japan before and during the Second World War, Pol Pot's Cambodia, Vietnam, North Korea) or Confucian culture (Mao's China).

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The Muslim world has never yet given rise to systematic fascism and its organized brutalities.

Hafiz al-Assad's Syria and Saddam Hussein's Iraq have been guilty of large-scale violence, but fascism also requires an ideology of repression that has been absent in the two countries.

Apart from the dubious case of Albania, communism has never independently taken hold in a Muslim culture.

There are no Muslim equivalents of Nazi extermination camps, nor Muslim conquests by genocide on the scale perpetrated by Europeans in the Americas and Australia, nor Muslim equivalents of Stalinist terror, Pol Pot's killing fields or the starvation and uprooting of tens of millions in the name of five year plans.

Nor are there Muslim versions of apartheid such as that once approved by the South African Dutch Reformed Church, or of the ferocious racism of Japan before 1945, or of the racist culture of the Old South in the United States with its lynchings and brutalization of black people.

Islam has never spawned an Inquisition in which the burning of heretics at the stake was sanctioned.

Cultures that had condemned human beings to burn and celebrated as they died in the flames, even hundreds of years before, were more likely to tolerate the herding of a whole people of another faith into gas chambers.

Islam has been a shield against such excesses of evil. In fact, Islam brings to the calculus of universal justice some protection from the abyss of human depravity.

Saddam Hussein's use of poison gas against Kurdish villages in Iraq in 1988 is more clearly comparable to Nazi behaviour. But even Saddam's action was the use of an illegitimate weapon in a civil war rather than a planned program to destroy the Kurdish people. It was an evil incident rather than a program of genocide.

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In terms of quality of life, is the average citizen better off under the excesses of the Islamic state or the excesses of the liberal state, where political tension may be low but social violence has reached crisis proportions?

Tehran, the capital of the Islamic Republic of Iran, is a city of some 10 million. Families with small children picnic in public parks at 11 p.m. or midnight. Residents of the capital and other cities stroll late at night, seemingly unafraid of mugging, rape or murder.

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Western liberal democracy has enabled societies to enjoy openness, government accountability, popular participation and high economic productivity. But Western pluralism has also been a breeding ground for racism, fascism, exploitation and genocide.

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In some humane principles -- including stabilizing the family, security from social violence, and the relatively non-racial nature of religious institutions -- the Muslim world may well be ahead of the West.

Load-Date: October 14, 2002

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THE NEWS IN BRIEF

Christian Science Monitor (Boston, MA)

April 18, 1995, Tuesday

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Section: THE NEWS IN BRIEF; Pg. 2

Length: 1470 words

Byline: Compiled by Suzanne MacLachlan and David Mutch

Body

The US

The US Supreme Court heard arguments in a case claiming that the Endangered Species Act does not protect the habitats of endangered species. An appeals court ruled that the law protects activities such as hunting and trapping, but not indirect threats such as habitat destruction. The high court left intact a \$ 420,000 award won against the Duquesne Light Co. in Pittsburgh by a white man who says he was denied promotion because of his race. It refused to reinstate an affirmative-action plan for promoting black fire fighters in Birmingham, Ala. The court agreed to clarify a federal law that adds five years to the prison sentence of anyone who "uses or carries" a gun while engaged in drug trafficking. It also allowed a Secret Service Agent to be sued for damages for inviting a CBS TV crew on a raid so it could videotape a search of a private home.

Henry Foster's nomination for surgeon general is not "viable" and may not even get out of committee, Senator Dole said. Hearings before the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee are scheduled to begin May 2. Dole, meanwhile, has flown 187 times since 1993 aboard private jets, most owned by corporations with interest in congressional business, Newsweek magazine reported.

The federal government is to begin scouring state motor-vehicle records for drivers with phony Social Security numbers. Illegal aliens, fugitives from justice, and deadbeat parents often give false social security numbers to get a drivers license and a new identity. Critics of the program say the data could be used to compromise privacy.

Most states are not moving enough unemployed welfare parents into jobs or training to comply with federal laws, the Department of Health and Human Services said. With only 10 states in compliance, experts worry the move to put welfare in the hands of the states is not a good idea.

Women are not as politically active as men because they have less money and are less likely to possess needed communication and organizational skills, says a study by the University of Michigan, Boston College, and Harvard University. More than 2,500 people took part in the study.

House Speaker Gingrich would like to make Washington D.C., a Maryland congressional district and give city residents full representation in Congress, the Washington Times reported. The GOP has opposed proposals to make the capital a state.

Michael Huffington, who lost a \$ 28 million bid for the Senate, has set his sights on the 1998 California governor's race, the Los Angeles Times reported. Huffington said he would not use his own money for the state race.

THE NEWS IN BRIEF

The US has become the most economically stratified of all the industrial nations, according to new and mostly unpublished statistical research, the New York Times reported. In 1989, the wealthiest 1 percent of US households, worth \$ 2.3 million each, owned nearly 40 percent of the nation's wealth. The richest 1 percent in Britain own about 18 percent of the wealth.

Indian tribes and state lawmakers are heading for a gambling showdown in Connecticut. In return for exclusive rights to operate casinos, the tribes pay the state a share of slot-machine takes. Now the state assembly is considering allowing non-Indian casinos, and the Pequots, who operate the successful Foxwoods casino, might stop payments to the state.

Five people were sentenced in Seattle for smuggling at least 1,000 illegal aliens into the US from India and Pakistan. Four of those sentenced are not citizens and face deportation hearings after serving their time.

The World

The militant Islamic group **Hamas** is likely to carry out retaliatory attacks after an Israeli ambush killed three of its activists Sunday, the army commander of the West Bank said. Security has been heightened since the ambush, and the Palestinian Authority has condemned the killings. Israeli forces said the Palestinians who were slain were on their way to attack Israelis. A military tribunal yesterday sentenced an Islamic militant to seven years in prison for smuggling explosives to attack Israelis.

Turkish troops pressed their attack on Kurdish rebels holed up in a mountain stronghold in eastern Turkey yesterday, military officials said. About 25,000 Turkish troops moved in on Alibogazi ravine Sunday in an operation similar to Turkey's cross-border offensive in northern Iraq. (Story, Page 3.)

Sarajevo's airport reopened for UN administrative flights, but humanitarian airlifts into the city remained suspended yesterday, the UN said. It said it is considering Serb demands that Bosnian citizens not be allowed on UN flights as a precondition for promising not to attack the airport. Rebel Serbs in Croatia hijacked four UN peacekeeping vehicles, jailing overnight three soldiers and four doctors. Senator Dole reiterated his support for lifting the arms embargo on Bosnia's Muslim-led government.

Philippine Foreign Affairs Secretary Roberto Romulo resigned yesterday, the latest and most prominent casualty in a major row over the execution of a Filipina maid for double murder in Singapore. President Ramos last week fired the former ambassador to Singapore and suspended the current envoy and seven other labor and foreign affairs officials for negligence and incompetence.

US Treasury Secretary Rubin arrived in India yesterday. US officials said Rubin would use his four-day visit to press India to push ahead with economic reforms that show signs of flagging amid political opposition.

The US will try to persuade China to break off talks with Iran over selling nuclear-power technology to that country, the Washington Post reported. The paper quoted unidentified sources as saying Secretary of State Christopher was expected to raise objections to a pending China-Iran deal when he met with Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen yesterday. Both are attending the UN conference on extending the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Russia said it could not stick to all the terms of a crucial conventional arms-reduction treaty until the war in rebel Chechnya was over, Interfax news agency reported. Defense Minister Grachev told Interfax that Moscow wanted a review of the 1990 Conventional Forces in Europe treaty, which limits the number of troops and armor Russia can station in the volatile southern Caucasus region.

The US will return about \$ 700 million worth of military hardware to Pakistan, Foreign Minister Sardar Assef Ali said. Prime Minister Bhutto secured Washington's promise to return the equipment, which was to have been repaired in the US.

THE NEWS IN BRIEF

Winnie Mandela announced she was resigning from her estranged husband's Cabinet yesterday, one day before her dismissal was to take effect. Mandela said she will pursue "more pressing" interests.

Libyan protesters pounded drums outside the UN office in Tripoli, the media attacked the US, and Libyan leader Gadhafi continued to exhort Libyans to be steadfast before UN sanctions. Gadhafi plans to defy a UN travel ban by flying pilgrims to Mecca, Saudi Arabia, this week.

Etcetrera

The magnolia tree that withstood the crash of a plane aimed at the White House last September is taking root again in Tennessee. Former Sen. Howard Baker arranged for horticulturalists to take the clippings from the famous tree planted by President Jackson. Baker replanted the seedlings at the Museum of Appalachia.

Americans posted two upset victories in the finals of the Japan Open tennis tournament. Jim Courier beat top-ranked Andre Agassi, and Amy Frazier defeated three-time defending champion Kimiko Date.

Presidential hopeful Dole says he doesn't like some movies. He suggests political leaders should engage the entertainment industry in debate about the content of TV shows. And if elected, he'll encourage people "to turn off their TV sets and not patronize these movies."

Michael Jackson and wife Lisa Marie Presley-Jackson will spend the next three days hosting children from 17 countries for a conference on cultural diversity.

Best-Selling Hardcover Nonfiction

1. "Men Are From Mars, Women Are From Venus," John Gray (HarperCollins)
2. "The Hot Zone," Richard Preston (Random House)
3. "Mars & Venus in the Bedroom," John Gray (HarperCollins)
4. "Breaking the Surface," Greg Louganis (Random House)
5. "The Death of Common Sense," Philip K. Howard (Random House)
6. "Sisters," Carol Saline (Running Press)
7. "The Seven Spiritual Laws of Success," Deepak Chopra (New World Library)
8. "First Things First," Stephen R. Covey (Simon & Schuster)
9. "The Beardstown Ladies' Common-Sense Investment Guide," Leslie Whitaker (Hyperion)
10. "The Diary of a Young Girl," Anne Frank (Doubleday)

P Publishers Weekly

"I agree 100 percent with [Israeli] Prime Minister Rabin that this is an irreversible peace process. And our bottom line is to make it work."

P Nabil Sha'ath, aide to PLO leader Arafat

Graphic

PHOTOS: 1)Presidential candidate Dole has appealed to conservatives in recent remarks., R. NORMAN MATHENY -- STAFF; 2)Chrysler Chairman Eaton repeated that the company is not for sale, but he will evaluate Kirk Kerkorian's April 12 takeover offer. Kerkorian does not yet have financing arranged. Lee Iacocca would invest \$ 50 million of his own money as part of the deal., JOHN C. HILLERY/REUTERS; 3)Police patrol Tokyo's largest subway station. Japanese media reports said the leader of the Aum Shinri Kyo sect ordered followers to produce the nerve gas used in the March 20 subway attack., KIMIMASA MAYAMA/REUTERS. Map, Libya., STAFF

Load-Date: April 18, 1995

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Ticking towards disaster; The West is ignoring all the signs that the Middle East is about to explode, says Robert Fisk

The Independent (London)

August 3, 1997, Sunday

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Section: COMMENT; Page 23

Length: 1546 words

Byline: Robert Fisk

Body

The "peace process" is long dead. A war is not far away. Almost anyone in the Middle East will tell you this. Almost no one in the United States or Europe believes it. They talk - as the Secretary of State, Madeleine Albright, did on Friday - of a "low point" in the peace process, as if the whole flawed Oslo agreement was not already buried. All the evidence that a bloody explosion is imminent in the Middle East, of which last week's slaughter in Jerusalem was merely one more sign, is wilfully ignored.

For months now, Benjamin Netanyahu and his bickering cabinet have been discussing a reinvasion of Palestinian-held territory. In June, Uzi Arad, Netanyahu's foreign policy adviser, was telling the leaders of the powerful American-Israeli lobby group AIPAC that they should do everything possible to resist congressional calls for a cut in US financial assistance to Israel, because Israel was likely to take "decisive and fateful decisions" that would "place Israel in a delicate security situation". No explanation was given as to what these "fateful" decisions would be, nor why they would place Israel in so "delicate" a state of security. This extraordinary statement was ignored by the press - except by the Israeli newspaper Maariv.

At almost the same time - although Mr Arad did not reveal this - the Israeli army was secretly simulating a reinvasion of all the West Bank towns and cities that the Israeli government had given back to the Palestinians. Netanyahu's aides were present at this gloomy exercise which proved that hundreds of lives would be lost in such an operation. They concluded, according to David Horowitz of the Jerusalem Report, that the wholesale retaking of cities like Ramallah and Hebron was not realistic. They were devising "alternative strategies" for the eventuality of a full-scale Israeli-Palestinian confrontation.

Yet still, incredibly, we fail to read the signs. Take the case of Yasser Arafat. Before he was weak enough to make peace with Israel - when he was still one of the world's most wanted "terrorists" - Israel regularly compared him to Hitler. He was corrupt. He believed in using violence for political ends. He was a petty tyrant to his own people, eliminating internal enemies and cynically using a score of Palestinian secret police organisations against each other.

Then came Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait, Arafat's absurd support for Baghdad, his political and financial bankruptcy and - with the hopelessly flawed Oslo agreement - peace with the enemy he had always sworn to destroy. Overnight, princes, kings and presidents, and the ever compliant Western media, discovered that Arafat, far from being a super-terrorist, was a super-statesman. Israel's seal of approval - a very cynical seal, since Israel

Ticking towards disaster; The West is ignoring all the signs that the Middle East is about to explode, says
Robert Fisk

needed a weak Palestinian leader, put the West into overdrive. Arafat was a man with whom one could do business, the true leader of his people, a future president of a Palestinian state.

There was no end to this nonsense. Those of us who wrote that Oslo was a disaster, that Arafat had mortgaged his house - or "sold it twice over", as the Egyptian historian Mohamed Heikal put it to me on the day it was revealed - were vilified as spoilers of peace, as supporters of "terrorism" or, slanderous though the accusation was, "anti-Semitic". When I pointed out that Oslo provided no international guarantees, that Arafat was a deeply corrupted, untrustworthy man, that Israel had made no written commitments to halt settlement-building or share Jerusalem as a capital with the Palestinians, or leave all of the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, I was informed that Israel had every intention of doing so.

When I suggested that Oslo allowed Israel to renegotiate UN Security Council Resolution 242 - calling for a total withdrawal from all occupied land in return for total security, the basis of the original 1991 US-sponsored Madrid peace conference - I was informed that trust rather than written agreements would secure peace.

But in the Middle East over the past few days, a remarkable transformation has taken place. Arafat is now being accused of giving the green light to "terror". We are asked to recall the large number of prisoners who have been tortured or murdered in the jails of the Palestinian authority. And - horror of horrors - we are told he is corrupt. Palestinian legislators have demanded the sacking of his entire cabinet for squandering 40 per cent of the authority's financial income; all but two ministers offered their resignation. What is happening is perfectly clear: Arafat is being rebestialised. He is being returned to pariah status. In preparation for what?

The United States, needless to say, is applying pressure on Arafat to "step up the war on terror" - a pressure that was not applied to the Israelis when they decided to go ahead with their new settlement on occupied land at Jebel Abu Ghoneim (Har Homa), which was not applied to the Israelis after the opening of the Jerusalem tunnel whose funding was provided by Irving Moskowitz (part of whose fortune was made with American bingo parlours). Nor was American pressure applied when Israel began to deprive Palestinians of their Jerusalem residency rights on the grounds that - although their families have lived there for generations - they have spent too many years outside the country. Another 120,000 Jerusalem Palestinians now face losing those same rights because they live on the outskirts of the city.

But after the massacre of Israelis in Jerusalem last week - a frightful act that was as wicked as it was inevitable - Arafat was ordered to resume his role as chief Palestinian policeman. Forget for a moment that every act of Palestinian "terrorism" is supposed to be linked to Arafat while every act of Israeli "terrorism" - the Hebron mosque slaughter or the murder of the Israeli prime minister, for example - is supposed to be the work of lone, insane criminals. The female settler who portrayed the Prophet Mohamed as a pig - which immediately prompted Hamas's promise of revenge - may indeed have acted alone. But if the settlements had been closed down, the incident would never have occurred. What the suicide bombings did last week was to refocus Western attention on the cruelty, rather than the causes, of the violence.

Taher al-Adwan, editor of the Jordanian daily Al-Arab Al-Yom, represented the Arab view bluntly last week. "The Israelis tear up peace agreements," he wrote. "For withdrawal from the occupied territories, they substitute aggressive settlement expansion. They assault the holy places and insult Islam. Then above all this, they demand security, stability and peace."

It is no satisfaction to realise that one's worst predictions are swiftly being fulfilled. Only a madman does not want peace. But the dishonesty built into the Oslo agreement and Washington's gutless and uncritical response to all of Israel's actions have led the region to the abyss. Dennis Ross's return to the Middle East this week is surely more a gesture to disprove America's impotence than a serious attempt to revive a "peace process" that the Middle East already regards as dead.

And if the West Bank burns, do the Israelis believe that the Hizbollah will call a truce north of the Israeli border? Syria, too, is being accused once again by Israel of support for "world terror" - and Israel has again refused to return the occupied Syrian Golan Heights. So is Damascus also to be a target? Last week, President Assad of Syria - after

Ticking towards disaster; The West is ignoring all the signs that the Middle East is about to explode, says
Robert Fisk

telling President Mubarak of Egypt that he sees no immediate hope of peace - paid his first visit to Tehran for seven years. He wanted to meet the new Iranian president but he took with him a clutch of Syrian generals to discuss what Damascus called "strategic relations" between the two countries. The Hizbollah's weapons are shipped through Syria - from Iran.

As for the Palestinians, an ever-growing number believe that Arafat's role is to be Israel's full-time policeman, to suppress, crush and eliminate all Palestinian opposition groups so that Israel can continue to dispossess Palestinians, so that Israeli settlements can be built on occupied Arab land, and so Israel can withdraw residence papers from Palestinians who have lived in Jerusalem for generations and thus "Judaicise" Islam's third holiest city. By acting as policeman - by ensuring there is no violent Palestinian response to these acts - Arafat would, in effect, become the means by which Israel can now tear up the peace treaty.

But he probably does not have the time. The West may wilfully ignore the warnings but there is no excuse for Israelis or Palestinians to do so. And there have been plenty of Israelis willing - however vainly - to warn of what is to come. As long ago as April the Israeli commentator Hemi Shalev wrote in Maariv that ". . . more and more people, including those who should know, are starting to believe that an enormous explosion is unavoidable. If the Americans do not succeed in stopping the deterioration at the last moment, and if the leaders do not come to their senses before it is too late, the region will go up in flames and the historic act of conciliation will sink in rivers of blood, both ours and theirs." Mr Shalev's analysis was ignored.

Load-Date: August 4, 1997

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THE NEWS IN BRIEF

Christian Science Monitor (Boston, MA)

April 18, 1995, Tuesday

Copyright 1995 The Christian Science Publishing Society

Section: THE NEWS IN BRIEF; Pg. 2

Length: 1470 words

Byline: Compiled by Suzanne MacLachlan and David Mutch

Body

The US

The US Supreme Court heard arguments in a case claiming that the Endangered Species Act does not protect the habitats of endangered species. An appeals court ruled that the law protects activities such as hunting and trapping, but not indirect threats such as habitat destruction. The high court left intact a \$ 420,000 award won against the Duquesne Light Co. in Pittsburgh by a white man who says he was denied promotion because of his race. It refused to reinstate an affirmative-action plan for promoting black fire fighters in Birmingham, Ala. The court agreed to clarify a federal law that adds five years to the prison sentence of anyone who "uses or carries" a gun while engaged in drug trafficking. It also allowed a Secret Service Agent to be sued for damages for inviting a CBS TV crew on a raid so it could videotape a search of a private home.

Henry Foster's nomination for surgeon general is not "viable" and may not even get out of committee, Senator Dole said. Hearings before the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee are scheduled to begin May 2. Dole, meanwhile, has flown 187 times since 1993 aboard private jets, most owned by corporations with interest in congressional business, Newsweek magazine reported.

The federal government is to begin scouring state motor-vehicle records for drivers with phony Social Security numbers. Illegal aliens, fugitives from justice, and deadbeat parents often give false social security numbers to get a drivers license and a new identity. Critics of the program say the data could be used to compromise privacy.

Most states are not moving enough unemployed welfare parents into jobs or training to comply with federal laws, the Department of Health and Human Services said. With only 10 states in compliance, experts worry the move to put welfare in the hands of the states is not a good idea.

Women are not as politically active as men because they have less money and are less likely to possess needed communication and organizational skills, says a study by the University of Michigan, Boston College, and Harvard University. More than 2,500 people took part in the study.

House Speaker Gingrich would like to make Washington D.C., a Maryland congressional district and give city residents full representation in Congress, the Washington Times reported. The GOP has opposed proposals to make the capital a state.

Michael Huffington, who lost a \$ 28 million bid for the Senate, has set his sights on the 1998 California governor's race, the Los Angeles Times reported. Huffington said he would not use his own money for the state race.

THE NEWS IN BRIEF

The US has become the most economically stratified of all the industrial nations, according to new and mostly unpublished statistical research, the New York Times reported. In 1989, the wealthiest 1 percent of US households, worth \$ 2.3 million each, owned nearly 40 percent of the nation's wealth. The richest 1 percent in Britain own about 18 percent of the wealth.

Indian tribes and state lawmakers are heading for a gambling showdown in Connecticut. In return for exclusive rights to operate casinos, the tribes pay the state a share of slot-machine takes. Now the state assembly is considering allowing non-Indian casinos, and the Pequots, who operate the successful Foxwoods casino, might stop payments to the state.

Five people were sentenced in Seattle for smuggling at least 1,000 illegal aliens into the US from India and Pakistan. Four of those sentenced are not citizens and face deportation hearings after serving their time.

The World

The militant Islamic group **Hamas** is likely to carry out retaliatory attacks after an Israeli ambush killed three of its activists Sunday, the army commander of the West Bank said. Security has been heightened since the ambush, and the Palestinian Authority has condemned the killings. Israeli forces said the Palestinians who were slain were on their way to attack Israelis. A military tribunal yesterday sentenced an Islamic militant to seven years in prison for smuggling explosives to attack Israelis.

Turkish troops pressed their attack on Kurdish rebels holed up in a mountain stronghold in eastern Turkey yesterday, military officials said. About 25,000 Turkish troops moved in on Alibogazi ravine Sunday in an operation similar to Turkey's cross-border offensive in northern Iraq. (Story, Page 3.)

Sarajevo's airport reopened for UN administrative flights, but humanitarian airlifts into the city remained suspended yesterday, the UN said. It said it is considering Serb demands that Bosnian citizens not be allowed on UN flights as a precondition for promising not to attack the airport. Rebel Serbs in Croatia hijacked four UN peacekeeping vehicles, jailing overnight three soldiers and four doctors. Senator Dole reiterated his support for lifting the arms embargo on Bosnia's Muslim-led government.

Philippine Foreign Affairs Secretary Roberto Romulo resigned yesterday, the latest and most prominent casualty in a major row over the execution of a Filipina maid for double murder in Singapore. President Ramos last week fired the former ambassador to Singapore and suspended the current envoy and seven other labor and foreign affairs officials for negligence and incompetence.

US Treasury Secretary Rubin arrived in India yesterday. US officials said Rubin would use his four-day visit to press India to push ahead with economic reforms that show signs of flagging amid political opposition.

The US will try to persuade China to break off talks with Iran over selling nuclear-power technology to that country, the Washington Post reported. The paper quoted unidentified sources as saying Secretary of State Christopher was expected to raise objections to a pending China-Iran deal when he met with Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen yesterday. Both are attending the UN conference on extending the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Russia said it could not stick to all the terms of a crucial conventional arms-reduction treaty until the war in rebel Chechnya was over, Interfax news agency reported. Defense Minister Grachev told Interfax that Moscow wanted a review of the 1990 Conventional Forces in Europe treaty, which limits the number of troops and armor Russia can station in the volatile southern Caucasus region.

The US will return about \$ 700 million worth of military hardware to Pakistan, Foreign Minister Sardar Assef Ali said. Prime Minister Bhutto secured Washington's promise to return the equipment, which was to have been repaired in the US.

THE NEWS IN BRIEF

Winnie Mandela announced she was resigning from her estranged husband's Cabinet yesterday, one day before her dismissal was to take effect. Mandela said she will pursue "more pressing" interests.

Libyan protesters pounded drums outside the UN office in Tripoli, the media attacked the US, and Libyan leader Gadhafi continued to exhort Libyans to be steadfast before UN sanctions. Gadhafi plans to defy a UN travel ban by flying pilgrims to Mecca, Saudi Arabia, this week.

Etcetrera

The magnolia tree that withstood the crash of a plane aimed at the White House last September is taking root again in Tennessee. Former Sen. Howard Baker arranged for horticulturalists to take the clippings from the famous tree planted by President Jackson. Baker replanted the seedlings at the Museum of Appalachia.

Americans posted two upset victories in the finals of the Japan Open tennis tournament. Jim Courier beat top-ranked Andre Agassi, and Amy Frazier defeated three-time defending champion Kimiko Date.

Presidential hopeful Dole says he doesn't like some movies. He suggests political leaders should engage the entertainment industry in debate about the content of TV shows. And if elected, he'll encourage people "to turn off their TV sets and not patronize these movies."

Michael Jackson and wife Lisa Marie Presley-Jackson will spend the next three days hosting children from 17 countries for a conference on cultural diversity.

Best-Selling Hardcover Nonfiction

1. "Men Are From Mars, Women Are From Venus," John Gray (HarperCollins)
2. "The Hot Zone," Richard Preston (Random House)
3. "Mars & Venus in the Bedroom," John Gray (HarperCollins)
4. "Breaking the Surface," Greg Louganis (Random House)
5. "The Death of Common Sense," Philip K. Howard (Random House)
6. "Sisters," Carol Saline (Running Press)
7. "The Seven Spiritual Laws of Success," Deepak Chopra (New World Library)
8. "First Things First," Stephen R. Covey (Simon & Schuster)
9. "The Beardstown Ladies' Common-Sense Investment Guide," Leslie Whitaker (Hyperion)
10. "The Diary of a Young Girl," Anne Frank (Doubleday)

P Publishers Weekly

"I agree 100 percent with [Israeli] Prime Minister Rabin that this is an irreversible peace process. And our bottom line is to make it work."

P Nabil Sha'ath, aide to PLO leader Arafat

Graphic

PHOTOS: 1)Presidential candidate Dole has appealed to conservatives in recent remarks., R. NORMAN MATHENY -- STAFF; 2)Chrysler Chairman Eaton repeated that the company is not for sale, but he will evaluate Kirk Kerkorian's April 12 takeover offer. Kerkorian does not yet have financing arranged. Lee Iacocca would invest \$ 50 million of his own money as part of the deal., JOHN C. HILLERY/REUTERS; 3)Police patrol Tokyo's largest subway station. Japanese media reports said the leader of the Aum Shinri Kyo sect ordered followers to produce the nerve gas used in the March 20 subway attack., KIMIMASA MAYAMA/REUTERS. Map, Libya., STAFF

Load-Date: April 19, 1995

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THE NEWS IN BRIEF

Christian Science Monitor (Boston, MA)

April 11, 1995, Tuesday

Copyright 1995 The Christian Science Publishing Society

Section: THE NEWS IN BRIEF; Pg. 2

Length: 1457 words

Byline: Compiled by Suzanne MacLachlan, David Mutch, and Peter E. Nordahl

Body

The World

Palestinian police rounded up 112 suspected sympathizers of the militant Islamic groups Hamas and Islamic Jihad. The groups claimed responsibility for Sunday's two suicide bombings that killed seven Israelis in the Gaza Strip. A Palestinian military court jailed an Islamic Jihad member for the first time. An Israeli delegation arrived in Cairo yesterday for a new round of negotiations on Palestinian elections. (Story, Page 1.)

President Fujimori won a second term in Peru's first national elections free of guerrilla violence in more than a decade. According to unofficial results, Fujimori won a landslide victory with at least 60 percent of the vote. Chief opponent Javier Perez de Cuellar said the unfair campaign conditions he faced shed doubt on the outcome. Fujimori said he would strengthen his free-market reforms and continue to crack down on guerrillas.

The dollar fell to a new global low of just over 80 yen yesterday but recovered somewhat by afternoon. Japan's prime minister called an emergency meeting to discuss how to curb the yen's surge. The dollar has lost about 20 percent since starting the year at 101.45 yen. Analysts say the root cause of the downfall is a large trade and budget deficit, which forces the US to borrow heavily abroad. (Story, Page 9.)

In what diplomats said was probably a final effort to stop the slide toward all-out war in Bosnia, the five-nation Contact Group will offer Serbia relief from UN trade sanctions if Belgrade gives formal recognition to Bosnia. Contact Group officials are scheduled to visit Belgrade today. The UN commander in Bosnia, meanwhile, warned rebel Serbs that they risked NATO airstrikes if they continued shelling Sarajevo.

The UN said the situation in northern Iraq was still tense and fighting between rival Iraqi Kurdish factions could erupt any time despite a temporary cease-fire. In anticipation of US Deputy Secretary of State Talbott's visit to Ankara, Prime Minister Ciller defended Turkey's sweep into Iraq. (Story, Page 7.)

Russian border guards killed nine Tajik rebels in clashes on the Tajik-Afghan border as heavy fighting continued for the fourth-straight day yesterday. Tajikistan's leader Rakhmonov asked Russian President Yeltsin for extra military aid after attacks by the rebels killed at least 29 Russian border guards. Chechen refugees, meanwhile, said Russian troops committed atrocities and killed dozens of civilians last weekend.

Iceland's conservative Independence Party, in power since 1991, scraped by in a cliffhanger parliamentary election. Prime Minister David Oddsson said his government coalition would remain unchanged for now. Frictions within the government have arisen over fishery policies and membership in the EU.

THE NEWS IN BRIEF

EU foreign ministers failed yesterday to end a bitter dispute between Canada and Spain over North Atlantic fishing rights, an EU spokesman said. The ministers called for more talks to seek a deal as quickly as possible. (Story, Page 1.)

Philippine President Ramos suspended Ambassador to Singapore Alicia Ramos and eight other diplomats over last month's hanging of a Filipina maid in Singapore. Singapore rejected the findings of a Philippine presidential commission into the 1991 double murders for which the maid was hanged, saying the findings were based on hearsay. Philippine police and troops, meanwhile, were at the highest level of alert yesterday amid fears of renewed attacks by Islamic militants.

EU officials headed for Northern Ireland yesterday bearing a \$ 386 million aid package intended to help speed economic recovery in the British province.

Senate Democratic leader Daschle said he would consider a middle-income tax cut more modest than the one approved by the House, as long as it doesn't increase the debt. Democratic Senators also said they will not be rushed by the House on consideration of regulatory reform. The House has already passed a bill requiring federal agencies to do detailed cost-benefit analysis and risk reviews before issuing regulations. Senator Dole wanted the bill on the floor before the current spring recess, but Democrats stuck with rules that held up the complex measure.

The GOP social agenda, delayed during Congress's first 100 days, will grab attention when Capitol Hill reopens for business later this month. Many House Republicans want to cut government-sponsored abortion and family planning, toss out the 1994 assault-weapon ban, and trim affirmative-action programs. Thousands of women rallied over the weekend against the Republicans' program.

California Democrats pledged almost unanimously to defend affirmative-action programs targeted for elimination in a 1996 state-ballot initiative. President Clinton told them Saturday that they must abandon preference programs that do not work. Assembly Speaker Willie Brown said he was disappointed with Clinton's stance. (Story, Page 1.)

House Speaker Gingrich said the US is not ready to outlaw abortion because most Americans support a woman's right to choose. He also urged Ross Perot's supporters to abandon plans to form a third party for the 1996 elections because this would "hand the election" to Clinton.

Conservative Democratic Representative Deal of Georgia decided to switch to the Republican Party. He is the third Democrat to switch parties since last fall's election. Deal's switch increases the GOP majority in the House to 231-203, with one independent.

Clinton said he would stagger the mailing of millions of retirement and disability checks now sent at the beginning of each month to help even out the government's workload. (Story, Page 4.)

A tentative settlement was reached yesterday in the 14-day-old transit strike in Philadelphia. Labor leaders were hopeful that full service would resume citywide by yesterday afternoon.

New York City began banning smoking in restaurants with dining rooms seating more than 35 people. Some 11,000 eating facilities will be affected. Smoking in restaurant bars will be banned unless the bars are six feet from dining areas or separated by a floor-to-ceiling partition.

General Motors was the biggest and most profitable among large corporation in 1994, according to Forbes magazine. Exxon Corporation dropped from first to third place, and the Ford Motor Company ranked No. 2.

Good schools involve parents as full partners, a Carnegie Foundation report said. Thousands of schools do things right, according to the report, and it's time for other schools to learn from them.

Japan's Matsushita sold a four-fifths stake in its MCA Inc. movie unit to Canadian beverage group Seagram Co. for \$ 5.7 billion, a capital loss for the company. Frontier Corp., meanwhile, agreed to acquire ALC Communications Corp. for \$ 1.8 billion to create the fifth-largest long-distance phone company in the US.

THE NEWS IN BRIEF

Massachusetts Governor Weld is looking at ways to change the state's legal system. He's considering reducing the amounts of awards in court cases and cutting lawyers' fees.

Etcetera

An emotional Ben Crenshaw won the Masters golf tournament in Augusta, Ga., Sunday, for a second time. Davis Love finished one stroke behind him. Crenshaw's veteran golfing teacher, Harvey Penick, died two weeks before the tournament. Crenshaw also won the Masters in 1984. (Story, Page 13.)

Rock reigned in 1994 record sales, with country and pop finishing second and third. Industry figures show that more than \$ 12 billion worth of records were sold last year in the United States -- up 20 percent from \$ 10 billion a year earlier.

The Hispanic community has organized a boycott designed to cut advertising revenue from Howard Stern's radio show. The boycott follows Stern's remarks about singing sensation Selena and her Tejano music style just days after she was killed in Corpus Christi, Texas on March 31. Stern's program featured mock gunfire against the background of her music.

Chinese airport security officers in Xian seized four fossilized dinosaur eggs in the luggage of a Japanese tourist. She had bought them for \$ 475. China bans the export of dinosaur fossils.

Best-Selling Hardcover Fiction

1. "The Celestine Prophecy," James Redfield (Warner)
2. "Our Game," John Le Carre (Knopf)
3. "Politically Correct Bedtime Stories," James Finn Garner (Macmillan)
4. "Border Music," Robert James Waller (Warner)
5. "A Dog's Life," Peter Mayle (Knopf)
6. "The Glass Lake," Maeve Binchy (Delacorte)
7. "The Bridges of Madison County," Robert James Waller (Warner)
8. "Original Sin," P. D. James (Knopf)
9. "Moo," Jane Smiley (Knopf)
10. "The Fourth Procedure," Stanley Pottinger (Ballentine)

P Associated Press

"There is no magic wand which can resolve the problems of a country in five years."

P Peruvian President Fujimori after his reelection for a second term

Graphic

THE NEWS IN BRIEF

PHOTOS: 1)Members of a Mexican government delegation (pictured) meet with guerrilla leaders of the Zapatista National Liberation Army on April 9 in the village of San Miguel. The government is looking for a peaceful solution to the Indian peasant uprising., HERIBERTO RODRIGUEZ/REUTERS; 2)Senator Daschle said he would consider supporting moderate tax cuts for the middle class., R. NORMAN MATHENY -- STAFF; 3)First lady Hillary Clinton and Barbra Streisand applaud at a Jewish Federation luncheon in Beverly Hills, Calif., where President Clinton gave an address. , RICK WILKING/REUTERS. Map, Iceland., STAFF

Load-Date: April 12, 1995

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The News in Brief

Christian Science Monitor (Boston, MA)

October 4, 1996, Friday

Copyright 1996 The Christian Science Publishing Society

Section: THE NEWS IN BRIEF; Pg. 2

Length: 1527 words

Byline: Compiled by Cynthia Hanson, Lance Carden, and Yvonne Zipp

Body

THE US

Israeli and Palestinian negotiators agreed to "renew and intensify" talks beginning Sunday in the Middle East at the conclusion of a summit in Washington. While President Clinton and Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu (center) both said the talks were worthwhile, no agreements were reached on major issues. Palestinians called the summit a "setback" because President Arafat (left) returned home with no concessions from Israel. GOP candidate Bob Dole expressed disappointment that Clinton's remarks on the summit "did not include an unequivocal condemnation of the recent violence."

The second annual State of the World Forum opened in San Francisco with speakers criticizing current Israeli policies toward Palestinians. More than 500 people from 55 nations are participating in the five-day forum on "The Price of Peace."

Clinton signed several anticrime measures into law, including one that establishes a national registry for convicted sex offenders and another that cracks down on the spread of methamphetamines.

The Senate passed a bill to fund the Federal Aviation Administration for the next two years. That bill and another expanding federal parks were the two main pieces of legislation keeping senators in Washington before devoting full time to the national elections.

Clinton signed an order barring Burma's government leaders from entering the US. The move comes in the wake of reports that Burmese authorities have arrested hundreds of democracy activists and attempted to seal off the home of democracy leader Aung San Suu Kyi. In Burma, Suu Kyi asked the European Commission to adopt sanctions against Burma for using forced and child labor.

The White House ordered the Pentagon to review possible US troop exposure to chemical weapons during the Gulf war. The administration is waiting for a CIA wind-current study that could help determine the number of troops exposed to nerve gas during the destruction of an Iraqi munitions depot in March 1991.

Seven people were indicted in the largest-known theft of combat equipment from a US military base. The men, who include two civilian employees at a training base in Wisconsin, were charged with stealing a World War II Army tank, 17 armored personnel carriers, and more than 100 other combat vehicles worth \$ 13 million from the base. All major items were recovered.

The News in Brief

The Clinton administration began a bailout of several rural electric power suppliers unable to survive in the new age of utility deregulation, The Wall Street Journal reported. The multibillion dollar effort aims to help electric cooperatives that requested debt write-downs or write-offs.

Former Los Angeles detective Mark Furhmann pleaded no contest to perjury for saying under oath he hadn't used a racial epithet in a decade during the O.J. Simpson trial. He received three years probation and a \$ 200 fine.

Baltimore became the first city to offer residents an alternative to dialing 911 for less-pressing police calls. If it's not a dire emergency, residents can now dial 311. The Justice Department says most calls to 911 in many communities aren't emergencies, and the phone traffic may be blocking people in need of immediate assistance.

Baltimore Orioles second baseman Roberto Alomar withdrew his appeal of a five-game suspension for spitting in an umpire's face. His decision to serve the suspension next season puts baseball officials and umpires back on a collision course today in a Philadelphia court. The leagues have asked for an injunction to keep umpires from boycotting the rest of the playoffs in protest of Alomar's being allowed to play.

New orders received by US factories dropped 1.9 percent during August - the sharpest rate in 3-1/2 years, the Commerce Department said. The decline adds to signs of a broad-based slowing in industrial activity.

THE WORLD

Right-wing activists lined the Tel Aviv-Jerusalem highway to cheer Prime Minister Netanyahu after he arrived home from the Washington summit. But West Bank Palestinians burned a US flag and threw stones at Israeli soldiers in Hebron. Jordan's information minister described the peace process as in "deep crisis." And the Islamic militant group **Hamas** urged Palestinians to head to "total confrontations" with Israeli forces and settlers. Also, Yigal Amir, the convicted assassin of former Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, Amir's brother, and a third Israeli were sentenced to prison terms of five to 12 years for plotting Rabin's assassination. Amir is already serving a life sentence for Rabin's murder.

President Boris Yeltsin reassured the Russian people he is still in charge. In an unusual six-minute radio address, he also gave security chief Alexander Lebed a vote of confidence. The president endorsed Lebed's peace accord with Chechen separatist leader Zelimkhan Yandarbiyev, who arrived in Moscow for talks with Lebed and others.

Presidents Alija Izetbegovic of Bosnia and Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia agreed to normalize diplomatic relations at a meeting in Paris, French President Jacques Chirac said. Also UN peacekeepers in Eastern Slavonia began a cash-for-weapons exchange. Eastern Slavonia, the last sliver of Serb-held land in eastern Croatia, was officially demilitarized in August when Serb rebels were forced to dismantle. But many weapons remain in private hands.

Sri Lanka's Tamil rebels blasted power and telecommunications stations and attacked a police post, killing at least 10 people. More than 46,000 people have died in the 13-year conflict over a homeland for the island's Tamil minority.

Canadian auto workers went on strike against GM after talks broke down over outsourcing, the practice of relying on low-cost, outside suppliers.

Amnesty International accused Afghanistan's Taliban militia of conducting a "reign of terror." Amnesty said the Taliban, who captured the Afghan capital of Kabul late last week, had arrested as many as 1,000 supporters of the former government.

China released democracy activist Tong Yi, secretary to veteran dissident Wei Jingsheng, after she finished a 2-1/2-year prison term for "reeducation through labor." Wei began serving a 14-year sentence last year.

South African President Nelson Mandela said he would take special steps to see that justice is done, if apartheid supporters were involved in the 1986 murder of Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme. Sweden said it would send investigators to South Africa to follow up on information disclosed last week by a former police colonel.

The News in Brief

Algerian security forces killed Yacine Amara, an Armed Islamic Group emir, and eight of his followers in a day-long siege. Amara was accused of being behind the slayings of dozens of civilians and officials.

The election of Armenian President Ter-Petrosian was called into question by official European observers. Officials of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe reported "very serious breaches" of Armenian election law.

UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali expressed shock at reports of weekend massacres in Liberia. UN reports said a "cold-blooded massacre" took place at Sinje in Grand Cape Mount County, leaving 17 civilians dead, many more wounded. More than 1,000 Liberians fled the area in the wake of the attack.

Polish poet Wislawa Szymborska won the Nobel Prize for Literature. This year's \$ 1.12 million prize was the most generous ever awarded.

ETCETERAS

"I especially appeal to schoolchildren. Do not be afraid of your superiors,
and ask them the most pointed questions. You have every right to do this."

-- Russian President Boris Yeltsin, in a radio address asking elected officials to visit schools and teach a class.

Kix Brooks and Ronnie Dunn became the first duo to win the Country Music Association's award for Entertainer of the Year. George Strait was named Best Male Vocalist. Patty Loveless won for Best **Female** Vocalist.

Help is on the way for US teachers who are not yet computer-literate. A coalition of educational groups, teachers unions, and high-tech companies has launched a grass-roots initiative. Four thousand volunteers will train five teachers each. Registration is by e-mail at <http://www.21ct.org>.

Getting married and hoping to avoid a pile of kitchen gadgets from guests at your wedding? A new Federal Housing Administration program lets couples start a bridal registry account at participating banks. Guests can contribute toward a down payment on something more substantial: a house.

THE DAY'S LIST

Booker Prize Nominees

Britain's 1996 Booker Prize for Fiction will be awarded Oct. 29. Here are the titles and authors nominated this year, and a brief description of each novel:

Beryl Bainbridge for "Every Man for Himself" (About the 1912 sinking of the Titanic.)

Graham Swift for "Last Orders" (A butcher's ashes are scattered at sea.)

Sena Mackay for "The Orchard on Fire" (A couple runs a provincial tearoom in 1953.)

Margaret Atwood for "Alias Grace" (A woman is imprisoned for murdering her employer and his lover.)

Rohinton Mistry for "A Fine Balance" (Four characters during a state of emergency in India in the mid-1970s.)

Seamus Deane for "Reading in the Dark" (A boy narrator is enclosed in two worlds - one legendary, the other actual.)

- Associated Press

Graphic

The News in Brief

PHOTOS: 1) Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat and Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, DOUG MILLS/AP 2) Polish poet and Nobel laureate Wislawa Szymborska, FILIP MILLER/AP 3) Country musicians Kix Brooks and Ronnie Dunn, CHRISTOPHER BERKEY/AP; Map, Showing Armenia, STAFF

Load-Date: October 4, 1996

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MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT: THE PALESTINIANS;
How Palestinian Policemen Were Drawn Into the Conflict

The New York Times

September 29, 1996, Sunday, Late Edition - Final

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Distribution: Foreign Desk

Section: Section 1; ; Section 1; Page 1; Column 4; Foreign Desk ; Column 4;

Length: 1518 words

Byline: By NEIL MacFARQUHAR

By NEIL MacFARQUHAR

Dateline: RAFAH, Gaza Strip, Sept. 28

Body

The fence between Egypt and the Gaza Strip had been torn aside by hundreds of angry demonstrators by the time Zahir, a Palestinian policeman, got his orders on Thursday to try to push all the Palestinian civilians away from the border.

He said he had been shoving through the crowd of hundreds of men, women and children for about 15 minutes when bullets from a nearby Israeli watchtower whizzed into the crowd, wounding two Palestinian men. At that point an elderly woman in a white head scarf grabbed his arm and asked why he was not fighting when civilians like herself were willing to die for the cause.

At that point he stood behind a wall and started firing toward the watchtower.

"I never imagined in my life that I would get into a situation in Gaza where I would be firing at Israelis," said the 32-year-old policeman, who did not want his full name published out of fear that he would face disciplinary sanction for opening fire. He said he had spent this morning trying to find 20 bullets on the black market to replace the clip he had expended against the watchtower.

"I had always been able to maintain a barrier between my feelings as an ordinary citizen against the peace process, which has brought us nothing, and my military orders to preserve it," said Zahir, one of about 5,000 Palestinian fighters who returned from exile in May 1994 to form the foundation of a police force that has since grown to 40,000.

"But how am I supposed to follow orders when I see my cousin, my brother or my neighbor being wounded?" he continued. "At that moment the contradiction became too strong. My emotional reaction to take my gun and respond overcame my military reaction."

Palestinian police commanders, with their various security forces on almost a war footing against the Israeli military, are calling the events of the last week an aberration, and by today the police were trying to prevent further clashes.

MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT: THE PALESTINIANS; How Palestinian Policemen Were Drawn Into the Conflict

Interviews with the policemen who were involved suggest that the outburst of violence sprang from accumulating frustrations over the last two years and the awkward position the policemen face in having to work to protect a peace agreement that is the source of increasingly bitter feelings in the neighborhoods where they live. Police commanders also point out that the undisciplined, uneducated generation that spent its formative years lobbing stones at Israeli soldiers is a difficult one to remake into a conventional police force.

"We didn't come back to fight Israel; we came back to live in our own land and to solve our problems with Israel," said Col. Abu Salah, the 60-year-old officer in charge of training Force 17, the security service that protects Yasir Arafat, the Palestinian leader. "But when my men see a friend killed or injured by Israeli bullets, what do you want them to do? Even if I ordered them to stop, they would probably keep shooting until they ran out of ammunition."

Huge crowds turned out two years ago to cheer wildly when the Palestinian military units crossed the border into Gaza, arriving from camps in Algeria, Lebanon, Yemen, Libya, Iraq and the Sudan. As the first symbol of what the Palestinians thought was going to be their state, they received a reception that was even more enthusiastic than the one that greeted Mr. Arafat when he arrived some months later.

In the years since, that enthusiasm had cooled markedly. The police, given minimum training and basically viewed as an employment agency for former militants, were beginning to be seen by the Palestinian public as just another form of the Israeli occupation they had endured for 27 years, and they wanted none of it.

Poor police discipline has resulted in eight deaths of detainees under interrogation, according to human rights activists. And just last Tuesday, policemen ill-prepared in crowd control shot and killed a fan while trying to subdue a rambunctious soccer crowd on the West Bank.

"Arafat, not unlike other Arab leaders in the region who depend on the army, wanted to use his security forces to stay in power," said Khader Shkirat, director of the Palestinian Society for the Protection of Human Rights and the Environment. "He thinks that will earn him respect and will serve as a barrier against the influence of the civil society on the leadership."

Human rights activists say there are up to 13 different command structures now in place for the Palestinian police, with a murky division of responsibilities. Besides the regular police, they listed public security, preventive security, intelligence services, presidential security, university police and emergency services. Moreover, the military services and the coast guard perform similar intelligence and security duties.

After the beating death of a Palestinian in jail this summer, the 88-member elected Palestinian Council issued a report sharply critical of the plethora of police agencies. It said competition among the agencies, inadequate communication and a lack of education on law and human rights in the training procedures left serious shortcomings in the way the security services handled the public.

But the public has been treating the police more warmly since the shooting incidents this week that left 14 Israelis dead. About 10 policemen are among the 54 Palestinians killed. Even hard-line opposition groups like Hamas, which had previously called the police collaborators with Israel, issued a leaflet hailing the police for having finally joined Palestinian society.

"The Israelis have never felt before that the Palestinians could harm them," said the Palestinian Justice Minister, Freih Abu Medein. Since the shootings, he said, "the Palestinians are now proud of their army, proud of this image."

Police commanders have been ready to excuse their men for opening fire this week during the demonstrations sparked by all the frustrations with the lack of progress in peace talks since the Likud Government under Benjamin Netanyahu came to power in June. The demonstrations this week were sparked by the fact that Israel opened a new tourist entrance to an archeological tunnel near the Dome of the Rock, the third holiest site in Islam.

"The Palestinian people had built a lot of hopes on the peace, and there was neither political nor economic progress," said Gen. Nasser Yousef, the commander of the Palestinian police. "There was an accumulation of frustration, and the tunnel incident was the last drop which made the glass overflow."

MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT: THE PALESTINIANS; How Palestinian Policemen Were Drawn Into the Conflict

General Yousef said standing orders were to prevent any friction between Palestinian demonstrators and Israeli troops, but with 97 percent of his police now recruited locally, it is hard to insure against reaction in extreme confrontations. He accused the Israeli soldiers of violating an agreement not to use live ammunition and to fire warning shots in the air at any Palestinian demonstration. The Israelis have accused Palestinian forces of opening fire first.

"We are still a solid police force, but when the streets are burning, it is difficult to maintain order," he said.

The general said the police force did not have the resources for extensive training programs, although Britain, the Netherlands, Egypt and the Scandinavian nations had all helped train some men. Training runs from 10 days to one month of intensive courses, he said. For more elite units like Force 17, the training is three months.

The colonel who runs that program said he had tried to weed out militants who had been organizers during the intifada, the seven-year uprising that started in 1987 against Israel's occupation.

"We try and find people who are at least neutral," Col. Abu Salah said. "They shouldn't be from the political factions or the zealots who oppose the peace process. We try to chose untainted people,"

The colonel, who fled the Gaza Strip after the fighting in 1967, said the generation that grew up under the occupation was the worst that he had ever seen.

"They didn't go to school, they are illiterate, they smoke, many of them forget about helping their parents, they spend their money on immoral things, and they have no sense of responsibility," he said. "That is the raw material that Israel left us with here. They corrupted a generation."

Once the demonstrations turned into riots, most political leaders on the scene were reluctant to step in and try and stop it for fear of being attacked by the mobs. Just a day after the most serious violence, when the Palestinian police were yelling at the crowds that Mr. Arafat had assented to their demonstrations around Israeli checkpoints for just one day and that they would no longer be allowed, the younger stone-throwers were again spitting at the police and calling them cowards.

Zahir, the policeman who opened fire at the Israeli watchtower in Rafah, said he had stopped shooting after 20 bullets. "I actually couldn't see any Israeli soldiers, but I just fired in the direction where I thought they would be," he said.

But now he said his commanders were expected to order one of their periodic bullet counts, and he had replaced only 18. "If I can't find two more, my officer may make some problems for me," he said.

Load-Date: September 29, 1996

**Intefadeh started with market stabbing;
Uprising seen as both protest, terrorism**

Star Tribune (Minneapolis, MN)

January 12, 1992, Metro Edition

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Section: News; PARALLEL REALITIES; Pg. 15A

Length: 2854 words

Byline: Eric Black; Staff Writer

Body

Eleventh in a series.

A stabbing. A traffic accident. A rumor. A riot. A chain of events that might have happened any time during the preceding 20 years happened in December 1987 and touched off the mass uprising in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank that came to be known as the intefadeh.

The stabbing was an apparently random attack by an Arab against an Israeli in the Gaza marketplace Dec. 6, 1987. Two days later, an Israeli truck struck a car carrying Gazan workers, killing four. A rumor swept the nearby Jabalya refugee camp that the driver of the truck was a relative of the stabbing victim and that the accident had been no accident.

By evening, leaflets had appeared branding the crash a vengeance killing. Mourners from the funeral of those killed in the crash turned into a mob and approached a nearby Israeli Army compound armed with rocks and rage. The rocks were thrown. The rage built on itself. The riot lasted far into the night and resumed at dawn, when soldiers, ordered to fire at the feet of an oncoming mob, fatally wounded a 17-year-old.

Confrontations spread throughout Gaza, then into the West Bank, then East Jerusalem and ultimately inside the borders of pre-1967 Israel. The 15 percent Arab minority of the Israeli citizenry made an unprecedented display of solidarity with the Palestinians of the occupied territories, which prompted Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir to say that the intefadeh was not a struggle for a Palestinian state in the territories, but a threat to the existence of Israel.

Every day, men, women and children of the occupied population challenged their occupiers bravely or insanely, with cunning or with terroristic intent, depending on your point of view.

Unarmed Arab teenagers would tear open their shirts and thrust their chests at Israeli troops, daring the soldiers to make another martyr for their cause. A band of rock-throwing preteens would engage a squad of soldiers.

The soldiers went to some lengths to avoid using lethal force, but Arabs were killed at a rate of about one a day. In the bizarre logic of the situation, each death was a victory for the uprising because it fed the rage that sustained the protests and because it made Israel look bad in the glare of international publicity. The Israelis became more adept at quelling the riots without killing anyone.

Intefadeh started with market stabbing; Uprising seen as both protest, terrorism

By its second anniversary, in December 1989, the intefadeh was still going strong and analysts opined that it had demonstrated that the occupation could not go on indefinitely. By its third anniversary, protest activity had declined and the intefadeh had been overshadowed by the buildup to the Persian Gulf War. The Palestinians lost some of their international sympathy by siding with Iraqi President Saddam Hussein.

By the fourth anniversary of the uprising, which passed last month, attention had shifted to the sputtering Arab-Israeli peace talks. And during its third and fourth years, the number of Palestinians killed by other Palestinians in the territories - allegedly for collaboration with the Israelis - surpassed the number killed by Israeli soldiers.

The intefadeh may be winding down, or it may regain momentum. It may have permanently changed the nature of the occupation, or it may have been a passing squall. What follows are two views of the intefadeh, first from a Palestinian viewpoint and second from a mainstream Israeli position.

A Palestinian view

Recent scholarship has uncovered records of discussions held by Israel's leaders soon after its 1967 conquest of the West Bank and Gaza. Moshe Dayan, war hero, defense minister and first Israeli ruler of the territories, said that the message he wanted to deliver to the Palestinians was: "You shall continue to live like dogs and whoever wishes to may leave. And we shall see where this process will lead."

After 20 years of living like dogs, the intefadeh erupted. It was a protest against many things, including:

The exploitation of Palestinian labor to do the scut work of Israel for low wages with high taxes and few benefits. Those arrested in the early days of the intefadeh were mostly day laborers who worked in Israel, where they faced such indignities as being locked into stables to sleep.

The humiliating treatment Palestinians receive when they pass between Israel and the territories. The arrestees told of being detained for hours for no reason, strip searched and even made to get down on all fours and bark like dogs for the amusement of border guards.

The denial of political rights, including the right to choose their own representatives.

The squalid conditions in which many Palestinians are forced to live because Israel denies reasonable economic development to the territories.

The provocative nature of Israel's policy of building settlements in the territories. Every new settlement is Israel's way of saying that it never intends to leave.

The intefadeh also was a protest by the younger generation of Palestinians against their elders and against the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) for not doing enough to confront the oppressors.

But all of the above are specific complaints. Only one general cause of the intefadeh exists and this is the illegal, immoral and brutal occupation itself, which denies the Palestinian people their inalienable right to self-determination and statehood.

The intefadeh's future course is not clear. The Israelis would like to believe that it is dying, but this cannot be so because the occupation continues and the Palestinians continue to live like dogs.

But whether the intefadeh succeeds in ending the occupation in the near or medium term, many of its accomplishments will endure.

It demonstrated to the Palestinians that they are not helpless. It demonstrated to the Israelis that the Palestinians do not accept their fate. It demonstrated to the world the brutal nature of the Israeli occupation.

The intefadeh also has been a great shatterer of Israeli illusions. When Israeli apologists want to justify the occupation, they often talk about how Israel's pre-1967 borders were difficult to defend. In other words, they

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believed that the occupation made Israel safer. The intefadeh shattered that illusion. They can never feel safe as long as they subjugate 2 million Palestinians.

Israelis had convinced themselves that the 15 percent Arab minority within Israel was satisfied with its situation. But on Peace Day in December 1987, Arabs across Israel went on strike, blocked traffic and in some cases threw rocks at Israeli police stations to show their solidarity with the intefadeh.

Palestinians overwhelmingly prefer the leadership of Yasser Arafat and the PLO. Yet Israel was always trying to cut a deal with Jordan's King Hussein to solve Israel's Palestinian problem. When the Labor Party was in power, it offered to withdraw from a portion of the West Bank if the Palestinian entity created would be part of a confederation with Jordan. The Likud Party, which has been in power since 1977, doesn't offer even that. But Likud, too, wanted to force the Palestinians to accept Jordanian leadership.

In July 1988, responding to the intefadeh, Hussein renounced his claim to be the rightful ruler of the West Bank. Thus the intefadeh helped shatter the Israeli illusion that it could gain peace without creating an independent state and without including the PLO.

Finally, Israel, despite being the most powerful state in the region, has continued to portray itself as a plucky little David surrounded by nasty Arab Goliaths. The intefadeh helped shatter that illusion once and for all.

An Israeli viewpoint

Before 1967, the West Bank was occupied by Jordan and the Gaza Strip by Egypt. Yet there were no U.N. resolutions urging the Egyptians and the Jordanians to grant the Palestinians the right of self-determination. Even the Palestinians were not calling for self-determination. They focused their energy on destroying the Jewish state.

The quality of life in the occupied territories has risen 200 percent since Israel captured them in 1967. The percentage of the population that lives in refugee camps has declined from more than one-half before 1967 to less than one-third now. The quality of the housing, health care and employment opportunities have improved.

The Arabs complain that many of the seven universities in the West Bank have been closed periodically during the uprising. This is an example of a major complaint against Israeli oppression. When Jordan controlled the West Bank, the universities never closed - because they did not exist.

West Bankers lived under a foreign king who outlawed any reference to the territory as "Palestine." Gazans lived under an Egyptian dictator, Gamal Abdel Nasser, who offered them neither Egyptian citizenship nor a state of their own.

And yet there was no intefadeh against Jordanian or Egyptian rule. And during the British mandate from 1918 to 1948, there was no intefadeh. Civil disturbances in the 1930s were not against British occupation but against the continued ingathering of the Jews to Palestine. For four centuries before the British came, when the Ottoman Turks occupied Palestine, there was no intefadeh and no demand for self-determination.

So, you'll have to pardon those Israelis who sense something anti-Jewish about this intefadeh.

All during 1988 and 1989, Israel was unfairly vilified by the international press because of the measures it took to control the uprising. Israel was portrayed as a brutal regime, operating outside of international norms and all too willing to shed innocent blood.

The irony is that if that false image of Israel had been true, there would have been no uprising. Most Palestinians would not throw rocks at armed soldiers if they really expected the soldiers to shoot them. But they knew that Israel, because of its fundamental commitment to the value of human life, would go to great lengths to avoid shooting them.

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And they knew that Israel, because of its commitment to freedom, including freedom of the press, would not close the territories to journalists. These supposedly spontaneous riots were often carefully arranged to occur when and where they would get maximum press coverage.

So the image broadcast around the world was of armed Israelis brutalizing Arab children. Little mention was made that the children were cruelly used by their leaders for the sake of publicity, or that the "victims" were the ones initiating the confrontations, or that the Israeli military sought to prevent the confrontations and, when they couldn't, tried to resolve them with the least violence.

Israel's rubber bullets and martial law approach to restraining the intefadeh contrasts with the approach Syrian dictator Hafez Assad took to a 1982 uprising against his rule in the city of Hama. Assad didn't allow the media in or issue rubber bullets. He simply surrounded Hama with tanks and artillery and shelled the city until it was in ruins and 20,000 to 40,000 people were dead.

Of course killing 100 times more people in a few days than had died in the worst year of the intefadeh didn't get Assad as much bad publicity as Israel got for detaining intefadeh organizers without due process.

The intefadeh also has brought into prominence a new element in the mix of Palestinian leadership. The Islamic Resistance Movement, known by its Arabic acronym **Hamas**, is devoted not only to forcing Israeli withdrawal from the territories but to the destruction of Israel.

Hamas belongs to a network of extremist organizations throughout the Muslim world that wants to establish Islamic law and unify all Muslim nations under a single religious leadership. This movement holds that the restoration of Islam must begin with the destruction of Israel, which it views as the spearhead of Western influence in the heart of the Muslim world.

The existence of an organization with such a view reminds Israel that - backstage reassurances notwithstanding - many within the Arab world will not rest until Israel no longer exists. It has been Israel's fate to be a nice country in a nasty neighborhood. As Israel's restraint throughout the intefadeh shows, it has not been dragged down to the level of its neighbors. But to permit the uprising to drive Israel out of the territories would have been a sign of weakness. In such a neighborhood, weakness is punishable by death.

How to order

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This is the second-to-last installment of "Parallel Realities." The final installment will appear in the Star Tribune next Sunday.

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Palestinian

intefadeh

Intefadeh started with market stabbing; Uprising seen as both protest, terrorism

The spontaneous uprising of Palestinians living in occupied territories was sparked by a stabbing, and then a traffic accident but fed by years of frustration and despair at living under Israeli rule.

The death toll through our years of the intifada, says the Associated Press:

878 Palestinians killed by Israelis.

482 Palestinians killed by Palestinian vigilantes.

76 Israelis killed in intefadeh-related violence.

Sources: Facts on File; Europa Yearbook; news services

1987

Dec. 6 An apparent random stabbing of an Israeli by an Arab in the Gaza Strip.

Dec. 8/ An accident between an Israeli truck and a Palestinian car kills four Palestinians and touches off riots in the occupied Gaza Strip. The next day, Israeli soldiers shoot and kill a 17-year-old protester in Gaza.

Dec. 16/ Arab merchants in East Jerusalem close their shops in protests. Strikes become a symbol of the uprising.

Dec. 21/ In protest actions dubbed "Peace Day," thousands of Israel's Arab citizens walk off their jobs and march in the streets to demonstrate solidarity with the Palestinians in the occupied territories.

Dec. 23/ Israel begins mass arrests.

1988

Jan. 3/ First deportation of Palestinians by the Israeli government.

Jan. 12/ Israeli army begins curfews in occupied territories.

March 5/ Intefadeh leaders call for reprisals against Arab collaborators.

Nov. 15/ In Algiers, the Palestine National Congress, the policymaking body of the PLO, declares an independent state in the West Bank and Gaza, at the same time implicitly recognizing the existence of Israel. Some attribute the action to the intefadeh.

Dec. 8/ Soldiers kill a Palestinian in protests marking the anniversary of the uprising.

Dec. 30/ Thousands of Arabs and Israelis link arms to form a human chain around the Old City of Jerusalem calling for peace.

1989

April 6/ Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir offers to permit elections in the West Bank and Gaza by which Palestinians could choose representatives to negotiate a limited form of self-government for a five-year interim period while the ultimate fate of the territories is discussed.

Nov. 5/ Shamir plan for elections founders. Shamir prohibits any participation by the PLO, East Jerusalem Arabs or any representatives of Palestinians living abroad. Shamir also rejects request for a halt on new Jewish settlements in the territories while negotiations continue. PLO rejects plan.

1990

March/ President Bush delays a U.S. loan to Israel to house Soviet immigrants because Israel refuses to guarantee that housing will not be built in the occupied lands.

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May 19/ An Israeli civilian kills seven Palestinians, touching off three days of riots in which 21 Palestinians die.

Aug. 2/ Iraq invades Kuwait. Iraqi President Saddam Hussein offers to withdraw if Israel gives up the occupied territories. PLO and other Palestinians support Saddam.

Oct. 8/ Israeli police kill at least 19 Palestinians on the sacred Temple Mount in Jerusalem after a clash between Arabs and Jews.

December/ Fearing concessions to Saddam, the United States blocks a U.N. Security Council move to convene a Middle East peace conference and expand the United Nation's role in the occupied territories.

1991

Jan. 16-Feb. 27/ The Gulf War triggers Iraqi missile attacks on Israel. Israel wins international sympathy by not retaliating, while Saddam's defeat weakens the position of Palestinians.

March 7/ Secretary of State James Baker begins tour of Middle East in a new effort for peace between Arabs and Israel and eventual self-rule.

June 3/ A strike is held in the West Bank, but this one is a protest against Arab-on-Arab violence, which is now creating more casualties than clashes with Israelis. In April and May, 45 Palestinians were killed by Palestinians and 18 by Israelis.

Oct. 30/ After a compromise that creates a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation, Arabs and Israelis meet in Madrid for their first comprehensive talks. Beforehand, violence in the occupied territories kills two Israelis and one Palestinian.

Graphic

Photograph

Load-Date: January 14, 1992

**MIGRANTS RESHAPING ISRAELI LABOR< BORDERS SEALED,
PALESTINIANS LOSE JOBS TO LOW-PAID FOREIGNERS.**

The Philadelphia Inquirer
MARCH 31, 1996 Sunday D EDITION

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The Philadelphia Inquirer
Found on Philly.com

Section: NATIONAL; Pg. A01

Length: 1491 words

Byline: Alan Sipress, INQUIRER STAFF WRITER

Dateline: MODI'IN, Israel

Body

Along the border with the West Bank, where the Samarian hills trail away into Israel's green coastal plain, a vast new vision rises on the rocky terrain. This is the future city of Modi'in, an expanse of half-built apartments meant to help absorb Israel's 40 percent population increase since 1984.

But this massive construction site is not all that's new. For years, Israel's builders were Palestinians. Now the voices high on the scaffolding are not Arabic but Romanian, Thai and Hungarian.

These foreigners have largely replaced longtime Arab labor, not only in construction but also agriculture, as Israel has repeatedly sealed the borders of the West Bank and Gaza Strip in response to attacks by Islamic extremists.

An influx of up to 190,000 foreign laborers in recent years has allowed Israeli builders and farmers to persevere. But the cost has been great, sharply aggravating the economic distress of Palestinians, whose own economy has been stunted by Israel's 29-year occupation, while importing into Israel a whole new set of social problems associated with migrant labor.

In the early 1990s, about 120,000 Arabs - a third of the total Palestinian workforce - commuted to jobs in Israel, mainly on building sites. A month ago, before Israel locked down the West Bank and Gaza Strip in reaction to the most recent wave of bombings, the number of Palestinians making the daily commute was already down to 70,000. More telling, the total still employed in construction was a mere 30,000, while the number of documented foreigners working construction had already surpassed 50,000.

Now, the number of Palestinian workers allowed into Israel has dropped nearly to zero and the Israeli cabinet has voted to recruit 16,500 more foreigners, largely for construction. That will boost the total legal foreign workforce to about 90,000, with an estimated 100,000 others employed illegally.

"I heard I could earn a lot more money here," said Mircea Ionel, 53, a stocky laborer with grim blue eyes. "So I left my family in Romania and I've been living for a year without them, without my two children."

MIGRANTS RESHAPING ISRAELI LABOR< BORDERS SEALED, PALESTINIANS LOSE JOBS TO LOW-PAID FOREIGNERS.

Nestled over the crest of a hill from Modi'in, a short walk from where lonel sweats 60- and 70-hour weeks and shares a one-room barrack with nine other migrants, is the West Bank village of Beit Sira. Nearly all the village's men had worked construction in Modi'in and, before that, at the neighboring Israeli suburbs.

Salah Enqawi has been a painter and tile-layer since he was 14. Three months ago, at age 30, he was refused permission to enter Israel and lost his job. Two weeks ago, the boss came to the village and informed Enqawi he wouldn't get it back. It was given to a Romanian.

"What can I feel about people who come and take my job? I have no chance to work and I have five children to feed," Enqawi said, turning his open palms to an overcast sky. "What kind of peace is this that stops us from going to work and feeding our children?"

"That's right," urged Hassan Enqawi, 31, a distant relative. "It's like you're eating a piece of bread and someone came and took it out of your mouth."

Now, three generations of Beit Sira men spend their idle days smoking cigarettes in front of the village's lone grocery and stoking their bitterness. They're all but ready to give peace the pink slip.

"I used to buy 3 kilos of meat a week. Now I can't even think about buying meat. No way," Hassan muttered. "This isn't real peace."

On Thursday, the Clinton administration announced an emergency plan to ease Israel's restrictions and pump money and jobs into the West Bank and Gaza. No details were released.

The Israel-PLO peace accords, which detailed the nature of economic cooperation between Israel and the Palestinian territories, provided for the free movement of workers. That was before Islamic militants unleashed their campaign of suicide bombings, killing 62 people and undercutting Israeli confidence in the peace process.

Israel's response has been to impose an increasingly severe closure on the West Bank and Gaza Strip. While security experts continue to debate whether the measure is effective in stemming extremist violence, it is nonetheless welcomed by many Israelis as a sign of government resolve.

The construction and agriculture industries, however, have loudly demanded the government allow them to recruit new workers. While Israeli unemployment stands at about 100,000, the majority is made up of women and older men, unsuited for construction, agriculture and other intensive forms of labor, according to Zvi Timor, spokesman for the labor ministry.

Nor are Israelis willing to work for such low wages, economists say. Rather, the Israeli cabinet has consistently ratcheted up the quota for foreign workers, who now include 30,000 Romanians, 20,000 Thais, 8,000 Turks and 4,000 Filipinos, by the estimates of the Israeli labor ministry.

Palestinian officials have condemned the closures and the hiring of replacement workers as a form of collective punishment that is costing Palestinian society at least \$2 million a day in lost wages alone and pushing unemployment past 50 percent.

Moreover, they maintain that Israel has a moral obligation to provide employment for Palestinians after systematically undermining the West Bank and Gaza economies. During the occupation, Israel blocked the establishment of banks and credit institutions, prevented the export of Palestinian goods while flooding the local market with Israeli products. It also suffocated Arab businesses with often arbitrary regulations, confiscated land and blocked new construction, according to World Bank and other international studies.

"It was Israeli policy to stop any possibility of building a Palestinian economy that wasn't dependent on Israel," said Gazi El-Khalili, director general in the Palestinian labor ministry. "For their own benefit, they forced and encouraged Palestinian labor to work in Israel."

MIGRANTS RESHAPING ISRAELI LABOR< BORDERS SEALED, PALESTINIANS LOSE JOBS TO LOW-PAID FOREIGNERS.

Despite the dilapidated state of Palestinian infrastructure, the Israeli government takes credit for the development of schools, sanitation, telephones and agriculture in the West Bank and Gaza Strip since the occupation began in 1967. The territories were seized by Israel during the Six-Day War.

Nor is it only Palestinians who caution against the influx of East European and Asian labor. Israeli Labor Minister Ora Namir has warned that the flood of migrant workers, often paid below the legal minimum wage, is creating a potentially explosive social problem for Israel. The Workers' Hotline, an Israeli labor advocacy group, reported that the violation of migrant workers' rights is increasing faster than the number of employees itself.

To land his job in Israel, Ionel had scraped together about \$500 as a guarantee for the recruiting company. In his remote Romanian village of Ialomita, that was nearly six months' pay.

Now, working up to 12 hours a day, seven days a week, Ionel earns about \$700 a month. His one-year contract is up and he's anxious to go home. But, he said, the Israeli manpower company refuses to return his passport unless he agrees to give up his final two months' wages and the original guarantee - a total of \$2,000. "I should have stayed at home doing my work as a laborer there," Ionel said. "There's no way I would come again."

Ionel is one of about 500 Romanians who have already filed official complaints that their passports are being held for ransom, according to Simha Yishai, a counselor with the Workers' Hotline. More than three-quarters of the Romanian workers never get back their deposited guarantee, he said.

Nichitean Dumitru, a 42-year-old with a broad, Romanian chin, said he's owed about \$1,500. In early 1995, he borrowed \$800 for the guarantee and quit his job in a Romanian lumber mill for the prospect of better wages as a construction worker in Israel. He said he was promised \$3 an hour but is paid only \$2, far below the legal minimum of \$2.96.

At first, he said, the manpower company housed him and 11 other workers from Romania and Thailand in a one-room apartment in Tel Aviv. Later, the company moved most of them to a warehouse in an isolated industrial zone.

"Every two or three days we were brought food by the company but it wasn't enough and we were hungry," Dumitru said. "I would have suffered anything to get money for my 11 children. But they didn't pay what they promised, and I wish I never came."

That's what the Palestinian villagers of Beit Sira wish as well. In recent months, scuffles have broken out between Romanians and Arabs infuriated over their dwindling job prospects.

The men of Beit Sira warn of a far more ominous battle, a new uprising against the Israelis themselves.

"I used to be a believer in peace and in [Israeli Prime Minister Shimon] Peres," said Ahmed Enqawi, 48, still wearing a blue ball cap with the Hebrew name and telephone number of his former employer, an Israeli construction company. "If peace is real, we all go back to work. If not, there might be war."

Graphic

PHOTO;

PHOTO (2)

1. Blindfolded and handcuffed, Palestinians are detained in the West Bank crackdown spurred by the bombings in Israel. Most recently arrested were two Islamic leaders linked to Hamas. (Reuters, TOMER KOREN)

2. Two Romanians sit outside migrant-worker housing near Tel Aviv. There are an estimated 30,000 Romanian workers in Israel. (For The Inquirer, YTO BARRADA)

MIGRANTS RESHAPING ISRAELI LABOR< BORDERS SEALED, PALESTINIANS LOSE JOBS TO LOW-PAID FOREIGNERS.

Load-Date: October 28, 2002

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THE NEWS IN BRIEF

Christian Science Monitor (Boston, MA)

April 5, 1996, Friday

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Section: THE NEWS IN BRIEF; Pg. 2

Length: 1590 words

Byline: Compiled by Yvonne Zipp, Cynthia Hanson, and Peter Nordahl

Body

The US

Theodore Kaczynski was to be charged in Helena, Mont., in the series of Unabomber attacks that have killed three people and injured 23 since 1978. Kaczynski, a former math professor at the University of California at Berkeley, was arrested after the FBI found a partially assembled bomb when they searched his shack. The FBI began investigating him when Kaczynski's relatives told authorities they suspected he was the Unabomber after finding some of his writings in his former Chicago home. (Story, Page 1.)

Flags flew at half mast for US Commerce Secretary Ron Brown. Brown and 32 others, including New York Times reporter Nathaniel Nash and seven top US business executives, were killed when their plane crashed into a hill outside Dubrovnik, Croatia. There was no indication of hostile fire. President Clinton canceled his public schedule in the wake of Brown's death, calling Brown "a magnificent life force."

Clinton was set to sign the farm bill, the most sweeping overhaul of governmental farm policy in 60 years. And he was set to approve the line-item veto, giving the president power to veto specific spending programs.

Clinton, James McDougal, and Whitewater witness David Hale discussed a federal \$ 300,000 loan that was later used illegally to complete a land development in a 1986 meeting, Hale testified. But Hale did not say whether there was any talk of using the loan for the development at that meeting. And he was prohibited from talking about whether Clinton knew how the proceeds of the loan would be used. The president has called Hale's claims "a bunch of bull."

A former general manager of Daiwa Bank's New York Branch pleaded guilty to hiding \$ 1.1 billion in bond-traded losses from federal authorities. Daiwa was evicted from the US last year.

Massachusetts House Speaker Charles Flaherty pleaded guilty to tax evasion. Flaherty admitted in federal court that he fabricated records in 1987, and agreed to pay \$ 50,000. Flaherty says he'll stay in office through June 1.

Lincoln Savings and Loan head Charles Keating's state conviction was thrown out by US District Judge John Davies. Davies ruled that Judge Lance Ito (above) had given jurors improper instructions. Prosecutors say they will appeal. Keating will remain in prison while he appeals his federal conviction.

The freemen group want to talk to someone who can help get them justice - not the FBI, a relative who visited the group says. The antigovernment group and federal agents have been in a standoff for almost two weeks. The FBI

THE NEWS IN BRIEF

says it's considering outside offers to mediate a peaceful surrender. Also, arrested freemen leader Richard Clark was ordered to remain in jail without bond.

Federal and state laws restricting protests at abortion clinics invalidate abortion opponents' free speech rights, a North Carolina judge ruled. Other courts have upheld the federal law so it isn't clear whether the judge's action is binding.

TV executives are considering a rating system based on general categories rather than individual programs. All episodes of a series would be given the same rating. If an individual episode were to "leap beyond" material covered by the rating, it would be rated separately, Motion Picture Association of America President Jack Valenti said.

The Writers Guild filed an unfair labor practice charge against CBS, and the network's 350 writers were set to walk out. CBS says programming won't be affected.

Sudan is a "vipers' nest" of terrorism, UN Ambassador Madeleine Albright said while urging the Security Council to slap more sanctions on the African country.

Shares of AT&T's \$ 3.02 billion spinoff of Lucent Corp. - the largest ever initial public offering, soared on Wall Street.

Remember to set your clocks ahead. Daylight savings time starts 2 a.m. Sunday.

The World

Talks in Vienna to curb worldwide arms exports broke down after the US and Russia clashed over Russia's refusal to disclose details of its military-hardware sales, a Western diplomat said. The talks between 31 Western and former communist states were designed to establish the first post-cold-war system to curb arms and military technology exports. The meetings are expected to reconvene in July.

World leaders expressed shock at the news of US Commerce Secretary Brown's death. In the Palestinian territories, South Africa, and Northern Ireland, Brown encouraged US investment to quell violence and strengthen peace plans. He planned to join President Clinton on a state visit to Japan April 16-18. A senior Japanese Foreign Ministry official said Japan is concerned about how trade relations might be affected by his death.

Libya will not be allowed to complete what US intelligence agencies believe is a chemical weapons plant, US Defense Secretary William Perry said while visiting Egypt, in an implicit threat to use military force. Perry shared evidence of the large underground plant, including photos, with Egyptian President Mubarak during talks in Cairo.

Accusing South Korea of violating the armistice signed at the end of the Korean War, North Korea said it will "give up its duty" of controlling the demilitarized zone between the two countries. It did not explain what the statement meant. North Korea also accused the South of moving personnel, tanks, and heavy weapons into the buffer zone, and said it would take "legitimate self-defensive steps." And more than 10,000 students marched through Seoul demanding President Kim Young Sam apologize for the death of a protestor during a clash with police last week.

Palestinian President Arafat fired a senior police commander who ordered a raid on a West Bank university. He also promised special guard units for universities. Earlier, students protesting crackdowns on Islamic militants scuffled with police and heckled Arafat in Ramallah, in the West Bank. Also, Palestinian police arrested three members of the Islamic militant group ***Hamas*** suspected of plotting suicide bombings. According to a survey by a Palestinian think tank, 58.5 percent of Palestinians queried support the crackdowns. And the New York-based Human Rights Watch condemned what it called arbitrary arrests of Palestinians by Israel and the Palestinian Authority, saying some detainees were tortured.

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Some 32 fugitives holding three hostages were at large after negotiating their release from a Brazilian prison. Earlier, prison officials traded guns, ammunition, bulletproof vests, cellular phones, money, and get-away cars for 10 hostages. The standoff began last week when inmates overpowered 27 officials and reporters touring the overcrowded prison. In Argentina, more than 6,000 prisoners are revolting to demand better housing conditions. Above, relatives of prison inmates who seized Argentina's Sierra Chica Prison cook a meal outside the penitentiary.

Sri Lankan soldiers killed at least 41 Tamil rebels who had taken refuge in a Hindu temple. The rebels reportedly attacked the soldiers in the Jaffna Peninsula. Five soldiers were killed.

Alberto Pandolfi Arbulu replaced Dante Cordova as Peru's new prime minister after Cordova resigned apparently over discrepancies on the pace of free market reforms.

IRA leaders said they won't let-up in the war against British rule, dashing hopes for an early peace breakthrough. Britain refuses to allow the IRA's political wing, Sinn Fein, to take part in June talks unless the IRA restores its cease-fire.

One of every four children in Ghana, India, Indonesia, and Senegal is in the work force, most as field hands or in family businesses, according to a UN report. Most of those children are employed at least nine hours a day, often six or seven days a week, it said.

Etceteras

Jews held what they said was the world's largest Seder, the traditional Passover dinner, in the tiny Himalayan kingdom of Nepal. About 1,000 Jews took part, making the occasion the world's biggest Passover service in the world's only Hindu kingdom, organizers said. The holiday celebrates the Israelites' escape from Egyptian slavery more than 3,300 years ago.

Sea World in Orlando, Fla., has reportedly offered to adopt Hondo and four other sea lions who could face the death penalty in Seattle for eating too many steelhead salmon. The state of Washington is trying to protect the fish. Officials declined to confirm or deny the story.

For Bob Norris and Catherine Smylie, it was "love at first byte." The couple met in the internet and sealed their romance by exchanging wedding vows beamed onto a 100-foot E-mail bulletin board in Times Square. New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani officiated in what was billed as the world's first digital wedding.

Conservationists urged Zaire's president to move against poachers of the endangered northern white rhinoceros. A second dead rhino, this one a pregnant female, was found in Garamba National Park in northeastern Zaire. Its much-sought-after horns had been removed. About 30 northern white rhinoceros remain in the wild.

Average Baseball Salary

Here's the average salary on opening day, based on salary studies by the Associated Press. Figures include prorated shares of signing bonuses. In some cases, parts of salaries deferred without interest are discounted to reflect present-day values.

Year Average

1989 \$ 512,804

1990 578,930

1991 891,188

1992 1,084,408

THE NEWS IN BRIEF

1993 1,120,254

1994 1,188,679

1995 1,071,029

1996 1,176,967

- Associated Press

" He was a man who could reach across all divides."

- Joseph Nye, dean of Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government, about the late Commerce Secretary Ron Brown, who headed an advisory committee there.

Graphic

PHOTOS: 1 Lincoln Savings and Loan head Charles Keating's state conviction was thrown out by US District Judge John Davies. Davies ruled that Judge Lance Ito (above) had given jurors improper instructions. Prosecutors say they will appeal. Keating will remain in prison while he appeals his federal conviction., LORI SHEPLER/AP; 2) Above, relatives of prison inmates who seized Argentina's Sierra Chica Prison cook a meal outside the penitentiary., JUSTO GIMENEZ, LA NACION/AP. ILLUSTRATION., STAFF

Load-Date: April 5, 1996

End of Document

THE NEWS IN BRIEF

Christian Science Monitor (Boston, MA)

November 10, 1995, Friday

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Section: THE NEWS IN BRIEF; Pg. 2

Length: 1547 words

Byline: Compiled by Abraham T. McLaughlin, Suman Bandrapalli, and Peter Nordahl

Body

Monitor Writer Heads Home After Release in Belgrade

Two days after his release from a Bosnian Serb prison, Monitor writer David Rohde was expected to arrive in Boston today to be reunited with his family.

Mr. Rohde spent 10 days in captivity and was released after the intervention of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic under pressure from US officials at the Bosnian peace talks in Dayton, Ohio. Serbian forces delivered him to US officials in Belgrade Wednesday after they took him out of Bosnian territory. A US Embassy physician found him in good health. Rohde said he had been treated fairly well during his captivity.

He told his family and editors that he was eager to write about his investigation and experience. Rohde entered Bosnian Serb territory Oct. 29 to further investigate the July massacre of thousands of Muslim civilians. In August, he reported the first on-the-ground evidence of the massacre.

The US

"There are no chances" of avoiding a government shutdown next week, the White House said yesterday. President Clinton is not satisfied with a stopgap measure passed by the House Wednesday to put the government on a diet - with most programs operating at 60-percent strength - through Dec. 1.

"Thursday will be a decisive day," a senior Balkan official at the Dayton, Ohio, peace talks said. Mediators were set to unveil key elements of a possible accord to the warring parties. To be addressed in the documents: a constitutional structure for a postwar unified Bosnia, redrawing the map, and the status of the capital, Sarajevo.

The White House was successful in passing through 1995 Whitewater hearings unscathed because then-White House Counsel Lloyd Cutler had help from the Treasury Department, said the Senate Whitewater Committee yesterday. Treasury provided the White House with testimony from its own Whitewater probe, which, GOP senators say, enabled presidential lawyers to tailor their witnesses' messages for self-protection. But Cutler said yesterday that the Treasury-White House cooperation was made public at the time, thereby, he said, proving there was nothing to hide. (Above Treasury Department inspector-general team members testify Wednesday.)

And then there were 10. The GOP presidential hopefuls reacted with barely contained elation to General Powell's decision Wednesday not to run and sought to woo Powell supporters into their own camps. "I will actively seek his

THE NEWS IN BRIEF

advice and counsel," front-runner Senator Dole said. Senator Gramm's response: Now "the choice is between Bob Dole and me." (Op-ed Page 18)

CBS Inc. lawyers ordered "60 Minutes" to drop an on-the-record interview with a former tobacco-company executive who criticized the industry, a network spokeswoman confirmed Wednesday. The network substituted a revised report examining how cigarette makers try to keep information from getting out. CBS was reportedly concerned because the executive had an agreement with the company not to disclose internal information.

Twenty American war veterans flew to Cuba illegally to protest US travel restrictions on the Communist nation. They plan a Veterans Day vigil tomorrow outside the Guantanamo Bay US naval base to protest the 32-year US economic embargo of Cuba.

A line-item veto may be in President Clinton's future: After months of dithering, congressional negotiators are close to bridging the gap between House and Senate versions. A House-proposed deal would allow the president to veto all or part of any budgetary item in a spending bill or repeal any tax benefit targeted for a small group. Overriding the veto would require a two-thirds congressional vote.

A drunken Navy enlisted man allegedly sexually harassed a female sailor during a commercial airline flight last month. And despite the woman's screams of protest, 20 sailors seated nearby didn't intercede, The Washington Post said yesterday. The man has not been charged, but the Navy says he is under investigation.

Abortion-rights lawmakers delayed Senate action on a ban on so-called "partial birth" abortions until after hearings, which the Judiciary Committee begins on Nov. 17. The legislation has already passed the House. (Story, Page 3.)

If shuttle Atlantis blasts off tomorrow, as scheduled, it will head toward a rendezvous with the Russian space station Mir - the second shuttle-Mir meeting. (Story, Page 3.)

Rep. Cardiss Collins of Chicago is the 14th Democrat to decline a 1996 reelection bid. She served for 22 years.

The World

Acting Prime Minister Shimon Peres assured PLO leader Yasser Arafat yesterday that Israel's withdrawal from West Bank would go ahead as planned. Meanwhile, investigators yesterday said Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin's assassin did not act alone. Two suspects belonging to the right-wing Eyal group were arrested yesterday. And, the Muslim militant group Hamas denounced Arab leaders who attended Yitzhak Rabin's funeral, calling them "puppets." (Story, Page 6.)

Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev agreed yesterday that the embattled minister would get a new first deputy. Analysts say the move indicates that Yeltsin would not replace Kozyrev as he had threatened to earlier.

The Yugoslav war crimes tribunal in The Hague yesterday indicted three senior Serbian Army officers. They are charged with crimes against humanity in the mass execution of 261 men near Vukovar in eastern Slavonia in November 1991. And the US will give the tribunal all the pertinent information it has on the crimes, including top-secret intelligence data, the White House said Wednesday.

British Prime Minister Major said he was confident of reaching a settlement in Northern Ireland, despite a stalemate over terms on which the IRA's political arm, Sinn Fein, will join the all-party talks. Meanwhile in Auckland demonstrators protested Major's (above) support of the French nuclear policy.

The UN Security Council agreed to continue economic sanctions against Iraq Wednesday, because Iraqi compliance with the council's demands has been "less than fully satisfactory." And Baghdad again refused to accept a UN plan to sell limited oil to buy food and medicine. Iraq says the plan infringes on its sovereignty.

THE NEWS IN BRIEF

A Fokker F-27 Argentine Air Force plane crashed during a rainstorm in a mountainous area of central Argentina. Police said yesterday all 53 people on board were killed.

Former President Jimmy Carter said Wednesday he will visit Rwanda and Burundi later this month to help find a solution to the region's refugee crisis. And the UN appointed Aziz Hasbi of Morocco its special representative in Burundi on Wednesday.

Commonwealth nations yesterday were considering a united appeal for clemency to spare the life of Nigerian minority rights leader Saro-Wiwa. Yesterday, Nigeria's military government upheld the death sentence. Many Commonwealth leaders who gathered in Auckland for today's opening of the Commonwealth summit are threatening Nigeria with sanctions.

An American correspondent, Aliza Marcus of Reuters, was acquitted yesterday in Turkey of charges of inciting racial hatred among the country's Turkish and Kurdish populations. She could have received three years in jail. In reaching its decision, the court cited lack of evidence and intent. Marcus is the first foreign journalist to be so charged. Hundreds of Turkish journalists have been tried. (Reporters at Risk, Page 1.)

Mexico's peso plunged to a new all-time low in early trade yesterday with frantic investors dumping pesos on renewed fears of a change in the government's monetary policy.

Etcetera

The Asian elephant is threatened by economic expansion, the World Wide Fund for Nature said yesterday. A report by the Swiss-based group noted that less than 50,000 of them remain. Millions of the beasts once roamed from Syria to China.

One mass of stars in a photo from the Hubble Space Telescope looks like "bees swarming to their hive," said astronomers who know the cluster as M15. What they see, they said, may be a "core collapse" of stars caused by the gravitational pull of many stars jammed into a tiny bit of space.

The State of Prisons

Number of prisoners for every 100,000 US citizens: 519

Number of prisoners for every 100,000 Japanese citizens: 36

Number of prisoners for every 100,000 Mexican citizens: 97

Number of US states that have been under court orders in 1995 to correct overcrowding: 39

Average US probation/parole officer's caseload in 1994: 118

Proportion of black males under the supervision of the US criminal justice system on any given day: 1 in 4

Percentage of US prisoners who have finished high school: 33

Percentage of all those arrested and charged with crimes in 1993 who were between the ages of 13 and 29: 60

Estimated annual cost of housing an inmate: \$ 19,500

Estimated annual cost - including health care - of housing an inmate over age 60: \$ 69,000

Proportion of violent crimes to nonviolent crimes committed by those entering state prisons in 1992: 27 to 73

- "Seeking Justice," by The Edna McConnell Clark Foundation (New York, N.Y.)

THE NEWS IN BRIEF

" It was a bad trial, a bad judgment and an unjust sentence, and the Commonwealth will make that point very clear to Nigeria when it asks for clemency."

- British Prime Minister John Major on the death sentence for Ken Saro-Wiwa, a Nigerian human rights activist.

Graphic

PHOTOS: 1) Above Treasury Department inspector-general team members testify Wednesday., GREG GIBSON/AP; 2) In Auckland demonstrators protested Major's (above) support of the French nuclear policy., DAVID HALLET/AP; 3) Christie's Auction House in London displays ballet costumes worn by Rudolph Nureyev that are up for bid., DAVE CAULKIN/AP. Map, Rwanda & Burundi locator., DAVE HERRING - STAFF

Load-Date: November 11, 1995

End of Document

THE NEWS IN BRIEF

Christian Science Monitor (Boston, MA)

September 5, 1995, Tuesday

Copyright 1995 The Christian Science Publishing Society

Section: THE NEWS IN BRIEF; Pg. 2

Length: 1545 words

Byline: Compiled by Cynthia Hanson, Abraham McLaughlin, and Peter Nordahl

Body

The US

There were picnics and parades in much of the country this weekend, but in Detroit a Labor Day strike turned violent. On Sunday 3,000 strikers formed a human wall around a printing plant and delayed production of the Detroit News and Free Press. Some clashed with riot police. They are seeking higher wages and new work rules. Also, a Time-CNN poll found that two-thirds of Americans say unions are still needed.

Candidate Bill Clinton considered Colin Powell as a running mate in 1992 and twice asked him to be secretary of state. President Bush also wanted Powell to be CIA director. Powell declined all the offers. And as his autobiography hits stores next week, it is still unclear if he will turn down the many calls for him to make a White House run. The book, which will be excerpted in Time Sept. 11, reveals some conservative principles that would enable him to run as an independent or moderate Republican: low taxes, faith in free enterprise, and new scrutiny of entitlements.

Congress reconvenes today. On the docket: a defense bill with controversial spending on the "star wars" missile-defense system and the B-2 bomber; Clinton's veto of the Bosnian arms embargo bill; and taming the budget. A critical budget-balancing issue is Medicare spending. The GOP will likely divulge details of its plan to cut Medicare spending by \$ 270 billion over 7 years. (Story, Page 1.)

Hearings on the incident at Ruby Ridge begin tomorrow. Senator Spector, who will chair them, said Sunday he may use subpoenas and immunity offers to compel federal agents to testify. At issue: whether US agents acted too cavalierly in the 1992 Idaho standoff and subsequently covered up their mistakes. The first to testify: Randy Weaver, the white separatist whose wife and son were killed. (Story, Page 1.)

V-J Day anniversary celebrations wrapped up in Hawaii yesterday. One attempt at reconciliation came at a meeting of US and Japanese soldiers. In one room, a retired US Navy chaplain went up to a Japanese couple and asked for forgiveness for hating the Japanese. They smiled and assented. And a former Japanese fighter pilot, wearing a "USS Yorktown" cap, apologized for Pearl Harbor. The Yorktown was one of the few US ships that "got away" from the attack.

Some Japanese groups are pressuring George Bush to cancel a speech at a Tokyo rally next week because the sponsoring group has close ties to Reverend Moon, head of the Unification church. The church has been accused of manipulative recruitment and brainwashing its members. A Bush spokesman says the group has ties to the

THE NEWS IN BRIEF

church but is separate from it. Meanwhile, Bush will become the first US ex-president to meet Vietnam's Communist leaders when he goes there next week.

Senator Pell was expected to say today that he will not run again. The six-term Rhode Island Democrat chaired the Senate Foreign Relations Committee until last year and founded the Pell grant student-loan program. His retirement would bring to seven the number of Democratic incumbents who have said they will not seek reelection next year. One Republican has said so.

Rep. Mel Reynolds will resign, he said Friday. The Chicago Democrat faces four years in jail for having sex with a minor.

The government is not doing enough to catch Social Security cheats, the congressional watchdog, GAO, says in a new report. The US is being scammed out of millions of dollars each year. One fraud source: middlemen who help non-English-speaking immigrants get benefits. The number of legal immigrants getting disability payments has increased sixfold in 10 years, while nonimmigrants have increased twofold.

The anti-Castro group that organized a protest-flotilla that sailed toward Cuba Saturday says it will stage another protest Oct. 22, when Castro speaks to the UN in New York. Saturday's 25-boat flotilla turned back when it encountered rough seas and after one craft sank.

The motor-voter law has reportedly driven 5 million Americans onto voter registration rolls in the eight months since it was enacted. The New York Times says most new registrants are avoiding party labels and saying they are independents.

The World

The Bosnian Serbs are beginning to open supply routes and will move their heavy weapons from around Sarajevo in compliance with UN demands, Bosnian leader Karadzic told former US president Jimmy Carter yesterday. NATO was threatening to resume airstrikes if the Serbs didn't comply with a Monday night deadline to remove the heavy weapons. US envoy Richard Holbrooke arrived in Athens yesterday for talks with the Greek prime minister and foreign minister about efforts to end the war. Greece has good ties with Serbia. (Story, Page 1.)

Hillary Rodham Clinton is expected to address the UN's Fourth World Conference on Women today, and delegates will begin debating a proposed platform. Topics include: easing women's poverty, health care, education, and job opportunities. The gathering opened yesterday with the UN's call for gender justice. Pakistani Prime Minister Bhutto defended Islam and called for an end to female infanticide. South Africa's Winnie Mandela, arriving late for the welcoming ceremony, reportedly was turned away in an altercation with doorkeepers. China has been criticized for surveillance and heavy-handed policing. (Story, Page 1.)

Japan began trials yesterday for the first of more than a hundred members of a doomsday group on charges related to subway gas attacks, murder, and kidnappings. The trial of Shoko Asahara, the guru who heads Aum Shinri Kyo, was set for Oct. 26.

Iraq may have used chemical weapons during the Gulf war, newly released Pentagon documents reportedly show. Meanwhile, U.S. News & World Report said Iraq's President Hussein has been negotiating with Mauritania, in northern Africa, for political asylum. Twelve ships carrying US military equipment have arrived in the Gulf in recent weeks. And UN arms inspector Rolf Ekeus said yesterday there was little prospect trade sanctions against Iraq would be lifted soon.

Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres voiced disappointment yesterday at what he said was Syrian President Hafez al-Assad's "pessimistic tone" on peace moves and his refusal to enter into high-level talks. Also, Israeli Prime Minister Rabin made a surprise visit yesterday to the West Bank town of Hebron, reportedly to examine security options. And the militant Palestinian group Hamas is losing popular support and will form a party to oppose Israel's existence politically, the group said Sunday.

THE NEWS IN BRIEF

France was expected to begin nuclear testing in the South Pacific yesterday. The French military seized a third protest vessel Sunday after it violated boundaries around the site. Nine legislators from five nations set sail for the site Sunday for protests. Meanwhile, a bomb exploded in a Paris market Sunday. Paris police say they dismantled another bomb yesterday.

Rebels exploded two bombs near two banks in Srinagar, India, yesterday, killing at least 10 people and injuring dozens. The Hizbul Mujahadeen, the most well-armed separatist group in India, claimed responsibility. The assassination of Punjabi leader Beant Singh in a bomb blast last week in Chandigarh will make it more difficult for India to bow to the demands of rebels holding four Western hostages in Kashmir, authorities said yesterday.

Colombian President Ernesto Samper, whose election campaign is suspected of taking drug money, helped collect donations, his former campaign manager reportedly told prosecutors, according to the weekly newsmagazine *Cambio* 16.

Britain and Northern Ireland held talks in Dublin yesterday to defuse a crisis over the decommissioning of IRA guerrilla arms.

Etcetera

The discovery of a stand of virgin forest that has seen no woodsman's ax since the days of the Pilgrims may prevent a Massachusetts ski area from adding a new trail. The Wachusett Mountain Ski Area near Boston leases the land from the state, which may block the new trail.

If you'd invested \$ 10,000 with Warren Buffett in 1956, and stayed with him through the years, you'd have \$ 95 million today, according to a just-published biography of the top investor titled "Buffett: The Making of an American Capitalist." His advice to investors: Approach the stock market as if just 20 investments per lifetime are allowed - pick good stocks and stay with them.

Volumes of Controversy

From 1982 to 1995 a survey tracked attempts to ban books from student reading lists. These titles were challenged the most:

1. "Of Mice and Men," John Steinbeck
 2. "The Catcher in the Rye," J.D. Salinger
 3. "Scary Stories to Tell in the Dark," Alvin Schwartz
 4. "The Chocolate War," Robert Cormier
 5. "Many Scary Stories to Tell in the Dark," Alvin Schwartz
 6. "The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn," Mark Twain
 7. "I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings," Maya Angelou
 8. "Go Ask Alice," anonymous
 9. "Bridge to Terabithia," Katherine Paterson
 10. "The Witches," Roald Dahl
- People for the American Way in Washington, D.C.

THE NEWS IN BRIEF

" There is a very different attitude than before. Before the predominant attitude was, 'This is mine. I paid for it....' Now they accept the program will have to be changed."

- Gail Wilensky, an organizer of GOP Medicare forums, on senior citizens' view of the health-care program.

Graphic

PHOTOS: 1) Colin Powell has written a memoir., MIKE FISHER/AP; 2) French commandos prepare to board the MV Greenpeace Sept. 2 after it entered the 12-mile exclusion zone around Mururoa Atoll., STEVE MORGAN/AP; 3) A Russian boy shows mixed feelings as he stands in a school yard in central Moscow on the first day of the academic year last Friday., ALEXANDER NATRUSKIN/REUTERS. Map, Japan., DAVE HERRING - STAFF

Load-Date: September 6, 1995

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THE NEWS IN BRIEF

Christian Science Monitor (Boston, MA)

September 29, 1995, Friday

Copyright 1995 The Christian Science Publishing Society

Section: THE NEWS IN BRIEF; Pg. 2

Length: 1528 words

Byline: Compiled by Cynthia Hanson, Abraham McLaughlin, and Peter Nordahl

Body

The US

Everyone from Park Rangers to policy wonks - so-called "non-essential" workers - will likely be back at work Monday. A bill to keep the government functioning past the Oct. 1. deadline was set to pass the House and possibly the Senate today. But the bill, which President Clinton will likely sign, only delays the day of reckoning to Oct. 13 - when some of the 13 major spending bills may not be finalized.

Ben Franklin received a face-lift. The Founding Father's face is larger and, for reasons of contrast, his hair is darker on the new \$ 100 bill that was released Wednesday. (Story, Page 1.)

Lawmakers want to tap Social Security to help balance the budget. But their approach is cautious on the politically explosive issue. Senator Moynihan (D) suggested Wednesday that the cost-of-living increase be lowered 1 percentage point - a move that would save the government \$ 281 billion over seven years in lower Social Security checks and civil service and military pensions. The White House did not criticize Moynihan's proposal.

CIA agents in Guatemala could face punishment over their alleged ties to a man implicated in the 1990 murder of a US citizen in Guatemala. CIA director John Deutch planned to testify in Congress today on the scandal that erupted earlier this year.

Time Warner Inc. is getting out of the "gangsta rap" business, the media giant said Wednesday. By selling its 50-percent stake in Interscope Records - a top label for violent and sexually explicit music - Time Warner will extricate itself from a controversial debate over the lyrics of rappers like Tupac Shakur (above). The company says the move has nothing to do with content, but it comes just before the release of another violence-laced Interscope album that Time Warner sought unsuccessfully to review for content.

Even those Republicans skeptical about mixing tax cuts with \$ 270 billion in Medicare trims closed ranks behind the Medicare-reform bill in the Senate Finance Committee Wednesday as it passed a preliminary measure on a party-line vote. A final Committee vote is expected today. Clinton says he will veto the bill.

THE NEWS IN BRIEF

The final defense bill - a \$ 243 billion measure that is \$ 6.6 billion bigger than the White House requested - was expected to get final approval in the House today. It includes funding for controversial C-17 cargo planes, although the Pentagon hasn't yet decided to build them.

US Marines in Okinawa are suspending training for "a day of reflection," Defense Secretary Perry said yesterday. The move is part of a new, broader effort that aims to improve relations between the 200,000 US military personnel stationed abroad and the host communities, Perry said. It comes in response to the alleged rape by US servicemen of a Japanese girl.

Farm subsidies have deeper roots than lawmakers may have thought. When cotton-state Republicans defended them, the House Agriculture Committee abandoned its abandoned efforts Wednesday to dismantle the program. Chairman Roberts said he would attempt to fold the measure into a larger bill. (Story, Page 1.)

New jobless claims fell by 31,000 last week to the lowest level in seven weeks, the Labor Department said yesterday. Separately, job prospects could be improving: Some 27 of a group of 100 manufacturers said they will hire more full-time employees next year, and 18 percent said they would boost both full- and part-time payrolls. The firms were polled at a Washington-based National Association of Manufacturers' meeting.

Rage and jealousy motivated O.J. Simpson to kill his wife, said prosecutor Christopher Darden in closing arguments Wednesday. The defense pounded the theme "If it doesn't fit, you have to acquit," saying the evidence against Simpson is flawed. Judge Ito expected the case to go to the jury on Monday.

Rep. Mel Reynolds was to be sentenced in Chicago yesterday. Convicted of sexual assault and having sex with a minor, he faces a minimum of four years in jail.

It will be 10 days before shuttle Columbia can take off, NASA said yesterday after a hydrogen leak in the engines scrubbed the planned launch.

The World

The PLO and Israel were scheduled to sign a peace agreement yesterday to expand Palestinian rule in the West Bank. President Clinton was to preside over the historic ceremony at the White House. Meanwhile, Israel closed the West Bank and Gaza Strip until Sunday to prevent possible attacks in Israel by militants. **Hamas** and the Islamic Jihad groups declared a strike in the West Bank. Israelis and Palestinians opposed to the signing planned protests. Also, Israeli Prime Minister Rabin indicated Israel might consider releasing Palestinians responsible for the killing or serious injury of Jews. (Stories, Pages 1 and 6.)

US envoy Richard Holbrooke was to return to Sarajevo yesterday to try to secure a cease-fire. In Croatia, UN officials said more than 400 people were arrested, including soldiers, on charges of looting and burning houses that belonged to ethnic Serbs. The government blamed rebel Serbs for a deadly rocket attack on the town of Travnik in central Bosnia Wednesday, warning that such assaults could jeopardize progress toward peace. And Elisabeth Rehn, a representative of Finland's small Swedish minority, was named the new UN human rights investigator Wednesday.

THE NEWS IN BRIEF

China's Communist Party leaders purged a powerful colleague for corruption yesterday but were unable to agree on whether he should face criminal charges. He is the highest ranking leader to be brought down in the Party's anti-corruption drive. Also, China told the US Wednesday it would not go forward with a nuclear reactor deal with Iran.

Riot police in Toronto battled 5,000 protesters trying to storm Ontario's legislature Wednesday as new conservative Premier Mike Harris presented plans for slashing social spending in Canada's most populous province. The legislative building was evacuated later due to a bomb threat.

The lawyer for Colombia's President Ernesto Samper was injured, and two bodyguards killed, in a machine-gun attack Wednesday. A previously unknown group, the Movement for a Dignified Colombia, claimed responsibility. The group said Samper, his wife, and other government leaders would be targeted next. The foreign minister denied yesterday that Colombia suspects US drug agents of involvement in the attack. The interior minister had accused the agents of conspiring to topple Samper and destabilize Colombia. (Story, Page 7.)

President Said Mohamed Djohar of the Comoros Islands reportedly was taken prisoner yesterday in a coup led by foreign mercenaries. The mercenaries freed all inmates at the prison in the capital, Moroni, including those sentenced for taking part in a 1992 coup. One of the poorest countries in the world, the Comoros has been politically unstable since gaining independence from France in 1975.

Russia and South Korea signed agreements yesterday to strengthen trade and investment ties. The documents underlined Seoul's desire to tap the Russian market and Moscow's hope to attract South Korean investment.

British Airways is being sued for \$ 9 million by 61 French passengers who were on a plane seized by Iraq during the Gulf War. The jet endangered their lives by making an unscheduled stop to drop off British commandos in Kuwait, the suit claims. Most of the plane's 360 passengers were used by Iraq as human shields for about three months.

NATO Secretary General Willy Claes yesterday was to present plans for eastward expansion of the alliance to interested states from former communist Eastern and Central Europe. These include Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and the Baltic states. Russia, which opposes such plans, said it would attend.

Etcetera

The Save the Tiger Fund is about to get help from a source that hasn't always been welcomed by environmentalists - the Exxon Corp. The oil giant, which uses a tiger in its gasoline ads, said yesterday that it will donate \$ 5 million over the next five years to protect tiger habitats in the wild.

Almost 10 million adult Americans have access to the Internet, and another 6 million are expected to join them on-line over the next year, according to a survey by O'Reilly and Associates released Wednesday.

The head of Russia's main TV network apologized Wednesday for canceling Nobel Prize-winning writer Alexander Solzhenitsyn's talk show, but said the network was under pressure from politicians demanding air time before December elections.

THE NEWS IN BRIEF

Top-Rated TV Shows, Sept. 18-24

Rank/Show/Network/Number of Homes

1. "ER," NBC, 24.3 million
2. "Seinfeld," NBC, 23.6 million
3. "Caroline in the City," NBC, 19.7 million
3. "Friends," NBC, 19.7 million
5. "Home Improvement," ABC, 19.5 million
6. "Single Guy," NBC, 18.4 million
7. "Coach," ABC, 17.8 million
8. "Murphy Brown," CBS, 17.3 million
9. "NFL Monday Night Football," ABC, 16.4 million
10. "Grace Under Fire," ABC, 15.8 million

- Nielson Media Research/AP

" It's a great victory for our children and America's future,
and it does show me that Time Warner does have a corporate soul."

- C. Delores Tucker of the National Political Congress of Black Women, on Time Warner's move to drop gangsta rap.

Graphic

PHOTOS: 1)No caption. Shown, a "gangsta rapper., AP/FILE; 2) Rebels in Sierra Leone reportedly recaptured three towns from government troops in fighting that killed 200 people., MOE DOIRON/AP; 3) Jasiri, a week-old female giraffe, looks around Illinois's Brookfield Zoo Wednesday., BETH A. KEISER/AP. Map, Comoros., STAFF

Load-Date: October 1, 1995

THE NEWS IN BRIEF

Christian Science Monitor (Boston, MA)

August 10, 1995, Thursday

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Section: THE NEWS IN BRIEF; Pg. 2

Length: 1518 words

Byline: Compiled by David Mutch, Abraham McLaughlin, and Peter Nordahl

Body

The US

Bernard Nussbaum, former White House counsel, said at the Senate Whitewater hearings that his restrictions on a police-led search of Vincent Foster's office amounted to his ethical duty to President Clinton. Nussbaum has been under heavy attack by Republicans for weeks for restricting the search of Foster's office following Foster's suicide two years ago. Foster was Nussbaum's deputy at the time and had possession of sensitive Whitewater documents, including the Clinton's personal financial papers that were taken from Foster's office before a police search. This action raised suspicions of obstruction of justice.

The GOP may hold up the nomination of Gen. Shalikashvili for a second term as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in a political struggle with the White House over the \$ 265 billion defense bill. Democrats are holding up the bill in objection to a Republican effort to build a multi-site national missile-defense system, in probable violation of the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty. Meanwhile, a congressional study showed France dislodged the US last year as the leading supplier of arms to the third world.

Senior US nuclear weapons experts, the JASON group, have concluded that the US does not need underground tests - as backed by the Senate last week - to maintain its nuclear arsenal safely. Physicians for Social Responsibility, an anti-nuclear organization, said Clinton will soon make a decision on the scope of US nuclear testing.

President Clinton has gotten much tougher in his political rhetoric, labeling the Republicans anti-family one day, anti-environment the next. Clinton, who not long ago spoke of the need for common ground, explained in a recent interview with National Public Radio that his new tone only points out that the GOP is not showing interest in a dialogue. He says his critical comments point up his centrist position. A White House official describes it as "a stand-for-something, get-in-the-news" strategy.

An engine pod holding two of a B-52's eight engines fell off the plane Tuesday night over Louisiana. A third engine failed. The bomber returned safely to Barksdale Air Force Base.

The Senate will not complete work on the welfare bill this week, as Senator Dole had hoped. He has not been able to resolve differences with conservative GOP critics.

THE NEWS IN BRIEF

Bell Atlantic and Ameritech continued contract talks with a union representing most of their employees. BellSouth Corp. and Pacific Telesis reached accords with the Communications Workers of America Tuesday. Southwestern Bell reached an agreement Monday.

The White House said Tuesday there has been an increase in the theft of US trade secrets and that US counterintelligence resources will likely have to be increased. The names of the countries were not released.

Federal prosecutors said Mousa Abu Marzuk, the political leader of Hamas being held in the US, was also a chief architect of the Arab group's military wing and can be blamed for more than 100 death by terrorism. Israel has accused him of conspiring to commit murder.

The Justice Department is "a month or two" away from concluding its inquiry into whether leaders of the raid on the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Texas, lied to federal investigators, says a department official.

The antitrust probe of Microsoft Corp.'s linking of its new on-line service to its new Windows 95 will not be completed before the software is released August 24, the Justice Department said Tuesday. The department is trying to decide whether the company would have an unfair advantage over other on-line services by making access to its own available at a mouse click.

The World

Russia said yesterday that Serbian and Croatian leaders accepted President Yeltsin's offer for peace talks in Moscow, though a Croatian spokeswoman denied the report. The Serb siege of Bihac in Bosnia, meanwhile, has been broken. Residents dressed in their neatly pressed best for walks through the park and past the mosque - areas that were once favorite targets of Serb gunners. But about 120,000 Croatian Serb refugees continued to flee into Serb-held areas in Bosnia, attempting to dodge fighting between Croat and rebel-Serb forces. President Clinton, meanwhile, dispatched high-level aides to Europe in hopes of jump-starting the peace process. (Stories, Pages 1 and 16.)

PLO leader Arafat and Israeli Foreign Minister Peres were due to hold an unexpected third round of talks yesterday in Egypt. The meeting signaled determination to reach a long-delayed agreement on Palestinian autonomy. Still at issue: water resources, Palestinian elections, and Israeli security.

Jailed Chinese-American activist Harry Wu is in good spirits, US consular officials said after meeting with him yesterday in Wuhan, China. Chinese police, meanwhile, are arresting dissidents, apparently in preparation for the September UN women's conference and Non-Governmental Organization Forum.

North Korea broke off rice talks with the South yesterday, accusing a sailor on a South Korean ship of spying. The ship had been delivering some of the 150,000 tons of rice that the South has offered to alleviate the North's severe food shortages. The North was holding the ship's crew, pending investigation.

Bombs attributed to Muslim extremists derailed a train and wrecked a city hall in Algeria yesterday. Extremists have been fighting the military-backed government since it canceled 1992 parliamentary elections that extremists were expected to win.

Scattered fighting and an aborted prisoner exchange Tuesday between Russian troops and Chechen rebels cast doubts on the success of last month's military accord. And there are signs further of dissent in Chechnya: The Chechen military commander said he would even disobey Dzhokhar Dudayev, the Chechen leader, to achieve peace. Dudayev has been equivocating on his commitment to peace.

Indian police in the rebellious Kashmir region stepped up security yesterday in anticipation of celebrations on Prophet Muhammad's birthday today. Three explosions in the past three days have hit Hindu pilgrims.

The French-Australian row over South Pacific nuclear testing hit new levels of bitterness: On Tuesday, a conservative French newspaper attacked Australia's protestations as a bid to make up for "ethnic cleansing" of

THE NEWS IN BRIEF

Aborigines. The statement brought strong rebuke from Australian Prime Minister Keating and the country's top Aborigine leader. (US-French relations, Page 4.)

Shareholders from I.G. Farben, which manufactured the gas used in Nazi gas chambers, met yesterday to discuss compensating a few thousand survivors. Meanwhile, in Austria, a publisher received a 10-month suspended sentence for an article arguing that the gassing of thousands of Jews was "technically impossible." And in Argentina, a former Nazi SS captain refused to testify about his role in a 1944 massacre of Italian civilians.

Nearly 600 Guatemalans living in southern Mexico returned to their homeland Tuesday, more than a decade after army massacres forced them to flee their country.

The Ulysses spacecraft has flown over both poles of the sun in an unprecedented voyage giving insights into magnetic fields, solar winds, and cosmic rays. It now heads to Jupiter.

Etcetera

Remember the photograph that symbolized the joy at the end of World War II - a sailor and a nurse kissing in Times Square? Kissers Carl Muscarello and Edith Shain met for the first time since 1945 on Tom Snyder's "Late Late Show" Tuesday night.

Changing American tastes in dining are proving to be a boon for producers of garlic, chili peppers, processed tomatoes, and onions. Take garlic: Per capita use has grown 72 percent since the early 1970s - from an average of 0.04 pounds per person per year to 1.9 pounds now.

Eurotunnel, the Anglo-French operator of the channel tunnel, is launching a service for cyclists. For \$ 24 a cyclist can ride a minibus that will tow a bike trailer. The minibus will then board a train for the trip.

During a recent visit to Kentucky, a native American from Arizona accepted two feathers - from an owl and a vulture, both shed naturally - as a gift from a friend. But both men may have unwittingly committed a federal offense punishable by up to six months in jail. Under the Migratory Bird Treaty Act, it's illegal for most people to possess, trade, or sell almost any bird or bird part.

Top 10 Paperbacks

1. "The Body Farm," Patricia Cornwell (Berkley)
2. "The Alienist," Caleb Carr (Bantam)
3. "The Hot Zone," Richard Preston (Random House)
4. "Debt of Honor," Tom Clancy (Berkley)
5. "Apollo 13," Jim Lovell (Pocket Books)
6. "The Chamber," John Grisham (Dell)
7. "Everything to Gain," Barbara Taylor Bradford (HarperPaperbacks)
8. "Dixie City Jam," James Lee Burke (Hyperion)
9. "White Shark," Peter Benchley (St. Martin's)
10. "Remembrance," Jude Devereaux (Pocket Books)

- Publishers Weekly

THE NEWS IN BRIEF

" It was my ethical duty as a lawyer ... to protect a client's information and confidences."

- Former White House counsel Bernard Nussbaum,

on why he restricted access to the office of presidential aide Vince Foster after Foster's suicide

Graphic

PHOTOS: 1) Philip Morris official Ellen Merlo tells of the decision to voluntarily put underage warnings on firm's cigarette packages., RICHMOND TIMES/AP; 2)View from bathroom renovated for Shannon Faulkner at The Citadel. Unless the Supreme Court bars her, she will soon become the school's first female cadet., POST AND COURIER/WADE SPEES; 3) Bosnian and Croatian Army soldiers celebrate Bihac's liberation.,

THEODOR FRUNDT/AP. Map, Germany., DAVE HERRING - STAFF

Load-Date: August 11, 1995

End of Document

THE NEWS IN BRIEF

Christian Science Monitor (Boston, MA)

September 5, 1995, Tuesday

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Section: THE NEWS IN BRIEF; Pg. 2

Length: 1545 words

Byline: Compiled by Cynthia Hanson, Abraham McLaughlin, and Peter Nordahl

Body

The US

There were picnics and parades in much of the country this weekend, but in Detroit a Labor Day strike turned violent. On Sunday 3,000 strikers formed a human wall around a printing plant and delayed production of the Detroit News and Free Press. Some clashed with riot police. They are seeking higher wages and new work rules. Also, a Time-CNN poll found that two-thirds of Americans say unions are still needed.

Candidate Bill Clinton considered Colin Powell as a running mate in 1992 and twice asked him to be secretary of state. President Bush also wanted Powell to be CIA director. Powell declined all the offers. And as his autobiography hits stores next week, it is still unclear if he will turn down the many calls for him to make a White House run. The book, which will be excerpted in Time Sept. 11, reveals some conservative principles that would enable him to run as an independent or moderate Republican: low taxes, faith in free enterprise, and new scrutiny of entitlements.

Congress reconvenes today. On the docket: a defense bill with controversial spending on the "star wars" missile-defense system and the B-2 bomber; Clinton's veto of the Bosnian arms embargo bill; and taming the budget. A critical budget-balancing issue is Medicare spending. The GOP will likely divulge details of its plan to cut Medicare spending by \$ 270 billion over 7 years. (Story, Page 1.)

Hearings on the incident at Ruby Ridge begin tomorrow. Senator Spector, who will chair them, said Sunday he may use subpoenas and immunity offers to compel federal agents to testify. At issue: whether US agents acted too cavalierly in the 1992 Idaho standoff and subsequently covered up their mistakes. The first to testify: Randy Weaver, the white separatist whose wife and son were killed. (Story, Page 1.)

V-J Day anniversary celebrations wrapped up in Hawaii yesterday. One attempt at reconciliation came at a meeting of US and Japanese soldiers. In one room, a retired US Navy chaplain went up to a Japanese couple and asked for forgiveness for hating the Japanese. They smiled and assented. And a former Japanese fighter pilot, wearing a "USS Yorktown" cap, apologized for Pearl Harbor. The Yorktown was one of the few US ships that "got away" from the attack.

Some Japanese groups are pressuring George Bush to cancel a speech at a Tokyo rally next week because the sponsoring group has close ties to Reverend Moon, head of the Unification church. The church has been accused of manipulative recruitment and brainwashing its members. A Bush spokesman says the group has ties to the

THE NEWS IN BRIEF

church but is separate from it. Meanwhile, Bush will become the first US ex-president to meet Vietnam's Communist leaders when he goes there next week.

Senator Pell was expected to say today that he will not run again. The six-term Rhode Island Democrat chaired the Senate Foreign Relations Committee until last year and founded the Pell grant student-loan program. His retirement would bring to seven the number of Democratic incumbents who have said they will not seek reelection next year. One Republican has said so.

Rep. Mel Reynolds will resign, he said Friday. The Chicago Democrat faces four years in jail for having sex with a minor.

The government is not doing enough to catch Social Security cheats, the congressional watchdog, GAO, says in a new report. The US is being scammed out of millions of dollars each year. One fraud source: middlemen who help non-English-speaking immigrants get benefits. The number of legal immigrants getting disability payments has increased sixfold in 10 years, while nonimmigrants have increased twofold.

The anti-Castro group that organized a protest-flotilla that sailed toward Cuba Saturday says it will stage another protest Oct. 22, when Castro speaks to the UN in New York. Saturday's 25-boat flotilla turned back when it encountered rough seas and after one craft sank.

The motor-voter law has reportedly driven 5 million Americans onto voter registration rolls in the eight months since it was enacted. The New York Times says most new registrants are avoiding party labels and saying they are independents.

The World

The Bosnian Serbs are beginning to open supply routes and will move their heavy weapons from around Sarajevo in compliance with UN demands, Bosnian leader Karadzic told former US president Jimmy Carter yesterday. NATO was threatening to resume airstrikes if the Serbs didn't comply with a Monday night deadline to remove the heavy weapons. US envoy Richard Holbrooke arrived in Athens yesterday for talks with the Greek prime minister and foreign minister about efforts to end the war. Greece has good ties with Serbia. (Story, Page 1.)

Hillary Rodham Clinton is expected to address the UN's Fourth World Conference on Women today, and delegates will begin debating a proposed platform. Topics include: easing women's poverty, health care, education, and job opportunities. The gathering opened yesterday with the UN's call for gender justice. Pakistani Prime Minister Bhutto defended Islam and called for an end to female infanticide. South Africa's Winnie Mandela, arriving late for the welcoming ceremony, reportedly was turned away in an altercation with doorkeepers. China has been criticized for surveillance and heavy-handed policing. (Story, Page 1.)

Japan began trials yesterday for the first of more than a hundred members of a doomsday group on charges related to subway gas attacks, murder, and kidnappings. The trial of Shoko Asahara, the guru who heads Aum Shinri Kyo, was set for Oct. 26.

Iraq may have used chemical weapons during the Gulf war, newly released Pentagon documents reportedly show. Meanwhile, U.S. News & World Report said Iraq's President Hussein has been negotiating with Mauritania, in northern Africa, for political asylum. Twelve ships carrying US military equipment have arrived in the Gulf in recent weeks. And UN arms inspector Rolf Ekeus said yesterday there was little prospect trade sanctions against Iraq would be lifted soon.

Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres voiced disappointment yesterday at what he said was Syrian President Hafez al-Assad's "pessimistic tone" on peace moves and his refusal to enter into high-level talks. Also, Israeli Prime Minister Rabin made a surprise visit yesterday to the West Bank town of Hebron, reportedly to examine security options. And the militant Palestinian group Hamas is losing popular support and will form a party to oppose Israel's existence politically, the group said Sunday.

THE NEWS IN BRIEF

France was expected to begin nuclear testing in the South Pacific yesterday. The French military seized a third protest vessel Sunday after it violated boundaries around the site. Nine legislators from five nations set sail for the site Sunday for protests. Meanwhile, a bomb exploded in a Paris market Sunday. Paris police say they dismantled another bomb yesterday.

Rebels exploded two bombs near two banks in Srinagar, India, yesterday, killing at least 10 people and injuring dozens. The Hizbul Mujahadeen, the most well-armed separatist group in India, claimed responsibility. The assassination of Punjabi leader Beant Singh in a bomb blast last week in Chandigarh will make it more difficult for India to bow to the demands of rebels holding four Western hostages in Kashmir, authorities said yesterday.

Colombian President Ernesto Samper, whose election campaign is suspected of taking drug money, helped collect donations, his former campaign manager reportedly told prosecutors, according to the weekly newsmagazine *Cambio* 16.

Britain and Northern Ireland held talks in Dublin yesterday to defuse a crisis over the decommissioning of IRA guerrilla arms.

Etcetera

The discovery of a stand of virgin forest that has seen no woodsman's ax since the days of the Pilgrims may prevent a Massachusetts ski area from adding a new trail. The Wachusett Mountain Ski Area near Boston leases the land from the state, which may block the new trail.

If you'd invested \$ 10,000 with Warren Buffett in 1956, and stayed with him through the years, you'd have \$ 95 million today, according to a just-published biography of the top investor titled "Buffett: The Making of an American Capitalist." His advice to investors: Approach the stock market as if just 20 investments per lifetime are allowed - pick good stocks and stay with them.

Volumes of Controversy

From 1982 to 1995 a survey tracked attempts to ban books from student reading lists. These titles were challenged the most:

1. "Of Mice and Men," John Steinbeck
 2. "The Catcher in the Rye," J.D. Salinger
 3. "Scary Stories to Tell in the Dark," Alvin Schwartz
 4. "The Chocolate War," Robert Cormier
 5. "Many Scary Stories to Tell in the Dark," Alvin Schwartz
 6. "The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn," Mark Twain
 7. "I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings," Maya Angelou
 8. "Go Ask Alice," anonymous
 9. "Bridge to Terabithia," Katherine Paterson
 10. "The Witches," Roald Dahl
- People for the American Way in Washington, D.C.

THE NEWS IN BRIEF

" There is a very different attitude than before. Before the predominant attitude was, 'This is mine. I paid for it....' Now they accept the program will have to be changed."

- Gail Wilensky, an organizer of GOP Medicare forums, on senior citizens' view of the health-care program.

Graphic

PHOTOS: 1) Colin Powell has written a memoir., MIKE FISHER/AP; 2) French commandos prepare to board the MV Greenpeace Sept. 2 after it entered the 12-mile exclusion zone around Mururoa Atoll., STEVE MORGAN/AP; 3) A Russian boy shows mixed feelings as he stands in a school yard in central Moscow on the first day of the academic year last Friday., ALEXANDER NATRUSKIN/REUTERS. Map, Japan., DAVE HERRING - STAFF

Load-Date: September 5, 1995

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THE NEWS IN BRIEF

Christian Science Monitor (Boston, MA)

July 31, 1995, Monday

Copyright 1995 The Christian Science Publishing Society

Length: 1479 words

Byline: Compiled by Abraham McLaughlin, Shelby Siems, and Peter Nordahl

Body

The US

How states will divvy up federal welfare funds is the main topic at the National Governors' Conference in Burlington, Vt. Senator Dole's plan, which he is expected to present to the governors today, would give big-growth states like Texas extra funds at the expense of slow-growth states like Wisconsin and New York. Under the Dole plan all states would get block grants to administer three welfare components: Aid to Families With Dependent Children, job-training efforts, and child-care programs. President Clinton is also expected to present a plan to the governors today.

Clinton is expected to update his 10-year budget-balancing plan today. On Saturday the White House said the revised plan might reach the zero-deficit target in nine years. It would do so with 20 percent cuts in discretionary spending and some trims in Medicare and Medicaid. The GOP plans to eliminate the deficit in seven years.

Who started the fire at Waco, and why? Congressional hearings continue on the topic. Tomorrow, Attorney General Janet Reno is expected to defend her authorization of tear-gas use in the 1993 raid on the Branch Davidian compound. The gas has been blamed for the fire in which 80 Davidians died. On Friday, a group member testified that he didn't know who started the fire. But a Texas investigator testified to seeing lighter fluid on the hands of some Davidians. (Story, Page 1.)

Susan Smith was sentenced to life in prison for the drowning of her two sons. She will spend a minimum of 30 years behind bars. The jury decided against the death penalty. A Newsweek survey indicated that nearly two-thirds of those surveyed thought she deserved to die.

NASA delayed its next shuttle launch to check the O-rings. Endeavour, set to fly Aug. 5, is grounded until engineers figure out why searing gas damaged primary O-rings during the past two launches. NASA says Endeavour is expected to fly by the end of August. Separately, the House voted Friday to retain funding for NASA's space station.

The militant Palestinian group **Hamas** demanded Saturday that President Clinton release one of its officials who is being detained on suspicion of terrorism. Mousa Abu Marzuk, who has lived in the US for 14 years, was arrested at Kennedy Airport last Tuesday.

The number of Americans collecting food stamps tumbled in May. According to the Agriculture Department, 26.47 million received stamps in May, compared with 27.5 million a year earlier. The administration took credit for the drop, but Republican Senator Faircloth called the claim "ridiculous."

THE NEWS IN BRIEF

People who disagree about abortion should unite around an effort to encourage adoptions, Hillary Rodham Clinton wrote Saturday in her second newspaper column in a new weekly series. The first lady was echoing her husband's "common ground" theme. Mrs. Clinton, long a supporter of abortion rights, said 450,000 US children need homes and that barriers to interracial adoption should be rethought.

The Senate passed strict limits on gifts Senators can receive. The measure's supporters hope the move will pressure the House to follow suit. The legislation puts a \$ 100 annual ceiling on gifts from any one source. And it makes all gifts over \$ 10 count toward the limit.

Senator Packwood says public hearings would allow his lawyers to cross-examine the women accusing him of sexual and official misconduct. Democrats have called for public Ethics Committee hearings, while committee chair McConnell has said he opposes them.

The EPA's budget will be cut by one-third, but it will be able to enforce anti-pollution regulations. On Friday moderate Republicans joined Democrats to block a measure that would have limited the EPA's enforcement abilities. Also, the Interior Department's wolf reintroduction program in Yellowstone will be cut by about half.

Death Valley, Calif. hit 127 degrees Saturday. Highs were in the 100s in much of the country.

The World

Russian and Chechen negotiators agreed yesterday to stop hostilities, disarm Chechnya's separatists and withdraw Russian troops from the republic. The agreement could pave the way for free elections. The next round of talks will begin August 3. (Story, Page 5.)

NATO military planners were to meet yesterday to discuss preparations to deter Bosnian Serb attacks on UN-declared "safe areas," but UN officials warn tensions are set to explode into war. The Croatian president said Saturday Croatia will attack to retake rebel Serb territory and rescue a Bosnian Muslim enclave unless the Serb leadership engages in serious peace talks soon. President Clinton has denied a Friday report in the Washington Post that the US is secretly breaking the UN arms embargo to aid the Bosnian Muslims. (Stories, Pages 1 and 18.)

North Korea urged the US and South Korea to cancel plans for a military exercise next month, saying yesterday it would drive the peninsula to the brink of crisis. An international consortium formed to implement a nuclear deal with North Korea will cancel a trip to Pyongyang because the North opposes it.

Thousands of Palestinians returned to jobs in Israel and peacemakers headed back to the negotiating table yesterday, six days after an Islamic bomber blew up an Israeli bus. Israeli and PLO negotiators will resume talks on a deal to expand Palestinian rule beyond Gaza and the West Bank town of Jericho. Syria agreed yesterday to send experts to Washington to reopen talks with Israel on issues connected with a possible Israeli withdrawal from the Golan Heights. Also, Iranian-backed guerrillas killed an Israel soldier and wounded two others in south Lebanon; the ambush provoked massive retaliatory bombardment.

This year's Amarnath pilgrimage in Kashmir will be marked by soldiers patrolling the hills where one militant Muslim group is holding five Western hostages. The Muslim group is being urged to demand the release of a World Trade Center bombing suspect; the rebels now demand release of 21 comrades in Indian jails. Foreign governments are seeking help from Pakistan in releasing the hostages.

Algerian security forces killed 20 Muslim guerrillas across the country last week, it was reported Saturday. Islamic militants from Algeria, who are suspects in the Paris subway bombing, are using Europe in their drive to topple their government, officials say. European police have arrested hundreds suspected of procuring arms and money.

Baghdad blasted US efforts to reconcile warring Kurdish factions in northern Iraq and accused Washington on Saturday of exacerbating the conflict. In Frankfurt, Germany, police yesterday arrested 40 Kurds and blocked the entrance of a shopping area to prevent a banned Kurdish demonstration.

THE NEWS IN BRIEF

A Tamil rebel mine yesterday killed three members of the military in eastern Sri Lanka, and a military camp was set on fire by separatists. Ten rebels and one soldier were killed on Saturday in northern Jaffna, with several others injured.

An earthquake measuring 7.8 on the Richter scale hit Northern Chile yesterday, killing one person and injuring 12. Damage was reported to be minor. In Japan, a quake of 5.0 rattled windows in Tokyo and cities to the north.

On Saturday, ethnic violence claimed 10 lives in the Karachi area. The Mohajir Qaumi Movement is believed responsible. Meanwhile, employers in Pakistan beat, rape, and abuse laborers, and those who complain get arrested, Human Rights Watch-Asia claims.

Etcetera

The dingo, Australia's wild native dog and a feature of the outback for 4,000 years, is sliding toward extinction. It is being absorbed into the domestic dog population and will breed itself out of existence in 100 years, Australian research scientist Laurie Corbett says.

Some "Phat" New Words

A recent meeting of neologists (new-word buffs) yielded these terms. Only some have made it into the dictionary.

Dis, verb. To show disrespect for or insult. "He dissed me."

Bejeaned, adjective. Wearing jeans.

Criminalist, noun. A term spawned at the O.J. Simpson trial meaning a forensic investigator. "Criminalist Dennis Fung."

Hodad, noun. Someone who hangs around surfers but doesn't surf. "Don't be a hodad - surf the Internet."

Incenting, verb. A management term meaning to provide an incentive.

Moshing, verb. A somewhat violent form of dancing at some rock concerts.

Mosh pit, noun. The area where people mosh in front of a stage.

Phat, ("fat") adjective. A very positive term originally from black English. "She's so phat" or "How's it going?" "Phat!"

Waitron, noun. A non-gender-specific term for waiter.

WYSIWYG, ("whizzywig") noun. What You See Is What You Get. A computer screen display showing data exactly as it will appear in printed form.

- Associated Press

" Safety - safety of flight - is our primary concern in this program. We don't want to accept an unnecessary risk."

- Shuttle manager Brewster Shaw on NASA's decision to ground the shuttle fleet due to O-ring problems

Graphic

THE NEWS IN BRIEF

PHOTOS: 1) A firefighter battles a lightning-sparked blaze in Idaho. Two volunteer firefighters were killed Friday in the fire that is now believed to be under control., ROB BARTHOLOMEW/AP; 2) A Croatian army artillery unit bombards Bosnian Serb positions on Friday., AP PHOTO/TV; 3) Ivan Pedroso of Cuba sets a world Long Jump record of 29 feet 4-3/4 inches at a meet in Sestriere, Italy, Saturday., STEFANO RELLANDINI/AP. Map, Chile., DAVE HERRING - STAFF

Load-Date: July 31, 1995

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ISRAELI ARMY SAYS SECURITY WAS LAX AT MASSACRE SITE

The New York Times

March 9, 1994, Wednesday, Late Edition - Final

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Distribution: Foreign Desk

Section: Section A; ; Section A; Page 1; Column 3; Foreign Desk ; Column 3;

Length: 1444 words

Byline: By CLYDE HABERMAN,

By CLYDE HABERMAN, Special to The New York Times

Dateline: JERUSALEM, March 8

Body

Israel began its formal inquiry into the Hebron massacre today with the army commander for the West Bank testifying that a breakdown had occurred in security arrangements that could have prevented the mass killing of Palestinian worshippers by an Israeli settler.

The commander, Maj. Gen. Danny Yatom, also acknowledged that the army's entire focus had been on potential terrorist acts by Arabs against Jews in the occupied territories, and that the possibility of a reverse situation had never been considered.

"I must say that I don't remember discussions about Jewish terror," said General Yatom, who commands army forces throughout central Israel as well as Hebron and other parts of the Israeli-occupied West Bank.

No Warning From Intelligence

As for army intelligence assessments about the likelihood of an attack by Jews, he added: "I had no formal or informal warnings about Jewish terror aimed at Arabs in Judea and Samaria," names of biblical origin used by many Israelis for the West Bank.

The general insisted that even without intelligence warnings, an Israeli security plan for guarding the mosque at the Cave of the Patriarchs, venerated by Muslims and Jews, was stringent enough to have stopped the Hebron killer on the morning of Feb. 25. But the plan was not followed.

He said that five of six soldiers and policemen assigned to strategic posts -- including three who had overslept -- had been somewhere else when the settler, Baruch Goldstein, entered before dawn with an automatic rifle and opened fire on 400 to 500 Muslims at prayer.

Dr. Goldstein killed 29 Palestinians, the general said. In addition, he said, 3 people were trampled to death as worshippers stampeded, and 5 Palestinians were later killed by soldiers in street battles in other parts of Hebron, a town of perennial Jewish-Arab conflict.

ISRAELI ARMY SAYS SECURITY WAS LAX AT MASSACRE SITE

Today, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin reportedly called the Jewish presence there "an unnecessary time bomb" but said he did not want to move settlers out at this point.

Killings Called Preventable

In a reference to the security provisions at the cave, General Yatom told the five-member commission: "I believe that if this plan had in fact been fully carried out, it could have prevented the way Goldstein acted -- that is, the massacre.

"And at least if it did not prevent it, it would have made it very difficult for this murderer to carry out his plot."

The general and other officers testified on the first day of hearings that are expected to continue for weeks and possibly months. For now, the panel, led by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Meir Shamgar, is focusing on the military's account.

Palestinians are expected to be called as witnesses after a holiday next weekend marking the end of the Muslim holy month of Ramadan, but it is not clear how many will testify.

Challenging the credibility of the Israeli investigation, which is based on a preliminary army finding that Dr. Goldstein acted alone, the Palestine Liberation Organization and the group of Islamic militants known as Hamas have both ordered their own inquiries. They have yet to get under way in earnest, though.

Judges Emphasize Mindset

Repeatedly today, the five men on the Israeli commission -- three judges, a former army chief of staff and a university president -- zeroed in less on the details of Dr. Goldstein's murderous path 11 days ago than on the Israeli authorities' basic policies in sensitive parts of the territories. It seemed that the army's mindset on Jewish-Arab relations was under as much scrutiny as the behavior of its soldiers on Feb. 25.

Witnesses were asked, for example, why Jews were permitted as a matter of routine to bring weapons into the cave. Palestinians do not enjoy the same privilege.

The sole Israeli Arab on the panel, Judge Abdel Rahman Zuabi of Nazareth, was particularly insistent on this point, but he was not alone.

"I do not understand why people who are coming to pray to God have to take weapons with them," he said to Maj. Dov Stalman, the army commander at the cave.

"I don't have an answer to that," Major Stalman replied. "Those were the decisions."

General Yatom testified that after an Arab attack that killed six Jews in Hebron in 1980, the Government began to permit Israelis to carry guns with them into the cave, a policy made formal in 1986.

In practice, they may not enter with ammunition magazines locked in their rifles. But they may carry the ammunition separately, and if soldiers are not watchful, someone can load and reload once he is inside.

110 Bullets in 1 1/2 Minutes

In this case, the general said, Dr. Goldstein managed to empty three and a half magazines, or about 110 bullets, in a minute and a half.

Still, despite incessant tensions between Jews and Muslims, no shots had ever been fired there until 11 days ago -- and, he said, Jews in Hebron are at risk and need their weapons.

ISRAELI ARMY SAYS SECURITY WAS LAX AT MASSACRE SITE

"The thing that was hard for me to imagine was that in a place where there are armed soldiers, a Jew, an Israeli, would do such a thing," General Yatom said. He continued: "Had I known what was going to happen, I'd have taken measures."

Foreign Minister Shimon Peres said some lessons had been learned, and he told a group of American reporters that tougher Government measures were likely, including a ban on weapons in the cave and separate prayer schedules there for Muslims and Jews.

But there are no plans for now to move the more than 400 Jewish settlers out of Hebron, even though a near-majority of Cabinet ministers openly supports the idea and Prime Minister Rabin was quoted today as having called the Israeli presence there "an unnecessary time bomb."

He was reported to have told a parliamentary committee that "at this point there is no formal proposal" on the Hebron settlers, reflecting his view that to put the issue on the table now would cause an uproar among Israelis and complicate the already troubled peace negotiations with the P.L.O.

Casualty Figures Questioned

In Hebron, there have been questions from the start about how many people were killed and wounded on Feb. 25.

Some Palestinians have said that nearly 50 were killed and perhaps 250 wounded. Other estimates of the death toll are in the mid-40's. Over the weekend, The Associated Press reported that it had conducted its own investigation and counted 30 killed inside the mosque and 4 elsewhere in Hebron.

Today, General Yatom testified that a family-by-family check by the army showed that 29 worshipers had been killed in the mosque, all by Dr. Goldstein, and 90 had been wounded or injured in ensuing panic. In addition, the general said, 3 Palestinians were trampled to death in a stampede to escape the spray of automatic rifle fire and 5 were killed by soldiers in clashes elsewhere in Hebron later.

Explaining why the figures were substantially lower than early estimates, he said some victims had been double-counted and some people initially listed as dead turned out to be alive.

It is not clear if the army's count is definitive, because some bodies were said by Palestinians to have been whisked away and buried without first being tallied by local hospitals.

Killer Wore Army Uniform

According to General Yatom's account today, at 5:20 A.M. on Feb. 25, Dr. Goldstein entered the mosque in his army uniform, telling an officer who knew him that he was on reserve duty. In a section of the complex known as the Isaac Hall, 400 to 500 Muslims were beginning their Ramadan Friday prayers, the general said, while in the adjacent Abraham Hall, 13 Jews were reciting prayers for the Purim holiday.

Dr. Goldstein, who lived in the neighboring settlement of Qiryat Arba, probably entered the Isaac Hall through the first of three doors, General Yatom testified, and then fired into kneeling, tightly packed worshipers from different locations at the back of the hall.

In the immediate area, six Israeli soldiers and policemen were supposed to be on duty, he said.

But three border policemen arrived only after it was all over -- apparently, he said, because someone forgot their wake-up call. A regular policeman also was not there, and a soldier had been sent by a superior officer to switch places with another soldier outside -- an error in judgment, General Yatom said.

Thus, according to his account, when Dr. Goldstein entered Isaac Hall, only one of six Israelis assigned to the security detail was in place. And when that lone officer heard the shots, he was pushed back by the crowd surging to escape, the general said.

ISRAELI ARMY SAYS SECURITY WAS LAX AT MASSACRE SITE

Finally, the officer made his way into Isaac Hall, General Yatom testified, but it was too late. He found Dr. Goldstein dead in a corner, beaten apparently by Palestinians who had overcome their initial panic.

Graphic

Photo: An Israeli policeman striking a Palestinian with the barrel of his rifle yesterday in East Jerusalem, where clashes broke out between security forces and protesters after a march for International **Women's** Day. (Associated Press) (pg. A10)

Load-Date: March 9, 1994

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THE NEWS IN BRIEF

Christian Science Monitor (Boston, MA)

March 26, 1996, Tuesday

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Section: THE NEWS IN BRIEF; Pg. 2

Length: 1624 words

Byline: Compiled by Cynthia Hanson, Yvonne Zipp, and Peter Nordahl

Body

The US

The White House and Congress say they are close to a budget deal to fund the second half of 1996. A Senate proposal adding a \$ 1.3 billion contingency fund for programs the White House favors - as long as there are offsetting cuts - could be enough to forge an agreement, says White House chief of staff Panetta. President Clinton originally asked for \$ 8 billion more to restore funding for many education and environmental programs. The Senate has compromised on more than half that amount. The House says it may also meet the president halfway.

Californians turn out today to vote in their primary. Senator Dole, who has clinched the Republican nomination, is favored over Patrick Buchanan. (Related opinion, Page 18.) Below, consumer advocate Ralph Nader is running unopposed as the Green Party candidate in today's primary, assuring him a spot on the November ballot. If that hurts Clinton's chances, Nader says, "he deserves it." Also, billionaire Ross Perot has said he'll run if his Reform Party asks him to. And Buchanan is hinting he may run as a third-party candidate.

Congress will pass some form of health-insurance reform this year, predicts Budget Committee chairman Kasich. Republicans may give up inclusion of medical-savings accounts to ensure passage of a bill giving people between jobs access to health insurance. (Story, Page 3.)

The Supreme Court has agreed to decide if states can make English the official language and require government workers to speak only English on the job. About 20 states have amendments or laws declaring English the official state language. Also, the court let stand a ruling that forces states participating in the Medicaid program to fund abortions for women who are victims of rape or incest. Louisiana is the fifth state to fail in a bid to deny them funding.

The Fed meets today, and February's upsurge in job rates will probably be on the agenda. Market-watchers wonder if this will affect interest rates. (Story, Page 1.) Separately, sales of previously owned homes jumped 6.5 percent last month, despite slightly higher mortgage rates.

Senate Democrats are pushing for a vote on the minimum wage this week. Democrats want to raise the minimum wage 90 cents over two years, from \$ 4.25 an hour to \$ 5.15 an hour. Republicans oppose a raise, saying it would hurt small businesses, cause layoffs, and reduce the number of entry-level jobs.

THE NEWS IN BRIEF

Whitewater witness David Hale, whose allegations spurred the investigation, was sentenced to 28 months in prison and ordered to repay the government \$ 2 million. Hale pleaded guilty in March 1994 to two counts of defrauding the Small Business Administration.

The US Forest Service obstructed an investigation into claims that Weyerhaeuser Company illegally harvested millions of dollars of timber from national forests in northern California and Oregon, The Los Angeles Times reports. Watchdog groups allege that service officials warned Weyerhaeuser employees that they were being investigated and disseminated confidential information to employees. The service rejects the claims.

Tobacco company Brown & Williamson considered buying a nicotine patch maker to profit from its customers' attempts to quit smoking, "60 Minutes" reported. The company decided against the purchase after an executive said the company would be seen as "simply in the nicotine delivery business" and would face FDA regulation. Also, Maryland and Texas are exploring filing lawsuits against tobacco companies. Eight other states are considering litigation, and six have already filed lawsuits.

Yasser Arafat and Palestinian legislator Hanan Ashrawi have agreed to testify at the US extradition trial of Mousa Mohammed Abu Marzuk, a leader of Hamas. He has been detained since July 25, when he tried to reenter the US after being added to a list of suspected terrorists. Israel has asked for his extradition on charges of conspiring to commit murder and other crimes.

Journalists are fair in their election campaign coverage but negatively affect the process, a Freedom Forum Media Studies survey says. Some 83 percent surveyed say politicians court the media more than voters.

The World

Responding to international pressure to honor Dayton accord commitments, the Bosnian Serbs plan to free 28 prisoners today. Yesterday they freed a Muslim photographer charged with killing a Serb, a day after the government released a Serb journalist captured last summer. The Bosnian Croats plan to release 10 Serbs from a prison near Mostar. Above, Hillary Rodham Clinton greets US troops at Tuzla air base in Bosnia, where she is on a one-day visit.

Beijing announced a halt to weeks of menacing war games off Taiwan's coast, and Taipei offered reconciliation. China's foreign minister told visiting UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali that the drills were not aimed at obstructing democracy on the island. Boutros-Ghali has avoided discussion of China-Taiwan tensions, saying the purpose of his visit is to strengthen China-UN ties. (Story, Page 1.)

The US, France, and Britain signed the Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty, ending some 50 years of nuclear tests in the South Pacific. Analysts called the signing "symbolic," but others indicated it would impact negotiations for a global nuclear-test ban. Russia and China signed the document years ago.

The Republic of Belarus signed a trade deal with the EU to boost commercial ties. The pact came two days after the former Soviet republic announced plans for union with neighboring Russia. In Moscow, President Yeltsin ruled out formation of a single state, saying the new agreement would be limited to deepening integration.

Russian forces again attacked villages in western Chechnya as Yeltsin vowed to disclose a peace plan by the end of March. His Security Council recently adopted a plan for ending the war, but few details have been disclosed.

A Japanese court ordered Okinawa's governor to renew land leases for US military bases. Prime Minister Hashimoto can sign the documents if Gov. Ota refuses to do so, the court ruled. Ota refused to sign the leases after three US servicemen raped an Okinawan girl last year, sparking mass protests on the island. He also says the bases, which take up about one-fifth of Okinawa, hamper the island's economic development.

THE NEWS IN BRIEF

At least 400 prisoners in a Libyan prison reportedly were freed during a riot in which 16 guards were killed. The prisoners were mostly antigovernment soldiers and Islamic militants. The riot took place last week in al-Kuwaifiya, about 13 miles from the Mediterranean city of Benghazi, travelers to the region reported.

Irish Republican Army supporters authorized their leaders to take part in a May 30 election that will precede negotiations on Northern Ireland's political future. Gerry Adams, leader of the IRA's political wing, Sinn Fein, plans to meet with Catholic politician John Hume to discuss whether to participate in the poll.

Indian troops surrounded a Muslim shrine held by separatist militants in Srinagar, Kashmir, following a shootout in which the rebels said 26 people died. Police confirmed 11 deaths. Shops and businesses closed in the city to protest the violence.

A bomb exploded at an antigovernment demonstration in Chittagong, Bangladesh's main port city, killing at least two people on the 16th day of a nationwide strike. In Dhaka, security forces used tear gas to break up an all-night vigil of 2,000 opposition activists in front of the main government building.

Germany's Free Democratic Party won more than the 5 percent needed to keep its parliament seats in three state elections. If the FDP had not had a credible showing, Chancellor Helmut Kohl's coalition, which includes the FDP, would have been threatened.

Etceteras

Hyakutake, the brightest comet to pass Earth in 20 years, did not disappoint stargazers who gathered under open skies to watch it. The comet, visible to the naked eye, appeared just below the Big Dipper. Some who saw it thought it looked like a fuzzy snowball; others said it was like a headlight seen through fog.

Victoria Falls, one of Africa's greatest natural wonders, is threatened with serious environmental damage unless development and tourism are heavily restricted, a new study says. Hundreds of sightseers visit the falls, in Zimbabwe, every day. And whitewater rafting, canoeing, and bungee jumping from a nearby bridge have attracted many more visitors in recent years.

"Did Marco Polo Go to China?" That's the title of a book by British librarian Frances Wood that casts doubt on Polo's travels. Why, for instance, is there no reference to the Great Wall or to the practice of binding girls' feet to keep them small in his reports? she asks.

Albert Einstein's manuscript explaining his theory of relativity is being donated to an Israeli museum. Sotheby's in New York says the handwritten 72-page document was bought by the Jacob E. Safra Philanthropic Foundation, which is presenting it to the Israel Museum in Jerusalem.

Independent Spirits

Below are the winners of the 1996 Independent Spirit Awards, which honor films made outside the major studios.

Best Picture - "Leaving Las Vegas"

Best Director - Mike Figgis for "Leaving Las Vegas"

Best Actor - Sean Penn for "Dead Man Walking"

Best Actress - Elizabeth Shue for "Leaving Las Vegas"

Best Supporting Actor - Benicio Del Toro for "The Usual Suspects"

Best Supporting Actress - Mare Winningham for "Georgia"

THE NEWS IN BRIEF

Best First Feature - "The Brothers McMullen"

- Associated Press

" People are getting sick and tired of this nonsense. It's politics that does not inure to the benefit of either the White House or Congress. We look silly."

- Sen. Alfonse D'Amato, on CNN, about Washington's long, drawn-out, and still unsettled budget debate.

Graphic

PHOTOS: 1) Californians turn out today to vote in their primary. Senator Dole, who has clinched the Republican nomination, is favored over Patrick Buchanan. (Related opinion, Page 18.) Below, consumer advocate Ralph Nader is running unopposed as the Green Party candidate in today's primary, assuring him a spot on the November ballot. If that hurts Clinton's chances, Nader says, "he deserves it." Also, billionaire Ross Perot has said he'll run if his Reform Party asks him to. And Buchanan is hinting he may run as a third-party candidate., ROBERT SORBOL/AP; 2) Responding to international pressure to honor Dayton accord commitments, the Bosnian Serbs plan to free 28 prisoners today. Yesterday they freed a Muslim photographer charged with killing a Serb, a day after the government released a Serb journalist captured last summer. The Bosnian Croats plan to release 10 Serbs from a prison near Mostar. Above, Hillary Rodham Clinton greets US troops at Tuzla air base in Bosnia, where she is on a one-day visit., DOUG MILLS/AP. Map, India., STAFF

Load-Date: March 26, 1996

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Dialogue is no longer enough ; Muslims in the Arab world are despairing of the West's attitude to them, argues Robert Fisk

The Independent (London)

December 7, 1993, Tuesday

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Section: COMMENT PAGE; Page 19

Length: 1521 words

Byline: ROBERT FISK

Body

THE ONLY United States marine to see the Muslim suicide bomber who blew up the marine barracks in Beirut in 1983 remembered just one thing about the man who slaughtered 241 of his comrades: he was smiling. Not long ago, I asked the Hizbollah leader, Hassan Nasrallah, if he could explain to me why a Muslim would smile as he drove to his death.

"The best metaphor for a Westerner to try to understand this truth is to think of a person being in a sauna bath for a long time," he replied to my astonishment. "This person is very thirsty and tired and hot, and he is suffering from the effects of the high temperature. Then he is told that if he opens the door, he can go into a quiet, comfortable room, drink a nice cocktail and hear beautiful classical music. Then he will open the door and go through without hesitation, knowing that what he leaves behind is not a high price to pay - and that what awaits him is of much greater value."

The sauna, the cocktail, classical music, these were the physical luxuries we might crave on earth. But the "quiet, comfortable room" was clearly heaven. Just open the door. Was it with such abandon that the boy martyrs of the Iran-Iraq war drove their motor-scooters into Saddam's minefields? Or was it anger and frustration that motivated the young Lebanese who blew themselves up next to Israeli convoys in southern Lebanon? And if local conflicts can engender such ferocity, what are to be the consequences of the genocide of Muslims in Bosnia?

In Khartoum these past four days, Muslims - and several Christians - from 82 different countries have been asking this last question at a very unusual conference. Few came as official representatives of their governments. Jordanian Islamicists opposed to King Hussein, radicals from Algeria, Hizbollah delegates from Lebanon, 50 parliamentarians from Yemen, even that ancient Marxist Nayef Hawatmeh of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine turned up to sit in Khartoum's ugly "Friendship Palace" to debate the future of Islam and - to use the most oft-repeated phrase - the "victory and jihad of Muslims".

Needless to say, Sudan's "Popular Arab and Islamic Conference" was going to be unpopular with both the West and the Arab regimes that support Washington. Even Saddam Hussein went no further than to dispatch his "adviser for religious affairs" to Khartoum for the occasion.

The gathering revealed unhappy realities as well as understandable fears within the Islamic world. At the opening session, a Nigerian woman doctor asked delegates to remember that Muslim women deserved just treatment and equality of opportunity under Islam. "Be fair to us," she pleaded in her short and moving address. But when Dr Mustafa Ceric, the Imam of Sarajevo remarked that he hoped more women would speak at the conference, many

Dialogue is no longer enough ; Muslims in the Arab world are despairing of the West's attitude to them, argues Robert Fisk

of the Muslim delegates burst into laughter. Mr Ceric, who has consistently demanded equality for all under the shell-fire of Sarajevo, glowered angrily.

Nor were the Islamic movements in any mood to oblige Hassan Turabi, Sudan's ascetic spiritual "guide", by giving Yasser Arafat a hearing in Khartoum. The moment Hamas, Islamic Jihad for the Liberation of Palestine, Hizbollah and Mr Hawatmeh heard of Mr Turabi's plan to freight Mr Arafat into Sudan for a reconciliation - or at least a "brotherly" discussion - about the Gaza-Jericho accord, they threatened to walk out of the conference. Mr Arafat, once an ally of many of the men in the "Friendship Palace", took the hint and stayed away.

For the Khartoum conference demonstrated once again the enormous reservoir of suspicion and distrust of the West which is growing among so many Arab nations. Inevitably dubbed a "terrorists' conference" by the US press - which faithfully and with equal inevitability took its cue from the remark of an Israeli official - the gathering was one of dissidents rather than subversives, of men (few women, of course) who believe that the PLO- Israel accord is merely another chapter in the Muslim world's submission to the West.

Where else, after all, could such views find expression? Most Arab regimes suppress dissent, and Saudi Arabia's domination of the international Arab media has effectively deprived millions of Muslims of the opportunity for free debate. With only Egypt and Jordan allowing a modicum of free speech - and with the former's security services routinely torturing anyone suspected of involvement in armed opposition to the Mubarak regime - democracy is virtually non-existent in the Arab world.

In fairness, it should be said that there are Americans who prefer it this way. One prominent American journalist recently argued in the pages of a Washington journal that the Arab world should be obliged to observe human rights without being forced to adopt the basic principles of democracy. This pernicious idea - which denies that democracy is a human right - makes sense in the West. For if the Arab world were to allow its people free expression, how could it be relied upon to support the West and, by extension, peace with Israel?

Those Arab leaders who are allies of the West - President Mubarak, for example - have always urged their people to use the ballot box rather than the gun to change their governments. Yet when an Islamic party was about to win a second round of elections in Algeria two years ago, the government suspended the poll and outlawed the probable victors - who turned to violence to achieve their ends and are now, of course, referred to as "terrorists".

"How dare the United States lecture us on peace and democracy?" one of the more moderate Palestinian delegates in Khartoum asked angrily. "How can they support regimes like Tunisia and Morocco and Algeria - and Egypt with all its human rights abuses - and all those feudal monarchies in the Gulf, and then accuse Sudan of being a 'terrorist' state that abuses human rights?" Repeatedly, the Muslims in Khartoum accepted the veracity of the so-called memorandum - an evident forgery - which is supposed to have been sent by Douglas Hurd to John Major and in which the Foreign Secretary purportedly opposed the creation of a Muslim state in Europe. This sham document, which circulates today in almost every Arab capital, is now given credibility in the Islamic world. In a clear reference to the forgery, General Mirza Alslam of Pakistan presented a paper to the conference in which he said "recently released sic European documents reveal plans to annihilate the Muslims in Bosnia".

Yet Arab Muslims may be forgiven for believing in this fabrication when international credibility - and in particular the authority of the United Nations - has become so eroded in the Islamic world. Offensive UN military action against armed Muslim groups in Somalia is acceptable to the West. Offensive military action against those who kill Muslims in Bosnia is unacceptable. Even when Arab nations have sent their own troops on peacekeeping missions to the Balkans, they have been constrained by the UN. There is no evidence that the Egyptian battalion in Sarajevo or the Jordanian battalion north of the Sava river have saved a single Muslim life.

But of greatest portent were those voices - sometimes incoherent, always rhetorical, invariably angry - which sought to define what could not be discussed elsewhere; the idea that Muslims must decide their own future without interference from the West or from Arab leaders friendly with the West. "Don't you see that we can't say what we think if we are in our own countries and can't read what we think even if we buy a newspaper?" another Palestinian complained. "We are told to be democratic in countries which aren't democratic. If we oppose American plans for

Dialogue is no longer enough ; Muslims in the Arab world are despairing of the West's attitude to them, argues
Robert Fisk

the region or Arafat's submission to Israel, we are called 'enemies of peace'. And if we take up arms because we have no other means to express ourselves or if we die for our religion, we are called 'terrorists'."

I suspect that Mr Ceric, the Imam of Bosnia, was thinking along the same lines when I came across him in the lobby of the Hilton hotel. Last summer, when we met under bombardment in Sarajevo, he had vouchsafed his belief that the Christian West despised the Muslims who lived peacefully among them but that Muslims and Christians must maintain a dialogue without mutual recrimination. Now, in Khartoum, his attitude was less patient. Dialogue was no longer enough, he said. Muslims had to assert their identity and force the West to listen. "Our civilisations must talk to each other - but directly. We must be honest with each other. Up to now, we have tried to be nice and said to each other: 'Let's live together'. That was very pleasant. But now we must be very honest and speak straight out about our problems, not just as human beings but as Muslims."

It was a statement; but it was also a warning.

- 'From Beirut to Bosnia', a three-part series that follows Robert Fisk in his reporting of the Muslim world for the Independent, starts at 9pm on Channel 4 tonight with 'The Martyr's Smile'. The series continues on December 14 and 21.

(Photographs omitted)

Load-Date: December 7, 1993

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Stalked by the shadows of history; Britain, once a safe haven for European Jews, now has the worst record for anti-Semitic attacks, writes Peter Popham

The Independent (London)

November 14, 1995, Tuesday

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Section: COVER STORY; Page 4,

Length: 1698 words

Byline: Peter Popham

Body

When the head of Islamic Jihad, Fathi Shqaqi, was murdered in Malta recently, his followers declared that "every Zionist, wherever he is, will be a target of our strikes and of our bodies that will explode in anger". It was not a solitary outburst: since the Israeli government signed the agreement with the PLO on 23 September, committing it to pulling out of six towns on the West Bank, the threats made by those infuriated to see the peace process succeeding have multiplied, aimed as much at the Jewish diaspora as at Israelis.

Yet the response of the Jewish community in Britain to these menaces was negligible. The reason: the community is already at a high state of alert. Jewish schools, synagogues and other institutions are under constant guard when occupied. The offices of important organisations such as the Board of Deputies of British Jews are reinforced by armed policemen of the Diplomatic Protection Group. When members of the board met the Home Office in August, they were advised to maintain security at the existing high level, one degree below the highest level possible.

Why should this be necessary? After all, for decades when other European countries bristled with menace for Jews, Britain was, by comparison, a haven of peace. For many, this has not changed. Rabbi Abraham Pinter, from the orthodox community in north London's Stamford Hill district, says: "I feel more comfortable in Britain than in any of the countries I've been to." A member of the orthodox community in Gateshead says of that bleak town: "It was a comfortable little corner of England in which to settle down." Britain's last "pogrom" was as recent as 1911, when mining communities in South Wales erupted in protest at Jewish landlords - but in the context of the 20th century, it's a pretty small blot.

"The Jewish community does not suffer from violence like blacks and Asians and other visible minorities," says Mike Whine of the Board of Deputies of British Jews. "Social anti-Semitism has been declining for 50 years, and Jews are now seen, not as outsiders, but as part of the indigenous white population."

Yet last year, for the third year running, Britain had the worst record of any country in the world for anti-Semitic attacks. According to the report *Anti-Semitism Worldwide*, more than 300 incidents were reported. Jewish institutions were blasted by bombs, graves desecrated, children and adults assaulted and abused, and hate mail, resuscitating the most ancient and poisonous religious libels, disseminated across the country.

The report is quick to add that Britain's unenviable position at the top of this league may be due to her "elaborate system of reporting and collecting data". But the alarm is real. In the wake of the huge car bombs detonated outside

Stalked by the shadows of history; Britain, once a safe haven for European Jews, now has the worst record for anti-Semitic attacks, writes Peter Popham

the Israeli embassy and the office of a Jewish charity in July 1994, hundreds of thousands of pounds was raised within the community to set up a volunteer force, the Community Security Trust, to mount guard outside synagogues, Jewish schools and other community institutions.

To get into Mr Whine's office you pass an armed policeman of the Diplomatic Protection Group and a Jewish volunteer, and cross a strip of pavement cordoned off by tall black bollards. You pass through double doors where two security officers go through your bags with the thoroughness of the people at David Ben-Gurion Airport, under a sign that reads: "SECURITY NOTICE . . . In recent months terrorists have attacked Jewish community buildings in Britain." Comfortable is not the word that springs to mind.

One of the trouble spots singled out for mention in Anti-Semitism Worldwide is Gateshead, the suburb of Newcastle which is home to a large orthodox community. About 120 years ago, Jews fleeing Russian persecution began docking and settling down in Newcastle. Several years and quarrels later, a pious Jew called Zachariah Bernstone walked over the Tyne across the Redheugh Bridge, looked around him at the ugly mining town he found there and declared: "Here I am and here I stay."

Slowly a community grew up around his house, and in this century, as refugees poured in from the Continent, it expanded rapidly. During the Thirties, the seats of Jewish learning in Eastern Europe crumbled, but new ones sprang up here, until Gateshead became known to religious Jews around the world, and rabbis and students flocked there to teach and learn. The community numbers some 4,000. A Jew could go from infancy to the pinnacle of Judaical studies without leaving this square mile.

Yet the mark the community has made on Gateshead is a subtle one. "Be a proud Jew but keep a low profile," an orthodox Jewish father will counsel his son, and it is advice that this community has taken. The primary school looks like any other in the country, except for the Star of David on the gable end. A high privet hedge discourages starers. At the heart of the community there are no signs, no monuments, no architectural tempting of fate. There is, however, eternal vigilance: at the corner of the street, three young men in black suits and big black hats stand talking and joking, shooting the breeze, taking the air. But when a stranger walks by, their eyes follow him all the way around the corner.

According to the report on anti-Semitism, there was "a growing number of assaults" against Gateshead's Jewish community in 1994. Mr Whine confirms that it has been a persistent problem for four years, and is getting worse. But the senior teacher in the community, who agrees to be interviewed on condition that we do not reveal his name, is keen to play down the problem.

"You can call it anti-Semitism if you want, but it's not of the professional type. I would call it hooliganism coupled with ignorance: they're out to harass a member of the public, and if they can get a Jew in, why not? It's not planned anti-Semitism: I'm walking along the street and people call out 'Jew!' or throw stones or knock my hat off. It doesn't happen every day, but it's something you live with. All the attacks are very minor. We ignore it and we train the students to ignore it."

They have also trained the media to ignore it, as neither the local paper nor the Jewish Chronicle has carried news of the community's difficulties for over four years. "I'd say major harassment and anti-Semitism are on the decline," he says, but adds: "We get full support from the Northumbrian police. I'm in contact with them on a daily basis."

The thuggery with which Gateshead's Jews cope stoically is in a sense an anachronism: they have the conspicuousness here that Asians or blacks have in other parts of the country - and Gateshead has no other significant minorities to take the heat.

Elsewhere, the level of anti-Semitism has receded, but that which exists, says Mr Whine, has become "more concentrated and focused". At the same time those responsible have become more diverse, encompassing Islamic fundamentalists, secular groups opposed to the Middle East peace process and British neo-Nazis.

Stalked by the shadows of history; Britain , once a safe haven for European Jews, now has the worst record for anti-Semitic attacks, writes Peter Popham

When the bombs went off in Kensington and Hendon last July, suspicion was directed at groups such as Hezbollah; but **Hamas** claimed the credit, while the six people arrested for the attacks and now in custody awaiting trial are secular Palestinians.

Combat 18, the neo-Nazi group blamed for the disruption of last year's football match between England and Ireland, has published two magazines replete with anti-Semitic abuse, including material denying the holocaust. Thousands of leaflets have been sent to homes and schools in London over the past two years, accusing Jews of ritual murder and paedophilia - a revival of the most ancient and evil anti-Semitic canard - and trying to spread alarm among unsophisticated non-Jewish parents. "We believe that your children may be in mortal danger," they say. No one has been prosecuted for their publication.

Meanwhile, a new source of hatred and defamation has arisen in the form of the Internet, through which far-right groups in America and continental Europe spread their ideas and co-ordinate their activities, beyond the reach of police surveillance. Then finally there are those among us who find their recreation in smashing tombstones in Jewish cemeteries. Attacks have occurred in Bournemouth, Hull and east London in the past two months.

Is Britain the most anti-Semitic country in Europe? It seems unlikely. Every synagogue in France is under armed guard; in Slovakia and Romania anti-Semitic parties are part of the governing coalitions; in Russia, anti-Semitic remarks are part of Vladimir Zhirinovsky's standard patter. Abraham Israel contrasts Britain's relatively benign mood to that he found in Austria. "I'd heard that one-third of Austrians have anti-Semitic feelings. I couldn't find the other two-thirds. You feel everyone's eyes in your back."

But as Clive Lawton, head of an organisation called Jewish Continuity and formerly headmaster of King David's School in Liverpool, points out, if the phenomenon exists, statistics have little meaning. "It's like asking **women** if violence to **women** matters. Of course it does. The damage is far greater on a psychic level than a physical level."

The arrival in Britain since the Fifties of more conspicuous minorities has lowered the profile of the Jews, but as the writer Conor Cruise O'Brien once put it hauntingly, anti-Semitism is "a very light sleeper", and far from withering away, it has once again begun ominously to rise.

Mr Lawton believes that blacks and Asians were never the essential target of the racists. "If they were the real object, denial of the holocaust would not be important. But for these people the Jews remain the core of the race problem, while blacks and Asians are a symptom. They believe it is the Jews who have trapped and confused the whole world. Therefore holocaust denial is very important to them."

Mr Lawton's position is the opposite of that held by Jews for whom assimilation in the white community has never been easier or more sensible. "We Jews are the paradigmatic minority, we are professional refugees. We shouldn't forget that. I wear a skull cap to express my solidarity with blacks, to insist on my difference."

Load-Date: November 14, 1995

Blown to pieces in the name of Allah; At his funeral, Anwar Aziz's young widow smiled and said: 'My happiest time was the day of his martyrdom'

The Independent (London)

January 29, 1995, Sunday

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Section: THE WORLD; Page 12

Length: 1666 words

Byline: ROBERT FLAK

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The only US marine to see the Lebanese suicide bomber who atomised his barracks and killed 241 of his comrades in 1983 said later: "All I can remember was that the guy was smiling." In the posters of Hizbollah's suicide bombers, many of the "martyrs" are, indeed, faintly smiling. On the day of Anwar Aziz's funeral in Gaza - what there was left of him to bury - we asked his young widow about the good times they must have had together. She replied at once, just the feeblest of smiles playing over her face: "My happiest day was the day of his martyrdom."

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Not long after the Natanya slaughter - in which two Islamic Jihad members killed themselves and 21 Israelis, 19 of whom were soldiers - I asked a leading Palestinian advocate of suicide bombings how he would react if he was Yitzhak Rabin. He remained silent for almost a minute, then he began to giggle. His giggling turned to laughter, his shoulders shaking with mirth; sinister, frightening, unreal. It was a question of weapons, he said. The Israelis were all-powerful, but they feared death. He did not.

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Individual motives can sometimes be found. In April 1983, for example, Ali Safiadin smashed his bomb-laden Mercedes into an Israeli convoy at Deir Qanoun en-Nahr in southern Lebanon. After his death, we discovered why he decided to kill himself. His brother, it transpired, had been arrested by the Israelis in 1982 and imprisoned in their Tyre military barracks. He was still there when another suicide bomber drove another explosives-wired car into the barracks, killing both Safiadin's brother and 59 others, most of them Israeli soldiers. Safiadin blamed not the bomber but the Israelis for his brother's death. So he died attacking them, too.

Both the Hizbollah and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad - respectively Shia and Sunni Muslims - have recorded how would-be "martyrs" would ask to be chosen for death, how they would initially be encouraged to abandon their project, how only those who insisted upon "martyrdom" would be allowed to drive bombs at the Israelis or to strap explosives to their bodies.

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Such certainties might account for the absence of any doubt among most of the suicide bombers about the physical result of their actions. The torn corpses of men, women and children are an obscenity, not an image of heaven. Could not the Hamas bomber whoset off his explosives amid a bus-load of civilians in Tel Aviv last October understand the meaning of cruelty? Perhaps the grief and pain of innocents is not part of the "martyr's" imagination. Of course, the Islamists point out that Israelis have killed innocents with little remorse; they claim the bombers choose death over the "hell" of military oppression, that they hate Israel. But there can be no doubt that there is a strong element of psychological preparation for those about to kill and die, not only of intense readings from the Koran but of repeated promises of posthumous admiration and pleasure.

Several young Islamists have insisted to me that they believe beautiful women await them in paradise - "all the girls are virgins", an Egyptian member of the "Jihad Islamiya" claimed. Do the militants, perhaps, think they will become sex symbols after death? Such notions are not as ridiculous as they sound. "To me, he is a hero," a young Iranian woman vouchsafed to me once about a young Lebanese man who seemed certain to kill himself. No wonder Bilal Fahas was called the bridegroom of the south. In a patriarchal, chauvinist society, self-immolation breaks through the crust of a restrictive, hermetically-sealed, sexually segregated world.

But it is a world that has been in torment for decades, in which massive, sophisticated weaponry and super-power support has hitherto assured Israel's military preponderance. The suicide bomber has changed all that. It is the same equation with which the Americans and then the Israelis themselves failed to come to terms in Lebanon - to which, as Mr Peres admitted last week, Israel has not yet found the answer: the conflict of high-technology versus theology, an invincible army against an individual who will not accept the logic of power. Carnage at Netanya: 19 Israelis died Photograph: AP

Load-Date: February 1, 1995

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Load-Date: February 1, 1995

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Harsh Tone Of Campaign Becomes Issue

The New York Times

October 18, 1996, Friday, Late Edition - Final

Copyright 1996 The New York Times Company

Distribution: Metropolitan Desk

Section: Section B; ; Section B; Page 17; Column 5; Metropolitan Desk ; Column 5;

Length: 1712 words

Byline: By BRETT PULLEY

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Body

With the election less than three weeks off, last night's debate between the United States Senate candidates in New Jersey focused as much on the tone of the campaign itself as on issues like Medicare and the environment.

Both camps have come under fire from political leaders and editorial boards across the state for the negative tone and mean-spirited television advertisements that have dominated the race.

Representative Richard A. Zimmer defended his ads, saying they "are true and they are relevant to the job of United States senator."

His Democratic opponent, Representative Robert G. Torricelli, who said he was taking the higher ground on the issue, began his 90-second opening statement by conceding that the campaign had "deteriorated into personal accusation and acrimony."

Calling the one-hour debate in a Trenton television studio "the last chance to raise the level" of the campaign, Mr. Torricelli said Mr. Zimmer had used negative advertising to avoid discussing his work as a legislator. "Mr. Zimmer cannot defend his record," he said.

Mr. Zimmer, who seemed more energetic and less defensive than he was when the two men met in their first debate on Oct. 5, continued to raise questions about his opponent's character and fitness for office, referring to overdrawn checks, Mr. Torricelli's assistance to the daughter of a fugitive and his speech to a Muslim group.

Locked in one of the closest, costliest and nastiest Senate races in the country, the two veteran members of the House continued their attempts to appeal to the large number of New Jersey's mostly moderate voters who say they are not decided. The candidates debated issues including the environment, gun control, Medicare, education, welfare and immigration.

Mr. Zimmer, who comes from a working-class family and has served three terms in the House, reiterated his belief that government should be smaller and less intrusive in people's lives.

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"I was able to live the American dream," Mr. Zimmer said. "And I'm concerned that children growing up now and in the future have that same opportunity. And they will but only if we fundamentally change the way government does business."

A seven-term Congressman from Englewood, Mr. Torricelli has said that he believes government should play a limited but activist role in helping people. He has accused Mr. Zimmer of being an overzealous fiscal conservative whose cuts in taxes and spending would jeopardize the ability of people to receive an education, get medical care and have a healthy environment. "Ultimately, this election is about who will be on your side when the difficult decisions are made that affect your family," he added.

A self-proclaimed fiscal hawk, Mr. Zimmer repeated his call for a balanced budget and lower taxes. But Mr. Torricelli tried to immediately snatch those fiscal issues off the table. He began the debate asserting that the campaign "is not about taxes or spending." As he continued, he recounted his most recent votes on these fiscal issues -- the very issues that Mr. Zimmer has most often used to paint his Democratic opponent as an extreme liberal. "I voted for a tax cut last year," Mr. Torricelli said. "So did Dick Zimmer. I voted for the balanced budget. And so did Dick Zimmer."

Sponsored by the League of Women Voters and broadcast by ABC television stations in Philadelphia and New York, the debate was sandwiched between commercials for Bill Clinton and for both Senate candidates.

As he answered many of the 15 questions that were posed by four television journalists, Mr. Torricelli made what appeared to be a calculated attempt to look away from the television cameras and straight at Mr. Zimmer as he accused him of voting in concert with the House leadership on many occasions.

For the first time in the campaign, Mr. Torricelli alluded to age as an issue, noting more than once that, at 45, he is a baby boomer. Mr. Zimmer, who at 52 does not quite qualify, continued to pepper his speech with references to his wife and two sons, while Mr. Torricelli, who is divorced and has no children, did not mention his personal life.

Mr. Torricelli said that if elected he would focus on supporting the environment, education and Medicare. He criticized Mr. Zimmer as having voted to cut aid to high schools and siding with House Speaker Newt Gingrich on cutting Medicare, the Government health-care program for the elderly.

When it was his turn, Mr. Zimmer said: "I believe that this campaign is about nothing less than the future of the American dream. We've got to reduce taxes and balance the budget, not just talk about it, but do it."

Answering the first question, about the tone of the campaign, Mr. Torricelli said it had indeed "gotten so bad" that the winner might not have the confidence of the state's voters or "be able to govern."

Mr. Torricelli contended that his views reflected those of "moderate people" who care about New Jersey and who reject the agenda of Mr. Gingrich. He then blamed Mr. Zimmer for the harsh campaign.

Mr. Zimmer responded by saying that the advertisements his campaign ran "are true." He went on to list the charges he had leveled against Mr. Torricelli, among them that he concealed evidence about a South Korean businessman, Harvard Jee, who is a fugitive from justice.

Near the end of the debate, in response to a question about the 10-year-old Jee episode, Mr. Torricelli defended his actions, saying he only helped Mr. Jee's teen-age daughter find a school. He castigated Mr. Jee, who had been a law client, saying he abandoned his daughter.

Mr. Zimmer said that the negative attacks were warranted because of Mr. Torricelli's dealings with Mr. Jee and his daughter, and his appearance as the keynote speaker at an event sponsored by the "terrorist Hamas organization."

He said that Mr. Torricelli had failed to answer for his actions, citing an editorial in The Record of Hackensack headlined "Torricelli's Tap Dance."

Harsh Tone Of Campaign Becomes Issue

On whether abortion should be an important issue in considering nominees for the Supreme Court, Mr. Zimmer said it would be just as important as anything else. Protecting people's right to privacy is important, he said, but equally important are "the intelligence and character and temperament that you need on the bench."

Mr. Torricelli said, "I am not only pro-choice, and defend a woman's right to choose, but I plan to vote that way."

He noted that the right to an abortion rested with the Supreme Court, where it was supported by a small majority. "I will not vote for a Supreme Court justice who will tip that balance," he said.

Mr. Torricelli echoed President Clinton's criticism of Mr. Dole's tax-cut plan, saying that it would put "a \$500 billion hole in the Federal budget" and "devastate Medicare" as well as hurt education programs.

He said he supported tax cuts that encouraged investment and saving, especially those that would help people send their children to college or save for retirement. Lowering capital gains taxes is also a good idea, he said, "because it is responsible and it can be paid for."

Mr. Zimmer said that Mr. Torricelli had come late to the idea of cutting the capital gains tax, having voted to raise the tax in 1986 and then against cutting it in 1989.

But Mr. Torricelli said he had been campaigning for a capital gains tax cut for years. He said that with the deficit falling, it was finally a good time to talk about cutting that tax.

Mr. Zimmer said that Mr. Torricelli had voted for "a trillion dollars in tax increases," while he, on the other hand, had been ranked three times as the most fiscally responsible member of Congress by the National Taxpayers Association.

Mr. Zimmer defended his vote against a New Jersey minimum wage, saying "It would have cost New Jersey jobs." But he said he voted to raise the national minimum wage.

Mr. Torricelli said he thought legislation directed at the children of undocumented immigrants was necessary, even though "it's not a vote than anybody likes to cast." But he said that millions of illegal immigrants were arriving every year, and suggested that the country could not afford to support them.

"As long as people from around the world believe you can cross the American border and get free health care and free education for your children and a job, no fence will be high enough," he said.

Mr. Zimmer said: "I believe immigration has made America great. We have to discourage illegal immigrants so as not to poison public opinion about legal immigrants." Both candidates favor allowing states to decide whether to educate the children of illegal immigrants.

On the future of Social Security, Mr. Torricelli said, "The truth is, Social Security can be made secure." While the trust fund now has a surplus, he said, middle-aged people should not rely on it completely in planning their retirement, he said. He called for expanded individual retirement accounts.

The people who are on the verge of retiring are very dependent on their own pensions, he said, but, he said, Mr. Zimmer voted to allow the chief executives of companies to take private pension money and invest it as they see fit.

Mr. Zimmer described Social Security as a "sacred contract between this generation and future generations."

He went on to attack his opponent. "Bob Torricelli is the only person on this stage who voted to cut Social Security," he said.

Mr. Torricelli cut in, "That's not true and you know it."

There was only one question on foreign policy. On sending American troops to the Golan Heights as part of a Middle East peace treaty, Mr. Zimmer said the United States had not used sound criteria in deciding whether to

Harsh Tone Of Campaign Becomes Issue

send troops to Haiti or Bosnia. When the United States sent troops to Somalia, he said, that only ended in tragedy. He noted that Mr. Torricelli had supported sending American troops there.

Mr. Zimmer said he had visited the Golan Heights and seen "how vulnerable Israel would be" if they were again occupied by Syria, and said it was important to make them secure. But American troops are not necessary there, he said, and any peace agreement that was contingent on sending American troops would not be sufficient.

Mr. Torricelli said that the security of Israel was of vital interest to the United States but that he was opposed to sending American forces to the Golan Heights.

Graphic

Photo: Representative Richard A. Zimmer, left, and Representative Robert G. Torricelli during the debate last night at the WPVI-TV studios in Trenton. (Associated Press)(pg. B22)

Load-Date: October 18, 1996

End of Document

Palestinians' faith even stronger for their suffering

Guardian Weekly

December 18, 1988

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Section: Pg. 7

Length: 1378 words

Byline: Ian Black in Gaza on the first anniversary of the uprising

Body

ENTERING Jabaliya camp when it is under curfew is much harder now than a year ago today, when the Palestinian uprising first erupted.

Since then the Israelis have blocked off the sandy paths through the citrus groves and the barriers of oil drums of the entrances have grown higher than a man; the barbed wire is rusting.

When the soldiers come past, ungainly with their visored helmets and teargas grenades, you have to bob and weave through the rubbish-strewn alleys and take shelter in the mean breezeblock houses.

A single whispered word -- "Jaysh" (army) -- opens any door. Over bitter coffee and cigarettes, the camp dwellers readily share their balance sheet of the *intifada* with the uninvited guest.

Despite the sacrifices -- at least 320 dead and thousands of injured and imprisoned -- the Palestinians believe their national account is well in their favour.

"However bad our suffering has been, the *intifada* is the best time we have ever known," says a middle-aged teacher. "Now there is hope for the future."

It is a familiar refrain: from Jenin in the northern West Bank, through remote villages hidden in the folds of stony hills, in semitropical Jericho, down to the sands of Rafah at the southern end of the Gaza Strip, you can hear Palestinians reflecting on the achievements.

This buoyant mood has not escaped their rulers. A few months ago the Israelis were still talking bravely about crushing the uprising, applying maximum military and administrative pressure at periods of maximum exhaustion to finally restore order. Now the *intifida* is a fact of life -- a way of life -- for them as well.

"Those who argue that there is a military solution to the uprising don't know what they're talking about," insists one Israeli official.

"This is not like Gaza in 1970, when there were 300 wanted men and the army went from house to house crossing out names until they got to the bottom of the list. This is a mass movement. Every time you cross out one name, one or two more replace it."

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Technology is no answer either: this week, in the Samarian uplands, an army commander used his Hatzazit gravel cannon -- a monstrous, Heath Robinson creation -- to playfully pepper Israeli hitch-hikers with the doughnuts eaten on the Hannuka holiday. It has not stopped Palestinian stonethrowers.

Repression has its limits, and the lumber tools of the Israelis' trade are often more ridiculous than effective.

A converted troop carrier -- burdened by wire mesh, loudspeakers, searchlights and shovels for shifting roadblocks and burning tyres -- is known to soldiers as Chitty-Chitty-Bang-Bang.

Not that the violence itself is a real threat to the occupation: the year's Israeli casualty figures -- six civilians and two soldiers -- bear this out eloquently.

No sane Palestinian claims that the stones, the petrol bombs and the masked shabab have actually defeated the most powerful army in the Middle East.

The Palestinians have come to know that army at uncomfortably close quarters: in the Gaza camps, every ragged kid can tell the difference between the purple-bereted Givati infantry brigade and the Druze border policemen.

And they all know that middle-aged reservists are a better bet than young conscripts. Trouble often coincides with a changeover of Israeli units.

Local commanders can make a difference: the Sheikh Radwan area has been quiet since a middle-aged colonel took over recently; but down in Deir al-Balah there is an officer whose idea of fun is to loose off a few tear-gas grenades while driving his jeep at high speed through the camp.

After a year the *Intifada* has established its rhythms and cycles. Ahmed, a young Gazan who spent eight months in the desert prison camp at Ketziot -- Ansar Ill to the Palestinians -- is eating heartily these days and reminiscing with unmistakable pride about life behind the wire. His support for the PLO has not waned and it can only be a matter of time before he is picked up by the Shin Bet security service again.

With so many men in prison or unemployed, women have come out from behind their veils -- one of many sharp reminders of the experience of the Algerian struggle against the French -- to play a leading role in maintaining the uprising. Children stand guard on rooftops to whistle ahead in warning when the soldiers come.

The Palestinians are armed with the ingenuity of the powerless: when the army decided to collect all tyres in Gaza, the operation went well until the kids started burning them en masse at the collection points and then fished the remainder out of the putrid "lake" in the centre of Jabaliya where they had been dumped by the Israelis.

Sometimes it all seems as innocent as cops and robbers, cat and mouse, but the casualty figures -- whether you believe the Palestinian or the Israeli version, or opt for the independent estimate in the middle -- are a grim reminder that these can be deadly games, even when supposedly "non-lethal" weapons like plastic bullets and teargas are being used.

Yet for all this, the *intifada* is more a state of mind than an insurrection: on days when there are no curfews or strikes called by the underground PLO-backed United National Leadership, the day-labourers still stream across the old "green line" to work in Israel proper; there are still huge queues outside the civil administration buildings for the permits and licences necessary to do virtually everything but breathe.

The uprising has succeeded brilliantly in many ways -- most of all in putting the Palestinian cause back on the top of the international agenda and creating unprecedented unity in Palestinian ranks.

Hamas, the Gaza-based Islamic movement, is widely regarded as serving Israeli interests, although only the most conspiratorial will now claim that the fundamentalists are a creation of the Shin Bet.

Palestinians' faith even stronger for their suffering

In balance though, the *intifada* has failed to create a workable alternative to occupation: self-help and digging vegetable patches for victory have been encouraged by the general turndown in economic activity: they have not ended two decades of dependence on the Israelis.

The end of this first year is a dangerous time: the PLO's declaration of Palestinian "independence" in Algiers last month, and Yasser Arafat's appearances, in Sweden last week and at the UN in Geneva this week, are landmarks of creative diplomacy and PR that have pushed Israel -- still writhing to form a workable coalition government after last month's inconclusive elections -- into a corner.

But the PLO's "state" is still a phantom one. International sympathy is fine, but awfully intangible when you are living in Jabaliya under curfew and the Givati conscripts are prowling nervously in the alleys.

Heroism and high morale is one thing, but living one's life is another: "My main problem is the children," complains a mother-of-three in Nablus.

"They've got used to not going to school, not reading, not thinking, just sitting at home watching TV. I'm afraid to send them to their friends across the road but on the other hand I can't force them to stay in the house and do nothing. I worry so much when they go out. They're just not scared, not of the soldiers and not of the bullets."

The extraordinary high level of political awareness among ostensibly simple people is at its most impressive when the thorny subject of armed struggle is raised. "We will do whatever the United Leadership orders," is the most familiar response.

But, if pressed, most Palestinians will argue hotly that the stone is more effective than the Kalashnikov -- even if there were enough weapons to do anything more than invite a massacre.

Looking out from Jabaliya a year on, one can only conclude that the *intifada* must take its place in history as a turning point in the Arab-Zionist conflict.

It is all too easy to be swayed by rhetoric, impressed by sacrifice and solidarity, taken in by brave words about time and destiny uttered from high moral ground. But the Palestinians, human in their weaknesses, incomplete in their achievements, still convince.

"From the very first day of the uprising," says a wealthy Gazan woman, "we began to have hope. We have suffered, but it is still far better than before. And we can go on like this, for another year, or for however long it takes to win our freedom and our rights."

Graphic

Picture, Gaza children demonstrate in the streets

'Of course we want peace. But how do we get it?'; Israelis will go to the polls tomorrow with the bus bomb atrocities uppermost in their minds. Patrick Cockburn returns to the Jaffa road in Jerusalem, scene of the carnage in March, to gauge the mood of ordinary voters

The Independent (London)

May 28, 1996, Tuesday

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Section: COVER STORY; Page 2,

Length: 1672 words

Byline: Patrick Cockburn

Body

It woke me up just before 6.30am. There was the sound of an explosion followed by police sirens. It was the second suicide bomb on a bus in the Jaffa road in Jerusalem in the space of a week. The first had blown up half a mile away. But the bomb on 3 March was just round the corner from my apartment. When I arrived, the smouldering carcass of the red and white number 18 bus was still in the middle of the road, soldiers throwing white sheets over the burnt bodies of some of the 18 people who had died on their way to work.

It was this second Jerusalem bomb - followed by a bomb in the Dezingoff centre in Tel Aviv the next day - which ensured that tomorrow's election in Israel will be so close. "Israelis were frightened as I have never seen them before," said a political scientist. In the television debate on Sunday between the candidates for the prime minister's office, it was the question of personal security that Binyamin "Bibi" Netanyahu, the leader of the opposition, repeatedly threw in the face of Shimon Peres, the Prime Minister. "Our children are afraid of getting on a bus," he said.

In the hours after the 3 March bomb, I talked to the shopkeepers in the four blocks closest to where the bus had been ripped apart. Some were trying to salvage their goods and sweep up the shards of shattered glass from their windows. Others, a little farther from the blast, opened for business as a point of principle to show they were not intimidated. Ari Rosenfeld, a religious Jew and owner of a toy shop, was watching angry crowds shouting for Mr Peres to resign. "This is not the way," he said. "We should not be so impulsive. Arafat will have to do something, or Israelis will abandon Peres. He will have to get rid of Hamas or there won't be peace."

Three months later, there are few signs on Jaffa road to show where the number 18 bus exploded. The broken plate glass of one shop, which was unoccupied at the time, is still lying where it fell behind a rusty iron grill. Two bored looking women soldiers with their submachine guns were guarding a bus stop. In his toyshop Mr Rosenfeld, an amiable and intelligent man, said: "I am going to vote for Bibi. It will be a close result, but if he gets in things will get better. It will not just be take, take, take by the Arabs." Palestinians sealed off in Gaza and the West Bank might be surprised to learn that they have been so generously treated, but there is no doubt that Mr Rosenfeld's view is widely shared. "The security of our children is in the hands of Arafat," Mr Netanyahu has warned.

But Mr Rosenfeld went on to make a point which shows the difficult path Mr Netanyahu has had to tread in recent weeks. "Of course we all want peace," he said. "Who wants their children to be always in the army or in danger of

'Of course we want peace. But how do we get it?'; Israelis will go to the polls tomorrow with the bus bomb atrocities uppermost in their minds. Patrick Cockburn....

being blown up? The question is how do we get to peace." Polls at the weekend showed - as they have done consistently in the past - that 60 per cent of Israelis favour the Oslo peace accords with the Palestinians. But Israelis, like Mr Rosenfeld, see peace largely in terms of personal security. That is why during the election campaign Likud and Labour had almost interchangeable slogans on the theme of "Peace with Security".

In his stationer's shop farther down the Jaffa road, Ezekiel, a silver-haired man in his fifties, said that he thought Shimon Peres would win, "but it will be close both for him and the Labour party for the first time in Israel the prime minister and the candidates for the Knesset will be elected separately. A close result will be bad. It means instability. The smaller parties will bargain. The religious ultra-orthodox Jews will want money for their yeshivas colleges and will try to turn Jerusalem into their own city."

As for the outcome of tomorrow's election, Ezekiel said he had heard on the morning radio that ultra-orthodox rabbis - the religious parties get about 14 per cent of the vote - had come out strongly for Mr Netanyahu. The Arab parties - another 12 per cent of the vote - said they were backing Mr Peres. "So it is all up to the Russian Jewish immigrants and they are not happy. They voted for Labour last time, but they feel they have been badly treated. I speak Russian and I know that many of them are living in very bad conditions."

Vera, who came to Israel from St Petersburg four years ago, confirmed this. She did not like either party much. Blushing slightly she quoted an Israeli Russian writer as saying that "Labour and Likud are alike as the two cheeks of the same bottom". The real problem is jobs. She herself was trained as an economist and is working in a shop in one of Jerusalem's better hotels. On the whole she said she is inclined to vote for Mr Peres and the Labour party "because they get on well with the US and other countries. That is not true of Netanyahu."

Pollsters admit that they do not know what the 650,000 Russian immigrants - more than 10 per cent of the Israeli population - will do. Natan Sharansky, leader of the Israel Bealiya party for Russian immigrants, has refused to back either Mr Peres or Mr Netanyahu. Few of those who came since 1989 are ardent Zionists. Most say they came for economic reasons. An aide of Mr Sharansky points out that if you ask Russians "if they worry about security, they all say they do. But if you give them a blank sheet of paper and ask them to list their concerns in order of priority, then economic and social issue are first and security is well down the list."

Vera admitted she is not very nationalistic, though some of her friends were. She said she thinks that the best solution is for Israel to have a proper frontier, not including the West Bank. "I don't really feel it is our country. When my friends say it is, I ask them why they don't go to Ramallah or Hebron Palestinian towns, but of course they have never been there." Overall, she said, Russian immigrants have to exert their strength as a community, just like "the Jews from Morocco, Tunisia or Iraq. They help each other."

There is no doubt that there is fear among the people who work and shop in the slightly down-at-heel stores on the half mile of Jaffa road between where the two suicide bombs exploded. Israelis are more stoic than they appear on television, which focuses on traditional expressions of ritualised grief at funerals. But even three months after the last bomb a liberally minded professor in Jerusalem said: "I still drive my daughter to school every day. I can't endure the thought of her getting on a bus by herself."

If Mr Netanyahu wins the election tomorrow, it will be through the exploitation of this fear - a word he used 10 times in the 14 minutes during which he spoke in Sunday's debate. This was something of a change of tack. After the bus bombs, the Likud leader was praised for his low-key reaction. He was trying to rehabilitate his reputation, which was badly damaged in the eyes of many Israelis by his rabble rousing addresses to crowds of settlers and extreme right-wingers in the weeks before Yitzhak Rabin was assassinated. "With all respect for theatrical performance, I was embarrassed for him," wrote Nahum Barnea, a widely read columnist in the daily Yediot Aharanot, of the TV debate. He accused Mr Netanyahu of exacerbating Israelis' sense of insecurity for his own political ends. "A real patriot would not weaken the stamina of Israeli society which is shocked by the waves of terror," he said.

On Jaffa road yesterday, there were also misgivings about Mr Netanyahu. In the entrance of a newsagent's opposite Zion Square, an argument was going on between the mother of the proprietor and a young male customer. Looking on, the owner of the shop remarked: "Like a lot of people, he will split his vote. He will vote for Peres and a

'Of course we want peace. But how do we get it?'; Israelis will go to the polls tomorrow with the bus bomb atrocities uppermost in their minds. Patrick Cockburn....

right-wing party." Asked if he had watched the television debate, he made a disgusted mew with his lips. There is no doubt about Mr Netanyahu's forcefulness, eloquence and staying power. But many Israelis - and not all from the intelligentsia - shudder at his mixture of menace and charm, his cold dark eyes above his full feminine lips.

But the Jaffa Road district should be a bastion for Mr Netanyahu. Jerusalem is a right-wing city. For a decade there has been so-called "white flight" of liberal Jews to the suburbs and to Tel Aviv. Many of the shoppers and shopkeepers have skull caps. Others wear the dark suits and hats of the Haredim (ultra-orthodox). It is right beside the ultra-orthodox stronghold of Mea She'arim, where anybody driving a car on the Sabbath is attacked by stone-throwing children.

But even here I got the impression from the people I talked to that many on the right find Mr Netanyahu too glib, inexperienced and, above all, imprecise about what he would do to provide the peace with security he so often promises. On the other hand, nobody is putting money on Mr Peres.

The Israelis on the Jaffa road are religious, but then so is much of the rest of the country. Foreigners see Israeli politics in terms of conflicts between left and right, ultra-nationalists and flexible nationalists. But Israeli society is more deeply divided between secular and religious, between the fifth of the population who go to the synagogue every day and the fifth who do not go at all. It is these divisions which give Israeli party politics its ferocity. For the religious right, giving up the West Bank under the Oslo agreement was surrendering the Land of Israel which God gave to the Jews. During his trial at the beginning of the year, Yigal Amir never expressed the slightest doubt that in killing Yitzhak Rabin he was fulfilling his religious duty.

The voters of Jaffa road also have a certain wariness. They read newspapers and listen to the radio obsessively and they do not expect too much. The bomb on 3 March was not the first bomb many of them had seen and they suspect it will not be the last. Ezekiel at the stationer's is probably right when he predicts a close result that will lead to further instability in a deeply divided country.

Load-Date: May 29, 1996

AARP is making a mistake in lending its name to HMOs

St. Petersburg Times (Florida)

May 7, 1996, Tuesday, 0 South Pinellas Edition

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Section: EDITORIAL; LETTERS; Pg. 9A; LETTER

Length: 1814 words

Body

Permit me to first express my absolute dismay and disillusionment after reading the April 29 Times headline, AARP to license its name to HMOs. As the man said, "Et tu, brute." The profit motive seems to transcend all manner of loyalty and protection of its members. HMOs are "greed" organizations where health is second to profit and certainly not in the best interests of the elderly or anyone else for that matter.

I am afraid the AARP has erred badly in this instance and has let its membership down. Many of the members have built up a relationship with their doctors over the years and will be reluctant to change over to strangers.

I fully realize that HMOs will save lots of people money and perhaps even increase some benefits, but it should not be at the cost of their health.

LETTERS

Thanks, but no thanks!

Anthony R. Cruz, Clearwater

Stories on Israel hide facts

How slanted are our newspapers in their presentation of the news on their front pages? How fair are they in presenting the opposing sides in a conflict?

Massacres in Lebanon. Israeli shells kill 50 refugees. Israeli bombs destroy Lebanese power station.

While those headlines are literally correct, they only show one side of the story. The emphasis of most articles is only a partial truth. A partial truth is not honest, for it hides fundamental facts and full understanding of this miserable situation.

Read further on in most articles and you will find the beginning of the larger truth: repeated Hezbollah rocket attacks on Israel. How often and loudly must it be reported that these Hezbollah attacks are what started all these Israeli counterattacks? Unfortunately, many, many innocent civilians are killed in these counterattacks. Only once or twice is it mentioned that for their own protection, the Hezbollah station their rocket launchers close to refugee camps.

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Finally, consider the most basic of all truths. Israel is fighting for its life against forces determined on nothing less than the obliteration of Israel. At the moment, these forces are using Hamas suicide bombers and Hezbollah rockets. A full appreciation of Israel's reality is required for a true understanding of Israel's shelling and bombing in Lebanon.

One reason for Israel's survival after almost 50 years of attack is its policy to always respond hard, very hard, to all attacks on Israel and its citizens. America, like all other countries, has done the same when attacked. Peace will come to the Near East when its neighbors accept the existence of Israel, discontinue terrorist attacks and negotiate the differences in good faith with respect to all. Then we will achieve the dream of all mankind - peace.

Eugene E. Atlas, Longboat Key

The view from abroad

Re: Israel emerges as loser from fighting in Lebanon, May 1, by Wilbur Landrey, May 1, and Needless French, Russian meddling delayed accord, by Jack Payton, April 27.

It is fascinating to observe the different views of diplomatic editor Jack Payton and chief correspondent Wilbur Landrey on the cease-fire agreement between Israel and Hezbollah.

Payton, reporting from Washington, D.C., is mainly concerned with what he perceives as unnecessary kibitzing by Russians and Europeans. He feels that only the United States has the trust of all parties to the dispute, and others should butt out. He does not mention Israeli attacks on power stations, water reservoirs or the United Nations post where over 100 Lebanese civilians, mostly women and children, were killed.

Landrey, reporting from Paris, says that Lebanon, Syria and Hezbollah welcomed the intervention of French diplomats. They do not trust the United States because they see us as partners with Israel. Europeans feel that Israel lost all sense of proportion during the two-week attack on Lebanon. Landrey says the failure of the United States to intervene sooner with Israel was shameful.

It is good to have these two views presented. Payton is reporting what is going on in Washington, D.C. This is where we talk to ourselves and where the pro-Israel lobby AIPAC has a powerful voice. It is easy to overlook distasteful facts and ugly images in this environment.

Landrey, reporting from Paris, hears different voices and opinions. It is not so easy to ignore critical comments about Israel and the U.S.-Israeli alliance.

As Scottish poet Robert Burns said:

"O wad some Pow'r the giftie gie us,

To see oursels as others see us!"

Joseph A. Mahon, St. Petersburg

The reality of defense spending

Re: Peaceful tax alternative, letter, April 15.

The letter states that "taxpayers are often surprised to learn that the United States spends one-third of its budget on the military."

AARP is making a mistake in lending its name to HMOs

They should indeed be surprised to learn that, since it is not true. In the last fiscal year (1995), the defense budget was \$ 271.1-billion; the total budget was \$ 1,518.9-billion. This is less than 18 percent or about half of what the letter writer claims.

There is a constitutionally mandated need for defense spending. The Constitution mandates that we "provide for the common defense." The so-called peace tax fund bill the letter writer supports will not achieve her stated objective of diverting spending from defense, it will merely spend more on liberal social programs and increase the national debt.

That money has to come ultimately from the taxpayers, and sooner or later we will all pay for it. It's time to cut government spending, not increase it.

The numbers I quote on the national budget are from the White House budget tables dated 2/7/94, the latest figures I have available. I am sure that the actual numbers will not change the ratio significantly.

Arthur M. Richard, St. Petersburg

Your number is private

Protect your privacy: Last week I called in a catalog order to a well-known company. While getting the regular information, the gentleman asked for my Social Security number. I answered, "No." He said, "Thank you," and went on to the next order of business.

You should know that you don't have to give out your Social Security number to anyone who asks for it. That's private!

Elizabeth Rodzewicz, New Port Richey

A disturbing silence

As a daily reader of your paper, I am gratified by the positions you take in which you frequently champion the downtrodden, the weak, the homeless and the otherwise disenfranchised in our society. In addition, your editorials and reports handling the abuses by the powerful, border on the inspirational.

With this enviable record of your concern, how in heaven's name could you remain silent over President Clinton's recent veto of the late-term abortion bill? Further, I guess I'm baffled that you could continue to support a man who would affix his signature, thus enabling infanticide to be truly legal. What a terrible failure of moral judgment on your part.

William L. Youmans, Clearwater

Sports and smoking don't mix

Women and sports. And tobacco?

The Virginia Slims Legends Tour came to the bay area over the weekend. The Philip Morris Co. has its "good-guy" hat on, donating money to a very worthwhile cause. Should they be thanked for their altruism?

Ask the families of the 143,000 women who die each year from smoking-related illnesses. Ask those women being treated for lung cancer, a disease that has killed more women each year than breast cancer since 1987.

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More young women than ever begin smoking each year, induced by advertisements portraying healthy, active, glamorous and popular models. Healthy? And smoking?

Do you know any sports legends who smoke? I didn't think so.

Carol W. Knapik, Tobacco-Free Pinellas

Coalition, St. Petersburg

Time to stop the fraud

Re: A system abused, editorial, April 7.

I was very shocked, after reading this article, about how people abuse the system.

We do know that police officers and firefighters risk their lives every single day in order to protect the community. Therefore, they are supposed to collect a good disability pension in case they got injured and are not able to perform their duties anymore. However, they should be conscientious not to abuse their benefits or profit from the people's generosity who work very hard to pay their taxes.

In this case of unreasonable pensions, the government should look at those people who don't have good reasons to claim the disability pension, and should penalize them for fraud or abuse. Moreover, the government should be more careful to whom they give those generous pensions.

In my opinion, it is with this great article that we can help stop a lot of fraud, and also it is with this kind of publicity that we can show the citizens where their money is being spent.

Marcelo W. Nobrega, St. Petersburg

Bombs are no way to communicate

In response to the gentleman who suggests that we should read the Unabomber's manifesto (Kaczynski's guilt decided before he goes to trial, letter, April 26) he should remember that the manifesto only came to light after four people were killed and a number of others injured.

The American way to express your displeasure with the government and the country is in a letter to your congressman, not a pipe bomb to someone who can do little to make any difference.

Paul W. Knoferle, Clearwater

Playing sand games

They're doing it again! Dredging up sand from the bottom of the gulf to dump upon the shrinking shoreline of Upham Beach. In about a year, the same wave action that draws local surfers to Upham during a storm will have begun churning away at the newly deposited sand. The same water action that drew the oil spill from the mouth of Tampa Bay, north to the beaches of St. Pete Beach and Treasure Island, will draw the freshly dredged sand north, clogging Blind Pass and adding another few football fields of sand to Treasure Island.

Doesn't anybody notice? Has anyone studied other possibilities? Putting in jetties as they have at Madeira Beach? Pumping the sand from Treasure Island back to Upham? It's time to find out.

AARP is making a mistake in lending its name to HMOs

Joan Dunham, St. Petersburg

Share your opinions

We invite readers to write to us. Letters for publication should be addressed to Letters to the Editor, P.O. Box 1121, St. Petersburg, 33731. They also can be sent by fax to 893-8675.

They should be brief and must include the writer's address and phone number. Please include a handwritten signature when possible.

Letters may be edited for clarity, taste and length. We regret that not all letters can be printed.

For e-mail users: Letters can be sent by e-mail to letterssptimes.com. E-mail messages must be text only and cannot include attachments. If you're using a word processing program to write the message, you must use its "Save as" function to save it as a text file, then import it into your e-mail program. Please include your return e-mail address in the text of the message.

Graphic

BLACK AND WHITE CARTOON, Don Addis; A man wakes following the 1996 legislative session and looks under the covers to see what surprising new laws he is in bed with.

Load-Date: May 8, 1996

End of Document

Lust to the left of us, lust to the right: A liberal reveals why he loves those right-wing babes

The Ottawa Citizen

November 13, 1997, Thursday, FINAL EDITION

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Section: NEWS; ARGUMENT&OBSERVATION; Pg. A19

Length: 1868 words

Byline: CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS; THE NATION; VANITY FAIR

Body

I have never been one of those on the left whose chief delight lies in displays of the "unpredictable." I like my knee to jerk, as I am fond of remarking, because it reassures me that my reflexes are in good order. (A failure to jerk, in other words, might represent a failure of nerve.) Every now and then, a bit of socialist fratricide breaks out and I like to be in the thick of it. But not for me the over-stuffed, chat-show chair where a week's reputation can be wrung from the "paradoxical" avowal that Charles Murray is onto something or that a "Star Wars" defence would deter **Hamas** or that "root causes" are a cop-out.

I did once, however, reap an enormous mailbag of the "Come off it; you must be kidding; get out of here" sort. This was when, in the New Statesman, I discoursed a bit on what was to me obvious, viz., the sexual magnetism of Margaret Hilda Roberts, the second Mrs. Denis Thatcher and now a full-blown baroness. The year was 1977 or so, and she was still a very provisional Leader of the Opposition. At the New Statesman, which was then the flagship journal of the British left, it was easy to share in the prevalent view, which was that the Tories had made a historic mistake. By picking that "shrill, narrow, suburban housewife," they had surrendered the all-important middle ground of politics and set themselves up for a thorough trouncing as "extremists" and "ideologues." I had other reasons for thinking this opinion to be a mistaken one, but this article is not about my foresight. It's about my political libido.

You couldn't beat the British Conservative party as a man's club in those days (or indeed, alas, in these). And most of the senior leadership had not voted, on the first or the second round, for the lady who deposed Edward Heath. So she was struck, for a goodish bit of time, with a load of red-faced paunches who thought she was the spawn of hell. And loyalty being a premium virtue in that party, she had to affect to think of them as wise and experienced colleagues. Yet, at the party conference and in Shadow Cabinet meetings and in Parliament, she gradually reduced these chaps to mush. It was at the annual conference, as I stood in the body of the hall, that it hit me. The feline smile, the composed but definite body-language, the voice at once stern and cajoling...to say nothing of the Valkyrie helmet of blond locks. My god! She has them in her thrall! And she knows it! The minx knows it! It was for writing this that I got into the hot water of what nobody then called political correctness.

Mark the sequel. Not long afterwards, I was at a reception in the Rosebery Room of the House of Lords. She came. (I'll try and keep this brief.) A mutual Tory friend offered to introduce us. I agreed with some alacrity. The subject of the moment was Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe. I held one view on this. She held another. The introduction was effected. Did I imagine it, or did she recognize the name of the scribe who had hymned her feminine allure? At once we were embroiled in an argument on the subject of racism and decolonization. I was (I only mention it) correct on

Lust to the left of us, lust to the right: A liberal reveals why he loves those right-wing babes

my facts as well as my principles. She was lousy on both. But what a bonny fighter! She wouldn't give an inch. I found myself conceding her a trivial point, and bowing as I did so. She smiled.

"Bow lower," she said. Suddenly robbed of volition, I complied. "No -- much lower." By now near to drowning in complicity and subjection, I obeyed. She withdrew from behind her back a rolled-up copy of the Parliamentary orders of the day, and gave me a sound smack before I could -- how does one put this? -- straighten up. I regained the perpendicular in some blushful confusion and difficulty, to see her swing away and look over her shoulder, the words "naughty boy" floating over me in my near trance-like state, as the journo witnesses closed in to say, "What was that all about? I told them they would never understand, and -- what do you know -- they never did.

Once in office, she calmly destroyed and (if you will pardon the expression) dismembered all her male rivals, from Sir Geoffrey Howe to Nigel Lawson to Sir Ian Gilmour to Jim Prior, as well as a succession of Labour challengers. According to the biography by her loyal press officer, Sir Bernard Ingham, the first signal that someone was finished was the fluted question: "Shall we withdraw our love?" She also, incidentally, took my advice, and reversed herself completely on Rhodesia. None of her triumphs astonished me.

The purpose of this somewhat sticky prologue is to introduce the more delicate question, Does the conservative woman possess a special attraction beyond her own wing, or faction? To stay with Thatcher for a moment -- and I don't want you to think I'm obsessed with her, or anything like that -- an instant answer was first confected by her opponents. She had charisma and potency, agreed, but it wasn't feminine. She was really a man. In the words of a gazillion tiresome jokes, she was the only one with balls. How people talked themselves into this I don't know, but talk themselves into it they did. You can look it up.

Paradoxically -- I knew I'd get here sooner or later -- this mirrored or borrowed from traditional reactionary propaganda against radical women. Louise Michel, Rosa Luxemburg, at least two of the Pankhursts, and many others were written off either as mannish and thwarted or secretly Sapphist. And sexually "free" or emancipated types like Alexandra Kollantai and Emma Goldman were denounced as sluts. (Thatcher has at least been spared the last two of these imputations.) Rudyard Kipling's The Female of the Species, probably among his top three poems in point of quotability, insinuated the same idea in the maddening form of a heavily sarcastic compliment, but struck close to the mark by suggesting that the latent superiority of women lay in their childbearing role.

If they can't get you one way, as females down the ages have had cause to reflect, they'll get you in another. The alternative model of the "progressive" woman was that of the simpering, prissy type: too squeamish for war or capitalism and inclined to be schoolmarm-like. (Some crossover, in the latter suggestion, with Sapphism. But only some.) To take a wearisome current example, see how the First Lady is variously described by her foes as a boss bitch and a bleeding-heart. I'm coming back to her. Add to this constant suspicion -- actually affirmed by some feminists -- that men are intellectual and rational while women are emotional and nurturing and you have the outline of the problem. What is a toughminded, free-market, heterosexual woman to do, except be tough-minded, free-market, and heterosexual? Is there a style? Ought there even to be a style? If I were a conservative, I'm sure I would say not.

But here I must have done with the throat clearing and foot-shuffling. The trifles that I composed in honour of Mrs. T. were as nothing, in terms of their outrage-the-comrades effect, to the roar of anger that greeted the avowals that Alexander Cockburn and I made about Jeane Kirkpatrick in the Nation. Never mind for now that I thought then, and think now, of Jeane as a death-squad groupie and a coiner of euphemisms for dictatorship. Never mind, either, that on the matter of the Falklands, she was Thatcher's most sedulous foe. To watch her on television or in person was to see someone who enjoyed dialectic for its own sake, who strove to define the argument rather than squelch about in a pacifying "middle ground," who had convictions rather than opinions but who also, and here I take the plunge, could be deliciously aware of her sex. She made Phyllis Schafly look like a faggot. And she also showed the superiority of the pseudo-intellectual over the anti-intellectual. By this I mean, to phrase it simply, that you just can't imagine Jeane Kirkpatrick commencing a sentence with the words, "As a woman, I feel. . ."

The cross-dressing appeal of conservative women for radical men is buried in there somewhere. Thanks to certain ephemeral "movement" ethics, a number of our guys had every chance to get a touch bored with people -- of any

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sex and of none -- who started with their identity and continued with their feelings. Don't tell me who you are -- I can see that. And don't tell me how you feel -- tell me how you think. We Marxists go by the content, not of your character, but of your cerebrum. And we don't mind scar tissue if it's been honourably incurred.

That's why so many of us wish we'd met Jessica Mitford when she was young. Not, I hasten to add, that we weren't her pliant tools when she was in her seventies. She would tell broad jokes in male company, she quaffed, she smoked, she had faced down cops and bullies, she was screamingly wiry, and she had done all her reading and homework. Dressy she wasn't. But drop-dead elegant. And cross her -- no thank you. Her claws would be across your face and back in her lap before you could notice it. The healing would come with the next limerick. For all that, she was a perfect mother, an ideal sister, an adored wife, and (nor her fault) an exemplary widow. There was no feminine part that she had not filled to perfection. If she and Ayn Rand had ever met, Nathaniel Branden would have needed Miss Rand's dental records even sooner than he actually did.

I mention the late and beloved "Decca" because I realize that I've given a hostage to fortune. The thrill of cruelty isn't absolutely indispensable to one's make-up or vulnerability, whatever you may have read about the education of the English male. When I first met Laura Ingraham, she was brought by Dinesh D'Souza as his luncheon guest -- in the White House mess, as it happens, on the only occasion I dined or expect to dine there -- and she rather offset his Thomist subtlety and discretion by thundering on about her adventures in El Salvador and inquiring boldly about one's marital status. OK, I remember thinking, I get the point. You can be female and feminine and assertive, and, so to speak, right-wing. (Good grief, how many times does that of all points need hammering home?)

Hillary Clinton began life as a "Goldwater Girl," distributing those cute little AuH₂O stickers around her bourgeois neighborhood in Illinois and generally being the perfect white-toothed, hairbanded little brat of the 1964 GOP rally. I can't help feeling that she'd have been better off staying right there, and would probably have made a happier marriage and met a nicer class of people. Thanks partly to her, though, the whole idea of the political woman has become indissolubly linked to the preachy, the righteous, the health conscious, and the wholesomely interfering. If conservative women want to elicit low, helpless growls from our side or any other, and this is only a suggestion for heaven's sake, then they must cease to wave their babies about, cease to speak about gender gaps, cease to be "inclusive," and instead flout what makes them different -- their attachment to ideas. I still have the reading lists that Decca sent me. Which Tory minx, of her prey, will be able to say the same?

Load-Date: November 14, 1997

November 4th, 1995: A Jew Assassinates Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin

The Gazette (Montreal, Quebec)

December 30, 1995, Saturday, FINAL EDITION

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Queen Elizabeth urges Prince Charles and Diana, Princess of Wales, to divorce.

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Lucien Bouchard files nomination papers for the PQ leadership and premiership. It's his 57th birthday.

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40,000 Palestinians crowd into Bethlehem to celebrate the withdrawal of the Israeli army, after 28 years of occupation.

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Graphic

Jacques Parizeau

Algerian women

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Odette Pinard

Princess Diana

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Jacques Parizeau gives an emotional speech on his last day in the National Assembly.

Dec. 17

Communists win Russia's second post-Soviet parliamentary elections.

Dec. 20

Queen Elizabeth urges Prince Charles and Diana, Princess of Wales, to divorce.

Dec. 22

Lucien Bouchard files nomination papers for the PQ leadership and premiership. It's his 57th birthday.

Dec. 25

40,000 Palestinians crowd into Bethlehem to celebrate the withdrawal of the Israeli army, after 28 years of occupation.

Dec. 28

Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells, the man blamed for killing the Meech Lake constitutional accord, announces he is quitting provincial politics.

Graphic

August 9th, 1995: Montreal's Biker War Claims The Life Of An 11-year old boy

Car bombing

Steffi Graf

Load-Date: January 2, 1996

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Shameless in Gaza

Guardian Weekly

April 27, 1997

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Section: INTERNATIONAL NEWS; Pg. 8

Length: 1888 words

Highlight: Yasser Arafat and his 'Tunisians' have turned the Palestinians' homeland into a ramshackle, nepotistic regime of extortion. David Hirst reports from Rimal

Body

GAZA is the most conservative of Palestinian communities; its Islamist militants once set fire to a sea-front hotel, a restaurant and other such dens of iniquity.

So imagine the pious horror at the opening of Gaza's first and only nightclub. On a Thursday evening of the Muslim weekend, I found the Zahra al-Mada'in, the Flower of the Cities, packed almost to capacity, not just with lonely young men come to admire Gaza's first belly dancers and songstresses -- locally recruited gypsies -- but with entire families, women, children and even a babe-in-arms. In other smart or risque places, you can add illicit liquor to your Coca-Cola, but here -- in another Gazan first -- you can order your scotch or your Israeli Maccabee beer on the very premises. However, the oddest thing is not so much the place, but the clientele: they are mainly "Tunisians", not Gazans at all.

Tunis was Yasser Arafat's last headquarters in exile, and "the Tunisians" is a nickname which Gazans gave to those, officially known as "returnees", who came with him when, following the Oslo accord, he established himself here instead. There are about 10,000 of them, bureaucrats who run his Palestinian Authority, former guerillas who dominate his enormous security apparatus.

"The Tunisians" have come home to the soil of Palestine itself. But the terrible irony is that they are not merely strangers in their own land, they are for the most part disliked, despised, even hated. It is they who introduced such abominations as Zahra al-Mada'in. But it is not just Hamas and Islamic Jihad, or bigots in general, who feel the shock. Liberals who welcome any challenge to the dour local mores feel it too. For almost everyone, "the Tunisians" are as alien, as unfit to rule, as those -- Turks, British, Egyptians, Israelis -- who came before them. And because they are actually Palestinians, and came as "liberators", the shock is even worse.

Arafat's Palestine Revolution never made itself very popular, among governments, rites or even ordinary people of the territories it passed through. But at least in Jordan, in the sixties, its men truly fought and died. So -- though with less purpose or conviction -- did they in Lebanon in the seventies and eighties. Obviously, during the eighties and nineties, they could not fight from Tunis, and other far-flung Arab countries in which they fetched up, but at least, as members of the world's richest liberation movement, they continued to pump money into local economies.

Here, in the homeland itself, far from fighting the former Zionist foe, they lead the collaboration with it. They may attract money -- in the form of international aid -- to this poorest of Palestinian communities, but they take at least as much away from it. They are oppressive -- and immeasurably corrupt.

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"We live in amazing, shameful times," said one of Gaza's merchant princes, and a former Fatah fighter himself, "but you should know that every revolution has its fighters, thinkers and profiteers. Our fighters have been killed, our thinkers assassinated, and all we have left are the profiteers. These don't think even primarily of the cause, they don't think about it at all. They know that they are just transients here, as they were in Tunis, and, as with any regime whose end is near, they think only of profiting from it while they can."

This is a damning indictment, but if any system can be measured by the conduct of its bureaucrats it is a fair one. In fact, the justice of it hits even a casual visitor in the eye. Just go to the district of Rimal.

Rimal means "sand", and on this former wasteland there is now arising, at incredible speed, the most up-market neighbourhood of "liberated" Gaza. You might not think it at first sight; a sand-smothered, refuse-strewn mess of empty lots amid shacks that are disappearing and half-finished concrete monsters that are taking their place, it differs little in spirit from the rest of this desolate, infinitely decrepit and unsightly city. But it is mainly here that "the Tunisians" have taken root, with their amazing array of "ministries", "authorities" and special "agencies", police stations and sentry posts, choice rooftop apartments, villas and places of entertainment. Here is Arafat's own sea-front bureau -- al-Muntada, The Club -- with all the "presidential" trappings he so adores, and here, in the very next building, is the Zahra al-Mada'in cabaret.

Here you will sooner or later run into Suha, his young wife, out for lunch at Le Mirage, an exclusive sea-front restaurant, with her infant daughter and a posse of Force-17 bodyguards. You will run into her, at least, when she is not in Paris, where she does her shopping and can find a decent hairdresser, unlike the first, disastrous Gazan one, who reportedly turned her blonde locks almost orange. And you are bound to come across Susie, her ample British nanny who affects leopard-skin tights and often has too much to drink, a condition in which she is apt to dispense indiscretions about the presidential household, threatening, some fear, another Middle Eastern nanny scandal of Netanyahu proportions.

Among the fancy new villas, fanciest is that of Abu Mazen, key negotiator of the ill-fated Oslo accord. It is not clear who paid for this \$ 2 million-plus affair, all balconies and balustrades in gothic profusion, but the graffiti which some irreverent scoundrel scrawled on its wall proclaimed that "this is your reward for selling Palestine".

Lifestyles match. Nabil Shaath, the highly articulate minister of planning much seen on Western TV screens, recently took a wife young enough to be his daughter. He required four receptions to celebrate this event, in Cairo, Gaza -- and two in Jerusalem. Because his Israeli friends could not go to the one in East Jerusalem's Orient House, that "illegal" outpost of the Palestinian Authority, he had another in the Ambassador Hotel.

For salutary contrast with Rimal, just stroll up the coast where, just beyond Le Mirage, you will come upon the awful squalor and open sewers of the Shati' refugee camp, conditions resembling those in which most Gazans live.

There, in a windowless concrete block they call 'the cafe', I asked some day labourers, idled by yet another Israeli border closure, whether they thought that Gaza's per capita income, far from rising, had actually fallen by as much as 39 per cent since the Oslo accord. For that is what a recent UN survey says. "More like 75 per cent," one replied. "some no longer think it a shame to send their children out to beg." That also seems to be borne out by the UN report, which records an "alarming" increase in "child labour".

More shocking, really, than the contrast itself is what lies behind it. When he first came here, Arafat said he would turn Gaza into a "new Singapore". Palestinian businessmen, who made their fortunes building the Arab oil states, would help him build his. But, three years on, it is clear that none will seriously touch it. Not just the Israelis deter them, with their repeated frontier closures that bedevil businessmen as well as workers. In truth, Arafat does not want them either.

For they would undermine his control, achieved through a combination of police surveillance and money power. So instead of any kind of independent, creative, wealth-producing capitalism, he and his coterie of unofficial economic "advisers" have thrown up a ramshackle, nepotistic edifice of monopoly, racketeering and naked extortion that enriches them as it further impoverishes society at large.

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Two years ago, the al-Bahr company barely existed. Al-Bahr means "sea". But Gazans now dub it "the ocean", because, they say, "it is swallowing Gaza whole". Legally speaking, not being officially registered, it should not be operating at all. Yet it is so brazen about its powerful connections that -- to the impotent indignation of the Palestinian "parliament" -- it even uses the Authority's letterheads. It belongs to Arafat, or, more precisely, to his wife Suha and the other "shareholders" who handle his private finances.

AL-BAHR -- who else? -- runs the Zahra al-Mada'in nightclub. The premises were supposed to go by open tender to the most qualified bidder. But Arafat just signed a decree placing it in his protege's hands. It is never by fair, and often by quite foul, means that Arafat Incorporated moves into real estate, entertainment, computers, advertising, medicine, insurance. Only the most powerful Gazan businessmen can resist its encroachments. It goes chiefly after small and medium fry. These are pressed into "partnership" with alBahr.

Al-Bahr is the new, strictly domestic instrument of Arafat's takeover of the Gazan economy. It complements already existing monopolies, for the import of such basic commodities as cement, petrol or flour, which he operates in complicity with the Israelis. For example, out of the \$ 74 for which a ton of cement is sold in Gaza, \$ 17 goes to the Authority, and \$ 17 into his own account in a Tel Aviv bank.

It is no secret what Arafat uses this money for. "I shall give you all you want if you obey and protect me --and give me all I want." That has always been his message to his nomenklatura, and it has been amazingly successful. For what resistance can be expected from an apparatus whose minister of civil affairs, Jamil Tafifi, a big contractor, goes on building Israeli settlements even as the Palestinian people threaten a new intifada over Har Homa? Or whose high officials use their VIP cars to sail through Israeli checkpoints on their way to the fleshpots of Tel Aviv even as Israeli border closures rob day labourers of their menial wage?

Rarely can a revolution have degenerated like Arafat's -- and yet survived. It only survives because, in robbing his people to bribe his bureaucrats, he has proved so great a commitment to the peace process that the parties on which he now completely depends -- Israelis, Americans, the international community at large -- are willing to ignore, even encourage, his manifest corruptions. The Israelis may be embarrassed by the latest, scandalous revelations of their leading newspaper, Ha'aretz, about the Arafat slush fund that the great peace-maker, Yitzhak Rabin, authorised. But so long as Arafat goes on bending to *their* conception of the peace, they will go on letting him draw on it.

European governments would be far more embarrassed if it were established that Arafat really does earn far more from al-Bahr and his illicit monopolies than from all their aid combined. But unless the scandal becomes too great, they will go on paying too. But they delude themselves if they think that they can go on propping him up for ever. And in this regard, it seems, Arafat and his "Tunisians" are more clear-headed than they are. They know that there is a point beyond which even he cannot go without risking his people's wrath.

Small wonder then that, according to Ha'aretz, a part of Arafat's secret fund is earmarked for "emergency situations", such as a coup or a civil war, in which he, his family and immediate entourage would be forced to flee into exile once more, and re-establish the leadership from there. They know, better than anyone, that the peace process, and all they get out of it, is built, like the Zahra al-Mada'in, on nothing more solid than the fine white powdery sands of Rimal.

Graphic

Photo, Suha Arafat: in charge of private slush fund, CYRIL LETOWNEW; Photograph, Building on sand . . . While ordinary Palestinians continue to fight on the streets against Jewish settlements, their rulers are busy lining their own pockets, NADAV NEUHAUS

Shameless in Gaza

Load-Date: May 12, 1997

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Giving peace a chance

Sydney Morning Herald (Australia)

September 6, 1997 Saturday

Late Edition

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Section: GOOD WEEKEND; Pg. 18

Length: 4145 words

Byline: Story and photography by David Leser. Staff writer David Leser is a former Middle East correspondent.

Body

If you talk to the enemy, break bread with the enemy, can you learn to love and live with them? In the midst of the turmoil that is the Middle East, a community of Jews and Arabs are attempting to make their own peace.

Children are born without prejudices. In a place such as this, littered with its testaments to grief and enmity, they acquire them soon enough. Their parents and their education system and the conflict that swirls around them daily make sure of it.

The Jewish child learns to hate and fear the Arab. In his mind, the Arab is primitive, calculating and violent. He draws knives, throws stones, plants bombs in buses and cafes. Even at

night-time, in the depth of Jewish dreams, he is lurking. He gives the Jew no rest.

The Arab is bred with a similar bigotry. The Jew cannot be trusted. He is the

all-conquering outsider, the alien with money in his pockets and blood on his hands. He is the soldier who tortures and maims and kicks down Arab doors at night. He is the enemy without a face.

Nearly everywhere you travel in this accursed and revered land, you confront these vulgar stereotypes. To be sure, there are elements of truth in the

images, but such is the nature of this conflict that they are almost always embellished, twisted to a point

where dialogue becomes impossible.

That's why Neve Shalom/Wahat

al-Salam stands as a unique experiment in reconciliation. Meaning literally

(in Hebrew and Arabic respectively) oasis of peace, it is a Jewish-Arab

village constructed around the ideal

of co-existence.

Giving peace a chance

There are plenty of towns throughout Israel where Arabs and Jews live near each other. There are hospitals where Arabs and Jews lie side by side. But in almost all cases they are there by chance, not by choice. Neve Shalom/Wahat

al-Salam is the only place in the Middle East, possibly the world, where two people, engaged in a titanic struggle for the same piece of land, have actually made a conscious decision to live and work with each other in a spirit of mutual tolerance and respect.

Despite the opprobrium of families and friends, they have decided to break bread with the "enemy". Cynics, of whom there are many, dismiss the idea as a romantic indulgence. Others, the ones who think that even in the Middle East you can find shreds of human decency, believe that here, high up in the rolling hills of olive groves and Jerusalem pines, the answers to not only the

Arab-Israeli conflict but possibly all human conflicts can be addressed.

Not for a moment does anyone believe this is utopia. There are schisms here

that reflect all too clearly the political realities outside. There are wounds that still chafe, memories that refuse to fade, conflicts that surface again and again.

If you ever wanted to see the Arab-

Israeli conflict up close, you could do far worse than observe a group of Israeli and Palestinian students meeting in the grounds of Neve Shalom/Wahat al-Salam. They have come to the School for Peace, a facility set up in 1979 to promote encounter groups between adversaries.

There they sit facing each other in a room, 25 people born into a conflict not of their making. They are among the 20,000 Palestinian and Israeli teachers, lawyers and students who have come through these doors in an attempt to work through their fear and loathing.

In this case, the very fact that boy and girl, Jew and Moslem, occupier and occupied, are together for four days and nights is a major social, cultural and political achievement. Where will they sleep? How will they mix? What will they accomplish by being together?

For the Palestinian teenagers from the West Bank, it is the first time they have travelled across the Green line into Israel, the only occasion they have seen Jews who are not carrying guns, the only time they have actually talked to the enemy.

For the Palestinians from inside Israel (nearly 20 per cent of Israel's population is Arab, an increasing number of whom refer to themselves as Palestinian), this is their first meeting with Palestinians from the territories.

For the Israelis, not only have many of them never met Arabs before, they have never been in a group where they are a minority. They have certainly never been in a situation before where they were forced to listen to stories of humiliation and pain caused by their occupation of another people.

In December 1987, the indignity of this occupation unleashed a spontaneous civil uprising involving Palestinians of all ages, classes and political inclinations. Boys as young as six and seven, armed only with slingshots and stones, took on the might of the Israeli Army.

Women, traditionally confined to the home, defied their husbands to take to the streets. Some attacked soldiers with pots and pans. Refugee and shop merchant, the infirm and the healthy, combined in an eruption of fury the likes of which had never been seen in Palestinian history.

What became known as the intifada (meaning literally in Arabic, the shivering that accompanies someone in the grip of fever or the shaking of a dog riddled with fleas) was to see as many as 1,900 Palestinians killed - 268 of

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them under the age of 15 - 25,000 wounded, and the same number again interrogated, many of them tortured. During that

time, entire villages were placed under curfew, homes demolished, schools and universities closed, collective economic punishment imposed, women harassed and, in some cases, sexually abused.

While the peace process which began in 1993 gave hope to many in the territories, it did not end the violence.

In early 1994, a Jewish settler, Baruch Goldstein, massacred 29 Moslems in Hebron's Cave of the Patriarchs while they were at prayer. In September last year, 80 Palestinian protesters died in clashes with Israeli troops in East Jerusalem. Today, the peace process, under Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, is at a virtual standstill. So

it is little wonder there is hostility in

this room when the Palestinian students finally look into the eyes of their enemy.

"We live in a prison," one Palestinian boy tells the Israelis through an interpreter. "We don't have any rights; we don't have any peace."

"It is not our fault," one Israeli

left-winger, a young woman, fires back. "We're looking for peace, we want you to feel good, but we're victims, too. Why are you blaming us?"

"Because you're Jews," he says.

On the Israeli side, the sense of grievance is just as strong. Still recovering from the assassination of their prime minister, Yitzhak Rabin, in November 1995 (by a right-wing Jew), the country has been rocked by a spate of suicide bombings.

February 25, 1996: 22 killed and 55 injured when a bomb exploded on the number 18 bus in Jerusalem. February 25 (a few hours later): three killed and 29 injured by another suicide bomber at a hitch-hiking station near the town of Ashkelon. March 3: the number 18 bus in Jerusalem again - 18 dead and seven injured. March 4: a bomb is detonated in a Tel Aviv shopping centre, killing 13 and wounding 65. The war had entered the streets of Israel. Terror and suspicion could be read on every face. Throughout the country you could see a flow of mourners and hear the wailing of the bereaved.

Twelve months later, in a crowded Tel Aviv restaurant, three Israeli women were killed and more than 40 injured by another Hamas bomber detonating his explosives on the crowded porch. Many Israelis will never forget the sight of a six-month-old infant crying, amid the rubble, from internal injuries. Her mother died on the way to hospital.

Then, on July 30, two suicide bombs ripped through a crowd in the Jerusalem market, leaving 15 dead and 170 injured.

In the workshop at Neve Shalom/ Wahat al-Salam, the trauma of these incidents and the dark shadow that lurks behind nearly every Jewish experience - the Holocaust - are given voice.

"What about this terrorism?" one Israeli cries. "What about our rights

to live in peace?" "What about ours?" comes the Palestinian response.

"There is a tendency to compete with who is more of a victim," says Nava Sonenshein, one of those running the School for Peace. "The Palestinians bring their issues of occupation and the Israelis usually say 'Yes, you are victims, but so are we. We had the Holocaust.'

"If the talks are conducted on this level then they miss the point. So we tell them what they are doing - that they are competing - and we try to take them beyond that level."

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For four days, with the help of Palestinian and Israeli facilitators, these students tested the slogans and stereotypes they had come to associate with the other side. They challenged and fought each other's history, language and culture. They traded wound for wound, memory for memory, loss for loss. They shouted and wept and dug their heels in and, when they'd had enough, they began, slowly, to share stories about their lives, their interests, their families and friends.

And without even realising it, they started to confront the dark images they had formed of each other, and began to see each other not as demons but as human beings. "At the end, when they were leaving, they were kissing, hugging and crying," says Ruthi Shuster, one of the Israeli facilitators. "Some even exchanged phone numbers."

Neve Shalom/Wahat al-Salam

is situated in no-man's-land between Israel and the West Bank, part of what became a demilitarised zone after the 1948 Arab-Israeli war.

Owned by the nearby Latrun monastery, where a group of Trappist monks live wrapped in their vows of silence, the village is built into a hillside crawling with thistles and vipers, overlooking a valley that has witnessed the blood of centuries.

Today there are 30 families in the village, 15 of them Israeli, the other 15 Palestinian. Another 200 families remain on a waiting list, hoping against hope that the Israeli Government will grant the community permission to expand.

However, plans are now under way for two new settlements on each side of the village, each of which will spell disaster. The first is a housing complex for the families of 350 former crack Israeli

anti-terrorist police; the second, a private development proposal for 440 Jewish apartments.

If either is to succeed - and the village is naturally opposing both - the Palestinians will be overwhelmed. The Israeli Government could, of course, step in to ensure that nothing is done to imperil a community that has been nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize four times. But this government is loaded with men who were never schooled in a place like Neve Shalom/Wahat al-Salam.

Rafi Eitan, for example, the Minister for Agriculture, once referred to Arabs as no better than "drugged cockroaches in bottles". His views have barely changed. Arik Sharon, former defence minister and now Minister for Infrastructure, presided over the 1982 massacre of Palestinians by Christian Lebanese forces in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps of Lebanon. His views haven't changed either.

Their Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, remains wedded to the belief that Israel is an embattled, isolated nation, one that can stand up to its multitude of enemies only by being strong. Perhaps that's why, during an election rally last year in Tel Aviv's Zion Square he said nothing about the banners that his supporters had draped around his rostrum calling for "Death to Arabs".

Mind you, Netanyahu and his supporters could quote equally inflammatory slogans that have poured out of Palestinian mouths, including during the intifada when the Islamic Resistance Movement in Gaza

described Jews as "brothers of apes, murderers of prophets".

In any event, the idea that Arabs and Jews might choose to live together, to try to reconcile their vast differences, is a concept foreign to Israel's political and religious establishment, as well as to the growing number of Palestinians attracted to Hamas's brand of Islamic fundamentalism.

In 1984, Neve Shalom/Wahat al-Salam's primary school opened, the first bilingual school in the country. No-one from the Israeli Government bothered to show up to mark the occasion. Abdel Salam Najjar, the school's founder, tells Good Weekend that to this day, both major political parties in Israel were reluctant to embrace the ideas enshrined in the village because co-existence was not part of the government's agenda.

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"The Israeli Government does not accept the idea of Neve Shalom," he says. "That's why Palestinians are not treated as equals. That's why we've never had proper support for this place."

Najjar says he established the school because he wanted to learn something of the Jewish experience. "Even though I was born an Arab in Israel, I didn't know anything about the Jews, and they certainly didn't know anything about us [Palestinians]. I wanted the new generation to learn about each other."

Two years after the school opened, a kindergarten was established around the same principles of mutual respect. Najjar's wife, Ayshe, became one of the kindergarten teachers. When she was pregnant with her eldest daughter, Shireen, two other Jewish **women** were also pregnant. They needed somewhere for their children to go during the day. The result was the country's first truly

bi-national/bilingual nursery and the kindergarten grew logically from this.

"I spoke with the children only in Arabic and Rachel [one of the Jewish mothers] spoke only in Hebrew," says Ayshe now. "The children saw they had an Arab teacher and a Jewish teacher. They sang songs in two languages; all the feasts were explained in two languages." Today, Shireen's best friend is the Jewish boy she virtually shared her crib with. Her younger sister Layla's best friend, Noam Shuster, is also Jewish. They see nothing threatening in these bonds.

Layla and Noam were the first people I met when I arrived. They were walking together in a pink dusk - two giant migratory storks soaring above them - discussing the things that occupy most children - friends, school, movies. "Arabs are not monsters or something different to us," 10-year-old Noam says in her Israeli-accented English. "They are human, just like we are. I have a lot of Arab friends and I really love them."

"I love the Jewish people here," Layla, 13, chimes in, "and I tell people that many Jews are like us. They want peace."

Three years ago, Noam arrived here from Tel Aviv with her parents and brother, Omer. Omer was born in 1991 on the night six Iraqi Scud missiles fell on the city. Their parents, Hezi and Ruthi Shuster, came to Neve Shalom because they wanted to be able to prove, to themselves as much as to their fellow citizens, that they could live side by side with Arabs.

On the far Left of the Israeli political spectrum, the Shusters had often challenged prevailing orthodoxies. Hezi Shuster went to jail three times for refusing to serve in the army in either Lebanon or the West Bank. His wife, Ruthi, supported his actions even though on two of these occasions she was pregnant or giving birth. She is convinced that only through an enlightened education system can the old reflexes of hatred and fear be addressed.

"I look at my children and see what they study - they are not brainwashed like we were," says Ruthi. "It is natural for them to grow up with Arabs as equal partners, without making a big issue of it. For Omer, it is not a big deal that his best friend is Said [a five-year-old Arab boy] or that Noam and Layla are friends. They are friends because they like each other.

"This is the main reason I am

here - because no other education

system [in the country] can achieve

this kind of open mind. You cannot

find Jewish people anywhere else

in Israel in a situation like this."

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And, not surprisingly, even those who do place themselves in such a situation sometimes find the reality too difficult to bear. One Jewish university professor, for example, who came to Neve Shalom/

Wahat al-Salam mouthing all the right slogans about living with Arabs, simply couldn't cope with the prospect of an Arab woman - in this case, Ayshe Najjar - looking after her child. She and her family left after a year.

Daphna Karta-Schwartz, an Israeli actor who has lived in the village for 10 years, explains the ambivalence. "When I came here, I had many conflicts within myself," she says. "I had a son who was three-and-a-half and there was Ayshe - she was Arab and she was Moslem and she was the only teacher. This was just before the intifada. I thought 'Oh my God, I have to send my child to that kindergarten.'"

"One evening, Ayshe had invited all the parents to a Ramadan [the Moslem month of fasting during the day] party in the kindergarten. She was singing in Arabic and all the children were singing for Ramadan and my heart was in my mouth. I couldn't breathe.

"I felt terrible conflict. I heard in my head the voice of my own kindergarten teacher telling me in Hebrew that I wasn't a good Jew - like I had really crossed the border. And that started the journey for me about what was important. Did I want a mixed society [of Arabs marrying Jews] or did I want to keep my identity while at the same time respecting theirs?

"I realised there was a point in between marrying each other and killing each other, and now I actually feel more Jewish than I did before." The idea, she says, that people coming to Neve Shalom/

Wahat al-Salam would somehow forget the political realities outside is misplaced. "Do you think we don't feel aggression, anger, fear and hate here? Of course we do. The big question is what we do about these feelings. Do we take a gun and shoot? No ... we try to create relations of dialogue and trust."

On a cool February evening this year, an Israeli helicopter crashed on its way to Lebanon with 73 soldiers on board. Among the dead was Tom Kitain, the first male soldier in the Israeli Army from Neve Shalom/Wahat al-Salam.

Not surprisingly, his death attracted enormous media attention. Here was a soldier from a mixed Arab/Jewish village whose parents had educated him in the ways of peace. Why had he chosen to be in a combat unit? Why couldn't he have sought an exemption from military duty like so many religious Jews? Would Arab members of the village mourn his, an Israeli soldier's, passing?

There is nothing neat about the answers to these questions. Tom Kitain chose a combat unit because, like most other young Israeli men, he felt it was expected of him, partly as proof of his manhood, partly out of loyalty to country.

Kitain did everything to avoid serving on the West Bank or in Gaza. With Lebanon, it was different. Northern Israeli settlements were constant targets for pro-Iranian Hezbollah fighters and he felt it was his duty to defend Israel's border. Besides, Kitain was the only one in his unit who spoke Arabic and was at least able to set an example as to how best to treat the Lebanese villagers.

At his funeral, both Jewish and Arab tears flowed. Ayshe Najjar can scarcely bring herself even now to talk of his death. "When Tom died, it was like a boy from our own family had died," she says. Three months later, at a Remembrance Day service to commemorate the soldiers who have fallen in Israel's numerous battles, only the Jews from the village attended Kitain's grave-site ceremony. It was one thing to grieve for his death, another to take part in a ceremony attended by soldiers from his unit.

You don't have to look far, therefore,

to find sharp divisions here. People mutter about appropriate lines of authority, status and influence; levels of disposable income, contributions made or not made - the kind of

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petty jealousies that attend any
small community.

And this is before the deeper layers
of cultural identity are explored.

Many of the Jews here are from Western cultures. They come together with Arabs who are often defined by their village, clan or religion. Finding ways of talking to each other is sometimes fraught, given that language often reveals a wider landscape of friction.

"In any gathering between adults here," says Rayek Rizek, an Arab resident of the village, "the discussion will be in Hebrew. Even if there are three or four Arabs talking together and one Jew joins them, they will start talking Hebrew. That's because the Jew has a majority mentality."

Not surprisingly, then, these divisions are compounded when there is political trouble. Each time there is bloodletting in the outside world - during the intifada, the Gulf War, the wave of suicide bombings or one-off massacres as in Hebron - the Jews and Arabs of this village respond to different impulses.

During the Gulf War, for example, when Israeli cities became the target for Saddam Hussein's Scud missiles, Haifa's Arabs poured out on to rooftops to celebrate, video cameras in hand.

In the bomb shelter at Neve Shalom/ Wahat al-Salam, where Jewish and Palestinian families camped for nights at a time, tensions were also mounting.

Shai Karta-Schwartz, an Israeli actor, found himself in a fierce argument with a Palestinian who made no secret of her support for the Iraqi attacks. "I was flabbergasted to hear that some people identified with the Iraqis and not the Americans," he says. "I said, 'Do you really want these Scuds to fall on Tel Aviv?' "

For Rizek, the issue is about balance. "During the intifada, when Palestinians were being shot every day, one of the arguments we had was that the Israelis had explanations for what was happening. There were few who dared condemn the policies when it was taking place.

"Then, when the bombings took place, they wanted us to stand up and condemn them. We should condemn all violence, no matter who is committing it. Identifying with each other's pain and suffering is mutual. If you don't recognise my suffering and pain, I can't recognise yours."

As it turned out, 12 families - six Israeli, six Palestinian - held a meeting to discuss the issue. Emotions were boiling, partly because many feared some families might leave the village in order to better identify with a nationalistic cause outside. It didn't happen.

"Person after person said Neve Shalom was more important than what happened outside," says Shai Karta-Schwartz. "We were saying we wouldn't part ways if the clashes got worse, that this place was more important than the Jewish/Arab war."

Among the thistles and boulders of Neve Shalom/Wahat al-Salam, you can smell the evidence of a community's dogged persistence - rosebushes, lemon and carob trees, rosemary and hyssop, all competing for space in the thankless soil.

Today, the majority of the children who attend both the kindergarten and the school come from outside the village, from Arab towns and Jewish farms. The School for Peace is also internationally recognised for its contribution to conflict resolution. Word has travelled that there is another way to educate the next generation.

Giving peace a chance

At the same time, the peace process that began in 1993 with a group of Palestinians and Israelis meeting in safe houses in Norway appears moribund, if not dead. The mutual trust built between Israel's then chief negotiator, Uri Savir, and his Palestinian counterpart Ahmad Qurei (Abu Ala'a) has completely broken down.

Today, just getting the two sides to meet is an agonising process. As a matter of routine, the Israeli negotiators keep the Palestinians waiting sometimes up to two hours at a time and, when they do show, it is rarely with an explanation or apology.

Israel's chief negotiator, Yitzhak Molcho, and his Palestinian opposite, Saeb Erikat, can barely conceal their mutual contempt.

The view inside the ruling Likud Government seems clear: "We didn't create this partnership with the Palestinians, we inherited it from the former government. If we have to talk to them, we'll do so holding our noses." And this despite the fact that, according to the latest polls, more than 50 per cent of the Israeli population support a Palestinian State.

Among Israelis and Palestinians, the mood is now as grim as it has been in many years. Israeli society is being ravaged by divisions between the religious and the secular; between European and non-European Jew; between right and left. An increasing number of Israelis talk of the need for war - to unite the fractious Jewish tribes.

On the Palestinian side, there is talk of a new intifada, if not against the Israelis, then against officials from Yasser Arafat's Palestinian National Authority, who stand accused of sanctioning torture, abductions and summary executions, as well as

massive corruption and abuse of privilege. On both sides, religious fundamentalism burns with a renewed vigour.

Not many people talk seriously now about finding ways to co-exist, develop trust, understand each other's pain and suffering. Even fewer imagine being able to rewrite a history suffused with so much pious savagery.

Truth is, the majority of people have still not heard of Neve Shalom/Wahat al-Salam. Rarely have they seen two girls, one Israeli, the other Palestinian, holding hands in the late afternoon, sharing their common humanity, as if it were the most natural thing in the world.

Graphic

SIX ILLUS: The best of friends: Noam Shuster (left) and Layla Najjar outside the Dumia, the non-denominational house of worship at Neve Shalom/Wahat al-Salam. Opposite page: Israeli and Palestinian children in the village school grounds. Neighbours (from left): Abdel Salam Najjar; Hezi and Noam Shuster; Ayshe Najjar; and Daphna Karta-Schartz.

Load-Date: July 23, 2007

USF sees academic freedom where others see poor security

The Tampa Tribune (Florida)

May 29, 1995, Monday,

FINAL EDITION

Copyright 1995 The Tribune Co. Publishes The Tampa Tribune

Section: NATION/WORLD,

Length: 1808 words

Byline: MICHAEL FECHTER; Tribune Staff Writer

Dateline: TAMPA

Body

The United States government considers them terrorists. But the University of South Florida considered them foreign intellectuals welcome on campus.

As part of what one USF professor called the pursuit of academic freedom, USF officials sought a visa in 1993 for an exiled Tunisian convicted of trying to overthrow his government and kill its president.

They also invited a militant Sudanese power broker to speak on campus.

"That's the function of a university, to know about the world, the people influencing the world," said Mark Orr, director of USF's International Affairs Center and chairman of its Committee for Middle East Studies. "It's a matter of keeping aware of existing or emerging world problems."

The U.S. State Department says the two people USF invited to speak know about world problems because they are causing them.

The invitations were made in partnership with the Tampa-based World and Islam Studies Enterprise (WISE), which describes itself as a think tank on Muslim religious and political issues.

School officials, including President Betty Castor, asked few questions about WISE leader and USF engineering professor Sami Al-Arian, even after an award-winning PBS documentary in November identified him as head of the Islamic Jihad terrorist group's domestic support network.

Al-Arian denies any connection to terrorists. He says he supports the Palestinian cause and raises money for it and Islamic charities.

Al-Arian is listed as editor-in-chief of a magazine published by the Islamic Committee for Palestine. The magazine includes articles that solicit money for the Islamic Jihad and **Hamas**, two international terrorist groups.

Records show Al-Arian founded WISE in 1991 and also list him as president of the Islamic Committee for Palestine. The two groups share two other officers, a post office box and once shared office space.

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Castor said she didn't become aware of the university's 1992 agreement with WISE - which precedes her presidency by two years - until the The Tampa Tribune asked about it in April. She said it is among dozens of partnerships with outside groups intended to enrich the university and the community. Similar agreements are common throughout the country.

Whether WISE has connections to a foreign terrorist organization is beyond the school's ability to determine, Castor said.

"I think we have an obligation to look into it and we are," she said.

A review of the USF-WISE contract that Castor requested last month addresses only two issues - whether WISE has lived up to its commitment to recruit and provide stipends to some graduate students and why USF pays WISE for an Arabic class taught by a WISE/ICP official.

WISE spent \$ 16,000 during the past two years to underwrite graduate student costs at USF, inspector general Michael Peppers' report said.

In each case, Peppers' memorandum, completed Wednesday, requests more investigation.

The 1992 agreement also calls for the two to co-sponsor programs and share library resources.

Castor agreed with Orr that it is a university's obligation to learn about the world and seek out controversial, even offensive viewpoints. The WISE agreement does that, she said, and has resulted in only a few controversial invitations. National security issues But those critical of the agreement between WISE and USF say it raises questions about national security.

The university shouldn't lend credibility to those who support terrorism, said L. Paul Bremer, a career State Department official who was ambassador at large for counterterrorism from 1986-89.

"Margaret Thatcher once said that publicity is the oxygen on which terrorists survive," Bremer said. "Anytime you give those people publicity ... one is basically giving them a form of support."

The State Department considers some of the people USF and WISE invited to campus to be key terrorist leaders.

In 1992, Hassan Turabi spoke to a campus conference of about 25 professors from USF and other American universities. Turabi is considered the behind-the-scenes leader of Sudan's hard-line Islamic regime, which the U.S. State Department says sponsors terrorism.

In the fall of 1993, USF's Committee for Middle East Studies and WISE issued an invitation to Rashid el-Ghanoushi, an exiled Tunisian convicted of trying to overthrow his government and kill its president.

Ghanoushi never got to campus. The State Department refused him a visa.

"If we consider that he participated in terrorist activity, then he won't get a visa," Gary Sheaffer, spokesman for the Bureau of Consular Affairs, said last year.

But USF officials tried to persuade the government to let Ghanoushi in, invoking the principle of academic freedom in letters to Secretary of State Warren Christopher.

Some see the invitations as reckless, and wonder what USF, a school with little national reputation in Middle Eastern studies, is trying to accomplish. "Jihad University?" "The United States government won't talk to people it considers terrorists," said Martin Kramer, a terrorism expert and associate director of Tel Aviv University's Moshe Dayan Center. "The question is whether academe should. Is this the reputation we want? Jihad University?"

Both Turabi and Ghanoushi addressed Al-Arian's ICP conventions in Chicago before being invited to speak at USF.

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Castor defended the school's links with WISE, saying no WISE officials have been accused of any crime or violated any university policy.

She and other USF officials said they weren't aware of any connection between WISE and the ICP.

Orr said he also was unaware of Al-Arian's connections to WISE, even though Al-Arian was one of those who negotiated the WISE-USF agreement.

Michael Kovac, interim USF provost and engineering dean, said he asked Al-Arian about the documentary that labeled Al-Arian a key player in U.S. militant circles.

"He felt the program was a setup ... taken out of context," Kovac said.

Kovac said he hasn't seen the documentary. "I think I saw parts of it" after speaking with Al-Arian, he said.

The agreement hasn't cost USF much, records show. The university did not pay to bring in Turabi, and it uses small donations from faculty members and community supporters to pay for luncheons held for the groups' meetings.

"Our long-term goal is to contribute to the understanding of the revivalist Islamist trends, misleadingly labeled 'fundamentalist' in Western and American academic circles," WISE director Ramadan Abdullah said in a written 1993 introduction to Turabi's visit to USF.

Abdullah first said he would talk with the Tribune, then canceled an interview. He didn't respond to telephone messages to reschedule and wouldn't accept a certified letter seeking an interview for this story.

WISE brochures list four Tampa men, including Al-Arian and Abdullah, as representatives or executives of WISE.

Al-Arian, Abdullah and Mazin Al-Najjar are also among the six corporate officers of the Islamic Concern Project, the corporate parent of the Islamic Committee for Palestine, records show.

At one time, WISE and the ICP also shared office space in a house and nearby condominium in Raintree Lakes, a Temple Terrace subdivision.

In the early 1990s, neighbors complained to city officials that the organizations operating in the residentially zoned neighborhood violated zoning laws.

City police investigated, after zoning officials got conflicting accounts about how the house was being used.

A Sept. 18, 1991, police report cites Al-Arian as saying the house was being used for offices. A year later, however, he wrote a letter to Temple Terrace code enforcement officials saying, "I assure you that there (is) no business at this residence."

When detectives visited the house, they found computers, books and fliers, including fundraising material for an organization named the Muslim Women Society - an ICP affiliate.

Today, WISE's office is in a strip office complex at 5620 E. Fowler Ave., two miles east of campus. But its name isn't on the strip center's sign, and its telephone number is not published.

On his resume, Abdullah lists himself as having been WISE's administrative director in Tampa since 1990, even though WISE was not incorporated by Al-Arian until 1991.

Abdullah and Al-Najjar of WISE are both on the state payroll as adjunct - or part-time - USF professors.

Abdullah, who holds a doctorate in Islamic and Middle East economics from the University of Durham in Great Britain, teaches politics of the Middle East.

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Al-Najjar has a doctorate in engineering, but teaches Arabic. USF pays Al-Najjar's \$ 2,000-per-semester salary directly to WISE, university records show. USF officials said they don't know why.

It isn't clear why WISE is based in Tampa, which isn't known as a center for Islamic culture. But it could be because of Al-Arian's presence. Al-Najjar's resume shows that he followed Al-Arian to Tampa in 1986.

He was a doctoral student in engineering at North Carolina State with Al-Arian, his resume shows. When Al-Arian graduated and was hired by USF as an assistant professor, Al-Najjar transferred to USF, where he completed his doctorate in 1993.

USF established its link with WISE through the Committee for Middle East Studies, founded in 1991 at the request of faculty members, Orr said.

The committee's main work has been sponsoring academic meetings and publishing occasional papers. It considered WISE staffers scholars worthy of inclusion in joint projects, Orr said. "Jihad in America" That didn't change in November when PBS aired "Jihad in America," a documentary asserting links between the ICP and the Islamic Jihad.

Following the broadcast, Castor had USF officials ask campus police about any criminal activity involving Al-Arian. The police didn't know of any, she said.

USF Middle East studies committee members didn't investigate.

"That's not my job," Orr said.

An Asian specialist and director of USF's International Affairs Center, Orr said he is no Middle East expert. He considers himself a "convener, an organizer."

"We have no special way of investigating something like that," he said of the allegations about Al-Arian, WISE and the ICP. "It's not our problem. As far as I'm concerned, he's a bona fide member of the faculty."

Al-Arian said the documentary was false and its producer was part of a Zionist campaign to smear Islam.

The producer, Steven Emerson, is continuing his work on U.S. operations of international terrorist groups and plans a book, his fifth, on the subject. He has written about the bombing of Pan Am flight 103 and other national security issues.

Nobody at USF tried to contact him after "Jihad in America" aired, Emerson said.

If they had, "I certainly would have offered them a copy of the film. Free," he said. "I would think if they were doing an investigation they would at least look at the allegations instead of just asking Sami." Tribune researcher Buddy Jaudon contributed to this report.

Notes

SERIES; TIES TO TERRORISTS

Graphic

PHOTO 4(2C),

Michael Kovac, USF engineering dean, said that Sami Al-Arian told him he had been set up.

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Load-Date: November 13, 1995

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Nowhere to Go: The Palestinians After the War

The New York Times

July 21, 1991, Sunday, Late Edition - Final

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Distribution: Magazine Desk

Section: Section 6;; Section 6; Page 13; Column 1; Magazine Desk; Column 1;

Length: 4873 words

Byline: By Judith Miller;

Judith Miller is a Times senior writer and the author, with Laurie Mylroie, of "Saddam Hussein and the Crisis in the Gulf."

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Body

ZIAD ABU ZAYYAD, A 51-YEAR OLD Palestinian journalist, sat with his wife and eight children under a framed embroidery that his wife had finished sewing only the day before. "There is no place like home," the embroidery read, in English.

For Zayyad, it was his first day at home in the West Bank town of Bethany in six months. He had just been released from an Israeli prison where he had shared a cell, 13 feet by 11 feet, with seven other men who, like him, were being held without formal charges or a trial.

Israeli officials deny that they used the gulf crisis as cover to step up their repression of Palestinians, people like Zayyad, who publishes a Hebrew-language newspaper about Israeli-Palestinian relations. But no Palestinian believes those denials.

The Persian Gulf war was over, Zayyad argued, but the lopsided war between Israel and the Palestinians continued. He had met one of its victims in prison: a middle-aged man -- he called him Ahmed -- who had already served 20 years of a life term. When he was sentenced by an Israeli court two decades ago, Ahmed had released the woman he loved from their engagement. During the gulf war, a new prisoner had sought Ahmed out. "I send you greetings from my mother," the teen-age prisoner said. The teen-ager turned out to be the son of Ahmed's one-time fiancée; the son, Zayyad said, that Ahmed might have had.

Now, Zayyad added, the teen-ager's generation was also being sacrificed to the relentless, devastating war between Arabs and Jews. "How many more generations will be wasted?" he wondered sadly.

For Palestinians, the people who come from or whose ancestors came from the land that Israel now inhabits and occupies, the war has significantly complicated the answer to that question. Saddam Hussein did succeed in focusing the world's attention on the more than five million Palestinians who for more than 40 years have lived in a

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diaspora depressingly similar to that of the Jews who now inhabit their land. And as some have noted with bitter irony, the war has left the United States, as the pre-eminent power in the Middle East, with new responsibility for the Palestinians' welfare. But the Palestinians' open and enthusiastic support for Iraq turned the Israeli public -- even the doves -- against them, undermined their cause in the eyes of the world and added immeasurably to their misery.

It also devastated the Palestinian economy, which relief groups estimate has lost \$350 million since last August. Some of the wealthiest Palestinian communities, particularly in Kuwait, are barely functioning. Critical safety valves of employment and "safe haven" in sympathetic countries have been closed off. At least a quarter of a million Palestinians have fled Kuwait and Iraq since last Aug. 2.

Politically, the war's effects on the Palestinians are harder to measure. America's overwhelming victory weakened the Palestine Liberation Organization and its chairman, Yasir Arafat. Yet the P.L.O.'s terrible miscalculation of backing Saddam Hussein appears to have given West Bank Palestinians the latitude to enter negotiations for autonomy, rather than for immediate statehood.

At the same time, the gulf war widened divisions among Palestinians, splitting them openly for the first time, not just ideologically but geographically and economically. And the growing number of stabbings of Israelis by Palestinians and murders of Palestinians by Palestinians suggest that extremist forces, particularly in the occupied territories, are also on the rise.

Mostly, the war has deepened the despair of Palestinians -- everywhere. But it is most noticeable in the occupied territories and in Kuwait, long a key source of support for the Palestinian people and their organizations. Kuwait -- once home to the third-largest Palestinian community outside of Israel and the occupied territories, and surely the wealthiest -- now rivals only Israel in its loathing of Iraqi "collaborators." Most of the Palestinians still in Kuwait remain in limbo, jobless, stateless and in fear for their lives.

The war has also triggered a new diaspora. Many of the more than 200,000 Palestinians in Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf region are being methodically replaced by Asians, Egyptians and other politically more "reliable" workers.

The Palestinian sympathy for Saddam Hussein has placed a heavy burden on Jordan, which, according to King Hussein, has in recent months received 200,000 Palestinian refugees. Some 50,000 Palestinian children have swelled school enrollments; unemployment, in a country where Palestinians account for roughly 50 percent of the population, has soared above 30 percent, more than double what it was before the war. Nearly all of the refugees need daily assistance, something that Jordan -- having lost about \$600 million in aid from Saudi Arabia and the gulf states for having backed Iraq in the war -- is unable to provide.

And the war has compounded the daily suffering of the 1.7 million Palestinians in the occupied territories. The Palestinian economy, already crippled by the four-year-old intifada -- the locally organized uprising against Israel -- was virtually obliterated by Israeli war-related restrictions. These included an unprecedented 40-day curfew -- a de facto house arrest of the entire population -- a travel ban, severe work restrictions and other ostensibly security-related measures.

"Conditions in the West Bank and Gaza are as bad or worse than I have ever seen them, probably worse even than the aftermath of the 1967 war," concluded Peter Gubser, who heads American Near East Refugee Aid, a private relief group.

What the gulf crisis seems not to have done is prompt a sustained soul-searching among Palestinian leaders and intellectuals. Few will admit that backing Saddam Hussein was a huge mistake, the latest in an almost uninterrupted series of self-defeating miscalculations by Arafat and his leadership. Many privately concede that it has undermined their support in Europe and, among a far smaller constituency, in the United States. But few will acknowledge, at least publicly, that their support of Iraq undermined the legal and moral basis of their own cause: the unacceptability of the seizure and occupation of territory by force.

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Although many Palestinians now openly criticize Arafat's leadership -- in many cases for the first time -- Palestinians say he still commands enormous support. And despite the worst discord in P.L.O. ranks in years, there is no serious effort to replace him, largely because there are no plausible alternatives.

Paradoxically, many Palestinians now see the United States as a prospective savior, the only nation capable of persuading Israel to grant what they call a fairly modest request -- an area equal to 20 percent of what was historically Palestine. They are not taking to their rooftops to applaud President Bush's vow to help resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Far from it. Few in fact, believe that Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d's dogged efforts can succeed. But in their utter despair, many still hope that America, Israel's patron, will deliver what countless United Nations resolutions and years of struggle have not.

A sense of powerlessness, as well as hopelessness, is now palpable among Palestinians everywhere. "We didn't commit the Holocaust," said Hanan Ashrawi, a professor and writer who reflects mainstream P.L.O. thinking. "We do not want to drive Israelis into the sea, to wipe them off the face of the earth. Since 1988, the P.L.O. has accepted the notion of a two-state solution, of Israel's right to exist as a nation state. The problem is that Israel won't acknowledge ours. It does not want to trade territory for peace with us.

"Look, the peace process we worked so hard to build collapsed in the spring of 1990. The U.S. let Yitzhak Shamir bring the Israeli Government down in March rather than force him to implement his own peace proposal. In June, following the renegade Palestinian beach raid in which no Israeli was killed, the U.S. broke off its dialogue with the P.L.O. You stopped even talking to us! In August, Iraq invaded Kuwait and promised the Palestinians, who had lost hope, the faint possibility of liberation. Many knew it would not work. But if they dreamed of an Arab liberator on a white horse, if, in their despair, in the absence of any semblance of a peace process, they clung to this reed, can you really blame them?"

IN MAY, KUWAIT WAS STILL A SMOLDERING wreck. Some 100,000 Kuwaitis had fled, deciding that a country in which you could taste the air was no place for their children. For many Palestinians, however, there has been no escape.

According to estimates from the Kuwaiti Government and independent sources, about 10 percent of the Palestinians who remained in Kuwait during the occupation collaborated with the Iraqis, 80 percent just tried to get by and 10 percent actively resisted. Nevertheless, while every Kuwaiti seems to know individual Palestinians who helped during the occupation, Kuwaitis now appear to remember only Arafat's embrace of Saddam Hussein.

More than a third of the Palestinians remaining in Kuwait are huddled in an area called Hawali, a Palestinian neighborhood in Kuwait City that was transformed by the liberation into a slum. The Kuwaiti and Saudi checkpoints that ringed this ghetto to snare collaborators were gone by mid-May. But Hawali still resembled a prison camp, without the barbed wire.

Only children played on the filthy streets, in front of the graffiti-scrawled apartment buildings. Teen-agers and adults were afraid to go out. Tawfik Oqal, a 26-year-old Palestinian who was born in Kuwait, explained why.

On March 9, his brother, Walid, 27, left to buy food and gasoline. He was stopped and arrested at a Kuwaiti checkpoint; no reason was given. He was severely beaten at a police station and urged to "confess" to collaboration, which he refused to do. He was burned with cigarettes and his nails were beaten and pressed by weights until they turned black. Twenty-one days later, he was released, and then only after the intervention of an American colonel.

"My father has been here for 40 years," said Tawfik, a soft-spoken young man with a neatly clipped beard, clad in jeans and a grey "Daytona Beach" T-shirt. "He was a crane operator. He came here when they had nothing; he helped build Kuwait. Walid and I went to college in the States. But we both loved Kuwait and chose to come back here in 1989. I would still stay if I could find work. But they don't want us."

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It is in families like this that one hears the harshest criticism of Arafat. "I don't care about him," Tawfik said of the P.L.O. leader. "What has he done for us? All I want is my own country where I can live freely. You can't imagine what it is not to have a state, to be an eternal guest, threatened and humiliated wherever you go."

Even if they could leave, there are few places to go. Only Palestinians essential to Kuwait's reconstruction are being called back to work. Most of those who agree to forgo back pay and possessions can leave for Jordan. But between 20,000 and 40,000 Palestinians -- estimates of their numbers vary wildly -- hold Egyptian travel documents. Egypt refuses to admit them, and they are unwelcome in Jordan or any other country. They are literally stranded.

Among the few mandatory excursions for Palestinians are the humiliating trips to the Kuwaiti centers established to register all foreigners. Each day since mid-April, Palestinians have formed long lines in front of the centers, squatting amid garbage, the men on one curb, the women on another.

As they sat under the smoggy rising sun one day in May, Kuwaiti soldiers in desert camouflage swaggered among them at the sand-bagged entrance to the Jabriya branch of the Ministry of Interior. A New York Times reporter stationed in Kuwait witnessed what he called a typical incident: a young Kuwaiti man plucked out of the line and beaten. They dragged him into the ministry building. By midafternoon, he had not emerged.

The new Government of Kuwait, a reshuffling of members of the ruling al-Sabah family, denies it has mistreated Palestinians. "My house was burned," said Ahmed Hamoud al-Jaber al-Sabah, the Interior Minister. "So I've been trying to get some of the rooms painted. Some of my workers are Palestinian. If I had anything against Palestinians, would they be working in my house?"

For the moment, the Kuwaiti Government has forbidden the return of the 200,000 Palestinians who fled the Iraqi invasion, people whose life savings are held in Kuwaiti banks and whose children know no other society. But no decision has been made about the fate of the Palestinians remaining in Kuwait. "They want them to leave, but they need them," a veteran European diplomat said. "It was Palestinians, not Kuwaitis, who made this society work."

Worse still, Palestinians have nowhere to turn. P.L.O. officials burned all the documents in their embassy, and then the building itself, before fleeing as Iraqi troops left the city. The embassy has not reopened. So Palestinians are at the mercy of what is widely regarded as a disorganized, inept and vindictive Kuwaiti Government.

UNDER THE UNFORGIVING FLUORESCENT LIGHTS of his sparsely furnished office in Tunis, Yasir Arafat, the living symbol of Palestinian aspirations, looked old. His left hand was bandaged, the result of a skin disease. The usual three-day stubble had turned patchy white; his stomach drooped over the belt of his olive-green fatigues; he seemed smaller than his 5-foot-4-inch frame, dwarfed by machine-gun-toting bodyguards and stacks of faxes. "Bills, bills, bills," he complained.

The P.L.O. is running short of cash. Funds that once flowed from Persian Gulf governments and from a tax on Palestinian workers in Kuwait and some other gulf states -- estimated at more than \$250 million a year -- were cut off after the crisis erupted.

The P.L.O. also appears to be running short of political steam. Its morale has been shattered by the war, and most recently by the expulsion of Palestinian guerrillas from southern Lebanon, the P.L.O.'s last stronghold. Another critical blow was the series of Israeli and Palestinian assassinations of P.L.O. leaders. In January, Salah Khalef, or Abu Iyad, the P.L.O.'s No. 2 man, who was unhappy about the alliance with Iraq, was killed by an extremist Palestinian bodyguard. His picture, smiling beatifically, still hangs in most P.L.O. offices, a grisly reminder of the group's inability to protect its own.

None of the fear and anxiety so evident in many P.L.O. officials in Tunis was apparent in Arafat's demeanor. "We are at a peak," he declared with almost surreal conviction. "At the peak of support with the Arab masses, with the Muslim nation, with the third world."

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All he had tried to do, Arafat said, was to mediate an end to an Arab quarrel. The United States had wanted war with Iraq. Washington wanted to deal with Arab "puppets," and, if it could find them, with Palestinians who would relinquish their national claims. He would not do so. And he would not step down, unless his critics had "50 percent plus one" of the votes to oust him. The P.L.O., he said, was an "oasis" of democracy.

Besides, he continued, he had only followed his people in supporting Saddam Hussein. "What else could I have done?" he asked. "It's impossible to be a democratic leader without following your people." The Saudis and the gulf states knew that and would ultimately come around, he insisted. No Arab could afford to abandon the Palestinian cause. "They made excuses for King Hussein because he has so many Palestinians," he said. "O.K., I have all of them."

Palestinians had championed Saddam Hussein because they had nothing to lose, he argued. "I gave all that the Americans wanted. What more striptease can I do? Until now, nothing has been offered us."

It is President Bush's credibility, not his, that is now at stake, he asserted. The United States, he said, appealing once more in typical Palestinian fashion to his archenemy, has to resolve this conflict now. And it has to do so with him, not with "ghosts."

If Arafat had second thoughts about the war, he didn't betray them. If in the twilight zone of Tunis he was aware of the hatred so many Palestinians in Kuwait and in Jordan felt for him, he never admitted it. If he knew they called him King Yasir, or that many no longer referred to him as Abu Ammar, his nom de guerre, but as Abu Kharab, or father of ruin, he wasn't letting on. If he recognized that the P.L.O. had become paralyzed by factionalism, he gave no indication.

"You have all written him off so many times before," said Farouk Khadoumi, the P.L.O.'s foreign minister, "that doing so now is not credible."

Barring his murder or resignation, Arafat will probably remain as the P.L.O. head, despite the likelihood of challenges from prominent Palestinians in exile. "If elections were held in all Arab countries, few Arab leaders would remain in office," said Marie Colvin, who covers the Middle East for The Sunday Times of London. "But even today, a majority of Palestinians would keep Arafat in office."

But Arafat's support of Saddam Hussein damaged the P.L.O.'s unity, independence and relevance, which he had fought so long to build. True, leaders in the West Bank and Gaza said they would neither meet with Baker nor negotiate with Israel without the P.L.O.'s authorization. But experts on the P.L.O. say that Arafat had no choice but to grant permission.

If pushed, some local leaders were prepared to meet with Baker anyway, West Bankers say. Even those who insist that local leaders would never dare disregard a P.L.O. command agree that in sanctioning the meetings -- as well as the participation of West Bankers in a Jordanian delegation to peace talks with Israel -- Arafat has, in effect, acknowledged that Tunis no longer directly controls the West Bank Palestinians.

Some say that Arafat's growing vulnerability has made him even more obstinate, megalomaniacal and reluctant to share power, much less to designate a successor. "He simply will not let go," said one P.L.O. leader. "The world is coming down around our ears, and he hears nothing. I've worked for this cause all my life. But now, I'm truly fed up."

WITH WORLD ATTENTION DIVERTED BY THE gulf crisis, Israel seemed to step up its repression of the Palestinians, despite official denials. In October, at least 17 Palestinians were killed and 100 wounded after Israeli police opened fire on demonstrators at the Temple Mount in Jerusalem. When the deaths prompted a rash of stabbings of Israelis by Palestinians -- at least 10 Israelis were stabbed to death during the gulf crisis -- the Shamir Government cracked down, declaring a 24-hour curfew, among other security measures.

"What would you call occupiers who explode American-made sound bombs that deafen children for weeks inside schools?" asked one diplomat, referring to the riot-control device meant for use outdoors. "What do you call an

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occupation in which, for more than a month, people cannot go to school or work or even leave their houses for half a day to buy food for more than a month?"

Of all the Palestinian communities outside of Kuwait, Gaza was hurt the most by the war. It is home to 700,000 Palestinians, 300,000 of whom are crowded into eight refugee camps, among the poorest, most densely inhabited areas of the world. Gaza was placed under 24-hour curfew for 52 days -- 12 days longer than the West Bank.

"I saw illness I had rarely seen here," said Mohammed Moussa Abu Lehia, the senior Palestinian doctor in Jabalia camp, a Palestinian Calcutta. "We saw diseases of developed societies -- hypertension and depression, triggered by anxiety over the war and the restrictions -- and the ills of the poor, such as scurvy, malnutrition."

With the Israeli curfew and travel bans, most of the 120,000 Palestinians from Gaza and the West Bank working in Israel lost their jobs. Many of those jobs were filled by the thousands of Soviet Jewish immigrants flooding into Israel. By May, only about 50,000 Palestinians had received passes enabling them to return to work in Israel, or even to pass through Jerusalem.

Since the north and south of the occupied territories are linked by roads through East Jerusalem, the West Bank was divided in half, with the capital virtually off-limits to most Palestinians. In May, three months after the war's end, checkpoints manned by Israeli soldiers still ringed Jerusalem. Israeli cars with yellow license plates were permitted to pass; Palestinian cars with blue plates were turned back, except for the lucky few with passes.

"They have used the gulf crisis to isolate Jerusalem from the rest of the territories," said Hanna S. Siniora, a Palestinian editor. "Israelis are shy about discussing expelling Palestinians from this land, but that's the effect if you deny us the ability to feed our children."

A spokesman for Israel's Defense Ministry in the occupied territories denies that Israel used the gulf crisis to punish or drive out the Palestinians. He acknowledged that tear gas and, on one occasion in Gaza, a sound bomb, had been used. But after the sound bomb incident the authorities banned the use of such weapons in closed quarters, though Palestinians insist that the practice continues. The spokesman insisted that during the curfew Palestinians were permitted to leave their homes for a few hours a day to buy food or take sick family members to hospitals and infirmaries. "There were cash flow problems -- largely from the absence of funds from Kuwait -- but never any starvation," he said.

The curfew was needed to curb what otherwise might have been a "stabbing spree in Tel Aviv," given what Palestinians were prepared to do, he asserted. Military authorities had intercepted letters and messages ordering leaders of the intifada to attack Israeli targets, "and not just stone-throwings, but murders with guns." The curfew was extended, he said, only after the military intercepted messages from Palestinians indicating that they were unable to carry out these terrorist attacks because of the curfew.

Since the gulf crisis, Israel has placed new restraints on Palestinians. A military spokesman said that some 10,000 "green cards" have been issued to Palestinians, barring those convicted of crimes or who have what he called "terrorist files" from working in, or even visiting, Israel, including Jerusalem. Palestinian employment has also been limited by a new order requiring employers of Arabs to supply transportation from the territories to and from work, since Palestinians now need special permits to drive their cars into Israel proper.

Israeli officials say they recognize the danger to stability posed by the ravaged Palestinian economy, and they say they are loosening restrictions and adopting rules to promote development. Two more Palestinian financial institutions were recently licensed, and Israeli officials said the Government would soon permit the opening of 25 new Palestinian factories. The Draconian limits on movement have been eased a bit, but will be lifted only when the stabbings stop, Israeli officials said.

Yet the easing of the oppressive occupation has done little to allay Palestinian concerns about the steady growth of Israeli settlements in the territories. By both Israeli and Palestinian accounts, Israel now effectively owns more than 50 percent of West Bank territory. If current settlement activity continues, Palestinians will within three years become a minority in East Jerusalem, which was Arab until the 1967 war. Washington has not recognized Israel's

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annexation of East Jerusalem, and has protested settlements as illegal. But it has provided \$750 million in emergency aid to help Israel settle Soviet Jews, aware that some are being settled in East Jerusalem and the territories.

"The settlement activity is tantamount to the liquidation of the Palestinian people, acre by acre," said Ibrahim Mattar, a Palestinian economist who monitors Israeli settlements. "The giant condos are more than an obstacle to peace; they are facts we cannot change."

The gulf war has exacted a dire political toll as well. Israeli and Palestinian peace activists agree that the two communities have never been as divided. "Many Israelis are still afraid of venturing into Arab parts of East Jerusalem and the territories, and the Palestinians can't come here," said Menachem Brinker, a professor and member of Israel's Peace Now, a leading dovish group. "The massive Palestinian support for the Scud attacks on Israel damaged our cause," he conceded. "But we are slowly rebuilding our bridges to one another."

Avishai Margalit, a professor and a Peace Now activist, goes further. "The Palestinians made a mistake," he said. "But we morally ambushed them. We waited for them to blunder, and then we said 'We knew you were rotten.'"

"Their daily lives had become so rotten -- day-to-day humiliations, harassment, arrests, detentions, beatings and torture if you believe the detailed reports we've seen -- that I understand -- not accept, but understand -- why they acted as they did. In a sense, the Palestinians were entitled to their irrationality. We cannot delegitimize them simply because they or their leaders made a mistake. Our occupation is tragically emulating South African apartheid."

Moreover, given the increasing extremism among Palestinians and Israelis, many argue, moderate Palestinians willing to negotiate with Israel are a precious resource that Israelis should not lightly write off.

The danger to these Palestinians is already evident. Faisal Hussein, who has been meeting with Baker, was recently forced to leave his home when teen-age neighbors noticed a car with yellow Israeli license plates parked in front of his house. Much embarrassed, Hussein explained to an Israeli journalist that it would be safer if they went elsewhere.

During the war, local Palestinian leaders dared not urge moderation in their compatriots' zeal for Saddam Hussein. "We would have been killed for trying," said one leader, who insisted on anonymity. "Intellectual terrorism has taken root here."

In Nablus, the largest and most intensely political West Bank town, Palestinian desperation -- and its political evolution -- is literally written on the walls. The earliest slogans one sees are those of the Unified National Leadership, the ostensibly P.L.O.-directed intifada, written in black and blue spray paint. Many of these have been painted over with the increasingly vicious threats of the Islamic Resistance Movement, known as **Hamas**, the major Islamic-inspired radical movement in the territories. Some of these, in turn, have been covered by the slogans of Al Jihad, an even more extremist Islamic group.

"There have been about 20 murders in Nablus -- and 164 in the territories -- since the gulf crisis," said Haitham Hamad, a Palestinian journalist who works for The Associated Press. "Most have been of Palestinians, by Palestinians. This is the ugly side of the intifada."

Said one Palestinian analyst, "The P.L.O. still represents the Palestinians politically, but **Hamas** increasingly reflects their despair."

Despair took hold after the intifada failed to end Israeli repression or to produce peace talks. And it is becoming stronger still after the gulf war, part of a self-defeating political cycle that Israeli hard-liners use to justify a policy of not dealing with the Palestinians who supported Saddam Hussein and are now knifing Israelis in the streets.

"In this sense, the gulf war stance can legitimately be seen as the latest stage of the intifada," said Radwan Abu Ayyash, a leading Palestinian journalist who was imprisoned by Israel for five months during the crisis without trial or formal charges.

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The mostly moderate Palestinians who have been meeting with James Baker agree with Hussein that the Baker peace mission is a "last chance" before Israeli settlement activity and repression create new and even uglier political dynamics. It is the last time, they say, that a relatively moderate P.L.O. will still be able and willing to make a deal that involves territorial compromise. And it may be the last chance before Palestinians become so desperate, so full of hate for Israelis and so radicalized that Hamas, Jihad and other groups advocating "no negotiation, no compromise" come to reflect the majority view in the territories.

An endless succession of Palestinian suicide strikes against Israel, in turn, could provide a pretext for evicting more and more Palestinians from the territories, as many Jewish fundamentalists advocate and Palestinians fear.

"I'm pleading while there is still time," said Hussein. The United States and Israel have to deal with Arafat because he still represents the Palestinians, because he is "flexible and moderate and because he can deliver," Hussein said. "I would deal with Yitzhak Shamir precisely because he, too, can deliver."

"If we don't succeed," Hussein said, "if Baker abandons this effort as he did before, leaving only his telephone number behind, one thing is sure: When he returns, he won't be interested in talking to me. He'll have to talk to people who know the language of the jungle better than I do."

Graphic

Cover photo: Two Palestinian women carry off mattresses plucked from garbage in the Hawali district of Kuwait City. The son of the woman on the right was arrested in May; she has been unable to find him in any of the city's jails and fears he has been killed.

Photos: After 23 years of living and working in Kuwait, the Monsour family fled to Amman, Jordan. Eighteen people now live in a two-room apartment. (pg. 12); Near the Erez checkpoint between the Gaza Strip and Israel, Palestinian day laborers wait in a compound. (pg. 13); West Bank Palestinians like Faisal Hussein are increasingly independent of the P.L.O. Israelis inspect new ID cards issued to Palestinians in the occupied territories. (pg. 14); In Kuwait City, Palestinians spend days waiting in line for new license plates. (pg. 15); Palestinians about to go on trial in Kuwait City for collaboration. May al-Tayea and her sister, Manal, right, after their mother was sentenced to death for running a school in Kuwait during the Iraqi occupation. (pg. 16); Palestinian day laborers and a Kuwaiti haggle. (pg. 17)(Photographs by James Lukoski/Black Star for The New York Times)

Graph: "The Palestinian Diaspora" shows location of the roughly 5.5 million Palestinians in the Middle East, as of May 1991. (pg. 32)

Load-Date: July 21, 1991

Hatred disfigures Promised Land

Guardian Weekly

December 29, 1996

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Section: FOCUS ON ISRAEL; Pg. 5

Length: 1929 words

Highlight: Seven months ago Matthew Engel paid his first visit to Israel and found it heading towards grudging acceptance of a state of Palestine. But on his return he finds a country split in two, extreme orthodoxy on the march, and fears growing of a new Middle East war

Body

IT IS Monday morning, the time when 13-year-old Jewish boys come to the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem for their bar mitzvah. The scene is probably more bewildering to anyone whose experience of these rituals has been confined to synagogues in London or Manchester than it is to a complete outsider. In Britain the bar mitzvah boy reads out his portion of the Torah in a nervous gabble amid a decorous hush. Here, at Judaism's most solemn and sacred place, there were a dozen competing ceremonies a few feet from each other.

The boys' thin voices never stood a chance. Their male relatives were alongside them chanting far louder and more confidently. And their mums and aunties -- barred from the temple confines -- were leaning over the fence, singing, cheering, throwing coins. From a distance the sounds merged into a general ululation, like an African funeral. Close to, the scene was more like a football match: joyous, fervent, irrational.

Twenty-four hours later, another group appeared. These were the Women of the Wall, who -- far more quietly -- exercised what they believed was their right to worship. They did not attempt to penetrate the men's section, which would have been an obvious provocation. However, a number were reportedly wearing kipot and tallitim -- skullcaps and prayer-shawls -- which are normally only worn by men.

They were ambushed by a group of Orthodox Jews who hurled chairs at them. The police ignored the attackers and threw the women out. "You can't pray like that," said one policeman. Later, a government minister told the women they were crazy and said, if they wanted equality, they could go to the beach or the disco.

Welcome to the New New Middle East. This is not the New Middle East promised by Shimon Peres before the Israeli election last May. Peres envisaged an Israel living in peace alongside an independent Palestine. This was specifically, if narrowly, rejected by the electorate. They chose Binyamin Netanyahu as prime minister instead.

For months Netanyahu has been saying that he is on the brink of achieving what might be regarded as his first success: an agreement for a partial withdrawal of Israeli troops from Hebron. This is a city where the normal difficulties of Middle Eastern politics are complicated by the presence of a few hundred militantly anti-Arab Jewish settlers in the heart of the city -- among the people Israel conquered in 1967 and whose fathers and grandfathers massacred Hebron's original Jewish community in 1929.

But for many of Netanyahu's supporters this would not be a triumph but a betrayal. And in terms of his own mandate, it is not another step on the way to an independent Palestine, as it was meant to be, but a piece of

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unfinished business on which he could not renege. Assuming the withdrawal happens at all, it is not obvious when or, even if, the next step towards peace might come.

More than 12 months have passed since the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin, and seven months since the vote that brought Netanyahu to power. When I paid my first visit here just before the election, the road seemed open to a future of prosperity and, if not brotherly love, then at least a grudging co-existence between Israel and the incipient state of Palestine.

Now the landscape is transformed utterly. Israel's new rulers were elected to abort the idea of Palestine and to construct a different vision for their own state.

The nations of the world are united in their distaste for the new government. There are endless stories of the prime minister's technical incompetence and crassness, like his meeting with the head of the World Bank, who was obliged to listen to an hour-long economics lesson. Last month the Jerusalem Post, the new government's most reliable cheerleader, ran a major piece describing the appalling relationships between the prime minister and the military establishment and claiming that he no longer had any adviser who could give him accurate information about Arab thinking. As for his character, the most telling detail may be that after the election Netanyahu insisted he should no longer be known by his nickname of "Bibi", used by family, friend and foe since he was a baby. He thought it undignified. This was not the action of a man comfortable in himself.

Israel's enemies have always found it easy to make unjust comparisons with the old South Africa. But it gets easier when you read that the government is preparing plans to corral Israeli Arabs in the Galilee into blocks of flats to prevent them having a majority of the land; when you understand the reality that Orthodox groups, backed by American money, are buying Arabs out of the Muslim Quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem in a systematic attempt to Judaise the area; when you witness the casual contempt with which Orthodox Jews in Jerusalem deal with Palestinians; and when you hear that, as in Britain, the government has lately revised the gun laws. This one, however, has been making it easier to carry one.

MORE often, though, Israel seems to be turning into Iran. Extreme orthodoxy is on the march, partly because people are turning to religion, partly because migration of Western, non-religious Jews is drying up, and partly because Orthodox Israelis breed like nuclear reactors: the 20 religious party MPs, for instance, have an average of six children each.

Incidents like the one at the Wall and bizarre rabbinical pronouncements are now routine. It still comes as a shock, though, to visit the Jewish West Bank settlement of Kiryat Arba, just outside Hebron. Inside the gates there is a piazza leading to a beautifully-tended grave which is treated as a shrine. Bearded figures can be seen praying there regularly. It is the grave of Baruch Goldstein, who murdered 29 Arab worshippers in Hebron in 1994. This is not Judaism; this is barbarism. The government does not formally condone the veneration of Goldstein, any more than it condones the powerful undercurrent of sympathy for Yigal Amir, the fanatic who murdered Rabin. But the tone of the administration is one of lingering hate.

While Israeli negotiators were talking to Yasser Arafat's officials and trying to put together a deal on Hebron, I was talking to David Bar-Illan, the prime minister's policy director and -- some say -- his *eminence grise*. He is an urbane and pleasant individual. What he says is extraordinary. Had Netanyahu, I wondered, learned anything from his time of office, particularly from the debacle over the opening of the temple tunnel in September, when rioting led to 75 deaths? "Yes," said Bar-Illan. "He's learned you can't trust the word of the Palestinian Authority. Before we worried about the violence from Hamas. Now we are worried about the Palestinian police.

"We expect Arafat to try it again. He doesn't like having to worry about book-keeping and garbage and that sort of thing. He loves tumult and turmoil and he thrives on it. One of the greatest crimes against Palestinians was getting him and his gangsters back from exile instead of democratising Palestinian society."

This does not sound like an administration serious about the possibility of peaceful co-existence. What is so astonishing is that, 49 years after the state's foundation, Israeli leaders are still unable to empathise with Palestinian resentments or to understand why Arafat has been such a successful articulator of them. Judaism is based on

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endurance and tradition and symbolism, not on rationality. Yet Israel expects the Palestinians to behave rationally, without regard to their own symbols or what is left of their dignity.

This incomprehension within the government is matched by the despair and bafflement of the defeated forces within Israel about their own failure. Peres's Labour Party -- and this may be unique in the democratic world -- represents an alliance between the business and the intellectual communities. A member of the Tel Aviv middle classes could spend years without meeting socially anyone who voted for Netanyahu's Likud.

The most coherent psephological explanation lies in the huge group of recent Russian immigrants, who voted for Rabin in 1992 and switched sides, partly in response to the bus bombings in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem which unhinged the promise of peace, and partly because their leader, Natan Sharansky, allied himself with Netanyahu.

BUT there is a vast mass of people who would have voted Likud anyway. Sederot is a town barely three miles from the Gaza Strip. Fifty years ago it was desert. Waves of migrants poured in from the countries where Jews were persecuted, first from North Africa, then from eastern Europe, to work, among other places, in the Osem chicken soup factory.

Just after the election, the local chief rabbi blocked the path of a funeral procession and forced the family of a two-year-old boy, who had been crushed by a car, to leave the cemetery and bury him in unconsecrated ground outside. He said the mother was insufficiently Jewish. This is not exactly the equivalent of Middle England. It is more like what the French call *La France Profonde*, the country's deep and secret heart.

Yet it is not an old-fashioned place. Sederot is still expanding; new homes are going up everywhere. Just a few miles away there are almost a million Palestinians desperate for work. But here they import contract workers from Turkey and Romania and fear the Palestinians more than they need them. "Do people in Sederot want to make peace with the Arabs?" I asked the felafel seller in the main square. He looked up and down the street then shook his head. "Naah," he said. Sederot voted more than two to one for Netanyahu over Peres. But they still may not get quite what they bargained for. When they see a foreign journalist, opposition politicians seem inclined to reject the most damning interpretations of Israel's situation. As one put it to me: "Bibi's a stupid idiot, but he's still our stupid idiot."

Most believe that if the worst did come to the worst the country would rally round as it always has done and that everyone would obey orders. But they also believe the worst will not come to the worst and that the Bar-Illan view may not, in the end, prevail. "I think Bibi really believes you can't trust those Arabs," said Uri Dromi, who was chief spokesman for the Rabin and Peres administrations. "But I also think he's trying to buy time. Buy time till what? Till the Arabs change and become someone else? Even if the government doesn't want peace, they can't go back."

"I think the peace process will continue," says Michael Keren, professor of political science at Tel Aviv University, "because Netanyahu is the product of the modern, democratic Israel. All the pressure -- from the White House, business, the military, the technocrats, the media -- is towards peace. I don't think he will be able to escape his destiny."

It will be a familiar sort of irony if one day Netanyahu joins his Likud predecessor, Menachem Begin, and Arafat himself on the list of unlikely winners of the Nobel Peace Prize. For the moment we have to content ourselves with the irony that a government elected to talk tough to the Arabs has found itself so globally reviled that its negotiating position has been immeasurably weakened. It is Netanyahu who needs the Hebron deal most urgently to prevent his government's international credibility disappearing completely. It is Arafat who suddenly and improbably seems the reasonable man.

The hope is that Keren is right and that Israel and Palestine's joint destiny has been postponed, not cancelled. The alternative is still too horrific to contemplate.

Graphic

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Photograph, Voice of hate: rightwing fanatics heckle a Peace Now demonstration in Tel Aviv, JUDITH PASSOW

Load-Date: January 7, 1997

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LETTERS FROM THE PEOPLE

St. Louis Post-Dispatch (Missouri)

December 28, 1992, MONDAY, FIVE STAR Edition

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Section: EDITORIAL; Pg. 2B; LETTERS

Length: 1709 words

Body

Democrats Show Signs Of Corruption It is amazing that the Democratic Party is already showing that it will be corrupted by absolute power. In a procedural change that the Democratic leadership of the U.S. House of Representatives has proposed, the delegates of five non-state possessions will have a vote on matters that come before the committee of the whole, which is where the most important debating and amending processes take place before the final vote. This is clearly a misuse of the position of these delegates. The delegates of these territories, the District of Columbia and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico were never meant to be voting members. They were meant to be advisory members who were to present what is in the best interest of those who sent them. Since 1917, when a statute was passed by Congress, these members have been able to debate but not vote. These delegates do not need to decide where our taxes are spent since they represent a proportionately smaller number of people than representatives from states. Where is the one-man, one-vote principle? Hopefully, someone will be able to present the Constitution to Speaker Tom Foley and the Democrats and explain that they are there because of the Constitution, and their job is to execute its provisions, not to interpret them. Interpretation is the job of the federal courts. John A. Fernandez III - Mehlville - One Last Shot Was the Dec. 18 editorial, "Risky Bonds In Jefferson County," a last-ditch effort to cast a stone at Sheriff Walter "Buck" Buerger? In the recent past, this community leader has been held responsible for numerous problems in Jefferson County.

This man of high regard is now serving the last days of his service to our community, and the Post-Dispatch continues to browbeat him. Buerger has worked hard for more than 25 years, and, yes, he has made mistakes. But he is man enough to admit them. Perhaps the editorial writers should research Prosecutor George McElroy. Has anyone asked him about the success rate of his vigorous indictments against the Sheriff's Department, which some refer to as a witch hunt? Is it too much to ask for the system to punish the guilty and praise the good? Amby McDonald - High Ridge - Mother's Milk After 10 years as a journalist, I still find myself aghast over the ignorance in this city and in this country. Martha Shirk's Dec. 21 column quotes a doctor who studies starving babies, who are fed watered-down formula when the parents run out of their government allotment at the end of the month. I will never understand why so many women refuse to breast-feed their babies, especially when an infant is premature or the family is struggling to make ends meet. Why would a mother feed expensive, inferior formula to her child when the best nourishment in the world is supplied by her? And it's free! So many babies would be thriving and healthy now if their mothers would just do what comes naturally. What kind of stupid selfishness, fear or lack of caring is keeping these women from breast-feeding? Bonnie Perkins - Mehlville - Simply Scandalous The Southampton neighborhood is a tight-knit community where families come first, where neighbors look out for each other and where residents generously give of their time and talents to provide activities, services and support to folks of all ages. It is a great place for kids to grow up. We have community leaders like Alderman Jack Garvey, who embody the old-fashioned ethic of dedicated public servants and countless unsung heroes. Enter Simply Irresistible, a lingerie shop with a glaring window display straight out of a soft porn movie. It is situated right next to a grade school tutoring center, two short blocks from a Catholic grade school and directly across the street from a

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YWCA providing children's services, such as day care, latch-key and recreation. John Cornetta, the owner, boldly claims his shop is the "ultimate in class." Right. Absentee landlord Charles Bay has prudently remained silent. Eric Pulley of Pulley Realty tops them all. He sees nothing wrong with renting to the shop - this despite the fact that he knows exactly where the tutoring center, school and YWCA are. Would Cornetta, Bay and Pulley be so flippant if such a shop were at the doorstep of their child's school, classroom or activity center? I doubt it. They obviously believe, however, that the city is fair game. They don't live here. These men have made a serious mistake in underestimating the spirit, resolve and organizational unity of Southampton residents. We will not let the integrity of our neighborhood be compromised.

D. Marie Jones - St. Louis - Symbol Of Hate The Ku Klux Klan was issued a permit on Dec. 21 to erect an 8-foot cross, its notorious symbol of hate, in downtown Cincinnati. I am amazed that Cincinnati granted the KKK the same permit it gives to citizens commemorating religious holidays that symbolize love - a 1.8i Christmas tree. The city's officials do not seem to know the difference. Christians must be outraged by the KKK's act in Cincinnati. The primitive people who make up the KKK pretend to be Christians, and when they strike, their symbol of bigotry and hatred is the cross. Jesus Christ, the prince of peace, commands and pleads for kindness and love. Yet the KKK even uses Christmas to promote its intolerance and hatred and to instigate violence in his name. The KKK must be condemned by everyone whose religion advocates peace on Earth and good will to mankind. Cincinnati must be pitied for its misguided tolerance of the KKK.

Frederick Sweet - St. Louis - Court Injustice The purpose of law and justice in a civilized society is to prevent the strong from abusing the weak. Although I cannot state this principle in the language that was taught to me as a school boy, I remember the idea and cherish it. Unfortunately, this is not the way justice was administered in the city of Chesterfield on the evening of Dec. 15. It was a minor traffic violation that brought my friend, a young Hispanic gentleman, to court that evening. He was told he could pay a \$30 fine and leave, or appear before the judge. My friend felt that if the judge would hear the circumstances of his problem, the fine might be reduced or, perhaps, the case would be dismissed. He explained that he had recently arrived from Texas because of the promise of a job in St. Louis. But the company was taken over by new management, and he found himself in St. Louis with no job and in a severe financial situation. He explained that the ticket he got for an expired auto license occurred only a few days before he sold the car. He showed the judge the receipt for the sale of the vehicle. "That will be \$60," the judge said abruptly. Flabbergasted, my friend asked how the fine could suddenly double. "Because I am the judge," was the reply. My friend then quite eloquently explained to the judge that this was absolutely unfair and unjust. The judge finally said, "Oh well, all right, \$30." It's pretty clear that if my friend had been a poor, uneducated Hispanic, he would have paid \$60. But being educated and articulate, he finally paid \$30. I am left with the impression that the judge's attitude in this case was arrogant and bigoted. It is disturbing to see the disrespect some citizens have for our institutions of law and justice. What is even more disturbing is to find the courtroom behavior of a judge as a contributing factor to this disrespect.

Norman R. Stoecker - Chesterfield - It's In The Water Soon, 3 million gallons of potentially radioactive water from Weldon Spring will be released into the St. Louis drinking water system. Evidence suggests that the monitoring equipment is not sensitive enough to detect hazardous levels of harmful agents. We also don't know why the Hydro-Pure Co. was suddenly fired from this project. Why can't the water be stored in holding ponds at the site until better equipment is developed to assure that our drinking water is safe? Who is responsible if we should find out in a year or two that we have all been drinking radioactive water?

Joan Botwinick - University City - Tabloid Television I was inspired to write by Tom Kasproovich's Dec. 18 letter, "Media Mentality." My family moved to St. Louis recently, and I have been repeatedly shocked by the lack of discretion and respect shown by the television news media. I echo Kasproovich's statement that it could be any one of the local television stations. Not long after arriving, we were barraged with news reports for what seemed like weeks about a "decapitation murder." We could scarcely turn on the television without hearing about this young woman's unfortunate death. None of the stations had the sensitivity toward her grieving relatives and to the rest of us to refer to it as such. They had to refer to it as a "decapitation" time and time again. At the same time, our home was again invaded by images of a murder victim's forehead in which were carved various signs. The gruesome image was shown as the lead story and without warning. Before we knew it, we were staring at the defiled body of another victim of violence. We are constantly bombarded by bloody corpses, graphic language and grieving people whose privacy is violated in front of our eyes. We have lived in Los Angeles, Salt Lake City and New Hampshire and have never seen anything like it. If I want graphic television, I'll watch "Terminator 2." If I want to watch news, I'll watch the "MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour."

Alan K. Jones - Ballwin - A Humane Act I read the Dec. 22 editorial, "Who Will Rescue Mr. Rabin?" As usual, I don't agree with it. Israel did the most humane thing it could do by expelling the members of Hamas. In many other countries (including most Arab countries) they would have been rounded up and killed. If an organization in the

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United States was seriously determined to eliminate the country and started by killing our soldiers and police officers, what do you think we would do about it? You can bet we would do something, and expulsion of its members from the country would be on the lighter side of potential actions. Once again, the Post-Dispatch editorial writers just don't get it. Harold B. Bamberg - Clayton

Load-Date: October 12, 1993

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Jabs Are Sharp but Familiar In New Jersey Senate Debate

The New York Times

October 6, 1996, Sunday, Late Edition - Final

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Distribution: Metropolitan Desk

Section: Section 1; ; Section 1; Page 1; Column 4; Metropolitan Desk ; Column 4;

Length: 1866 words

Byline: By BRETT PULLEY

By BRETT PULLEY

Body

In a heated exchange that united the ideas, attacks and issues that have dominated the campaign, New Jersey's candidates for the United States Senate faced off in their first debate yesterday.

Voters may have known little about the race except for what they saw and heard in the candidates' advertisements, which paint the opponent as an extremist.

But yesterday, Representative Robert G. Torricelli, the Democratic candidate, and Representative Richard A. Zimmer, his Republican opponent, stood on opposite sides of a stage on the Cook College campus of Rutgers University and tried to give New Jersey's historically middle-ground voters moderate pictures of themselves.

Short on surprises but full of spirited exchanges, the debate was used by both candidates as a way to repeat broad campaign themes. Mr. Torricelli, a seven-term Congressman from Englewood, tried to cast his opponent as a disciple of Speaker Newt Gingrich, while Mr. Zimmer attacked Mr. Torricelli as a big-government, pro-tax liberal. "The Gingrich revolution has finally reached the shores of the Delaware River," Mr. Torricelli said in his opening statement.

When it was his turn, Mr. Zimmer, a three-term member of the House, said that "the difference between Bob Torricelli and me is that I am in favor of less government, lower taxes."

Then he added, "Bob Torricelli would like to run against Newt Gingrich, but he's running against Dick Zimmer, and I'm a different kind of Republican."

As Mr. Torricelli took aim at Mr. Zimmer for casting votes that he said threatened education, Medicare, the environment and law enforcement, Mr. Zimmer repeatedly criticized his opponent, accusing him of misrepresenting positions they have both taken on issues and of shirking his responsibilities in Congress.

While Mr. Torricelli may have seemed more eager to discuss their voting records, Mr. Zimmer seized every opportunity to pepper his responses with references to his personal life. He talked about his two sons, the father he lost as a small child, his 83-year-old stepfather and the working farm that he and his wife, Marfy, live on in Delaware Township.

Jabs Are Sharp but Familiar In New Jersey Senate Debate

Mr. Torricelli, who is divorced, has no children and is best known by some for his former courtship of Bianca Jagger, made no mention of his personal life.

Both candidates seemed well prepared and appeared to have addressed concerns about how they would come across on television. Mr. Torricelli, whose confident and intense debating style can sometimes seem like lecturing, characteristically shook his fists while making points, but for the most part was calm.

Mr. Zimmer, who is usually controlled but can come across as bland and awkward, seemed to lose his concentration at one point late in the debate, but nevertheless appeared sharp and at ease.

Each Congressman accused the other of misrepresenting his voting record. "Given the whoppers that Bob Torricelli delivered today, he deserves to open a Burger King franchise," Mr. Zimmer said at one point.

But what both candidates did today -- as they have done throughout the campaign -- is massage the facts to make themselves seem more palatable to New Jersey's historically moderate voters.

For example, when Mr. Zimmer accused Mr. Torricelli of voting against cutting capital gains taxes, Mr. Torricelli called Mr. Zimmer "untruthful" and noted that he had voted for the Republican Party's tax cut bill and pushed for a cut in the capital gains tax. Actually, both men were telling the truth. Mr. Torricelli did vote against cutting the capital gains tax before switching his position last year.

And when Mr. Torricelli accused Mr. Zimmer of voting against banning assault weapons, Mr. Zimmer pointed out that he had voted against repealing the ban earlier this year, and also supported the 1994 crime package that included the ban. Once again, both men were telling the truth, because Mr. Zimmer had opposed the ban in earlier votes.

Echoing his criticism of Mr. Torricelli for missing more votes in Congress than any other member of the New Jersey delegation, Mr. Zimmer even pointed out that Mr. Torricelli had also missed meetings of the Board of Governors at Rutgers University.

Viewing the debate was not easy. Only minutes after it began, television and radio stations experienced audio difficulties that lasted about 15 minutes.

Sponsored by The Star-Ledger of Newark and its cable television affiliate, News 12 New Jersey, the 90-minute debate was moderated by the newspaper's national political correspondent, John Farmer, who asked questions on a dozen topics.

One more debate is scheduled for Oct. 17 and will be sponsored by the League of Women Voters.

In his opening statement, Mr. Torricelli said that Mr. Zimmer had voted to eliminate the jobs of 2,000 police officers in New Jersey and had voted to phase out the Brady bill, which requires a waiting period for handgun purchases.

He also charged that Mr. Zimmer voted in favor of ocean dumping, voted 25 times to cut the Medicare budget, and voted against reimbursements for mammograms and prostate cancer screenings.

Mr. Zimmer, in his opening statement, agreed that there were "major differences" between him and Mr. Torricelli, but said that Mr. Torricelli was distorting his record.

"Every single statement that he made about my record was wrong," Mr. Zimmer said.

Welfare

Asked whether the new Federal welfare law was too tough on the poor, Mr. Torricelli said that the bill that finally passed was a significant improvement over the original, which "had no requirement for work, education or job training."

"It was an invitation for homelessness," he said. "It wasn't welfare reform."

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He said the central component of any welfare overhaul should be workfare. "We have to keep a requirement that people on welfare work," he said.

But Mr. Zimmer, who has accused Mr. Torricelli of flip-flopping because the Democrat opposed the first two versions of the welfare bill and then voted for the one that ultimately became law, responded with a blistering attack. Mr. Zimmer said Mr. Torricelli had voted six times against making welfare recipients work for their benefits.

And Mr. Zimmer said that Mr. Torricelli had not been present to vote on the new law's day care provisions. "You were in sunny Florida receiving \$2,000 from a special interest group," he said. At several points during the debate, Mr. Zimmer reiterated his claim that Mr. Torricelli was away earning fees for speaking or raising campaign funds when the House was voting on measures.

Mr. Torricelli, in his response, said Mr. Zimmer was distorting his record on welfare.

Drugs

On the issue of drugs, Mr. Torricelli said there was blame enough to go around for some of the failures in the Government's efforts to reduce drug use.

But he said the President had taken some major steps. "He added 100,000 new police officers," Mr. Torricelli said. "There is no greater deterrent to crime I know than a uniformed police officer on the corner."

He ended by saying that Mr. Zimmer had voted to cut police departments' anti-drug programs.

To that, Mr. Zimmer responded with his remark about Mr. Torricelli's "whoppers."

He echoed a point Bob Dole has made in his Presidential campaign. "When the President cuts the drug czar's department by more than two-thirds, it's a sign he isn't serious" about drug abuse, Mr. Zimmer said.

Foreign Policy

On his reaction to the Israeli decision to open an entrance to a tunnel near holy sites in Jerusalem, Mr. Zimmer said that the dispute was not about the tunnel, but about Yasir Arafat "trying to establish Palestinian sovereignty over the entire city of Jerusalem," which he said should not be permitted. Mr. Arafat was wrong, he said, to allow the Palestinian police to shoot at Israeli soldiers.

He said he was troubled to see recent reports that Mr. Torricelli once spoke before a group co-sponsored by an organization with "close ties to Islamic Jihad and to Hamas," which he described as "very dangerous terrorist groups."

Mr. Torricelli interrupted angrily, saying that Mr. Zimmer had sometimes not voted for providing aid to Israel and had not taken an interest in Israeli-Palestinian relations. He said that he, on the other hand, had been active in legislation supporting peace in the Middle East.

He said that the speech Mr. Zimmer had questioned was in fact sponsored by the Muslim-American council at the National Press Club.

The Environment

The candidates were also asked about the Federal Superfund environmental cleanup program, which is of particular importance in New Jersey, where there are more Superfund sites than in any other state.

Mr. Zimmer said he supported the program, but that it had to be made more efficient. Almost half the Superfund budget is wasted on administration costs, he said.

Mr. Zimmer said that he was among only eight Republicans who voted to restore millions of dollars for the Superfund program.

Jabs Are Sharp but Familiar In New Jersey Senate Debate

"On all these issues of the environment, my record is superior to Bob Torricelli's," he said. He said that he voted for the Wild and Scenic River Act. Then, taking a step into an area that has shadowed every phase of the campaign, the attendance records of each lawmaker, he added that Mr. Torricelli was absent for the vote because he was giving a fund-raising speech.

To that, Mr. Torricelli retorted, "For a man who's missed 820 votes, you've got a lot to say about missed votes."

Mr. Zimmer first raised the issue of absences when the campaign began in the spring, recognizing that for the last six years, when the candidates served together in Congress, Mr. Torricelli had a worse voting record. But in recent weeks the Torricelli campaign has sought to turn the issue around, emphasizing that when Mr. Zimmer was a state legislator in Trenton he, too, missed scores of votes. The Torricelli campaign does not mention that there are many more votes scheduled in Trenton than there are in Washington.

A little later, Mr. Zimmer tried to focus on the period when both men had the same job and said that Mr. Torricelli had been absent six and a half times more frequently.

"I think you ought to show up for work," he said.

Medicare

Mr. Torricelli strongly defended Medicare. "We cannot allow this system to be dismantled," he said. When the trustees of Medicare reported a \$90 billion deficit, he said, the Republicans suggested a \$270 billion reduction in services. "Talk about a math problem in this country," he said.

Mr. Torricelli said that Mr. Zimmer and Mr. Gingrich wanted to raise rates and cut services for the elderly. "It wasn't just wrong, it was cruel," he said.

Mr. Zimmer said: "I have never voted to cut Medicare. There's one person on this stage who has, only one, and it's Bob Torricelli."

The Budget

Mr. Torricelli lauded President Clinton's deficit-reduction bill. He said the measure increased taxes on less than 1 percent of the population, the most well-off, and cut taxes for more than 350,000 New Jerseyans who make less than \$30,000 a year. At the same time, he said, it cut Federal spending by \$250 billion and eliminated 186,000 Federal jobs. "It brought the deficit down," he said. "It's the reason Bill Clinton is going to get re-elected."

Mr. Zimmer countered that the bill was the biggest tax increase in American history.

Graphic

Photos: Representative Richard A. Zimmer, left, the Republican Senate candidate, and Representative Robert G. Torricelli, his Democratic opponent. (Photographs by Associated Press) (pg. 42)

Load-Date: October 6, 1996

Society seems confused about babies and abortion

St. Petersburg Times (Florida)

April 10, 1996, Wednesday, 0 South Pinellas Edition

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Section: EDITORIAL; LETTERS; Pg. 15A; LETTER

Length: 1892 words

Body

Re: Pregnant woman's shot not murder, March 23.

My, what an interesting case. It seems we have a young lady, Kawana Ashley, charged with manslaughter in the shooting death of her unborn baby. What do we do now? On the one hand, unborn children can be legally aborted. On the other hand, shooting one's baby with a gun or killing an unborn child in a drunken-driving accident is manslaughter or murder. We're a bit confused, possibly schizophrenic here, are we not? Why is a baby's right to life dependent upon the means we use to kill him?

Perhaps the answer lies in where we do it. I guess the medical facade of a Planned Abortionhood Clinic must be okay. Maybe it's most important who does it. I suppose if the killers are white-gowned "professionals" with polished steel instruments, then it's all right, too. Maybe the legal criteria are that a profit needs to be made! Sadly, Kawana's method financially benefited no one. In fact, she may even have deprived an abortionist of his April BMW payment!

LETTERS

No - wait - it must be the method! Surely, sucking or scraping out the baby or crushing his skull with forceps (partial-birth abortion) is more humane than shooting it.

These are questions with which the anti-life camp and our legal system really need to wrestle. The destruction of an unborn life is either murder in all cases or no cases. You cannot have it "some of the time." What is destroyed in the womb, by whatever means, is either a baby or it isn't. If it's not a baby, then, what was it that died?

Steve Hicks, Seminole

For informed consent

Re: With best intentions, bill makes abortions harder to obtain, by Robyn E. Blumner, March 31.

Blumner failed to include in her commentary that under the Woman's Right to Know Act the physician must inform the woman about the nature of the proposed procedure and the risks associated with carrying her child to term.

She also does not mention that the bill requires that at least 24 hours before the termination of pregnancy the pregnant woman must be informed in person, that printed material is available at no cost to the woman listing agencies that offer alternatives to terminating a pregnancy and that medical assistance benefits may be available

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for prenatal care, childbirth and neonatal care. This can be done by either the physician who is to perform the procedure, or the referring physician, or a qualified physician assistant, health care practitioner, technician or social worker to whom the responsibility has been delegated by either physician.

Blumner further states that the law would require an expensive second trip for women who live far from the abortion clinic. This is not the case because the woman could utilize a local referring physician.

It is true that the current state law requires informed consent in Chapter 390.001(4): "Prior to terminating a pregnancy, the physician shall obtain the written informed consent of the pregnant woman or in the case of a mental incompetent, the written consent of her court-appointed guardian." The problem is that specific information and the time necessary to make the best decision are not provided by law, and that is the reason for the Woman's Right to Know Act.

Finally, Blumner states that women already have given the decision serious thought and therefore a waiting period is not necessary. Studies have shown, that the majority of women who seek abortions have little or no prior knowledge of the abortion procedure, its risks or fetal development. The 24 hours is needed so that the information given to the woman can be digested. The Woman's Right to Know Act is actually a consumer protection bill designed to help women make the best decision when faced with a problem pregnancy.

Bob Brady, Fort Walton Beach

Defend women's rights

I have to comment on your clear-minded editorial Adding to the pain (April 4) on "partial birth abortions" and the rarity of them. What right does a politician have to make laws that govern this legal and private medical procedure? The religious-right exerted tremendous power over members of Congress who gave approval to a law that adds to the pain. Their rhetoric incites the violence women face.

What with extremist Pat Buchanan, Newt Gingrich, Dick Armey and others like them in power, a vast array of women's rights is under attack daily in the 104th Congress - reproductive freedom, poor women's very survival, affirmative action, civil rights, and lesbian and gay rights. They're even attacking funding for new Violence Against Women Act programs.

We must continue to focus on recruiting and running strong feminist women and turning out the women's vote. Ideally, it would be great to end up with 50-percent women and 50-percent men in Congress, and some day it will happen. It is a valid generalization that women have different life experiences and take the lead on different issues - issues such as public health, education, discrimination, abortion and birth control.

I cannot stress the importance of defending women's hard-won rights strongly enough. Thank you for pointing out that most politicians are "cowardly" for their refusal to take a principled stand against the religious right.

Jennie Kranak, Port Richey

The humane thing to do

Re: A person's right to die.

I sincerely wish that no one is faced with the situation I had!

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Every day during her illness, I had to watch my daughter slowly die. She had an agonizing death. The family and friends prayed, we lit candles, we made novenas for her but the pancreatic cancer won out. We even had second and third opinions, but the results were always the same: "Your daughter is going to die."

I am now left with a nightmare and will never be able to do anything about it. My daughter, who was a trained nurse, said to me, "Dad, help me to die." She looked me straight in the eye and said, "I know I am dying."

As I held her thin hand, I said, "Dear God, ask me for anything; not that."

That was the last thing my daughter asked me to do and I couldn't do it. Looking back, if I had it to do over again, I would have done her bidding, saving her months of agony. The right to die must be made official, through legislation, but it must be done - and soon!

I am going to try and keep this subject current and hope others join in this crusade. The Hemlock Society is trying hard, but others are needed. When, after all avenues have been taken and the prognosis is "no cure," the patient should have that choice of "the right to die."

If an animal is in pain, the humane thing to do is put the animal to sleep. Shouldn't the same humane consideration be given to our "loved ones" in terminal pain?

John Callahan, St. Pete Beach

Judge a religion on its precepts

Re: Be wary of giving religion a place in our democracy, letter, April 4.

The writer's points are well taken and I agree completely; however, there is an underlying point that needs to be mentioned. Human beings are a species of animal - mammal, to be exact - and, as a result, are not born with the concept of good or evil but only with the sense of survival and procreation. It was the introduction of religion that ultimately tried to instill humans with the concepts of good and evil and morality. Whether it was Judeo-Christian, Muslim, Hindu, Buddhist, etc., they all espouse morality.

As for condemning a religion because of the acts of its practitioners, that is like condemning freedom because of the Unabomber. The person does not make the religion. Religion has been used by evil people for evil purposes. Extreme examples would be the Crusades in the Middle Ages and Hamas today.

A religion - any religion - should be looked at based on what its precepts are, not on how those precepts are twisted or ignored by those who "claim" to be good, religious people. Whether we be pope or ayatollah, president or king, we are all human and susceptible to sin and error.

Frank W. Russell, Tarpon Springs

The role of the spiritual

An April 4 letter responds to the article Find a place for religion in democracy by listing what the writer says are "misconceptions." He says the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. "never tried to force the public to accept his religious beliefs."

King, as a good Christian, demonstrated his belief by following Jesus' command (Matthew 28:19), "Go and make disciples of all nations." He brought thousands into the faith; indeed, evangelizing was one of the main thrusts of his remarkable ministry.

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The writer says, "I know right from wrong." So do thousands of murderers and rapists, but it didn't stop them from committing heinous crimes.

The writer goes on to express a "naive" thought professed by many of his godless belief: "Religious fervor is no guarantee of moral behavior."

We agree! If the writer would take time to visit a church, he would see it is not an asylum for saints, but a hospital for admitted sinners. He would also see hundreds of dedicated Christians visiting hospitals, working in the inner city, contributing to food pantries - all places of dire human need.

He also says, "Kids need a better education, not Bible study classes." I admonish the writer to read a little history of the human race. He is fighting against the forces that build the bright side of our human nature, the spirit that built not only our nation, but Western civilization itself. Education for life in a free society can never be successful without spiritual training!

Frank Kastner, Clearwater

Focusing on the bad in religion

Re: City in stir about church's try to move baby's grave, March 28.

This article is another attempt by the Times to subtly diminish selected subjects related to the Christian faith. It amazes me how anything good about the Christian faith is relegated to the back page, boxed in the Religion section of the Saturday edition, and how anything bad about the Christian faith is placed on or near the front page, as was done with the above article.

With thousands of Christian churches working hard for racial harmony and with even this Baptist church deciding not to move the baby, why place the article on the front page? Why isn't the good work of thousands of Christian churches working hard for racial harmony given at least equal coverage?

Bill Hornbeck, St. Petersburg

Just another nut-case?

There is a rumor going around that out in San Francisco there is some nut-case running for the presidency of the United States. He is walking around carrying a big sign that reads "Sell all that you have and give to the poor." He has gone so far as to go into the ghetto areas and has been caught washing the feet of black and white whores and telling them that he loves them.

"Sell all that you have and give to the poor" - ha! That commie-liberal-sicko had better watch out or someone will end up crucifying him!

Earl Chase, Tarpon Springs

Share your opinions

Letters for publication should be addressed to Letters to the Editor, P.O. Box 1121, St. Petersburg, 33731. They can be sent by E-mail to lettersstimes.com or they can be sent by fax to 893-8675.

They should be brief and must include the writer's address, signature and phone number.

Society seems confused about babies and abortion

Letters may be edited for clarity, taste and length. We regret that not all letters can be printed.

Load-Date: April 11, 1996

End of Document

Top stories of the year

The Gazette (Montreal, Quebec)

December 28, 1996, Saturday, FINAL EDITION

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Section: WEEKLY REVIEW; Pg. B1 / BREAK

Length: 2218 words

Byline: DONNA MACHUTCHIN; CP, FACTS ON FILE, CANADIAN NEWS FACTS, THE GAZETTE

Body

January

1 Snowstorm kills 20 million monarch butterflies in Mexico.

7-8 Blizzards in the U.S. Northeast kill 100 people and cause an estimated \$ 1 billion worth of damage.

8 Former French president Francois Mitterrand dies at 79.

-A Russian-built cargo plane crashes into a market in Kinshasa, Zaire, killing 350 people on the ground. Crew members survive.

11 Ryutaro Hashimoto elected prime minister of Japan.

13 Former Ontario premier Bob Rae resigns as provincial NDP leader.

14 Robert Lepage's Le Confessionnal and Mort Ransen's Margaret's Museum win Genie Awards.

18 Lisa-Marie Presley divorces Michael Jackson after 19 months of marriage.

20 Yasser Arafat, chairman of the PLO, is elected president of interim government in West Bank and Gaza Strip.

26 Brian Tobin, former federal fisheries ministers, is sworn in as premier of Newfoundland.

28 Dallas Cowboys beat the Pittsburgh Steelers, 27-17, taking the Super Bowl.

29 Parti Quebecois leader Lucien Bouchard is sworn in as the 32nd premier of Quebec.

31 Scientists announce discovery of galaxy 14 billion light-years away.

February

2 Bill C-110, giving veto power to Quebec, Ontario, B.C. and the Prairie and Atlantic regions, sails through the Senate.

3 Bosnian Serbs withdraw from Sarajevo, ending the four-year siege of the Bosnian capital.

5 Liz Taylor sues for divorce from her seventh husband, Larry Fortensky.

Top stories of the year

7 Jetliner crashes off Dominican Republic; 189 killed.

9 Two people are killed and 40 injured in an IRA bombing in the Docklands area of London. The attack ends a 17-month ceasefire in Northern Ireland.

15 Prime Minister Jean Chretien scuffles with a protester at Flag Day ceremony in Hull. Bill Clennett was protesting unemployment cuts, and said he didn't touch Chretien.

18 Another IRA bomb blast kills one man in central London.

19 The Royal Canadian Mint issues 60 million \$ 2 coins.

22 Glen Clark sworn in as premier of British Columbia.

-Liberals under Tobin win majority in Newfoundland election.

25 Two suicide bombings kill 28 in Jerusalem and Ashkelon. **Hamas** claims responsibility.

26 Two die when an Arab-American drives his car into a crowd at a Jerusalem bus stop.

28 Alanis Morissette, Shania Twain and Joni Mitchell win Grammy Awards.

n Supreme Court of Canada restores conviction of James Keegstra for promoting anti-Semitism.

March

3 A Jerusalem bus is bombed; the death toll is 19.

4 Suicide bomb kills at least 14 in Tel Aviv, the fourth such attack in nine days.

11 Lucien Bouchard speaks to a crowd of prominent Montreal anglophones at the Centaur Theatre, assuring them they have a future here but also reaffirming his support for Quebec sovereignty.

13 27 nations and Palestine meet for a one-day summit in Egypt to support the Arab-Israeli peace process.

13 Gunman Thomas Hamilton slaughters 16 children and their teacher in Dunblane, Scotland.

14 Zellers headquarters announces move from Montreal to Toronto, resulting in loss of 550 jobs in Quebec.

20 A Montreal boy, 14, is sentenced to three years in custody for the bludgeoning deaths of Anglican minister Frank Toope and his wife, Jocelyn. On July 8, two other boys receive similar sentences in the case.

-Britain announces possible link between "mad cow disease" and Creutzfeldt-Jakob disease in humans.

23 After weeks of sabre-rattling by China, Taiwanese celebrate the election of Lee Teng-hui as their first democratically elected president.

25 Scottish epic Braveheart is named best picture at Oscars.

27 European Union bans British beef exports worldwide, fearing a serious health risk.

April

3 U.S. federal agents arrest Theodore Kaczynski, suspected of being the Unabomber.

5 Mark Chahal kills his estranged wife and eight others at a family get-together in Vernon, B.C., later commits suicide. It is Canada's second-worst multiple slaying.

Top stories of the year

11 Seven-year-old Jessica Dubroff dies in a crash in her attempt to set a record as the youngest person to pilot a plane across the U.S. Her instructor and father are killed in the same accident.

12 The head of the Office de la Langue Francaise meets with members of the Jewish community and promises that kosher-for Passover food will be exempted from French-labeling requirements next year.

18 The Israeli army fires at a UN camp housing refugees in southern Lebanon, killing 107 civilians.

-Eighteen are killed by gunfire in attack on Greek tourists near the Egyptian pyramids. Islamic Group later claims responsibility for the murders.

24 Ruling Palestinian body revokes clauses in its charter calling for destruction of Israel.

28 Tasmanian gunman Martin Bryant kills 35, injures 18.

May

1 Deputy PM Sheila Copps resigns seat in Commons over election-promise controversy. (She regains seat in by-election June 17.)

2 Richard Barnabe, victim of a beating by MUC police officers while in custody in 1993, dies in hospital.

5 Jose Marie Aznar, leader of Spain's conservative Popular Party, is sworn in as prime minister, after elections end 13 years of Socialist government.

7 In the first war-crime trial since those following World War II, Drazen Erdemovic, an ethnic Croat accused of being part of an execution squad, goes on trial in The Hague.

9 Canada passes bill against gay discrimination, according rights of sexual orientation to all federal employees and those in federally regulated industries.

11 ValuJet DC-9 airliner crashes in the Everglades, killing all 110 aboard.

24 Conrad Black's holdings in Southam Inc. double to 41 per cent.

27 Chechen rebels sign a peace accord with Russia after 17 months of fighting over secession. As many as 40,000 people, mostly Chechen civilians, are estimated to have died in the conflict.

29 Benjamin Netanyahu, of the rightist Likud bloc, is elected prime minister of Israel, beating incumbent Shimon Peres.

30 Prince Andrew and Duchess of York divorce.

June

10 Peace talks between Britain and Northern Ireland begin, but Sinn Fein, the political arm of the IRA, is excluded.

11 Colorado Avalanche wins Stanley Cup over Florida Panthers in four-game sweep.

15 206 injured in IRA bombing in Manchester, England.

24 One hundred rioters are arrested in Quebec City following Fete Nationale celebrations. Six police officers are injured, National Assembly building suffers \$ 200,000 damage.

25 Truck bomb near Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, kills 19 U.S. servicemen at an air-force housing centre. Saudi Islamic militants are later blamed for blast.

Top stories of the year

28 Andre Dallahire is found guilty - but not criminally responsible because of his mental condition - of trying to murder Jean Chretien.

30 Indicted war criminal Radovan Karadzic relinquishes power as Bosnian Serb president.

July

3 Boris Yeltsin wins Russian presidency with 54 per cent of the vote, beating Gennady Zyuganov, head of the Russian Communist Party.

8-12 Hurricane Bertha batters the Caribbean.

10 Participants at the World AIDS Conference, in Vancouver, are told new drugs called protease inhibitors, used with other drugs including AZT, prove 99 per cent effective in eradicating HIV.

17 TWA Flight 800 crashes into the Atlantic after takeoff from John F. Kennedy Airport in New York, killing all 230 aboard.

19-21 Torrential rains in Saguenay region cause floods, killing seven people and causing \$ 700 million in damages. Thousands are forced to leave their homes.

22 Theft of \$ 3 million in Montreal is called largest coin haul in country's history.

27 Pipe bomb kills one, injures more than 100 at Atlanta's Olympic Games site.

30 Pravda, Russia's oldest Communist newspaper, ceases publication.

-Irving Whale barge is lifted from bottom of Gulf of St. Lawrence in \$ 30-million salvage operation.

August

4 Canadians come home from the Atlanta Olympics with 22 medals. Among them is Donovan Bailey, the fastest man on earth, who won two golds - for the 100-metre event and for the 4X100 relay.

6 NASA reports that examination of Martian meteorite appears to show microscopic fossilized life forms.

8 Jean-Louis Roux, a senator and celebrated actor, is named Quebec's lieutenant-governor.

16 Suspect in Belgian prostitution, kidnap, murder case leads police to two captives, three bodies.

26 South Korean court sentences two former presidents. Chun Doo Hwan is to die for mutiny and treason. (The sentence is later overturned.) His successor, Roh Tae Woo, gets 22 years on similar charges, stemming from a 1979 military coup and 1980 massacre.

28 Prince Charles and Diana, Princess of Wales, are officially divorced.

31 The Queen Elizabeth Hospital closes, one of four to shut its doors this year in Montreal. The others are St. Laurent, Lachine General and Ste. Jeanne d'Arc.

September

3 U.S. attacks Iraq with cruise missiles.

4 Israeli leader Netanyahu and Palestine's Arafat meet to try to narrow divisions between two sides.

8 CP Rail holds a street party outside its new Calgary headquarters after pulling up stakes in Montreal.

10 UN adopts Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, which outlaws nuclear testing in air, sea and land.

Top stories of the year

14 Bosnian president Alija Izetbegovic wins chairmanship of three-member Serbian-Croatian-Islamic presidency in Bosnian elections.

u U.S. beats Canadian team in two out of three games in first World Cup hockey series in Montreal.

19 CBC announces 2,500 job cuts and plans to end U.S. programs on CBC-TV.

21 John F. Kennedy Jr. and Carolyn Bessette wed in a small, secret ceremony.

22 Costas Simitis, Socialist prime minister of Greece, is elected for four more years.

24 Justice Jean Bienvenue of Quebec Superior Court announces he will retire in wake of comments he made about women and Jews.

25 Rebel Taliban troops take Kabul, Afghanistan's capital.

25-26 Opening of tunnel under mosque in Jerusalem's old city sparks the worst violence in three years.

26 American astronaut Shannon Lucid returns to Earth after 188 days in space, longest space-stay by a woman.

October

2 26,000 GM workers go on strike.

u Former Quebec premier Robert Bourassa dies, aged 63, after a six-year battle with cancer.

4 David Collenette resigns as defence minister.

5 Keith Milligan is chosen P.E.I. Liberal leader and premier, replacing Catherine Callbeck.

8 Chief of defence staff General Jean Boyle resigns after nine days of testimony in Somalia scandal.

14 American pop star Madonna, 38, gives birth to a daughter, Lourdes Maria.

17 Yeltsin fires retired general Alexander Lebed, his national-security adviser.

20 Japan's Liberal Democratic party wins a near-majority in that country's election, ensuring Prime Minister Hashimoto will stay in office.

22 GM reaches agreement with union on ending three-week strike estimated to have cost Canadian economy \$ 1 billion.

25 Toronto offices, public transit shut down as demonstrators protest against Ontario Tory government.

26 Fighting erupts between Zaire and Rwanda, prompting a mass exodus of Hutu refugees from camps in eastern Zaire.

-New York Yankees defeat Atlanta Braves 3-2 to win the World Series.

28 Chartered banks cut prime lending rate to 5 per cent, the lowest since 1956.

30 Canadian diplomat Raymond Chretien is named UN envoy to central Africa to deal with crisis in Rwanda and Zaire.

31 Brazilian jetliner crashes into Sao Paulo neighborhood; more than 100 killed.

November

5 Bill Clinton wins U.S. presidential election but Republicans retain control of Congress.

Top stories of the year

-Jean-Louis Roux resigns as lieutenant-governor after admitting he wore a Nazi swastika in 1942.

-Boris Yeltsin undergoes quintuple bypass surgery.

-Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto is dismissed on corruption charges.

6 Quebec's chief electoral officer lays record 128 charges of illegal fundraising against Montreal Mayor Pierre Bourque's Vision Montreal party.

12 A Saudi jetliner collides with Kazakh Airlines Ilyushin 11-76 near New Delhi, killing 349. It is the worst midair crash in history.

15 UN Security Council approves multinational force led by Canada to save refugees in central Africa. About 700,000 Rwandan refugees head for Rwandan border.

23 Hijacked airliner crashes off Comoros Islands; 123 killed.

24 Toronto Argonauts beat Edmonton Eskimos to win Grey Cup.

u Lucien Bouchard holds back language and sovereignty hard-liners in his first policy convention as PQ leader and provincial premier.

25 In Belgrade, 100,000 marchers accuse Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic of stealing elections, setting off weeks of protests.

29 Algerian government announces national referendum overwhelmingly approves new constitution banning Islamic political parties.

December

2 Michel Gauthier, head of Bloc Quebecois, quits.

10 Jean Chretien, on a CBC nationally televised town hall, has trouble defending himself on questions of anglo rights and the GST.

11 Shipping magnate Tung Chee-hwa is named next governor of Hong Kong.

12 Expos' Moises Alou signs \$ 25-million deal with Florida Marlins.

17 Peruvian leftist guerrillas called the Tupac Amaru take 485 hostages at the Japanese ambassador's residence in Lima. Hundreds of hostages are soon released.

-Six Red Cross workers are gunned down in their sleep in Grozny, the Chechen capital.

Graphic

Photo: Donovan Bailey: Fastest man on earth

Photo: Oct. 29: Rwandan Hutu refugees push for food at camp in Zaire.

Photo: Lady Diana: Divorce is official

Photo: TWA Flight 800 wreckage.

Top stories of the year

Photo: Israel's Netanyahu: Elected PM of Israel

Photo: March 4: Burning debris and bodies litter a Tel Aviv street in the wake of the fourth suicide bombing in Israel in nine days.

Color Photo: Feb.19- \$ 2 coin enters circulation

Photo: Madonna: Baby girl is born

Photo: Boris Yeltsin: Quintuple bypass

Color Photo: Prime Minister Chretien in scuffle.

Color Photo: Yasser Arafat: Wins election

Load-Date: December 30, 1996

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Mideast intrigues play out at USF

St. Petersburg Times (Florida)

April 28, 1996, Sunday, 0 South Pinellas Edition

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Section: NATIONAL; Pg. 1A

Length: 2259 words

Byline: JAMES HARPER

Dateline: TAMPA

Body

Even for a Sunday, things are strangely quiet today on the University of South Florida campus. The buildings are locked. Students have been sent home a week early.

Those few USF employees who remain are bracing for what could be a tense Monday - the date an anonymous letter writer threatened to kill a professor and blow up a campus building.

The threat could be real. Or it could be nothing.
USF-WISE

Similarly, two very different versions of reality have competed for the university's attention for nearly a year.

In one version, a secretive cabal of Palestinian activists has infiltrated the campus, using the shelter of academia to organize and spread propaganda. At least one member of the group - a USF engineering professor - reportedly raised money for terrorists.

If this is true, then USF leaders may have been negligent, at best, by providing a haven for people who want to kill Israeli civilians.

The other version: Outspoken local Palestinians are being slandered for their political beliefs, which they have made no effort to hide. The evidence linking them to terrorism is little more than a cause in common and a few coincidences. And they were just as surprised as anyone when one of their friends, a mild-mannered academic now known as Ramadan Abdullah Shallah, suddenly emerged as the new leader of Islamic Jihad.

These competing scenarios are being played out in a pending federal investigation, in the media and in a soon-to-be-completed USF inquiry.

The stakes - to USF; to professor Sami Al-Arian, who helped bring Shallah to the United States; to Muslims, Jews and the general public - are enormous.

The university, including President Betty Castor and professors who initially defended Al-Arian and his friends, could be discredited.

Al-Arian could be deported.

Mideast intrigues play out at USF

Israeli and Palestinian partisans around Tampa Bay could lose face if the truths they have seized are revealed as false.

Members of the public who ignored the intrigue now have been drawn in by the bomb scare, received in an oddly worded anonymous letter last month to USF's student newspaper.

The writer claimed connections to both Islamist and neo-Nazi causes. If the letter were not printed - and it wasn't - it said a group of "War Purgers" would kill a white female professor, blow up a campus building and plant a fake bomb in a public eating area to cause "panic and disarray" on April 29.

That's Monday.

USF officials say they have not been able to determine if the letter was serious or a bad joke. They have offered a \$ 10,000 reward for information leading to the conviction of whomever wrote it.

They have also virtually closed down the university. Campus buildings have been locked all weekend and will remain so Monday.

Some anti-terrorism experts say USF may have overreacted to the letter writer's demands.

"My first inclination was to operate as normally as possible," Castor said Friday. "But that was not the strong advice that emanated from local law enforcement. . . . In the final analysis, a lot of employees did not feel safe or secure in being here. We could not force people to operate normally in that kind of environment."

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The evidence against Sami Al-Arian, a USF engineering professor since 1986, appeared to strengthen 10 days ago with the unsealing of two affidavits filed in court by FBI and federal immigration agents.

The affidavits were the first detailed acknowledgment of government suspicions about his activities.

The agents say Al-Arian falsified his 1993 application for U.S. citizenship by failing to include his leadership in two Palestinian groups.

One group, the World and Islam Studies Enterprise, is an independent think tank and academic publisher on Fowler Avenue, about a mile east of USF's Tampa campus. Until the Tampa Tribune started raising questions about Al-Arian and WISE last May, WISE had a formal agreement with USF to co-sponsor scholarly conferences and to share libraries. WISE also supported a USF graduate student.

USF suspended the agreement two weeks after the Tribune's reports - and after an internal review uncovered "serious but not major" irregularities in the graduate student's supervision and in how USF used WISE to obtain a part-time Arabic language instructor without a valid work permit.

Still, USF leaders defended the broader academic purpose of their dealings with WISE.

But when Ramadan Shallah, a former WISE administrator and part-time professor, turned up in Syria as a terrorist leader in October, President Castor said the agreement would not be reinstated.

The other group Al-Arian neglected to mention was the Islamic Committee for Palestine, a more partisan group that has shared office space and leadership with WISE. The ICP published a magazine and sponsored American rallies and conferences during the Palestinian uprising against Israeli occupation, known as the intifada.

The intifada featured peaceful protests and children throwing stones, as well as more bloody terrorist attacks. It officially ended with the signing of the 1993 peace accord between Israel and the PLO.

Mideast intrigues play out at USF

Terrorist attacks have continued, however, from more militant groups like Hamas and Islamic Jihad, who believe the PLO's agreement is insufficient to assure Palestinian sovereignty.

In an interview last year, for example, Al-Arian compared Palestinian self-rule within Israel to the racial apartheid that once characterized South Africa. There will be no peace in the Middle East, Al-Arian said, until both Jews and Muslims are equal citizens and can move freely through one Islamic state, which would include tolerance for religious diversity.

Al-Arian has made less charitable remarks about Israel in other settings. A transcript of a 1991 ICP rally in Chicago, when the intifada was still going on, quotes Al-Arian as saying "Victory is for Islam. Death to Israel."

In last year's interview, Al-Arian insisted that his ICP work was merely to rally the faithful and to spread the word about the Palestinian cause.

He denied that the ICP magazine was used to raise money for terrorists. He said critics have been able to point to only one article in a single issue, in which an independent writer briefly referred to a Muslim's duty to support the armed struggle in Palestine. Once peace was signed, there were no more ICP rallies and the magazine is now defunct, he said.

Federal agents, however, believe WISE and the ICP were not as innocent as Al-Arian claims.

Al-Arian hid his affiliations in his own citizenship application. But he openly used WISE to bring both Shallah and another Palestinian intellectual, Basheer Nafi, into the country, immigration agent William West said in an affidavit. Al-Arian filed visa applications twice for each man. Each time the stated purpose was to hire them at WISE.

Given his recent selection to be Islamic Jihad's leader, few people doubt Shallah's long involvement with the group. Nafi's link is based on a confidential informant and a Jordanian newspaper article that listed him among a group of leading Jihad members, West said. (Nafi now works for another Islamic think tank in Washington, D.C. A secretary said he was traveling last week and could not be reached for comment.)

In West's view, WISE is a classic "front" organization, whose legitimate purpose is used to shield fund-raising and other illegal support for terrorists. If Al-Arian used WISE to bring terrorist leaders into this country, he would be in violation of federal immigration laws, West said.

Al-Arian's defenders note that West's theory was used to gain permission to search Al-Arian's home and WISE offices. The burden of proof in such a petition is less than would be required for an indictment, much less a conviction.

Al-Arian's lawyer says his efforts were innocent. At this point, he has not been charged.

His citizenship application, however, was denied in February. Al-Arian is challenging the denial in federal court. He has been a legal U.S. resident since 1975. Without citizenship, though, authorities can move to deport him if he is charged with a felony.

Al-Arian had been under investigation by Florida authorities for voting in a 1994 Hillsborough County election when he wasn't a citizen. But a state prosecutor said Friday he would not be charged.

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USF's culpability may be the most vexing question to many people on and off campus.

Castor has said a university does not have the investigative prowess of the FBI. She says proper inquiries were made, but that USF cannot take action against a professor for his political beliefs in the absence of criminal charges.

Mideast intrigues play out at USF

But did USF leaders ignore other warnings?

Some Jewish professors complain privately about what they perceive as a Palestinian tilt in the school's Middle East course offerings. They and others from Tampa Bay's Jewish community are particularly concerned about the Committee for Middle Eastern Studies, an interdisciplinary group of professors appointed by then-provost Gerry Meisels in 1991.

The committee made the agreement with WISE, and the two groups together arranged roundtable discussions between controversial Islamic leaders and American military and academic specialists. Transcripts show the sessions were indeed scholarly conferences, not political rallies.

USF committee members say WISE never compromised USF's impartial mission. Other committee activities included sessions with Israeli and American leaders.

Shallah was not a member of the committee, but as an adjunct professor, and as editor of a scholarly journal and administrative director for WISE, he was familiar. He never displayed any violent beliefs, committee members say. They knew him as a moderate.

Shallah taught Middle Eastern politics to between 40 and 80 USF students over two semesters. According to Daniel Berman of the Hillel Jewish Student Association, one student complained that Shallah would not use the name of Israel. The Times was unable to locate her.

But Michael Gibbons, USF's chairman of government and international studies, says student evaluations indicated nothing unusual about Shallah's first semester. Some complaints about Shallah's class attendance arose during the second semester, but only at the end did one student complain about ideological bias. Gibbons says he had already decided not to rehire Shallah.

Al-Arian says he never knew his friend was involved with Islamic Jihad. Arthur Lowrie, another parttime professor and retired U.S. foreign service officer, says that's not surprising, given that Shallah was so far underground that, before October, he seems to have escaped the notice of U.S. officials and even the Mossad, Israel's vaunted intelligence agency.

Others aren't so sure.

In the face of such questions, Castor in January appointed a respected Tampa lawyer and former USF president, Wm. Reece Smith, to conduct a new inquiry. She asked Smith to do whatever he needed to determine if USF had carelessly let itself be taken in by Palestinian radicals.

Smith says he'll make his report by mid-May. Among the issues he may address:

A thesis written by a USF graduate student in 1991 that identified Basheer Nafi as a leader of Islamic Jihad. The thesis was read and approved by three faculty members on the Committee for Middle Eastern Studies two months before Nafi came to Tampa to help forge the agreement with WISE. But it is unclear exactly which committee members met with Nafi. One of them who read the thesis and met Nafi said he never made the connection. He has since become one of the committee's harshest critics for its dealings with WISE.

An early warning from anthropology professor Ailon Shiloh, then the only Jewish member of the committee, about the true nature of WISE. Lowrie says Shiloh would not be specific about his concerns. Committee chair Mark Orr recalls that Shiloh was interested mainly in where WISE got its money - an interest the committee shared. After WISE officials said most of their support came from an established Islamic organization in Washington, the committee was satisfied, and Shiloh participated in WISE events, Orr and Lowrie said.

Shiloh, now retired, could not be reached.

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Mideast intrigues play out at USF

This controversy reads like a spy story: terrorism, espionage, secret identities, and an infiltrated university.

But like all such stories, it has been hard to tell where the truth is.

USF officials faced a similar quandary with the bomb threat.

Anti-terrorism experts have scoffed at the obvious inconsistencies in the letter: the illogic of warning people about a fake bomb, the unusually long waiting period, the highly unlikely alliance of Islamic and neo-Nazi terrorists.

"It's just so bizarre," said Howard Levinson, a security consultant in Norton, Mass. "It's like Golda Meir sitting down with Hitler for dinner."

In this story, there is one truth that can't be disputed.

When Monday dawns, anything could happen.

FBI agents search

USF dormitory room

TAMPA - The FBI isn't saying why its agents searched a USF dorm room Friday night.

FBI spokesman Brian Kensel said Saturday that no arrests were made in the 7:30 p.m. search, done after a warrant was signed and sealed by a federal magistrate. He would not say what, if anything, was found because it is possible evidence in an ongoing investigation.

The few students still living in on-campus housing were forced earlier Friday to relocate until Tuesday. The move was part of efforts to increase security.

- Times staff writer Charles Hoskinson contributed to this report.

Graphic

BLACK AND WHITE PHOTO; Professor Sami Al-Arian

Load-Date: April 30, 1996

Hebron Massacre: Israelis can be terrorists too; The litany of Middle East atrocities, says Robert Fisk, reveals a double standard over 'enemies of peace'

The Independent (London)

February 27, 1994, Sunday

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Section: THE WORLD PAGE; Page 17

Length: 1971 words

Byline: ROBERT FISK

Body

CHAFIC EL-HOUT drew heavily on his third cigarette. "Just imagine if this crime had been committed by a Palestinian in a synagogue," he said. "Imagine this: almost 50 Israelis slaughtered by a lone Palestinian gunman. What would have been the world's reaction this morning?" Yasser Arafat's former ambassador to Beirut was angry. "Answer me," he shouted. "What would have been the world's reaction?"

It was a difficult question. For a start, the world would have called the gunman a "terrorist". Any group with which he was associated would have been dubbed a "terrorist group". Any country harbouring such a "terrorist group" would have been threatened with immediate sanctions. And the American president would no doubt have condemned the deed, quite rightly, as a "wicked crime".

But that, of course, was not the case. Baruch Goldstein, the Hebron gunman, was an Israeli in Israeli army uniform. And no journalist - not a single Western newspaper or television station - called him a "terrorist". Goldstein was associated with the right-wing Jewish Kach movement. But the Kach is legal in Israel. It has offices in New York.

And President Bill Clinton - following the policy of previous US administrations when an Israeli, rather than a Palestinian, is to blame for a massacre - described the slaughter at the Tomb of the Patriarch as "a gross act of murder", which it clearly was, but also a "terrible tragedy", as if the dead were victims of some natural disaster, such as an earthquake or tidal wave.

Down the road from el- Hout's Beirut home, around the Palestinian camp of Mar Elias, black flags snapped from lamp poles, telephone wires and walls. "You damned people helped the Zionists," a woman screamed at me. "We don't count for you. We are animals."

In the cramped offices of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, Suheil Natour's voice growled in fury. "I wonder why the West was prepared to act to protect the Bosnians when 68 of them were killed in the Sarajevo market," he said. "And then I wonder why, when almost the same number of Palestinians are killed in a mosque, you people do nothing to protect us. The Palestinians are so weak that the Israelis repeat their crimes against us."

There followed a familiar litany: Deir Yassin, Sabra and Chatila, Rishon Lezion - all places swamped in Palestinian blood.

Hebron Massacre: Israelis can be terrorists too; The litany of Middle East atrocities, says Robert Fisk, reveals a double standard over 'enemies of peace'

It should be said that the Arab states, so loud in their condemnation of Friday's massacre in Hebron, have little moral authority to point the finger of guilt. Egypt may denounce the murders, but its police force is systematically torturing hundreds of Muslim prisoners in Cairo and Assiout. Jordan can condemn the bloodbath while forgetting the slaughter of infinitely more Palestinians by the Jordanian army in 1970. Syria can denounce Israel while ignoring the thousands cut down by the Syrian army in Hama in 1982.

ISRAELIS, too, have a list of atrocities to hold against the Palestinians: a bomb which killed 12 Israelis in a Jerusalem market in 1968; a Palestinian- inspired shooting at Tel Aviv airport that killed 25 people, including several Israelis, in 1972; the massacre of 11 members of Israel's Olympic team at Munich the same year; the killing of 16 civilians at Kiryat Shmona in 1974; the killing of 21 children at Maalot in 1974. And the list continues.

But the special fury of the Arabs - of ordinary Arabs, not their unelected leaders - was directed yesterday at the double standards of the West; of the Americans and Europeans, of the Western press, as well as of the Israelis themselves.

Why were we so surprised at the murders in Hebron, Palestinians in Mar Elias were asking yesterday? They wanted to know if we had forgotten Sabra and Chatila. Had we forgotten how, every time a Palestinian killed an Israeli he was a "terrorist", but every time an Israeli killed a Palestinian he was a "deranged Jewish settler", "an American immigrant", or from a group of "underground Jewish fighters", but never, never a "terrorist"?

Trawling through the archives yesterday was, therefore, a rather unsettling business.

On 9 April, 1948, for example, Irgun gunmen - "terrorists" by any other name - massacred almost 200 Arab men, women and children in the village of Deir Yassin. Many of the women were disembowelled.

How were the killers described in the report by the American news agency, Associated Press? As "radical underground Jewish fighters".

In October 1956, 43 Palestinian civilians in the Israeli town of Kafr Kashem were massacred by Israeli troops for innocently breaking a curfew. Then, in 1982, Israeli troops sent their Falangist militia allies into Sabra and Chatila camps in Beirut, where up to 800 Palestinian men, women and children - the figure may be as high as 2,000 - were murdered.

Curiously, this particular slaughter does not appear in the Associated Press list of major "attacks between Israelis and Palestinians" since 1948. Israel's own Kahan commission of inquiry, which indirectly accused Ariel Sharon, the defence minister, of responsibility, noted how, over a period of 36 hours, Israeli soldiers around the camps witnessed some of the killings - but did nothing.

On 20 May 1990, an Israeli soldier lined up a group of Palestinian labourers at Rishon Lezion and murdered seven of them with a sub-machine gun. The slaughter was fully covered by the international press, of course, although the word "terrorist" was not used. The soldier, it was explained, was deranged.

In subsequent rioting, 13 more Palestinians were killed. Five months later, the Israeli police opened fire on Palestinians in Jerusalem, killing 19 men. As US Secretary of State, it was James Baker's lot to comment on this massacre. He did not call it a "massacre". He spoke of it as a "tragedy" - the word used by President Clinton on Friday.

This list of horror is not comprehensive, but an interesting pattern emerges from it. When Palestinians massacre Israelis, we regard them as evil men. When Israelis slaughter Palestinians, America and other Western nations find it expedient to regard these crimes as tragedies, misunderstandings or the work of individual madmen. Palestinians - in the generic, all-embracing sense of the word - are held to account for these terrible deeds. Israel is not. Thus, over the years, a strange confusion has emerged in the Western response to Israeli misdeeds, a reaction that is ultimately as damaging to Israel as it is to the West itself. When Israeli soldiers or settlers murder Palestinians, they are semantically "isolated" from their country.

Hebron Massacre: Israelis can be terrorists too; The litany of Middle East atrocities, says Robert Fisk, reveals a double standard over 'enemies of peace'

Baruch Goldstein, was an Israeli army reservist holding the rank of major. But in news reports on Friday his "identity" undertook a weird transformation. No longer referred to as an Israeli soldier, even though he was wearing his army uniform and carrying his military- issue gun; by Friday night he was being called "an American Jewish immigrant".

In the space of just 12 hours, the United States had been gently touched by the man's guilt; and by the same process, his Israeli "identity" had begun to fade.

Yet when Israel as a state is clearly involved in the taking of innocent Arab life - in the massive air raids on Beirut in 1982, for example, in which the Israeli air force was, in early June, killing more than 200 civilians a day - moral guilt was also avoided. These were not "terrorist" actions; these were military operations against "terrorist targets".

The same twisted semantics were applied to last July's Israeli bombardment of southern Lebanon. In revenge for the killing of nine Israeli soldiers inside its occupation zone, Israel attacked the villages of southern Lebanon, killing more than 100 men, women and children - almost double the number of innocents slaughtered in Hebron on Friday - and putting 300,000 civilian refugees on the road to Beirut.

As one of the few reporters in Lebanon at the time, I watched women and children shrieking with pain in the hospital wards, their bodies plastered with burns from Israeli phosphorous shells. This "operation", which killed so many innocents, cost - according to the Israeli finance minister last week - \$ 33m, a bill that Washington helps to underwrite.

And President Clinton's reaction? He blamed the Hizbollah - which killed the nine Israeli soldiers - for all the deaths, then called on "all sides" to exercise "restraint".

AMID this obfuscation, a new rationale has been laid out in the Middle East. It goes like this: America is running a "peace process". Anyone who is for it is a friend. That includes Israel, of course, and even Yasser Arafat, so suddenly metamorphosed from super-terrorist into statesman once he recognised Israel. It includes Egypt and Jordan and Saudi Arabia.

But any Arab who believes the Arafat-Rabin agreement is flawed, any Arab who opposes it, objects to it, disagrees with it - however non-violently - or says anything that might damage it, is transformed into an enemy; or, more specifically, in the words of the US press, becomes an "enemy of peace".

Thus, by extension, anyone opposing America's policy in the region - anyone opposing Israel - is an enemy of peace. This all-embracing, generic phrase leads to grotesque distortion. Last year, for example, rioting broke out in Gaza when Israeli troops had dynamited and rocketed the homes of 17 Palestinian families after the killing of a Hamas gunman.

But when the Cable News Network showed a tape of one of the rioters stoning Israeli troops, it described him as "protesting at the peace process". If he was fighting Israelis, he must have been an "enemy of peace".

Even if that had been his cause of complaint, it was clearly regarded as illegitimate. Yet it is the PLO-Israeli agreement which - in many Palestinian eyes - has permitted Israel to keep both troops and settlements in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip.

It is Arafat, for tens of thousands of his detractors, who has "legitimised" the Jewish settlements, from which came the killer who massacred the Palestinians of Hebron.

But because American newspapers and television networks also do not want to be regarded as "enemies of peace", many in the West still do not realise just how disastrously Yasser Arafat's peace accord with Israel is disintegrating; nor why Israel is being directly blamed by Palestinians for the Hebron massacre.

Hebron Massacre: Israelis can be terrorists too; The litany of Middle East atrocities, says Robert Fisk, reveals a double standard over 'enemies of peace'

The Israeli government denies any involvement. But that does not mean that Israel is not responsible for the slaughter. For it was Israel's settlement policy, Israel's occupation, Israel's arming of the settlers, and the subsequent Palestinian opposition to that Israeli occupation, which led directly to the bloodbath in Hebron.

If the murderer's act was an "individual" one, it was also inevitable. In any environment where opponents of Israel are dehumanised into "terrorist", where Israeli criminals are treated on a different moral plain from Palestinian criminals, such crimes will be committed. Baruch no doubt saw Arabs as "terrorists" - the same corrosive word that led the Israelis into their Lebanon adventure - and walked into the Hebron mosque on Friday morning in order to exorcise the demons that we had all helped to create for him.

As for Arafat, he could do no more than watch helplessly from the safety of Tunis. "Nobody cares for him - not even the Israelis, I think," el-Hout said yesterday, with just a hint of sympathy.

"He has burned all his bridges. I don't think there is a conspiracy as such against him. But the massacre in Hebron has put the man, poor man, on the edge of a cliff. If he doesn't jump off, he will be pushed.

"These killings in Hebron were the official sentence of execution for him as a leader. For Arafat now, anywhere in the world is safer than Palestine."

(Photographs omitted)

Load-Date: February 27, 1994

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OUR FIGHT IS RIGHTEOUS

Star Tribune (Minneapolis, MN)
December 10, 1993, Metro Edition

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Section: News; News with a view; Pg. 18A

Length: 1894 words

Byline: Martha Sawyer Allen; Staff Writer

Body

Two-thirds of the 70 armed conflicts in the world are based on religion. The Muslims and Orthodox Christians in what was Yugoslavia; Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland; Muslims and Hindus in India and the Jews and Palestians who continue to fight over the land of the biblical prophets. No major world religion has been exempt: Shintos, Christians, Muslims, Hindus, Buddhists, Jews.

Religion, alone of all human expressions, has the ability to soothe our souls, to satisfy the almost universal longing for meaning in the universe, to build cultural and social bridges and feed and clothe the destitute, lonely and cast adrift.

But, it can also speak to humanity's darkest side. As if validating the meanest, ugliest in us.

A clear example of this paradox is Jerusalem, the city on the hill that is sacred to three of the world's major religions - Judaism, Christianity and Islam. It has also been destroyed 17 times in the past 2,000 years.

I will never forget standing on a piece of ancient Roman road in the middle of Jerusalem in 1987. The guide pointed out various levels of rock in the walls. We were standing on a road built before the time of Jesus, he said. Then he calmly outlined the various stages of Jerusalem, through the destruction of the Crusades and Turkish invasions, up the levels of rock in the walls.

Then he paused and casually said, "The roof is new. It was blown off in the '67 war." That's 1967. The third of the four major Arab-Israeli wars since 1948.

I could only stand there and wonder when it would be blown off again. And I also understood, on a deeply held emotional level, just what it meant to me, a Christian. By that time in my journey I had come to "own" Jerusalem, as well as all of Israel too. This is the land of Sunday School stories for me. This is where Jesus walked and preached and died and was resurrected.

It is one of the places that defines me, who I am. Where I fit in the world.

The Parthenon in Athens speaks to me as the home of the great philosophers who form my civilization. So too the plain at Runnymede where King John was forced to give the landed gentry their rights in the Magna Carta. And Freedom Hall in Philadelphia, where the country's founders wrote our extraordinary constitution.

OUR FIGHT IS RIGHTEOUS

But those places speak to my head. Jerusalem speaks to my heart. As I stood on the Roman road that day I, as someone who hates all forms of violence, knew I would fight to protect Jerusalem. I knew it mattered to me very much to keep that city open to all faiths, thereby keeping it open to me.

However, I'm not so sure I trust "just anyone" to have control over that city. I'm not sure I trust those of faiths different from my own to keep the town secure for me.

And therein lies the problem of religion in the world.

The Latin word "religio means that which binds us together," said Duane Cady, professor of philosophy at Hamline University in St. Paul. When people find "that which defines them as a people, then, to the extent that another religion serves that same function for another people it sets up a framework for animosity. It sets up the idea of the other - that which sets us apart."

This means war

Religious fervor has fueled wars since the dawn of civilization, and no religion or continent has been exempt.

The Medieval Christians in Europe forged out to "reclaim" the Holy Land from the "heathen" Turks.

Christian clerics developed a "just war" theory long ago. Europeans conquered America, wiping out entire native nations, convinced in "manifest destiny," their God-given right to the land. The Spanish conquistadors practiced genocide in central and south America in order to claim the land for Christianity.

In this century, Nazi Germany used some of the teachings of Martin Luther to justify their extermination of the Jews. Japanese kamikaze pilots in World War II entered their planes in the last day of their lives convinced they were going straight into the arms of God.

Today, the nation of Iran, and the Palestinian group Hamas preach the Islamic doctrine of Jihad or Holy War.

Religion is often used as the rationale for going to war when there are a host of other "real" issues, like tribal identity, economics, land, freedom, or as in the Gulf War, oil.

William Vendley, director of the New York-based World Conference on Religion and Peace, said, "You've allowed your symbols of evil to identify the threat, and then you feel legitimized by religion to fight them. Religious fanatics act out of their own motivations and they think they're fighting the great satan."

Tolerating diversity

Religion can become the defining feature of a culture. Constantine's embrace of Christianity enabled that faith to dominate the Western world. Some European countries still have official state churches. In the Middle East, many nations have governments based either entirely or partly on Islamic law. Shinto in Japan and Confucianism in ancient China were of the same body as the government.

"Whenever a tradition becomes dominant it tends to view rival outlooks and traditions as a threat," says the Rev. Bob Willis, chairman of Hamline's religion department. "And to a degree, rightfully so. The alternative points of view threaten not only your 'truth' claims, but also the foundations of the way you see reality. It's perceived as a very deep sort of threat."

Willis says, "The whole concept of religious tolerance, of diversity, is a fairly recent development." The Inquisition terrorized Christians during the 13th century in its campaign to ferret out those whose beliefs were suspect.

In America, the Puritan settlement in New England hanged 19 women and pressed to death one man, all of whom acted differently from group. Defenders of slavery propped up the Bible and their faith to justify their actions.

Still, the United States is a place based on religious freedom. There is no state church. We are largely a secular society. "We're in a age when religious viewpoints are not taken as terribly serious," Willis said.

OUR FIGHT IS RIGHTEOUS

Ironically, that tolerance has left Americans a little confused and surprised at how important religion is in the rest of the world at this end of the century.

The Rev. Martin Marty said, "I think we were in a very funny little part of the world where religion didn't look that way. It was safe, it was domestic, it was bourgeois, it was cozy, it was therapeutic, and we assumed it was dying. We hadn't paid much attention to the rest of the world, but all of a sudden the century ends with more religious stories than anything else on the front page, and I think that surprise makes religion look even bigger than it was."

When religion becomes fundamentalism it also veers off into dangerous territory. A New Jersey Islamic group last year felt it had to destroy a building at the heart of an "evil" country's power center. So it bombed the World Trade Center. Fundamentalism is by its very definition less flexible.

"Fundamentalism, in many forms, is a more radical expression, which draws upon the aggressive, boundary defining oppositional side of religion," said Scott Appleby, of the Fundamentalism Project in Chicago. Fundamentalists of any faith, "would say 'we have to do God's bidding and we know what that is,' " he continued.

"The core teachings of all the world's faiths, in their sacred scriptures, Christianity, Islam, Judaism, Hinduism, Sikhism, Buddhism, all counsel compassion to the suffering, service to the poor, forgiveness to one's enemy and love. When followers go beyond that they stray from the essential identity of those religions and they have to make very complex justifications for doing so."

The source of great good, and bad

Both a Mother Teresa and a fanatic who bombs a Marine barracks on a suicide mission "are both responding to the sacred," Appleby said. "Religion ought to encourage the Mother Teresas. They're both religious acts, but one of them confuses that power with the purposes of a particular political group. Another sees that God's purposes are humanity, aside from just the tribe. The terrorist says this power is just the power of his tribe."

Daniel Batson, a professor of psychology at the University of Kansas believes that the more pernicious aspect of religion can come not when using it to justify actions against an enemy but in whipping up people to go to war against someone who isn't a threat.

"Religion offers a benefit, but it also places expectations on the individual," he said. "There's the notion of the call. To the degree that you feel you are called to do this or that. It doesn't have to be a burden. Mother Teresa was motivated by a sense of call. Fortunately it took her in a positive direction. There are other people who feel they have the call and it happens to call them to trample on other people."

Becoming more dangerous

Two things have exacerbated religious violence: Colonialism and its end, and the advances in weapons technology.

Marty said in the St. Petersburg, Fla., Times, "The end of colonialism, or the end of great power subjugation, has given people the liberty to go the way they do. And the other thing is the volatility and efficiency of weaponry. It's one thing to have tribes fight in the name of their gods more or less the way people play pro football - that is, on Sunday afternoon they'd go out and bash a few people, go back to their side of the hill and nobody would come back. It's another thing to have World Trade Center bombs and someday nuclear devices and the ability to interrupt international economies."

Vendley has a slightly different answer, "What has gone awry is our language of evil. Ignorance about the way things really are. That language is precious. It's how to know if something's wrong. In a secularized world we've lost the symbols of salvation and the symbols of evil. That's a form of amnesia, and we have a hard time figuring out what's right and wrong."

OUR FIGHT IS RIGHTEOUS

Pretty soon, people "begin to identify their cosmic sense of evil with another tribe, another community. Then you're in the dangerous situation in which the deep sense of reality that religion gives us is used as legitimization of the most heinous acts."

Conflict sites

1 Northern Ireland

Christian vs. Christian.

Fight for independent state.

2 Bosnia

Christian vs. Muslim vs. Christian.

War among former Yugoslav states.

3 North Ossetia

Christian vs. Muslim.

Regional civil war.

4 Nagorno-Karabakh

Christian vs. Muslim.

War between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

5 Iraq

Muslim vs. Muslim.

Persecution of Kurds in the north, and Shiites in the south.

6 Israel vs. West Bank

Jewish vs. Muslim vs. Christian.

War for independent Palestinian state.

7 Afghanistan

Muslim vs. Muslim.

General civil war.

8 Tajikistan

Muslim vs. Communist.

General civil war.

9 China

Buddhist vs. Communist.

Conflict to achieve an independent religious/ethnic state.

OUR FIGHT IS RIGHTEOUS

10 Kashmir

Muslim vs. Hindu.

Conflict to achieve an independent religious vs. ethnic state.

11 Punjab

Hindu vs. Sikh.

Regional civil war.

12 Sri Lanka

Buddhist vs. Hindu vs. Muslim.

Regional civil wars.

13 Tamil Nadu

Hindu vs. Muslim.

Regional civil wars.

14 Myanmar

Buddhist vs. Christian vs. Muslim.

Regional civil war.

15 Sudan

Muslim vs. Christian vs. Animist

War to enforce strict religious law.

16 East Timor

Muslim vs. Christian.

Regional civil war.

17 Bougainville

Christian vs. Christian.

Regional civil war.

Source: The State of Religion Atlas

Graphic

Map

OUR FIGHT IS RIGHTEOUS

Load-Date: December 10, 1993

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LETTERS

The Tampa Tribune (Florida)

June 18, 1995, Sunday,

METRO EDITION

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Section: COMMENTARY,

Length: 2221 words

Body

It seems clear that some of your readers who criticize the reporting by the Tribune on the University of South Florida/Al-Arian matter are missing an important point. The question is not whether or not Professor Sami Al-Arian has done anything illegal. It is rather a question of whether or not a salaried member of the USF faculty should be allowed to raise money for two self-avowed terrorist groups - the Islamic Jihad and Hamas - while at the same time enjoying the perquisites of his role as teacher at USF.

The reasons for blowing up an airliner or an embassy or a busload of women and children are not the point. The Oklahoma federal building and the World Trade Center may have been, in the minds of the perpetrators, symbols of "evil government" (who knows?) and the bombings, therefore, "justified."

The issue is not defined selectively. All terrorist acts should be unconditionally condemned, and support for any one of these should not be shared - even indirectly - by one of our universities.

JAMES HARRELL Tampa

I wish to express my condolences to Tribune letter writers Wanda Hamilton and Trina Berman. These two (along with about 25 percent of the people in this country) still insist that smoking is not injurious to health - in spite of vital statistics that indicate a death toll of 450,000 similarly deluded souls who die in this country each year from "smoking or smoking-related causes."

Vital statistics are available to document that smoking causes more deaths per year than all the items listed by Berman combined. (Reference: American Cancer Society, American Lung Association, Association for Smoking and Health, former Surgeon General Koop, etc., etc.)

These addicts refuse to face facts. I am reminded of one of my friends who smoked heavily. He had one entire lung and one-third of the second removed at Shands Hospital in Gainesville. When he died six months later, his wife staunchly insisted that he "died from heart failure - not from lung cancer!" Of course. The loss of most of his breathing equipment caused an "overload" on his poor heart.

The pity of it is you cannot convince a dedicated user that smoking is injurious and addictive. In addition to all the senseless medical expense (partially paid for by the nonsmoking public), it is a fact that the federal government does subsidize tobacco farmers and also promotes overseas use of tobacco. We "nonaddicts" are paying to support the nasty, dirty habit in every way.

LETTERS

One Supreme Court justice (I believe it was Charles Hughes) expressed the opinion: "Your right to swing your fist stops at the point of the other fellow's nose." I believe the right to "pollute my air" stops when the polluted air reaches my nose.

I just hope that Berman never has to watch her mother die from emphysema (caused by smoking). I did, and believe me, it is a terrible way to go. E.W. MARTIN Brooksville

Though it baffles me how a member of the Tampa Sports Authority can have no idea that ticket revenue from a Bucs game is split 60-40 with the visiting team, my main concern is with the team's long-term existence in the Bay area. The ticket guarantee proposed by Hillsborough County Commissioner Jim Norman is significant in terms of portraying an area that recognizes the importance of having a National Football League representative, but in the big picture, keeping the Bucs must be our No. 1 objective.

Perhaps it's best to see what amount we can persuade the private sector to give toward a new stadium before any of the public's money is committed. This is fine as long as there is a realization that some public money will eventually be needed. So for now, I hope that our elected officials are doing their homework by looking ahead and searching for the best possible source of funding that affects the public the least.

Keep in mind that if the funding option goes to any type of referendum, regardless of how the team does on the field this season, it will fail. This is why our elected officials have to make the best decision for this community.

The Buccaneers are an asset we cannot afford to lose. The average citizen may not be able to see the true value of having a team, but elected officials should. The cities of Baltimore and St. Louis thought they were doing the right thing by not supporting new stadiums, but now realize what an expensive mistake it was. They are now willing to pay twice what was originally asked. We are in an identical situation, except that our team has not left - yet. We may never get the chance to get an NFL team again.

If every possible source of private dollars is utilized for a new stadium, the remaining balance must be paid by the general public. No matter if it comes in the form of a restaurant tax, a hotel tax, some type of users fee, etc.; the price is small compared with the benefits of having had and still having a premiere sports franchise. TODD EUGENE PATRICK Tampa

In his article "How to succeed in Bosnia" (June 7), A.M. Rosenthal claims that "giving the Bosnian Serbs self-government" would be the only way to stop the Bosnian tragedy and save the Clinton administration from further embarrassment.

If the Serbs should be officially given the right to separate from Croatia or Bosnia and join with Serbia into an ethnically clean "Greater Serbia," this would represent the total defeat for the democratic world and the human rights and values that it is based upon. Furthermore, it would reward the Serbs' policy of ethnic cleansing, mass rape and concentration camps that have resulted in millions of refugees and left more than 200,000 civilians dead.

After three years of brutal aggression carried out by the terrorist Serbian army, the international community is unable to realize that negotiations with Serbian leaders will result only in empty promises. It is the same kind of negotiations that led to the Munich pact of 1938; if the Western governments think they can appease Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, they should have tried harder with Adolf Hitler back in 1938.

The only way to succeed in Bosnia is to withdraw the U.N. peacekeepers, whose mission completely failed. The next step would be to lift the arms embargo that denied the Bosnian and Croatian people the basic human right to defend themselves. Hence, it would establish the necessary balance of power on the battlefield, forcing the Serbs to agree upon a compromise. But most important, it would stop the genocide. OLIVER MIHALJEVIC Valrico

Keep Highlands Beautiful Inc., Keep Florida Beautiful Inc. and Keep America Beautiful Inc. all salute the Highlands County school system and the Mobil Chemical Corp. for participating in the School Lunch Foam Materials Recycling program.

LETTERS

Thanks to The Tampa Tribune, Heartland section, for the June 3 story by Pam Noles informing the reading public about this commendable effort to begin changing the attitudes of our young people toward handling solid waste. This is one of the objectives of the aforementioned programs, which Highlands has become a part of on a state and national basis.

As one of only four school districts nationwide involved in the trial program and the only one in Florida, Highlands is as always at the forefront of innovative and cost-saving programs in government. Think about the tax dollars being saved in this effort, as well as the education provided to our young people.

The Mobil Chemical official involved says it all: "People want to recycle, but for a school district, their major challenge is educating children. This is a way to protect the environment as well as enjoy the cost savings involved and not spend an inordinate amount of time trying to do it."

So the bottom line is simple: Educate the people to change their attitudes toward solid waste management, and start as young as possible.

Again, thanks to all involved in this efforts. AUDREY VICKERS Sebring The writer is the coordinator of Keep Highlands Beautiful Inc.

At a news conference following the fifth operation on wounded Officer Michael Vigil, Dr. James Hurst was asked if he would term Mike's survival as a miracle. He indicated that the whole event would be classified as such on the day that Mike went home from the hospital. He came home a couple of weeks ago. His return was just as he wanted, unassuming and unpublicized. The neighborhood quietly welcomed him back, looking forward to the return of normalcy.

As a police officer and a friend of Mike's, I would like to say thank you to our community. To the employees of Tampa General Hospital, there are no words that could sufficiently express the gratitude of each law enforcement officer. The doctors and medical personnel worked tirelessly and around the clock to save both officers' lives. Following the initial surgery on Mike, which lasted many hours, one of the attending surgeons sat in a chair next to his bed and simply watched him throughout the night. Each is a true saint in ordinary clothing.

These doctors will never know the effect of their actions on every law enforcement officer in this area. Each of us has a similar response to the news of an officer being injured, "There, but for the grace of God, go I." A small part of each of us lay on the stretcher with those officers who were wounded. The heroic actions of these doctors not only saved the lives of Mike and Kevin, they also restored a little life and a lot of faith in every officer. Thank you from us all.

Law enforcement is truly the thin blue line that separates citizens from the criminals or, more dramatically, civilization from anarchy. When this line is breached, a certain level of concern and support follows naturally from the community. What occurred in the wake of this tragic event was overwhelming. One look at the hundreds of people who lined up to give blood the following morning was enough to bring tears to the eyes of the most hardened cop.

There were hundreds of cards and letters from schoolchildren - some imploring us not to think that all kids are bad. A sad commentary on the attention given delinquents, at the expense of those well-behaved. Others indicated that they had decided to become police officers when they grew up.

Although it should have been expected, the community's reaction to this horrific incident and the outpouring of support caught us all by surprise. As indicated above, there are no adequate phrases to signify our gratitude. We were each deeply touched by this display. However unfortunate the circumstances, many will carry this memory forever.

The malicious wounding of officers Mike Vigil and Kevin Howell assaulted everyone's sense of decency. As a result, the community banded together, and the response was admirable. Before time pushes this incident into the recesses of our minds, I would remind you that we each have a responsibility to our community. It is not enough to

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expect that someone else will mend our societal ills. We must each take an active role in the betterment of our community. JANE CASTOR Tampa The writer is a sergeant with the Tampa Police Department.

On June 12, the Tribune published an editorial with the headline "Don't buy national sales tax." I would like to expand upon that sentiment - perhaps with my own headline, which would state "Consider responsible changes in the tax code carefully."

The last major revision of the tax code in 1986 had a more profound effect on the economy than anyone who voted for it in Congress would ever have anticipated. Some may have forgotten about the billions of dollars taxpayers had to funnel into the Resolution Trust Corp. when many previously healthy banks and savings and loans became insolvent because of the collapse of the commercial real estate market. Wise real estate investments based upon legal tax shelters quickly became poor deals for lenders and owners.

The U.S. economy is so tightly interwoven with the tax code that any change, even so modest, has a cascading effect. People generally do not understand what the real impact would be if we switched to a national sales tax, a value-added tax or a flat tax. As you stated in your editorial, most of the leading legislators have some version of tax reform on their agendas. They all want to be the architect of the "Tax Reform Act of the End of the Twentieth Century."

Listen to the people. All we want is to pay less taxes and have a simplified system. We don't want politicians to impose on us revisions that help them with their self-promotion or their partisan politics. We don't want to lose with the camouflage of gain.

The flat tax is a good example. It may indeed be easier to fill out a post card return, but when we lose the deduction for the interest we pay on our homes and our communities lose the tax-free advantage of municipal bonds - what have we really gained? Some have argued that the home mortgage interest deduction is the largest entitlement program the federal government offers. Maybe so, but a substantial part of our economy has been built on this availability.

There is no way to start from scratch and build an absolutely fair tax code when you have an existing economy. There will always be winners and losers. I implore our members of Congress to thoroughly consider all the proposed changes in the most thoughtful manner possible. We need drastic changes in our tax code, but we need the right changes. LYLE STANDER Tampa

Notes

OPINION; LETTERS

Load-Date: June 20, 1995

Upbeat mood belies intifada sacrifices: After a year of rebellion, Palestinians rate their achievements above their losses

The Guardian (London)

December 9, 1988

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Length: 1791 words

Byline: By IAN BLACK

Body

Entering Jabaliya camp when it is under curfew is much harder now than a year ago today, when the Palestinian uprising first erupted.

Since then the Israelis have blocked off the sandy paths through the citrus groves and the barriers of oil drums at the entrances have grown higher than a man; the barbed wire is rusting.

When the soldiers come past, ungainly with their visored helmets and teargas grenades, you have to bob and weave through the rubbish-strewn alleys and take shelter in the mean breeze-block houses.

A single whispered word - 'Jaysh' (army) - opens any door. Over bitter coffee and cigarettes, the camp dwellers readily share their balance sheet of the intifada with the uninvited guest.

Despite the sacrifices - at least 320 dead and thousands of injured and imprisoned - the Palestinians believe their national account is well in their favour.

'However bad our suffering has been, the intifada is the best time we have ever known,' says a middle-aged teacher. 'Now there is hope for the future.'

It is a familiar refrain: from Jenin in the northern West Bank, through remote villages hidden in the folds of stony hills, in semi-tropical Jericho, down to the sands of Rafah at the southern end of the Gaza Strip, you can hear Palestinians reflecting on the achievements.

This buoyant mood has not escaped their rulers. A few months ago the Israelis were still talking bravely about crushing the uprising, applying maximum military and administrative pressure at periods of maximum exhaustion to finally restore order. Now the intifada is a fact of life - a way of life - for them as well.

'Those who argue that there is a military solution to the uprising don't know what they're talking about,' insists one Israel official.

'This is not like Gaza in 1970, when there were 300 wanted men and the army went from house to house crossing out names until they got to the bottom of the list. This is a mass movement. Every time you cross out one name, one or two more replace it.'

Upbeat mood belies intifada sacrifices: After a year of rebellion, Palestinians rate their achievements above their losses

Technology is now answer either: this week, in the Samarian uplands, an army commander used his Hatzazit gravel cannon - a monstrous, Heath Robinson creation - to playfully pepper Israeli hitch-hikers with the doughnuts eaten on the Hannuka holiday. It has not stopped Palestinian stone-throwers.

Repression has its limits, and the lumbering tools of the Israelis' trade are often more ridiculous than effective.

A converted troop carrier - burdened by wire mesh, loudspeakers, searchlights and shovels for shifting roadblocks and burning tyres - is known to soldiers as Chity-Chitty-Bang-Bang.

Not that the violence itself is a real threat to the occupation: the year's Israeli casualty figures - six civilians and two soldiers - bear this out eloquently.

No sane Palestinian claims that the stones, the petrol bombs and the masked shabab have actually defeated the most powerful army in the Middle East.

The Palestinians have come to know that army at uncomfortably close quarters: in the Gaza camps, every ragged kid can tell the difference between the purple-bereted Givati infantry brigade and the Druze border policemen.

And they all know that middle-aged reservists are a better bet than young conscripts. Trouble often coincides with a changeover of Israeli units.

Local commanders can make a difference: the Sheikh Radwan area has been quiet since a middle-aged colonel took over recently; but down in Deir al-Balah there is an officer whose idea of fun is to loose off a few tear-gas grenades while driving his jeep at high speed through the camp.

After a year the intifada has established its rhythms and cycles. Ahmed, a young Gazan who spent eight months in the desert prison camp at Ketziot - Ansar III to the Palestinians - is eating heartily these days and reminiscing with unmistakable pride about life behind the wire. His support for the PLO has not waned and it can only be a matter of time before his is picked up by the Shin Bet security service again.

With so many men in prison or unemployed, women have come out from behind their veils - one of many sharp reminders of the experience of the Algerian struggle against the French - to play a leading role in maintaining the uprising. Children stand guard on rooftops to whistle ahead in warning when the soldiers come.

The Palestinians are armed with the ingenuity of the powerless: when the army decided to collect all tyres in Gaza, the operation went well until the kids started burning them en masse at the collection points and then fished the remainder out of the putrid 'lake' in the centre of Jabaliya where they had been dumped by all Israelis.

Sometimes it all seems as innocent as cops and robbers, cat and mouse, but the casualty figures - whether you believe the Palestinian or the Israeli version, or opt for the independent estimate in the middle - are a grim reminder that these can be deadly games, even when supposedly 'non-lethal' weapons like plastic bullets and teargas are being used.

Yet for all this, the intifada is more a state of mind than an insurrection: on days when there are no curfews or strikes called by the underground PLO-backed United National Leadership, the day-labourers still stream across the old 'green line' to work in Israel proper; there are still huge queues outside the civil administration buildings for the permits and licences necessary to do virtually everything but breathe.

The uprising has succeeded brilliantly in many ways - most of all in putting the Palestinian cause back on the top of the international agenda and creating unprecedented unity in Palestinian ranks.

Hamas, the Gaza-based Islamic movement, is widely regarded as serving Israeli interest, although only the most conspiratorial will now claim that the fundamentalists are a creation of the Shin Bet.

Upbeat mood belies intifada sacrifices: After a year of rebellion, Palestinians rate their achievements above their losses

In balance though, the intifada has failed to create a workable alternative to occupation: self-help and digging vegetable patches for victory have been encouraged by the general turndown in economic activity: they have not ended two decades of dependence on the Israelis.

The end of this first year is a dangerous time: the PLO's declaration of Palestinian 'independence' in Algiers last month, and Yasser Arafat's appearances, in Sweden this week and at the UN in Geneva next week, are landmarks of creative diplomacy and PR that have pushed Israel - still writhing to form a workable coalition government after last months' inconclusive elections - into a corner.

But the PLO's 'state' is still a phantom one. International sympathy is fine, but awfully intangible when you are living in Jabaliya under curfew and the Givati conscripts are prowling nervously in the alleys.

Heroism and high morale is one thing, but living one's life is another: 'My main problem is the children,' complains a mother-of-three in Nablus.

'They've got used to not going to school, not reading, not thinking, just sitting at home watching TV. I'm afraid to send them to their friends across the road but on the other hand I can't force them to stay in the house and do nothing. I worry so much when they go out. They're just not scared, not of the soldiers and not of the bullets.'

The extraordinary high level of political awareness among ostensibly simple people is at its most impressive when the thorny subject of armed struggle is raised. 'We will do whatever the United Leadership ordeers,' is the most familiar response.

But, if pressed, most Palestinians will argue hotly that the stone is more effective than the Kalashnikov - even if there were enough weapons to do anything more than invite a massacre.

Looking out from Jabilya a year on, one can only conclude that the intifada must take its place in history as a turning point in the Arab-Zionist conflict.

It is all too easy to be swayed by rhetoric, impressed by sacrifice and solidarity, taken in by brave words about time and destiny uttered from high moral ground. But the Palestinians, human in their weaknesses, incomplete in their achievements, still convince.

'From the very first day of the uprising,' says a wealthy Gazan woman, 'we began to have hope. We have suffered, but it is still far better than before. And we can go on like this, for another year, or for however long it takes to win our freedom and our rights.'

TWELVE DEADLY MONTHS OF CONFLICT

DECEMBER 7, 1987: Four Palestinians killed in road accident involving Israeli driver near Gaza. December 9: Army patrol attacked in Jabaliya refugee camp in Gaza. Two Palestinians killed, the first 'martyrs' of the intifada.

JANUARY 13, 1988: Four West Bankers deported. January 15: Riots in East Jerusalem, 90 injured, January 19: Israeli Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin announces policy of 'force, might and beatings'.

FEBRUARY: West Bank schools closed. Collaborator lynched in Qabatiya. CBS films soldiers beating Palestinians.

MARCH 7: Three Israelis and three hijackers killed in PLO attack on bus in Negev. March 20: First Israeli victim, of the intifada, a soldier, killed in Bethlehem. Palestinian news agencies, organisations closed down.

Ketziot prison camp - known to Palestinians as Ansar III - opened in Negev desert to house thousands of prisoners being held without trial.

APRIL 6: Hiking Israeli settlers spark riot in Beita village near Nablus. Israeli girl killed. April 16: Abu Jihad, Yasser Arafat's deputy and senior PLO military commander, assassinated in Tunis by Israeli commandos and Mossad secret service agents.

Upbeat mood belies intifada sacrifices: After a year of rebellion, Palestinians rate their achievements above their losses

Fourteen Palestinians - a record death toll in a single day - killed in protests in occupied territories.

JUNE 7: Algiers Arab Summit. June 13: Palestinian 'Gandhi,' Mubarak Awad, deported to US. Spate of arson attacks. About 200 Palestinians dead after six months of intifada.

JULY 7: Tax revolt in West Bank Christian town of Bet Sahour. July 31: King Hussein of Jordan announces severance of ties with West Bank, ending Israel's 'Jordanian option' for a peace without PLO.

AUGUST: Unprecedented four-day curfew on entire Gaza Strip.

Two prisoners shot dead in riots at Ansar III. Popular Committees outlawed.

SEPTEMBER: Plastic bullets introduced by army.

OCTOBER 30: Israeli woman and her three children burned to death in Palestinian petrol bomb attack on bus near Jericho.

NOVEMBER 1: Israel general election results in virtual deadlock. Outgoing Prime Minister and Likud leader, Yitzhak Shamir, asked to form new government. November 15: Palestine National Council (PLO 'parliament') declares Palestinian independence in Algiers. More than 50 countries recognise the Palestinian state. Israel faces mounting diplomatic isolation.

DECEMBER 8: General strike called to mark first anniversary of intifada.

Israelis say 300 Palestinians killed during this year. Palestinians say true figure over 400.

Load-Date: June 13, 2000

The Contemporary Collector's Art - Correction Appended

The New York Times

Correction Appended

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Distribution: Magazine Desk

Section: Section 6;; Section 6;Page 42;Column 1;Magazine Desk; Column 1;

Length: 2050 words

Byline: By Amei Wallach;

Amei Wallach is an art critic and the author of "Ilya Kabakov: The Man Who Never Threw Anything Away."

By Amei Wallach; Amei Wallach is an art critic and the author of "Ilya Kabakov: The Man Who Never Threw Anything Away."

Body

After Victor Ganz died in 1987, his widow, Sally, spent much of her time in the room they had painted Picasso-red to set off the five paintings from Picasso's variations on Delacroix's "*Women* of Algiers" that hung there. Sally Ganz would curl up near a table piled high with books by Virginia Woolf and Nabokov, fondle a diminutive bronze Picasso bull and light another cigarette. "Art isn't just buying that picture on the wall," she told me one afternoon. "It adds a measure of grace to one's life."

One paradox of collecting is that the art the Ganzes bought for grace has proved a spectacular investment. On Nov. 10, 1988, 12 paintings from the Ganz collection sold for \$48.4 million at Sotheby's, the third-highest gross for a collection of modern and contemporary art sold at auction. Sally Ganz died last winter, and this Nov. 10 the four Ganz children are selling 115 more works at Christie's. The auction house expects the sale of paintings and works on paper by Picasso, Jasper Johns, Robert Rauschenberg, Frank Stella and Eva Hesse to realize more than \$125 million. In fact, Christie's chairman, Christopher Burge, says -- as do some executives at his competitor, Sotheby's -- that the sale could break the \$135.3 million record for a single-owner collection sold at auction.

"They were collectors who looked at art in an extraordinarily intelligent way -- a way you don't see anymore," Burge says rather recklessly for someone in the business of collecting collectors. But Victor and Sally Ganz were a paradigm -- focused, informed, oblivious to fashion and willing to go into debt for what they wanted. On Saturdays, during the 40's and 50's, the couple set out to visit galleries, and no matter what they saw, they bought Picasso. As Kate Ganz Dormant explains her parents' obsession, the artist expressed what Victor Ganz hid with distance and wit.

By the time Victor Ganz died, collectors in his mode seemed to be endangered. International investors were buying anything by a recognizable name at any price, and a kind of collector emerged who didn't just want to find the next Picasso but to create him. Foremost among them was Charles Saatchi, the advertising executive who so adroitly

The Contemporary Collector's Art

promoted new artists that rumors of a Saatchi purchase could sell out a show. Once the art market crashed in 1991, the investor-collectors disappeared.

Now a new generation of contemporary collectors is surfacing. Some bought low after the crash and became more enmeshed with art as they learned about it. Others, like many of the artists who became prominent in the last decade, see art as an agent for social change and want to play a role in the process. Three examples follow: Peter Norton and his wife, Eileen, wield purchases and patronage in a crusade to challenge and racially integrate the art world. Kent Logan began buying what 80's collectors were dumping at fire-sale prices. He now competes with Saatchi, who has returned to high-profile collecting with artists adept at shock techniques, to assemble a definitive 90's collection. Ydessa Hendeles uses the art she buys in her own exhibitions. Grace may no longer guide these collectors, but passion still does, a passion that could lead them to the Picassos of the future.

Peter and Eileen Norton

When the 1980's art market crashed, so did the star system that had kept all eyes focused on the New York gallery scene. Beginning in 1990, curators and collectors began to take a closer look at artists with audiences elsewhere -- in Los Angeles, London, Cologne, Harlem. Capitalizing on this expanded vision, the Studio Museum in Harlem, the New Museum of Contemporary Art and the Museum of Contemporary Hispanic Art (now closed) mounted a three-venue New York show of issue-oriented art outside the white, male mainstream. "The Decade Show" not only introduced the African-American artists Lorna Simpson, David Hammons and Melvin Edwards to a wider public but also reignited the careers of the socially critical artists Leon Golub and Ida Applebroog and allowed such established stars as Cindy Sherman and Jean-Michel Basquiat to be seen in a different light.

Peter and Eileen Norton were central to the moment. He is the first of the new, computer-world multimillionaires to commit to collecting, and art that challenges the status quo is crucial for the Santa Monica couple. In a sentence only a technophile could invent, Peter Norton describes the art that engages them as "relatively new, challenging, conceptually based, and we have a strong bias for artists who come out of that very interesting cultural milieu that is now called African-American because it's given us some wonderfully interesting things which I can summarize in one word: jazz."

The Nortons started collecting 16 years ago, buying a Miro print, a Rembrandt etching and a kachina doll. They developed their taste by frequenting galleries and museums and by meeting artists. They started a foundation that gives \$50,000 purchasing grants to curators bent on taking chances. In 1990, the Nortons bought 100 works by such relatively invisible black artists as Carrie Mae Weems and Adrian Piper, and the collection found its focus. By now the Nortons own 1,500 works, with a particular emphasis on Weems, Kim Dingle, Charles Ray, Simpson, Hammons and Kara Walker. This spring, the couple will become bicoastal and plan to install works by Walker, Weems and Zoe Leonard in their New York condominium.

Peter Norton, who serves on the board of the Whitney and on several committees at the Museum of Modern Art, continues his gallery and art-fair rounds and last month invited American curators to join him at the Johannesburg Biennial. With the help of a staff headed by Susan Cahan, a curator, he sifts through proposals to underwrite the museum shows of artists who interest him and keeps abreast of what is happening in their studios. Each year the Nortons commission, produce and mail Christmas editions that expose under-known artists to more than 5,000 of their closest friends. "Peter's not just someone who is collecting your work," says Gary Simmons, 33, who sold one of his first works to Norton eight years ago. "He gets to know you as a person, as a producer of ideas."

Kent Logan

Kent Logan makes flow charts of his collection. He maps what he has, what he wants, how it fits. In San Francisco, between visits to New York, he compiles lists for maximum efficiency. This means that, by the time he stops into the Gagosian Gallery on Wooster Street on a recent autumn afternoon dressed in the only pinstripes in SoHo, he has bought and studied the catalogue for Dinos and Jake Chapman's installation "Unholy Libel (Six Feet Under)." Logan

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already owns works by Damien Hirst and Marc Quinn from the British Sensation school, but he murmurs, "Too much shock, even for me," as he checks out prices at the desk.

No one in the gallery recognizes him. He has a collection of more than 250 works by 90 artists and the ambition of assembling, he says, "the definitive collection of 90's art" with a view toward giving it to a museum someday. But he's too new in the New York art world to be on its radar screen.

Logan collects psychologically charged, media-influenced figurations. Before arriving at the Gagosian Gallery, he bought the 1991 photograph "Fan" to add to his collection of self-portraits by Yasumasa Morimura, a male Japanese artist who photographs himself as figures from art history or female icons of American pop culture. Over the course of an afternoon, Logan will also buy "Good Evening Hamas," a 1997 diptych by Lisa Yuskavage, who paints Playboy cartoon-style dissections of women as seen through a sex-obsessed male gaze. Logan had to wait nearly a year for a suitably important painting by Yuskavage to become available because Saatchi had got there first.

All through the 80's, Logan worked on Wall Street by day, went home to Greenwich, Conn., at night and noticed art collecting only from a bemused distance. But in San Francisco, where he is a partner with Montgomery Securities, the art world is faster growing and more welcoming. Besides, by 1991 the art market had crashed. "I thought it would be an opportune time from a market standpoint to be a buyer," he tells me. He acquired Andy Warhol, Jean-Michel Basquiat, Anselm Kiefer and Francesco Clemente -- all 80's darlings whose prices were the most depressed. He now sees these artists as anchors to his collection of the young and new.

The collection began to change three years ago, when Logan bought a work by Jerry Kearns, an artist who since 1970 has collaborated with the Brooklyn Black United Front and Lucy Lippard, a feminist critic. Kearns introduced Logan to the New York scene and now acts as his guide and theoretician for a \$3,000 monthly retainer. Logan recently joined Kearns on the board of Exit Art, the alternative art space in SoHo. Getting to know artists is the key to Logan's modus operandi. "If artists see you spend the time to go to their studios, look at the work, engage them in dialogue, then they're going to feel better about saying to a dealer, 'This should go to so-and-so's collection,'" he says. "I have the opportunity to create a collection that really is a snapshot of a society through time."

Ydessa Hendeles

' My collection is not as totemic as many of the male collections I've seen, where I have the sense that there are these phalluses on the wall and I'm to admire each one of them," Ydessa Hendeles says as she takes me through the gallery of her Toronto art foundation. "I want people to feel as though they've walked into the artist's head." Hendeles is unusual among collectors because she creates exhibitions to experiment with ideas about how art can be experienced intimately. "She's like a curator with cash," says Allan Schwartzman, a friend and an art writer.

Hendeles was educated as both an art historian and a psychotherapist, and while she declines to credit the fact that her parents were Polish Holocaust survivors, it clearly informs her collecting. The contemporary artists she owns in depth are engaged either in making order out of memory, loss and history (Hanne Darboven, Christian Boltanski, Bernd and Hilla Becher, On Kawara, James Coleman) or in exposing contradiction and extremity (Barbara Kruger, Jenny Holzer, Louise Bourgeois, Bruce Nauman).

Hendeles often finds her works at big international art fairs like the Venice Biennale. Usually, she is the first to buy a contemporary artist extensively, and sometimes artists, like Boltanski, are so touched by her commitment that they give her their new work. She is also a fierce competitor at auctions. In 1993, she paid \$398,500 for Alfred Stieglitz's solarized palladium print, "Georgia O'Keeffe: A Portrait -- Hands With Thimble, 1920," still a record price for a photograph, she says. She used it to complete a 1995 exhibition, "Projections," that explored how photographers earlier in the century exposed some of the same concerns through documentary photographs that contemporary artists probe with staged scenes and cinematic techniques. It included 50 Weegee prints; 24 Brassai photographs; four computer-manipulated tableaux by Jeff Wall, a Canadian artist, and 20-odd "Untitled Film Stills" by Cindy Sherman.

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"She uses exhibitions as a way of phrasing her thoughts, and she buys the works that will make the sentence complete," says Robert Storr, a curator in the Museum of Modern Art's department of painting and sculpture. "It happens that she's a very smart woman, and therefore the sentences are extremely interesting and unpredictable." Michael Govan, the director of the Dia Center for the Arts in New York, says that Hendeles has the eccentric flair of Peggy Guggenheim, who introduced Surrealist painters and Jackson Pollock to American viewers during World War II.

At this summer's Venice Biennale, Hendeles acquired a video installation by the Swiss artist Pipilotti Rist. It shows a field of flowers on one screen and on the other, a young woman carrying what appears to be a flower. Every so often, she swings the flower, which is metal, and smashes a car window. An approaching policeman in the distance turns out to be a woman, who smiles and walks on. Hendeles is in some ways both: the woman who smashes assumptions and the authority who gives it a wink.

Correction

Because of a mechanical error, a picture on page 44 of The Times Magazine today, with an article about notable art collectors, is printed upside down and in mirror image. In the painting by David Hammons, called "Bag Lady in Flight," the handles seen on the top left should appear at the bottom left.

Correction-Date: October 26, 1997, Sunday

Graphic

Photos: On top of an artwork: The Nortons, at home with their collection, sitting on "A to Z 1994 Living Unit Customized for Eileen and Peter Norton" by Andrea Zittel. Also moving in are two of four sections of Yasumasa Morimura's "Portrait (Futago)," near left, and "Bag Lady in Flight," by David Hammons, far right.; The Logans amid 3 of the 250 artworks they own (excluding the dog). Yasumasa Morimura's "Futago, Olympia After Manet," in the hall; "Voyeur," by Mark Stock, center, and "The Photographer," by Chris Brown, right. Ydessa Hendeles posing at home with "Willy and the Wall Spider," by Liz Magor.; Peter and Eileen Norton own more than 1,500 works, 200 of which they bought this past year. It is a collection that has a strong focus on African-American and contemporary art. The artworks below represent some of the Nortons' favorite artists; they are, from left, Lorna Simpson's *The Park* (1995), David Hammons's *Bag Lady in Flight* (1982), a detail of Kara Walker's *African't* (1996), Kim Dingle's *Priss Room* (1995) and Charles Ray's *Family Romance* (1993). Kent Logan, a San Francisco collector, amasses his art in true corporate fashion: with flow charts mapping what he has and what he doesn't. His most extensive acquisitions include, below from left, Francesco Clemente's *Self-Portrait* (1984), Mark Tansey's *Occupation* (1984), Cindy Sherman's *Film Still #6* (1977), Gottfried Helnwein's *Untitled (Child)* (1996) and Anselm Kiefer's *Operation Sea Lion* (1975). "She's like a curator with cash," says a friend of Ydessa Hendeles. A Canadian collector, Hendeles creates her own exhibitions in her own space, a former factory. The works below represent art she owns in depth. From left, Jeff Wall's *The Stumbling Block* (1991), Bernd and Hilla Becher's *Pennsylvania Coal Mine Tipples* (1992), a detail of Hanne Darboven's *Quartet 88* (1988), a detail of Louise Bourgeois's *Cell 111 (Arch of Hysteria)* (1991) and a detail of James Coleman's *Box (Ahhareturnabout)* (1977). (George Lange)

Load-Date: October 26, 1997

The Accountant Is a Terrorist

The New York Times

November 10, 1996, Sunday, Late Edition - Final

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Distribution: Magazine Desk

Section: Section 6; ; Section 6; Page 45; Column 3; Magazine Desk ; Column 3; ; Biography

Length: 4499 words

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Douglas Frantz is a reporter for The Times. Catherine Collins is a New York-based writer.

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Body

East Jerusalem was beginning to stir. Arab women in embroidered, ankle-length dresses balanced baskets of figs and grapes atop their heads on their way to market stalls inside the walls of the Old City. Lumbering delivery trucks on Salah-a-Din Street belched diesel fumes and forced boys with pushcarts to the curb in front of the nondescript Lawrence Hotel. Graffiti in Arabic script, blood red on the mud-brown brick of the hotel's entrance, declared, "Yes to an independent Palestinian State."

In Room 27, at the rear of the hotel's third floor, a man sat hunched on the side of his narrow wooden bed. He was in his early 30's, with a thin mustache, cropped black hair and tinted aviator glasses. Between his fleshy thighs he clasped a black Sony 12-band clock radio, the back removed to expose its electronic innards. Perhaps a truck horn ruptured the stillness. Maybe a curse from tourists struggling with luggage down the hall. Something caused his sweat-damp hands to slip.

The explosion ripped through the hotel at 7:15 A.M. on April 12. It shattered every window on the third floor, spewing glass on the street below. Doors of all 10 rooms on the floor were ripped from their hinges and scattered. One narrowly missed a sleeping child. Walls were knocked down in the room next to Room 27 and in the one across the hall, both vacated only a short time before the blast. In the man's room, the bathroom wall was blown down, the bed was shattered and a crater six inches deep and three feet in diameter was gouged into the concrete floor.

A young husband and wife from Chicago peered from their room down the hall as a man crawled out of Room 27, covered with blood and debris and calling out: "Allahu Akbar. Allahu Akbar." The tourists recognized the Arabic words: "God is Great. God is Great." Within minutes, the street was filled with sirens as emergency vehicles arrived and dazed guests emerged from the narrow entrance of the hotel. They watched medics rush out moments later carrying a man on a stretcher. No one else suffered anything more serious than scratches and shock.

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Police first suspected a gas leak, and the building was evacuated. Even in security-conscious Jerusalem, it seemed to be a logical explanation. There was no reason to be suspicious of the victim. Hotel records identified him as a British citizen named Andrew Jonathan Charles Newman, an accountant from London. Hotel workers said they had noticed nothing unusual about his behavior since his arrival three days earlier. He was polite and quiet, leaving in the mornings, carrying maps and a simple tourist's camera, and returning at night. A briefcase pulled from the rubble contained accounting papers in English, with a firm's address in London.

Clues quickly pointed in a more menacing direction. There was no gas leak, and the crater indicated that the blast had occurred in the center of Room 27. Half a radio was found intact. There was a key from a hotel in Tel Aviv near the site where a Palestinian suicide bomber had killed 13 and wounded 130 a month earlier. Then there was that Arabic shout the couple from Chicago had described to police.

By 5 P.M. that afternoon, police forensic crews were picking through the pieces of Room 27 and scouring the hotel room in Tel Aviv, where the man remained registered. And the police had been joined by experts from Shin Bet, Israel's counterespionage and internal security service. The experts soon found more ominous signs. A close examination of the hotel registry showed that the guest had misspelled Newman when he printed it in neat block letters -- N-E-M-A-N. On inspection, his passport turned out to be a forgery of professional quality -- the real Andrew Newman's photograph replaced with that of the injured man. Preliminary lab reports found residue in the room from C-4, a plastic explosive manufactured for the American military and not seen in Israel for a decade. Also discovered in the room was a box of nails, a common component in the suicide bombs plaguing the country.

"For us, the picture changed by evening," a senior Shin Bet official recalled. "It was a sign that there was something unusual going on here. And maybe that we had a stranger among us. A stranger who tried to do something bad with this explosive."

At that moment, on the other side of Jerusalem, surgeons at Hadassah-Ein Kerem hospital were fighting to save the stranger's life. He had lost a lot of blood. Both legs and his left arm had been amputated, and he could not see. In his favor was the fact that he was a large man, about six feet tall and 200 pounds. To the doctors, it was a miracle that he was still alive. To Shin Bet, it was a godsend. A 24-hour police guard was posted outside his room. The stranger's survival was suddenly a matter of national security.

In the months since the explosion, the picture has become much clearer. The man who blew himself up was a member of Hezbollah, one of the world's most successful terrorist organizations. That discovery sent shudders through the Israeli security apparatus: it was the first time that anyone from the Lebanese-based organization had penetrated Israel. The man, whose real name is Hussein Mohammed Hussein Mikdad, is indeed a professional accountant, but the rest of his cover story was a fabrication. He is a 33-year-old Lebanese Shiite and the married father of a young daughter. His path to the Lawrence Hotel winds through the enclaves of Arab unrest in Beirut to a secret terrorist training camp in Lebanon's infamous Bekaa Valley, from Vienna and the shores of Lake Zurich to Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. There are some gaps along the way; in the real world of terrorism, truth often hides in shadows.

THE STORY BEGINS IN LASSA, A VILLAGE about 40 miles north of Beirut in the mountains known as the Lebanon Range. Its cool climate and fresh-water springs have made the village a favorite summer vacation spot since Roman times. In winter, the only road into the village of 4,000 often becomes impassable. By legend, a Muslim prophet decreed that followers of the Islamic and Christian religions should coexist peacefully in Lassa. For centuries, they did. A Maronite church and a mosque stand less than a mile apart there. But in 1975, when civil war broke out in Lebanon, the Muslim minority in the region felt threatened. One of those who fled with his family was a 12-year-old boy, Hussein Mikdad.

Torn from his quiet village, the boy found himself in a city coming apart at the seams. Religious violence was everywhere and safety nowhere. His family and other Shiite refugees crammed the Beirut neighborhoods of Haret Hreik and Bir el Abed. The ring of shantytowns soon became known as the "belt of misery" as thousands of refugees driven north by Israeli attacks filled the ramshackle houses that line the endless maze of alleys and dusty roads.

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A number of groups were spawned by this discontent, and the most formidable was Hezbollah, the Party of God. Created in 1982 as an umbrella organization for radical Shiite Muslims, Hezbollah was aligned with the Shiite regime of Ayatollah Khomeini in Iran. The organization vowed to establish a similar Islamic republic in Lebanon and to rid the region of the Israelis and of American influence through an unrelenting campaign of guerrilla warfare, kidnappings, hijackings and bombings.

Hezbollah was linked to the 1983 bombings of a United States Marine Corps compound in West Beirut, in which 241 soldiers died, and a French Army barracks, in which 58 servicemen were killed. It is believed to have carried out the 1985 hijacking of a T.W.A. aircraft in which a Navy diver was killed and conducted a wave of kidnappings of Westerners, including Terry Anderson, the Associated Press correspondent, and Terry Waite, the Church of England envoy. At the same time, Hezbollah used Iranian-supplied weapons to launch guerrilla attacks on Israeli military positions in southern Lebanon. The religious justification for the campaign was provided by Sheik Mohammed Hussein Fadlallah, a cleric whose fiery sermons in the Bir el Abed mosque mustered thousands to the cause. While the sheik has denied ordering terrorist actions, he defends the Islamic resistance by charging that violence is the only answer to Israeli occupation of Arab land. "Those who resist are fighting for their freedom and their land and people, just as the Americans fought against colonialism and as the French fought the Nazi occupation," he once told Time magazine.

Hezbollah, which has several thousand members, relies on the loyalty of families and clans. As a result, the organization has been virtually impossible to penetrate. Intelligence officials in Washington and Israel estimate the organization receives up to \$100 million a year from Iran, along with regular shipments of arms and training from Iran's elite Revolutionary Guard. Most of the money is spent on humanitarian projects like schools and medical centers. Its Jihad Building Fund sent crews to rebuild houses destroyed by Israeli attacks in southern Lebanon. Hezbollah's leaders understand that terrorists rarely thrive without grass-roots support.

By the time Mikdad was studying business administration at the Arab University in Beirut in the late 1980's, members of Hezbollah's military wing were familiar sights as they marched through the streets of Bir el Abed. Mikdad joined in college and was promoted to head of the university wing of Hezbollah within a year. As his involvement increased, he became a frequent worshiper at Sheik Fadlallah's mosque.

When he completed his degree in 1991, Mikdad's connections with Hezbollah helped him to get a job as a teacher at a technical school in Bir el Abed. Two years later, he quit to become the chief accountant for Hezbollah's humanitarian operations in Beirut. It was an important job because Hezbollah was expanding its influence throughout the mainstream Shiite community. Mikdad's life was outwardly normal. He and his wife, Zuviach, lived within the family enclave, and they had a baby daughter in late 1994. In the fall of the next year, however, he took a step into the darker side of Hezbollah.

The journey from accountant to terrorist began in September 1995, when Mikdad was contacted by a high-ranking Hezbollah official who identified himself as Abu Mohammed and said he was in charge of a section within Hezbollah's overseas security apparatus. The security apparatus handles intelligence, conducts overseas terrorist acts and is under the control of Imad Fa'iz Mughniya.

Ariel Merari, an expert on terrorism at Tel Aviv University, says that Mughniya, the mastermind of the wave of kidnappings of Westerners, is one of the world's most dangerous terrorists. "He is probably responsible for killing more people than Carlos the Jackal ever dreamed of," Merari says.

In recruiting the plump accountant to join this network, Mohammed appealed to his vanity. "You have many attributes that we need," he said. "You have leadership qualities and a European appearance. You have an academic education and you speak English." Two days later, Mikdad was transferred to the security wing. A short time later, he was headed for a clandestine training camp in the Bekaa Valley.

Discerning Mikdad's motive for this dramatic switch is difficult. Israeli authorities declined to allow an interview with him at the prison where he is undergoing interrogation. However, in an unusual interview for the highly secretive Shin Bet, a senior official involved in the interrogation provided details of what Mikdad has told the authorities.

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Simple flattery cannot be discounted as a motive for Mikdad. The offer promised a Walter Mittyish transformation from accountant to terrorist. But those who have spoken with Mikdad say that he does not regard himself as a terrorist but rather as a soldier whose primary motivation was religious. He believed in the jihad, or holy war, against Israel.

"The interrogation is very complicated," the Shin Bet official explained during a three-hour interview in a hotel room in Tel Aviv. "Sometimes he cooperates. Sometimes he doesn't. He is very talented, very clever. He knows well what he is doing and saying. People don't like to speak, but they speak when they are in great trouble. He is religious. He believes that what has happened is God's will."

The Bekaa Valley lies between the parallel ranges of the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon mountains. Its checkerboard of vineyards and fields planted with grain, vegetables and opium for heroin is reached from Beirut via the Damascus Road, which crosses the mountain pass at Dahr el-Baidar. Because of its distance from Israel, the valley is also fertile ground for Iranian-run military training camps that cater to Hezbollah fighters and terrorists from other organizations, like the Irish Republican Army, the Japanese Red Army and various Palestinian groups. American intelligence officials suspect the terrorists who bombed the United States military barracks in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, last June and killed 19 American airmen were trained at these camps.

In early November 1995, Mikdad was driven to the camp near a village called Kafr Yanta in the Bekaa Valley. Based on the accounts of terrorists who have trained at similar camps, it is very likely that he put on a hood as the car approached the camp to keep his identity secret.

For nearly two months, he remained in isolation. He learned to evade surveillance and conduct surveillance, alone or as part of a three-man team. He was taught to fire a 9-millimeter pistol and an Ingram submachine gun. Day after day, he would stand on a barren hillside and fire until the bucking action that came with each pull of the trigger became familiar. Then, his ears still ringing and his nostrils stung by the smell of cordite, he would return to the small house where he was kept under the eye of armed guards.

Most important were lessons in building bombs with dynamite and plastic explosives. He was shown how to transform the simple timer from a digital watch into a timer for a bomb. He set off explosive charges on three separate occasions as part of his training. The explosive that he learned to use was C-4, an off-white, puttylike substance that can be molded to almost any shape.

Plastic explosives, which were developed before World War II, emerged in the early 1980's as the weapons of choice for the world's terrorists. A gun can kill only one or, at best, a few. Less than a kilogram of plastic explosive cunningly disguised in a Toshiba radio-cassette player brought down Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, in 1988, killing 270 people.

Israeli authorities have not identified the exact source of the C-4 discovered in Mikdad's hotel room. They know Hezbollah soldiers have trained with the plastic explosive in Lebanon and suspect it was transferred there from Iranian arsenals bought from the United States in the time of the shah.

After two months of training, Mikdad returned to Beirut. He was told to get a job and keep quiet. "You are now a member of the security apparatus," said Abu Mohammed. "It is best not to talk about it, even to your family."

The wait was short. By mid-January of this year, two weeks after he started work at a Hezbollah school, Mohammed told him there was an urgent assignment that suited his personal profile. Mikdad was to assume the identity of a British accountant, fly into the most secure airport in the world and scour Israel's two biggest cities for something to blow up.

"Your action must be impressive," he was told. "You will serve as an example for later attacks. You will be the first in a line of fighters who will enter Israel in this way."

Never before had Hezbollah penetrated Israeli security. The suicide bombs that killed 61 Israeli over nine days in February and March were carried by members of Hamas, the Palestinian terrorists. Its people knew Israel and

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could rely on a network of supporters. Mikdad would be perilously alone, a player without a completed script, forced to improvise in what John le Carre calls "the theater of the real."

Mikdad was drilled on his new identity: Andrew Newman, a young British accountant from London on holiday in Israel. In March, after shaving his beard, Mikdad's photo was taken at the Iranian embassy in Beirut and experts doctored Newman's passport to show Mikdad's face. Mikdad was given account sheets and other papers to support his cover story. Mohammed bought him a suitcase and clothes -- a dark blue suit and casual slacks and shirts.

Later, after it was all over, the real Andrew Newman was shaken. "It was said in the press that he had reported himself as an accountant," he said one afternoon in London, where he works for Deloitte & Touche. "I got very upset at that time because I thought someone might have been following me. The police said it had to be a coincidence. I've never met anyone from Lebanon. I find the whole thing rather odd and scary. Shocking really."

It was no coincidence. Newman's passport had been stolen three years earlier during a camping trip in the Bois de Boulogne in Paris. Hezbollah obtained the document from the black market and matched it to one of its operatives.

To provide as much protection as possible, Mikdad needed to enter Israel from a neutral country. His commander wanted him to fly from Beirut to Vienna, but he balked. A cousin worked at the Beirut airport and might recognize him. Mikdad had told his wife he was going to Turkey to buy leather coats for an import business. Instead of leaving from Beirut, he was driven to Damascus, where he took a flight to Vienna, the traditional cleansing stop for spies. He then took a train across the Alps and arrived at Zurich's Flughafen railway station on April 2.

A bridge connects the station to the airport, but Mikdad was not ready to confront Israeli security. From an advertising poster in the station, he picked the Regina Hotel, a three-star hotel in central Zurich that caters to businessmen and tourists.

No one at the Regina paid attention to the man with the strange accent. They would remember him only after being shown his photograph later by Swiss police. "He did not seem British, but there are a lot of British who don't," recalled Walter Schoch, the hotel manager. "He was a very quiet person. He spoke English. He didn't use the bar. He asked only for the key and then he didn't ask any more questions."

A few minutes walk from the Regina Hotel is Lake Zurich, where tourists and residents stroll. For two days last spring, Mikdad walked its shores with Abu Mohammed, who had come to bolster his agent's resolve. The two men discussed religion and philosophy and dissected and reassembled his cover story.

At one point, Mohammed handed Mikdad a shopping bag containing a small 12-band Sony radio. He explained that it had been modified to serve as a bomb. The clock on the radio would be the timer; batteries would provide the power source. A smaller explosive that formed the detonator was hidden in a hollow tube that ran into the antenna and was wired to the radio timer. The steps were simple: Insert the detonator into the plastic explosive, which would be concealed in the radio, and set the timer on the radio. When the radio switched on, a circuit would be completed and the explosive would go off. The timer would provide time to escape. But, as a general rule, the shortest possible delay is best so the bomb will not be discovered and disarmed. "This is a very good radio," promised the commander. "You don't need to worry. No one will notice that someone has changed it."

At a travel agency near the Regina Hotel, Mikdad paid cash for a round-trip ticket on Swissair to Tel Aviv, with a departure date of April 4. Mohammed had a final piece of advice: "You have to do something that everyone will talk about."

Security at Zurich International Airport is rated among the world's best. One of the key secrets Mikdad has refused to divulge to his interrogators is whether the C-4 explosive was concealed in the radio or elsewhere in his luggage when he passed through security in Zurich or whether he got it in Israel. If Mohammed gave him the explosive in Zurich, troubling questions are raised about security there. But new and, for the Israelis, far more vexing questions are raised if Mikdad obtained the C-4 from an accomplice in Israel.

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On the afternoon of April 4, the would-be terrorist walked off the Swissair flight onto the Tarmac at Ben-Gurion International Airport. He carried a forged passport and, wedged into his suitcase, the altered Sony radio. He joined the other passengers for the quick bus ride to the terminal and stood in line in front of a passport control officer in a glass security booth. When he pushed his passport under the window, it was examined, stamped and returned without question. Mikdad cleared customs and took a taxi to Tel Aviv's central shopping district.

That evening, he checked into the Center Hotel, a modern establishment just steps from Dizengoff Center, the shopping mall where 13 people had been killed and 130 injured by a suicide bomb one month earlier.

The following four days are a blank. Mikdad traveled around Tel Aviv, and Israeli authorities suspect he was trying to find a place where his bomb would do the most damage, a location for something "spectacular." Apparently something scared him off or was not to his liking.

On April 8, Mikdad took a train to Jerusalem and spent several hours there before returning to Tel Aviv. The next day, he packed his bags and took a taxi to Jerusalem, where he checked into the Lawrence Hotel and was given Room 27. However, he kept his room in Tel Aviv.

Mikdad has remained silent on the origin of the explosive and his choice of a target. He undoubtedly realizes this is one of the few cards that he may play to someday win his freedom. He also must know that if he tells all of his secrets, he will jeopardize his family in Lebanon and his own life will be worth nothing if he does return. Any terrorist organization -- any intelligence service, for that matter -- takes retribution against those who betray their secrets. If he pays too high a price for his freedom, he signs his own death warrant.

One clue to Mikdad's mission can be found in his stinginess. The taxi driver who took him to Jerusalem remembered that Mikdad quibbled over 2 shekels on the 70-shekel fare. Workers at the Lawrence Hotel complained that he did not tip them. These do not appear to be the actions of someone intent on suicide.

Nor does Mikdad fit the profile of a suicide bomber. Those who have strapped themselves with explosives and killed and maimed Israelis have been young men with little to lose. They have been recruited from the dispossessed and stateless Palestinians by Hamas, drawn by the promise of a place in Heaven for a martyr. Mikdad, on the other hand, had a family, a profession, prospects. He was an unlikely candidate for suicide.

There is another crucial difference: suicide bombs are usually crude affairs, made from TNT extracted from old land mines and concealed beneath bulky clothing. Mikdad's radio, packed with C-4, was a sophisticated instrument that offered the chance of escape.

Israeli authorities do not believe Mikdad met any accomplices in Tel Aviv, but there are suspicions he had a contact in Jerusalem, where there are far more Arabs. The Lawrence Hotel is in the heart of the Arab section of the city, easily visited by Palestinians driving into the city from the West Bank. Each day, Mikdad left early, carrying his maps and a simple tourist camera, and returned at night.

It is difficult to speculate on a target. There are so many. Contrary to early theories, suggested by the similarity of his radio bomb to other devices used on aircraft, the authorities say they do not believe Mikdad intended to blow up an airplane. On the other hand, few targets offer more spectacular results than an airplane, particularly one that has just left Israel's main airport.

As the eternal capital of Israel and one of the world's holiest cities, Jerusalem is rich in government buildings and symbolic gathering spots for Christians and Jews. There are also public places like the Jerusalem Mall, which is packed nightly with shoppers. An explosion in any number of places would have had a devastating impact.

Some intelligence officials speculated that Mikdad intended to use his radio bomb to trigger a much larger explosion, perhaps using chemicals that could be easily obtained from ordinary stores around Jerusalem. There is evidence that he planned to set off an anti-personnel bomb, which would argue against an airplane bomb theory. In his room, police discovered a box of nails, a new hair dryer and a blender. Mikdad has said he planned to use the blender and dryer to process the C-4 in an unspecified fashion.

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Whatever his plan, it went awry in a flash as he sat on his bed in the Lawrence Hotel on April 12 working on his radio. At a critical moment, his training and discipline were overridden by an amateur's shaky nerves.

On May 12, ending a month-long ban on publication of details about the bombing in the Israeli press, Shin Bet and the Jerusalem police released a one-page statement that named Mikdad and identified him as a Hezbollah terrorist. Officials said his mission was organized and financed by Iran, a charge that Iranian officials deny. Part of the purpose of the statement was to point a finger at Iran, which Israel believes sponsors most of the terrorism against it. And part was to send a message to others who might, as one intelligence official said, "come to Israel to play these naughty games."

In Beirut, Mikdad's identity was carried in local papers in a brief account by the wire services. The next day, the Mikdad family issued two statements. One denied any connection to the bombing and the other denied Mikdad's very existence. That same day, his wife and daughter were whisked from their home by Hezbollah and taken to the family enclave in Lassa.

One day recently, a village official confirmed that the wife and daughter were there, but he said the family maintains that Hussein is traveling in West Africa. Then he whispered that no one believes it. The whole village, he said, knows that Hussein was the victim of the bomb blast. The official then begged for anonymity, saying he feared reprisals.

At Hezbollah's central information office in Haret Hreik, not far from Mikdad's former home, an official said: "If he exists, he doesn't have any relationship with the Hezbollah. Many secret organizations work against the Israelis and Hezbollah doesn't know much about them. Any information released in the media about Hussein Mikdad would be a free favor to Israel and the United States." He offered a final piece of advice: "You should stop any inquiry about this issue, for the sake of your own safety."

As for Mikdad, there will never be a spectacular mission, no inspiration for a line of fighters or glory in God's eyes. Only the recurrent tortured realization that he failed.

Graphic

Photos: The man in Room 27 registered as Jonathan Charles Newman, an accountant from London. (pg. 44); Testing the stringent security at Zurich International Airport. (pg. 46); Hussein Mohammed Hussein Mikdad, in a passport photo provided by Shin Bet. (pg. 47); Undergoing interrogation by agents for the highly secretive Shin Bet. (ILLUSTRATIONS BY JOHN COLLIER) (pg. 49)

Load-Date: November 10, 1996

Critics say rights lost in terror fight

St. Petersburg Times (Florida)

June 29, 1997, Sunday, 0 South Pinellas Edition

Copyright 1997 Times Publishing Company

Section: NATIONAL; Pg. 1A

Length: 2285 words

Byline: SUSAN ASCHOFF

Dateline: TAMPA

Body

During visits through a glass partition in a Bradenton jail, Mazen Al-Najjar tells his wife he is worried his 2-year-old daughter Safa, the one he calls "my darling," will forget who he is.

"He asks me, "Did Safa forget me?" " says Fedaa Al-Najjar. "No, I told him. She picks up your hair brush and says, "Baba."

"This is a form of torture," Fedaa Al-Najjar says, her eyes filling with tears.

LEGAL

No, says the government. This is the way you fight terrorism.

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Mazen Al-Najjar has been in an Immigration and Naturalization Service holding facility at the Manatee County Jail for seven weeks. He is one of dozens of immigrants across the United States jailed on secret evidence they are terrorists or terrorist sympathizers.

Their defenders say they are victims of the U.S. government's zeal to stop terrorist bombings at home, no matter the cost.

When a car bomb blew a crater under the World Trade Center four years ago, it may have scared the civil rights out of Americans. When a truck bomb blew up the federal building in Oklahoma City two years ago, it pushed the 1996 Anti-Terrorism Act through Congress.

Now government attorneys are playing "national security" like a trump card in court to keep immigrants locked up, critics say. The government counters that we are dangerously naive if we don't stop terrorists before the explosives ignite.

How much are we willing to sully our constitutional rights to stop terrorism? And who should decide if someone is not merely dissident, but dangerous?

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Critics say rights lost in terror fight

A group of more than 50 lawyers, activists and civil libertarians will converge on Washington, D.C., today to talk about the imprisonment of Al-Najjar and others.

Through litigation - and an appeal to Americans' sense of fair play - they hope to free them.

"Ordinary people who have violated no criminal law, engaged in no violence and supported no illegal act are nonetheless targeted for years of harassment, intimidation and repression," lawyer David Cole wrote two years ago in the Connecticut Law Tribune.

In California, a group of eight residents, seven of them Palestinians, fought for 10 years to stay in the country after their attempted ouster for alleged ties to the Palestine Liberation Organization.

A permanent resident in Youngstown, Ohio, was barred from returning to the United States after he attended a student political meeting overseas.

Al-Najjar of Tampa is appealing his deportation on an expired visa but has been denied bail based on secret evidence alleging his association with the Islamic Jihad.

Investigators say the former Arabic teacher at the University of South Florida managed an Islamic think tank that was a front for terrorist fund raising and entry into the United States.

Federal agents say they have found similarly ominous terrorist webs in New York, Detroit, Los Angeles and other U.S. cities.

"You don't want to create law out of knee-jerk reactions, fearful reactions," says Harvey Kushner, chairman of the criminal justice department at Long Island University. "But I don't think you're entitled to all the rights of a U.S. citizen because you've penetrated our borders.

"This is the business of fighting terrorism."

More government power is yet to come.

Provisions for a new federal court to meet in secret and hear classified evidence on accused terrorists could kick in this year, as well as government designations of which political groups are terrorist.

"People are always looking for someone to blame," says lawyer David Pugh of the Center for Constitutional Rights in New York and organizer of today's conference in Washington.

"What if you served in a military unit in the gulf war with Timothy McVeigh and after the war you called him up a couple of times. Does that mean you can be kicked out or locked up" as a terrorist?

"When it comes to taking someone's freedom, we have a Constitution and we have rules, and this is way over the line."

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On a chilly noon hour in February 1993, hundreds of workers stumbled into the streets of lower Manhattan, gasping for air. A car bomb parked under the World Trade Center killed six people and brought the shocking reality that terrorists could strike here.

Even as rescue workers searched the rubble, elected officials began planning their counterattack.

If federal agents were to stop terrorists before they lit a fuse, those agents would need to infiltrate peaceful communities, define political viewpoints as dangerous, keep undesirables from getting into the United States and kick them out if they did.

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"I would rather err on the side of safety," professor Kushner says. "The abuses by the other side - the Hamas, the Islamic Jihad, even the IRA - have been so great, we had to act."

Immigration and civil rights lawyers say the government already wielded a heavy club. For more than 20 years, INS has had the right to use classified evidence to imprison, to deny residency and to grant asylum.

So why were Congress and the Clinton administration pulling together legislation to fight terrorism?

"In the immigration business, what Congress is increasingly saying," says Michael Maggio, an attorney specializing in immigration law, "is that there is only one side of the story."

The government's side.

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Four agents came to the northeast Tampa home of Mazen Al-Najjar the morning of May 19.

Fedaa Al-Najjar says her husband was sitting at the kitchen table as the children finished their eggs and cheese so he could take them to school. With the knock on the door, Mazen stepped outside to talk to the visitors, and Fedaa went to the bedroom to slip into the ankle-length dress and headscarf she wears to cover herself in public.

"Like a ghost, a woman was there in the room, and she says, your husband is under arrest. Then all the people were in my house, in my living room. Yara (their 8-year-old daughter) started to cry. They were threatening to take me," Fedaa says.

The agents were polite. But for a week after they took Mazen away, she says, she could not enter the apartment alone.

The three women sitting with Fedaa as she recounts that day nod sympathetically, the colorful scarves covering their heads belying their iron wills. They are fellow members of the Islamic Community of Tampa mosque. Their children go to school together, at the adjacent academy.

"We are trying to make our children brave and outspoken," says one, who feels nervous about using her name. She is a mother of five, studying for her master's degree at USF. "We don't like the stereotypes, that our husbands are brutal wife-beaters, that the wives are stupid and just follow their husbands blindly."

Their mosque community of about 300 - many of them U.S. citizens, some permanent residents, some here on visas - was shaken by Mazen Al-Najjar's arrest. A U.S. resident for more than 10 years, Al-Najjar is an imam, or leader, in the mosque, a school officer, a maker of lentil soup for students and friends.

"He doesn't hurt a fly. He's a community leader. It makes you paranoid that such a man could be arrested and jailed as a terrorist," says Pilar Saad, one of the organizers of the Tampa Bay Coalition for Justice and Peace to free Al-Najjar.

In testimony at Al-Najjar's deportation hearing last July, INS special agent Bill West called him a "mid-level" operative in a front for terrorism - the World and Islam Studies Enterprise think tank on Fowler Avenue. Al-Najjar signed checks to at least two people who turned out to be terrorists, West said.

Al-Najjar, his brother-in-law Sami Al-Arian, and other think tank members say their associations were limited to academic conferences and fund raising for charity. It is not uncommon to attend the same seminars, work at the same colleges, in an academic community that bridges the Middle East and United States, they say.

But protests by members of WISE that they know nothing of terrorists rang hollow after one of their own, Ramadan Abdullah Shallah, took over the leadership of the Islamic Jihad in October 1995 just months after leaving the think tank.

Critics say rights lost in terror fight

The think tank investigation is two years old. No charges have been filed.

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In spring 1995, Senate and House leaders returned from a two-week Easter break enraged over terrorism.

Just weeks had passed since Timothy McVeigh, a home-grown terrorist, had murdered 168 men, women and children. Legislators were eager to tackle a package of anti-terrorism measures.

As proposed, it looked like Christmas for cops:

The FBI had been forbidden to investigate organizations unless there was a reasonable indication its members were violent lawbreakers. Criminal activity would no longer be a prerequisite.

Other proposals would make it easier to expel immigrants with suspected terrorist ties and tighten laws against raising money in the United States for groups abroad.

"The problem is that (the current) rules . . . mean you have to wait until you have blood on the street before the bureau can act," said Oliver B. Revell, a retired senior FBI official.

Among the estimated 5-million Muslims in this country, many of them Arab-Americans, there was growing apprehension that they were being primed as targets.

By September 1995, the crackdown on terrorism had become a campaign to make Islam the new Red Threat in America, says Arthur Lowrie, a USF professor formerly with the U.S. Foreign Service. We were suffering from "anti-Islamic hysteria," he says.

"The terrorism threat is real. We must not forget that. But while law enforcement agencies must have our support, they do not have carte blanche."

On April 24, 1996, a year after Oklahoma City, President Clinton signed a modified Anti-Terrorism Act on the South Lawn as survivors of terrorist bombings watched and wiped away tears.

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The hearing room where Al-Najjar asked to get out of jail is so tiny he sits a mere arm's length from the almost empty benches for spectators.

His wife is not here. Her attorney has advised her to stay away; she is the children's sole parent for now, and also under a deportation order.

A University of Maryland political science professor testifying by phone describes Al-Najjar as almost apolitical, the last person you would expect to be a terrorist.

The professor may as well have thrown chum into shark-infested waters.

"Do you believe the Palestinian Islamic Jihad is a terrorist group?" asks U.S. Justice Department attorney Jorge Perez.

"One person's terrorist one day is the same person's prime minister the next day," responds professor Louis Cantori.

Cantori says he was shocked when another WISE member, Shallah, turned up as a Jihad leader. So how, Perez presses, could Cantori know that Mazen Al-Najjar is not a terrorist as well?

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A disturbing dot-to-dot picture can be drawn between terrorist sympathizers and members of WISE, between pro-Palestine professors abroad and here, from the politically controversial needing sponsors to enter the United States and Sami Al-Arian's name on their paperwork.

Whether anything criminal is involved is impossible to discern when the government's evidence is secret.

"The most fundamental principle of due process in our country is presenting the evidence. I think it's extremely troubling," says Cole, an attorney specializing in constitutional law.

Civil libertarians also say that in this country, we reject guilt by association. Al-Najjar was denied bond because he was said to be "associated" with the Jihad.

Backers of the anti-terrorism act say it is more than fair to designate organizations as terrorist, and judge those who belong.

"Fundamentalist organizations (in the Middle East) provide services to the people - good schools, good medical care," says Stacy Burdett, of the Anti-Defamation League. "We can't tell the butter from the guns. So you choose," she tells their supporters.

"If you're going to have an organization that blows up school buses, then you've made a choice. But we're not going to free money up for that."

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More than a year after the effort to put teeth in the country's bite on domestic terrorism, not much has changed, both sides say.

Not a single organization has been designated a terrorist group by the State Department.

Not a single case has been brought before the specially convened Alien Terrorist Removal Court.

The INS typically doesn't need to file criminal charges against immigrants, or prove they are plotting against the United States. Most are vulnerable on a visa technicality.

For Fedaa Al-Najjar, much has changed: She stands to lose her husband, her home, her country.

"He tells me to take care of the kids, to be patient," she says. "I pray for Mazen to be with me, and with his children."

For Americans, the balancing act is weighing the amorphous threat of terrorism against bedrock values of free speech and due process.

Even as U.S. citizens profess increasing distrust of their government, they are being asked to let government secretly decide what evidence is valid, which witnesses truthful - and the futures of some of our most powerless residents.

We appear willing to do just that, says Stuart Hanlon, a San Francisco lawyer who represents Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt.

The Black Panther Party leader was just released after 25 years in prison for murder. A judge ruled the jury should have been told the key witness was an FBI informant.

"In California and other places, people have been elected on fear and racism. We're afraid of too many immigrants," Hanlon says. "We attempt to trample people's rights to find some safe haven."

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"There's no optimism in my line of work. I think the only hope is children. Hopefully they can help us progress as a society."

- Times researcher John Martin contributed to this report.

Graphic

COLOR PHOTO; BLACK AND WHITE PHOTO, JIM STEM; Mazen Al-Najjar with his wife, Fedaa.; Fedaa Al-Najjar and her three daughters, Yara, 8, Safa, 2, and Sarah, 6.

Load-Date: July 1, 1997

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**THEATER: Theater on the Verge in the Middle East;
Palestinian Drama Is An Expression Of Identity, 'Even Sanity'**

The New York Times

September 15, 1991, Sunday, Late Edition - Final

Copyright 1991 The New York Times Company

Distribution: Arts & Leisure Desk

Section: Section 2;; Section 2; Page 5; Column 1; Arts & Leisure Desk; Column 1;

Length: 1839 words

Byline: By JOANNE AKALAITIS

By JOANNE AKALAITIS

Body

Theater under conditions of conflict has a special resonance. The Mideast for two New York directors was the destination for recent separate trips, both after the end of the Persian Gulf war. They arrived in Israel with different itineraries.

JoAnne Akalaitis, the newly named artistic director of the New York Shakespeare Festival, wanted to meet Palestinians involved in theater; Gene Saks, the Broadway director -- most recently of "Lost in Yonkers" -- was interested in seeing theater in Israel.

Ms. Akalaitis traveled with three other directors, Anne Bogart, Robert Woodruff and Michael Greif; an actor, Joseph Haj, and Yasmin Adib, a Palestinian-American poet. Mr. Saks's party included the playwright Wendy Wasserstein, the producer Emanuel Azenberg, the producer and actor Wayne Rogers, and the actors Jason Alexander and Jonathan Silverman.

The following articles are adapted from diaries Ms. Akalaitis and Mr. Saks kept during their voyages.

One night in 1989 at the Guthrie Theater bar in Minneapolis, after a rehearsal of "The Screens," Jean Genet's ruthless masterpiece on the Algerian revolution, an actor and I imagined making a trip to the occupied territories. That actor was Joseph Haj, a Palestinian-American born and raised in Miami Beach. We had no plan or agenda; we only knew we wanted to meet Palestinians who did theater.

And so, two years later, against a background of captivating biblical scenery and appalling wastelands, we meet Palestinians in refugee camps, villages, art centers, theaters, kindergartens, clinics, suburban homes, hotel lobbies, restaurants and, most affectingly, in the ruined and reeking surrealist landscape of the Gaza Strip. We also meet courageous Israeli human-rights activists in the basement "Arab room" of a hotel in East Jerusalem and a group of Israeli actors, writers and directors in an airy seaside apartment in Tel Aviv. "We" are, by origin, a WASP, two Jews, a Moslem, a Lithuanian Roman Catholic and an Arab Christian.

As soon as I arrive in Tel Aviv the Israeli driver of the eight-passenger sharoot refuses to take me to East Jerusalem. I give him 10 more shekels to drop me at the National Palace Hotel. The shops are closed, as decreed

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by the intifada -- the Palestinian uprising. I am assaulted by a particularly violent and brutal street art, on walls and shutters, the intifada graffiti painted over with black X's by the Israeli Army.

The next day we hire a driver who knows the strategies of maneuvering around the occupied territories with yellow Israeli plates: by day in Palestinian areas, he throws the black-and-white-checkered Palestinian scarf, a kaffiyeh, on the dashboard; at night, he turns on the inside lights to keep from being stoned. We drive to Ramallah, a Palestinian town in the West Bank about eight miles north of Jerusalem.

In a hot, crowded upstairs room at the Popular Arts Center, we have a lively meeting with theater people from the West Bank. Smoking cigarettes and drinking cold water, they all talk about the same thing -- not the theater they do, but the theater they can't do -- a maze of Catch-22's. For a gathering of 10 or more, a permit from Israeli authorities is necessary. The permit can be denied for any reason, the primary one being state security. Some subjects -- Palestinian nationality, for example, and even the colors of the Palestinian flag -- are illegal. Rehearsals can be difficult, if not impossible, when performers can't obtain permits to travel to them. When a play does manage to open, it can be closed at any time by military authorities.

The next day we go to Gaza, a kind of crossover into hell, an endless refuse dump -- one of the most densely populated areas on earth. The wide sandy avenues are heaped with piles of rotting garbage. The air is thick with acrid dust and the smells of open sewage. There are ugly unfinished concrete structures everywhere.

The Gaza City Y.M.C.A., though, is clean and hospitable. In a large hall on the main floor, 30 young men and one woman representing three Gaza theater groups are there to meet us. We are amazed that these people, many from refugee camps and under a curfew (during the gulf war it was 24 hours), are enthusiastically making theater.

The first question I ask is where are the women? Answer: They're busy at home. (Gaza is the center of the growing Islamic fundamentalist movement, Hamas.) The sole woman, her hair modestly covered by a scarf, says she lies to her family about her involvement, performs under a pseudonym and has a scout posted during performances in case a relative shows up.

The group is eager, full of questions: Who are the American playwrights besides Tennessee Williams and Arthur Miller? Do we do plays about American Indians? What do Americans know about Gaza? Can we send them plays and books about theater? It is here, incidentally, that we have the best falafel of the trip. (Lunch was delayed, it is said, because the army tried to confiscate the car.)

Soon we are led to a small room in the basement. Someone draws a curtain and closes the window -- strange noises (the kind actors make) could attract soldiers. The works are short -- about being arrested, jailed, tortured. Even though they are in Arabic we can follow them because the style is simple and broad. In one moment that the audience especially loves, a hero dies and the sole woman performer weeps over his body. Patriotic songs are an integral part of the performance, and the audience enthusiastically joins in. The feeling here is buoyant. And I wonder how many people from outside (or even inside) Gaza have seen this work.

That night, at our hotel, Marna House in Gaza City, I feel as if we're in a time warp. With its genteel shabbiness, sultry veranda and silent, attentive waiter, Marna House evokes a bygone era. In the dim sitting room, we sip strong perfumed Arabic coffee with a group of articulate Gazan professionals. Among them is an elegant, soft-spoken Gaza-born man, Dr. Haidar Abdel-Shafi, the director of the Red Crescent medical organization in the Gaza Strip. His crisp linen shirt and fine shoes defy the squalor outside. At 10 minutes to 8 everyone rises. It is the curfew. And this man, who recently met with United States Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d, rises and slips into the night. That evening I can't sleep because of the day's memories and the suffocating stench of burning garbage.

The next day, on the way to a Palestinian refugee camp near the Egyptian border, our car is suddenly surrounded by three jeeps, out of which spill about 15 Israeli soldiers with serious-looking weapons. We are taken to a military police headquarters and questioned. I know moments of real terror and cowardice. The handsome Green Beret-like soldiers laughingly tell us that we are lucky to be in a democracy like Israel. As we are released, one soldier says,

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"Be sure to tell your American newspapers how you were captured by the Israeli Army." Back at Marna House, we pitch in \$400 for the Palestinian driver, who has been fined for "bad brakes."

We are in Ramallah the next day, where Anne Bogart and I had offered to do a workshop with performers from the West Bank. After seeing the freshness and innocence of the work in Gaza, I worry that we may be imposing Western theater techniques on people who are doing just fine evolving their own forms.

The workshop turns out to be fun. The room is a dance studio in the Popular Arts Center, and I notice that despite the heat someone again closes the windows. The work is physical. A slow-motion exercise uses images of aggression from the performers' personal history. The atmosphere becomes palpably charged.

It is a relief to switch to images of security and support. The breathing and bodies relax. Everyone ends up on the floor. I talk them "through" their bodies, relaxing each part. The studio is tranquil, and the voice of the young woman translating my words into Arabic is musical and hypnotic.

That night in a suburbanlike home in Ramallah, we meet with three representatives of three grass-roots women's groups. They describe the difficulties of organizing women. Our hostess, Nisreen Khalaf, a Palestinian-born feminist from Boulder, Colo., who lives with her husband and child, says, "When this is over, we're not going back to the kitchen." We all thought we were being invited to her house for a traditional Middle Eastern meal, but she says she is too busy to cook and sends a male friend out for pizza.

On a hot Sunday morning in Tel Aviv, several days later, we meet with a group of Israeli directors, actors, writers and even a puppeteer in a gracious seaside apartment. They describe their work, but more to the point, they describe their anguish. Everyone agrees that even though there is no more official censorship for Israelis, there is self-censorship. As an example, we are told that the subscribers of the Haifa Theater pressured the board to stop doing political theater; the board agreed, prompting the departure of a group of artists. One of them, Doron Tavori, an actor, says, "Since the intifada, Israeli audiences want more musicals -- like 'Cats.' " Several actors say they have been to jail as part of the Yesh Gvul movement, in which Israeli military personnel refuse to serve in the occupied territories. Someone says, "We are having a nervous breakdown." Everyone agrees. They are speaking about the nation.

On our last day, in Bethlehem, in a blue room with graceful windows and a beautiful tiled floor, Fateh Azzam, a theater director (and a full-time worker for Al-Haq, the Palestinian human-rights group), and two actors and a musician are rehearsing a piece called "Ansar." It will be performed by the Al-Masrah troupe in New York in October as part of an American tour this fall.

The play is based on the experiences of Nidal Khatib, one of the actors, who was an inmate at Ansar 3, an Israeli military prison in the Negev; it tells a story of arrest, the horrors of detention, political awakening and death, intersected by dream sequences. Nidal says he started to do theater in prison (like Sartre), rehearsing with other prisoners, but very quietly -- "signed" and whispered.

We have an English script, but it isn't necessary: the acting is dangerous and immediate. The actors' bodies tell the story of a bus journey to Ansar 3: beaten, handcuffed and blindfolded. In a section of the play entitled "The New Life," they enter prison, where everything is forbidden -- where "if you want to live, shut up. You are nothing . . . an insect . . . in the desert."

That night, at our farewell dinner in East Jerusalem, we all agree that Palestinian theater won't be held back -- whether in prison, in an anonymous room, or in a theater itself. It is an expression of national identity, solidarity, even sanity.

The next morning, at Ben-Gurion airport in Tel Aviv, I am grilled by an Israeli security woman, and then another, "to see if you say the same things." I am asked insistently to prove that I am a theater director. I am surprised at how difficult that is.

THEATER: Theater on the Verge in the Middle East; Palestinian Drama Is An Expression Of Identity, 'Even Sanity'

Graphic

Photo: Emigre actors with the Gesher Soviet Theater in Israel, in Tom Stoppard's "Rosencrantz and Guildenstern Are Dead"--a critical hit in an adopted country (Gesher Soviet Theater/"Rosencrantz and Guildenstern Are Dead"); JoAnne Akalaitis, right, at a workshop in Bethlehem with Palestinian actors from the play "Ansar." (Rosen/Saba) (pg. 8)

Load-Date: September 15, 1991

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MIDEAST ACCORD: THE OVERVIEW;
ISRAEL AND P.L.O. REACH ACCORD TO TRANSFER WEST BANK AREAS

The New York Times

September 25, 1995, Monday, Late Edition - Final

Copyright 1995 The New York Times Company

Distribution: Foreign Desk

Section: Section A; ; Section A; Page 1; Column 6; Foreign Desk ; Column 6; ; Chronology ; EGYPT; JORDAN;

Length: 1706 words

Byline: By SERGE SCHMEMANN

By SERGE SCHMEMANN

Dateline: JERUSALEM, Sept. 24

Body

After months of arduous negotiations and a tense last-minute flurry of crises and walkouts, Israel and the Palestinians concluded a major agreement today on transferring control of much of the occupied West Bank to its Arab residents.

With only two and a half hours left before Israel shut down for the celebration of Rosh ha-Shanah, the Jewish New Year, the Israeli Foreign Minister, Shimon Peres, and the leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization, Yasir Arafat, finally initialed the 400-page document. The major obstacle they had overcome was the security arrangements for Hebron, where Jewish settlers live surrounded by Arab residents.

Mr. Peres and Mr. Arafat approved the agreement in a brief ceremony this afternoon in Taba, Egypt, a Red Sea resort where the final negotiations took place.

The initialing cleared the way for the agreement to be approved by the Israeli Cabinet on Wednesday, and to be formally signed in a much-postponed ceremony at the White House on Thursday with President Clinton and the leaders of Egypt and Jordan in attendance.

The accord, which capped marathon and often tempestuous negotiations, spells out in detail, step by step and town by town, the withdrawal of Israeli forces from much of the territory Israel has occupied since the 1967 war and the transfer of extensive governing authority to an elected Palestinian Council until a final separation is negotiated by the turn of the century.

Mr. Peres, his voice breaking at moments, said at the ceremony today: "Ladies and gentlemen, let's face it, what we are doing today is not a normal political or economic enterprise; it is history in the real meaning of the word.

"On our side there are many mothers and fathers and children who suffered tremendously, and on the Palestinian side, too, there are many people who paid with their lives, their fortunes, their freedom, and I really feel the Lord has

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offered us a real opportunity to change the course of hopelessness and desperation and bloodshed into something more promising, more noble, more humane."

Mr. Arafat was somewhat less conciliatory, saying: "On this occasion and from this place I would like to speak to our prisoners, to those who were injured, with greetings, and I assure them that the dawn of freedom is coming. I also greet the families of our martyrs."

His comments were certain to raise the hackles of the Israeli right, since the people the Palestinians call "martyrs" the Israelis call "terrorists."

But the P.L.O. leader, whose name and trademark head covering were synonymous with terrorism only a scant two years ago, also wished the Israelis a happy New Year in Hebrew, "Shanah Tovah," and expressed the hope that the coming year would be a time of real peace between "people of the area."

The agreement came under almost immediate attack from opposition forces on both sides.

"This is a bad agreement for which Israel will pay a heavy price," the conservative Likud Party bloc said in Israel.

In Hebron, which had caused so much strife for negotiators, the Palestinian Mayor, Mustafa Natshe, said the agreement "does not meet the expectations of the people."

Militant Israeli settlers in Hebron vowed to block the agreement from being put into effect.

Inside Israel, the two-day observance of the High Holy Days precluded mass protests. But after that, warned a longtime political commentator, "fasten your seat belt."

Mr. Peres and Mr. Arafat, however, were obviously elated and even emotional at the 20-minute televised ceremony. They had put in about 80 hours of direct negotiations, and spent almost every night of the last week working together in an atmosphere of crisis and suspense.

Hours before the initialing, Mr. Arafat stormed out, shouting, "We are not slaves!" It was the second time he erupted and walked out, and once again he was enticed back to the bargaining table by telephoned appeals from President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt and the chief American mediator, Dennis B. Ross.

The accord is the second stage of the process that began when Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Mr. Arafat shook hands on the White House lawn on Sept. 13, 1993. The "Declaration of Principles" they issued then ended 26 years of total estrangement and set a timetable for a permanent disengagement of Arabs and Israelis in the Palestinian lands by the end of the century.

The first stage, initiated in May 1994, established Palestinian self-rule in the Gaza Strip and in Jericho in the West Bank. The final stage, which is to begin in May 1996, will be the "permanent-status negotiations" over the fate of Jerusalem, Arab refugees, Jewish settlements and security arrangements.

In many respects, today's agreement was far more complex and politically volatile than the Declaration of Principles, which established only broad and often contradictory guidelines for disengaging two peoples with competing religious, legal and historic claims to the same small patch of land and a history of bloodshed, terror and humiliation.

Immediately after the ceremony, Mr. Arafat departed for Cairo and a tour of Arab capitals, presumably to discuss the agreement, which will not be made public in full until it gets the expected stamp of approval from the Israeli Cabinet.

Within 10 days of the signing, the Israeli Army will begin withdrawing from the population centers of the West Bank - - Jenin, Nablus, Tulkarm, Qalqilya, Ramallah and Bethlehem, as well as 450 towns and villages -- and turning security over to a 12,000-member Palestinian police force.

MIDEAST ACCORD: THE OVERVIEW; ISRAEL AND P.L.O. REACH ACCORD TO TRANSFER WEST BANK AREAS

Arrangements for Hebron, the only West Bank city with Israeli settlements, proved to be the most difficult. The Palestinians demanded that it be treated like all the other cities, while Israel insisted on provisions to protect the 450 Israeli settlers, who believe their presence is biblically ordained.

The compromise was an elaborate plan dividing the city into three zones: one patrolled by Israelis, a second patrolled jointly and the third patrolled by Palestinians, but with Palestinians in overall control of security.

The arrangement also calls for the construction of a special road connecting the Jewish enclaves in the city to a larger settlement outside Hebron.

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"I think we made the right step in the direction of our final goal, which is not 'Greater Israel' as a binational state, but the state of Israel as a Jewish state," he said.

Mr. Arafat also endured considerable pressure during the negotiations, especially from radical Islamic movements and militant Arab opponents.

Within the West Bank, Palestinians feared the effects of the continued presence of settlers and soldiers in Hebron. "No matter how many soldiers are stationed there, they will be seen as a basic injustice and a source of constant friction and violence," said Hanan Ashrawi, one of the early Palestinian negotiators.

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Main points of the interim Israel-P.L.O. agreement reached yesterday

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May 4, 1994 -- Israel and the P.L.O. sign a detailed agreement for carrying out the first stage of autonomy in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank town of Jericho. Within weeks, Israeli troops withdraw from the two areas and hand control over to the Palestinian Authority.

Sept. 24, 1995 -- Arafat and the Israeli Foreign Minister, Shimon Peres, reach agreement on the second stage of autonomy: self-rule in most Arab-populated areas of the West Bank. (pg. A6)

Map of Israel (pg. A6)

Load-Date: September 25, 1995

MIDEAST ACCORD: THE OVERVIEW;
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Correction Appended

The New York Times

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Distribution: Foreign Desk

Section: Section A;; Section A; Page 1; Column 6; Foreign Desk; Column 6;; Chronology

Length: 1706 words

Byline: By SERGE SCHMEMANN

By SERGE SCHMEMANN

Dateline: JERUSALEM, Sept. 24

Body

After months of arduous negotiations and a tense last-minute flurry of crises and walkouts, Israel and the Palestinians concluded a major agreement today on transferring control of much of the occupied West Bank to its Arab residents.

With only two and a half hours left before Israel shut down for the celebration of Rosh ha-Shanah, the Jewish New Year, the Israeli Foreign Minister, Shimon Peres, and the leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization, Yasir Arafat, finally initialed the 400-page document. The major obstacle they had overcome was the security arrangements for Hebron, where Jewish settlers live surrounded by Arab residents.

Mr. Peres and Mr. Arafat approved the agreement in a brief ceremony this afternoon in Taba, Egypt, a Red Sea resort where the final negotiations took place.

The initialing cleared the way for the agreement to be approved by the Israeli Cabinet on Wednesday, and to be formally signed in a much-postponed ceremony at the White House on Thursday with President Clinton and the leaders of Egypt and Jordan in attendance.

The accord, which capped marathon and often tempestuous negotiations, spells out in detail, step by step and town by town, the withdrawal of Israeli forces from much of the territory Israel has occupied since the 1967 war and the transfer of extensive governing authority to an elected Palestinian Council until a final separation is negotiated by the turn of the century.

Mr. Peres, his voice breaking at moments, said at the ceremony today: "Ladies and gentlemen, let's face it, what we are doing today is not a normal political or economic enterprise; it is history in the real meaning of the word.

MIDEAST ACCORD: THE OVERVIEW; ISRAEL AND P.L.O. REACH ACCORD TO TRANSFER WEST BANK AREAS

"On our side there are many mothers and fathers and children who suffered tremendously, and on the Palestinian side, too, there are many people who paid with their lives, their fortunes, their freedom, and I really feel the Lord has offered us a real opportunity to change the course of hopelessness and desperation and bloodshed into something more promising, more noble, more humane."

Mr. Arafat was somewhat less conciliatory, saying: "On this occasion and from this place I would like to speak to our prisoners, to those who were injured, with greetings, and I assure them that the dawn of freedom is coming. I also greet the families of our martyrs."

His comments were certain to raise the hackles of the Israeli right, since the people the Palestinians call "martyrs" the Israelis call "terrorists."

But the P.L.O. leader, whose name and trademark head covering were synonymous with terrorism only a scant two years ago, also wished the Israelis a happy New Year in Hebrew, "Shanah Tovah," and expressed the hope that the coming year would be a time of real peace between "people of the area."

The agreement came under almost immediate attack from opposition forces on both sides.

"This is a bad agreement for which Israel will pay a heavy price," the conservative Likud Party bloc said in Israel.

In Hebron, which had caused so much strife for negotiators, the Palestinian Mayor, Mustafa Natshe, said the agreement "does not meet the expectations of the people."

Militant Israeli settlers in Hebron vowed to block the agreement from being put into effect.

Inside Israel, the two-day observance of the High Holy Days precluded mass protests. But after that, warned a longtime political commentator, "fasten your seat belt."

Mr. Peres and Mr. Arafat, however, were obviously elated and even emotional at the 20-minute televised ceremony. They had put in about 80 hours of direct negotiations, and spent almost every night of the last week working together in an atmosphere of crisis and suspense.

Hours before the initialing, Mr. Arafat stormed out, shouting, "We are not slaves!" It was the second time he erupted and walked out, and once again he was enticed back to the bargaining table by telephoned appeals from President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt and the chief American mediator, Dennis B. Ross.

The accord is the second stage of the process that began when Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Mr. Arafat shook hands on the White House lawn on Sept. 13, 1993. The "Declaration of Principles" they issued then ended 26 years of total estrangement and set a timetable for a permanent disengagement of Arabs and Israelis in the Palestinian lands by the end of the century.

The first stage, initiated in May 1994, established Palestinian self-rule in the Gaza Strip and in Jericho in the West Bank. The final stage, which is to begin in May 1996, will be the "permanent-status negotiations" over the fate of Jerusalem, Arab refugees, Jewish settlements and security arrangements.

In many respects, today's agreement was far more complex and politically volatile than the Declaration of Principles, which established only broad and often contradictory guidelines for disengaging two peoples with competing religious, legal and historic claims to the same small patch of land and a history of bloodshed, terror and humiliation.

Immediately after the ceremony, Mr. Arafat departed for Cairo and a tour of Arab capitals, presumably to discuss the agreement, which will not be made public in full until it gets the expected stamp of approval from the Israeli Cabinet.

MIDEAST ACCORD: THE OVERVIEW; ISRAEL AND P.L.O. REACH ACCORD TO TRANSFER WEST BANK AREAS

Within 10 days of the signing, the Israeli Army will begin withdrawing from the population centers of the West Bank - Jenin, Nablus, Tulkarm, Qalqilya, Ramallah and Bethlehem, as well as 450 towns and villages -- and turning security over to a 12,000-member Palestinian police force.

Arrangements for Hebron, the only West Bank city with Israeli settlements, proved to be the most difficult. The Palestinians demanded that it be treated like all the other cities, while Israel insisted on provisions to protect the 450 Israeli settlers, who believe their presence is biblically ordained.

The compromise was an elaborate plan dividing the city into three zones: one patrolled by Israelis, a second patrolled jointly and the third patrolled by Palestinians, but with Palestinians in overall control of security.

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Correction

A chart on Monday about an agreement on the transfer of parts of the West Bank to Palestinian control misstated the deadline for the Palestinians to honor a pledge to remove from their charter articles calling for the destruction of Israel. The Palestinians' commitment is to amend the charter within two months after the inauguration of an elected Palestinian council, not within two years.

Correction-Date: September 28, 1995, Thursday

Graphic

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Map of Israel (pg. A6)

Load-Date: September 25, 1995

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WINNERS IN THE WIND!; DONCASTER BREEZE-UP SALES PREVIEW

Sporting Life

March 18, 1997, Tuesday

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Section: SPORT; Pg. 4

Length: 4174 words

Byline: Andrew Caulfield

Body

Competition was so fierce at most of last year's yearling sales that many trainers struggled to fill all the orders in their books.

Some of them will no doubt find what they are looking for later this week, when 260 two-year-olds come under the hammer from Thursday to Saturday at Doncaster, but competition could well once again be intense.

Last year's sale enjoyed a 93 per cent clearance rate and the average price rose by more than 1,000gns to 9,326gns. As no fewer than 123 graduates of the 1995 and 1996 sales have won 231 races, buyers will surely be back for more.

Henry Beeby, the Doncaster director, said: "I am hoping that this year's sale will be every bit as strong - if not stronger - than last year.

"The vendors certainly believe that the quality will be as high as ever."

All the two-year-olds will be breezed twice over three furlongs of Doncaster's hurdle course, and John Sanderson, Doncaster's chief executive, has promised to have the course watered, if necessary, to ensure good ground for the youngsters.

Here are some of the promising juveniles on offer.

ABSALOM (2c, 1g): this veteran sprinter's collection all sold reasonably well as yearlings, with 8,200gns being the price for Lots 9 and 212. Lot 9, a colt from the family of the speedy Umbelata, comes up from Jim Ryan's Milltown Stud.

Lot 45 is a three-parts-brother to Dangerous Shadow, a triple sprint winner at two years.

AJRAAS (1c): the sire of No Animosity is represented by Lot 242, a colt out of a well-bred Known Fact mare.

AKID (1c): this son of Secreto is not a familiar name, but he was a good- class two-year-old. Lot 231 is out of a half-sister to those talented stayers Waterfield and Fitzpatrick.

ALHIJAZ (1c): That many other members of Alhijaz's first crop sold well as yearlings bodes well for Lot 156, a colt whose second dam is a winning sister to the very fast Runnett.

WINNERS IN THE WIND!; DONCASTER BREEZE-UP SALES PREVIEW

ALNASR ALWASHEEK (1c): 6,200gns was the yearling price of Lot 61, a colt out of a winning half-sister to Whip It Quick, the Coventry Stakes winner.

ANSHAN (1f): Lot 200, a sister to a winner in Sweden, has two-year-old winners as her first three dams.

ARAGON (2c): Aragon's impressive figures of eight winners from 13 two-year-old runners last year should stand this pair in good stead - especially as they sold well as yearlings.

IR12,000gns was the price of Rathasker Stud's colt, Lot 85, which is closely inbred to Mummy's Pet. And 7,000gns was paid for Lot 198, a three-parts-brother to the prolific winner Kelly Mac.

ARCHWAY (3c, 1g, 1f): the first two crops by this fast horse included several good money-spinners, such as Pelham and the European Stakes winners Ella Nico and Sua.

There could be more on offer here, as Lot 11, a son of a Habitat mare, cost 10,000gns as a yearling and Lot 73 cost IR7,200gns.

Golden Vale Stud's colt, Lot 94, is out of a talented Be My Guest mare.

ARDKINGGLASS (1c): Lot 108 is inbred 4 x 3 to Northern Dancer. His dam is a three-parts-sister to Miss Sancerre, a promising three-year-old, and his second dam is a sister to Cyrano de Bergerac.

BALLA COVE (2c): this winner of the Middle Park Stakes should be well represented by Lot 149, a 5,600gns buy, and 246, an 8,800gns colt whose first two dams are by Auction Ring and Persian Bold.

BALLAD ROCK (2c, 1f): the penultimate crop by the sire of Chief Singer and Rock City includes Lot 250, a three-parts-brother to another of Ballard Rock's best winners, Stack Rock. The other colt, Lot 39, is a grandson of Attica Meli, a champion filly.

BATSHOOF (1c): two-year-olds by Batshoof made 17,000 and 19,000gns last year. This time he is represented by Lot 118, a son of a Final Straw mare.

BE MY CHIEF (2c): Lot 233 should make a two-year-old. This colt's sire won his six starts as a juvenile; his dam was second in the Curragh Stakes; his second dam won the Curragh Stakes; and his half-sister Arethusa was very effective at two last year. A 23,000gns foal, this colt was knocked down for 44,000gns at the October Sales.

Lot 46 is the first foal of a sister-in-blood to the excellent broodmare Upper Strata, who produced the Prix de Diane runner-up Her Ladyship to Polish Precedent (like Be My Chief a member of the Danzig male line).

BE MY GUEST (1c): Lot 13's family has produced such good two-year-olds as Tierce (a champion in Australia), Greenland Park and Marina Park (who was produced by a Be My Guest mare).

BE MY NATIVE (1c): although he is now regarded as a National Hunt sire, Be My Native was represented last year by Artan, a colt rated 115 on the International Classifications. Lot 137 comes from the family of the smart and versatile Sprowston Boy and he must look the part, as he cost IR15,000gns at Fairyhouse.

BEVELED (2c): Beveled did very well last year, with over 40 per cent winners among his 62 runners, and his yearlings sold for up to 46,000gns. He should again do well here, as Lot 226 is a half-brother to that smart sprinter Rambling Bear, as well as being a brother to a winner.

BLUEBIRD (1c): Lot 175 is a brother to a two-year-old winner, as well as being a grandson of Vela, a leading two-year-old filly in France.

BRIEF TRUCE (1c): Darshaan mares were represented by 15 winners from 27 runners in Britain and Ireland last year, including Desert Story, Predappio, Altamura, Asmara, Behaviour, Election Day and Kalabo. Lot 51 is out of a winner-producing Darshaan mare from the family of Timarida.

WINNERS IN THE WIND!; DONCASTER BREEZE-UP SALES PREVIEW

CASE LAW (3c): Milltown Stud must have high hopes of Lot 10, a colt from the first crop by the admirable Case Law. He is the first foal of a winning Woodman mare and cost IR20,000gns as a yearling.

The other two colts also sold pretty well. Lot 64, the first foal of a winning Prince Sabo mare, cost IR9,000gns and Lot 173, a IR5,700gns purchase, is the first foal of a mare by Rainbow Quest, a broodmare sire with nine winners among his daughters' 20 runners last year.

CASTEDDU (1c, 1f): Southburgh Manor Stud is offering both youngsters from Casteddu's first crop. The colt, Lot 31, is out of a sister to the smart juvenile Dominion Royale and he cost 18,000gns last September. The filly, Lot 32, is out of a winner-producing Habitat mare which is a sister to the Group-winning Life At The Top.

CLANTIME (3c, 1f): Clantime youngsters made up to 20,000gns at last year's sale and 33,000gns was paid for one of his colts at the 1995 sale.

Lot 79 is a brother to the 20,000gns and 33,000gns individuals, the latter now a winner in Malaysia, and he cost 14,000gns as a yearling.

Yeomanstown Stud's colt, Lot 29, was a 7,800gns purchase and Lot 166 is closely related to the successful Shaffishayes.

CLASSIC SECRET (1c, 1f): Secreto's brother is represented by Lot 133, a filly out of a half-sister to Roaring Riva, winner of the Phoenix Stakes, and Lot 171, a IR5,000gns colt out of a winner-producing mare by Ela-Mana- Mou.

COMMON GROUNDS (3c, 2f): colts by this successful stallion made 50,000gns and 20,000gns at the 1996 Doncaster Sale, and this year's Common Grounds team is sure to be much in demand.

Four of the youngsters made more than 10,000gns as yearlings, namely Lots 30, the first foal of a leading winner in Austria and the Czech Republic; 98, a well-bred half-brother to the useful Yoush and numerous other winners; 112, a half-sister to the speedy La Galerie, from a fast family; and 132, a 14,500gns son of a winning Caerleon mare.

CONTRACT LAW (2c): Contract Law had three winners from only seven two- year -old runners last season. Lot 74 comes from the family of Spindrifter, the remarkable winner of 13 two-year-old races, and Lot 193's dam is a half-sister to the high-class French filly Ode.

CYRANO DE BERGERAC (1c): Lot 213 is out of a half-sister to Cooleen Jack, a smart Irish sprinter.

DANCING DISSIDENT (1c): this fast son of Nureyev had a good time in 1996, with the fast sprinters Don't Worry Me and Almaty among his representatives. Lot 75, an IR8,000gns yearling, could also be speedy, as he is out of a winning daughter of the champion two-year-old filly Cry Of Truth.

DANEHILL (1c): Malcolm Bastard must have every chance of making a profit on the 14,500gns he paid for Lot 33, a half-brother to the speedy Nashia. Other colts by Danehill have made 30,000gns and 53,000gns at Doncaster breeze-up sales.

DEPLOY (2c): this up-and-coming stallion had 28 runners last year, of which as many as ten earned more than pounds 10,000, so his Doncaster colts deserve respect. Lot 6 must look the part, judging by his 9,200gns yearling price.

DESSE ZENNY (2c): one winner from two runners was the 1996 record of this brother to Tasso, the champion American juvenile. Lot 82 is a brother to that winner, The DeeJay.

DILUM (1c, 3f): these youngsters from the first crop by Dilum could easily do well, especially if they have inherited their sire's quick-maturing qualities.

Suir View Stables has a likely prospect in Lot 37, a January-foaled colt out of a sister to the high-class and quick-maturing Star Way. This colt cost 9,400gns.

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The fillies include Lot 24, the second foal of a two-year-old winner by Fairy King, and Lot 205, from Ginger McCain's Bankhouse Stud, is a half-sister to a couple of early two-year-old winners.

DISCOVER (1c): this American son of Cox's Ridge is represented by Lot 14, a colt whose dam is a half-sister to Trapp Mountain, a Grade One-winning two-year-old by Cox's Ridge.

DISTANT RELATIVE (1c): this good young sire relies on Lot 152, the second foal of a well-bred mare from the family of Cap Juluca and Caerleon.

DISTINCTLY NORTH (3c, 2f): as Distinctly North was leading first-season sire in 1995 and third-leading sire of two-year-olds in 1996, it isn't hard to imagine some of his youngsters doing well as Doncaster.

Lot 65 is a IR6,500gns half-brother to the smart Heather Seeker. One of the fillies, Lot 255, is out of a granddaughter of Danzig which won at two years.

DON'T FORGET ME (1g): Don't Forget Me already has the Grade Three winner Golden Pond to his credit in 1997. Lot 168 comes from a good-class **female** line.

DOUBLETOUT (1c): this half-brother to Kris, Diesis and Rudimentary has also shown himself capable of siring Stakes performers, so Lot 215 is worth a look.

EFISIO (1f): Lot 2 is a sister to a colt which made 50,000gns at last year's sale. Their dam, Rare Roberta, won the Prix Perth and was fourth in the One Thousand Guineas.

ELBIO (3c): the trio from the first crop by this excellent sprinter are sons of mares by those fast horses Persian Bold, Mummy's Pet and St Alphage. As Elbio is a grandson of Mummy's Pet, Lot 128 is closely inbred to this influential speed horse.

ELMAAMUL (2c): these colts come from the first British crop by this top-class ten-furlong horse. Newtown Stud's colt, Lot 129, cost 8,000gns and is a half-brother to the fairly useful performers Pride of Brixton and Norfolk Hero.

Lot 197, a 5,600gns yearling, also comes from a successful family.

EMARATI (1c, 1f): Lot 148 is a half-sister to two juvenile winners.

ENVIRONMENT FRIEND (1c): Environment Friend made a pleasing start with his first crop last year. Here the successful Mocklershill Stables offer Lot 172, a son of a winning mare by Dominion.

FAYRUZ (6c): there was plenty of demand for Fayruz's youngsters at last year's sale and several of them went on to win. It could be the same story this year, as the Fayruz team include Lot 232, an IR11,500gns half-brother to the very successful 1996 Italian juvenile Keeps Ground. One of Tally-Ho Stud's three colts, Lot 50, cost IR7,000gns, while Lot 123 comes from the Fulling Mill Stud which previously consigned Sergeyev.

FORMIDABLE (1c): 4,800gns was the yearling price of Lot 95, a colt from the family of Star Of A Gunner.

FORZANDO (2c, 1f): Easycall's sire could have an exciting time with Lot 146, an 18,000gns yearling coming up from Milltown Stud. This colt is a half-brother to Special Star, a winner of six races worth over pounds 50,000 at two years in Italy last year.

The other colt, Lot 150, is also out of a Sharpen Up mare so should make a two-year-old. The filly, Lot 103, is out of a dual juvenile winner whose first two foals have won at two.

GOVERNOR GENERAL (1c): this fast horse is represented by Lot 97, the first foal of a Forzando mare. The colt could have dual-purpose appeal, as his **female** line produced Land Afar to Governor General's sire, Dominion.

WINNERS IN THE WIND!; DONCASTER BREEZE-UP SALES PREVIEW

HAMAS (1c, 1f): Lot 27, Lynn Lodge Stud's colt from the first crop of this very well-connected son of Danzig, is a half-brother to that useful hurdler Non Vintage. Cobhall Court Stud's filly, Lot 48, is the first foal of a winning Ahonoora mare.

HANDSOME SAILOR (1g): Lot 161 is the first foal of a half-sister to several winners, including the useful jumper Elite Reg.

HERMITAGE (1c): this three-parts-brother to Sadler's Wells and Fairy King made a pleasing start last year, with Grapeshot among his early runners. Lot 58 was a 9,500-dollar yearling.

HIGH ESTATE (1c): Inseyab, a winner of seven races at up to a mile, is dam of Lot 34, from Malcolm Bastard's Colnpen.

IMPERIAL FRONTIER (2c, 1f): this inexpensive stallion has sired three Group Two winners, so is one to keep an eye on. Lot 181, a IR7,500gns yearling, is a three-parts-brother to one of those winners, Imperial Bailiwick.

Imperial Frontier could also do well with Lot 124, an 8,000gns buy which is the first foal of a half-sister to a two-year-old Group winner.

Oak Lodge Stud's filly, Lot 178, is a half-sister to the speedy Harvest Girl.

IMP SOCIETY (2c, 1f): following the success last year of Proud Native, Roman Imp and Bewitching, Imp Society should be guaranteed a rewarding time here. IR8,400gns was the yearling price of Lot 68, a half-brother to the prolific winner Our Fan, from the family of Da Hoss and Tagula.

INDIAN RIDGE (1c): Lot 147, a 5,000gns buy, is bred to be speedy, with mares by Runnett and Realm as his first two dams.

KALDOUN (1c): this stallion is one of the most successful and consistent in France and he has already sired two winning two- year-olds from the dam of Lot 158. One of those winners, Vieux Moulin, went on to be placed at Grade Three level in the USA.

Lot 158 cost the equivalent of over 12,000gns and has the considerable attraction of being French bred, and therefore qualifies for an extra 70 per cent of prize-money if he races in France.

KEEN (3c): Keen has been doing well in Japan with his son Hikoki Gumo, who won and was second in Group Three events last month. Lot 165, a colt from the family of the classic-winning Waterloo, cost 8,000gns. Another with classic connections is Lot 4, a grandson of dual Oaks winner Blue Wind.

Woodside Stables' colt, Lot 235, is the first foal of

Graphic

Lot 158, by Kaldoun, is related to two winners by the French sire and qualifies for prize-money bonuses in France

Load-Date: March 19, 1997

A SON OF ISRAEL: Rabin's Assassin -- A special report.;
Belief to Blood: The Making of Rabin's Killer

The New York Times

November 19, 1995, Sunday, Late Edition - Final

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Distribution: Foreign Desk

Section: Section 1; ; Section 1; Page 1; Column 2; Foreign Desk ; Column 2; ; Special Report

Length: 5147 words

Byline: By John Kifner;

The following article is by John Kifner with additional reporting by Carey Goldberg and Joel Greenberg.

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Dateline: JERUSALEM, Nov. 18

Body

Yitzhak Rabin's handshake with Yasir Arafat at the White House on Sept. 13, 1993, spelled the end of the world that Yigal Amir believed God had given the Jews.

At the Institute for Higher Torah Studies, where Mr. Amir was a diligent, argumentative student, the moment of reconciliation between the Israeli and Palestinian leaders that was greeted so warmly around the world seemed a catastrophe; the celebration at home obscene.

"People wept," remembered Avi Peltz, a classmate of the intense 25-year-old scholar who has confessed to gunning down Prime Minister Rabin. "I was in a very depressed state. Yigal was in a state worse than depression."

The students at the institute at Bar-Ilan University, in Ramat Gan near Tel Aviv, were the flower of a growing nationalist religious movement that was changing the country. And they saw peace with the Palestinians not as a blessing, but as a curse, not just wrong, but a sin.

It was a sentiment shared by many in this deeply divided nation, where from its inception, right and left, sacred and secular forces have contended over the essence of the Jewish state. As new details have emerged about the killer and his circle -- in interviews with Mr. Amir's friends, teachers and military associates -- it has become clear that the assassination itself grew out of these conflicting visions.

It is also now clear that Mr. Amir -- in the thick of that explosion of religious outrage over the 1993 accord, which ushered in the first stages of Palestinian self-rule in the Israeli-occupied territories -- had begun weighing whether, in light of Jewish teachings, the leader of Israel had become the enemy of the Jewish people and so must die.

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As a wave of Islamic fundamentalist bombings stunned Israel and rabbis issued religious warnings defying the Government, Mr. Amir and a tight circle of friends drawn from the university, the army and religious schools began stockpiling guns and explosives -- at first, to kill Arabs. But for Mr. Amir, the target was Prime Minister Rabin. He tried three times, the police now say, before he succeeded on Nov. 4.

Whether Yigal Amir acted on his own, as he insists, or as part of a conspiracy, as the police suggest without offering evidence, is not yet certain. But interviews with his associates show that his intentions were known to many of those around him -- students and friends who did nothing to stop him.

Mr. Amir made little secret of his beliefs.

"Rabin must be killed," he told Hilla Frank, an acquaintance from student demonstrations last June against the peace accords, adding that Mr. Amir had already twice recited the viduy, the confessional prayer before death, apparently assuming that he himself would be killed during an assassination attempt.

In a broader sense, Mr. Amir was anything but alone as he proceeded with his deadly plan. Israelis are now grappling with the fact that the killer was no crazed pariah, or even one of the fervid Americans many here regard as an alien implant. He was a Sabra -- a native -- a studious Jewish boy brought up in their most revered institutions.

The killer had learned moral absolutism in religious schools, and the uses of violence in the army. In a brief stint in one of Israel's intelligence units he had apparently even learned the security agent's ploy of shouting "It's nothing! Blanks! Blanks!" -- a deception that enabled him to freeze Mr. Rabin's guards for a fatal moment.

Barely a week after the 1993 accord, Mr. Amir raised the issue of assassination in a study session, another student recalled, presenting it as a theoretical question.

If someone were to kill Mr. Rabin and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, he asked, could it be justified under the "doctrine of the pursuer" -- *din rodef* -- a term from the writings of the 12-century scholar Maimonides? Under this concept, one could violate the commandment against killing in order to prevent a pursuer from murdering his intended victim.

The students argued for hours.

By spring 1994, around the time a Jewish settler killed 29 Muslims at prayer at the Cave of the Patriarchs in the West Bank city of Hebron, Mr. Amir, wrestling with religious texts in the drone of the study hall, was certain of the answer.

"He said that Rabin should be considered a *rodef* -- a pursuer -- and has to be killed immediately," said another friend who studied with Mr. Amir and, like the other, asked not to be identified. "His reasoning was that Rabin's policies were bringing on terrorist attacks. Jews were being killed because of him."

The Second Son

The Quiet One Named 'Redeemer'

On May 6, 1967, three years before Mr. Amir was born, Lieut. Gen. Yitzhak Rabin's Israeli soldiers reached the Western wall of the Temple Mount, the most sacred place in Judaism. The 1967 war was over. In tears, Rabbi Zvi Yehuda Kook was brought by two paratroopers who had been his students to the place where Jews had been forbidden to worship.

It was Rabbi Kook who laid down the ideological framework of religious Zionism. His rulings that the present was a messianic age broke the traditional barrier between religion and the state, creating the basis for the settlements on the West Bank, or biblical Judea and Samaria.

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"We are living in the middle of redemption," Rabbi Kook declared. "The kingdom of Israel is being rebuilt. The entire Israeli Army is holy. It symbolizes the rule of the people on its land."

The neat, white stucco house at 56 Borochoy Street in the Tel Aviv suburb of Herzliya where Mr. Amir grew up with seven brothers and sisters was the home, neighbors agree, of the most religious family on the tree-shaded block. They built huts in the yard for the festival of Succoth, and one of the daughters, Vardit, regularly visited a sick, elderly widow -- but not on the Sabbath, because the woman turned on her electric lights then.

Haredim, the neighbors called them, the name here for the ultra-Orthodox. They were of Yemenite origin, Oriental Jews. The father, Shlomo, was a religious scribe, painstakingly lettering the Torah on parchment with a quill pen. He held a post supervising the kosher slaughtering of chickens, and at the local Tiferet Tseirim synagogue gave sabbath lessons and was accorded respect akin to a rabbi. The mother, Geula, ran a nursery school in the back yard.

"It's a delightful family," said Motti Yitzhak, a Yemenite neighbor. "Nobody could believe this could happen."

But Hagai, 27, the oldest son, built bombs in his workshop, the police say, some from packets of plastic explosives stolen from the army, as a leader of an underground cell planning to kill Arabs. He worked with guns and ammunition, and he gouged out the tips of the ammunition his brother used to kill Prime Minister Rabin to form dum dum bullets, which expand on impact to rip through flesh. He had learned his skills in the army, as a demolitions and ordnance expert. In the Gaza Strip, a comrade said, he had fashioned silencers for their Galil rifles from Coca-Cola cans. The police found some of the explosives hidden in an old tire used as a child's swing.

Yigal -- "redeemer," his parents named him -- was the quiet, studious second son, neighbors said, attending ultra-Orthodox religious schools from dawn to dusk, preparing for a life of unworldly piety, where men wear beards, black coats and hats and do not serve in the army. It was a taxing regime, and even more so for a small, dark-skinned Sephardic boy, for the schools were run by European, Ashkenazi Jews, an important social divide here.

"A brilliant son, whose brilliance brought him to this terrible disaster," wailed his mother, Geula Amir, in her televised apology to Mr. Rabin's widow, Leah.

On a recent day, the Amir family's front yard was screened off by a green plastic cloth strung on a clothesline. The mailbox was filled with letters of both support and condemnation. The family's battered red Volkswagen showed traces of adhesive and shreds of paper where bumper stickers popular on the right -- like "The laws of Torah come before the laws of man" -- had recently been torn off.

From a passing car a girl shouted toward the house: "I'm proud of you!"

The Good Scholar

Student of Religion, Soldier With a Gun

In 1968, Rabbi Moshe Levinger, one of Rabbi Kook's most devoted followers, launched the first effort to resettle Hebron -- venerated as King David's first capital and the site of a 1929 massacre by Arabs -- with an illegal occupation of the Park Hotel. The shock of the nearly lost 1973 war galvanized the main religious settler movement Gush Emunim, or Bloc of the Faithful, into renewed efforts to hold on to the Biblical land of Israel.

When Menachem Begin's Likud Government took power in 1977, the settlers' fortunes soared. For the next 15 years, settlements were Government policy. Trailers and prefabricated sheds, and then virtual cities sprouted atop the strategic, stony hilltops as Israel created "facts on the ground" in an attempt to keep the land forever. There are now 147,000 Jewish settlers in 145 settlements scattered along the West Bank.

But with Mr. Rabin's narrow Labor Party victory in 1992, Government support for new settlements ended.

At 19, Mr. Amir's life took a fateful turn, when he left the cloistered world of the ultra-Orthodox and enlisted in the muscular Judaism of the religious Zionists.

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In 1989, he enrolled in a different kind of yeshiva, known as a hesder, or arrangement, set up to combine religious study with military service. For the next four years at Kerem B'Yavneh, he continued to pore for hours over religious texts, but he also left the classroom for long periods to serve with the Golani Brigade, proud of its reputation as one of the army's toughest outfits.

"He was intelligent and talented," remembered Rabbi Mordechai Greenberg, the director of Kerem B'Yavneh, an arched stone building amid palm trees south of Tel Aviv. "People who studied with him then said he was quiet, smart, studious."

A young man who debated the Talmud, the teachings derived from the Torah, with Mr. Amir at Kerem B'Yavneh and later at Bar-Ilan University recalled that Mr. Amir "only wanted to learn Torah." There were no political discussions back then, he said, because there was no need.

"We were the Government," the young man said.

The shift in Mr. Amir's life mirrored a change throughout Israel. The Zionists of the period of Israel's founding in 1948 were largely secular, sometimes even anticlerical, rejecting what they saw as a submissive, segregated shtetl mentality that allowed Jews to be slaughtered in the Holocaust. In the bustle of the early state, the religious were often looked down on as primitive.

That began to change with the victory in the 1967 war, which Rabbi Kook taught was won not merely by the Israeli Army, but given by the hand of God as a sign that redemption was near.

Nowhere is the development more apparent than in the army, which has been a powerful social glue that helped hold the country together.

Long seen, particularly in elite units, as a stronghold of the secular left, the army is now increasingly made up of religious nationalists. Some 40 percent of the combat officers are religious; in the Golani Brigade two-thirds of the officers are. There are 20 hesder yeshivas like the one Mr. Amir attended, with 4,000 students alternating between religious studies and carrying a gun.

Not everyone is happy with the change.

"I look into the future and I'm really worried, scared and frightened," said Meir Pa'il, one of Israel's leading military historians. "This dangerous inflow" into the officer ranks, he said, "of boys in their formative years who have gone through a brainwashing from halakha," the body of Jewish law. "This is poisoning the army. "In 10 years, when half the officers are religious, the Government will be restricted in its decisions over evacuating the West Bank," Mr. Pa'il said. "It will lead to mutiny,"

As a hesder student, Mr. Amir was assigned to a platoon all of whose members were religious. Even here, he stood out, waking up his comrades for dawn prayers and clapping his hands in front their noses if they dozed off.

"He was a real fanatic, even the religious guys in the platoon got sick of his zeal and his nitpicking," said Boaz Nagar, one of the soldiers. "Yigal never let up. He always got to synagogue first. He never fell asleep in prayer. In matters of religion, he was a real nudge. Stubborn as a mule, wouldn't let us breathe."

The Dedicated Soldier

'Something Special' In Punishing Arabs

It was the height of the Palestinian intifada, or uprising, which began at the end of 1987, and Mr. Rabin, then Defense Minister, ordered a policy of "force, might and beatings" to quell the rebellion. Israeli soldiers filled hospital wards with young Palestinian men with their hands in casts, their arms swollen like sausages.

The Golani Brigade was in the midst of it. One day reporters came upon some of them in a Palestinian village near Bethlehem, dragging youths into a bus packed with soldiers beating their clubs on the steel seat frames in unison

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and chanting wildly: "We are Golani! We are insane!" And even in Golani, it seemed, few beat the Palestinians with the enthusiasm of Pvt. Yigal Amir, Company C, 13th Battalion.

"In Golani, everybody hits," Mr. Amir's comrade, Mr. Nagar remembered. "I wasn't clean either. But Yigal was something special, a rank onto himself."

During searches in Jabalaya, a refugee camp in the Gaza Strip, Mr. Nagar said, "The officer says, before breaking into a house, give them a 10,000 mile tune-up. Yigal was the enforcer, with a capital E. Hit them hard, hit here, push there. Destroy stuff. He enjoyed badgering them just for fun.

"For that, the lieutenant really worshiped him," Mr. Nagar said.

The experience was not uncommon. A Government report in 1989 on the effects of serving during the intifada found troops more violent in every aspect of their lives and, among the religious right, imbued with a deeper hatred of Arabs. Three men who had served in Golani have committed widely publicized murders of Arabs and an Israeli peace campaigner.

After his active service, Mr. Amir was nominated by the religious Zionist youth movement Bnei Akiva to go to Riga, Latvia, as part of a shadowy section of the Prime Minister's office, the Liaison Bureau, which controls an arm of the intelligence community called Nativ, or the Path.

In the days of Communism, Nativ operatives were emissaries to Jews in the Soviet Union and elsewhere, teaching them elements of their forbidden religion, smuggling in matzoh for Passover and helping them emigrate. Government officials have been silent on exactly what it was that Mr. Amir did in Latvia.

By the fall of 1993, Mr. Amir was ready for higher studies at Bar-Ilan University, in a difficult, demanding program called a coel, mixing religious and secular studies, in his case a triple concentration in law, computers and religious studies at the Institute for Higher Torah Studies. It was a program the modern orthodox Bar-Ilan, now the country's third-largest university, had devised to attract the brightest students away from the reclusive, ultra-Orthodox Torah studies.

The Stubborn Zionist

A 'Bug' in the Head, But a Favorite Pupil

On Sept. 13, 1993, Prime Minister Rabin shook hands with the chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the man Israelis had grown up with as the very personification of terrorism, in the White House Rose Garden.

Mr. Amir plunged into the demonstrations sweeping the Bar-Ilan campus, with weekly rallies protesting the peace agreement and a tent for a teach-in. He was to find his niche organizing weekend outings by bus to support the embattled settlers in Hebron and elsewhere. His passion won the approving notice of his teacher and mentor at the Institute for Advanced Torah Studies, Rabbi Aharon Katz.

"He became vigorous," Rabbi Katz said of his favorite pupil. "His political activity we saw as a blessing.

"My pupils are the elite, the intellectuals," Rabbi Katz said. "The night of the murder, I couldn't shut my eyes. I'm constantly trying to reconcile the mad assassin with my pupil."

To Prof. Gerald Kromer of the university's criminology department, "It's not a coincidence that the killer came from Bar-Ilan, which is one of the strongholds of religious Zionism.

"We are talking of a man who acted out of a firm, clear ideology. It's not only Yigal Amir. A whole generation learned that the land of Israel is the top value in the Torah. Ninety, maybe 95 percent of the yeshiva guys are on the right-wing and identified with it, even at Bar-Ilan.

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"He did what he felt he had to do. Yigal Amir acted in light of the conflict with which every man who is a religious Zionist has been dealing since the beginning of the state of Israel, including myself, and we are talking of hundreds of thousands of Jews."

In his small, spare office behind a table piled high with Hebrew religious texts, Rabbi Moshe Raziel, the director of the Torah institute, sadly puzzled over a favorite pupil.

"Yigal was a very good student, absolutely," he said. "A very serious student with really high marks. But Yigal was very, very stubborn. If I raise a problem in class for discussion, this one shouts, the others answer. Finally we come to a solution, we agree, everybody got it. Yigal, no."

"We say in Hebrew 'jook' -- a bug," Rabbi Raziel said, describing Mr. Amir's obsession with Prime Minister Rabin. "It's like a bug went into his head and nobody could take it out."

Mr. Amir regularly posted notices on the bulletin boards and cajoled his fellow students to make weekend trips to settlements as a gesture of support. For some the bus rides, lectures and tours seemed like a singles outing; for Mr. Amir, it was a holy duty. Last June, he helped found a defiant, illegal settlement, Ma'ale Yisrael, on the West Bank. On July 31, the Efrat settlement tried to expand to a nearby rocky slope called Grain Hill, and the police roughly dragged Mr. Amir off along with other demonstrators.

Hebron, the site of the original and most militant settlement, became more and more the focus of Mr. Amir's activity, leading tours that marched through the streets, a few sometimes breaking off to cuff Arabs or break windows.

A handful of defiant, devoted settlers are dug in the middle of Hebron's old city, Israeli paratroopers standing between them and resentful Palestinians. The settlers' cars are plastered with stickers saying, "Hebron, in the past and forever." Their headquarters, which is near a vegetable market, carries a huge sign reading, "This market was built on Jewish land that was stolen following the Arab massacre of Jews in 1929."

Baruch Marzel, a settler leader in Hebron who is supposed to have been under house arrest for the past 18 months, was not at home the other day. He was discovered, mostly because of high volume of the discussion he was engaged in, in the settler headquarters.

"We feel God gave us in the six-day war, with a miracle, this country," he said gloomily. "We are taking this present from God and tossing it away. They are breaking every holy thing in this country, the Government, in a very brutal way."

The Radical Disciple

Jilted Lover on Path Winding to the Right

In spring 1994, Palestinian Muslim fundamentalist groups opposed to the peace accords -- **Hamas** and Islamic Jihad -- launched a bombing campaign inside Israel. There had been sporadic killings before, but now they seemed to pile up: A suicide bomber in the bus station in Hadera killed himself and five Israelis on April 13; another suicide bomber killed 22 Israelis in Tel Aviv; two suicide bombers, the second targeting rescuers, hit soldiers waiting for a bus in Beit Lid. The crescendo of blood drew crowds so furious that Prime Minister Rabin could not visit the scenes of the bombings. More Israelis died after the 1993 peace accord -- more than 150, by most counts -- than in the long years of the Palestinian intifada.

As the tensions mounted, Mr. Amir was drawn to a swaggering figure on campus, Avishai Raviv, a veteran of the Givati Brigade, another prestigious infantry unit, and leader of Eyal, a breakoff of the outlawed Kach movement, founded by the late Rabbi Meir Kahane and dedicated to expelling Arabs.

The American-born rabbi's appeal to a disgruntled Israeli underclass gave a vitriolic strength to the political right wing. When Kach was banned as a political party on the grounds of racism on the eve of 1988 elections, it was at the behest of Likud, which feared that Kach would take seats away from it in parliament.

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Mr. Raviv publicly threatened to shoot any Israeli soldier who removed Jewish settlers from their homes, and he brawled with peace demonstrators on the streets of Tel Aviv. A tactical notebook confiscated by the police from one of his followers spoke of target practice and of using code names, so that members who were arrested could not betray their comrades.

Eyal members appeared on Israeli television, wearing ski masks, Meir Kahane T-shirts and firearms. At the national cemetery on Mount Hertzl, they swore blood oaths at the graves of two fighters of the Lehi, the underground Stern Gang of the Zionist struggle, who in 1948 assassinated Count Bernadotte, the United Nations mediator.

Would they kill Jews? a television interviewer asked a young Eyal member at the Stern Gang graves in September.

"Jews?" the Eyal member responded, "There are Jews who are not Jews, in my opinion. If it is a Jew who is not a Jew -- and people can understand who I mean -- yes."

Mr. Raviv was asked to leave the Torah studies program -- though not the university -- because he was misleading the more gullible Russian immigrant students, said Rabbi Razel, the institute's director. In fact, Doron Goldin, a Russian-born student who the police said was a follower of Mr. Raviv, was arrested in February and charged with planning to kill Arabs in Jerusalem.

But for all Mr. Raviv's bluster, students at Bel Ilan noticed, he had no police record and seemed to enjoy what they called "protektzia." After he was detained following the shooting but then quietly released from jail last week, the Israeli press speculated that Mr. Raviv might himself be on the payroll of the Israeli security services.

And tonight, in what is certain to spur a new outcry, Israeli television reported that Mr. Raviv had been recruited two years ago to inform on right-wing groups, but told them nothing about the assassination.

For a time, Mr. Amir also kept company with Nava Holtzman, a smart, religious, green-eyed beauty from a well-to-do Ashkenazi family whom he had met in law school. Mr. Amir had little experience with women and, his friends said, he was devastated when the relationship was broken off early this year, apparently because her parents objected to his Sephardic origins. Turning to the mystical lore of the Kabbalah, he plunged back into his grim plans with single-minded vigor.

Mr. Amir's inner circle, police now believe, consisted of him; his brother Hagai, who had been a sniper in the Givati Brigade; and Dror Adani, another Golani veteran of Yemenite origin who, like Yigal Amir, had combined his military service with hesder yeshiva studies. How closely involved the other four men and one woman in custody were is not yet clear, but they share similar religious and military ties.

Mr. Adani grew up less than two miles away from the Amir brothers in Herzliya, in a similar white stucco house at 26 Razel Street. His, too, the neighbors said, was a devoutly religious family with nine children. After his military service, he moved to the West Bank settlement of Beit Hagai, where he was studying in a yeshiva at the time of his arrest.

Hagai Amir masterminded at least part of the operation, the police now believe. He had been planning to build car bombs to use against Arabs or, possibly, to park outside Mr. Rabin's home. He made some of the explosives, officials say, but most were stolen from the army.

The supplier of some of the army explosives, the police say, was a soldier on active duty, Arik Schwartz, a first sergeant in a special commando unit of the Golani brigade and another graduate of the Karem B'Yaveneh hesder yeshiva.

The disappearance of army munitions is hardly unusual, the commander of Mr. Amir's old 13th Battalion of the Golani Brigade told the newspaper Yediot Aharonot.

"The unit is in the field most of the time; it's no problem to lay a hand on weapons," Lieut. Col. Yossi Himan was quoted as saying. "Maybe they told Schwartz, 'We'll shoot up the Arabs a little bit.' And that's okay, that's something you should expect."

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Colonel Himan added that he was "99 percent sure" that Sgt. Schwartz would not have stolen the munitions if he had known they were intended for use against the Israeli Prime Minister rather than Palestinians.

Mr. Adani's task was to find a rabbi who, in effect, would sanction the assassination, his lawyer said. The lawyer, Tzion Amir, said Mr. Adani had spoken to a "certain rabbi" who said that, although Mr. Rabin was, technically speaking, a rodef, killing him would be inadvisable because it would only bring more trouble on the Jewish people.

Through the past week, rabbis all over Israel have hastened to deny that they ever condemned Mr. Rabin, either as a rodef or a moiser -- an informer who betrays Jews to the gentiles.

But, in fact, there had been a storm of religious rhetoric and rabbinical rulings challenging the Government's legitimacy, which had religious students around the country asking whether there was a moral imperative to kill Mr. Rabin. One group of prominent rabbis flatly declared that soldiers must defy orders to pull out of settlements on the West Bank as they would resist "an order to eat pork."

And, after Mr. Rabin's death, Israeli radio broadcast an earlier recording of Rabbi Nachum Rabinovich of the West Bank settlement of Maaleh Adumim in which he said, "Turning in a comrade to gentiles in a way that endangers his life and handing over Jewish property, whoever does such a thing must pay with his life."

The Assassin

Pursued His Target With a 'Little Smile'

A little before dawn on Oct. 6 this year, after hours of tumultuous debate, the parliament, by a vote of 61 to 59, approved the accords signed in Washington on Sept. 28 to transfer portions of the West Bank to Palestinian control. This closest of margins was made possible by the five votes of Arab parliamentarians. To the religious right, this invalidated the accord.

Now, along with his black religious skullcap, Mr. Amir always wore a pistol, a 9-millimeter Beretta, stuck inside his trousers. The weapon was easy to register. He just said, falsely, that he lived in the West Bank settlement of Shavei Shomron and needed it for protection. In Israel, a holstered pistol is so common as to be almost unnoticeable.

He read a book praising Baruch Goldstein and his massacre of Muslim at prayer at the Cave of the Patriarchs, and a paperback novel about an assassin, the Day of the Jackal.

Channel 7, the settlers' pirate radio station which broadcast from a ship off the coast, was using Holocaust imagery to describe the peace accords, with one commentator, Prof. Hillel Weiss, saying the Government was loading the settlers onto "peace trains," evoking the trains that carried Jews to Nazi concentration camps.

Hagai Amir wanted an AK-47 assault rifle to be used in the attack on Mr. Rabin, the police said, or possibly a rifle with a telescopic sight, so the shooter could shoot from a distance and escape more easily. Yigal Amir preferred getting in close with a handgun, to be more certain.

He had tried three times before, the police say. On Jan. 22, he stalked Mr. Rabin at the Yad Vashem Holocaust memorial, but the Prime Minister did not appear because of the suicide bombing of 29 soldiers at the Beit Lid bus station. On July 24, he rushed to the site of a Hamas suicide bombing that killed seven people, but the crowd was so agitated and the security men so determined to hold them back that he could not get close. He was frustrated again at a ceremony for the opening of a highway interchange at Kfar Shmaryahu on Sept. 11, but the rings of security men and the crowd again kept him too far away.

On the secular left, there was growing irritation at the pronouncements of the rabbis. "Ayatollahs," Ehud Ya'ari called them in a column in the Jerusalem Report last August, who were decreeing "a Jewish version of a Muslim fundamentalist-style fatwa."

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No one should have been more aware of the danger than the head of the Shin Bet internal security agency, known by his initial "K." He had written his master's thesis at Tel Aviv University on the looming danger of the religious right, warning that "anybody who knows the Israeli reality will see the writing on the wall."

And, in his thesis, he quoted Nathan Yelin Moor, a surviving leader of the Stern Gang.

"An underground," Mr. Moor said, "does not need masses to commit a flamboyant action. It is enough to put a gun in one lad's hand and mark him a target and he will carry it out. Damage could be severe because the beginning of violent, deadly action in the state of Israel could be the beginning of civil war."

In the end it was easy. The Shin Bet and the other security men were worried about a possible Arab attempt to avenge the gunning down in Malta of the Islamic Jihad leader Fathy Shkaky two weeks before, an incident for which Mr. Rabin pointedly did not deny Israeli responsibility. At the huge peace rally in Tel Aviv on the evening of Nov. 4, Mr. Amir was mingling with the drivers and security men only a few steps from Mr. Rabin's armored car.

In an eerie police reenactment shown on Israeli television this past week, Mr. Amir, wearing a bulletproof vest, calmly walked his way back through the crime as a crowd behind barriers shrieked curses at him. After a few steps, he reached to his waist, pulling a toy pistol out half sideways, flat. A policeman in a red plaid jacket with a label saying he was the Prime Minister was turning now toward the door, his back half to Mr. Amir. The pistol was raised.

"Tak, tak, tak," said Mr. Amir, imitating the sound of the shots.

On Nov. 4, as Mr. Rabin fell dying, the momentarily stunned security men rushed him, hustled the assassin into a car and drove him straight to jail. He was smiling as they pushed through a crowd of shouting journalists.

"According to Jewish law, the minute a Jew gives over his land and people to the enemy, he must be killed," he calmly instructed the judge at his court hearing. "My whole life has been studying the Talmud and I have all the data."

Rabbi Raziell, the director of the Torah institute, remembered staring at the television that night, unable to believe that the killer was one of his favorite students.

But his old Golani comrade, Boaz Nagar, knew right away.

"That smile, that's exactly the Yigal we knew," he said. "That was his trademark, a little smile at the edge of his mouth."

Graphic

Photos: During a re-enactment early Friday, Yigal Amir showed Isarweli police officers how he shot Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. (Reuters) (pg. 1); Yigal Amir, shown as he was led into court after assassinating Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, made little secret of his belief that Rabin should be killed, friends and fellow students said.; Hagai Amir, brother of Yigal Amir, has also been arrested.; Another man in custody is Dror Adani, a former military comrad. (Reuters); Geula Amir, Yigal's mother, ran a nursery school at their home in a Tel Aviv suburb. His father, right, is a religious scribe.; Religious students studying at Bar-Ilan University near Tel Aviv, where Yigal Amir majored in law, computers and Torah studies. (pg. 12); In an example of the virulent attacks on Israeli leaders for signing peace accords with the Palestinians, Jewish demonstrators in Hebron in September held a poster showing Yitzhak Rabin in an Arab headdress and calling him and Yasir Arafat "blood brothers." (pg. 13) (Rina Castelnovo for The New York Times)

Map of Israel showing location of Ramat Gan. (pg. 13)

A SON OF ISRAEL : Rabin's Assassin -- A special report.; Belief to Blood: The Making of Rabin's Killer

Load-Date: November 19, 1995

End of Document

**TOURISTS FLOCKING TO SAMPLE THE DELIGHTS OF CAPE TOWN DON'T
SEE THE SUBURBAN WAR BETWEEN GANGS AND VIGILANTES OUT TO
DESTROY EACH OTHER, MARY BRAID WRITES.;
ERNIE "LAPEPA" PETERS RIGHT, AT A FUNERAL: PAGAD SAYS THE NEXT
ONE HE ATTENDS WILL BE HIS OWN, BUT HE SAYS HIS TIME HAS NOT
COME YET.**

Canberra Times (Australia)

November 23, 1997, Sunday Edition

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Section: Part A; Page 21

Length: 2827 words

Body

ERNIE "'LAPEPA" PETERS, the 163cm neighbourhood Big Man, has already ordered one of his henchmen to bring his motor round the front. The red-and-white Ford Capri stands purring opposite his shebeen. The car has seen better days but brings a touch of tacky glamour to the run-down square, where withered young women, plagued by posses of kids, struggle to eke out the housekeeping.

Lapepa's boys abandon the pool table to shadow him to the Capri. These are dangerous times and Lapepa, 32, his four front teeth missing and his neck dripping with gold, is their meal ticket. An incongruous mural, plastered across the shebeen's outside wall, gives the first hint that these are also confusing times. In it, three dearly departed gangsters float like angels above an empty desert road and the grave warning that "Gangsterism leads to jail or death".

Lapepa, the gang leader with 40 men on his payroll, sponsored the mural. Its message seems lost on those around the car. After a few parting orders, the boss dons shades, pockets his mobile phone, cranks up the stereo and roars out of Belhar Extension, on the Cape Flats, leaving behind the men and a blur of monotonous paint-peeled houses, separated by rusting corrugated iron.

Lapepa might be better off with less ostentatious wheels, however. For the Muslim vigilante group People Against Gangsterism And Drugs (PAGAD) has threatened to kill him. Lapepa jokes that he knows his time has not yet come.

Behind the gangster bravado, Lapepa, on the face of it the sweetest and most courteous of gangsters, must be worried. Last year the world watched live on television PAGAD's execution of Lapepa's gangster buddy, 40-year-old Rashaad Staggie. With his "psycho" twin Rashied, Rashaad had dominated the poverty-ridden Flats, the vast, sandy plains sandwiched between rich white suburbs which are home to hundreds of thousands of poor, mixed-race Capetonians.

Then on the night of August 5, 1996, a baying mob dragged Rashaad from his customised jeep, shot him through the head, set him on fire and, just to be sure, pumped him full of bullets.

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As he lay dying in the gutter the police looked on and did nothing. Some were clearly sympathetic to a crowd frustrated by the authorities' failure to stem the flood of mandrax, cannabis and harder narcotics into their neighbourhoods. In the previous two years Rashaad had been investigated nine times, but each time criminal charges against him had been dropped. Witnesses were usually too terrified to testify. Now summary justice had ended the tiresome business of legal persecution.

Since then, a war has raged between the gangsters and the vigilantes. PAGAD continues to lay siege to drug dealers' homes, just as it did on the night Rashaad was murdered, chanting "Allah Hu Akbar" (Allah is great) and "Kill the merchants". But small PAGAD cells now also materialise in the night, masked in black balaclavas, to execute pushers. Now, senior Western Cape police officers warn that PAGAD is as great a threat to law and order as the gangs themselves.

Hostilities are at a peak, claiming scores of innocent victims. Community outrage boiled over in September when a baby was killed and one of her brother's legs blown off in a grenade attack on their home. The atrocity was one of a string of recent botched PAGAD operations: the dealer lived further up the street. The gangs retaliate tit-for-tat, murdering Muslim doctors and merchants suspected of secretly funding PAGAD. Graffiti-scarred So far the conflict has been confined to the Flats - the area to which the coloureds (Cape Town's Afrikaans-speaking racial majority) were forcibly removed in the late 1960s under apartheid. Today, foreign tourists flash past the graffiti-scarred ghettos on their way to and from Cape Town's international airport. They go to the gracious winelands and the fashionable Waterfront, shielded from the violence that rages close by. The blossoming tourist industry wonders how long the illusion can last, with the Flats a near-war zone and increased demands for a state of emergency.

The gangsters were always around. But on the Flats they became more vicious and overtly criminal. Membership became de rigeur and the community learned to live with the sound of gunfire.

The struggle, however, is more than a skirmish about turf. It is a fight to the death between a militant Islamic movement and the gangs it would annihilate. At stake is a multi-billion-dollar drug business which, in neighbourhoods ravaged by unemployment, is the largest local industry, providing an estimated full-time and part-time jobs.

The conflict has fostered some bizarre developments. Gangsters have turned themselves into self-styled champions of the poor, and an anti-crime organisation has metamorphosed into a murderous paramilitary force. President Nelson Mandela visited the Flats last month for the first time, but politicians and police seem largely paralysed - frozen, it is rumoured, by the legacy of a dirty political past which has left dark secrets to be protected and favours that have yet to be repaid.

Nowadays the camera is as much a weapon for Lapepa as the AK47. Life is a breathless whirl of interviews and photo opportunities from a likable guy who insists, despite appearances, that he is "reformed" and now dedicated to ridding the Flats of his own kind. His earnestness is so convincing you have to keep reminding yourself that guys like Lapepa did not get where they are by helping old ladies across the road. Today, he and Rashied Staggie are meeting a television crew in nearby Manenberg, where the Staggie twins were raised and, before their teens, founded the notorious Hard Livings gang.

Sitting in his Capri, Lapepa seems more politician than hood. He is already a master of the soundbite. "Look," he says bitterly, pointing to Manenberg's crumbling two-storey houses and dirt-track streets that teem with barefoot children and emaciated dogs, "Concentration camps for our people. Apartheid did this to us. The National Party never cared for coloureds and neither does the African National Congress. We are at the door of democracy eating the crumbs. Affirmative action is just for blacks." Racial no-man's land He is playing on the alienation of a community trapped in a racial no-man's-land during apartheid and whose social schizophrenia has made the Western Cape and National Party's only remaining power base.

Can any good come from these conditions? he asks. Bring us jobs, he promises, and organised crime will disappear. It is the chorus to the gangsters' lament. "Apartheid made us," Rashied Staggie said recently. "We did it

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to survive". He argues that the Truth Commission, which can grant amnesty to perpetrators of past political crimes, should extend the same offer to gangsters.

Outside Manenberg's "Shack" shebeen, a ragged, pretty little girl, too young to notice the despair, smiles eagerly for the camera. A drunken grandmother sways down the road to berate the crew. Drink and drug addiction are highest in coloured communities. Rashied's arrival sets off a little ripple of excitement. Small, handsome and bearded, he wears an American baseball cap and sports the usual gold chains and knuckleduster rings. On his right arm is tattooed "26" - the seal of one of the gangs that operated within Cape prisons. He is welcomed by a bevy of tough-looking men basking in the hot midday sun, who listen to his complaints to the television reporter, that the Government and the police are ignoring the gangsters' requests for talks.

The Shack is headquarters to the Community Outreach Forum (Core), formed by rival gangs - including the Hard Livings, the Firm and the Americans - after Rashaad's death last year. Core's raison d'être, it says, is to bring peace to the Flats. Most of these bruisers are on the Core executive - even the obese man with the tattoo on his neck which declares, "The gallows are my destination." The formation of Core confounded the pundits. Rashied, once a guest in the "psychopath" wing of the local prison, was expected to take revenge on the five men who were arrested, and later released, for his brother's murder. As the myth had it, there was a benign twin and an evil twin: Rashaad, it was said, was obsessed with power, Rashied with violence.

It's a perception on which Rashied still plays. "They killed the wrong brother," he says today. He says revenge was his first thought, but that it was swiftly followed by the idea for Core, which now roadshows across the Flats, preaching that only the gangs can end the violence. Despite some damning evidence to the contrary, Rashied says he has given up the drugs business, and has taken to spreading reformed-gangster gospel in schools. "I am not a hero," he tells pupils.

Not so long ago he and Rashaad would drive past schools throwing 10-rand (3) notes to kids in what appeared to be a crude recruitment drive. "I am sincere," he now says. "My brother would have approved." To believe in gangsters with hearts of gold takes an overdose of sentimentalism, but there is no shortage of that on the Flats. Here the hoods are hated for the violence and loved as latter-day Robin Hoods - sometimes by the same people. They are the only employers and investors in town. They pay overdue bills and sponsor the local football team. So they buy loyalty.

PAGAD mobilises huge crowds, but the gangsters have their own constituency. Thousands turned out for the unveiling of a memorial mural to Rashaad. And when Core marched on Parliament last year - with Rashaad's daughters, Ingrid, 15, and Carmen, 11, at the fore brandishing a placard, reading "They killed the world's best father" - 1500 people went with them. The gangsters were genuinely dismayed that no-one from government came to collect their petition demanding talks over the future of the Flats.

There are rumours that, in this marginalised community, the charismatic and articulate Rashied may now run for public office.

It is all very galling for PAGAD's national commander, Aslam Toefy. Toefy, a former Springbok and a mountain of a man, pushes back his shades before dismissing Core as an organised-crime syndicate and Rashied and Lapepa as pawns for the international drug trade's big boys.

"If Core is sincere they should hand over their profits so we can set up drug-rehabilitation clinics," Toefy says. He was born in the ghetto and has no truck with gangs who whine that they are "victims". If the police will not clean up the Flats, he promises PAGAD will. "We have built the middle class and the business community by ourselves and we can handle gangsterism too. We are fighting the devil himself. People will die, but God's truth will prevail." He insists that PAGAD is still an anti-crime organisation, with no hidden Islamic agenda. But according to a confidential police report it has been hijacked by militants. The report highlights the influence of spiritual leader Achmat Cassiem, leader of Qibla, South Africa's most militant Muslim organisation, and PAGAD's alleged links with Hizbollah and Hamas. PAGAD says it does not advocate violence; but its religious leaders rant that "the time for killing has come" and a PAGAD coordinator is charged with five attempted murders.

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The gangsters have been quick to take advantage of fears of religious fundamentalism, saying PAGAD is hell-bent on creating an Islamic state in the Cape. Although only a small minority of Cape coloureds are Muslim, the rumour has still gained credence. But distrust of PAGAD is matched by distrust of Core. Another police report concludes that while Rashied is preaching in schools, gang recruitment of children continues. There is also strong suspicion that Core members are using the organisation as a smokescreen for a takeover of all organised crime in the Cape. Lapepa and Rashied, of course, are furious at the "disinformation".

Senior police officer Arno Lamoer heads the Flats crisis task force. If gang and PAGAD duplicity were all he had to deal with he would be a happy man. Much worse is the involvement of corrupt police officers and politicians.

During apartheid the gangs were used in various ways by the Government and the liberation forces. In the old days, that meant gangsters could operate with impunity. Lamoer, who is widely recognised as an honest cop (and was denied promotion throughout the '80s) remembers, "If we arrested someone, the first thing they would say is call brigadier or colonel so-and-so." The potential for political blackmail has clearly not disappeared. Rashied has threatened to "expose" some of the people now in power when "the time is right".

When South Africa's apartheid regime began to crumble - creating a political vacuum and leaving the country vulnerable to international crime - police officers were quick to seize the moment. Those already elbow-deep in blood and dirt through "anti-terrorist" covert operations had a host of unsavoury but useful connections to draw on. Today, many of these officers are still in bed with organised crime, and often occupy the same senior police positions. South Africa's negotiated political transition ruled out revolutionary cleansing of the service. The situation lends some credence to ANC assertions that a third force is trying to destabilise the country.

Criminologist at the University of Cape Town Professor Wilfried Scharf says police corruption is "systematic and endemic", right through to the highest ranks. Lamoer offers countless recent examples, including calls from senior officers ordering suspects to be released and charges dropped. And there is a ludicrously long list of failed prosecutions against some of the Cape's most notorious, flamboyant dealers, despite a raft of new anti-gangster legislation.

Despite the charm of Lapepa and Rashied, Lamoer and Scharf are scathing of Core. They say the gangsters are simply on the run from the new legislation. An amnesty for gangsters would, they say, allow drug dealers to set up legitimate businesses with their ill-gotten gains. Lamoer laughs at the notion of Rashied, rumoured to be raking in 10, 000 a day, switching to a back-breaking nine to five.

But both recognise the huge obstacle presented by the popularity of the gangs, even among those who have suffered. Taxi-driver Rita has just admitted her 17-year-old son to a mental hospital. He suffered a drug-induced "breakdown" during which he threatened to kill Colin Stanfield, the alleged drug baron for whom Core is said to be a front.

As we speed across the Flats, Rita points out a large house allegedly used as a stockroom by drug dealers. We pass the surgery where the only local doctor was recently killed because the gangsters suspected he was a PAGAD member. "He was a kind man," she says. "Who else would let you pay later these days? No-one else will set up here." Gangsters But does Rita blame the gangsters? She seems more aggrieved at PAGAD for increasing tensions. Stanfield's sister is her neighbour. Stanfield has moved somewhere posher, but he does not forget his roots. "Colin has a good heart," she says. "Every year he has a big Easter party and all the local kids get eggs." That's the image Lapepa likes to foster: gangsters of the people, for the people. He seems hurt at rumours that his media savvy comes from PR consultants employed by Core's wealthy backers. "We are good at this because we mean it," he says. All day he has presented himself as a victim of circumstance. In another time and place his desire to shine might have made him a lawyer or a doctor. Within the confines of apartheid and poverty, he made his mark through the gangs. He even explains, not so convincingly, his fathering of 12 children by 11 women in terms of his "profession": "In this job you put a woman in danger if you hang around too long." There's an edge of defiance to his own defence. "My mother and step-father were drinkers and I had to leave school early," he says. "I did not have many opportunities, but I took the one I had. I'm glad I did. I made something of myself." Whether or

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not the gangsters are playing a double-game, some argue that they are so powerful that they must be involved in a solution if any change is to come to the Flats.

Director of the University of Cape Town's Centre for Contemporary Islam, Ebrahim Moosa, makes a distinction between the Lapepas and Rashieds of the drug world, and the international crime cartels. He condemns PAGAD'S attempt to make the gangsters pariahs, arguing instead that they are an integral part of a damaged community.

Moosa is one of the few in the Islamic community to condemn outright the torching of Rashaad Staggie as an affront to all Islamic values. "I am afraid that . . . scores of gangsters are but the dispensable foot soldiers of these ruthless cartels," he says. "While the gangs cannot escape their share of the guilt, the sentiment of treating them as a scourge and subjecting them to a 'final solution' is utterly misplaced." - The Independent

Load-Date: November 24, 1997

End of Document

MEDIA OUTLETS: LISTED ALPHABETICALLY

Crain's Cleveland Business

December 15, 1997

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Section: News; Pg. 20

Length: 3282 words

Body

AM Radio Stations

WABQ 1540 AM

8000 Euclid Ave.

Cleveland 44113

216-231-8005

Format: Gospel programming

and music

Owner: John Linn

Power: 1,000 watts

Primary demographics: Adults 25-65

General manager: John Linn

General sales manager: Denver Wilborn

WAKR 1590 AM

1735 S. Hawkins Ave.

Akron 44320

330-869-9800

Format: News/talk/sports

Owner: Rubber City Radio Group

Power: 5,000 watts

Primary demographics: Adults 25+

MEDIA OUTLETS: LISTED ALPHABETICALLY

Secondary demographics: Men 25+

General manager: Thomas Mandel

General sales manager: Dom Rizzo

WATJ 1560 AM

P.O. Box 776

Chardon 44024

440-286-1560

Format: America's popular favorites,
big bands

Owner: Ted Jones

Power: 1,000 watts

Primary demographics: Adults 30+

Secondary demographics: Adults 50+

General manager: Al Markic

General sales manager: Florence Gregor

WBKC 1460 AM

One Radio Place

Painesville 44077

440-352-1460

Format: Variety

Owner: Water's Edge

Communications

Power: 1,000 watts

Primary demographics: Adults 30+

General manager: Clarence Bucaro

General sales manager: Clarence Bucaro

WCCD 1000 AM

4 Summit Park Dr., suite 150

Independence 44131

216-901-0921

MEDIA OUTLETS: LISTED ALPHABETICALLY

Format: Christian talk, conservative

Owner: Salem Communications

Power: 500 watts

Primary demographics: Adults 25+

General manager: Carl Miller

General sales manager: Bob Sundheim

WDLW 1380 AM

P.O. Box 253 32383

Cleveland 44132

440-245-1200

Format: Variety: local talk and news,

ethnic, Latino

Owner: Baldwin Communications

Primary demographics: Adults 35+

Secondary demographics: Families 12+

General manager: Terry Goffee

General sales manager: Ray Somich

WELW 1330 AM

P.O. Box 1330

Willoughby 44096

440-946-1330

Format: Variety: local talk and news,

ethnic, high school sports

Owner: Petkovsek-Somich Co.

Primary demographics: Adults 35+

Secondary demographics: Families 12+

General manager: Ray Somich

General sales manager: Van Lane

WEOL 930 AM

538 Broad St.

MEDIA OUTLETS: LISTED ALPHABETICALLY

Elyria 44035

440-322-3761

Format: News/sports

Owner: Elyria-Lorain Broadcasting Co.

Power: 1000 watts

Primary demographics: Adults 35+

Secondary demographics: Lorain, Medina and western Cuyahoga counties

General manager: Gary L. Kneisley

General sales manager: Bill

Hatheway

WERE 1300 AM

1041 Huron Rd.

Cleveland 44115

216-861-0100

Format: Business news talk

Owner: Clear Channel

Communications

Power: 5,000 watts

Primary demographics: Adults 35-65

General manager: Walter Tiburski

General sales manager: John Hill

WHK 1420 AM/98.1 FM

4 Summit Park Dr., suite 150

Independence 44131

216-901-0921

Format: Christian talk

Owner: Salem Communications

Power: 5,000 watts/36,000 watts

Primary demographics: Adults 25+

General manager: Carl Miller

MEDIA OUTLETS: LISTED ALPHABETICALLY

General sales manager: Bob Sundheim

WHLO 640 AM

2780 S. Arlington Rd.

Akron 44312

330-645-7777

Format: Christian

Owner: Salem Communications

Power: 5,000 watts daytime, 500

watts night

Primary demographics: Adults 25-54

Secondary demographics: **Women**

25-44

General manager: Carl Miller

General sales manager: Bob Sundheim

WJMO 1490 AM

2510 St. Clair Ave.

Cleveland 44114

216-621-9300

Format: Urban oldies

Owner: Zebra Broadcasting

Power: 800 watts day/1,000 watts night

Primary demographics: Adults 35-54

Secondary demographics: Adults 35-64

General manager: Lynn Tolliver Jr.

General sales manager: Mike Hilber

WJMP 1520 AM

Box 2170

Akron 44309

330-673-2323

Format: Variety

MEDIA OUTLETS: LISTED ALPHABETICALLY

Owner: Media-Com Inc.

Power: 1,000 watts

Primary demographics: Adults 18+

General manager: Bill Klaus

General sales manager: Bob Klaus

WJTB 1040 AM

105 Lake Ave.

Elyria 44035

440-327-1844

Format: Urban contemporary

Owner: James Taylor

Power: 5,000 watts

Primary demographics: Adults 24-55

General manager: James Taylor

General sales manager: James Taylor

WKNR 1220 AM

9446 Broadview Rd.

Cleveland 44147

440-838-1220

Format: Sports

Owner: CV Radio Associates L.P.

Power: 50,000 watts

Primary demographics: Men 25-54

General manager: James R. Glass

General sales manager: William Scall

WKSR 730 AM

Kent State University

Music and Speech Bldg., 3rd floor

Kent 44242

330-672-2131

MEDIA OUTLETS: LISTED ALPHABETICALLY

Format: Alternative

Owner: Kent State University

Power: Campus cable system

Primary demographics: KSU students

General manager: Sarah O'Connor

General sales manager: Craig Cohen

WKTX 830 AM

11906 Madison Ave.

Lakewood 44107

216-221-0330

Format: Polka, nostalgia, nationality

Owner: Miklos, Maria & Attila Kossanyi

Power: 1,000 watts

General manager: Maria Kossanyi

General sales manager: Attila Kossanyi

WMIH 1260 AM

1422 Euclid Ave., suite 604

Cleveland 44115

216-623-3500

Format: Radio for the Catholic community

Owner: Divine Mercy

Communications, Ltd.

Power: 5,000 watts

Primary demographics: Adults 34-59

General manager: Celine Dudley

WOBL 1320 AM

P.O. Box 277

Oberlin 44074

440-774-1320

Format: Country

MEDIA OUTLETS: LISTED ALPHABETICALLY

Owner: Harry Wilber

Power: 1,000 watts

Primary demographics: Adults 25-54

General manager: Doug Wilber

General sales manager: Doug Wilber

WRMR 850 AM

One Radio Lane

Cleveland 44114

216-696-0123

Format: Middle of the Road

Owners: Tom Embrescia, Tom Wilson, Larry Pollock

Power: 10,000 watts

Primary demographics: Adults 12+

Secondary demographics: Adults 35-64

General manager: Chris Maduri

General sales manager: John Guzik

WTAM 1100 AM

1468 W. Ninth St., suite 805

Cleveland 44113

216-696-4444

Format: News, talk

Owner: Jacor Communications

Power: 50,000 watts

Primary demographics: Adults 25-54

Secondary demographics: Men 25-54

General manager: Jim Meltzer

General sales manager: Dave Ianni

WTOU 1350 AM

1867 W. Market St.

Akron 44313

MEDIA OUTLETS: LISTED ALPHABETICALLY

330-836-4700

Format: Adult urban contemporary

Owner: Barnstable Corp.

Power: 5,000 watts

Primary demographics: Black adults

25-54

Secondary demographics: **Female**

black adults 25-54

General manager: John Shea

General sales manager: Belynda Starr

Regional sales manager: Gary Aleman

FM Radio Stations

WAPS 91.3 FM

65 Steiner Ave.

Akron 44301

330-761-3099

Format: Jazz, alternative

Owner: Akron Public Schools

Power: 800 watts

Primary demographics: Adults 25-44

Secondary demographics: Adults 25-54

General manager: Phil Hoffman

General sales manager: Lori DeMonia

WBWC 88.3 FM

Baldwin-Wallace College

Berea 44017

440-826-2145

Format: Alternative rock

Owner: Baldwin-Wallace College

Power: 100 watts

MEDIA OUTLETS: LISTED ALPHABETICALLY

Primary demographics: Adults 18-24

Secondary demographics: 15-34

General manager: Christy Harst

WCLV 95.5 FM

26501 Renaissance Pkwy.

Cleveland 44128

216-464-0900

Format: Classical

Owner: Radio Seaway Inc.

Power: 31 kw at 610 ft. HAAT

Primary demographics: Adults 35+

General manager: Richard Marschner

General sales manager: Richard

Marschner

WCPN 90.3 FM

Cleveland Public Radio

3100 Chester Ave., suite 300

Cleveland 44114

216-432-3700

Format: NPR news and jazz

Owner: Cleveland Public Radio

Power: 50,000 watts

Primary demographics: Adults 25+

General manager: Kathryn P. Jensen

Marketing manager: Maureen Paschke

WCRF 103.3 FM

9756 Barr Rd.

Cleveland 44141

440-526-1111

Format: Inspirational

MEDIA OUTLETS: LISTED ALPHABETICALLY

Owner: Moody Bible Institute
of Chicago Inc.

Power: 25,000 watts

Station manager: Richard Lee

WCSB 89.3 FM

Rhodes Tower, room 956

Cleveland 44115

216-687-3523

Format: Free form

Owner: Cleveland State University

Power: 1,000 watts

Primary demographics: Cleveland
youngsters to elderly

Secondary demographics: World via
Internet

General manager: Mark Mathews

General sales manager: Lawrence
Caswell

WDOK 102.1 FM

One Radio Lane

Cleveland 44114

216-696-0123

Format: Soft rock

Owners: Tom Embrescia,
Tom Wilson, Larry Pollock

Power: 50,000 watts

Primary demographics: Adults 25-54

Secondary demographics: Ages 12+

General manager: Chris Maduri

General sales manager: Kevin Watts

MEDIA OUTLETS: LISTED ALPHABETICALLY

WENZ 107.9 FM

1041 Huron Rd.

Cleveland 44115

216-861-0100

Format: Alternative

Owner: Clear Channel

Communications

Power: 13,000 watts

Primary demographics: Adults 18-34

Secondary demographics: Ages 12+

General manager: Walt Tiburski

General sales manager: Michael

Graham

WGAR 99.5 FM

5005 Rockside Rd., suite 530

Independence 44131

216-328-9950

Format: Country

Owner: Nationwide Insurance

Power: 50,000 watts

Primary demographics: Adults 25-54

General manager: John Blassingame

General sales manager: Debbie

Carter

WKDD 96 FM

1867 W. Market St.

Akron 44313

330-836-4700

Format: Adult contemporary

Owner: Barnstable Corp.

MEDIA OUTLETS: LISTED ALPHABETICALLY

Power: 50,000 watts

Primary demographics: Women 25-54

Secondary demographics: Adults 25-54

General manager: John Shea

General sales manager: Belynda Starr

Regional sales manager: Gary Aleman

WKKY 104.7 FM

95 W. Main

Geneva 44041

440-466-9559

Format: Country

Owner: Music Express Broadcasting

Power: 6,000 watts

Primary demographics: Adults 25-54

General manager: Neil Hershberger

WKSU 89.7 FM

1613 E. Summit St.

Kent 44242

330-672-3114

Format: NPR news/classical music

Owner: Kent State University

Power: 50,000 watts

Primary demographics: Adults 25-54

Secondary demographics: Adults 30+

General manager: John Perry

Director of development: Al Bartholet

WMJI 105.7 FM

310 Lakeside Ave., sixth floor

Cleveland 44113

216-623-1105

MEDIA OUTLETS: LISTED ALPHABETICALLY

Format: Oldies

Owner: Nationwide Communications Power: 16 kw at 1,129 ft.

Primary demographics: Adults 25-54

Secondary demographics: Adults 35-64

General manager: Rick Weinkauf

General sales manager: Skip

Bednarczyk

WMMS 100.7 FM

200 Skylight Office Tower

Cleveland 44113

216-781-9667

Format: Active rock

Owner: Nationwide Communications

Power: 27,000 watts

Primary demographics: Men 25-49

Secondary demographics: Adults 18-49

General manager: Bob Bellin

General sales manager: Sophie Fry

WMVX 106.5 FM

1468 W. Ninth St., suite 805

Cleveland 44113

216-696-4444

Format: Adult contemporary

Owner: Jacor Communications

Power: 50,000 watts

Primary demographics: Adults 25-54

Secondary demographics: **Women** 18+

General manager: James Meltzer

General sales manager: Joe Prokop

WNCX 98.5 FM

MEDIA OUTLETS: LISTED ALPHABETICALLY

1041 Huron Rd.
Cleveland 44115
216-861-0100
Format: Classic rock
Owner: Clear Channel Communications
Power: 32,000 watts
Primary demographics: Adults 25-54
Secondary demographics: Ages 12+
General manager: Walt Tiburski
General sales manager: Michael Graham
WNIR 100.1 FM
Box 2170
Akron 44309
330-673-2323
Format: Talk
Owner: Media-Com Inc.
Power: 3,000 watts
Primary demographics: Adults 18+
General manager: Bill Klaus
General sales manager: Bob Klaus
WNWV 107.3 FM
538 Broad St.
Elyria 44035
440-236-9283
Format: Smooth jazz
Owner: Elyria-Lorain Broadcasting Co.
Power: 50,000 watts
Primary demographics: Adults 25-54
Secondary demographics: Adults 35-49
General manager: Gary L. Kneisley

MEDIA OUTLETS: LISTED ALPHABETICALLY

General sales manager: Dave Harrison

WOBC 91.5 FM

Oberlin College

Wilder Hall

Oberlin 44074

440-775-8107

Format: Free form

Owner: Oberlin College

Power: 440 watts

Primary demographics: Ages 16-30

Secondary demographics: Ages 14-16

General manager: Charles Watson

General sales manager: Charles Watson

WONE 97.5 FM

1735 S. Hawkins Ave.

Akron 44320

330-869-9800

Format: Album rock

Owner: Rubber City Radio Group

Power: 12,000 watts ERP at 815 ft.

HAAT

Primary demographics: Men 25-54

Secondary demographics: Adults 18-49

General manager: Thomas Mandel

General sales manager: Dom Rizzo

WQAL 104.1 FM

1621 Euclid Ave., suite 1800

Cleveland 44115

216-696-6666

Format: Adult contemporary

MEDIA OUTLETS: LISTED ALPHABETICALLY

Owner: M.C. Media

Power: 11,000 watts

Primary demographics: Women 25-34

Secondary demographics: Women 25-54

General manager: David Urbach

General sales manager: Larry Gawthrop

WQMX 94.9 FM

3610 W. Market St., suite 107

Akron 44333

330-434-6499

Format: Country

Owner: Rubber City Radio Group

Power: 16,000 watts ERP at 866 ft.

HAAT

Primary demographics: Adults 25-54

Secondary demographics: Women 18-49

General manager: Thomas Mandel

General sales manager: Paul

Christopherson

WRUW 91.1 FM

Case Western Reserve University

11220 Bellflower Rd.

Cleveland 44106

216-368-2207

Format: College radio

Owner: Case Western Reserve

University

Power: 1,000 watts

Primary demographics: CWRU

students

MEDIA OUTLETS: LISTED ALPHABETICALLY

General manager: Scott Lieberman

WUJC 88.7 FM

20700 N. Park Blvd.

University Hts. 44118

216-397-4437

Format: College radio

Owner: John Carroll University

Power: 850 watts

Primary demographics: Adults 18-34

Secondary demographics: Teens 12-17

General manager: David E. Reese

WZAK 93.1 FM

2510 St. Clair Ave.

Cleveland 44114

216-621-9300

Format: Urban

Owner: Zapis Communications

Power: 25,000 watts

Primary demographics: Adults 18-34

Secondary demographics: Adults 35+

General manager: Lee Zapis

General sales manager: Mike Hilber

WZIP 88.1 FM

302 E. Buchtel Ave.

Akron 44325

330-972-7105

Format: Urban

Owner: University of Akron

Power: 7,500 watts

Primary demographics: Adults 18-24

MEDIA OUTLETS: LISTED ALPHABETICALLY

Secondary demographics: Adults 18-34

General manager: Thomas G. Beck

General sales manager: Marc **Hamas**

WZJM 92.3 FM

2510 St. Clair Ave.

Cleveland 44114

216-621-9300

Format: Contemporary hit radio

Owner: Zebra Broadcasting

Power: 40,000 watts ERP

Primary demographics: **Women** 18-34

Secondary demographics: Ages 12+

General manager: Lynn Tolliver Jr.

General sales manager: Mike Hilber

WZLE 104.9 FM

300 Washington Ave.

Lorain 44052

440-244-1049

Format: Adult Christian contemporary

Owner: Vernon Baldwin

Power: 3,000 watts

Primary demographics: **Women** 18-49

Secondary demographics: Adults 18-49

General manager: Len Howser

Newspapers

The Beacon Journal

44 E. Exchange St.

Akron 44308

330-996-3000

Publisher: John L. Dotson Jr.

MEDIA OUTLETS: LISTED ALPHABETICALLY

Sales manager: Mitch Allen,

VP/advertising

Daily circulation: 145,055

Sunday circulation: 204,996

Owner: Knight-Ridder Inc.

Single copy price: \$.35 daily/

\$1.50 Sunday

Coverage area: Summit, Portage,

Wayne, Medina, Stark counties

The Chronicle-Telegram

225 East Ave.

Elyria 44035

440-329-7000

Publisher: Arthur C. Hudnutt

Editor: Andrew R. Young

Sales manager: Tom Meecha

Circulation manager: Gary Cozart

Daily circulation: 32,370

Sunday circulation: 34,551

Owner: Lorain County Printing

& Publishing Co.

Single copy price: \$.35 daily/

\$1.00 Sunday

Coverage area: Lorain, western

Cuyahoga counties

Daily Legal News

2935 Prospect Ave.

Cleveland 44115

216-696-3322

Publisher: Lucien B. Karlovec Jr.

MEDIA OUTLETS: LISTED ALPHABETICALLY

Editor: Lucien B. Karlovec Jr.

Sales manager: Richard Karlovec

Circulation manager: Jeffrey Karlovec

Daily circulation: 1,200 Tuesday-Friday

Saturday circulation: 2,000

Owner: Lucien B. Karlovec Jr.

Single copy price: \$.60 daily/\$1.00

Saturday

Coverage area: Cuyahoga County

Medina County Gazette

885 W. Liberty St.

Medina 44256

330-725-4166

Publisher: George Hudnutt

Managing editor: Liz Sheaffer

Sales manager: Kris High

Circulation manager: Wayne Workman

Daily circulation: 16,421

Owner: Lorain County Printing &

Publishing Co.

Single copy price: \$.35

Coverage area: Medina County

The Morning Journal

1657 Broadway

Lorain 44052

440-245-6901

Publisher: Kevin F. Walsh

Editor: John G. Cole

Sales manager: William J. Cyran

Circulation manager: Ronald N. Astman

MEDIA OUTLETS: LISTED ALPHABETICALLY

Daily circulation: 40,392

Sunday circulation: 45,352

Owner: Journal Register Co.

Single copy price: \$.50 daily/\$1.25 Sunday

Coverage area: Western Cuyahoga, Lorain, Erie, Huron counties

The News-Herald

7085 Mentor Ave.

Willoughby 44094

440-951-0000

Publisher: Joseph A. Cocozzo

Editor: Talmage A. Campbell

Sales manager: Scott Ruff

Circulation manager: Duane Newnes

Daily circulation: 51,104

Sunday circulation: 64,130

Owner: Journal Register Co.

Single copy price: \$.50 daily/\$1.50 Sunday

Coverage area: Lake, Geauga, eastern Cuyahoga counties

The Plain Dealer

1801 Superior Ave.

Cleveland 44114

216-999-4500

Publisher: Alex Machaskee

Editor: David Hall

Sales manager: Terry Hebert

Circulation manager: Rick Epstein

Daily circulation: 383,586

Sunday circulation: 508,787

Owner: Newhouse Newspapers

Single copy price: \$.35 daily/\$1.50 Sunday

MEDIA OUTLETS: LISTED ALPHABETICALLY

Coverage area: Northeast Ohio

Record Courier

126 N. Chestnut St.

Ravenna 44266

330-296-9657

Publisher: David E. Dix

Editor: Roger J. DiPaola

Sales manager: Ronald Waite

Daily circulation: 19,913

Sunday circulation: 21,256

Owner: Dix Communications

Single copy price: \$.50 daily/\$1.00 Sunday

Coverage area: Portage County

Weekly Newspapers

Circulation over 10,000

Call & Post

540 E. 105 St., suite 305

Cleveland 44108

216-451-2890

Publisher: John Bustamante

Editor: Shelley Shockley

Sales manager: John Lenear

Weekly circulation: 45,000

Owner: P.W. Publishing Inc.

Single copy price: \$.50

Coverage area: Ohio

Chagrin Valley Times/Solon Times

525 E. Washington St., P.O. Box 150

Chagrin Falls 44022

440-247-5335

MEDIA OUTLETS: LISTED ALPHABETICALLY

Publisher: H. Kenneth Douthit III

Editor: David C. Lange

General manager: Carole A. Vigliotti

Weekly circulation: 20,000

Owner: Chagrin Valley Publishing Co.

Single copy price: \$.50

Coverage area: Chagrin Valley, Solon, western Geauga County

Cleveland Free Times

1846 Coventry Rd., suite 100

Cleveland Heights 44118

Publisher: Randolph Siegel

Editor: Cindy Barber

Sales manager: J. Casey Boland

Circulation manager: Pete Zelinka

Weekly circulation: 55,000

Owner: Hummingbird Press

Single copy price: Free

Coverage area: Cuyahoga, Lake, Lorain, Summit, Geauga counties

Cleveland Jewish News

3645 Warrensville Center Rd.

Cleveland 44122

216-991-8300

General manager: Jane Edelstein

Editor: Cynthia Dettelbach

Sales manager: Marcia Sollisch

Circulation manager: Jane Edelstein

Weekly circulation: 16,000

Owner: Jewish Publication Corp.

Single copy price: \$1 (beginning Jan. 1, 1998)

Coverage area: Greater Cleveland

MEDIA OUTLETS: LISTED ALPHABETICALLY

Crain's Cleveland Business

700 W. St. Clair Ave., suite 310

Cleveland 44113

216-522-1383

Publisher/editorial director: Brian D. Tucker

Editor: Mark Dodosh

Advertising director: Foster Nauffts

Circulation manager: Judy Zawislak

Weekly circulation: 25,306

Owner: Crain Communications Inc.

Single copy price: \$1.50

Coverage area: Cuyahoga, Geauga,

Lake, Lorain, Medina, Portage, Summit counties

East Side Daily News

11400 Woodland Ave.

Cleveland 44104

216-721-1674

Publisher: Ulysses Glen Sr.

Sales manager: Ulysses Glen Sr.

Weekly circulation: 20,000

Owner: East Side Publishing Co.

Single copy price: Free

Coverage area: Warrensville Hts.,

Highland Hills, North Randall,

Cleveland wards 1-6, East Cleveland

The Neighborhood News

8613 Garfield Blvd.

Garfield Hts. 44125

216-441-2141

Publisher: James V. Psenicka

MEDIA OUTLETS: LISTED ALPHABETICALLY

Editor: Ellen M. Psenicka

Sales manager: Michael S. Psenicka

Circulation manager: Mary M. Malisiak

Weekly circulation: 20,000

Owner: James V. Psenicka

Single copy price: Free

Coverage area: SE Cleveland, Garfield Hts., Newburgh Hts., Valley View, Independence, Cuyahoga Hts.

The Press (Avon Lake Press)

158 Lear Rd.

Avon Lake 44012

440-933-5100

Publisher: Richard J. Hemmer Jr.

Editor: Amy Ginn

Sales manager: Linda M. Hemmer

Circulation manager: Barbara Kohler

Weekly circulation: 10,143

Owner: Richard J. Hemmer Jr./

PICT Inc.

Single copy price: \$.60

Coverage area: Avon Lake, Avon, Sheffield Lake, Sheffield Village

Record Publishing Co.

(11 weekly newspapers)

1619 Commerce Dr.

Stow 44224

330-688-0088

Publisher: David E. Dix

Editor: Bev Ocasek

Sales manager: Harry Newman

Circulation manager: Vicki Guido

Weekly circulation: 155,815

MEDIA OUTLETS: LISTED ALPHABETICALLY

Owner: Dix Communications/Record Publishing L.L.C.

Single copy price: \$.50

Coverage area: Aurora, Bedford, Cuyahoga Falls, Hudson, Lake, Maple Hts., Kent, Akron, Mogadore, Lakemore, Macedonia, Northfield, Stow, Munroe Falls, Tallmadge, Streetsboro, Twin Lakes, Twinsburg

SCENE Entertainment Weekly

1375 Euclid Ave., suite 312

Cleveland 44115

216-241-7550

Publisher: Richard J. Kabat

Associate publisher: Keith A. Rathbun

Editor: Mark Holan

Sales manager: Matt Fabyan

Circulation manager: Don Kriss

Weekly circulation: 56,000

Owner: Northeast Scene Inc.

Single copy price: Free

Coverage area: Northeast Ohio, including Cleveland, Lorain, Akron, Canton

The Suburbanite

3577 S. Arlington Rd., suite B

Akron 44312

330-899-2872

Editor: Paul R. Harbaugh

Sales manager: Peggy Merrill

Circulation manager: Bob White

Weekly circulation: 26,000

Owner: Thomson Newspapers

Single copy price: \$0.25

Coverage area: City of Green, Coventry, Franklin and Springfield Townships, Lakemore Village, New Franklin Village (all southern Summit County)

Sun Newspapers

(23 weekly newspapers)

MEDIA OUTLETS: LISTED ALPHABETICALLY

5510 Cloverleaf Pkwy.

Cleveland 44125

216-524-0830

Publisher: Jerry Gordon

Editor: John Urbancich

Sales manager: Peter Deverall

Circulation manager: Tim Schmidt

Weekly circulation: 238,413

Owner: SunMedia Corp.

Single copy price: \$.65

Coverage area: Five-county area of Greater Cleveland encompassing 78 communities

West Side Leader

190 N. Union St., suite 300

Akron 44304

330-762-3131

Publisher: Garey Samuelson

Editor: Kathryn Core

Sales manager: Clark Burns

Circulation manager: Joe Taormina

Weekly circulation: 40,500

Owner: Undisclosed

Single copy price: Free

Coverage area: West Akron,

Fairlawn, Bath, Copley, Norton,

Sharon, Granger, Richfield,

Peninsula, Boston, Northampton

1 The Cleveland Free Times has agreed to be acquired by Stern Publishing.

Sun Newspapers has agreed to be acquired by Advance Publications.

Load-Date: December 18, 1997

MEDIA OUTLETS: LISTED ALPHABETICALLY

End of Document

**ACTION ON FOAL FRONT;
FOALS ON OFFER**

Sporting Life

November 22, 1996, Friday

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Section: NEWS; Pg. 8

Length: 12720 words

Body

WITH foals selling for up to \$ 1.4 million at the recent Keeneland Sales and buoyant trade at the domestic yearling sales, the scene appears to be set for some lively action at Park Paddocks - especially as the 800-plus foals on offer include youngsters by the likes of Sadler's Wells and Caerleon.

Here is a review of the foals by some of the stallions represented next week.

ALHIJAZ (1c, 3f)

The first yearlings by Alhijaz were popular at the sales, with six selling for 20,000gns or more. Here the second-crop youngsters include 643, a grand -daughter of Oaks second Val's Girl; 760, the second foal of a well- bred Danehill mare; and 808, a filly out of a sister to Petong.

ALNASR ALWASHEEK (3c, 1f)

One of the colts, 730, is out of a winner-producing half-sister to Perpendicular and Prismatic.

ALZAO (3f)

Alzao has a first-rate record as a sire of fillies, which will help 1080, whose dam is a winning half-sister to Dashing Blade and Royal Solo; 1295, a filly from the family of Harayir; and 1327, the first foal of a winning daughter of the very speedy Eloquent Minister.

ANITA'S PRINCE

(1c, 1f)

Anita's Prince has an interesting daughter in Lot 785, a half-sister to the American Graded Stakes winner Down Again. The colt, 781, is a half- brother to a couple of useful early two-year-olds.

ANSHAN (4c, 5f)

Woodditton Stud's filly, 667, is out of an accomplished half-sister to Ventiquattrofogli - a son of Anshan's sire Persian Bold.

ARAGON (3c, 2f)

ACTION ON FOAL FRONT; FOALS ON OFFER

Doverlodge Stud's colt, 902, should be popular as a half-brother to Puissance, especially as this family produced Sizzling Melody to another member of Aragon's male line. Lot 1340 is a half-brother to the successful Tedburrow, and 872 is a filly whose second and third dams have produced Group winners.

ARAZI (2c)

Anyone looking for a potentially top-class two-year-old should look at 1170, a colt produced by a mating between two winners of the Prix Morny. Lot 1291 will also attract plenty of attention, as this colt is a half-brother to Iktamal and an American Grade Two winner, their dam being a three-parts sister to Ile De Bourbon.

ARDKINGGLASS (4c)

Whatton Manor Stud consigns three of the youngsters by its new stallion, including 961, a son of the successful broodmare Well Off.

BALLAD ROCK (1c)

Airlie Stud's colt, 999, is a half-brother to Thrilling Day, the Nell Gwyn heroine from the Mrs Moss family.

BATSHOOF (2c, 1f)

Groveswood Stud consigns two of these, namely a half-sister to the useful Pedraza as 644 and a son of the Group-placed juvenile Faraway Grey as 647.

BE MY CHIEF (8c, 5f)

With Donna Viola and Shigeru Summit winning Group races for him this year, Be My Chief should do well with his sizeable team, especially as it includes youngsters out of mares by Shirley Heights (606), Shareef Dancer (671), Lyphard (1033), Cadeaux Genereux (1140) and Great Nephew (1338).

Others include 684, a colt from the family of Piccolo; 735, a daughter of the Sweet Solera Stakes winner William's Bird; 903, a colt out of a sister to the Group-winning Ordinance; and 970, a daughter of the Group-winning Travel Mystery.

BE MY GUEST (2c, 1f)

Castletown Stud should do well with 1268, a three-parts brother to this year's Group winner Regal Archive, from the family of Oscar Schindler. The filly, 1247, is a three-parts sister to the top Italian sprinter Late Parade (by Be My Guest's son Astronef).

BE MY NATIVE (1c)

Lot 1264 is a three-parts brother to the outstanding Hong Kong performer River Verdon.

BELMEZ (2c)

Lot 704 is out of a sister to those very fast fillies Sigy and Sonoma, both dams of Group winners.

BERING (1f)

Societe Aland's filly is out of a Group-placed daughter of the outstanding French filly Riverqueen.

BLUEBIRD (2c, 6f)

These youngsters are out of some of the very good mares Bluebird attracted in 1995, following the 1994 expolits of such as Bluegrass Prince, Blue Siren, Erin Bird, Lake Coniston, Blues Traveller, Lovely Millie and Dolphin Street.

ACTION ON FOAL FRONT; FOALS ON OFFER

For example the colts are 934, a grandson of One Thousand Guineas winner Fairy Footsteps, and 514, the second foal of a sister to Princely Hush.

The fact that fillies predominate here need not be a problem for a stallion responsible for numerous good fillies. Lot 859 is out of a three-parts- sister to Golden Fleece; 1065 is a half-sister to the French Listed winner Afaladja; and 1276 is out of a half-sister to Rainbow Quest.

BOB BACK (1c)

Lot 929 is out of a half-sister to three Group winners, from the family of Ardross.

BRIEF TRUCE (2c, 1f)

The popularity of Brief Truce's first-crop yearlings will help this trio. One of the colts, 928, is out of a half-sister to the very smart French fillies Sharaya and Sharaniya, and the filly, 1087, comes from the first- rate family which produced the Group-winning Fairy Path to Brief Truce's sire.

BUSTINO (2c)

This veteran's representatives include 553, a colt out of a sister to Bluebird.

CADEAUX GENEREUX (1c)

A Cadeaux Genereux colt bought for 20,000gns at last year's sale made 300,000gns at the Houghton. This year's colt, 1173, is out of the Group- placed French winner Faribole.

CAERLEON (4c, 3f)

The best price for a Caerleon foal here last year was 115,000gns, and that price could easily be bettered this time.

For example, one of the fillies, 1094, is out of a sister to the dam of Dancing Brave and her dam has already produced the Chesham Stakes winner Humam to Caerleon's sire, Nijinsky.

Another filly, 950, comes from the family which produced Generous to Caerleon. West Blagdon's colt, 1049, comes from the stud's famous Pelting family, which produced the Group-winning Careafolie to Caerleon. And 1001 is a colt from the female line which produced Only Royale to Caerleon and Oscar Schindler to another son of Nijinsky.

Darshaan mares have already produced Group winners to two sons of Nijinsky and a grandson of Nijinsky, which bodes well for 953, a colt out of a well-bred Deauville winner. Lot 753 has the outstanding Lianga as his third dam, as does Danehill Dancer.

Lot 1155, a filly from the family of In Command, is a sister to a 100,000gns buy here last year.

CHIEF'S CROWN (1c)

Lot 673 has an international pedigree. By an American sire, he is out of a New Zealand-bred mare who did very well in Malaysia.

CLANTIME (4c)

All the youngsters by this increasingly popular son of Music Boy are out of winning mares. Lot 725, a colt out of a sister to the very fast Kind Music, is inbred 2 x 3 to Music Boy.

COMMON GROUNDS (7c, 4f)

ACTION ON FOAL FRONT; FOALS ON OFFER

The higher quality of mare that Common Grounds earned through the successes of such as Fallow, Artema and Earl Of Barking is very apparent here. Most of these foals come from classy families, including Lots 899, 958 (a filly whose dam is a half-sister to Pistolet Bleu), 974 and 1006.

Lot 977 is a half-sister to Shanawi, a Listed winner, and 1135 is a filly out of a winning half-sister to the dam of Even Top.

Cleaboy Stud consigns two colts as Lots 1248 and 1250, the former sharing the same broodmare sire, Caerleon, as Common Grounds' Group-winning son Artema.

CYRANO DE

BERGERAC (2c, 3f)

Lot 907 is out of a mare by Mummy's Game, broodmare sire of Cyrano de Bergerac's top son Millkom.

Glen Andred Stud's pair includes 591, a filly from the fast Money For Nothing family.

DANEHILL (1c, 3f)

Like Desert King, 1181 is inbred to Northern Dancer, his dam being a well-bred Dancing Brave mare. Lot 1069 is a daughter of the French Listed winner Marie de Flandre; 1178 is out of a half-sister to Tanami, the Cheveley Park Stakes runner-up; and 1334 is a grand-daughter of the smart Habitat mare Petipa.

DARSHAAN (2c)

This pair comprises 954, a half-brother to the very useful Italian juvenile Giselle Penn, and 1175, a colt closely related to the very smart Elegant Air, from the same family as Papua.

DAYJUR (1c)

Iosifa, the dam of 1277, was runner-up in the Lingfield Oaks Trial.

DEPLOY (3c, 4f)

Lot 886, Batsford Stud's colt by the up-and-coming Deploy, comes from the family responsible for the top American winners Editor's Note and Hennessy.

Ted Voute consigns a filly (572) which is a three-parts sister to the American Grade Three winner Sacque. The dam of 843 is a half-sister to the smart Prince Ferdinand.

DIESIS (1c, 2f)

The Societe Aland dispersal should yield a good dividend in the form of 1306. This filly is a half-sister to the excellent Matiarra and to Precious Ring, a Listed winner since the catalogue. Her dam recently made \$ 1.45 million at Keeneland.

Norelands Stud's filly, 1056, is out of Isticanna, a Listed winner as well as being a grand-daughter of the celebrated Mesopotamia.

The colt, 1150, is out of a winning half-sister to those smart colts Munwar and Hateel.

DILUM (7c, 2f)

The team by this quick-maturing horse includes Lots 506, 595 and 778 - all out of winning two-year-olds. The dam of 778 is a half-sister to the fast Anzio.

Lot 1108 is a half-sister to two two-year-old winners, his dam being a young half-sister to the smart Touch Paper.

ACTION ON FOAL FRONT; FOALS ON OFFER

DISTANT RELATIVE (4c, 2f)

This attractive team includes Lot 798, a well-connected colt from Trickle-down Stud. A half-brother to the triple Grade Three winner Mighty Forum, he is out of a successful sister to the Derby third Mighty Flutter.

Lot 1102 is the second foal of a half-sister to those smart performers Only Yours and Osario, while Lot 1260 is out of the dual Group winner Princess Eboli.

One of the fillies, 721, is a sister to Chrysalu, a close third in the Prix Marcel Boussac, and the other, 962, is out of the talented two-year-old Flourishing.

DISTINCTLY

NORTH (1f)

Lot 845, the filly by Miss Stamper's sire, comes from the family of the admirable Penny Drops.

DOYOUN (1c)

Lot 932's half-sister Entice has won twice, including in a Listed race, since the catalogue went to press. This colt comes from the same family as Blushing Groom.

EFISIO (1c, 1f)

Lot 764 is a half-brother to the speedy Pride Of Brixton and has a sister to the champion sprinter Deep Diver as his second dam. Lot 702 is a half-sister to Knight Of Mercy, an earner of over pounds 125,000.

EL GRAN SENOR (1f)

Lot 1156 is out of the successful Irish filly Tendermark, a sister to the Group-winning Kemago.

ELMAAMUL (3c, 2f)

Genesis Green Stud's colt, 936, comes from the same family as Oaks winner Moonshell, and 561 is a half-brother to the useful Chickawicka. Sabaya, a useful Irish two-year-old, is dam of 1370, a filly from the family of Kingscote. The other filly, 857, comes from the same first-rate family as Caerleon.

EMARATI (8c, 2f)

Petches Farm consigns two of the colts, Lot 792 being a half-brother to the smart Tout Est Permis and 793 being out of a half-sister to the dam of Pivotal. Seven of the others come up from Britton House Stud, including 1096, a half-brother to ten winners.

EXBOURNE (1f)

This American-conceived filly, 1197, is out of Meteoric, a Group-placed half-sister to the smart American horse Tychonic.

EXIT TO NOWHERE (1c, 1f)

Barnwood Stud consigns both youngsters by the sire of Shaka, recent winner of the Criterium de Saint-Cloud. The filly, 891, has a pedigree featuring four lines to the celebrated mare Almahmoud, including inbreeding to her daughter Cosmah. The colt, 893, comes from a good French family.

FAIRY KING (7c, 9f)

After the exploits of Helissio and Revoque, there is bound to be a great deal of interest in this squad.

ACTION ON FOAL FRONT; FOALS ON OFFER

The colts start with 679, a youngster inbred 2 x 3 to Northern Dancer, with a very successful sister to Secreto as his second dam.

Lot 889 is inbred 2 x 4 and his second dam is the Coronation Stakes winner Magic Of Life. 951 is out of a well-bred daughter of High Top, a broodmare sire whose daughters have produced Group winners to Fairy King and two of his brothers. And 967, who comes from the same family as Baratheia, is a brother to a filly which made 60,000gns at the October Sales.

Barronstown Stud's colt, 1240, is a brother to a colt which made IR75,000gns at Goffs and is a brother-in-blood to Sadler's Wells's very useful son Admiral's Well.

Lot 1265 is a brother to City Nights, a Stakes winner in Ireland and the States, and 1310 comes from the family which produced Scenic, Dushyantor and Family Tradition to Fairy King's brother Sadler's Wells.

Moving on to the fillies, 678 has French Group winners as her second and third dams; 709 has a pedigree very similar to Baratheia's; and 855 is a grand -daughter of the very smart Vilikaia.

Shirley Heights - the broodmare sire of Fairy King's Group One winner Fairy Heights - is also sire of the dams of 948 and 1323.

Lot 1041 is a half-sister to Tsukuba Symphony, a smart performer in Japan this year, and 1084 is out of the speedy Hana Marie.

Lot 1182 is a grand-daughter of that grand mare Durtal, and therefore comes from the family of Sadler's Wells's Arc winner Carnegie. 1321 is out of a half -sister to Cadeaux Genereux and is closely related to the fast Ya Malak.

FAYRUZ (1c, 1f)

Kildaragh Stud's filly, 897, is inbred 3 x 2 to Lady Jester, ancestress of such fast horses as Jester and Reesh. 918 is a brother to the successful 1995 Irish juvenile Kingsandvagabonds.

FORMIDABLE (4c, 1f)

Fares Stables' filly, 641, comes from a good French family. Lot 701 is a grandson of a sister to Brigadier Gerard, while 1369 is a colt from the family of Halling.

FORZANDO (5c, 2f)

Forzando sired the very

successful Easycall from a mare by Never So Bold and Lot 995 is a daughter of another Never So Bold mare. Forzando could also do well with several others, including 680, a colt from the family of Ballad Rock, and 1243, the first foal of a well-bred winner by Soviet Star.

GENEROUS (2c)

Lot 1177 is a half-brother to the talented Divina Luna, his dam being a well -connected Dancing Brave mare. Societe Aland's colt, 1305, is out of a Listed winner closely related to the top-class Irish River.

GREAT COMMOTION (2c, 2f)

Deadly Dudley's sire has a good record. His colts - Lots 772 and 922 - respectively come from the families of Troy and Alzao.

GREEN DESERT

(1c, 2f)

ACTION ON FOAL FRONT; FOALS ON OFFER

Warren Park Stud consigns a filly, 1246, which is assured of plenty of attention as a sister to the high-class Owington. The colt, 1076, is a brother to two winners, including the talented Green Green Desert, and 1343 is the first foal of Zafaaf, a creditable sixth in the 1994 Coronation Stakes.

HAMAS (8c, 7c)

Hamas could hardly have a stronger pedigree, so there must be a good chance that this July Cup winner will do well with his first crop next year. His second-crop foals could therefore represent a good gamble.

Lot 549 is closely related to this year's smart filly Papering; 780 is a half -brother to a couple of good winners, out of a Group-winning two- year-old; and 1002 is a half-brother to the smart French filly Balanka, from the family of Bering.

HIGH ESTATE (2c, 1f)

The filly, 1063, has the attraction of being out of a half-sister to the excellent Timarida.

HIGHEST HONOR (1f)

Societe Aland's filly, 1302, is bred on similar lines to Persepolis, winner of the Prix Lupin and fourth in the Derby.

IN THE WINGS

(1c, 2f)

This good young sire has a well-bred daughter on offer as Lot 711, her dam being a Listed winner out of the Oaks third The Dancer. The colt, 1016, is out of a three-parts sister to Lear Fan.

INCHINOR (3c, 7f)

The second-crop team by this admirable son of Ahonoora includes several from good families, including 599, a filly out of a grand-daughter of the excellent broodmare Sleat, and 1357, a colt out of a winner-producing sister to the top mare Maximova.

INDIAN RIDGE

(6c, 1f)

There is sure to be strong competition for Indian Ridge's youngsters, especially as the filly, 1249, is a half-sister to Verglas, the Coventry Stakes winner.

The colts include 968, a colt from the same family as the recent Breeders' Cup Distaff winner Jewel Princess.

KALDOUN (1f)

This very successful French sire should do well with Lot 1299, a filly out of a very well-bred Nureyev mare.

KEEN (2c, 2f)

Lot 542 is the second foal of a half-sister to those very good colts Luso and Needle Gun.

KING'S SIGNET (3f)

The fact that a 3,000gns foal from King's Signet's first crop was resold for 26,000gns should help this trio.

KOMAITE (4c, 2f)

One of the fillies, 508, is out of a half- sister to the fast Singing Steven.

ACTION ON FOAL FRONT; FOALS ON OFFER

KRIS (1f)

Lot 648 is a three-parts-sister to Nettle, a Group- placed Listed winner.

KYLIAN (1c, 1f)

Both these youngsters are out of successful racemares and the filly, 1194, is a half-sister to a useful Italian winner.

LAHIB (6c, 1f)

One sure to attract a lot of attention is 1220, a half-brother to Tagula out of a half-sister to the dam of Da Hoss, the recent Breeders' Cup Mile winner.

Several others have distinguished relatives, such as 990, a colt out of a half -sister to the Prix de Diane winner Lady In Silver, and 1000, a grandson of the Coronation Stakes winner Orchestration.

LEAR FAN (1c)

Lot 1198, the colt representing this top-class son of Roberto, is out of a half-sister to two Group winners by Roberto.

LION CAVERN (5c, 1f)

This brother to Gone West received a very warm welcome at the yearling sales, and his second crop should also do well. The filly, Lot 754, is closely related to Gone West's top sons Zafonic and Zamindar. Also out of a daughter of The Minstrel is the colt which ends the foal sales as Lot 1372.

LUGANA BEACH

(2c, 2f)

Lot 1114, a filly, is out of the speedy As Blessed, a mare who ranks as the second dam of Glory Of Dancer and third dam of Grey Shot. One of the colts is a half-brother to eight winners, including Rude Awakening.

LYCIUS (2c, 3f)

The fillies are all from good families, including Lot 947, a daughter of a well-bred Roberto mare, and 1233, from the family of the Prix Vermeille winner Sharaya.

MACHIAVELLIAN (1c)

Gainsborough Stud Management's colt, 1346, is out of a well-bred Danzig mare.

MAGIC RING (6c, 2f)

The colts from the second crop by this quick-maturing horse include 795, a half-brother to the very useful Poyle George; 1258, the second foal of a half -sister to Captain Horatius; and 1371, a grandson of One Over Parr, a Group -winning sister to Oaks winner Polygamy.

One of the fillies, 794, is a three-parts-sister to Gold Desert, a good-class two-year-old of 1991.

MARJU (3c, 4f)

Following the Group One successes of My Emma and Sil Sila there will be no complaints that fillies outnumber the colts here. Among them are 921, the first foal of a close relative of the very smart Khariyda.

MAZILIER (1c)

ACTION ON FOAL FRONT; FOALS ON OFFER

Lot 776 comes from the family of the recent Grade One winner Donna Viola.

MIDYAN (3c, 2f)

Bearstone Stud's colt, 905, is the first foal of a winning sister to Chester Vase winner High Baroque. Also related to a good 1996 winner is 1262, a colt out of a half-sister to the very smart American mare Electric Society.

MOST WELCOME (2c)

Lot 603, inbred to the Canadian champion Nearctic, descends from the top sprinter Lucasland.

MUJADIL (3c, 4f)

One of the colts, 1062, is the first foal of the successful Shirley Heights mare Encore Une Fois.

MUJTAHID (6c, 1f)

This well-connected team includes 827, a grandson of the classic-placed Fruhlingstag, and 943, the first foal of a Group-placed Warning mare. Lot 1129 is a son of Zaius, a two-year-old Group winner, and 1274 is a half -brother to the very useful Continental horse Tarvisio.

MUKADDAMAH (2c)

Lot 924 is the first foal of a talented two-year-old by Fairy King, which means he is inbred 3 x 3 to Northern Dancer.

MYSTIKO (5c, 1f)

The solitary filly, 1187, has the attraction of a strong ***female*** line, her dam Nemesia being a Listed winner closely related to the very smart Elegant Air. Among the colts are 1032, a half-brother to the Group-winning Jimmy Barnie, and 850, a grandson of the classic-placed Joking Apart.

NASHWAN (2f)

West Blagdon is the consignor of both Nashwan fillies and both descend from Pelting, the stud's celebrated mare. Lot 1050 is a half-sister to the fast Run And Gun, while 1051 is a daughter of Ghariba, the One Thousand Guineas fourth.

NIGHT SHIFT (5c, 5f)

Plenty of Night Shift's 1995 foals made 30,000gns or more, and a repeat performance must be on the cards. His colts include 769, a close relative to the useful Omaha City, from a good family; 898, a colt out of a sister to Kentucky Derby winner Gato Del Sol; and 923, a half-brother to the smart Irish colt I'm Supposin.

NOBLE PATRIARCH (1c, 2f)

Lot 484 is out of a winning half-sister to Chilly Billy, the Gimcrack winner.

NORTHERN PARK (2c, 3f)

Lot 571, a filly, is the first foal of a half-sister to the high-class Dancehall. Another filly, 1279, descends from Little Hut, the dam of Habitat and Northfields.

PARIS HOUSE (3c, 1f)

Rathbarry Stud's colt, 771, is a half-brother to Deadly Dudley, a Group Two winner since the catalogue, and Airlie's colt, 998, is out of a talented Standaan mare, so should be fast.

The filly, 975, is out of Princess Pavlova, a mare whose parents were both Irish classic winners.

ACTION ON FOAL FRONT; FOALS ON OFFER

PERSIAN BOLD

(2c, 1f)

Theakston Stud consigns both colts by this in-form veteran, including one out of a sister to the high-class sprinter Blue Cashmere (981).

PETONG (5c, 9f)

This sizeable team includes foals out of young winning mares by such as Alzao (590), Most Welcome (649), Danehill (656) and Caerleon (789). Also on offer are 1031, a half-sister to the tough and talented Nominator, and 651, a half -sister to the useful miler Hoh Express.

PHARLY (3c, 1f)

Lot 627, a colt inbred 3 x 3 to Northern Dancer, is the first foal of a dual juvenile winner and 662 is the first foal of a sister to a Japanese Group One winner.

PIPS PRIDE (4c, 1f)

The fact that the first crop by this very successful two-year-old sold for up to IR65,000gns should help these foals. Lot 681 is out of a winning Cox's Ridge filly.

PISTOLET BLEU (1c)

Lot 1301 is a half-brother to Etoile, who has been placed in a Listed race since the catalogue. His dam is a sister to the high-class Bellypha.

POLAR FALCON

(6c, 2f)

This team can hardly fail to be popular. Lot 715 is a son of the admirable Langtry Lady; 910 is the first foal of a well-bred winner by Darshaan; and 949 is a brother to the two-year-old French Listed winner Shoalhaven.

Lot 1339 is a half-brother to those accomplished two-year-olds Fast Eddy and Stone Mill.

POLISH PATRIOT (4c, 2f)

Lot 908 is a brother to a two-year-old winner and 997 is a daughter of the speedy Irish filly Blazing Glory.

POLISH PRECEDENT (1c)

Dukes Stud's colt, 1147, is a half- brother to the Listed winner Thornberry.

PRESIDIUM (2c, 2f)

Lot 813 has the distinction of being a half-sister to Cajarian, twice a Group Three winner in Ireland. One of the colts, 498, is out of a successful sister to Petong.

PRIMO DOMINIE

(5c, 3f)

Bloomsbury Stud's filly, 788, is out of a winning half-sister to the very smart French colt Pole Position, and Kirtlington Stud's colt, 1195, is a half -brother to the Queen's Sabina and comes from a smart family.

PRINCE SABO (6c, 2f)

ACTION ON FOAL FRONT; FOALS ON OFFER

Cheveley Park Stud is offering two of the interesting colts by Prince Sabo, namely 574, a son of a well-bred winner by Dancing Brave, and 576, whose dam La Piaf did well in the USA.

Also among the colts are 634, a half-brother to the useful In Like Flynn, and 695, a close relative of those smart performers Young Runaway and Easy Option.

PRIOLO (1c, 1f)

The colt, 1058, is inbred to Northern Dancer and comes from the Lucasland family, while the filly, 883, is from the Irish Lass family.

PUISSANCE (9c, 3f)

All eyes will be on 700, as this colt is a brother to Mind Games. Mind Games is out of a grand-daughter of Northern Dancer, and so too are Lots 852, a half-brother to Garnock Valley; 937, a filly out of a winning Topsider mare; and 1128, a daughter of the Grade Three winner Sojourn.

PURSUIT OF LOVE (5c, 4f)

The efforts of Musical Pursuit and Head Over Heels will guarantee that this team will be popular.

The foals are out of daughters of such as Head Over Heels's broodmare sire Shareef Dancer (933), Green Desert (952), Last Tycoon (955) and Kris (1331).

RAINBOW QUEST (1f)

Ted Voute consigns 1078, a filly out of a half-sister by Nureyev to the top American filly Lucky Lucky Lucky.

RAINBOWS FOR LIFE (3c, 1f)

Lot 940 is a brother to a yearling bought for 35,000gns by Shadwell at the October Sales. The others are out of well-connected daughters of Green Dancer (835), Gay Mecene (1023) and Irish River (1203).

REPRIMAND (3c, 3f)

The team by Deep Finesse's sire includes 665, a colt out of a winner-producing half-sister to Pips Pride.

RISK ME (8c, 2f)

The majority of these are out of winning mares, an exception being 502, a colt out of a half-sister to the dam of Turtle Island.

RIVER FALLS (2c)

Lot 1211 is a half-brother to the smart sprinter Cyrano de Bergerac.

ROBELLINO (7c, 3f)

Robellino was riding high following the Guineas success of Mister Baileys when this strong team was conceived. Lot 873, like Mister Baileys, is out of a Sharpen Up mare.

Watch out too for such as 577, a colt out of a Listed winner by Nureyev; 652, a half-brother to the very smart American colt Jumron; and 834, a colt from the family of Lochsong and Lochangel.

ROCK CITY (2c)

The National Stud's colt, 1213, is a half-brother to Johan Cruyff, winner of the Beresford Stakes since the catalogue.

ACTION ON FOAL FRONT; FOALS ON OFFER

ROCK HOPPER

(1c, 1f)

Lot 540 is a half-sister to eight winners, including the very useful Spitfire.

ROI DANZIG (2c)

Rathbarry consigns a half-brother to the top- class Timarida as Lot 909.

ROYAL ACADEMY (10c, 3f)

As Royal Academy has been enjoying a very good year with the likes of Oscar Schindler, he is sure to prove popular here. 1309 is a colt from the same family as Oscar Schindler.

Nearly all the others have their attractions, including 755, a grandson of the Grade One winner Queen To Conquer; 856, a colt out of a mare by Shirley Heights, a stallion whose daughters have already done very well with Royal Academy; and 926, a son of that fast filly My-O-My.

Knocktoran Stud's filly, 1021, is the first foal of a daughter of Arc winner All Along; 1027 is a half-brother to Crimson Tide, winner of the Houghton Stakes since the catalogue, and is closely related to Shahrastani; and 1070 is a grandson of the top French filly Masarika. A half-sister to Dancing Brave is the dam of 1092, a filly.

RUDIMENTARY

(9c, 4f)

Rudimentary was quickly booked full following the pronounced success of his first crop, which should also pay dividends here.

Lot 796 is a half-brother to those very useful performers Compton Place and Quakers Field, while 579 is a brother to a 24,000gns yearling and his dam is closely related to the dams of Spectrum and Erin Bird.

SABREHILL (3c, 4f)

With his first crop selling for up to 105,000gns, Sabrehill could prove popular here. Lot 736 is a daughter of the Listed winner La Vie En Primrose, a half-sister to the dam of Even Top, and 741 is a three-parts sister to a 40,000gns yearling.

SADDLERS' HALL (2c, 2f)

With his sons Silver Patriarch and Madler winning Listed races, Saddlers' Hall has made a pleasing start. One of the colts, 575, is out of the Listed winner Comic Talent and one of the fillies, 664, is out of a winning Diesis mare.

SADLER'S WELLS (4c, 3f)

Two colts by Sadler's Wells made 250,000gns and 220,000gns at last year's sale and more high prices are on the cards this time. For example, Lot 1318 is not only a half-brother to the outstanding Generous, but is also a brother to Strawberry Roan, winner of the Listed Eyrefield Stakes since the catalogue.

Lot 756 is a filly out of a Habitat mare and is therefore bred along the same lines as Barathea, Batshoof and several other good winners. Another filly, 1042, is closely related to Muncie, the Prix Saint-Alary winner, and the third filly, 1193, comes from a first-rate female line.

Lot 1241 is a brother to the very useful Tiger Flower; 1275 is a half- brother to a triple Group winner in Italy; and 1313 is a brother to Myth To Reality, a triple Listed winner, and his dam is a sister to Shirley Heights.

SALSE (8c)

ACTION ON FOAL FRONT; FOALS ON OFFER

Several of the Salse foals at last year's sale yielded substantial profits at the yearling sales, so this team will be closely scrutinised.

Lots 718 and 993 are likely to do well, as both these colts are closely related to the very smart Lemon Souffle. Lot 646 is a colt out of a sister to Petong.

SANGLAMORE

(1c, 1f)

The filly, 1307, is a half-sister to that smart colt St Mawes. The family of 986 produced Flash Of Steel, the Irish 2000 Guineas winner, to another son of Sharpen Up.

SCENIC (5c, 1f)

The Cottage Stud will be expecting a very good sale with 1290, a half- brother to Guineas hope Revoque (sired by a brother to Scenic's sire). Lot 1005 is a half-brother to a top winner in Brazil, from a good family, and 1354 is a son of the smart Tralthee.

SEATTLE DANCER (6c, 2f)

Seattle Dancer has moved on from Ireland to Japan without many people noticing that he has had six 1996 Group winners spread between the USA, Japan and Italy.

Lot 1278 is a filly closely related to Dewhurst winner Kala Dancer, while 1281 is a three-parts-brother to the very useful Hajade. And 1312 is a colt out of a half-sister to Pentire.

SELKIRK (2c, 2f)

This top miler has made a very pleasing start, so should do well with such as 732, a filly from the family of the high-class Erins Isle; 1018, a brother to a 21,000gns yearling.

SHAREEF DANCER (2c, 1f)

This trio's dams are by Prince Sabo, Woodman and Kris.

SHIRLEY HEIGHTS (1f)

Lot 1071 is the first foal of a winning El Gran Senor mare.

SILLERY (1c, 1f)

As a Group One-winning son of two classic winners, Sillery has made a pleasing start with his first two-year-olds. Here he is represented by 1303, a colt descending from the top-class Pistol Packer, and 1304, a filly closely related to the very smart Glity.

SUAVE DANCER

(5c, 1f)

The National Stud stallion has a powerful team, leading off with 666, a colt out of a half-sister to Possessive Dancer.

Lot 996's family produced the very successful Classic Fame to Suave Dancer's grandsire, Nijinsky; 1035 is a half-brother to Bolas, the Irish Oaks winner; and 1202 is out of a half-sister to Rock City and Kerrera.

Lot 1239 is a half-brother to Rafha, the Prix de Diane winner, and 1322 is out of a half-sister to Nicer, winner of the Irish 1000 Guineas.

ACTION ON FOAL FRONT; FOALS ON OFFER

SUPERLATIVE

(2c, 3f)

Woodditton Stud offers three of these, including 668, a filly out of a half -sister to the very smart Bonny Scot.

TENBY (7c, 1f)

The second-crop team by Tenby includes some interesting youngsters. For example, 800 is a half-brother to the smart Sorbie Tower; 1026 is a daughter of Oaks second Bonnie Isle; and 1109 is out of a sister to Tap On Wood.

Tyrley Castle Stud's colt, 1200, is the first foal of a winning half- sister to Kerrera and Rock City, while 1205 is a half-brother to Broken Detraeh, a 1996 Listed winner in Italy.

TERIMON (2f)

Lot 1188 is a daughter of Salchow, winner of the Cheshire Oaks.

THATCHING (5c, 4f)

Barnane Stud should do well with 1161, a half-brother to Hello, winner of the Group One Gran Criterium since the catalogue. And 1349 is a three- parts brother to that good sprinter Mistertopogigo.

The fillies all have their attractions. Lot 1082 is a half-sister to the promising Great Ovation, winner of a third race since the catalogue.

TIROL (2c)

The possible pick of these is 989, a colt out of a winning half-sister to the fast French colt West Man.

TRAGIC ROLE (6c, 2f)

This well-bred horse is now receiving more opportunities since his success with Louis' Queen in 1994. Lot 698 and 963 are both three-parts-brothers to Louis' Queen.

TREMPOLO (1c, 1f)

The colt, 1122, is a son of the smart Broken Wave and the filly, 1218, is out of a half-sister to Aliysa.

UNFUWAIN (2c, 1f)

West Blagdon's filly, 1052, is a grand-daughter of Arctique Royale, the Irish 1000 Guineas winner who has produced two Group winners to another son of Northern Dancer.

WARRSHAN (6c, 1f)

Crimbourne Stud's colt, 1347, is the first foal of a well-bred Rainbow Quest mare and Stowell Hill's, 1245, is a half-brother to the talented Opera.

WOLFHOUND (5c, 1f)

The only filly, 757, is the first foal of a winning sister to the high- class Millkom. The colts include such as 1019, a colt out of a winning grand -daughter of Rose Bowl

ZAFONIC (2c)

Lot 1073 is the second foal of New Europe, a smart Continental sprinter by Sharpo, and 1363 is a grandson of the top French sprinter Realty.

Graphic

Rudimentary . . . fully booked after the success of his first crop

Load-Date: November 22, 1996

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Algeria in Ferment -- A Special Report.;
In Algeria, Hope for Democracy but Not Economy

The New York Times

July 26, 1991, Friday, Late Edition - Final

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Distribution: Foreign Desk

Section: Section A;; Section A; Page 1; Column 1; Foreign Desk; Column 1;; A special report

Length: 2297 words

Byline: By YOUSSEF M. IBRAHIM,

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Dateline: ALGIERS, July 23

Body

Algeria is in a state of turmoil -- some call it a revolution -- that is tearing apart the country's once solid socialist political fabric and plunging it into economic decline.

The drastic changes under way, however, include an astonishing flowering of political diversity that is sweeping aside 29 years of one-party rule by the National Liberation Front in this nation of 25 million, which became independent from France in 1962.

Many Algerians as well as foreign diplomats say they believe that the new openness will lead Algeria toward what could be the first truly democratic elections in the Arab world, setting it apart in a region dominated by benign feudal governments and brutal dictatorships.

Sitting in a cramped office, Omar Belhouchet proudly displays the first issue of his independent newspaper, Al Watan, as he tells the story of how a year ago he "took the plunge," leaving his cushioned job as a columnist for the governing party's newspaper. He created what has become the country's best read and first independent daily.

Along with 19 colleagues from the Government-owned Al Moudjahid, the 38-year-old Mr. Belhouchet took a payment of two-years' salary as he quit the paper, and started Al Watan, or The Nation. Today it has a circulation of 130,000, which is close to passing the party newspaper. The paper has many problems with Government-controlled print shops, distribution agencies and syndicates, but virtually everyone in Algeria waits every morning to see what Al Watan has to say.

The editor is not alone. Over the last two years, since Algeria's democratization process began after a major popular outburst of discontent in October 1988 that forced President Chadli Benjedid to end one-party rule and move to multi-party democracy, at least a dozen free dailies and as many magazines have mushroomed. Nearly 40 new political parties have also materialized.

Fundamentalists Determined <HGE>

Algeria in Ferment -- A Special Report.; In Algeria , Hope for Democracy but Not Economy

Not far from Mr. Belhouche's office, over at the teeming Tivoli flea market in the Climat de France section, Abdelhamid, a bearded member of the Islamic Salvation Front was trying to sell blue jeans and socks smuggled from Morocco and cheap dresses from bargain stores in France and Spain.

But Abdelhamid, who would not give his full name, has his mind on his beloved party, whose leaders were jailed by the army in June after inciting hundred of thousands of their followers to public demonstrations and strikes. It was, most here agree, an attempt to overthrow the Government that was blocked by the army, leading to a four-month martial law edict that was imposed on June 5 and is still in effect.

That has not discouraged Abdelhamid or his friends. "They cannot crush Islam," he said. "We are here because these people you see around you all profoundly desire an Islamic government. We will reorganize and we will prevail."

Dressed in a white flowing robe, he flicked a thumb up, a signal to alert several colleagues to watch out for police or army forces, who sometimes raid largely Muslim fundamentalist neighborhood.

It is now two months since riots killed 60 people and resulted in at least 3,000 arrests, the imposition of martial law and the suspension of free parliamentary elections that had been set for June 27. The Government of President Benjedid has indeed succeeded, at least for now, in thwarting the grab for power by Islamic fundamentalists.

At least eight of the leaders of the Islamic Salvation Front, are under arrest and awaiting trial, including their leader, Abassi Madani, and Ali Belhadj, the fiery young deputy party leader.

The movement is now badly split, in part by the violent behavior of some of its members after winning 55 percent of municipal and gubernatorial elections a year ago. These fundamentalists began to impose restrictions on social life in their municipalities. They harassed women, asked couples walking in public to produce evidence that they were related, forbade domino-playing in cafes and distributed free lodgings to their adherents.

Now, new Islamic fundamentalist groups have surfaced and are gaining members from the broader movement. Most notable among them is the Hamas Party, whose leader, Sheik Mahfouz Nahnah, advocates co-existence of fundamentalist Muslims with other secular parties in a democratic political structure.

Still, the most evident sentiment here, based on intensive interviews with representatives of all political and social currents, is a profound sense of suspicious uncertainty about the Government's intentions, combined with optimism approaching euphoria over the vastly expanding horizons of freedom.

Prime Minister Sid Ahmed Ghazali, who heads a transitional Government of technocrats installed in mid-June for the duration of martial law with the mission of preparing for free multi-party elections, said at a news conference last week that the parliamentary elections would be held as soon as possible. He and several of his ministers have repeatedly said this is likely to be before the end of this year.

Economic Crash Feared by Premier

But the Prime Minister also warned the nation last week that it was on the verge of a "catastrophic" economic collapse.

He unveiled a program of economic reform that includes the elimination of many government subsidies, with resulting higher prices, on food and medicine and a search for foreign investment to inject desperately needed funds. He shocked this once-sheltered society with a proposal to raise immediately between \$6 billion and \$7 billion by selling to foreign oil companies shares in Algeria's vast oil and natural gas reserves, long viewed here as untouchable national patrimony.

Algeria must pay \$8 billion this year to reimburse part of the principle and interest on its enormous debt of \$26 billion. The money comes out of its total revenues from the sale of oil and gas, which do not exceed \$13 billion, or 98 percent of Algeria's foreign revenues. It leaves precious little to develop the country.

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Algeria needs about \$10 billion to import food, medicine, spare parts and raw materials to run its factories this year, for instance. It must also invest more new money in its deteriorating agriculture and its vital oil sector to find more oil and gas, a process that takes several years before yielding results.

Even so, widespread public shock, cynicism and disbelief greeted the mere proposal to sell part of Algeria's hydrocarbon wealth to "enable us to break out of this infernal cycle of borrowing, paying debts and investing less and less on our economy," as Prime Minister Ghazali put it last week.

The newly appointed Oil Minister, Nordine Ait-Laoussine, said, "For us it means immediate cash in billions of dollars and desperately needed oxygen to revive the economy." He spoke with a touch of sadness in his voice at the inability of many Algerians to appreciate that aspect of the problem in what was once one of the proudest and most militantly socialist third-world countries.

Ali Habib, a columnist in one of Algeria's weeklies, L'Hebdo Libere, said: "It's a problem of mass re-education about today's new realities. That takes a long time for a government, and a country, that doesn't have that much time."

1.5 Million Jobless, 30% of Work Force

Time, however, is precisely what too many Algerians have most of nowadays.

In a country where, according to an estimate by Saeed Ighilahriz, an economic consultant, the employable work force stands at about 5 million adults, there are now 1.5 million without work.

Many can be seen in the teeming streets of this capital and other big cities -- thousands of angry and frustrated youths, loitering on the sidewalks, selling smuggled goods ranging from spare car parts to foreign cigarettes, or simply doing nothing.

They are openly cynical about promises of better days, with virtually nonexistent prospects of education or employment in a nation where 75 percent of the population is under 25 years of age and nearly 30 percent of the work force unemployed.

This year, 20 percent of about 250,000 high school students who took final exams to qualify for the limited places available at universities passed. It was a better record than last year, but it still left some 200,000 with only a high school diploma, not to mention many more thousands who did not even finish high school. But even for those who have entered universities, the prospects of finding a job are dim.

Chabane Dehmas, a 22-year-old engineering student at the Polytechnique School is one of those. "We have engineers in this country who are doing ridiculous things not remotely connected to their training, like teaching English or literature, because they cannot find jobs in their fields," he said at the headquarters of the Rally for Culture and Democracy, a party he has joined.

"The situation is critical because from my experience in three years of higher education, I would say that out of each hundred students that make it to university, barely one-tenth graduate to find jobs," Mr. Dehmas said.

The Rally for Culture and Democracy is generally acknowledged to be the third most important political party in Algeria after the crumbling National Liberation Front and the now muted Muslim fundamentalists.

A Rally to Defend Berber Heritage

Its mere emergence as a significant political party poses another important problem for this country's democratization process -- essentially, the Berber problem. The Rally for Culture and Democracy party is, at base, a secularist, tribal Berber party that insists that Algeria's heritage is multiracial, not just Arab.

It finds its strength among the estimated 20 to 30 percent of the population that considers its culture to be Berber and whose principal language is Tamazight, which is neither Arabic nor French. While Muslim believers, the

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Berbers question a long-held belief among Algeria's leaders that this is an Arab nation in the classic sense of the word. They see a Mediterranean dimension to Algerian culture, as well as an influence from Western Europe, particularly France, that they want to preserve.

Even more important than the nationalistic tendencies of this movement is its profound opposition to Islamic fundamentalists and its great attachment to secularism, in which its members see the only chance for their cultural heritage to flourish.

In a brand new headquarters in this overcrowded Mediterranean city of white-washed houses hanging onto mountain cliffs, the Rally party leader, Dr. Saeed Saadi, was putting in his 18th hour of the day explaining to yet another journalist why Islamic fundamentalists cannot triumph in an Algerian democratic environment.

Outside the door and down in the lobby of the three-story building more people wait to meet this intense psychiatrist who has emerged as a charismatic star in Algerian politics and whose anti-fundamentalist discourse now appeals to all those Algerians, including Muslim Arabs, who are secularists.

Like his constituency, Dr. Saadi is hostile to the fundamentalists' basic platform, which includes banishing the foreign culture, particularly French, that pervades Algerian life. Fundamentalists also advocate the imposition of Arabic as the country's only official language and want to tie Algeria's destiny to that of the distant Arab east made up of Saudi Arabia, the Persian Gulf, Syria, Lebanon and Egypt.

"What is the Arab world?" Dr. Saadi asks. "Is it the feudal petrodollar culture of the gulf? Is it the bloody Baathist regimes of Iraq and Syria? We have had so many governments since 1962 that have repeatedly said we want to be Arab, but without defining what that means. There is also a need to recognize that the Arab world suffers from retardation. I am a Berberophone. I claim the wealth of three cultures: my own, the Muslim heritage we have, the French heritage we have and in my view all that makes up Algeria. I reject one-dimensional culture. It puts us behind."

Governing Party Is Falling Apart

In the midst of this turmoil, the tension is growing as the governing party of the land is evaporating. In a three-day closed session last week, the Central Committee of the National Liberation Front continued its internal quarrels and watched a half dozen of its former leaders, including President Benjedid, resign their positions as party leaders.

In a meeting set for July 30 and 31, all the parties will ask Mr. Ghazali to withdraw all the properties of the National Liberation Front, including the thousands of cars, free phones, meeting places and real estate it has accumulated over 29 years of ruling alone, and to redistribute them to all parties equitably.

Perhaps most important of all, the Algerian Army, which more than a quarter of century ago successfully fought to end 130 years of French colonialism, has repeatedly said it will not stop the democratization process that began in 1989, but will act only to preserve public order.

The basic problems of the country remain grave, however. As Prime Minister Ghazali put it, the challenge facing Algeria is how to dismantle "hypocritical socialism" and avoid "opportunistic liberalism," how to "build democracy with empty banks," and how to convince restless youth that painful "economic reforms are not incompatible with social justice."

Still, hardly anyone here believes that the dimension of these problems will curtail the march toward democratization. Indeed, for all the miseries, Algeria is bubbling with the energy of a country discovering for the first time in decades of one-party rule and foreign occupation the limitless horizons of freedom.

"I don't know where we are going, but what is sure is that it will be impossible for anyone to go back on democratization, free expression, economic reforms, and free elections," Mr. Belhouche said. "They will have to kill thousands of people to do that."

Graphic

Photos: Abassi Madani of Algeria's Islamic Salvation Front speaking in Algiers. He has since been jailed. (Abbas/Magnum) (pg. A1); Political diversity is sweeping aside 29 years of one-party rule in Algeria. Campaign banners for the Islamic Salvation Front hang in Algiers. (Abbas/Magnum); Omar Belhouchet, who has just created Algeria's first independent daily newspaper. (Agence France- Presse) (pg. A6)

Map of Algeria. (pg. A6)

Load-Date: July 26, 1991

SOUTH AFRICA'S GUILTY SECRET; These days tourists are flocking to sample the delights of CapeTown. But in the suburbs a war is raging between local gangs and the vigilantes out to destroy them

The Independent (London)

November 2, 1997, Sunday

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Section: SUNDAY REVIEW; Page 12

Length: 3067 words

Byline: MARY BRAID

Body

Ernie "Lapepa" Peters, the 5ft 4in neighbourhood Big Man, has already ordered one of his henchmen to bring his flash motor round the front. The souped-up, red-and-white Ford Capri - soft-topped and imported from Michigan - stands purring opposite his shebeen. The car has seen better days but still brings a touch of tacky glamour to the run-down square with its patch of worn grass and battered mobile shop, where withered young women, plagued by posses of kids, struggle to eke out the housekeeping.

Lapepa's boys abandon the pool table to shadow him to the Capri. These are dangerous times and Lapepa, 32, his four front teeth missing and his neck dripping with gold, is their meal ticket. An incongruous mural, plastered across the shebeen's outside wall, gives the first hint that these are also confusing times. In it, three dearly departed gangsters float like angels above an empty desert road and the grave warning that "Gangsterism leads to jail or death".

Curiously, it was Lapepa, the gang leader with 40 men on his payroll, who sponsored the mural. Its message seems lost on those now drooling round the car. After a few parting orders, the boss dons designer shades, pockets his mobile phone, cranks up the stereo and roars out of Belhar Extension, on the Cape Flats, leaving behind the men and a blur of monotonous paint-peeled houses, separated by rusting corrugated iron.

Lapepa might be better off with less ostentatious wheels, however. For the Muslim vigilante group Pagad (People Against Gangsterism And Drugs) has threatened to kill him. Lapepa jokes that he knows his time has not yet come. Pagad believes that Allah has decreed differently.

BEHIND the gangster bravado Lapepa, on the face of it the sweetest and most courteous of gangsters, must be worried. Last year the world watched live on television Pagad's execution of Lapepa's gangster buddy, 40-year-old Rashaad Staggie. With his "psycho" twin Rashied, Rashaad had dominated the poverty-ridden Flats, the vast, sandy plains - sandwiched between rich white suburbs - which are home to hundreds of thousands of poor, coloured (ie. mixed-race) Capetonians.

Then on the night of 5 August 1996, a baying mob dragged Rashaad from his customised jeep, shot him through the head, set him ablaze and, just to be sure, pumped him full of bullets.

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As he lay dying in the gutter the police looked on, and did nothing. Some were clearly sympathetic to a crowd frustrated by the authorities' failure to stem the flood of mandrax, dagga (cannabis) and harder narcotics into their neighbourhoods. In the previous two years Rashaad had been investigated nine times - but each time criminal charges against him had been dropped. Witnesses were usually too damn terrified to testify. Now summary justice had ended the tiresome business of legal prosecution.

Since then, a war has raged between the gangsters and the vigilantes. Pagad continues to lay siege to drug dealers' homes, just as it did on the night Rashaad was murdered, chanting "Allah Hu Akbar" ("Allah is great") and "Kill the merchants". But small Pagad cells now also materialise in the night, masked in black Balaclavas, to execute pushers. Now, senior Western Cape police officers warn that Pagad is as great a threat to law and order as the gangs themselves.

Hostilities are currently at a peak, claiming scores of innocent victims. Community outrage boiled over in September when a baby was killed and one of her brother's legs blown off during a grenade attack on their home. The atrocity, it transpired, was a Pagad mishit, one of a string of recent botched operations: the dealer lived further up the street. The gangs retaliate tit-for-tat, murdering Muslim doctors and merchants suspected of secretly funding Pagad.

So far the conflict has been confined to the Flats - the area to which the coloureds (Cape Town's Afrikaans-speaking racial majority) were forcibly removed in the late Sixties in line with apartheid policy. Today, foreign tourists flash past the graffiti-scarred ghettos on their way to and from Cape Town's international airport. They never stop but travel on to the gracious winelands and the fashionable Waterfront, shielded from the violence that rages close by. The blossoming tourist industry wonders how long the illusion can last with the Flats a near war zone and increased demands for a state of emergency.

The gangsters were always around - long before the National Party bulldozed the community's old homes. But on the unfamiliar and hostile Flats they became more vicious and overtly criminal. Membership became de rigueur and the community learnt to live with the sound of gunfire.

The current struggle, however, is more earnest than a skirmish over turf. It is a fight to the death between a militant Islamic movement and the gangs it would annihilate. At stake is a multi-billion-pound drug business which, in neighbourhoods ravaged by unemployment, is the largest local industry, providing an estimated 100,000 full- and part-time jobs.

The conflict has fostered some bizarre developments. Gangsters have turned themselves into self-styled champions of the poor and an anti-crime organisation has metamorphosed into a murderous paramilitary force. President Nelson Mandela visited the Flats last month for the first time, for a crisis summit, but politicians and police seem largely paralysed; frozen, it is rumoured, by the legacy of a dirty political past which has left dark secrets to be protected and favours that have yet to be repaid.

NOWadays the camera is as much a weapon for Lapepa as the AK47. Life is a breathless whirl of interviews and photo opportunities for a likeable guy who insists, despite appearances, that he is "reformed" and now dedicated to ridding the Flats of his own kind. His earnestness is so convincing you have to keep reminding yourself that guys like Lapepa did not get where they are by helping old ladies across the road. Today he and Rashied Staggie are meeting a television crew in nearby Manenberg, where the Staggie twins were raised and, before their teens, founded the notorious Hard Livings gang.

Sitting in his Ford Capri, Lapepa seems more politician than hood. He is already a master of the soundbite. "Look," he says bitterly, pointing to Manenberg's crumbling two-storey homes and dirt-track streets which teem with barefoot children and emaciated dogs with dragging teats, "Concentration camps for our people. Apartheid did this to us. The National Party never cared for coloureds and neither does the ANC. We are at the door of democracy eating the crumbs.

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"Affirmative action is just for blacks," he continues, playing on the alienation of a community trapped in a racial no-man's-land during apartheid and whose social schizophrenia has made the Western Cape the National Party's only remaining power base.

Can any good come from these conditions, asks Lapepa? Bring us jobs, he promises, and organised crime will disappear. It is the chorus to the gangsters' lament. "Apartheid made us," said Rashied Staggie recently. "We did it to survive." Rashied argues that the Truth Commission - which has the power to grant amnesty to perpetrators of past political crimes - should extend the same offer to gangsters.

Outside Manenberg's "Shack" shebeen a ragged, pretty little girl, too young to notice the despair, smiles eagerly for the camera. A drunken grandmother sways down the road to berate the crew. Drink and drug addiction are highest in coloured communities. Rashied's arrival sets off a little ripple of excitement. Small, handsome and bearded, he wears an American baseball cap and sports the usual gold chains and knuckleduster rings. On his right arm is tattooed "26" - the seal of one of the gangs which operates within Cape prisons. He is welcomed by a bevy of tough-looking men basking in the hot midday sun, who listen to his complaints to the television reporter, that the government and the police are ignoring the gangsters' requests for talks.

The Shack is headquarters to the Community Outreach Forum (Core), formed by rival gangs - including the Hard Livings, the Firm and the Americans - after Rashaad's death last year. Core's raison d'etre, it claims, is to bring peace to the Flats. Most of these bruisers are on the Core executive - even the obese man with the blue-ink tattoo on his neck which declares, "The gallows are my destination".

The formation of Core confounded the pundits. Rashied, once a guest in the "psychopath" wing of the local prison, was expected to take revenge on the five men who were arrested, and later released, for his brother's murder. As the myth had it, there was a benign twin and an evil twin: Rashaad, it was said, was obsessed with power, Rashied with violence.

It's a perception on which Rashied still plays. "They killed the wrong brother," he says today. He claims revenge was his first thought but that it was swiftly followed by the idea for Core, which now roadshows across the Flats preaching that only the gangs can end the violence. Despite some damning evidence to the contrary, Rashied says he has given up the drugs business, and has taken to spreading a reformed-gangster gospel in schools. "I am not a hero," he tells pupils. "I am an empty person . . . I am a nothing and a scum." It is quite a volte-face.

Not that long ago he and Rashaad would drive past schools throwing 10 Rand (pounds 1.30) notes to kids in what appeared to be a crude recruitment drive. "I am sincere," he now says. "My brother would have approved."

To believe in gangsters with hearts of gold takes an overdose of sentimentalism, but there is no shortage of that on the Flats. Here the hoods are hated for the violence and loved as latter-day Robin Hoods - sometimes by the same people. They are the only employers and investors in town. They pay overdue bills and sponsor the local football team. In this way they buy loyalty.

Pagad mobilises huge crowds but the gangsters have their own constituency. Thousands turned out for the unveiling of a memorial mural to Rashaad. And when Core marched on Parliament last year - with Rashaad's daughters, Ingrid, 15, and Carmen, 11, at the fore brandishing a placard, reading: "They killed the world's best father" - 1,500 people went with them. The gangsters were genuinely dismayed that no one from government came to collect their petition demanding talks over the future of the Flats.

There are rumours that, in this marginalised community, the memberscharismatic and articulate Rashied may now run for public office.

It is all very galling for Aslam Toefy, Pagad's national commander. Toefy, a former Springbok and a mountain of a man, pushes back his mirrored shades before dismissing Core as an organised-crime syndicate and Rashied and Lapepa as pawns for the international drug trade's powerful but invisible big boys.

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"If Core is sincere they should hand over their profits so we can set up drug-rehabilitation clinics," says Toefy. He was born in the ghetto and has no truck with gangs who whine that they are "victims". If the police will not clean up the Flats he promises Pagad will. "We have built the middle class and the business community by ourselves and we can handle this gangsterism too. We are fighting the devil himself. People will die, but God's truth will prevail."

Toefy insists that Pagad is still an anti-crime organisation, with no hidden Islamic agenda. But according to a confidential police report it has been hijacked by militants. The report highlights the influence of spiritual leader Achmat Cassiem, leader of Qibla, South Africa's most militant Muslim organisation, and Pagad's alleged links with Hizbollah and Hamas. Pagad claims it does not advocate violence; but its religious leaders rant that "the time for killing has come" and a Pagad coordinator is currently charged with five attempted murders.

The gangsters have been quick to take advantage of fears of religious fundamentalism, claiming Pagad is hell-bent on creating an Islamic state in the Cape. Although only a small minority of Cape coloureds are Muslim the rumour has still gained credence. But distrust of Pagad is matched by distrust of Core. Another confidential police report concludes that while Rashied is preaching in schools, gang recruitment of children continues. There is also strong suspicion that Core members are using the organisation as a smokescreen for a planned takeover of all organised crime in the Cape. Lapepa and Rashied, of course, are furious at the "disinformation".

SENIOR police officer Arno Lamoer heads the Flats crisis task-force. If gang and Pagad duplicity were all he had to deal with he would be a happy man. Much worse is the involvement of corrupt police officers and politicians.

During the apartheid era the gangs were used in various ways by both the government and the liberation forces. In the old days that meant gangsters could operate with impunity. "If we arrested someone, the first thing they would say is call brigadier or colonel so-and-so," remembers Lamoer, who is widely recognised as an honest cop (and was denied promotion throughout the Eighties). The potential for political blackmail has clearly not disappeared. Rashied has threatened to "expose" some of the people now in power when "the time is right".

When South Africa's apartheid regime began to crumble - creating a political vacuum and leaving the country vulnerable to international crime - police officers were quick to seize the moment. Those already elbow-deep in blood and dirt through "anti-terrorist" covert operations had a host of unsavoury but useful connections on which to draw. Today, many of these officers are still in bed with organised crime, and often occupy the same senior police positions. South Africa's negotiated political transition ruled out revolutionary cleansing of the service. The situation lends some credence to ANC claims that a Third Force is trying to destabilise the country.

Professor Wilfried Scharf, a criminologist at the University of Cape Town, says police corruption is "systematic and endemic", right through to the highest ranks. Arno Lamoer offers countless recent examples, including calls from senior officers ordering suspects to be released and charges dropped. And there is a ludicrously long list of failed prosecutions against some of the Cape's most notorious, flamboyant dealers despite a raft of new anti-gangster legislation.

Despite the charm of Lapepa and Rashied, both Lamoer and Scharf are scathing of Core. They say the gangsters are simply on the run from the new legislation. An amnesty for gangsters would, they claim, allow drug dealers to set up legitimate businesses with their ill-gotten gains. Lamoer laughs at the notion of Rashied, rumoured to be raking in R30,000 (pounds 4,000) a day, switching to a back-breaking nine to five.

But both recognise the huge obstacle presented by the popularity of the gangs - even among those who have suffered. Taxi driver Rita has just admitted her 17-year-old son to a mental hospital. He suffered a drug-induced "breakdown" during which he threatened to kill Colin Stanfield, the alleged drug baron for whom Core is claimed to be a front.

As we speed across the Flats, Rita points out a large house allegedly used as a stockroom by drug dealers. We pass the surgery where the only local doctor was recently killed because the gangsters suspected he was a Pagad member. "He was a kind man," she says. "Who else would let you pay later these days? No one else will set up here."

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But does Rita blame the gangsters? She seems more aggrieved at Pagad for increasing tensions. Colin Stanfield's sister is her neighbour. Stanfield has moved somewhere posher but he does not forget his roots. "Colin has a good heart," she says. "Every year he has a big Easter Party and all the local kids get eggs."

That's the image Lapepa likes to foster: gangsters of the people, for the people. He seems hurt at rumours that his media savvy comes from PR consultants employed by Core's wealthy backers. "We are good at this because we mean it," he says, before lapsing into resentful silence. All day he has presented himself as a victim of circumstance. In another time and place his desire to shine might have made him a lawyer or a doctor. Within the confines of apartheid and poverty, he made his mark through the gangs. He even explains, not so convincingly, his fathering of 12 children by 11 women in terms of his "profession": "In this job you put a woman in danger if you hang around too long."

There's an edge of defiance to his own defence. "My mother and step-father were drinkers and I had to leave school early. I did not have many opportunities but I took the one I had. I'm glad I did. I made something of myself."

Whether or not the gangsters are playing a double-game, some argue they are so powerful that they must be involved in a solution if any change is to come to the Flats. Ebrahim Moosa, director of the University of Cape Town's Centre for Contemporary Islam, makes a distinction between the Lapepas and Rashieds of the drug world, and the international crime cartels. He condemns Pagad's attempt to make the gangsters complete pariahs, arguing instead that they are an integral part of a damaged community.

Mr Moosa is one of the few in the Islamic community to condemn outright the torching of Rashaad Staggie as an affront to all Islamic values. "I am afraid that . . . scores of gangsters are but the dispensable foot soldiers of these ruthless cartels. While the gangs cannot escape their share of the guilt, the sentiment of treating them as a scourge and subjecting them to a 'final solution' is utterly misplaced."

Main picture and below: on the night of 5 August 1996 gangster Rashaad Staggie was executed in cold blood as police looked on. Left: gang leader Ernie 'Lapepa' Peters (extreme right) in 1997 - if Pagad vigilantes have their way, the next funeral he attends will be his own

Top: Pagad members protest against gang-related activities on the streets of Cape Town. Above: one year after the murder of Rashaad Staggie, fellow gangsters offer a 21-gun salute in front of the mural painted in his honour Rashied Staggie (above, addressing a sympathetic crowd) was once a guest in the 'psychopath' wing of the local prison. Now he claims to have mended his ways. Below: armed Pagad members on the streets of Cape Town

Load-Date: November 3, 1997

Arafat's homeland

The Times

November 8, 1997, Saturday

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Section: Features

Length: 3108 words

Byline: Philip Jacobson

Body

A Christian by birth and 32 years his junior, Yasser Arafat's choice of wife surprised more than just the Arab world. So what kind of woman would live with a man already married to the cause? Philip Jacobson meets her. Portrait by Graham Wood

WHILE SOHA ARAFAT was recovering from the Caesarean delivery of a baby girl in Paris in the summer of 1995, there was a bomb scare at her hospital. The edgy French security men on duty decided it would be wise to evacuate her and two-day-old Zahwa as swiftly as possible. "I was still a bit groggy when this tiny little thing with a dummy in her mouth was carried away wrapped in a bullet-proof jacket and surrounded by guards," Soha recalls. "That image will never leave me, never." There should have been a photographer present, she adds sharply, "to show what happens to a baby just because her father is Yasser Arafat".

Zahwa was the name of Arafat's mother, meaning something between "hope" and "beauty" in Arabic, and Soha cannot bear to think of her child growing up surrounded by guns, under close escort wherever she goes. "I want her to live in a Palestinian state that is truly independent, yet where she can play safely alongside Israeli children. She should always be proud of being an Arafat, but it's a burden, too."

Having worked alongside Arafat in Tunis, the former headquarters of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, for two years before they married, Soha is grimly familiar with the mechanics of personal survival. For Israeli hit teams and vengeful Palestinian dissidents, the PLO leader was a constantly moving target. "Believe me," she says, "I know all about running from one safe house to another, and never going anywhere in public without proper protection."

We are talking in the living room of a modest, white-washed villa in Gaza, capital of the long-awaited homeland since the Palestinian leadership's triumphant return from Tunis in July 1994. The windows are heavily curtained, possibly for security reasons (a guard tells us that Soha cannot be photographed on the balcony without his commander's approval), perhaps to obscure the less than stirring scenery beyond. On one side stand ugly concrete apartment blocks, on the other a dusty military barracks and a line of armoured cars. Even the sandy beach a few hundred yards away, washed by a murky green Mediterranean, looks rather bleak. The streets around the two-storey building are cordoned off by the black-uniformed troops of Force 17, Yasser Arafat's praetorian guard. At the entry to the residence, more security men carefully examine every item in the photographer's bulging camera bags.

By her husband's wayward standards, the First Lady of Palestine was almost punctual for our meeting, appearing barely half an hour late in an elegant and discreetly revealing black outfit, with voluble excuses about trying to make herself presentable. Well-rounded, blonde-haired, with very pale skin, a broad face and fine brown eyes, she is no

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conventional beauty. She smiles a lot and comes across as exceptionally warm and open - decontractee in the French that she speaks fluently.

We had arrived on the morning that the world learnt of the death of Princess Diana, and Soha apologised for taking five minutes out to speak about the tragedy to a local television reporter. Some years ago, she had told an interviewer how sorry she felt for "poor, poor Di", condemned to life in the fishbowl. Now she said all the right things (in excellent English), praising the Princess's compassion for the underdog, offering the condolences of the Palestinian people.

When she sat down with us, Soha was dabbing at her eyes with a tissue. "I wept after the news came through," she says. "I'm a true Mediterranean after all, just as emotional as any Italian or Greek." What about her husband? "He is sad, of course, but he has never been one to show his feelings.

"When I became pregnant, I knew he was thrilled, but all he could find to say was 'congratulations'. I think he feels that it isn't appropriate to appear too joyful about anything personal while the problems of the Palestinians with Israel are still so serious. You know, after so many years of struggle, he finds it hard to adjust to being a normal person. But he always understood there has to be more to life than guns and politics, and that's where I come in."

When they first arrived in Gaza, at the height of the blistering Middle East summer, the Arafats lodged in a drab hotel, then moved into a cramped and tatty single-storey house. Her husband's idea of a home, Soha explains, had always been a bed, a desk and chair and a few phones, but with her pregnancy, she insisted on a proper home. "I told Abu Amar (Arafat's PLO nom de guerre), 'Look, I'm fed up with living out of a suitcase, I want somewhere to put my bits of furniture and hang up my dresses. We need a nursery, room for a live-in nanny and somewhere for our child to romp around.'" When Arafat gave way, still wondering aloud why anyone would need so much space, Soha added another storey, with marble floors, heavy Arab carpets, flowery settees and brightly striped couches.

Portraits of her and her husband painted by a local woman dominate the main room, and every table bears silver-framed photographs of encounters with foreign VIPs (the Pope, Hillary Clinton, the Jordanian royals). Arafat grumbled that it was too fancy for him: he still sleeps downstairs in a box-like room where his trademark chequered keffiyehs and battledress tunics can be glimpsed on coathangers. Perhaps Soha has plans to get him out of uniform and into a nice suit and tie some day? A throaty laugh and extravagant shrug: "Please, one thing at a time."

THE REVELATION that Yasser Arafat had been secretly married for two years broke upon a dumbfounded Arab world early in 1992. Equally astonishing, the grizzled freedom fighter, who had vowed that he was for ever betrothed to Palestine, had chosen a bride 32 years his junior who was not only a Christian by birth and upbringing, but also chic, worldly and wealthy.

Despite efforts by Israel's propagandists to smear Arafat as a closet homosexual, he had undoubtedly had previous relationships with women - but none remotely like Soha. She was then 27, an accomplished linguist with a masters degree in politics and economics from the Sorbonne, equally at home in the bohemian cafes and haute couture houses of Paris. This was hardly the profile of a traditional Arab wife, and to those in the overwhelmingly male inner circle of the PLO, Soha's arrival as personal adviser to Arafat spelled trouble. Proximity to the boss has always been the key to power in the organisation's convoluted office politics, and here was a potent rival for his ear.

Before she married, Soha recalls tartly, some of Arafat's veteran associates had closed ranks against her: "They did their best to stifle me." Then she had to endure the heartache of keeping the marriage secret, even from her own family in a transparently political manoeuvre dictated by Arafat's concern that militant Palestinians might conclude his commitment to the struggle was waning. Soha does not flinch from admitting that this hurt. "Obviously, it was a sacrifice, and at first it was hard to bear. I know that my husband felt bad about asking me to do this, so you can imagine that our early life together, our double life I should say, was not exactly a bed of roses." Gossip was inevitable: the word on the telephone arabe was that Arafat had installed this classy young woman as his mistress.

What held things together, then, Soha volunteers without the slightest embarrassment, is the depth of her love for Arafat: "I've said it over and over again, as much as I admired his fight for the Palestinians, I fell for the man, not the

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symbol." She couldn't care less that he is commonly considered to be ugly and uncouth, nor has the huge gap in their ages ever bothered her: "I married a person in whom I found all the qualities that I cherish."

Besides his charm, tenderness and rare sense of gallantry, she says, Arafat is unfailingly attentionne (thoughtful, considerate) to a degree rarely found in powerful Arab men. "Do you imagine that someone with a background like mine would have agreed to share the style of life that he lives, with the fear that is always there and the intense personal pressures, if it wasn't truly a love match?" she asks.

Soha grew up in a family that was part of the large Greek Orthodox community in the Israeli-occupied West Bank: her father was a banker, her mother the charismatic Raymonda Tawil, acclaimed poet and tireless activist for the Palestinian cause. As a child, Soha served mint tea for the many visitors (among them Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir) trekking to the Tawils' house, where Israeli intelligence photographed all-comers and tapped the phone.

Soha was 15, a diligent pupil at the Rosary Sisters convent school, when Israeli soldiers arrived to take her mother away for what would turn out to be a harrowing 45 days in jail. "She'd been arrested before but this time things looked bad, and I begged the Israelis to look after her because she was always working for peace."

International pressure eventually secured Raymonda's release: in a powerful and moving book about her ordeal, *My Home, My Prison*, she described how savage beatings and psychological abuse had failed to break her spirit. "I've always said that being the daughter of Raymonda prepared me for my life with Yasser Arafat," Soha observes, and all that Tawil grit and determination was required in her dealings with the PLO old guard.

The most bruising clash resulted in Soha effectively being banned from the momentous gathering in Washington in September 1993 at which Arafat and the late Yitzhak Rabin signed the Oslo peace accord. She had arranged her visa, bought a new outfit, booked an appointment with Henri, Tunis's star hairdresser: "I was so happy that I would be present at an event of such importance for my people and my husband."

Instead, Soha stayed at home, defiantly inviting a CNN crew to join her watching the ceremony on television: viewers around the world saw her, in scarlet dress with bejewelled buttons, insisting that she was delighted to be sharing the historic moment "with my people in Tunis". But in a subsequent book by a French journalist, Soha recalls how a senior PLO official had entreated her not to go to Washington because "certain people in the Palestinian delegation oppose your presence".

According to insiders, it was thought that with the intifada still raging in Gaza and the West Bank, the spectacle of Soha in her finery at Arafat's side would have affronted conservative and radical Palestinians. Pragmatic as ever, Arafat accepted the situation, but was miserable about snubbing his wife: eventually Soha got him off the hook by ringing the White House to announce that she would not be at the ceremony.

IN THE MIDDLE of our interview, a commotion on the stairs announces the return of Zahwa from a walk on the beach with the new Senegalese nanny and the ever-present bodyguards. Curly-haired and exuberant, she has her father's eyes and nose and, says Soha with feeling, "his terrible temper and his stubbornness" (a squall over what she should and should not eat at lunch confirmed that).

Although Soha converted to Islam before her marriage, she has not severed her links with the Christian church: Zahwa sometimes sports the cross beside the crescent of Islam around her neck. "At her age, it's impossible to understand what being Arafat's child entails, even when she sees Daddy on television all the time. It's up to me to make her life as normal as possible, and as soon as the second floor was ready, I banned the guards from displaying their guns up there."

Soha never pretends that Arafat is New Man material: he wasn't present at Zahwa's birth, he's never changed a nappy and most days he's pushed to spend more than five minutes with his daughter. "Obviously that's not much, but this man has always worked insane hours. He leaves early, never gets back until way past midnight and brings his problems home. I do my best to chat about what Zahwa has been up to, but he's never had time to learn about relaxing."

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Soha is adamant that she has never attempted to change her husband. "Look, he was a confirmed bachelor for so long, how should I set about reforming him? You can't build a lasting marriage like that. In any case, what I bring to our partnership is more important." And that is? "I'd call it the moral presence of a woman."

According to friends, Soha has not given up hope of persuading Arafat to think more of his family and take things a bit easier: it has long been rumoured that he is suffering from a wasting disease, and his collapse at an Arab summit meeting in September was attributed in some reports to a heart condition. But, as Soha acknowledges wryly, her husband is more or less immune to nagging, and, in any case, he is hardly in the sort of job "where you can collect your pension and take up gardening".

Given her upbringing, Soha is understandably eager to improve the status of women in the new Palestine: in her first public appearance in Gaza, an ultra-conservative Muslim society, she donned a smart beige suit and plenty of jewellery to announce that she had no intention of wearing the veil. "Everybody was waiting to see if the First Lady would cover her head. I don't object if someone else chooses to, but I'm very happy that more and more younger women in Gaza have decided against going veiled."

She is also delighted by the progress of her project for Gaza's first female police officers, a reassuring presence in a city with no shortage of hard-eyed security agents. "You know, the men have learnt to respect the policewomen's authority when they're directing traffic and, of course, they are far better at handling matters involving women."

She says she gives Arafat her "modernist" opinions on social issues and, although he affects not to listen, "I usually get through to him - at least, I hope I do." It is essential to know where to draw the line, "but if I think my intervention may achieve something, I don't wait for my husband's approval". To prove that, Soha recalls the fate of a proposed new law to make women secure permission from husbands or fathers to obtain a new Palestinian passport. "Without telling Arafat, I informed his deputy that I would lead the first protest demonstration and would brief the press: let's just say that the situation was quickly rectified."

While the Middle East peace process remains in deep trouble, Soha has no plans to meet Sara Netanyahu, the controversy-plagued wife of the Israeli prime minister, but defended her counterpart in the ruckus that followed Sara's sacking of a nanny for burning the children's soup. In the Jerusalem Post, Soha observed sharply: "I also argue with my housekeeper sometimes - so what?" and advised Mrs Netanyahu to tough it out. "I used to cry over media stories, then I made a decision: let them write what they want, I'll shut my eyes and ignore it."

THE GAZA that Soha Arafat returned to four years ago was a city on its knees, a wasteland of rubbish-clogged streets, open sewers and sprawling camps where 400,000 refugees have languished for decades in abject poverty and despair. The intifada had begun in one of those camps and the influence of Islamic militants (among them Hamas, with its pool of young suicide bombers) remains significantly stronger than anywhere else in the newly emerged Palestinian state.

The culture shock after cosmopolitan Tunis, let alone Paris, was tremendous, Soha recalls. Zealots had burnt down a seafront hotel and a restaurant for serving alcohol, and the only cinema in town studiously avoided screening anything that might outrage the pious. "But I can tell you that, despite everything, I felt I was now in the right place and that, with the people's support, we could make something better of Gaza."

Despite the Oslo Peace Accord's implicit promise of a peace dividend, the new Palestinian Authority that Arafat leads is already foundering on the conduct of those whom locals describe, with venom, as "the Tunisians": the 10,000 bureaucrats and former guerrillas who returned from North Africa and now run the country. The greed, corruption and blatant self-enrichment of this new ruling class infuriates ordinary Gazans, whose incomes have plummeted.

Earlier this year, Soha was herself linked to damaging allegations made by The Guardian's veteran Middle East correspondent, David Hirst, in a report provocatively headlined "Shameless in Gaza". It claimed that a shadowy front company called Al-Bahr, which appears to own much of Gaza's upmarket Rimal neighbourhood (including a smart new French restaurant, Le Mirage, and the glitzy "Flower of the Cities" beach resort/nightclub) "belongs to Arafat or, more precisely, his wife and other shareholders".

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Soha was still fuming when we met. "How can this Hirst tell such terrible stories when he has never approached myself or my husband for information? Does it look as if the Arafats live in luxury?" she snaps, flinging her arms wide in the living room. "Surely the mighty Al-Bahr could come up with something more luxurious for its secret controller. I do not pretend for a moment that there is no official corruption here, but show me an Arab country where that doesn't apply. The key thing is that we acknowledge the problem of people abusing their positions and are doing something about it. It won't go away overnight, of course, but I do get very upset when I go to Paris on charitable business and the media claims I'm on a shopping spree."

Yet as the rumours persist (an Israeli newspaper reported that Arafat maintains a multi-million-dollar slush fund in a Tel Aviv bank), resentment at everything the "Tunisians" have come to represent in Gaza spreads. Graffiti sprayed on the magnificent villa being built by Arafat's deputy Abu Mazen (who orchestrated the opposition to Soha's presence at the Washington peace ceremony) declared: "This is your reward for selling Palestine."

Nobody understands better than Soha Arafat the perils this could pose for her husband, struggling to balance Israeli demands for a crackdown on terrorism with the dream of independence for which so many Palestinians have fought and died. "When we first arrived in Gaza, I thought, 'Thank God my husband will be better protected here', but recently I have become very worried for his safety. Of course, he just says, 'Don't be an old woman, danger is nothing new, everyone dies at the appointed time.'"

Load-Date: November 9, 1997

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1995: An Eventful Year

The Tampa Tribune (Florida)

December 31, 1995, Sunday,

METRO EDITION

Copyright 1995 The Tribune Co. Publishes The Tampa Tribune

Section: EAST HILLSBOROUGH,

Length: 2776 words

Body

What a year. Every decade or so, a year passes with so many events and developments that it almost seems overwhelming. It appears 1995 was one of those years in Hillsborough County.

And when all is said and done, 1995 may not go down in the books as one of one of the county's most auspicious years.

Taxpayers voted down sales tax increases for schools and public safety.

The Buccaneers were sold, raising long-suffering fans' hopes. But after just months promising to stay in town for two years, the new owners finished the year by negotiating about a possible move.

Hospitals weathered a particularly brutal year in 1995, and layoffs became a real part of the local business scene. But amid the turmoil, there was some positive news. The Florida Aquarium opened, the Museum of Science and Industry got bigger and work got under way on a new home for the Tampa Bay Lightning.

The county and metro staffs of The Tampa Tribune voted on the top stories of 1995. And stories that normally make the top 5 - the visit of an alleged serial killer, the retirement of a prominent politician - didn't even make the top 10.

It was that kind of year. With that in mind, here are the top 10 stories of 1995 in Hillsborough County in no particular order:

"You sure you know which one you're going to cut?"

WILLIE KING

Joking with University Community Hospital workers before his foot surgery

They called from all over wanting to talk with University Community Hospital executives.

After UCH's 1995, students of corporations in crisis could find few sources more knowledgeable.

A series of tragic mistakes thrust UCH into hot water with state and federal regulators and into the white-hot national spotlight.

The hospital's nightmarish year started with word that diabetic Willie King lost the wrong foot to amputation Feb. 20.

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Network television news showed videotape. David Letterman and Jay Leno made jokes.

Two weeks later, 77-year-old Leo Alfonso died when he was mistakenly taken off a breathing machine.

There were other mistakes, before and after. They included the partial sterilization of a woman without her consent and a wrong-knee surgery at UCH-Carrollwood.

UCH survived intense regulatory scrutiny, but it suffered through a two-week surgery ban and incalculable damage to its reputation.

The episodes cost UCH \$ 5.8 million, excluding insurance settlements. Fines and legal and consulting fees accounted for \$ 3.3 million, with the remainder attributed to lost business.

Surgeon Rolando Sanchez lost his license for six months in connection with the King case. He will be eligible to return to medicine as early as January.

Disciplinary action against Dena Wadzinski, the respiratory therapist involved in the Alfonso case, is pending. A state hearing officer has recommended her license be suspended for 18 months.

"There's no relationship between the Islamic Jihad and the university. The guy is gone, the agreement is severed."

CHARLES REED

Chancellor of the state's university system

In one of the year's stranger stories, the secretary general of the terrorist group Islamic Jihad emerged from a University of South Florida classroom.

Ramadan Abdullah Shallah taught a Middle East politics course at USF in the 1994 and 1995 spring semesters. He replaced Jihad founder Fathi Shikaki Oct. 29 after Shikaki was assassinated in Malta.

Shallah's teaching at USF, and the school's three-year relationship his think tank, the World and Islam Studies Enterprise (WISE), first was reported in The Tampa Tribune May 28-29.

USF suspended its relationship with WISE after an internal review discovered procedural problems. The school then said that relationship was severed after Shallah's appointment in the Jihad.

The Tribune series showed WISE is virtually indistinguishable from an Islamic charity that also is led by USF engineering professor Sami Al-Arian. The Islamic Committee for Palestine's annual conventions often included terrorist leaders, and its publications solicited money for the Islamic Jihad and Hamas.

In August, the Tribune reported on a 1991 videotaped rally in which Al-Arian raised money for the Intifadah, or Palestinian uprising, along with Jihad spiritual leader Abdel Aziz-Odeh.

After Shallah emerged as the Jihad leader in November, the U.S. Treasury Department froze WISE's assets. Federal agents also searched the WISE office and Al-Arian's home and USF office last month.

"I think about it every day. It's what I want to do. It's what I always wanted to do."

KEVIN HOWELL

Tampa police officer talks about returning to duty after recovering from a shootout

A high-speed police chase and shootout left Tampa police officers Mike Vigil and Kevin Howell seriously wounded March 23, but an outpouring of generosity from fellow officers, residents and visitors helped renew a sense of community.

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In the days following the shooting, more than 4,600 people waited in lines up to five hours to give pints of blood that helped doctors save the officers' lives.

Vigil, 29, underwent several operations to repair a damaged liver and right lung and to stop bleeding from a leg wound. Howell, 31, suffered three gunshot wounds to his legs.

Police said the chase began when the defendants tried to elude a police officer who wanted to question them about a possible robbery spree.

Gary Tippins, 19, surrendered within minutes of the shootout. He was acquitted Dec. 13 of two counts of false imprisonment and one count each of armed trafficking in cocaine and armed carjacking.

John Jay Hollis Jr., 18, was caught about three hours after the incident. He avoided a possible life sentence in September by agreeing to testify against Neal and Tippins in return for 15 years in prison.

The accused gunman, 21-year-old Antonio Neal, faces trial next month.

"Yes, if someone steals your car, we are going to chase them"

DICK GRECO

The night he was elected Tampa's mayor

The re-emergence of Dick Greco on the Tampa political scene has meant a change of focus for the mayor's office.

After more than two decades away from the job, Greco ousted Jan Platt in the March election and vowed to spur development and aggressively fight crime.

While former Mayor Sandy Freedman made neighborhoods a top priority, Greco has focused more on Tampa's stagnant property tax base. He pushed through 400 changes to the city's long-range growth plan, many of which eliminate stumbling blocks for developers.

He has renewed the drive to build a convention center hotel and has concentrated on boosting business in Ybor City. One developer has proposed to build an 80-room hotel in Ybor; another is contemplating a major entertainment and retail complex.

On the crime front, Greco has enjoyed praise and criticism.

He steered through a budget that adds 33 police officers, and he has lifted a ban on police pursuits of car thieves.

Tampa's auto theft rate, second in the nation in 1994, was a hot campaign issue for the mayor. He contends the freedom to chase has helped reduce the auto theft rate since he took office.

But critics point to an increase in injuries and deaths related to pursuits. In early December, two people were killed when their car was struck by a car full of juveniles fleeing police. That crash occurred less than three weeks after another car fleeing sheriff's deputies struck a car and left two people dead.

"They're trying to throw a guilt trip on us. I just applaud the people of Hillsborough County for voting these taxes down. Where the hell is the money going? When are my taxes going to stop?"

ALLAN GRANDA

Brandon resident talking about the September sales tax defeat

Hillsborough County school officials were stunned Sept. 12 when voters crushed a proposed half-penny sales tax for school construction and technology.

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Backers of the tax were counting on district employees, parents and business leaders to push the measure through in a special election.

Instead, voters overwhelmingly rejected the tax - and another half-penny sales tax proposed for public safety issues.

A survey by the University of South Florida revealed county voters distrust their leaders and that skepticism exists within the ranks of the bureaucracies themselves.

But that wasn't the district's only problem.

Besides losing potential revenues to build new schools and buy computers, the district also had to come to grips with \$ 36 million in cuts to balance its \$ 1.3 billion budget.

Hit hardest by the cuts were special education and dropout prevention programs, which lost aides and counselors. Services for academically gifted youngsters were reduced and all secondary and vocational classes were filled up. An outdoor learning program called Nature's Classroom was substantially scaled back.

And, on top of all that, no raises have been given to district employees.

It has been a rough year for employees, said Terry Wilson, executive director for the Hillsborough Classroom Teachers Association.

He summed it up like this: "Morale is terrible at this point."

"You know how the Bible says that if you're greedy and you don't ask for forgiveness, you won't be going to heaven? I guess I won't be seeing him up there."

PAULA VARN

Former Anheuser-Busch worker, on beer magnate August Busch III

Layoffs and corporate down-sizing struck across the country and Tampa was not immune. On Oct. 25, Anheuser-Busch announced it would close the Tampa plant by the end of the year. The move put 375 employees out of work.

August Busch III delivered the news himself, and he did it the way few corporate chieftains would. He stood before most of the 375 workers at the Busch Gardens Ice Palace and told them. He then climbed on a helicopter and left.

The closing was part of a companywide cutback in which the beer maker also decided to sell such high-profile assets as the St. Louis Cardinals baseball team, Busch Stadium in St. Louis and Busch's Eagle Snack Food division.

Company officials said closing the Tampa plant would save the company about \$ 33 million a year. The plant's 17 acres will be given to Busch Gardens, also an Anheuser-Busch property. The site, once cleared, might be used for an expansion of the theme park.

Surprisingly, many workers took the initial news in stride. But that changed later in the year when Busch announced severance packages that disappointed many.

The package promises the hourly employees an unemployment check partially made up of federal unemployment insurance, \$ 1,355 for each year as a permanent employee (up to a certain limit), a full year of health insurance coverage and 12 lifetime passes to Busch Gardens.

"They aren't getting a city slicker from New York. I grew up going to the fair."

GEORGE STEINBRENNER

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Yankees owner and businessman on taking the helm of the Florida State Fair Authority

After a year of hitting more bumps than a stomach-churning midway ride, the Florida State Fair Authority is slowly creaking back to financial stability.

This month's bump - news that the fair authority came so close to the financial brink that its own accounting firm questioned its ability to open the gates in 1996 - was only the most recent crisis.

After a year of back room political maneuvering, including reports of authority members hiring snoops to dig up dirt on fair staffers, a state audit that showed millions in unaccounted-for gate receipts and an admission by fair leaders that they'd intentionally exaggerated fair attendance for years, state legislators cried foul this year.

Lawmakers abolished the existing authority, put the controversy-plagued fair directly under the state Department of Agriculture and appointed a new board. A few months later, fair president Steve Eckerson was given his walking papers.

Now, despite ongoing financial woes, fair officials say the fair is getting back on its feet, bolstered by a timely infusion of big-name entertainment for the 1996 fair in February.

"I didn't think we had a chance a few months ago," admitted fair authority chairman and wealthy Tampa businessman George Steinbrenner in December. "But now I'm excited."

"This is a remarkable day. I'm truly amazed at what has been accomplished here."

SANDY FREEDMAN

On the opening of the Florida Aquarium on her last day in office

Jellyfish arrived by overnight express. Road crews toiled under portable lights. Gift shop clerks stocked shelves after midnight.

The \$ 84 million Florida Aquarium opened its doors on schedule March 31. But the aquarium opened with a few exhibit tanks still empty despite last-minute efforts to complete stocking them.

Built with bonds issued by the city of Tampa, the facility needs to draw about 1.2 million a year to meet the payment. But it was obvious soon after the aquarium opened that the figure was going to be hard to meet.

Officials had been using a 1992 feasibility study to base predictions that the aquarium would draw 1.8 million people in its first year.

However, numbers released by the aquarium near the end of the summer showed the 500,000 attendance mark was not reached until mid-August.

Meanwhile, the aquarium is just one part of what officials hope will be a renaissance of the waterfront district. In April, the Port of Tampa dedicated a \$ 4.5 million cruise ship terminal in the shadow of the aquarium. The Seaport Street Terminal is the most dramatic symbol of the bulk port's \$ 30 million investment in the cruise and entertainment business.

A few blocks away, the Tampa Bay Lightning's new arena is rising from the ground, and the Tampa Port Authority has picked a developer to build a retail complex anchored by a 20-screen movie theater near Garrison Seaport Center. It should open in summer 1997.

"Somebody looked at me and asked if I'd get him a cup of coffee. I said, "Sure, as soon as you get me a cup of coffee.' "

SANDY PICCIRILLI

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I-4 project manager and the first **female** interstate resident engineer in the state DOT

It's been on the books for more than a decade, but the expansion of Interstate 4 actually got under way in 1995. The project is headed by Sandy Piccirilli, the first **female** interstate resident engineer in the state Department of Transportation.

She is in charge of the largest interstate expansion in Hillsborough County history. The \$ 300 million project will widen 21 miles of I-4 to six lanes between Tampa and the Polk County line.

It's a job that is expected to last six years and bring relief to the nearly 100,000 drivers who crowd the slab of asphalt every day.

The work is going to reshape the look of Florida's oldest interstate. Besides another two lanes, the roadway will be raised 1 to 12 feet to smooth out hills and eliminate flooding. Drainage ponds and wetlands will be added, along with enough room for either rail or more lanes of traffic.

"The first thing I want to say is that the Buc stops here. Tampa Bay is going to have this team forever, as far as I'm concerned."

MALCOLM GLAZER

After agreeing to buy the Tampa Bay Buccaneers

The near unanimous choice for one of the top stories of 1995 was the sale and continuing saga of the Bucs. The team started capturing headlines just a few days into the new year when team trustees announced they had reached an agreement to sell the team to Palm Beach financier Malcolm Glazer.

That was last Jan. 16, when Glazer bought the NFL's most losing franchise for the highest amount ever paid for a sports team - \$ 172 million, plus \$ 20 million more if the team gets a new stadium.

And we all know about that stadium, don't we? It has been omnipresent on the news pages and air waves this year, even as the Bucs celebrated their best season in 13 years and had a 41 percent attendance increase over 1994. All anyone wants to know, though, is whether Tampa will build Glazer the stadium needed to keep the Bucs from moving.

Glazer's sale contract requires him to play two seasons in Tampa and provides for a \$ 35 million penalty if he leaves before playing 10 years here. That, however, apparently doesn't count for much. Because nine days before the start of a seat deposit campaign in October that would help the new stadium become reality, Bucs officials slipped off to a meeting in Orlando about possibly moving there.

Since then, they have been linked to several cities as Tampa officials continue trying to get the stadium built. Glazer also made headlines two days after Christmas by firing Bucs coach Sam Wyche, who had posted four straight losing seasons. (CHART) Here are the year's top stories in no particular order: - UCH woes - Jihad connection - Bucs sale - Greco wins - School tax - Officers wounded - Brewery to close - Fair turmoil - Aquarium opens - I-4 work Staff writers Preston Trigg, Joe Henderson, Doug Stanley, Michael Fechter, Ken Koehn, Steve Huettel, Windy March, B.C. Manion, Dirk Lammers and Jim Sloan contributed to this story.

Graphic

PHOTO 9(4C); CHART,
Ramadan Abdullah Shallah

1995: An Eventful Year

Load-Date: January 3, 1996

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The Islamist Who Runs Turkey, Delicately - Correction Appended

The New York Times

Correction Appended

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Distribution: Magazine Desk

Section: Section 6; ; Section 6; Page 28; Column 1; Magazine Desk ; Column 1; ; Biography

Length: 3041 words

Byline: Necmettin Erbakan

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By Stephen Kinzer; Stephen Kinzer is the Istanbul bureau chief for The Times. His last article for the Magazine was on Christiane Amanpour, the CNN correspondent.

Body

With not a single security guard visible, could this ugly concrete building be the official residence of Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan, the first Islamist to lead modern Turkey? Assured by my driver that it was, I approached, rang a bell and was admitted. Inside the door I literally bumped into Erbakan as he emerged from a small elevator. We bent down to remove our shoes together.

For months the Prime Minister had declined my requests for an interview, perhaps in part because he doesn't really trust Western journalists. The message he finally sent was an odd one. He apologized for the delay and offered to see me on Christmas Day.

The request that I come on Christmas was classic Erbakan. Unable for now to transform Turkey's deep-rooted secular society, he must speak indirectly, with symbols and images. It may be true, as his critics say, that he harbors a secret radical agenda for Turkey. But during his first eight months in power he has been a voice of moderation.

Erbakan, a grandfatherly figure, moves delicately, gestures calmly and speaks softly. His Turkish is flowery and old-fashioned, sprinkled with words that many young people cannot understand. He is the most interesting political figure to have emerged from the Muslim world in many years. He is cultivated and worldly, a master of subtle political maneuver, yet has slashed his way through the jungle of Turkish politics with fiery rhetoric about Zionist conspiracies, the decadence of the West and the superiority of Muslim law and culture. He favors elegantly tailored suits and imported silk neckties and prays five times a day.

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Erbakan is a figure of fascination not simply for his own character but because the choices he makes for Turkey could have enormous impact abroad. Turkey, for centuries a great imperial power, has traditionally exerted a far-reaching influence over a band of Muslim nations, stretching from North Africa across Asia to the Pacific. These nations, having witnessed the fundamentalist upheavals in Iran, Sudan, Algeria and Afghanistan, are understandably nervous about their own Islamists. So if Erbakan can peacefully steer moderate, democratic Turkey onto a fundamentalist path, he could, in effect, make the rest of the Muslim world safe for fundamentalism.

Turks call Erbakan "hodja," a term of respect usually reserved for teachers. In conversation his tone is didactic, his discourse an odd blend of traditional Islam and 1960's anti-imperialism. He has dropped his calls for an end to interest rates, an "Islamic NATO" and a jihad against Jerusalem. But he is still a jumble of grand and messianic dreams, not all of them reassuring to the West. He knows precisely what he wants: to change the world.

"After World War II, the Western powers and Russia met at Yalta and set the rules for the coming era," he told me, sipping coffee occasionally. "But the West and Russia can't make the rules by themselves anymore. They have to sit down with the developing countries to establish a new order. The world needs a second Yalta conference. The first Yalta did its job, but its time is past. Now the world must again be reshaped."

Erbakan has selected seven large, predominantly Muslim countries that he hopes will join Turkey in a new group he calls the D-8 (the "D" stands for developing). He imagines this D-8 sitting down with the Group of Seven, which represents the world's richest industrial democracies, to negotiate a redistribution of wealth as part of a new and just world order. The process is to begin later this year, when Erbakan hopes to launch the D-8 at a summit meeting in Istanbul.

"Turkey is at the center of the world," he reasoned. "We have good relations with the developing countries of Africa and Asia, and we are also a partner of Europe. It's a logical role for us. Turkey is going to take the first step toward ending this double standard and injustice in the world."

Like other Islamic leaders, Erbakan is convinced that the West has an inbred prejudice against Muslims, and that this prejudice distorts the foreign policies of Europe and the United States. He pointed to Bosnia, Chechnya and Kashmir as places where Western countries have tolerated outrages they would never have accepted in Christian countries.

"Educated people in the West know very little about Islam," he lamented. "They are the victims of propaganda that is hundreds of years old. They cannot think rationally about this subject."

Within Turkey, Erbakan's aspirations are just as sweeping. No longer, he has proclaimed, should women with head scarves or men with religious beards be legally barred from positions of influence in universities and the army. He has quietly moved Islamists into the civil service. Children should be educated religiously, and parents should defend Islamic traditions. He has urged the construction of mosques in prominent locations in Istanbul and the capital, Ankara.

"Our people are embracing their history, their belief and their identity," Erbakan said. "If you look around, you will see many more mosques, many more students going to religious academies. That is our people's wish, and an important development in Turkey. Finally we have found ourselves. We were searching for so many years."

THE DAY ERBAKAN WAS BORN, OCT. 29, 1926, was the third anniversary of the founding of the Turkish Republic by the secular hero Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. In Ataturk's Turkey, women were discouraged from wearing veils or head scarves, men were not to wear the fez and religion was to have no influence in public life. Muslim sects were banned, Latin script replaced by Arabic and Turks were urged to look toward Europe rather than Asia for inspiration.

In his youth, Erbakan seemed to embrace Ataturk's new order. He studied engineering, won a doctorate at Aachen Technical University in Germany and returned home to open an engine factory. A few years later he became head of a small-business lobby and discovered that he had a talent for politics. He began giving speeches condemning

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corruption and defending the rights of the little guy. When he added a religious component, he hit upon a successful formula.

After winning a seat in Parliament in 1969, Erbakan formed his own political party and began campaigning for a revival of Islamic values. Barely a year later the Constitutional Court condemned his party as anti-secular and ordered it dissolved. He renamed it, altered its charter and his rhetoric to make it acceptable and started over. By the mid-1970's he controlled enough seats in Parliament to emerge as a kingmaker. Joining first with leftists and then with rightists, he served as Deputy Prime Minister for a total of nearly four years.

In the two decades since then, Erbakan has built his Welfare Party into the only true grass-roots political organization Turkey has ever known -- four million strong, with 80,000 new members each month, Erbakan claims. Like other Islamist parties in the Middle East, it relies on volunteers who work all year long, especially in poor neighborhoods, feeding the hungry, helping people find homes and jobs and, not coincidentally, harvesting thousands of votes.

By 1995 many Turks had begun to associate Welfare with honesty and clean streets more than fundamentalism. In the autumn election, Erbakan barnstormed the country, spending hours after rallies kissing babies and listening to private complaints. More voters than ever decided to take a chance on him, and Welfare finished first with 21.4 percent of the vote, even though only 10 percent of the population identify themselves as Islamists.

After several months of maneuvering, Erbakan struck an odorous deal with the former Prime Minister, Tansu Ciller, who during the campaign had attacked him and his followers as "fundamentalists bent on dragging the country back to the Dark Ages." In exchange for her support, Erbakan agreed to shield her from parliamentary investigations into alleged corruption. He became Prime Minister while she took the portfolios of Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister. They agreed to change places in 1998, but not everyone is sure it will work out that way.

Erbakan won the election not by exploiting any latent desire for Islamic rule in Turkey but by becoming a credible alternative to the ossified political elite. After waves of scandal, including a new one implicating officials of past governments in murder and drug smuggling, Turks are thirsting for moral leadership. Many believe that only Erbakan offers it.

"People are looking for a leader who believes in something," says Semra Galip, a sociologist at Galatasaray University in Istanbul. "Erbakan is the only one who introduces ideas, the only one with a program. He is a reaction to the end of ideology in Turkey."

THE WELFARE PARTY'S AUTUMN CONVENTION, its first since coming to power, looked very different from its past gatherings. Where once the walls were draped with banners honoring radical Muslim movements, Hamas martyrs and Iranian ayatollahs, this time only the Turkish flag could be seen, and the only portrait was Ataturk's.

The party faithful, many of whom consider Erbakan a miracle worker for having led Welfare to power, erupted when he appeared, cheering wildly and chanting, "You are the commander! We are your army!" It took him nearly an hour to make his way through the throng, and when he finally began to speak, the delegates applauded everything he said. They clapped when he swore friendship for the United States and Europe, and even when he described Welfare as "the guarantor of secular rule" in Turkey.

But at one point, after he declared that Turkey was "not changing direction or anything like that," a handful of unhappy delegates began chanting "God is great," a slogan of militant Islam. Erbakan stopped speaking, pointed at them and sternly warned: "Do not let yourselves be provoked!" The chanting stopped immediately, and there were no further disruptions.

As a campaigner Erbakan had pledged to expel American troops flying surveillance missions over northern Iraq, but they are still at their bases. He said he wanted military and industrial cooperation with Iran but dropped the idea after his generals protested. For years he demonized Israel, but today Israeli warplanes practice maneuvers in Turkish airspace while Israeli military technicians upgrade Turkish fighters.

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"Contrary to all our fears and concerns," the Israeli Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, recently told a Turkish interviewer, "today we are very pleased with Mr. Erdogan's Government."

Leaders of Muslim countries are less enthusiastic. The moderates among them fear that Erdogan, by proving that fundamentalism need not be synonymous with radicalism, will give the Islamic movement new respectability among the middle classes. Hard-liners accuse him of selling out. "We are not happy in general about Turkey's foreign policy," the Libyan leader, Muammar Qaddafi, told Erdogan to his face when the two met in Tripoli a few months ago. "Turkey's future lies not in NATO, American bases and repressing the Kurds but in its nobility and its past." Despite such rebukes, Erdogan continues to defend not only Libya but also Iran, Iraq and Nigeria.

Not surprisingly, his relations with Washington are less than perfect. The State Department's spokesman, Nicholas Burns, has warned him to stop making "objectionable remarks" and "taking potshots at the United States." When Erdogan said that Libya, far from being a terrorist state, had in fact been the victim of terrorism -- a reference to the American bombing of Tripoli in 1986 -- Burns was irate. "Terrorism, democracy, allied cohesion and loyalty," he said, "are important issues that I think the Turkish Prime Minister needs to be reminded of."

Never is Erdogan more deferential than when dealing with Turkey's military commanders who, with three coups to their credit since 1960, are not shy about intervening when they feel the country's stability is threatened. They sent a clear message earlier this month when they ordered a column of tanks through the streets of Sincan, a town only 25 miles from Ankara. Their muscle flexing followed a rally at which the Iranian Ambassador gave a speech calling for implementation of Sharia, the strict Islamic legal code.

Erdogan is well aware of the army's power and has so far respected its role as guardian of the secular state.

Although he dares not defy military commanders on important matters, he lodges a symbolic protest now and then. Before one recent meeting of the National Security Council, for example, the commanders said they would propose the dismissal of 59 officers suspected of fundamentalist leanings. Erdogan showed his displeasure by staying away from the session but appeared later and signed the decree. In response to the Sincan incident, he rolled back some of his Government's more controversial proposals and reiterated his support for "pluralist political democracy."

Military commanders don't like to talk politics, but I found one retired General, Ihsan Gurkan, willing to guess what they're thinking. "I don't believe there will be a coup, but the military will definitely be telling politicians to stay away from religious fundamentalism," General Gurkan said. "They are taking Afghanistan as a warning of what these people can do if they come to power. Of course, not everyone in the Welfare Party is like that. Some are moderates, but there are also extremists."

"In his heart, I don't think Erdogan supports the Ataturk vision of Turkey. He is trying to find a middle way between Ataturk and fundamentalism, but that is not possible. They are two ideologies diametrically opposed to each other."

Although Turkey is 99 percent Muslim, it is very different from radical Islamic countries like Iran and Sudan. Most Turks still believe that religion should have no direct influence on public life, but Erdogan's ascent has stirred a complex of emotions and raised questions that many thought had been resolved generations ago.

"There is a huge battle going on in this country between modernizers and conservatives," one of Ankara's wisest foreign diplomats told me. "People here are about to make a very big decision. The outcome will be crucial to the West because so much of our political, economic and military planning in this part of the world hinges on Turkey."

Many Turks believe it is nonsense to imagine that their country can emerge as the leader of a new bloc of Muslim nations strong and united enough to negotiate a new world order with the titans of the G-7. Religion may unite these countries, but deep social, political and economic differences divide them. For all his talk of brotherhood, Erdogan is a Turkish nationalist who puts his own country's interests first. So are the heads of other Muslim governments.

"These are dreams," scoffed Kamran Inan, a leading opposition figure in Parliament. "We have to accept the fact that money doesn't have a religion. Interests have no religion. The present government especially is daydreaming."

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If there was solidarity among the 52 Muslim nations, the world balance would be different. Two hundred and fifty thousand Bosnians wouldn't have been killed."

Although Erbakan's dream of worldwide Muslim solidarity is hardly realistic, he strikes a responsive chord when he complains that the West is treating Turkey unfairly. For more than a century Turks have sought to live up to Western standards, only to have the doors slammed in their faces, most recently by the European Union, which for years has resisted their efforts to join. Erbakan plays skillfully on this resentment.

"Turkey has been a European country for centuries, and it is a European country today," he insisted. "Five hundred years ago our territory stretched to the outskirts of Vienna, and Istanbul was the largest city in Europe. Today part of our territory is geographically in Europe. But unfortunately, for a long time European policy toward us has been very wrong. Turkey has been in NATO for more than 40 years, but the West is constantly pushing us away. They treat us unjustly, and then they blame us."

For the last decade, European leaders have been giving Turkey some direct advice. If you want to join our club, they say, stop torturing prisoners, stop throwing journalists and politicians in jail and stop your war against Kurdish insurgents. Erbakan rejects these suggestions just as completely as did his secular predecessors.

"There is no particular human rights problem in Turkey," he said. "Western countries shouldn't talk to us about human rights. It's like an old record. When Western diplomats or cabinet ministers come to visit us, they take out this old record and play it. It has no meaning."

Erbakan also repeated the official line on the Kurdish conflict, which has cost more than 20,000 lives over the last 12 years and shows no sign of abating. He described it as "not a war but a fight against terrorism" and said a negotiated settlement was out of the question.

ERBAKAN CLEARLY HAS A NEW vision for Turkey. He is already looking forward to the next election -- which he may call in a year or two -- when he hopes to win enough votes to govern without a secular partner. Under Turkey's complex electoral system, that would require him to win about 39 percent of the popular vote, which will mean grabbing about a third of the non-Islamist vote.

The Turkey of Erbakan's dreams would probably be a nationalist democracy, a society that tolerates secular voices but is at heart religious, conscious of history and infused with a God-given sense of earthly mission. In other words, a kind of Muslim Israel rather than another Iran.

On the campus of Istanbul University, once the home of the Ottoman defense ministry, I met Toktamis Atis, a popular professor and commentator. When I asked him how frightened he is for his country's future, he smiled as if he wanted to come over and put his arm around my shoulders. "The secular forces in Turkish society are strong enough to defend themselves," he assured me. "If Erbakan tried to challenge them directly, there would be great conflict in Turkey, maybe even civil war. He knows that. Maybe, in his heart, he really would like to wipe away the secular state, but he's not so stupid as to try."

Correction

An article on Feb. 23 about Necmettin Erbakan, the Prime Minister of Turkey, misstated the change in Turkish printing made in the 1920's by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. Latin script replaced Arabic, not vice versa.

Correction-Date: March 16, 1997, Sunday

Graphic

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Photos: Necmettin Erbakan. (pg. 29); To the party faithful, Erbakan is considered a miracle worker. (Photograph by Burhan Ozbilici/Associated Press) (pg. 31)

Load-Date: February 23, 1997

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Despite GOP complaints, our civil justice system works

St. Petersburg Times (Florida)

April 22, 1995, Saturday, City Edition

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Section: EDITORIAL; LETTERS; Pg. 17A; LETTER

Length: 3019 words

Body

Republicans would have you believe that the civil justice system is inefficient, unpredictable, costly and an impediment to competition in the world market place. Just the opposite is true.

The American civil justice system is extremely efficient. More than 95 percent of all claims are settled, with both sides agreeing on a figure that will adequately compensate the victim, before trial. Furthermore, a study conducted by the U.S. General Accounting Office determined that only 10 percent of the cases filed in state courts were cases involving claims for injuries. Only 0.4 percent were claims for injuries caused by defective products. Also, a study conducted by the Rand Corp. determined that only 10 percent of injured victims ever use the tort system to seek compensation.

The GAO also found that the size of compensatory awards in products cases varied by the type and severity of injury in a manner that was consistent with the underlying economic loss, causing the GAO to conclude that compensatory awards were neither erratic nor excessive.

LETTERS

In 1993 the National Association of Manufacturers released a survey of its members, ranking issues the members felt were most burdensome to businesses and manufacturers, and which reduced the number of jobs. Only 8 percent identified products liability.

The following issues were identified: 54 percent, government mandates/regulations; 27 percent, environmental regulations; 21 percent, federal deficit; 15 percent, loss of tax investment; 10 percent, workers' compensation; 8 percent, products liability. A Rand Corp. study concluded that for most large firms, products liability costs - including costs of defense litigation and certain product liability prevention activities - probably amount to much less than 1 percent of total sales revenue.

The GAO confirmed that insurance costs represent a very small proportion of businesses' annual gross receipts - six-tenths of 1 percent for large businesses, about 1 percent for small businesses. On the other hand, the Consumer Federation of America estimates that 6,000 deaths and millions of injuries have been prevented annually because of products liability and other forces toward greater safety in America.

The attempt to destroy the rights of millions of ordinary Americans is nothing more than a pay-back by politicians who are beholden to large contributors without whom they couldn't be elected. To pretend otherwise smacks of hypocrisy. Remember, it is Republicans who ran on the themes of: (1)empowering ordinary Americans; (2)holding individuals responsible for their own actions; and (3)returning to the states the right and responsibility to provide for the welfare of their citizens.

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Now we see that, in reality, they wish to: (1)take away (disempower, if you will) the rights of ordinary Americans; (2)relieve manufacturers of defective products and others who cause injuries through carelessness of responsibility for their actions; and (3)take away from the states the right and responsibility to protect their injured citizens.

The rights they are attempting to destroy are your rights. Don't let them get away with it.

Terence J. Kann, lawyer, Gainesville

Teaching about slavery

Re: Slave dungeons stirring emotions - and hard feelings, April 18.

I do not understand how African-Americans can accuse Ghanians of "trampling on their past for profits" by restoring old castles that were once used as holding areas for slaves prior to being shipped to the New World.

What is the alternative? Censorship! Then, perhaps future generations will question whether events such as the slave trade actually occurred in these castles.

Based on my observations, Holocaust survivors fully support any efforts to enlighten people of the terrible ordeal they endured under the Nazis. Perhaps African-Americans should support instead of suppress efforts to teach people about the slave trade.

Thomas W. Cunningham Jr., St. Petersburg

A safer range is needed

Re: Shooting range draws fire, April 15.

As a National Rifle Association training counselor, certified to train NRA basic firearms instructors, I am concerned over safety of the ranges now being used to train local police.

According to the NRA Range Manual, law enforcement and SWAT team training must be as realistic as ingenuity and available technology will allow, both in the reactions required of the trainee and in the presentation of the situations that call for these reactions. The training consists of reaction-planned scenarios using a variety of action-type and moving targets to simulate an actual combat condition. Such scenarios require a 360-degree safety fan of 1.5-mile radius for pistol and 3.5-mile radius for high-poweredrifles. No range facilities of this description are available in Pinellas or adjacent counties.

The firearms ranges in Pinellas County are either indoor or semi-indoor, enclosed with heavy timber, steel and concrete barriers surrounded by 30- to 50-foot-high berms. All shooting is from a fixed firing line in one direction at distances extending from 10 to 100 yards. High-powered rifles are fired from a bench rest. A safety fan is not necessary. These bulls-eye ranges are totally incompatible with police combat training and are extremely dangerous if used as such.

In December of 1989, the Times ran a news story pertaining to the closure of the Pinellas County School Board Range on 118th Street, the result of a police combat exercise. Prior to that, the Times also reported on the wounding of a Pinellas County deputy during a similar exercise.

It would behoove the Pinellas County Commission to invest in a police combat training range, perhaps on the site of its well fields, before someone is killed and officials have to pay a similar sum to a grieving family.

Charles E. Webber, Indian Rocks Beach

Despite GOP complaints, our civil justice system works

School-yard justice

Re: Mistaken identity, wrong verdict, April 16.

Whenever a convicted person is found innocent, all those involved in the conviction should face their mistake.

Since Mellissa Gammill is innocent, there couldn't have been any crime scene evidence, so all authorities had was one eye witness and no alibi.

Positive identification of someone you know is easy, but to positively identify someone you saw only once is very difficult for most people, and our justice system knows this.

Not proving or even remembering where you were on a night three months or three weeks ago is not that unusual, and our justice system knows this, too.

This was nothing more than second-grade, school-yard justice. Henry J. Booher, Clearwater

A cruel act

Re: The massacre of the Palestinian canine population in Hebron, Israeli-occupied West Bank.

The feeble excuse by the Israeli civil administration was that it acted to eliminate dogs for health reasons. Hebron is a rat-infested city, according to the Palestinians living there, and nothing has been done about that problem.

The sad part about this cruel act is that the shepherds' dogs were killed. Their livelihood depends on these trained dogs, aside from the fact that they are family pets raised with the children. Are the shepherds supposed to have unattended flocks from here on in? There is a 6 p.m. to 5 a.m. curfew in the area, preventing them from guarding the herds.

No excuse will be accepted for this latest cruel act of harassment on the part of the Israelis.

Elaine Phillips, Dunedin

On the side of authority

Re: When on a cordless phone, chat away with impunity by Howard Troxler, April 17.

Howard Troxler does not quite say whether he is on the side of "a couple of small-time drug defendants" or "the government lurking outside our homes in the darkness, monitoring the words we speak"

I am on the side of legal authorities catching drug dealers and other criminals by any means possible. I am appalled when law-breakers go laughing out of the courtroom on technicalities.

Because of my unusual working hours, I have been stopped and questioned by police on several occasions. These encounters always ended with my thanks to them for doing their job. A bit of time and slight loss of privacy is a small price for helping them keep the peace. Joe Weygandt, Homosassa Springs

Rooting for Dole

Despite GOP complaints, our civil justice system works

Now that Bob Dole has officially thrown his hat in the ring for the Republican nomination, we can expect the left-wing liberal politicians and the liberal press to start their sniping campaign. But what can they criticize him about? He is a war veteran, a Purple Heart hero; no complaint there. He is married to an attractive and talented lady with an impressive record herself, no family scandals of infidelity or impropriety; nothing there. Thirty-five years of impeccable service in Washington, as congressman and senator.

Well, they can blame him for the terrible mess that our national capital is in. Why didn't he do something about it? Why did he allow it to happen? Then, of course, he is an Eisenhower Republican and therefore out of touch with the modern Republican Party. They will use that to divide the GOP. Also, he wants the citizenry to have the right to keep a gun, to protect themselves against criminals. That's bad.

And, of course, there is his age. He is 71 now, will be 73 when he takes office, and if he serves two terms, will be 81 when he leaves, too old to be president. They'll say we need someone younger and more modern, like Clinton or Gore.

Let all the critics have their say - and I'll be on the sidelines, rooting for him when he takes his oath of office in January 1997.

Lloyd G. Clark, South Pasadena

Placing the blame

Re: End the foreign intervention, March 15; True blame for Yugoslav war, March 27; and Yugoslavia's tragedy, April 1.

Contrary to these letters, there is no basis for blaming the United States or other countries for the bloodshed in former Yugoslavia. The Serbian nationalists bear the principal responsibility for the 200,000-plus Croats and Bosnian Muslims who were killed and for many more people displaced from their homes.

With the tide of democracy sweeping through Eastern Europe about 1990, several multinational states fell apart. While the Soviet Union and the Czechoslovak Republic broke up peacefully, the Serbian communists-turned-nationalists, then in power in Yugoslavia, refused to give up control. Their Yugoslav army and the Serbian minorities, misled by propaganda, were used to fight the newly elected governments in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina and to attack the unarmed non-Serb population.

The international community condemned the Serbian aggression but failed to act effectively to stop it. The United Nations Security Council voted 13 to 0 to impose sanctions against Serbia for its role in the war. Even Russia, Serbia's traditional ally, voted in favor of the sanctions.

It is deplorable that many Serbian Americans have become victims of disinformation fabricated in their old homeland. There are some notable exceptions, however. George Mitrovich, a prominent San Diego civic leader, wrote: "Be very clear about this: The overwhelming blame for what is happening in the land of the South Slavs lies with Serbia and its thugs in Bosnia-Herzegovina! wonder how long I must wait to see Americans of Serbian heritage - we are, after all, Americans first - arise and denounce the mutants who slaughter the women and children of Bosnia and then smirk at the world" (Times, Aug. 27, 1993).

Regarding the mentality of the aggressors, Mitrovich proceeds: "Those who count the sins of their ancient enemies to build a justification for acts of evil today are worthy neither of our pity nor our understanding, only of our contempt."

Please, wake up, folks. Be reasonable and be Americans!

Frank Dubravcic, Sarasota

Despite GOP complaints, our civil justice system works

Israeli nukes defended

Re: Israeli nukes ignored, letter, April 15.

The letter writer's question: "Why does the United States press so strongly for a nuclear non-proliferation treaty and ignore the nuclear activities of Israel, our supposed ally?"

The answer is self-evident to those who have learned the lessons of recent Mideast history. Has the letter writer forgotten the aggression against Israel by some five neighbor-nations in the War of Independence (1948), the Six-Day War (1967), the Yom Kippur War (1973) and the current terrorism of the Hamas and the Holy Jihad - all aimed at the destruction of this democratic bastion and ally of the United States?

Has the letter writer forgotten how Israel's air power destroyed Iraq's nuclear facilities in 1981 - an act which benefited not only Israel, Iraq's sworn enemy, but saved the lives of countless American and allied troops in the Persian Gulf war?

It is only the prospect of Israel's nuclear potential which prevents its destruction and safeguards for the United States and other nations of the free world a lifeline to the oil supplies of the Mideast. It also serves as a potent deterrent against terrorist states threatening democratic nations.

Irving M. Hyman, Clearwater

"We need to talk"

Re: Ads are offensive, letter to the editor, April 15, in response to the "We need to talk" billboard signs by WFLA-970 AM.

So, be offended!

Recognize, however, that we no longer live in a world of denial. This is 1995, and rather than continuously shoving things under the proverbial carpet, we need to confront these issues of "deviant behavior" (as you put it) and instruct our children and grandchildren - those same individuals you are afraid for - so that they can live in the real world with open minds. As an adjunct professor, that is my ultimate goal in teaching, no matter what the classroom topic.

I do not defend skinheads; I do defend homosexual relationships. Whether you agree with me or not is irrelevant. But recognize that these issues need to be discussed. You are so concerned with the offensive images on the billboards that you completely miss the message beside them: "We need to talk." Don't offer destructive criticism and threats of boycotts because you hate the images. Instead, follow the slogan and talk about these issues and the people involved - with an open mind.

Be offended by neo-Nazism, but learn from the horrific ignorance a skinhead shouts. Be offended by homosexual sex, but learn from the anguish that lesbians and gay men suffer just for wanting to love. Be offended, but be open-minded, and I guarantee your children and grandchildren will be fine.

Roberto C. Ferrari, adjunct professor of humanities,

Hillsborough Community College, Tampa

Better screening for guardians

Despite GOP complaints, our civil justice system works

There ought to be a law requiring our judicial circuit courts to investigate the accuracy of qualifying statements made by a prospective guardian in his or her application for appointment as a guardian. Currently, there is no legal requirement for the courts to check whether the applicant has any criminal history (conviction of a felony), to verify educational background or prior work history, nor is an assessment made regarding his or her physical, mental and functional capabilities to act as a guardian. The guardian must "attend" a court-approved guardianship course, but there is no examination required.

A petition to determine incapacity of a person to be designated a ward requires the court appointment of an attorney and an examining committee to assess the physical, mental and functional capabilities of the ward. Should not the guardian also be similarly evaluated?

In most businesses, personnel departments verify statements made by prospective employees, including whether they have any prior criminal record. All wards and their families should have the comfort of knowing that the person being appointed guardian has been properly investigated and is qualified to perform the duties as required by law.

Florida lawmakers, please protect our wards from possible unscrupulous or unfit guardians.

Mary C. Stealey, Holmes Beach

No hurricane coverage?

Re: Insurers want separate coverage for hurricanes.

After reading this article, wherein a homeowner's policy would no longer cover wind damage, I have a question: Would this be like having auto insurance that doesn't cover accidents, or would it be more like having life insurance that doesn't apply if the cause of death is illness?

Allen J. Licato Jr., Brooksville

Remember positive parents

Re: Pasadena Elementary/Childs Park Fundamental merger.

I have been following your coverage of this school merger and the feelings of the parents this involves. It disappoints me that most of what I have read deals with the negative feelings of some parents. I would be willing to bet that there are a great many more parents who, although they may be a little apprehensive, are very positive about this merger.

You see, the parents of these two schools have some very important things in common. We are both losing a small school we really loved; we are both truly involved in our schools; and, most important, we both love our children and are afraid to give up the educational system we were familiar with and felt good about, and change to something we know nothing about.

These common feelings we have will also be what will make Pasadena Fundamental a success because when we do come together it will be our love and involvement in our new larger school and, most important, our love for all our children that will make Pasadena Fundamental greater as one school than we were as two separate schools. The positive attitudes are out there and you probably wouldn't have to look too hard to find them!

Jayne McLean, St. Petersburg

Despite GOP complaints, our civil justice system works

Share your opinions

We invite readers to write to us. Letters for publication should be addressed to Letters to the Editor, P.O. Box 1121, St. Petersburg, 33731. Or they can be sent by facsimile machine by calling the Times' fax number: 893-8675. They should be brief and must include the handwritten signature and address of the writer.

Letters may be edited for clarity, taste and length. We regret that not all letters can be printed.

Load-Date: April 26, 1995

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TALENT ON DISPLAY;
FRENCH RACING AND BLOODSTOCK; ANDREW CAULFIELD, THE
SPORTING LIFE'S BLOODSTOCK EXPERT, ON THE STAR ATTRACTION S
AT THE AGENCE FRANCAISE YEARLING SALE

Sporting Life

August 6, 1996, Tuesday

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Section: FEATURES

Length: 5240 words

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Body

What images does the glamorous name of Deauville conjure up?

If you think of this chic town as the exclusive reserve of the mega-rich polo -playing smart set, you would be wrong. And you would also be very wrong if you underestimate the quality of Agence Francaise's yearling sale, which this year runs from Saturday, August 17 to Thursday, August 22.

Just how high the standard was at the 1994 sale has been underlined time and again on the racecourse this year.

For 400,000 francs - the equivalent of less than 45,000gns - you could have bought Caerleon's daughter Shake The Yoke, winner of the Group One Coronation Stakes after her unlucky second in the Poule d'Essai des Pouliches.

Maktoum Al Maktoum paid 550,000 francs, or just under 60,000gns, for an El Gran Senor colt who proved to be the Group One winner Le Triton. And for little more than 50,000gns, Teruya Yoshida acquired the Fabulous Dancer filly Fabulous La Fouine, who collected roughly pounds 400,000 for a big win in Japan in April.

Addison Racing spent freely at the 1994 sale and has been well rewarded via Tarator, the very progressive Green Dancer colt who looked a great prospect when he scored a Group-Two success in July. His price? A modest 35,000gns.

The high-class Sadler's Wells filly Luna Wells was also on offer, but was led out unsold at 850,000 francs.

The chances are that there are similar gems waiting to be unearthed in this year's catalogue of 509 lots, especially as the sale gets underway with 13 yearlings representing the Societe Aland.

This tremendously successful partnership, which did so well for Alec Head and the late Roland de Chambure, is being wound up. It could go out with a bang, as the team includes descendants of Reine Mathilde and Dance Quest, who respectively made 1,600,000gns and 440,000gns when sold in 1988 following the death of de Chambure. There is also a filly closely related to Ravinella, whose sale price in 1988 was 1,400,000gns.

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Because of pressures on space, the following review of what is on offer concentrates largely on the first three days of the sale, but I should point out that there are half-brothers or sisters to quite a few Group winners on offer during the remainder of the sale.

Anyone wanting fuller details will find the catalogue on the Internet.

ALLEGED (3c): the trio by this excellent American stallion includes Lot 94, a colt whose pedigree contains the same components as that of Suave Dancer.

ALYSHEBA (1f): Haras du Cadran's filly, Lot 192, is the first foal of Queenmara, a leading Provincial filly from a sought-after **female** line.

ALZAO (6c, 1f): most of these were foaled in France, an exception being Lot 66, an IR22,000gns filly from Kildaragh Stud. The colts are out of daughters of Miswaki, Rainbow Quest, Bering, Kris, Spectacular Bid and Dominion.

A.P. INDY (2c): the pair from the second crop by this American Horse Of The Year should attract plenty of attention. Lot 34 is a half-brother to Marchand de Sable (Criterium de Saint-Cloud) and Lot 124 is out of a speedy daughter of the top-class Sigy.

ARAZI (2c, 5f): an attractive team from Arazi's second crop could well be headed by Lot 150, a half-brother to Irish Derby winner Winged Love.

The first of the fillies, Lot 62, is out of a three-parts-sister to Ensconse and cost 31,000gns last year. Lot 134 is out of the classic-placed Duckling Park, while Lot 143 is a half-brother to this year's impressive French juvenile winner Majorien.

BELDALE FLUTTER (1c): the dam of Lot 154 is a very closely related to Lavirco, this year's star German three-year-old.

BELMEZ (1c, 1f): although he has yet to hit the headlines, Belmez has already sired two Group-winning daughters from a limited number of runners. Lot 241 is a son of the smart Bright Crocus.

BERING (12c, 10f): the majority of this large team by the sire of Pennekamp and Matiara appear during the select sessions, and understandably so. Bering is based at Haras du Quesnay, which consigns five of his youngsters, including Lot 13, a son of Riverman's smart daughter Liska's Dance inbred to Lyphard.

Also on offer from other studs are Lot 27, a half-brother to the Group- winning Marie De Ken, and Lot 112, a half-sister to Anabaa's fast dam Balbonella.

CAERLEON (5c, 2f): in view of the worldwide success Caerleon has enjoyed this year, there is sure to be great interest in such as Lot 81, the first foal of the Group-winning Silicon Bavaria; Lot 107, a half-sister to the very smart Lady Winner from a classic family; and Lot 262, a colt from the same family as Sanglamore.

Lot 406 is a sister to two Group winners, including the smart French filly Garden Rose.

COMMON GROUNDS (1c, 1f): Lot 73 is a brother to Astudillo, a Listed scorer in France before becoming a Grade Three winner in the USA.

CRYPTOCLEARANCE (1c): Lot 55 is a half-brother to the high-class juvenile Noblequest and to the dam of Pursuit of Love and Divine Danse.

DEPUTY MINISTER (1c): Lot 108 is an interestingly-bred colt out of the speedy Nureyev mare Angelina Ballerina. He is inbred 3 x 3 to Northern Dancer, which may be significant in a colt from the same family as El Gran Senor and Try My Best.

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DIESIS (2c): Haras du Mezeray is the consignor of these well-connected colts. Lot 39 is out of a winning half-sister to Trempolino, an Arc winner by the same sire as Diesis, while Lot 129 is out of a half-sister to Diesis's noted daughters Diminuendo and Pricket.

EXIT TO NOWHERE (16c, 20f): if this top miler can do as well as his half -brother Machiavellian, there will be some smart performers among this very large contingent.

He is based at Fresnay le Buffard, which offers Lot 121, a half-brother to the classic-placed Guislaine, and Lot 177, a filly from the same family as the great Miesque.

Haras du Thenney's filly, Lot 36, is a half-sister to the high-class Mendez, while Lot 169, from Petit Tellier, is a half-sister to the Grade Two winner Miatuschka. Others whose dams have already produced a Group winner are Lot 196, a half-sister to Kaldounevees, and Lot 243, a half- brother to Guiza.

FABULOUS DANCER (6c, 4f): Lot 224 is a brother to the Group-placed Paix Blanche.

FAIRY KING (3c, 5f): this impressive team will surely have benefited from the exploits of Helissio (a graduate of Deauville's foal sales). It is led off by Lot 75, a filly whose dam is a half-sister to Shahrastani, and 76, a daughter of the Prix Vermeille winner Sharaya. Another well- bred filly is Lot 133, a half-sister to two Group winners, including the dam of Colonel Collins.

The first of the colts, Lot 120, cost 25,000gns as a foal and is out of a half -sister to the dam of Lemon Souffle and Caramba. The next colt, Lot 135, is a son of Prix de Diane winner Escaline and the third, Lot 270, is a half-brother to the Group-winning Garendare.

FIJAR TANGO (5c, 3f): Haras des Capucines offers a half-sister to Glaros, winner of the Prix Noailles, as Lot 273.

FORZANDO (1c): Lot 199 is a half-brother to the Group-winning Secret Quest and is closely related to the classic-placed Secret Form.

GEIGER COUNTER (1c): this son of Mr Prospector is represented by Lot 56, a half-brother to German Derby fourth Provolino.

GENEROUS (1f): Societe Aland's filly, Lot 6, is out of the well-bred Nureyev mare Rive du Sud, a grand-daughter of Riverqueen.

GONE WEST (2f): the highly promising achievements of Gone West's current two -year-olds should guarantee this pair's popularity. Lot 16 is out of a young half-sister to three Group winners, while Lot 65 is a three-parts- sister to the Group-placed River Waki.

GREEN DANCER (1f): Lot 26 is a half-sister to the top French stayer Top Sunrise and the smart Old Rouvel.

GREEN DESERT (1c, 1f): last into the ring on Sunday night is Lot 151, a son of Dominion's good daughter Just Class.

GROOM DANCER (6c, 6f): the final French crop of this Japanese-based sire includes several likely sorts. Japanese buyers could well be interested in Lot 33, a half-brother to the leading Japanese filly Fabulous La Fouine, out of the Prix du Cadran winner Mercalle. Lot 59 is out of a mare by Fabulous Dancer, and so is bred to the same pattern as Fabulous La Fouine.

Lot 128 is a half-brother to the Prix Vermeille third Crnagora, while the fillies include Lot 37, a half-sister to the good two-year-old Shining Molly, and Lot 49, whose dam is a sister to Great Commotion and Lead On Time.

HAMAS (1f): Lot 172 is out of a half-sister to Arcadian Heights.

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HANSEL (1c): Lot 113's dam, the Group-winning Belka, produced the fast French colt West Man to a previous mating with a stallion from the Mr Prospector line.

HERO'S HONOR (9c, 5f): Lot 144 is a three-parts-brother to the Grade Two winner Vieille Vigne.

HIGHEST HONOR (8c, 9f): this champion sire in France gets a lot of very useful performers and there are sure to be more among this large team, the majority of which are consigned by Haras du Quesnay.

For example, Lot 138 is a son of the Prix Chloe winner Formidable Flight; Lot 161 is a filly out of a half-sister to the Group One winners Grand Flotilla and Marvellous Crown; and Lot 260 is a filly from the outstanding Sunny Valley family.

IN THE WINGS (2f): Lot 102 is out of a winning daughter of the outstanding broodmare Stresa.

IRISH RIVER (2c, 1f): Lot 20 is a brother to two group performers, while Lot 384 is a sister to the Grand Criterium runner-up River Drummer.

JADE HUNTER (1c): Golden Gate Stud surely struck a great bargain at the 1995 Keeneland January Sale, when it paid only 10,000 dollars for Steinlen's talented half-sister Sophonisbe, in foal to Jade Hunter. The Jade Hunter foal, a colt, now comes on the market as Lot 86, with the huge bonus of being a half-brother to the exciting Zagreb.

KADROU (1f): Lot 162 is a half-sister to this year's Group winner Luna Mareza, their dam being a half-sister to Linamix and Luna Wells.

KALDOUN (8c, 8f): the large team by this leading French stallion is led off by Lot 78, a filly out of a winning half-sister to Diffident.

KENDOR (7c, 7f): the Group-winning milers Grey Risk and Nec Plus Ultra have been advertising Kendor this season. His well-bred team includes such as Lot 91, a half-sister to Oaks second Sudden Love, and Lot 168, a three-parts -sister to Kendor's Group-winning daughter Marie de Ken.

KENMARE (1c): 18,000gns was the foal price of Lot 89, a half-brother to the very useful Stylish Ways.

KRIS (2c, 1f): Haras d'Etreham's colt, Lot 126, is out of Alzao's very useful daughter Daisy Dance.

LAST TYCOON (5c, 2f): Last Tycoon received many good mares in 1994, following his 1993 successes with Bigstone, Lost World, Ezzoud and Monde Bleu. This is reflected in such as Lot 115, a half-sister to the top-class Kendor, and Lot 211, a grandson of the flying Texanita.

LEAR FAN (1c): Lot 67 is out of a sister to the very speedy Tenue de Soiree.

LION CAVERN (1f): Haras du Quesnay's filly, Lot 157, is out of a half- sister to the dam of Breeders' Cup Sprint winner Cardmania.

LYCIUS (1c, 2f): Lot 206 is a grand-daughter of the fine broodmare Siliciana, while Lot 280 is a filly from the family of Celtic Swing.

MACHIAVELLIAN (1c, 2f): Machiavellian has done well with grand-daughters of Northern Dancer, which is a pointer to Lot 85, a half-sister to Fyfield Flyer from a top family.

MARJU (2c, 2f): this sire of Sil Sila is showing distinct promise, so take a look at such as Lot 28, a filly out of a sister to Top Sunrise, and Lot 117, a half-sister to the smart Tarvisio, inbred to Irish Lass.

MISWAKI (1c, 1f): Societe Aland's filly, Lot 10, has the attraction of being closely related to the top-class Ravinella.

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NABEEL DANCER (1c): 45,000 dollars was the foal price of Lot 110, which has since been boosted by the classic exploits of his three-parts-brother Polaris Flight.

NIGHT SHIFT (2c): Haras des Capuchines' colt, Lot 32, is the first foal of a winning half-sister to Group winners Floripedes and Dadarissime. Lot 38 is the first foal of a winning Caerleon mare.

NORTHERN FLAGSHIP (1c): Lot 83 is by the sire of Polaris Flight out of a half -sister to the dam of Insan.

NUREYEV (1c, 2f): this trio are sure to attract a lot of attention. Societe Aland's filly, Lot 4, is out of Pursuit of Love's very talented half-sister Divine Danse. Haras d'Etreham's filly, Lot 51, is a three- parts-sister to the smart Neverneyev, who topped this sale in 1991. And Lot 80's dam, Sierra Roberta, went close to winning the 1989 Breeders' Cup Turf.

PISTOLET BLEU (7c, 4f): the second crop by this top-notch middle-distance performer includes Lot 221, a filly out of a half-sister to Arcangues and Agathe.

PURSUIT OF LOVE (2c, 1f): the bright start made by Pursuit of Love's early runners should pay dividends with this team. Lot 237 is a half-brother to the smart River of Light.

QUEST FOR FAME (1c): this Derby winner is already off the mark with his first crop and is here represented by Lot 22, a son of the Japan Cup heroine Mairzy Doates.

RED RANSOM (1f): Lot 253 is out of a sister to the high-class French colt Air De Cour.

ROYAL ACADEMY (1c, 2f): the Group-winning Truth Or Dare represented Royal Academy here two years ago. This time one of Royal Academy's fillies, Lot 174, comes from the outstanding Moon Madness family, her dam being a half-sister to Mersey and Muncie. The colt, Lot 274, is out of a three- parts-sister to the Prix de la Salamandre winner Oczy Czarnie.

RUDIMENTARY (1c): this promising young sire relies on Lot 125, a half- brother to the Curragh Stakes winner Leading Time.

SADLER'S WELLS (1c): the shortage of yearling colts by Sadler's Wells will guarantee that Lot 87 receives plenty of attention.

His dam is a winning half-sister to the American Grade One winner Metamorphose.

SANGLAMORE (6c, 4f): the second French crop by Sharpen Up's Prix du Jockey -Club winner should get off to a good start with Lot 7, a half-brother to the smart St Mawes. Lot 35 is out of a half-sister to Sharpen Up's smart son In Extremis.

Lots 43 and 106 are out of young Listed winners, while Lot 259 is a three- parts-brother to a Listed winner by Trempolino.

SAUMAREZ (5c, 5f): Lot 44's dam produced the smart Guide to another Blushing Groom line stallion, while Lot 156 is a filly whose second dam is a talented close relative of Soviet Star.

SEATTLE SONG (1c): Haras de Fresnay le Buffard's colt, Lot 122, is out of a half-sister to Korveya, dam of Bosra Sham, Hector Protector and Shanghai.

SEPTIEME CIEL (2c, 1f): this talented sire has a half-sister to the Criterium de Saint-Cloud winner Magistros as Lot 31 and a three-parts brother to the fast Dictator's Song as Lot 242.

SHAREEF DANCER (2c): the high-class American mare Persian Tiara is dam of Lot 52.

SHINING STEEL (6c, 9f): Lot 277 is a sister to the multiple American Grade Two winner Gold And Steel.

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SHIRLEY HEIGHTS (2c, 1f): whereas Lady Carla is by Caerleon out of a Shirley Heights mare, Lot 63 is a colt by Shirley Heights out of a Caerleon mare. The other colt, Lot 137, is out of a winning daughter of Sadler's Wells, sire of such as In The Wings from Shirley Heights mares.

SILLERY (5c, 6f): Sillery's first crop has been showing promise. He should do well with Lot 14, a grandson of the high-class Proskona, and Lot 209, a half-sister to two Group performers by Kaldoun.

SLIP ANCHOR (4c): all four of these colts come from strong families, and both Lot 79 and Lot 160 are from families which have produced Group winners to Slip Anchor's sire.

SUAVE DANCER (4c, 3f): Haras de Fresnay le Buffard's colt, Lot 72, is a half-brother to the very useful Philanthrop, from the family of the top-class April Run. The last of the colts, Lot 278, has a half-sister to Danzig as his dam and is a half-brother to the dam of Mubhij.

Lot 244's dam produced the very useful Collecta to another Nijinsky line stallion, and another filly, Lot 261, is a half-sister to the smart Witness Box.

SUBOTICA (1c, 5f): Subotica's first crop is already off the mark. His second includes Lot 183, a filly out of Blushing Groom's Italian Group winner Overdose.

TAKE RISKS (1c, 1f): Lot 21, the filly from the first crop by this very smart miler, is out of the Group-winning Madame Est Sortie and comes from the family of Ragmar.

TEL QUEL (5c, 5f): the first crop by this Champion Stakes winner includes Lot 214, a half-sister to the Group Two winner Valanjou, and Lot 225, a half-sister to Prix du Jockey-Club winner Celtic Arms.

THATCHING (1c): 54,000gns was the foal price of Lot 96, a half-brother to Prix Morny hero Tagula.

THEATRICAL (1f): Zagreb's sire is represented by Lot 109, a daughter of the very smart American mare Anka Germania.

TREMPOLINO (4c, 3f): the 1987 Arc winner has an impressive team on offer. For example Societe Aland's colt, Lot 11, is a grandson of Reine Mathilde; Lot 18 is a brother to the very smart Talloires; and Lot 61 is a half-brother to the Group-winning Roi de Rome, from a top family.

Lot 71 is a daughter of Savoureuse Lady, a Group-winning half-sister to Mtoto.

WARNING (1c, 1f): 18,000gns was the foal price of Lot 118, a colt from a smart French family.

WOLFHOUND (1c, 2f): the fillies from the first crop of this fast horse include Lot 25, a half-sister to a Listed winner from the family of Group One winners Sakura Reiko and Top Sunrise.

ZAFONIC (2c): there will be plenty of interest in the sons of this exceptional performer. Lot 46 is the first foal of a very close relative of the high-class Phantom Breeze, while Lot 145 is the first foal of Halesia, a Group Two-winning daughter of Champion Stakes winner Hurry Harriet.

ZILZAL (1c): 95,000 dollars was the foal price of Lot 77, a colt out of a well-bred Alydar mare.

Graphic

Shake The Yoke . . . purchased as a yearling for only 400,000FF

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Load-Date: August 6, 1996

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THE TRIALS OF A PEACE SEEKER -- A special report.;
Terrorism Forces Peres From Brink of Triumph

The New York Times

March 10, 1996, Sunday, Late Edition - Final

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Distribution: Foreign Desk

Section: Section 1; ; Section 1; Page 1; Column 1; Foreign Desk ; Column 1; ; Special Report; Biography; Chronology

Length: 2545 words

Byline: Shimon Peres

By SERGE SCHMEMANN

By SERGE SCHMEMANN

Dateline: JERUSALEM, March 9

Body

As the human bombs exploded one after another during the last two weeks, Shimon Peres could have been excused for wondering if destiny had not singled him out for cruel mockery.

Until the bombs began, Mr. Peres seemed on the verge of victory and vindication.

Though responsible for building Israel's military might and for masterminding the Palestinian peace in a political career that spanned 50 years, he could never shake the image of an indecisive dreamer and a shifty politician. Though he shared the 1994 Nobel Peace Prize and has served in every senior office -- Defense Minister, Foreign Minister, Prime Minister -- he never gained public affection, nor a clear victory in an election.

At a time when he had all but abandoned political ambition, the assassination of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin in November suddenly thrust on him the mandate and the means to bring home the peace and recognition that Israel has struggled for since its creation. The right wing was in remission, the lifting of Israeli occupation of the West Bank was proceeding on schedule, Syria was at the negotiating table, and the economy was booming. Public opinion polls showed that he could not lose the next election.

Then came the explosions, two on Feb. 25, then another a week later, then one more last Monday -- 62 dead, including the four bombers, mobs howling "Peres next!" and an anguished nation clamoring for action and revenge. Public faith in the peace policy fell like a stone. Yasir Arafat, so recently Israel's partner in peace, was now regarded by many Israelis as a two-faced phony who had failed to deliver his end of the deal. Rumors swirled that Mr. Peres was under pressure to form a government of national unity, or to appoint someone with a tougher image to take his place as Defense Minister.

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Suddenly, instead of bringing home political victory and peace, Mr. Peres is struggling for political survival, and doing all the things he once so ardently opposed -- ordering a ruthless siege of Palestinian areas, deportations, the separation of Arabs and Jews, all-out war against Islamic fundamentalism.

Once again, fate seems to be ripping victory from his grasp, as it did in 1981, when Israeli television announced that Mr. Peres had won the election and he was presented to his cheering followers as "the next Prime Minister of Israel." An hour later the television network announced that it had made a computing mistake.

The difference now is that the stakes are far higher. At 72, it is the last chance for Mr. Peres, and if he fails, and the peace effort crumbles, history may remember him as the intellectual who could never quite bring off his ideas. If he leads Israel through the crisis and salvages the peace, he stands to enter history as Israel's greatest captain, a pragmatic visionary who prevailed in the end.

Yet through it all, Mr. Peres refuses to abandon the political process that he began in secret meetings with the Palestinians in Oslo. "No, nothing has changed with me," he told the daily newspaper Maariv. "I continue to believe in Oslo. I continue to believe that there will be peace here. We are a quarter-hour before the peace, and that is the most dangerous quarter-hour."

His Record

Both Toughness And Restraint

On the face of it, Mr. Peres seems to be the perfect choice to guide Israel through the crisis. No leader since Israel's first Prime Minister, David Ben-Gurion, could match his experience or his record.

At 24, he was named the chief recruiter of the Haganah, the fledgling Israeli army. After Israel was founded, he was charged by his mentor, Mr. Ben Gurion, with building the defense industry. He founded Israel Aircraft Industries and negotiated arms deals with France and Germany at a time when Israel was under an arms embargo. He commissioned the Dimona nuclear reactor.

A member of Parliament from 1959, he was Defense Minister during the daring rescue of hijacked Israeli hostages at Entebbe, Uganda, in 1976. He was the Prime Minister who in 1984 ended the disastrous Israeli invasion of Lebanon, and who slashed inflation from 600 percent to less than 20 percent through a brutal price stabilization plan. And in 1993, as Foreign Minister, he initiated the secret contacts with the Palestine Liberation Organization that resulted in the dramatic handshake between Mr. Arafat and Mr. Rabin at the White House.

Now, as he appears in news conferences and interviews in the wake of the bombings, he acts determined and tough, staring straight into the cameras as he outlines a harsh list of punitive measures against the Palestinians. At the same time, he continues to counsel restraint.

To an interviewer who demanded to know why he had not taken the tough actions before, he replied: "When the situation got more serious, we got more serious. That's the way war works, in any country. We don't make an emergency where there is no emergency."

When an Arab with Israeli citizenship was arrested for smuggling the Tel Aviv bomber out of Gaza, Mr. Peres cautioned Israeli Jews against turning on all Israeli Arabs: "Everything should be investigated, but it does not justify collective blame. We as Jews have always rejected attempts to blame the entire Jewish people for the actions of a few."

And when asked whether he was prepared to deport Islamic militants, he replied: "Yes, I'm for it, but not women, children or innocents. Only if I have proof, clear proof that it will help security, then I won't hesitate."

His Character

A Reputation For Shiftiness

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Yet as he appeared on television after the explosions in his double-breasted suit -- constitutionally incapable of publicly displaying the grief and anger that the public wanted to see, talking of staying with the peace effort when the public clamored for blood and action -- he was also the politician Israelis had never learned to trust or love.

They had always preferred Mr. Rabin, the straight-talking soldier who would turn red with rage and put his cigarettes out in coffee cups. Mr. Peres is a Central European intellectual in a nation whose heroes are native-born soldiers; he is an elegant and restrained statesman in a rowdy land that disdains formality, a prophet of peace in a country that, in the words of Mr. Peres's chief peace negotiator, Uri Savir, was "either burdened by the past or hypnotized by the present, and viewed the future fatalistically."

Mr. Peres's reputation as a schemer goes back to his early missions for Mr. Ben-Gurion, when he negotiated secretly with France and bought tanks from West Germany at a time when memories of Auschwitz were still raw. These and other actions, which subsequently proved critical to Israel's survival, made him many enemies. "He gave Israel its two major deterrents," Mr. Savir said. "He bought the nuclear reactor when there were no tomatoes yet, and he started the aviation project when we couldn't even export bicycles."

The reputation for shiftiness stuck, and carried over to politics. In his memoir, Mr. Rabin called Mr. Peres the "untiring schemer," a label gleefully seized on by the opposition.

"Even when acting like a regular politician, Peres always appeared shiftier than Rabin," said Hemi Shalev, a political columnist for Maariv. "He doesn't talk plainly, there's always a twist, he always has all the options on all the time. It's not because he's a used-car salesman, but because he's out of touch with the gut feelings of the Israeli public, because he has a system of working where he lets many options exist at the same time, and waits for the right moment to choose."

The impression was reinforced last month when Mr. Peres decided to move up the election after initially saying he would not, and then spent two weeks haggling over the date.

It surfaced again last week after a captured Hamas recruiter said on television that the goal of the bombings was to bring the conservative Likud Party to power and thus derail the peace effort. Instead of dismissing the statement, Mr. Peres said, "I never wanted to use this, but now the picture is complete." In saying this, he opened himself to accusations from the Likud of "vile collusion" with Mr. Arafat to influence the election, and diverted the focus of what was otherwise considered an effective interview.

"What base hypocrisy," said Zeev Begin, a Likud member of Parliament. "He says he didn't want to fan the flames, but, of course, he does precisely that. A more vile performance on Peres's part cannot be imagined. We will make Peres pay for this at the polls."

To his admirers, Mr. Peres's weaknesses as a campaigner are not a sign of wavering, but of a broad intellect and a vision in which political power is a means, not an end.

"He's not a person of soundbites; he's wonderful in profound interviews," said Yossi Beilin, a Minister Without Portfolio and one of the devoted circle of inner advisers known as "the blazers" for their diplomatic style of dress.'

A politician out of the old European mold, rather than the American style represented by his Likud challenger, Benjamin Netanyahu, Mr. Peres greatly admired the late President Francois Mitterrand of France, and his natural setting was late-evening debates with French intellectuals and European Socialists.

These qualities also prevent Mr. Peres from forming the same bond with Americans that Mr. Rabin had, though in his autobiography he called the year he spent studying in the United States in the 1950's one of the most formative of his life.

"Americans recognize that Peres is the guy they have to deal with, but they don't feel the same chemistry, the same kind of emotional bond they had for Rabin," said Nahum Barnea, a columnist for Yediot Achronot. "Clinton somehow adopted a kind of son-father attitude to Rabin, he listened to him, he believed Rabin had some kind of gut feeling that he lacked. Peres was never a major part of this bond. American Jews have no feel for him."

THE TRIALS OF A PEACE SEEKER -- A special report.; Terrorism Forces Peres From Brink of Triumph

Though Mr. Peres always appears restrained and has never been known to lose his temper in public, those who know him say he has never been immune to the slights and setbacks of his life.

One of the worst was at the hands of Mr. Rabin, Mr. Peres's longtime rival in the Labor movement until the last three years, when they became partners in peace. It was in September 1993, when Mr. Peres was preparing to go to Washington as Foreign Minister to lead the Israeli delegation for the historic declaration of principles with Mr. Arafat. At the last minute, Mr. Rabin agreed at Mr. Clinton's urging to go himself, but forgot to tell Mr. Peres, who found out from the radio.

Though shattered on what should have been one of the high points of his life, Mr. Peres rallied, as he has throughout his life. In the following months, he and Mr. Rabin shifted from rivalry to partnership, two old antagonists who were thrown together in an endeavor neither could have carried through without the other.

It required Mr. Peres's vision and statesmanship to forge the secret links to Mr. Arafat, but it needed Mr. Rabin's credibility with the public to make it possible. In the end, at the peace rally at which Mr. Rabin was assassinated on Nov. 4, the two men stood hand in hand for the first time in public, singing the "Song of Peace."

Mr. Peres's armor through all the ups and downs has been an unflinching conviction that Israel's future lies in science and technology, not in territorial occupation or military conquest.

"The hunting season has ended in history," he said in an interview with The New York Times shortly before the latest spate of bombings. "We must make a living by creating, not occupying territory."

Asked if he is the man to lead Israel to this peace, Mr. Peres replied: "I'm not sure I'm the right man. But I'm sure I have the right idea."

Mr. Peres spoke in the Defense Ministry in Tel Aviv, where he spends two days a week as Defense Minister. The sparse decorations in the office included two photographs of him with Mr. Ben-Gurion -- "my mentor," as he described him.

"I would like to see Israel finishing the 20th century, which is another four years, in full peace in the Middle East," he said.

His Vision

Bombings Challenge Dreams for Future

In its relatively short history as a state, Israel has excelled in agriculture and in arms. Now, Mr. Peres said, "I would like to see Israel as a country that leads in science and technology and excels in education."

"I would like Israel to become the spiritual center of Jewish life." He added, "I would like to convert Israel from a state of compensation for Jewish tragedy to a state of attraction for the Jewish future."

"I would like Israel to be judged by her attractions -- intellectual, moral, scientific -- and not just her strength."

The danger, Mr. Peres said, speaking before the suicide bombers cast a shadow over his image of the future, was the rising threat of Islamic fundamentalism. "We are going over from a world of enemies to a world of dangers," he said. "So even if we get rid of animosities and enemies, we shall still face great dangers and great challenges. I think there is a real race between our way of life and the fundamentalistic option."

Mr. Peres acknowledged that he spent much of his political career under fire. "You know," he said, "I learned my own way, from history, that liberal forces, peaceful forces, democratic forces, are never weaker than the other forces. But they lose their hearts. I was taught at an early age, don't lose your heart."

"If you want to achieve something great, you must be as great as your quarrel," he said, quoting Charles de Gaulle.

THE TRIALS OF A PEACE SEEKER -- A special report.; Terrorism Forces Peres From Brink of Triumph

The election on May 29 will show whether the forces behind Mr. Peres have lost heart, and whether the public perceives him to be as great as his quarrel. Polls have shown him level with Mr. Netanyahu, and political analysts expect that he will regain ground if his measures are perceived to be adequate -- and if there are no more attacks.

It is an uphill battle for Mr. Peres. The bombings of the last two weeks not only threw Israel into crisis, but they also challenged the central themes of Mr. Peres's Government -- the negotiations with Syria, the development of Palestinian autonomy, the shaping of a comprehensive peace.

Even his closest aides acknowledge that it is hard to know what passes through his mind in times of crisis. Despite all his years in public life, Mr. Peres remains something of an enigma, a man whose life is as much in the books and poetry he devours as in the office he occupies for endless hours each day.

His home life is very private. His wife, Sonia, rarely accompanies him on official functions and has never given an interview.

Mr. Peres's distraction is in books. He is said to read at least two at a time, in Hebrew, French or English. "I drop into his office, and he starts saying, 'Come in, listen to these lines,' " Mr. Gil said. "I say, Shimon, we have work to do."

Mr. Peres said he read poetry for himself, and books about the future for his education. He used to read many histories, he added, but now found them a waste of time.

"What can I do with all the history about the Bolsheviks and Communism that I read?" he said. "That was a total failure, and what can you learn from failure? Any book that deals with science of philosophy, or any book that has the nature of revolt rather than memory, appeals to me more."

Graphic

Photos: Shimon Peres at the grave of his slain predecessor. (Reuters) (pg. 1); Prime Minister Shimon Peres, at center surrounded by heavy security, visited the site of the March 3 bus bombing in Jerusalem. The wave of bombings has jeopardized Mr. Peres's political future just as his peace efforts had seemed on the verge on triumph. (Agence France-Presse); Foreign Minister Shimon Peres shook hands with Yasir Arafat at the signing of the peace accord on the White House lawn on Sept. 13, 1993, as Foreign Minister Andrei V. Kozyrev of Russia, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel and President Clinton looked on.(Jose R. Lopez/The New York Times) (pg. 10)

Chronology: "CHRONOLOGY: Life of Achievements and Near Misses"

1923 -- Born in Vishniva, Poland.

1936 -- Emigrates to Israel; becomes committed to Labor Zionism and active in its youth movement.

1947 -- Only 24, becomes manpower chief of the Haganah, the forming Jewish military. As protege of David Ben-Gurion he is valued as administrator, but never serves in combat, which will later haunt him politically.

1953 -- Director General of Defense Ministry; sets up electronics and aircraft industries, and persuades France to supply Israel with a nuclear reactor.

THE TRIALS OF A PEACE SEEKER -- A special report.; Terrorism Forces Peres From Brink of Triumph

1959 -- First elected to Parliament; appointed Deputy Defense Minister, a post he holds for six years under Mr. Ben-Gurion and Levi Eshkol.

1965 -- With Mr. Ben-Gurion, breaks away from governing Mapai Party to set up more hawkish Rafi Party.

1968 -- Leads merger with Mapai to form new Labor Party

1974 -- After Golda Meir resigns as Prime Minister following the 1973 Middle East war, he loses contest for party leadership to Yitzhak Rabin, the rough-hewn former general; becomes Defense Minister and rebuilds military.

1977 -- Temporarily becomes Prime Minister when Mr. Rabin resigns over wife's illegal bank account, but loses election to Menachem Begin of the conservative Likud Party amid wide public disaffection with the long-governing Labor establishment. Changes his colors from hawk to dove after Anwar el-Sadat's visit to Jerusalem.

1981 -- Again loses national election to Mr. Begin.

1984 -- After deadlocked election, becomes Prime Minister in Labor-Likud unity Government, with rotating prime ministers; is widely praised for bringing troops out of Lebanon and slashing runaway inflation.

1986 -- In previously agreed switch, becomes Foreign Minister in unity government, under Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir of the Likud.

1988 -- As nation is increasingly split between hawks and doves, he narrowly loses election to Mr. Shamir; becomes Finance Minister in unity government formed after Mr. Shamir is unable to form a conservative coalition.

1992 -- Loses Labor Party leadership to Mr. Rabin in a national primary; becomes Foreign Minister after Labor wins elections.

1993 -- Conducts secret peace talks with the P.L.O., culminating in Oslo accords for Palestinian self-rule.

1994 -- Shares Nobel Peace Prize with Mr. Rabin and Yasir Arafat.

1995 -- Becomes Prime Minister after assassination of Mr. Rabin.

(Source: Jerusalem Report) (pg. 10)

Load-Date: March 10, 1996

**BULL MARKET FORECAST FOR TRADE IN FOALS;
TATTERSALLS' DECEMBER SALES PREVIEW**

Sporting Life

November 21, 1997, Friday

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Section: FEATURES; Pg. 6, 7

Length: 7042 words

Body

The trade in foals took a step forward last year, with the average rising from 13,853gns to 19,568gns.

Trade should again be strong this year, although there are markedly fewer weanlings on offer by Sadler's Wells, one of the perennial attractions at this sale.

However, Caerleon is well represented, with a brother to Generous among his team, and the likes of Fairy King, Barathea, Polish Precedent and Zafonic are also likely to do well.

ALHIJAZ (1c, 3f): the colt, 518, has the attraction of being a half-brother to that fine stayer Orchestra Stall, their dam being a half-sister to the very smart Lockton.

ALWUHUSH (1f): this son of Nureyev is represented by 1021, a grand-daughter of a Grade One-winning two-year-old.

ALZAO (3c, 3f): Alzao's foals always achieve some good prices here and prime candidates this time include 829, a brother to a Listed winner, as well as being a half-brother to Mijana. Lot 674 is a grand-daughter of Yorkshire Oaks winner Sally Brown.

ANSHAN (1c, 5f): one of the fillies, Lot 1000, is a half-sister to the smart Gussy Marlowe, while 277 is a half-sister to the useful sprinter Oggi, their dam being a half-sister to Pips Pride.

ARAGON (1c, 2f): Lot 802 has the attraction of being a three-parts sister to the fast Deep Finesse, as well as being a half-sister to the dam of Halmahera. She is also a three-parts sister to River Falls.

ARAZI (2c): a half-brother to Rifapour, who started second favourite for the 1995 Prix du Jockey-Club, appears as Lot 500 and Lot 1007 is a grandson of Sweet Mint, the Cork and Orrery winner.

BARATHEA (8c, 4f): with many of his first-crop yearlings achieving six-figure sums at the sales, Barathea is certain to be highly popular here.

Among his colts are half-brothers to the Group winners Sea Gazer (565), Garendare (772) and Pass The Peace (906). The Garendare half-brother is also closely related to Roi Gironde, a good 1997 French juvenile. Lot 899 should also be worth a look, as his dam is a winning half-sister to the smart Absurde.

BULL MARKET FORECAST FOR TRADE IN FOALS; TATTERSALLS' DECEMBER SALES PREVIEW

The fillies include 554, whose dam is a well-bred Listed winner by Kris; 1028, the first foal of a half-sister to two French Group winners; and 1170, whose dam is a winning half-sister to Nicer, the Irish 1000 Guineas winner.

BATSHOOF (2c, 1f): the filly, Lot 477, is the first foal of a winner from the family of Shirley Heights and Pentire.

BE MY CHIEF (5c, 1f): two colts likely to do well are 803, a half-brother to the fast Premiere Cuvee, who has bred a Listed winner to Be My Chief, and 988, a half-brother to a Group winner in Italy, from the good family responsible for Silver Patriarch.

BE MY GUEST (2c, 1f): one of the colts, 838, is out of a winning half-sister to High Hawk, a highly successful mare both on the track and at stud.

BE MY NATIVE (1f): Lot 658 is a three-parts sister to River Verdon, an outstanding performer in Hong Kong.

BELMEZ (1f): Lot 747, a half-sister to Stompin, is closely related to that very smart filly Caramba.

BERING (1c): Lot 841 is out of a half-sister to Jeune and Beneficial.

BIGSTONE (3c, 6f): some members of Bigstone's first crop sold very well at the yearling sales, a good example being the IR125,000gns colt out of Petite Liqueurelle. This colt's sister appears as 1159.

Other interesting fillies are 522, the first foal of a Listed-placed Be My Guest mare, and 1004, the first foal of a grand-daughter of Monroe, the dam of Xaar. A half-brother to the useful juvenile Desert Lady is 1026.

BLUEBIRD (3c, 1f): Lot 760 has the attraction of being a half-brother to the highly regarded Desert Prince and his second dam is Fairy Footsteps, the One Thousand Guineas winner. One of the colts, 930, is a grandson of that very successful mare Shellshock.

BRIEF TRUCE (14c, 6f): the success enjoyed by Brief Truce's first runners will ensure plenty of interest in colts such as 780, whose dam is a half-sister to Danehill Dancer; 833, whose dam is a half-sister to Lady In Silver, a Prix de Diane winner; and 903, a half-brother to Wren, Lord Huntingdon's unbeaten two-year-old.

Later come 927, a colt out of a successful three-parts sister to Al Nasr, and 1130, a half-brother to the French Group winners Sarhoob and Sifting Gold.

CADEAUX GENEREUX (3c): this trio should be popular, as 812 is out of a winner-producing half-sister to Alhijaz; 1076 is a son of Title Roll, winner of the King George Stakes; and 1207 is out of a young half-sister to the high-class Ode.

CAERLEON (6c, 3f): three Caerleon foals fetched prices of at least 180,000gns at last year's sale, and there should be similarly strong demand for this team.

Barronstown Stud's colt, 1154, has the huge attraction of being a January-foaled brother to Generous, as well as being a half-brother to Strawberry Roan. Another colt from this family is 828.

Among the other colts are 1086, who should have great appeal to the Japanese, as a half-brother to one of their top milers; 1117, the second foal of a good half-sister to Shemaka, winner of the Prix de Diane; and 1165, a colt from the family that produced Amfortas and Only Royale to Caerleon.

The Caerleon fillies are 858, who is out of a useful half-sister to the dam of Carrowkeel; 1019, a half-sister to the fast Almaty; and 1173, a three-parts sister to King Sound.

CASTEDDU (1f): Lot 932's dam is a half-sister to the dam of Revoque.

CATRAIL (10c, 3f): two colts from Catrail's first crop made IR200,000gns or more at the Orby Sales, so his team will come under close scrutiny here.

BULL MARKET FORECAST FOR TRADE IN FOALS; TATTERSALLS' DECEMBER SALES PREVIEW

Well-bred colts include 461, the first foal of a half-sister to Lady Carla; 776, the first foal of a very useful half-sister to Caerlina, the Prix de Diane winner; and 832, a colt out of a half-sister to Monaassib.

Later come 898, a colt from the family of Zafonic and Reams Of Verse, and 999, a half-brother to Mary Hinge.

CHARMER (1c, 1f): the colt, 583, is out of a half-sister to Desert Shot and Mojave.

COLLEGE CHAPEL (6c, 4f): the second crop by this fast horse will have been boosted by the demand for College Chapel's yearlings. Looks rather than pedigree will be the determining factor here, but 489 is a well-bred filly, whose dam is a half-sister to the useful juveniles Dame Laura and Kyra.

COMMON GROUNDS (6c, 9f): there are plenty of well-related fillies on offer here, such as 770, the first foal of a well-bred winner by Doyoun; 806, whose half-brother Impressionist has been third in the Dewhurst Stakes since the catalogue; and 1169, the first foal of Queenbird, a quick-maturing Warning mare.

Earlier fillies include 486, whose family produced the highly successful Earl Of Barking to Common Grounds, and 607, who comes from a fast and precocious family.

One of the colts, 862, is out of a three-parts sister to Mujadil.

COSMONAUT (2c, 2f): Collin Stud's trio by this well-bred horse are out of daughters of Glint Of Gold (355), High Line (357) and Thatch (358).

CYRANO DE BERGERAC (2f): 714 is out of a winner-producing sister to Petong.

DANCING DISSIDENT (1c): a half-sister to Chief Singer is dam of 839.

DARSHAAN (2f): 1077 is a half-sister to the fast Irish filly Alarme Belle, this being the family of the top-class Danseuse du Soir, and 1082 is a grand -daughter of Untold, a filly who was placed in three classics.

DAYJUR (1c): Lot 599 is a half-brother to Deki, twice a winner at two years this season, and comes from a top French family.

DEPLOY (8c): the success that Deploy enjoyed with the likes of Mons and Jack Jennings in 1995 brought him much stronger support last year and this is reflected here.

For example 679 comes from the same family as Time Charter; 799 is out of a prolific winner in France; and 1216 is a son of Val d'Erica, a top Italian filly who was second in the Prix de Diane.

DIESIS (1f): Mount Coote Stud's filly, 1041, is out of a talented half- sister to Gold Land, a smart American sprinter.

DILUM (1c, 2f): Trickledown Stud's colt, 412, is out of a winner-producing half-sister to the top-class Bruni.

DISTANT RELATIVE (9c, 3f): this good stallion should do well with 631. In addition to being a three-parts sister to the very useful Tatsfield, this filly comes from the family that produced the high-class fillies Sigy and Sonoma to Distant Relative's sire, Habitat.

Among the colts are 965, a half-brother to Maserati Monk, and 1025, a colt whose two-year-old half-brother, Honest Borderer, looks a useful prospect for next year. 1123 is out of a three-parts sister to the very smart Teacher's Pet and the dam of Petardia.

DOLPHIN STREET (13c, 3f): here is another young sire whose first yearlings were popular. 1090 is the second foal of a winning half-sister to Terimon and 1134 is a colt inbred 3 x 2 to Irish River. One of the fillies, 859, is the second foal of Encore Une Fois, a well-bred winner by Shirley Heights.

BULL MARKET FORECAST FOR TRADE IN FOALS; TATTERSALLS' DECEMBER SALES PREVIEW

EFISIO (3c, 1f): Lot 548 is a half-brother to the very successful Flying Brave and to the dam of Flyway, a Group Two winner in France this year. 800 is the second foal of El Yasaf's half-sister Caroline Connors, a prolific winner in Sweden by Fairy King.

ELA-MANA-MOU (1f): 974 is a half-sister to Speedster, a Group Three winner in Germany, and she is a grand-daughter of the very successful Racquette.

ELMAAMUL (2c, 7f): one of the colts by Muhtathir's sire is 450, the second foal of a winner from the excellent Sleat family.

Tarkhana, the dam of 624, is by Dancing Brave out of the Group-winning Tashtiya, while 1062 is closely related to Diesis's classic-placed daughter Kerrera.

EMARATI (6c, 6f): Downclose Stud should do well with Lot 425, a well-bred colt whose half-brother, Quws, has won the Group Two Blandford Stakes since the catalogue.

Watch too for such as 303, a son of the multiple winner Unveiled; 580, a filly out of a speedily-bred Primo Dominie mare; and 834, a half-sister to Misterioso.

EXIT TO NOWHERE (1c, 1f): Cheveley Park Stud should do well with 921, as this colt is a brother to the talented Virtuous and is out of a half-sister to Entrepreneur and Exclusive.

EZZOUD (2c, 3f): Raffin Stud's filly, 590, is out of a very well-bred Green Desert mare, while 1079 is a son of a well-connected Reference Point mare.

FAIRY KING (7c, 5f): the Fairy King foals made up to 105,000gns a year ago and up to 115,000gns in 1995, and there is every chance that this team will better those prices.

For example, Lot 811 is a half-sister to the outstanding Timarida and is a grand-daughter of the excellent Pugnacity.

Other fillies include 935, a sister to City Nights, a dual Irish Listed winner; 1118, a half-sister to two black-type winners out of a sister to the very smart Day Is Done; and 1164, a member of an outstanding American **female** line.

Colts which should sell well include 909, a half-brother to the very useful performers Rubicund and Rosabella, and 1034, a half-brother to Golden Pond, a Grade Two and Three winner this year in the USA.

And 1127 has the attraction of coming from the **female** line that produced Entrepreneur to Fairy King's brother Sadler's Wells.

Lot 1141 is the first foal of a half-sister to Bijou D'Inde, while Churchtown House Stud's colt, 1166, represents the successful Fairy King-Shirley Heights cross.

FIRST TRUMP (4c, 6f): two likely types among these are 1061, a half-brother to that very smart miler Gothenberg, and 882, a three-parts sister to the Group-placed Arethusa, whose first two dams were quick-maturing juveniles.

Lot 628 is out of a young half-sister to Prince Ferdinand, winner of the Jersey Stakes.

FORMIDABLE (5c, 2f): the Formidable colts include 547, a half-brother to the versatile Greenback, and 1015, a grandson of the smart Boathouse.

FORZANDO (2c, 2f): 434 is the first foal of a half-sister to the smart Punishment.

GRAND LODGE (7c, 3f): with his first yearlings selling for up to IR310,000gns, Grand Lodge has already met with market approval. He should continue to do well with such as 601, a colt out of a very well-related Kris mare; 612, a colt inbred 3 x 3 to Danzig; and 810, a filly out of a talented half-sister to Cloudings.

BULL MARKET FORECAST FOR TRADE IN FOALS; TATTERSALLS' DECEMBER SALES PREVIEW

Lot 855 is another colt inbred 3 x 3 to Danzig and 1171 is a grandson of the excellent Sleat.

1187 is out of a half-sister to Pawneese and Petroleuse, the latter being the second dam of Peintre Celebre, and 1192 is a half-brother to the useful Common Rumpus, his dam being a half-sister to Second Set.

GREEN DESERT (1c, 1f): the filly should be very popular as her dam is a talented half-sister to Embassy, their dam being Pass The Peace, another winner of the Cheveley Park Stakes. And 1069 is a brother to the Listed winner Hawaii Al Barr, as well as being a member of the same family as Allied Forces.

GREENSMITH (1c): Lot 420, a brother to a winner, is out of a half-sister to the very smart Sapience.

HAMAS (7c): Rathbarry Stud's colt, 795, is a three-parts brother to the fast French filly Touch And Love and 1144 is a colt from the celebrated Best In Show family which is responsible for Xaar and Spinning World.

HANDSOME SAILOR (1c): 726 is a half-brother to Prince Ferdinand, the Jersey Stakes winner.

IN THE WINGS (5c): this all-male team by Singspiel's sire includes 837, whose dam is a three-parts-sister to the dam of Shake The Yoke and Tropical, and 1111, a three-parts brother to the useful Jumairah Sun, from a good family.

INCHINOR (7c, 3f): this son of Ahonoora showed promise with his first runners this year and has some interesting youngsters on offer here. Lot 470 is a three-parts-brother to Sweet Wilhelmina; 509 is the first foal of a well-bred winner by Green Desert; and 963 is the first foal of a half-sister to the very fast Gallic League.

Several of the fillies, such as Lots 499, 697 and 1016, are out of mares which have produced winners to other sons of Ahonoora.

INDIAN RIDGE (4c, 2f): this attractive team looks sure to be very popular. The colts are 845, a member of West Blagdon's Pelting family; 929, the first foal of Royal Academy's German Oaks winner Centaine; 1103, a half-brother to Verglas, this year's Irish 2000 Guineas second; and 1135, whose dam is a half-sister to Cadeaux Genereux. Lot 1131 is a filly closely related to the very useful Roger The Butler.

KALDOUN (1c): Kaldoun sired the high-class Occupandiste from a daughter of Lyphard and he is represented here by 1209, a colt out of a grand-daughter of Lyphard.

KEEN (1c, 1f): the colt, 386, is a grandson of the excellent broodmare Lighted Lamp.

KING'S SIGNET (2c, 1f): 296 is the first foal of Kirriemuir, a successful sprinter.

KINGMAMBO (1f): Haras des Capucines consigns 809, the second foal of a winning half-sister to Ensconse, winner of the Irish 1000 Guineas.

KOMAITE (6c, 1f): one of the colts, 533, is a half-brother to Rich Charlie, the Richmond Stakes winner.

KRIS (4c, 1f): Lot 908 is a brother to Etoile, who was beaten only about three lengths in the Oaks this year, and 830 has the attraction of being out of a sister to the dam of Zafonic and Zamindar. Dukes Stud's colt, 756, is a brother-in-blood to Thornberry, a Listed winner in Ireland.

LAHIB (4c, 1f): this top miler has a couple of Group horses among his second-crop two-year-olds, including La-Faah, winner of the Horris Hill Stakes. Watch here for 542, a half-sister to the very useful Hattab. Cleaboy Stud's colt, 1107, is out of a successful Caerleon mare.

LAST TYCOON (2c, 1f): Lot 784 is a half-brother to Royal Rebuke, a useful winner here and in the USA, while the other colt, 1072, is bred for speed, his dam being a half-sister to Maledetto and Bufalina.

The filly, 1102, is very closely related to Late Parade, a smart Continental sprinter.

BULL MARKET FORECAST FOR TRADE IN FOALS; TATTERSALLS' DECEMBER SALES PREVIEW

LAW SOCIETY (1f): Lot 1189 is a three-parts sister to the smart Mick's Love.

LINAMIX (2c): this excellent French stallion could do well with 549, a son of the Nassau Stakes runner-up North Wind, and 1097, a grandson of Sun Princess.

LION CAVERN (7c): there are some well-connected youngsters in this team, including 748, a half-brother to a two-year-old Listed winner in Italy; 1092, a grandson of the outstanding Diminuendo; and 1177, a colt bred on very similar lines to Zafonic. Lot 1138 should make a two-year-old, as his first three dams were talented at that age.

LURE (3c, 1f): scarcity value should increase demand for these youngsters from the first Coolmore crop by Lure.

Lot 1017 is a colt from the family responsible for the 1997 Group winners Windsor Castle, Stretarez and Coastal Bluff, while 1128 is a half-brother to several very useful performers, including the Chesham Stakes winner Humam, their dam being a sister to the dam of Dancing Brave.

Lot 1163 is out of a talented half-sister to three dams of Group winners, and the filly, 895, is out of a Listed winner from the very good Fanghorn family.

LYCIUS (6c, 2f): Lycius's good start in 1995, which saw him sire two first -crop Group winners, earned him strong support last year. This shows in his representatives here, which include Lots 889 and 1008, two colts from the family that produced Hector Protector, Bosra Sham and Shanghai to other sons of Mr Prospector.

Other colts include 553, the first foal of a half-sister to the classic performers No Pass No Sale and Once In My Life, and 913, who comes from a talented branch of the Mesopotamia family. One of the fillies, 538, is out of a sister to that smart sprinter Monde Bleu.

MACHIAVELLIAN (2c, 1f): this increasingly successful stallion could do well with 763, a son of the American Grade One winner Miss Josh, and 771, a French -bred colt out of a winning half-sister to Kind Of Hush and Dusty Dollar.

The filly, 1148, is out of a Stakes-winning half-sister

to the high-class miler Shaanxi.

MAGIC RING (6c, 6f): with a Group winner and a Listed winner among his first runners, Magic Ring has made a bright start which will benefit this team.

One of the fillies, 669, is a half-sister to North Song, winner of the Britannia Handicap.

Trickledown Stud's filly, 416, comes from the family that produced Polish Patriot to Magic Ring's grandsire, Danzig. The dam of 741, another filly, is a half-sister to the dams of several very useful European winners, such as Ionio, Sacred Fire and Kierkegaard.

Whitsbury Manor's three colts include 1126, a son of a successful Northfields mare which won twice at two.

MARJU (4c, 2f): Marju sired the Prix de Diane winner Sil Sila from a Habitat mare and Lot 1113 is out of another. This colt is a half-brother to the smart Twist And Turn. Another colt, 863, is a half-brother to Ashal, the Ascot Gold Cup winner. One of the fillies, 846, is a sister to the speedy High Priority, from the Pelting family.

MOST WELCOME (2c, 2f): the team by this dependable stallion includes 259, a half-brother to three winners by Komaite, and 1022, a filly with an intriguing pedigree featuring 4 x 3 inbreeding to the outstanding mare Little Hut.

MTOTO (4c, 4f): Islanmore Stud's colt, 703, is out of a successful half- sister to Kirkwall, a very smart French winner this year.

Special Quest, another 1997 French Group winner, comes from the family responsible for 585, a well-connected filly. Another well-bred filly is 956, the first foal of Kirtling's half- sister Silktail.

BULL MARKET FORECAST FOR TRADE IN FOALS; TATTERSALLS' DECEMBER SALES PREVIEW

MUJADIL (4c, 2f): Jigginstown House Stud consigns three of the youngsters by this promising sire as Lots 1119 to 1121.

MUJTAHID (5c, 2f): Mujtahid made a pleasing start in 1995, with the Group- winning Mubhij amongst his scorers, and 1188 is a three-parts brother to Mubhij.

Another colt, 958, is a half-brother to the smart Cunning. Among the fillies are 659, whose dam is a half-sister to the dam of Barathea, and 768, a sister to a successful American performer.

MUKADDAMAH (4c, 2f): 769, from Kildaragh Stud, is a half-brother to Morocco and Kingsandvagabonds, while 1191 is a filly out of a half-sister to Lady Carla.

MYSTIKO (3c, 6f): Beechgrove Stud's colt, 690, is a half- brother to Polish Admiral, a very useful performer here and in the USA.

NAMAQUALAND (5c): foals from Namaqualand's first crop made up to 50,000gns here a year ago. Dancing Sensation, a tough middle-distance winner, is the dam of 491.

NEVER SO BOLD (4c): Cheveley Park Stud's colt, 925, has the attraction of being a brother to Character, a Grade Two American winner, and to In Character, another good-class American winner.

NIGHT SHIFT (7c, 7f): most of the members of this sizeable team have plenty going for them. Good examples are 773, a sister to that very fast mare Eveningperformance; 853, a colt out of a half-sister to the Group One winners Brief Truce and Again Tomorrow; and 1032, a speedily-bred filly out of a half-sister to the dam of Danehill Dancer.

Other colts worth a look include 589, 614, 706 (the second foal of a Group -placed winner by Warning), 904 (a close relative of the Listed winner Star Tulip) and 946 (who comes from the family of Dr Devious).

Fillies which could repay inspection include 568, 856 (whose dam is a three -parts-sister to the very successful Missionary Ridge) and 1075 (the second foal of a talented half-sister to the classic-winning Ancestral Dancer).

PERSIAN BOLD (1c, 5f): this veteran's only colt is 792, the second foal of a winning Kris mare which is closely inbred to the champion filly Soft Angels.

Among the fillies are 638, the first foal of a half-sister to the smart Gothland, and 865, who is closely related to the very smart Ballad Rock.

PERUGINO (2c, 1f): Lot 478 is a filly from a good family and her dam has bred a winner to Perugino's close relative, Classic Music.

PETONG (7c, 1f): one of the colts, 901, is out of a young sister to the fast Puissance.

PHARLY (1f): Lot 519 is the second foal of a sister to Persian Boy, a major Japanese winner.

PIPS PRIDE (2c, 2f): Lot 736 is out of a half-sister to the fast performers Faliraki and Thousandfold.

PISTOLET BLEU (1f): Norelands Stud's filly, 864, is a half-sister to a Scandinavian classic winner, out of a very well- bred Nureyev mare.

POLAR FALCON (1c, 3f): there is plenty to like about this team which includes 588, a filly whose half-brother made 200,000gns here a year ago; 664, a half -brother to the very useful sprinter Bid For Blue; and 884, a three-parts - sister to the topsprinter Pivotal.

POLISH PRECEDENT (3c): Raffin Stud's colt, 1088, is a three-parts brother to a Listed winner and comes from the Pelting family. 1098 is closely related to the very useful French colt Bobinski and is the second foal of Barboukh, a Listed winner over a mile.

BULL MARKET FORECAST FOR TRADE IN FOALS; TATTERSALLS' DECEMBER SALES PREVIEW

PRESIDIUM (2c, 2f): Lot 648 is a sister to Mighty Forum, a smart miler in the USA, and is out of a half-sister to Mighty Flutter, the Derby third.

PRIMO DOMINIE (8c, 3f): Cheveley Park Stud is the vendor of several of these, including 663, a son of the Stakes-winning La Piaf, and 891, a brother to the Prix Morny runner-up Bruttina. Lot 745 is a grandson of Girl Friend, a top -class sprinter-miler.

PRINCE SABO (10c, 4f): four of these come from Cheveley Park Stud, including 890, a son of the Listed winner Comic Talent, and 924, a colt out of a Group -placed half-sister to Ya Malak.

Watch too for 497, a sister to the successful Ortolan; 630, a half-sister to the very useful Cotteir Chief; and 684, a grandson of Ambassador Of Luck, a champion American mare.

PRIOLO (2f): Lot 794 is the first foal of Quiet Counsel, a half-sister to Yorkshire Oaks winner Key Change, from the family of Kahyasi.

PUISSANCE (2c, 3f): one of the colts, 680, is the first foal of the tough and versatile Gentle Irony, while 556 is a filly out of a sister to the very fast Argentum.

PURSUIT OF LOVE (10c, 3f): quite a few of these are well related, good examples being 667, 1067 (a colt out of a Listed winner by Sharpen Up) and 1137 (the first foal of a very useful and well-bred Unfuwain mare). Lot 1176 is a colt closely related to Twist And Turn, the Chester Vase winner.

RAINBOWS FOR LIFE (3c): this trio includes 700, a first foal bred on similar lines to Embassy's dam Pass The Peace, and 775, a half-brother to the Grade Two winner My Style.

RAMBO DANCER (2c, 1f): allthree of these have winning brothers or sisters.

RED RANSOM (1f): Swettenham Stud's filly, 1156, is out of a winner-producing three-parts sister to Oaks winner Intrepidity.

RED SUNSET (1f): Lot 629 is a sister to Robereva, a listed winner in Italy.

REPRIMAND (3c, 6f): one of the fillies, 504, has the attraction of coming from the Pelting family.

RISK ME (5c, 3f): one of the colts, 498, is closely related to the very smart Risky and 496 is a son of a well-bred and talented Caerleon mare.

RIVER FALLS (2f): Lot 558 is the first foal of a sister to For Valour, a ten -furlong Group winner in France this year, and 623 is the first foal of a half -sister to Fumo Di Londra.

ROBELLINO (6c, 2f): the fillies by the sire of Classic Park are 673, who has the attraction of being out of a granddaughter of Reprocolor, and 545, whose second dam produced Bob's Return to another son of Roberto.

ROCK CITY (5c, 2f): these foals were conceived soon after Rock City had sired over 50 per cent winners to runners in 1995 and are out of successful mares.

For example, the dam of 388 is Lochbelle, a winning half-sister to Lochsong, and the dams of 396 and 476 each won nine times.

RUDIMENTARY (7c, 5f): Cheveley Park's pair of colts by its resident stallion are Lots 645 and 923, the latter's dam being an Irish River mare closely related to the dam of Spectrum. Another colt, 742, is the first foal of a half -sister to Celeric and Sesame.

SABREHILL (3c, 2f): the first crop by this potentially top-class son of Diesis was showing promise by the autumn, with Alboostan leading the way. 1001 has the distinction of being the first foal of a sister to Pilsudski, while 996 is a filly out of a winning daughter of Embla, the Cheveley Park Stakes winner.

BULL MARKET FORECAST FOR TRADE IN FOALS; TATTERSALLS' DECEMBER SALES PREVIEW

SADDLERS' HALL (5c, 5f): could there be another Silver Patriarch among the colts? They include 532, 665 (a son of a Mr Prospector mare) and 682 (a half -brother to the Stakes-winning La Piaf).

Among the fillies are 594 and 646, both sisters to winners, and 681, the first foal of Mtoto's quick-maturing daughter Watch The Clock.

SADLER'S WELLS (2c, 1f): both sons of Sadler's Wells are bred along similar lines to major winners. Ted Voute's colt, 926, is very closely related to Barathea, while Churchtown House Stud's colt, 1167, is a three-parts brother to Northern Spur and his pedigree is also similar to those of Salsabil and Second Empire.

The filly, 939, is also very well-connected. A sister to Family Tradition, who reached the frame in the Prix Marcel Boussac and the Irish St Leger, she is also closely related to Dushyantor and Scenic.

SAFAWAN (3c): 683 is the first foal of a half-sister to the very smart Port Lucaya.

SALSE (1c, 1f): both of these have potential, especially the filly, 911, who is a half-sister to Owington and a IR300,000gns 1997 yearling. The colt, 1095, is a half-brother to the smart Nightbird.

SECOND SET (1f): Lot 655 is a sister to Qilin, who has won and run creditably at Group level since the catalogue.

SELKIRK (2c, 5f): this attractive team includes 1204, a brother to the very useful Trans Island. Among the fillies are 560, a sister to the Group- placed Serenity, 819, the second foal of that fast mare Stack Rock, and 1115, a daughter of a well-bred winner by Dixieland Band.

SHADEED (1c): Lot 757 is out of High Sevens, a winning half-sister to Munwar and Hateel.

SHALFORD (2c, 3f): 817 is out of a sister to Meis El-Reem, the classic- placed dam of Princely Heir.

SHAREEF DANCER (3c, 2f): there is plenty to like about this team, which features 883, a three-parts sister to Irish Oaks winner Bolas, and 947, a half -sister to the dual Group Three winner Cajarian. One of the colts, 1035, is out of a sister to the dam of Lady Carla.

SHEIKH ALBADOU (2f): Lot 1197 is out of a half-sister to the outstanding Sonic Lady.

SHIRLEY HEIGHTS (1c, 1f): Lot 1065 is a sister to a winner, her dam being the Group-winning Clare Island.

SLIP ANCHOR (6c, 2f): this in-form stallion should be ably represented by Lot 604, a three-parts brother to Stowaway, 892, a close relative of the very smart Sacramento, and 1089, the second foal of Barathea's sister Foulard.

One of the fillies, 382, is closely related to the Group-winning Hi Lass, while the other, 1066, is closely related to the Group-winning Light The Lights.

SOUTHERN HALO (1f): this American stallion was a big success in South America. Here he is represented by 962, the first foal of a three-parts sister to the very smart Japanese horse Generalist.

SOVIET LAD (2c): Lot 796 is a half-brother to Baby Grand, a five-time juvenile winner this year.

SUAVE DANCER (2c, 1f): this Arc winner sired the promising Craigsteel from a grand-daughter of Mill Reef, and both the colts on offer here - 453 and 455 - are also out of grand-daughters of Mill Reef.

SUPERPOWER (2c, 1f): Lot 290 is a colt out of a succesful sister to Paris House.

TENBY (1c): Lot 435 is a half-brother to the Listed winner Wantage Park.

TERIMON (2c, 1f): Lot 360, a colt, is the first foal of a Sadler's Wells mare from the outstanding Balidaress family.

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THATCHING (7c, 2f): Lot 887 is a half-brother to several useful performers, including Bintang, while 1049 is a colt out of a sister to dual Guineas winner Don't Forget Me. Another colt, 657, is out of a Fairy King mare which is a sister to a Listed winner.

Knocktoran Stud's filly, 774, is a grand-daughter of the excellent Arctique Royale.

THEATRICAL (1c): Lot 675 is the first foal of a half-sister to that excellent sprinter Committed.

TIMELESS TIMES (2c, 4f): this extraordinary horse is another whose first- crop success in 1995 brought him stronger support in 1996. For example, 411 is a half-sister to Accento, a smart Group performer in Germany and France.

TRAGIC ROLE (2c): this talented stallion could do well with 1064, whose dam has already produced the Listed winners Lee Artiste and Fleet Hill to other Northern Dancer line stallions.

TREMPOLINO (1c): this Arc winner's colt, 317, is out of a mare closely related to another Arc winner, Suave Dancer.

TURTLE ISLAND (5c, 5f): among the colts from the second crop by this admirable horse are 875, who comes from the same family as Ryafan, and 1011, a grandson of the very fast Thrifty Trio.

Kirtlington Stud's filly, 1053, should merit inspection. When her dam was mated with a son of Sadler's Wells, she produced the 1997 Listed winner Lady In Waiting. Turtle Island, of course, is a son of Fairy King, a brother to Sadler's Wells.

UNFUWAIN (5c, 3f): Alhaarth's two-year-old exploits earned Unfuwain some good mares last year. The colts on offer here include 342, a half-brother to the useful Manazil from the family of Indian Skimmer; 844, a three- parts-brother to the Group-winning Run And Gun; and 1151, a three-parts brother to the talented Anne Bonny, out of Yorkshire Oaks winner Sally Brown.

The Unfuwain fillies include 861, the second foal of a well- bred winner by Rainbow Quest, and 1139, the second foal of a sister to the fast Shalford.

WARNING (1c): the only representative from Warning's last English crop is 992, a colt from the top German family responsible for such as Annus Mirabilis, Anna of Saxony and Annaba.

WELDNAAS (2c): Lot 397 is a brother to Night Dance, an earner of over pounds 80,000.

WOLFHOUND (5c, 4f): among the colts by this high-class sprinter are 529, the son of a well-bred winner by Spectacular Bid; 677, whose dam is a sister to the very useful Visto Si Stampi; and 1063, the second foal of a winning half -sister to Kerrera and Rock City.

ZAFONIC (4c): this quartet by the champion first-crop sire is guaranteed to be popular. 546 is a half-brother to the very successful Prince Babar; 643 is a son of a very well-connected Seattle Slew mare; 880's dam is a winning grand -daughter of the brilliantly fast Rose Dubarry; and 1060 is a half-brother to Attitre, this year's runner-up in the Oaks d'Italia.

ZIETEN (4c, 3f): likable types among the colts include 343, whose family has produced Lady Alexander and the American Grade One winner Deputy Commander this year, and 490, whose second dam produced the smart Papering to another son of Danzig. One of the fillies, 637, is a three-parts sister to Fujiyama Crest.

ZILZAL (2c, 1f): Norelands Stud's colt, 918, is out of Blasted Heath, a very useful half-sister to Balla Cove, while 995 is a half-brother to the very useful The Deep, from the family of Bin Rosie. The filly, 743, is a half -sister to a couple of black-type earners at two years.

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AS always, pinhookers will like the extra security offered by foals from the first crops by their sires, and there are sizeable teams here by several high -class performers:

BAHRI (1c): this formidable miler is represented by 836, a colt from the family which produced the Group-winning River Knight to Bahri's sire and the high-class Fastness to another son of Riverman.

BIN AJWAAD (8c, 6f): Bin Ajwaad showed more speed and precocity than most sons of Rainbow Quest and some breeders have tried to reinforce these qualities by sending him speedy mares.

For example, the colts include 328, the first foal of a winning Petong mare; 508, a grandson of the Lowther Stakes winner Ela Romara; 537, whose dam is a half-sister to a winner of the William Hill Sprint Championship; and 761, a son of a winner-producing sister to the fast Bluebird.

Among the fillies are 347, whose dam was an early two-year-old and whose second dam, Partridge Brook, won five times at two; and 539, the first foal of a winning Cadeaux Genereux mare from the fast Money For Nothing family.

DESERT STYLE (1f): this handsome son of Green Desert could do well with Lot 639, a half-sister to the smart Sorbie Tower.

DISTANT VIEW (1f): the second dam of 896 produced the very smart Tamayaz to another son of Mr Prospector, and this is also the family of Shareef Dancer.

EMPEROR JONES (9c, 9f): this miler was very good at his best, as he showed when he broke the track record in the Lockinge Stakes, and he could well become another successful stallion son of Danzig.

The colts from Fares Stables include 603, whose broodmare sire Sir Ivor has done well with Danzig, and 605, who has two grandparents in common with the admirable Wizard King.

Another colt, 805, is a son of Cathedra, whose grandson Might And Power recently won the Melbourne Cup. And 514 is out of a well-bred Riverman mare.

Emperor Jones's daughters include such as 338, a half-sister to an American Stakes winner from a good female line; 602, a daughter of Sioux City, a Group -placed Listed winner; and 626, whose dam is a half-sister to Polytain, the Prix du Jockey-Club winner.

FACTUAL (4c): this son of Known Fact will have benefited from the fact that two of his half-sisters produced Zafonic and Reams Of Verse. His all-male team includes a trio from Grovewood Stud which includes 506, a half-brother to the Group-placed Pedraza, and 507, whose dam is the talented two-year-old Faraway Grey.

FOURSTARS ALLSTAR (3c): this very tough winner of the Irish 2000 Guineas should be ably represented by 786, a half-brother to the 1997 Gimcrack Stakes winner Carrowkeel.

FOXHOUND (5c): this son of Danzig has received a boost from his brother Deerhound, who has hit the headlines as the sire of Countess Diana, America's star juvenile filly.

Lot 1184 is a son of Pharfetched, a Listed-placed winner of the Leopardstown November Handicap, while 323 is a grandson of a German Oaks second.

FRAAM (1c): Lot 380 is a half-brother to a colt which made 36,000gns at this year's Doncaster breeze-up.

GREEN TUNE (2c): this classic-winning half-brother to Pas de Reponse ought to do well with 467, a colt closely related to that excellent racemare Market Booster, and 897, a grandson of the high-class French middle-distance winner Sharaniya.

HERNANDO (4c, 4f): if Hernando does half as well as his sire Niniski, Lanwades Stud will have no grounds for complaint. He should do well here with 1140, a half-sister to Oaks d'Italia runner-up Streisand. The colts include

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1071, a half-brother to the highly successful Italian horse Broken Detraeh, and 1205, a grandson of the champion two-year-old Jacinth.

JEUNE HOMME (1c): this very well-bred Nureyev horse comes from the same family as those very successful stallions Storm Cat and Royal Academy. Lot 407 is out of a winning daughter of Super Concorde.

LAKE CONISTON (13c, 7f): there is strength in depth in this large team by 1995's champion sprinter.

Colts especially worthy of mention include 937, the second foal of a three -parts-sister to Golden Fleece; 1023, a half-brother to the Belmont Stakes runner-up My Memoirs; and 1158, a half-brother to the Belmont Stakes third Le Voyageur, out of the champion filly Davona Dale.

Among the earlier colts are 550, whose family has produced the Prix Marcel Boussac winner Loving Claim since the catalogue; 610, a half-brother to the speedy Sunset Reigns; and 852, a close relative of the very successful Magic Piece.

Likely sorts among the fillies are 661, a half-sister to the talented Lady Fairfax; 1045, whose dam is a winning half-sister to Vintage Crop; 1129, a half-sister to Mary Linoa, winner of the Prix Marcel Boussac; and 1178, the second foal of a very well-bred winner by Darshaan.

LAMMTARRA (1c): Raffin Stud offers 938, the only representative of 1995's Horse of the Year. This colt descends from Northern Dancer's very successful daughter Aladancer.

MISSED FLIGHT (6c, 2f): this very smart miler followed very much in the footsteps of his sire Dominion as a racehorse and could well do the same as a sire. His colts include such as 879, a three-parts-brother to the admirable tough and smart Nominator.

Wood Farm Stud's trio consists of 350, a half-brother to a Group-placed French two-year-old; 351, a son of a successful half-sister to Wiki Wiki Wheels; and 352, a son of a winning daughter of Night Shift.

MISTERTOPOGIGO (4c, 1f): Beechgrove Stud's colts by this fast horse include 687, the first foal of a winning half-sister to Rohita. Trickledown Stud's colt, 415, the first foal of a mare from a fast branch of the Pelting family.

MUHTARRAM (2c, 5f): this high-class son of Alleged has a son of a very well -bred Irish River mare as 1100. The fillies include 406, a half-sister to the useful Prussian Flag, from a top family, and 692, a half-sister to Medieval Lady and to a leading winner in Hong Kong.

NICOLOTTE (3c): the trio by this handsome son of Night Shift all have successful second dams, none more so than 876, a grandson of the excellent Racquette, who bred a French Listed winner to Night Shift. Lot 808 is a grandson of So Directed, a runner-up in the Phoenix Stakes.

OWINGTON (2c, 7f): unfortunately these youngsters come from the only crop sired by this very good two-year-old and sprinter.

The colts are 804, the second foal of a winning Woodman mare, and 998, a half -brother to the very fast Ron's Victory.

Among the fillies are 818, the first foal of a half-sister to the very smart Ever Genial; 1054, a daughter of the tough Langtry Lady; and 1070, a daughter of the very useful Abbey's Gal.

PELDER (1c, 2f): Carlton Stud consigns 572, a colt from the family of the top -class Procida, and 975, a half-sister to Chrysalu, a close third in the 1994 Prix Marcel Boussac.

PICCOLO (8c, 4f): there is plenty to like about several of these youngsters, with the colts featuring such as 327, a son of the speedy Arabellajill, 332, the second foal of that talented stayer Farmer's Pet, and 620, a member of the same family as Runnett.

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The fillies include 650, the first foal of a sister to the speedy Poyle George, 707, the first foal of the successful miler Double Flutter, and 886, a half-sister to the very useful Punch N'Run.

PORT LUCAYA (2c): Lots 540 and 953 are respectively out of half-sisters to the smart performers Miami Springs and Pale Ale.

RIDGEWOOD BEN (1c): Lot 642 is out of a well-connected Fairy King mare.

SON PARDO (11c, 1f): five of the colts come from Cobhall Court Stud, including 551, a half-brother to Jazilah and Anzum, and 552, a son of a winning Private Account mare.

SRI PEKAN (11c, 5f): this high-class grandson of Roberto has an impressive squad. Among the colts especially worth a mention are 750, whose dam is a young winner by Storm Bird from a top American family; 843, the second foal of a talented Mtoto mare from the Pelting family; and 849, whose dam is a grand-daughter of Allez France.

Later come 955, a son of quick-maturing Group performer by Caerleon, and 1142, a son of the Queen Mary Stakes runner-up It's All Academic.

Likely types among the fillies are 676, a grand-daughter of the Grade One winner Queen To Conquer; 957, the first foal of a winning half-sister to Matiya, the Irish 1000 Guineas winner; and 1036, a grand-daughter of the outstanding Northern Trick.

VETTORI (1c, 2f): Rathbarry Stud's colt, 762, is out of a winning half-sister to the American Grade One winner Clear Choice.

One of the fillies, 1012, comes from the same family as the very promising Trigger Happy.

WINGED LOVE (1c, 1f): this German-based winner of the Irish Derby is represented by Lots 375 and 555.

Next Monday, November 24, provides a last chance to buy some quality yearlings.

Among the attractions are four-strong teams by the first-crop sires Baratheia and Catrail, both of whom have already achieved some impressive prices. Other new sires with three or more yearlings are Dolphin Street, First Trump, Namaqualand, Turtle Island and Unblest.

More established sires with two or more on offer include Be My Chief, Bluebird, Brief Truce, Darshaan, Distant Relative, Green Desert, **Hamas**, Kris, Magic Ring, Mtoto, Nashwan, Night Shift, Persian Bold, Petardia, Petong, Polar Falcon, Priolo, Robellino, Sabrehill, Saddlers' Hall, Salse, Warning and even Sadler's Wells.

Load-Date: November 21, 1997

Outside In

The New York Times

November 23, 1997, Sunday, Late Edition - Final

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Distribution: Magazine Desk

Section: Section 6; ; Section 6; Page 55; Column 2; Magazine Desk ; Column 2;

Length: 6966 words

Byline: By Serge Schmemmann;

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Body

The atmosphere is both frantic and informal at the Tel Aviv office of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu in the sprawling Defense Ministry compound, in the best tradition of Israeli politics. Assistants in jeans and bodyguards in safari jackets mill about talking loudly; cell phones jangle, and ministers and aides in open-collar shirts dart in and out through Netanyahu's padded door, all somehow controlled by Ruchama Avraham, the Prime Minister's tall, striking secretary. There is always a crisis these days, and on this day it is the buildup to the annual meeting of the Likud central committee, whose 2,700 members want to ditch the primary election system and take back the power to pick candidates.

Netanyahu is also preparing to go to the United States, not knowing whether he will be snubbed by President Clinton over the impasse in peace negotiations, and where he is certain to catch hell from American Jews embittered at being rebuffed by the Orthodox religious establishment in Israel. This is also the second anniversary of Yitzhak Rabin's assassination, and Netanyahu, the rightist Likud Prime Minister, is being thrashed daily by leftist protesters accusing him of destroying the peace that cost Rabin his life.

During a brief break for a sandwich, Netanyahu shows no sign of these pressures. As usual, his jacket is on and his tie is drawn tight. He does not lose his temper in public. He speaks in English, rapidly but in elaborate, complete sentences. He is known to enjoy an occasional Davidoff cigar, but seldom in public and never before cameras. This is a man who has constructed his political image carefully and maintains it studiously.

Of course, in Israel crisis is "the name of the game" even in the best of times, Netanyahu notes. Yet his 17 months in office have been about as stormy a stretch in peacetime as anyone can recall. Rare is the day without some new political or diplomatic conflagration, with charges of "incitement" or "warmongering" flung with increasing abandon. The Prime Minister's critics, and they are increasingly angry and vocal, hold him directly responsible for the malaise, assailing him for his inexperience, arrogance and incompetence. Netanyahu and his followers counter that these are the bleats of tired elites challenged by new forces.

Outside In

"Israel is coming of age," he says. "It's not a pioneer society any more. The elites cannot give way; they cannot accept me as legitimate. They see the country as their natural right; they see me as a usurper." However Netanyahu's performance is rated, that notion of "us" and "them," of this Government as a coalition of outsiders -- Sephardim, Russian immigrants, ultra-Orthodox Jews -- behind a qualitatively new type of slick, media-savvy politician, represents the emergence of a new political force as a mature Israel enters its second half-century.

The clean new tenements clinging to the steep hillsides of Har Nof on the western edge of Jerusalem are Sephardi turf. You can tell by the Middle Eastern chants wafting from the Succoth huts, by the dark complexions, by the clothes, that these are Jews from North Africa and the Middle East. Here the men wear black skullcaps, but not the long sidelocks or medieval black coats of the European haredim, and the women have a touch of Levantine glitter in their floor-length gowns. And if there is any lingering doubt, there are the portraits of the most revered resident of Har Nof, Rabbi Ovadiah Yosef, the leader of the powerful Sephardi religious movement, Shas, hanging like religious icons in every shop and on many a door.

This is also Bibi turf, at least for now. Unlike the bourgeois residents of Rehavia or the yuppies of the German Colony who refer to Netanyahu by his nickname disdainfully, out here in Har Nof people use "Bibi" with a rough familiarity. "Bibi's big achievement is that he holds his ground," says Moshe Yaffe, a religious man in his 30's out for a smoke in the street. "Of course it angers the world and the newspapers. But it's also obvious that Bibi's line is the same as that of the Great Ones of the Torah -- peace with security. Personally? He has problems. But people don't care. The main thing is he holds his ground."

Holding one's ground, out here, means against the Arabs, against the outside world and above all against "the left" -- the elite descendants of original kibbutzniks, the secular rich of Tel Aviv, the news media. "It's only the left who won't let him get the job done," declares Avner Azulai, a 55-year-old grocer who was born in Morocco. "He's strong. He holds on to his views," says Moti Yehuda, 26, to concurring nods from a clutch of customers. "So far, nothing has budged him."

What about the bungled attempt to kill a Hamas official in Jordan, and the torrent of condemnation at home and abroad? "I don't take the criticism in the papers seriously," says Yehuda's brother Eli, 30. "It was a screw-up, that's all. They jump on him no matter what he does. If Bibi would've killed 100 Arabs like Peres did in Lebanon, they would've flipped completely." The reference was to the strike against Lebanon in April 1996, when Shimon Peres was Prime Minister, in which Israeli artillery killed scores of Lebanese civilians taking refuge in a United Nations camp; in fact, Peres did not come under heavy criticism.

There's raw political power in sentiments like these, and nobody knows it better than Benjamin Netanyahu. They are what brought him to power 17 months ago, under the controversial slogan spread by the Hassidic Habad movement -- "Bibi is good for the Jews." More and more, as Netanyahu emerges intact and combative from one seemingly fatal political tangle after another, Israelis are coming to realize that however fractious his coalition, the ethnic, religious and social minorities that form his Government are not a passing phenomenon but a hard political reality. A growing number of analysts -- some of Netanyahu's sharpest critics among them -- believe it is an alliance that could keep him in office well into the next century.

"In other countries, as the opposition here is fond of saying, a Government with so many mistakes to its 'credit' would have been toppled long ago," wrote the columnist Gideon Samet in Haaretz, a leading liberal newspaper. "Maybe in other countries, but not here. . . . The partners in his injurious Government -- the decrepit parties as well as the new ones -- will see to it that the youngest Prime Minister in our history will not also be the one with the shortest term."

Even if Netanyahu is ousted by some crisis yet to come or if he is compelled to form a "national unity" government with the Labor Party, the arithmetic of the electorate suggests the groups that dominate the Israeli Government today -- parties of Sephardim, the religious, Golan Heights residents, Russian immigrants, supporters of Foreign Minister David Levy or of Agriculture Minister Rafael Eitan -- will, in various configurations, determine national policy for some time to come. That is likely to mean more efforts by the rabbis to expand their power, more infighting over

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shrinking Government subsidies and deep-seated suspicion in dealings with the Palestinians and other Arabs. In effect, it means that with or without Netanyahu, the next Government is likely to be very much like this one.

If further proof is needed, it is provided in Har Nof, as Ehud Barak, the leader of the Labor opposition, emerges from a two-hour call on Rabbi Yosef. Such holiday visits to revered rabbis have always been a routine courtesy. Now they have become a mandatory rite. Ariele Deri, the young political genius behind Shas, coldly dispels any doubt as he watches Barak's armored Cadillac roar off. "He knows he needs to pay Rabbi Yosef the respect he deserves," he says with an unconscious nod to "The Godfather." "Rabbi Ovadia Yosef has 10 mandates in the Knesset, and influence far beyond that. We established in the last election that whoever went against us, or even not with us, stayed in the opposition."

Barak knows this as well as Netanyahu. There was a time when Barak might have claimed the prime ministry virtually as his birthright, as the flower of the founding Zionist elite. He is a kibbutznik-warrior anointed as heir apparent by the hallowed Yitzhak Rabin; a former Army Chief of Staff with a formidable list of martial feats and decorations, and a classical pianist with a reputation as an intellectual. But nowadays such elitist attributes are almost a handicap, in the way that his patrician birth and Yale pedigree were for George Bush. Instead of flaunting his origins, Barak recently created a stir when he publicly apologized to Sephardi Jews for their treatment by the East European Ashkenazi founders of the state. Some veteran Laborites have grumbled that Barak is hanging back in his criticism of the Likud Government policies; that instead of promoting the traditional Labor agenda, he is trying to "out-Bibi Bibi."

Paradoxically, this new power of the religious and ethnic groupings arose as a direct result of efforts to block it. Ever since Menachem Begin first mobilized the discontent of the outsiders to break Labor's grip on power in May 1977, small parties and caucuses have played a pivotal role in Israeli politics. Shas, arguably the most powerful such faction today, began as a movement of poor Jewish immigrants from Morocco, Iraq, Yemen and other Arab lands. The ultra-Orthodox haredim, whose rabbis initially opposed the formation of a Jewish state, took some decades to appreciate the power of their solid blocs of votes to gain housing and funds for their swiftly swelling numbers and control over national religious matters for their rabbis. Then came the waves of immigrants from the Soviet Union and Ethiopia. When Labor under Yitzhak Rabin returned to power in 1992, it was only by virtue of Russian voters who felt they had not received their due from the Likud.

With politics more and more subject to the demands of these lobbies, Rabin's Government pushed through a new electoral system, under which the Prime Minister would be chosen directly by the voters rather than by the Parliament. The notion was to free him of constant threats to his Government by small parties. It is noteworthy in retrospect that Netanyahu broke ranks with his Likud Party to get the law through. Under the old system, it would have been Labor, with the largest number of seats, that would have formed the ruling coalition.

The greater surprise was how the 1996 election strengthened the ethnic and religious parties. The major parties, Labor and Likud, together ended up with a bare majority in the Knesset. What the new system's architects failed to foresee was how voters, having cast one "responsible" ballot for the main candidate of either major party, Netanyahu or Shimon Peres, would cast their second along ethnic or religious lines. To form his Government, Netanyahu had to cut deals with six small parties and two factions. Of the 68 seats his coalition holds in the Knesset, 36 belong to the small parties, of which two -- Shas with 10 seats and the National Religious Party with 9 -- have enough votes by themselves to bring down the Government. The result is a Prime Minister less accountable to the Parliament or his party, presiding over a Cabinet dominated by special interests, forever locked in paralyzing wrangles over spoils and policies.

Interneccine fighting broke out immediately after the election over the spoils -- especially the Ministries of Housing, Religion and Education -- and has continued over every policy decision and budget cut. Foreign Minister David Levy has led the pack with regular threats to resign. In one recent interview, a Cabinet minister repeatedly referred to the Government as "them" until he was reminded that he was actually part of it.

"Obviously this is a source of instability," Netanyahu says. "What it does is to create a lot of false brinkmanship -- the Government is about to fall every five minutes. But in the end they end up passing everything. We got record

budget cuts; we've privatized 30 times more than the last Government; we pulled out of Hebron, released women terrorists. And we'll reach a final settlement with the Palestinians."

Netanyahu survives the showdowns because none of the small parties are in any hurry to call new elections or to change the voting system back. Natan Sharansky, the former Soviet dissident, current Minister of Industry and Trade and erstwhile friend of the Prime Minister, soon learned that political survival was far more ambivalent morally in the new Government than it was in the Gulag. When an influence-peddling scandal known as the Bar-On affair broke last winter, Sharansky indignantly declared that if even 10 percent was true, he would leave the Government. When the Attorney General eventually found that many of the allegations had substance but that the evidence was too weak to sustain indictments, Sharansky discovered that the Russian immigrants who elected him had no interest in bringing the Government down. He declared that his criteria for remaining in the Government had been satisfied -- earning, in the process, the caustic title of "Mr. 10 Percent" from disappointed liberals.

The Government survived that crisis, just as it survived the more recent ruckus over the botched Mossad attempt to kill a Hamas official in Jordan. In that affair, Netanyahu went on a snarling offensive -- as he does whenever he comes under fire -- accusing the press of a campaign to "overthrow" him (even though Israeli coverage of the Jordan blunder was relatively tame) and vowing that the war with terrorism would go on, as if the issue were the campaign against terrorism and not his mishandling of it. Infuriating as such tactics are to his critics, they work with his constituency, in part because people like Yehuda Moti enjoy it when Netanyahu "holds his ground" and in part because his coalition partners have no interest in bringing him down. As the columnist Gideon Samet wrote, "The crux of the matter is not the fact that Bibi always manages to extricate himself from his mess, but rather that his coalition partners do not want to part with him."

It would be wrong, however, to see the coalition purely as an alliance of convenience. Netanyahu and his partners do have common ground. They share a deep-seated distrust of the Oslo peace agreements and "the Arabs"; they see security as a product more of strength than of peace, and they share a resentment of what they collectively call the "left," a term that embraces those who support the Oslo agreements as well as the entrenched secular and liberal elites descended from early European Jewish kibbutzniks who still predominate in Israel's culture, economy and media.

On a recent visit to a venerable Sephardic spiritual leader, Rabbi Yitzhak Kaduri, Netanyahu leaned over and whispered in his ear: "Leftists have forgotten what it is to be Jewish. They think they will put security in the hands of Arabs -- that Arabs will look out for us." A lurking Radio Israeli microphone caught the statement, and the left exploded in fury. Such sentiments, declared Hemi Shalev in the daily Maariv, "expose anew the dark side of Benjamin Netanyahu where cynicism, bullying and hate rule." The Prime Minister belatedly apologized. Yet he is keenly aware that such incidents bolster him with his voters. "I carry the brunt of personal attacks," he says. "It takes a big toll on my family. But it obviously creates a backlash. I only lose votes to myself."

The results of the 1996 election have led to considerable discussion among students of Israeli politics. Shlomo Hasson, professor of geography and urban planning at Hebrew University, called it a "cultural tribalism" and its manifestation an "Israeli archipelago" of separate identities -- the Sephardic Jews of Shas, the haredim of the ultra-Orthodox parties, the Russian immigrants of the Yisrael B'Aliya Party, the religious nationalists of the National Religious Party, the secular nationalists of the Likud, the secular liberals of Labor. Ehud Sprinzak, professor of political science at Hebrew University, describes Netanyahu's coalition as a new "soft right," one that does not necessarily share the nationalism or messianic Zionism of the "hard right" but that is united by a "negative identity" of suspicion for Arabs and the left.

However it's dubbed, Netanyahu's rise on this new wave has the cafe society of Tel Aviv in a rage -- along with the likes of King Hussein of Jordan, a growing number of American Jews and, behind a diplomatic veneer, the Clinton Administration. No Israeli Prime Minister, not even the unyielding hard-liner Yitzhak Shamir, has ever inspired such derision. To the Israeli establishment, Netanyahu's administration has been one relentless series of blunders, ranging from the three-day shootout with the Palestinians over the opening of an entrance to a tunnel in the Old City to the tawdry Bar-On affair to the Mossad's bungled assassination attempt. He is called the "Teflon Prime Minister" for his ability to slip away from any crisis or, in a more up-to-date formulation, the "virtual Prime Minister" for the

sound bites and poses he so masterfully adopts on television. "Serial bungler," the brutal label recently stuck on Netanyahu by The Economist magazine, is regularly echoed in the suburban salons of Tel Aviv.

Columnists denounce his Government as a threat to peace and even to the very foundations of liberal democracy. Shalev of Maariv has drawn elaborate parallels between Netanyahu, with his distrustfulness and dependence on a tight group of loyalists, and Richard Nixon. Yoel Marcus, a columnist for Haaretz who probes new levels of disdain in every article, declared recently that the Prime Minister and his clutch of aides were sliding Israel toward disaster. "My hand shakes as I write these words, but the facts speak for themselves," he wrote. "Bibi's regime is a rare breed of totalitarianism. He does not rely on bayonets or secret police or mass arrests. He leans towards the Peronist technique of a regime built on demagogic populism that claims to be for the people and to work on their behalf but which, in reality, has as its central goal the concentration of power and, under which, the people are the primary victims."

Among the critics, Netanyahu is held primarily responsible for bringing the Oslo process to a halt, and maybe to its knees, and for undermining the long and arduous process of building contacts in the Arab world. The only debate is whether he did so by design or through incompetence -- whether, in the devastating image of the peace advocate Uri Avneri, he is "snake or idiot." To many, the bumbled raid into Jordan was the epitome of incompetence -- an adventure that alienated Israel's last friend in the Arab world, King Hussein, and undermined its only negotiating partner among the Palestinians, Yasir Arafat.

With Washington, Netanyahu's relations have been hurt as much by his policies as by his attitude, which he once inadvertently revealed when he referred to the United States as a "strategic asset." President Clinton was said to be especially exasperated at one meeting when, instead of candidly discussing what to do as partners, Netanyahu pulled out maps and lectured the President on Israel's security needs. "All he does at these meetings is tell us that we have to pressure Arafat to accept his plan," says an astounded American official. Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright was incensed recently when Netanyahu surprised her by announcing approval for 300 new housing units in a West Bank settlement, just after they had finished a telephone conversation in which he made no mention of the plan.

The attacks no longer come only from the "left" or from abroad, however. Many in the old guard of Netanyahu's own Likud Party have also turned on him. By no coincidence, the only two Ministers who have quit the Government in disputes with Netanyahu are both hereditary "princes" of the Likud, Ze'ev (Benny) Begin and Dan Meridor. With Shamir and other veteran Likudniks, they have joined in assailing Netanyahu for arrogance and inexperience.

To Netanyahu, these attacks are not a reflection of his record but the rear-guard action of sworn ideological foes dedicated to his overthrow. "It would be an understatement to say that there are people who don't love me and who want to undermine my legitimacy as Prime Minister," he declared in distinctly Nixonian tones after he escaped indictment in the Bar-On affair. "The attacks against me derive from one main purpose. They are an attempt to overthrow the Government because of a basic disagreement on the part of our rivals with our path... They will not succeed." He argues that the sorry state of the peace process is not his doing but the result of an ill-conceived step-by-step plan in which the easy steps were taken before he came and the difficult or impossible steps were left to him.

"I'm always impressed with the speed at which history is rewritten," he says with deep sarcasm. "You'd have to think that the Israeli people are absolutely crazy. Why did they elect me after they had such a wonderful four years, when they had such an idyllic situation? It was a wonderful time. They had peace. Of course the world was patting them on the back for a while, as long as we didn't attack Lebanon or whatever.

"Apparently some 60 percent of the Jewish electorate went crazy and elected this warmonger. And there's demonstrable proof that he's a warmonger, because all the Arab states say he's a warmonger, from week one. Proof. And they're all putting on pressure and threatening war. Half the people are saying this is the case, the press is saying it, the opposition is saying it, the Arab world, even the Europeans are saying it. We had a wonderful four years by making unilateral concessions and also degrading our military defenses. Now a change is in the making. I tell you I can make a better peace, a more stable peace."

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He insists that his critics, the Clinton Administration among them, do not give him credit for what he has achieved in the Oslo process despite his conservative coalition -- for the withdrawal from Hebron or the release of women prisoners or for having a strategy for the future. Even more strongly, he insists that no left-wing government could bring the process to an end. "Only a government of the right can make peace with the Palestinians," he says. "Look at Hebron: they couldn't do it."

Whatever the degree of Netanyahu's personal responsibility for the state of affairs in Israel -- and it is difficult to overlook the inexperience, defensiveness and manipulateness of his Administration -- it can also be argued that Netanyahu represents a maturing of the Zionist dream. The poet Chaim Nachman Bialik expressed that dream most memorably when he said, "We will be a normal state when we have the first Hebrew prostitute, the first Hebrew thief and the first Hebrew policeman."

There is little question that Netanyahu is representative of a new Israel -- tough, brash, skillful with the media, free of the complexes of the old shtetl. Born in 1949, a year after the establishment of the Israeli state, he is of a generation that matured with the Six-Day War in 1967 and views the West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem not as "occupied territory" but as inherently Israeli lands that the Jews can keep or swap for security as they see fit. Distinctly secular in his personal life and thrice married, Netanyahu shares the native Israeli's freedom from the identity crises of Jews in the Diaspora. Like most Israelis, he does not view the monopoly of ultra-Orthodox Jews on marriages, burials and conversions as a challenge to his identity as an Israeli or a Jew. He said in a conversation once that he never personally experienced anti-Semitism.

The details and scandals of Netanyahu's life have been endlessly rehearsed in the Israeli press: his schooling in the United States; his architecture and business degrees at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; his authoritarian, bitter and ultraconservative father; his service in an elite commando unit; the death of his brother Jonathan leading the legendary raid to free hostages in Entebbe, Uganda; his admission of infidelity and his three wives; his rapid rise through the foreign service, and his meticulously executed conquest of the Likud. Yet for all the scrutiny, Netanyahu remains something of an enigma. Indeed, a gossipy new biography by the journalist Ronit Vardi is coyly titled "Bibi: Who Are You, Mr. Prime Minister?"

The question arises at least in part because of his carefully sculptured image -- the creation, his detractors scornfully claim, of the American political consultant Arthur Finkelstein, who is said to have urged Netanyahu to eliminate his history and personality in the campaign and to focus exclusively on "peace and fear." Early in his term, Netanyahu tried to project a Kennedyesque image of a vital young leader with a modern, attractive family -- he and his wife, Sarah, have two young sons -- but the effort quickly foundered. First came a tabloid story about Sarah's allegedly ruthless treatment of a nanny. Then came more tabloid tales of a rumored contract he and Sarah signed after he admitted to an affair, setting strict parameters on his behavior. In interviews now, he responds to questions about his family with an air of hurt and protectiveness. "One of the things that really bothers me is the attacks on my family and my wife," he said recently. "She's a good mother and a good wife who tries to help her children. She hasn't hurt anyone. She's actually a person in her own right with her own career."

Netanyahu also deflects questions about his relations with his father, Benzion Netanyahu, a historian and zealous student of the radical nationalist teachings of Vladimir Jabotinsky, a Russian Zionist who advocated Jewish military strength and no accommodation with the Arabs. In the late 40's, the elder Netanyahu broke with younger followers of Jabotinsky, led by Menachem Begin. As a result, he spent much of his adult life in bitter, self-imposed exile in the United States, primarily at a small Jewish college outside of Philadelphia. There, he worked on a monumental study of the persecution of Jews in the Spanish Inquisition, the central thesis of which was that even those Jews who try to assimilate cannot escape what he called "Jew hatred."

The elder Netanyahu's frustrated political ambitions and his extreme and fiercely held beliefs have generated considerable speculation about the impact of father on son, speculation that the Prime Minister reflexively dismisses. "The attributions given to my family and to my father sometimes make me chuckle," Benjamin Netanyahu says. "He's a historian, which is a particular kind of academic. The assessment of my father as a one-dimensional ideologue is funny. Even if he was, and he isn't, he is what he is and I'm a different person. It's all psychobabble."

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While there is indeed nothing deterministic, as the Prime Minister says, about one's upbringing, the imprint of the father on his second son is unmistakable. The vision of the Jew as perennial target who can never entrust his security to anyone, who must surround himself with what Jabotinsky called a "steel wall," has figured in much of Benjamin Netanyahu's writing and actions. After the death of his brother Jonathan -- to whom Benjamin Netanyahu was very close and who until his death was held up by the family as designated primary standard-bearer -- the future Prime Minister organized a conference on international terrorism, followed by books on the same subject.

That focus on terror has been reflected in much of Netanyahu's criticism of the Oslo agreements, as well as his dismissive attitude toward the Palestinians. "How can you adapt yourself to making peace if you were born and raised on ideas conceived and formed in conflict?" asks Uri Dromi, the Government spokesman under Rabin. "Take away the conflict, and what do you have? He has to have conflict, to beat the competition."

In his book "A Place Among Nations," Netanyahu argues that making peace with the Arabs is like keeping fish in a glass bowl until they learn not to bump against the glass ---- a notion distinctly different from Peres's vision of a "new Middle East." Ahmed Tibi, an Israeli Arab and an adviser to Yasir Arafat, has noted that Netanyahu came to office bearing a notion of the Palestinians as "the Arabs of Judea and Samaria," as foreign interlopers on Jewish lands. In interviews, Netanyahu refers to the biblical Land of Israel as "part of who we are and what we are" and speaks emotionally of the centuries in which "the Jewish people yearned for, lived for, dreamed about, prayed for, shed so many tears for the land." To those who believe that the Jewish return to Israel was divinely ordained, it is unthinkable to "return" the cities of the Book, and it is mockery to believe that anyone has an equal claim to them, least of all "the Arabs" who have vowed to destroy the state of Israel.

Publicly, the Prime Minister accepts his obligations under the Oslo agreements but has never concealed his contempt for them, and he has generally treated Arafat as an adversary and even a foe, holding him responsible for all terror attacks. At the same time, Netanyahu has given the green light to a vigorous revival of construction in West Bank settlements. In place of the staged Oslo process, he has sought to move directly to negotiations on a final settlement.

Security and the Arabs, however, are not subjects Netanyahu seems to enjoy in interviews. Whenever possible, he steers the conversation to his plans to privatize and deregulate the economy and to his vision of Israel as "the Silicon Valley of the Eastern Hemisphere." Despite the slowdown in the peace process, he notes with pride, American investments remain high, and the stock market was hitting record levels before the Asian crash. "There are more high-tech start-ups here than anywhere, more in absolute terms," he declares enthusiastically. "You no longer have to be large; you have to be smart. Our national psyche is good for that."

Such enthusiasm may well be one of the major legacies of Netanyahu's American upbringing, and in particular his business degree from M.I.T. At one point, he apparently considered a business career in America. Yet he spent his summers in Israel, making close friends and, eventually, joining his two brothers in one of the most elite commando units -- under the command of Ehud Barak, his likely challenger in the next election.

Unquestionably, the turning point in Netanyahu's life was his brother's death in the Entebbe attack. The conference on terrorism he then organized brought him to the attention of Israeli leaders. Moshe Arens, then Ambassador to Washington, made Netanyahu his No. 2; next Peres, then Foreign Minister, appointed him chief delegate to the United Nations, where his eloquent English and skills pressing the Israeli case on television made him a familiar face to Americans and the favorite Israeli of American Jews. That armed him with rich backers, like Irving Moskowitz, the bingo magnate, and Ronald Lauder, the cosmetics heir, as well as influential friends in the media and Government.

According to various accounts, once embarked on a political career, Netanyahu plotted a direct course to the top. When he made his bid for leadership of the Likud after its loss in the 1992 election, it was through the political equivalent of a hostile takeover from contemptuous competitors like Meridor, Benny Begin and Ehud Olmert, the Mayor of Jerusalem. In that bitter fight, he relied upon a tight clutch of loyal followers like Lieberman, a tough immigrant from Soviet Moldova known behind his back as "Rasputin," and Tzahi Hanegbi, who was renowned for his political dirty tricks before he became Justice Minister.

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Once in office, Netanyahu likewise formed a small and tight group of close advisers, including Lieberman, Cabinet Secretary Danny Naveh and Communications Director David Bar-Illan, a former concert pianist, newspaper editor and right-wing publicist. For negotiations with the Palestinians, he has increasingly used the services of Yitzhak Molcho, a prominent Jerusalem lawyer who is also his cousin.

It was as an outsider that Netanyahu found common language with the various ethnic, religious and nationalist groups that also grew up "strangers in their own country," in Ronit Vardi's phrase. "Labor was always the party of the satisfied, and Likud was the channel for every protest, the house of the disaffected," says Shlomo Ben-Ami, a Sephardic Jew who now sits in the Knesset and is regarded as one of the Labor Party's most popular politicians. "Now the new parties have taken over and they want to recreate Israel in their own image -- more religious, more traditional, more controlled in their attitude toward the outside world, more cultural than political. Netanyahu doesn't have to speak about social issues to them. He is Likud."

in this society of immigrants, the latest and most politically volatile are the Russians. Since Mikhail Gorbachev first opened the gates, more than 700,000 new immigrants have flooded into Israel. All told, immigrants from the former Soviet Union now constitute more than a fifth of the Israeli population. Their absorption has been hailed, justifiably, as one of the great Israeli success stories. But it has been accompanied by considerable tension on both sides. Older Israelis are irritated by what they perceive as a weak identity as Jews or Israelis among the newcomers and have stereotyped the immigrants as "mafiosos" and prostitutes. (It is, in fact, true that the Russian crime syndicates use Israel as a transit station and that many prostitutes in Israel are Russian.)

Even so, the new immigrants understandably resent these stereotypes and chafe at their treatment as second-class citizens. After the suicide bombing in Jerusalem in July, one victim, a Russian youth, was denied burial in a Jewish cemetery because rabbis concluded he was not a Jew according to strict Jewish law. Above all, many Russians have been frustrated at not finding jobs in their specialties.

In a telling recent poll, Russian immigrants were asked to rate their favorite among fellow Russians. They did not give the biggest vote to Sharansky, whose perceived failure to garner concrete benefits for the Russians has lost him some of their support, but to Lieberman, whom they much appreciated for his toughness and his ability to deliver. The Russians also gave a hefty in-your-face vote to Zvi Ben-Ari, the former Grigory Lerner, a millionaire immigrant from Russia who has been under investigation for bribery and purported links to organized crime in Russia and who is viewed as a victim of stereotyping.

Their number and their disaffection have made the Russians a political wild card, whose tendency so far has been to vote "against." In the 1992 election, frustrated by what they saw as neglect under the Likud Government, they shifted a winning margin to Labor. In 1996, they swung back to the right. According to Eduard Kuznetsov, editor of the main Russian-language daily, Vesti, the vote could shift again. "The electorate of this party is largely people interested in shares of the national pie," he says. "It's very concrete -- they want housing and work. Naturally, no party, especially a brand new one like Yisrael B'Aliya, can fulfill these expectations, so there's a lot of disillusion."

But material considerations aside, the large majority of Russians --Sharansky included -- have gravitated to the right, and to Netanyahu. "The very fact that he's attacked by the same left that calls them 'mafia' earns him the support of the Russian street," Kuznetsov says. "Then they're descendants of an imperial attitude. Land is sacred. And though only 1 percent of them live in the occupied territories, they have an instinctive hatred of Arabs and see no reason to make any concessions."

At the other end of the spectrum from the Russians in Netanyahu's coalition are the ultra-Orthodox religious parties. As hungry as the Russians or the Sephardic Jews are for housing and jobs, the rabbis have an equally strong religious agenda, which is basically to safeguard and institutionalize their traditional monopoly on religious affairs. Rabbi Avraham Ravitz, a member of Parliament from the United Torah Judaism faction and a spokesman for the ultra-Orthodox, makes no bones about the goals of the religious parties. "When the left was in power, they did all kinds of things," he said in a recent interview with The Jerusalem Post. "They opened malls on Shabbat, they opened markets around the city on Shabbat, in the kibbutzim. They didn't use their power? Now we are trying to turn the wheel back."

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This agenda has created a major rift with American Jews, whose Conservative and Reform denominations are ostracized by Israel's Orthodox authorities, and with secular Israelis, who perceive it as a challenge to civil liberties. "Their criticism of the Supreme Court as not representative of the public at large is the beginning of the delegitimation of the whole democratic system, which is very serious and getting worse," says Emanuel Gutman, a specialist in Israeli politics at Hebrew University. "The Law of Conversion is one little example of this. They're testing their power. If they get their way, they'll start trying to change the composition of the Supreme Court."

Between the challenge of the religious, the antiestablishment and antiliberal leanings of the Sephardim, the alienation of the Russians and the policies of Netanyahu, many old-line Israelis and American Jews have fallen into despondency. On concluding his tour as United States Ambassador to Israel, Martin Indyk, a specialist on the Middle East who had been intimately involved in the politics of peace, abandoned diplomatic discretion to express a despair heard with growing frequency in the suburbs of Tel Aviv and the liberal press: "Increasingly, people have the sense that we are headed back towards conflict, that peace -- real peace -- with the Palestinians is somehow no longer a realistic expectation."

The misgivings extend to domestic politics as well. "After a certain ripeness of Israeli politics and society, there is a feeling of a turnback, of a regress to the politics of identity," says Azmi Bishara, a professor of philosophy and an Arab member of the Knesset. "And you never know if Israeli society has enough civic tradition to endure it."

What frightens Avner De-Shalit, a 40-year-old professor of political science at Hebrew University, is a sense that this perceived antiliberal bias is reaching to younger generations. "In my day, the expression was 'shoot and cry' -- you fought because you had to fight, but you cried because you knew it was terrible," he says. "The students today are much more cynical. They were born in the Land of Israel; they believe occupation by force is natural; they take for granted the violation of human rights."

Such sentiments may be excessively defeatist. After 50 years, Israel has a sophisticated economy, a security apparatus that can withstand almost any threat and a population that has survived extraordinary challenges. Much of the unease could reflect the same disorientation felt throughout much of the post-Communist world, where nationalism and xenophobia have rushed into the void left by the loss of a shared threat. Israel has not been immune, and the Oslo peace was both a consequence and a catalyst of this change. "For better or for worse, whoever becomes leader of this country will have to understand the new direction," Kuznetsov says. "First is the death of Zionism, and with it the lowering of idealism and sacrifice and the rise of mercantile interests. Then there is a fatigue with conflict that will compel all leaders to search for peace, but with it a sense that all talks are useless, that we are surrounded by undemocratic regimes, that Oslo was too fast, too insecure. So there will always be division and hysteria on the subject of peace."

Ben-Ami says: "It's not that the peace process failed. It's that Labor did not have wide enough shoulders to carry it. The peace process opened a debate about identity. Once Israel had an alternative to war, it became clear that an existential threat was not central to Jewish life. Many Jews now understand that they have the option of being independent, of saying 'Yankee go home.' Some no longer share the values of America -- religious freedom, the civility of political discourse, democratic values. That's what the election of 1996 was about. It was the victory of Judaism over Israel; it was an election of identity, not process."

To Netanyahu, at least, that came as no surprise. He had identified the new forces early on, courted them when mainstream politicians ignored them, brought them to power with him and is convinced their Government will stay intact. More than that, he repeats to everyone who will listen that he can reach a peace settlement "as soon as Arafat realizes that we're not going to disappear, that we're committed and able."

"The 'crisis' is overplayed. I tell you what, it has got a measure of brinkmanship, but they all want to stay in," he insists. "There are individuals who for personal reasons may wish otherwise, but there's more stability than instability in this system. The fact is that in this system there are interest groups, the haredim, the Russians, Shas. The perception that Israel is one homogeneous melting pot is about as true as it is for American society. You begin as a melting pot, but then you have all sorts of clumps in the stew."

Graphic

Photos: The coalition of outsiders who give Netanyahu his strength includes the Sephardi leaders Ariele Deri and Rabbi Ovadia Yosef, near right; the Russian immigrant Natan Sharansky (with a bodyguard), middle, and wealthy American supporters like Irving and Cherna Moskowitz of Miami Beach, far right. (Rina Castelnovo; Alon Reininger/Contact, for The New York Times; Yoav Lemmer/Sipa); The Prime Minister's supporters consider the "occupied territories" to be inherently Israeli land. Here, a confrontation at the disputed tunnel in Old Jerusalem in 1996. (Ricki Rosen/Saba)

Load-Date: November 23, 1997

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TWA FLIGHT 400: WAS IT ANOTHER MASSACRE?

Scotland on Sunday

July 21, 1996, Sunday

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Section: Pg. 14

Length: 3450 words

Byline: Jeremy Watson And Andy Tighe In New York

Body

THE passengers aboard TWA Flight 800 from New York to Paris could not have been in safer hands. If air travellers could choose who they wanted to pilot a tin box across the Atlantic, it would have been Captain Steve Snyder and First Officer Ralph Kevorkian, both of whom had racked up thousands of flying hours in 747s in more than 30 years with TWA.

The passengers were sitting in what statistics have proven to be one of the world's safest aircraft - the "workhorse" of the sky -and flying between two of the world's safest airports. At 8.47pm last Wednesday evening, the first 28 minutes of the flight along the coast of Long Island had been nothing but routine. That the departure had been delayed for an hour while a stray bag was reunited with its owner and for the curing of a minor engineering fault only served to reassure.

The flight lifted off from runway 31 of Kennedy airport at 8.19pm and, as normal, executed the two left turns that avoid local housing estates and take Europe-bound planes out over the Atlantic. The pilots lifted the wing flaps after take-off and then held the aircraft's position at 5,000 feet waiting for air traffic control permission to ascend.

Permission granted, the crew then eased up the air speed and started the staged climb to the planned final cruising height of around 30,000 feet. At 8.45pm, Flight 800 asked for permission to rise to 15,000 feet, the last recorded communication from the cockpit. By 8.47pm, Snyder had probably already set the automatic pilot and was beginning to relax for the seven-hour flight ahead. "It's sit back and keep watch time," said one former BA pilot with long Transatlantic experience. "Most of the work has already been done."

Back in the cabin, the passengers - the usual motley mix of businessmen and women, holidaymakers and students, were still strapped into their seats. American airlines have become paranoid about their customers leaving their seats during take-off after a lawsuit in which a passenger sued when accidentally scalded by a hot drink.

Apart from the standard of the food and the in-flight movie, the 202 passengers had nothing to worry about.

Some of the Italians on board were quietly celebrating their good fortune in obtaining an earlier flight home than anticipated. Around them were empty seats - the aircraft was only half-full - that should have been taken by a group of other travellers delayed when a connecting flight from Chicago had been grounded by torrential rain. Stuck in the Mid-West, those travellers were left cursing their luck.

Poor weather was not a problem on Wednesday night as Flight 800 passed through 13,000 feet, 70 miles from Kennedy airport and nine miles off the shore of Long Island.

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After a stormy week in which Hurricane Bertha had swept by, the residents of the small coastal communities below were on their balconies savouring the balm of the cooling night air.

The south-eastern reaches of Long Island, the fat finger that juts east into the Atlantic from Manhattan, are pleasure-land America where wealthy New Yorkers flee to escape the pressures of the city for clean sea-air, clapper-board houses and white picket fences. Many of the locals make their living serving such incomers' needs, supplying fish to the top-class restaurants and renting out boats. They were looking forward to an end to the rough seas that had dented their income and on Wednesday evening many had a weather eye on the sky.

There is no shortage of witnesses to what happened next.

At 8.48pm, Carol DiMiceli, 49, was out on her porch and happened to glance south-west from her home towards the ocean.

AND there she saw it. "It was a red that was brighter than blood that seemed to stretch from the sky to the ground, all framed by a yellowish glow," she said. "Close to the ground it seemed to split into two trails."

A neighbour described it as a blazing sunset, "but on the wrong side." Out at sea, an Air National Guard pilot on a training manoeuvre saw what looked like a comet, erupt into a fireball and spiral down to the ocean surface. Further explosions were heard onshore.

As news of the incident spread, all the witnesses soon came to realise that what they had seen was the dying moments of Flight 800 which in an instant had entered the lexicon of airline catastrophes as the second worst crash in US history. What is still not clear is what caused the 747 to explode so quickly and so catastrophically that no-one on board seemed to have any inkling of impending disaster.

Crash investigators will have to wait until the ill-fated plane's black box flight recorders are recovered from more than 100 feet of water to determine whether Snyder, his crew and his passengers knew anything of what befell them. The hope is that they died instantly in the fireball that engulfed the fuselage before it splintered and spiralled downwards showering bodies into the darkening ocean.

The scanty medical evidence from the 104 bodies recovered so far is that most died from "blunt" injuries consistent with being killed by a large explosion. Any who survived would have been unconscious when they hit the water. "Death literally occurred in a heartbeat," said the local Suffolk County Medical Examiner Charles Wetli, with some feeling for the gathering bereaved.

The gathering gloom hampered the armada of small boats, planes and helicopters that encircled the flaming crash site in what rapidly became apparent was a futile search for survivors.

As the sun rose on Thursday morning on a glassy sea, all that was left of Flight 800 was jagged bits of burning aircraft, bodies and the personal detritus of 230 broken lives.

For the relatives, morning brought scenes of anguish in three countries, the US, France and Italy, as relatives learned of the terrible fate of their loved ones. As investigators, rescuers, counsellors and the media descended en masse on the small port of East Moriches, closest to the crash scene, it was all too reminiscent of December 21, 1988, when Pan Am 103 was blown out of the skies by a terrorist bomb over Lockerbie.

For TWA, a once-great airline only now struggling out of financial difficulties, loss of key routes and prestige, it brought the prospect of financial ruin, particularly if the crash had been caused by a mechanical failure aboard its aircraft.

For President Bill Clinton and the American people, about to celebrate the opening of the Atlanta Olympics, it brought home once again the possible vulnerability of the US to terrorist attacks despite the perceived tightening of airline security since 1988. It also unearthed uncomfortable reminders that eight years on from Lockerbie the perpetrators of that crime have yet to be brought to justice.

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In spite of FBI reluctance to pinpoint cause at this stage, the working theory for most of the agencies involved in uncovering what happened to the 747 is destruction by explosives. The lack of warning, absence of distress signals and the joltingly-sudden end of the aircraft all point towards a massive bomb.

The timing is suspicious, on the eve of the Olympic Games, and the US has no shortage of enemies, particularly in the Middle East, with the capability and the motive.

Just under a month ago, an unknown group opposed to the US military presence in Saudi Arabia and its support of Israel blasted the Dhahran US army base in Saudi Arabia, killing 19 servicemen and injuring 250 others. On May 31, four Saudis were beheaded after admitting responsibility for a car-bomb attack which killed five Americans and two Indians in Riyadh.

Palestinian and Lebanese groups like Hamas and Hezbollah are known for their virulent hatred of the US, and states like Libya, Iran and Syria have been suspected over the years of sponsoring attacks on US targets. Although two Libyans have been indicted for the Lockerbie bombing, the trail is believed to stretch back to Tehran.

And more. Associates of the four Muslim fundamentalists jailed for a total of 240 years in 1994 for the previous year's World Trade Centre car-bomb have ample reason to be seeking vengeance against the US.

Then there is Ramsi Ahmed Yousef, a Pakistani currently on trial in New York for plotting to blow up 11 US airliners in one day over the Pacific. His plan was to smuggle liquid explosive aboard aircraft concealed in contact lens solution. Yesterday, the ABC TV network reported that a federal agency received a claim of responsibility for the explosion from a group of Yousef supporters but there was no official confirmation.

The French connection has not been ruled out. France has suffered from a rash of horrific land-based bombings by Algerian Islamic militants. However, terrorism experts believe that as one of America's best-known airlines, TWA is most likely to have been targeted by a group with a specific grudge against America.

Neither has the possibility of a bombing by the US's home-grown right-wing militias, whose supporters were linked to last year's Oklahoma City bombing of a federal building, been crossed off. But they are thought unlikely to have chosen a civilian airliner as a target.

The multitude of internal and external threats has led to heightened security in US airports in recent months. On the day of the explosion, the Federal Aviation Administration's industry advisory committee met to discuss further tightening of security measures. But participants say that although airlines were told to draw up options for tougher security regimes by October, no particular threat was mentioned.

THE US public have a right to be sceptical about official denials of warnings of terrorist attacks. Following Lockerbie, it emerged that US embassy personnel had been warned weeks previously that travelling on Pan-Am carried a risk, based on intelligence gathered in the Middle East. Only last week, the South African government finally admitted that a government delegation switched to an earlier flight, although it claimed it was merely because the timing was more convenient.

Some experts believe a document received by a London-based Arab newspaper last Wednesday and sent by the Movement for Islamic Change -which claimed credit for the Riyadh bombing - was some form of warning. But the State Department has so far described it simply as a general diatribe against the US presence in the Middle East. No credible claim for responsibility for Wednesday's explosion has yet emerged, the State Department maintains.

In the absence of evidence, new theories are constantly emerging. Initially, concern focused on the jet's departure earlier on Wednesday from Athens airport, until recently on the US's list of airports with inadequate security. The aircraft was parked for five hours for maintenance and refuelling prior to its departure for New York, but the Greek government has insisted it was guarded at all times.

Friday's theory was that the jet had been shot down by a shoulder-held heat-seeking missile fired from the shore or from a boat. Such weapons, supplied by the CIA to the Mujahideen guerrillas, are traded internationally following the end of the war in Afghanistan and analysts of terrorist tactics have concluded recently that they would be

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effective against aircraft landing or taking off. But their capability is low-level and they would be extremely unlikely to be able to down an aircraft at over 13,000 feet. A radar trace of what appeared to be an object flying towards Flight 800 before it exploded was quickly dismissed as a "blip" on the screen.

"There's no American official with half a brain that ought to be speculating on anything of that nature," said a State Department spokesman. "There's no concrete information that would lead any of us in the United States government to draw that kind of conclusion."

The missile theory was being replaced yesterday by the more mundane but more likely method of simply smuggling a bomb aboard. Maria Schiavo, a former US transportation secretary whose investigators in 1993 repeatedly breached airport security, was scathing about current standards of explosives detection. "Most of our airports have metal detectors that cannot detect the latest types of explosives. We still seem to be looking for Jesse James rather than modern, sophisticated terrorist operators."

The ABC network certainly is. It suggested yesterday that the explosive could have been planted in a container carrying an organ for transplant, since Flight 800 was carrying just such a cooler that arrived at the last minute. Organ containers are traditionally not run through X-ray machines and are usually put in the cockpit, ABC said.

If a bomb is found to be the cause, then whatever the method, Clinton faces supreme political difficulties. He neither wants to be seen to be bowing to the fundamentalists by withdrawing troops from the Middle East, as popular as that might be among servicemen's families, or to have to order the air industry to spend further billions of dollars tightening up security, so squeezing profit margins. And all in an election year.

Worldwide, the industry sees the incident in a different perspective. Although few will say it publicly, the fervent hope is that Flight 800 was downed by explosives. "That's what I want it to be," said a former British Airways captain with 25 years experience of flying 747s. "Any other scenario would ground the world's airlines."

Flight 800 was a four-engined Boeing 747-100 - a first generation jumbo made at the company's Seattle headquarters and delivered to TWA in 1971. Capable of carrying 350 passengers and powered by Pratt and Whitney engines, 250 were made up to October 1986 when it was superseded by later models.

About 150 are still in service and current and former customers have included practically all the world's leading airlines including British Airways and Virgin Atlantic.

By all industry standards it is an extremely safe aircraft with a rate of 1.64 accidents per million departures. Detailed scrutiny of the records of the individual plane involved in Wednesday's catastrophe has revealed no significant engine or maintenance problems in its 25-year history.

THE problem at this stage with ruling out mechanical failure as a cause is bitter experience. Just two weeks ago a woman and her 12-year-old son died on a Delta Airways jet when one of the engines disintegrated before take-off and fragments of metal sliced through the fuselage.

Manufacturers would have sworn it could not happen. It did.

In 1992, passengers on a United Airlines DC10 flight out of San Francisco were luckier.

They survived when an engine exploded and debris pierced the wings, fortunately missing fuel pipes and tanks. The plane later landed safely.

Not so lucky were the passengers aboard a British Airtours 737 which burst into flames on the runway of Manchester Airport in 1985. A combustion chamber in an engine exploded, cutting fuel lines and causing an internal fire in which 55 people died. It too should not have happened.

Neither should a Valujet Boeing 737 have caught fire in the air and crashed into a Florida swamp with the loss of 110 lives. But it did.

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Although the 747 is an exemplary aircraft, there have been severe problems leading to crashes and fatalities. In 1993, a 747 cargo aircraft owned by the Israeli airline El Al crashed after take off into a 10-storey block of flats close to Amsterdam's Schiphol airport. Four crew members and 43 residents of the flats, most watching TV in their living rooms, died after a valiant effort by the doomed captain to fly his plane to safety. The cause was later found to be faulty fuse pins holding the engines to the wings. Two engines detached, leaving the aircraft hideously out of balance and unflyable.

Two other 747 cargo planes were downed in similar circumstances, prompting Boeing to change the aircraft's design.

But what most safety experts find hard to believe is that an engine failure of any sort could instantaneously shatter such a large aircraft. Even if an engine explosion had somehow ignited the main fuel tanks in the wings, causing a fireball, most experts would have expected the crew to at least have been able to issue a lengthier and more detailed Mayday warning.

Yesterday, the weather-hampered underwater search continued for the more than 90% of Flight 800 yet to be recovered from the sea. Investigators are particularly anxious to find the engines, which may provide evidence of mechanical failure, and the cargo hold, where the tell-tale signs of a bomb are most likely to be found.

Medical experts will continue to examine the bodies brought ashore for traces of bomb-making chemical and shrapnel that would have been sprayed through the fuselage by a blast.

Even at Lockerbie, where most of the aircraft was retrieved because Pan Am 103 blew up over land, it was six days before bomb parts were found and a month before forensic scientists could be totally satisfied they were dealing with explosives.

In the US, most of the evidence is scattered in mud over hundreds of square miles of sea bed, making conclusive investigations many times harder.

When, and if, it is retrieved, the pieces of Flight 800 will be stitched back together in the search for clues.

"It is the biggest jigsaw puzzle you can imagine," one official said.

It is not an operation without precedent. Wreckage was successfully recovered from similar depths of the ocean floor after the 1986 space shuttle Challenger explosion. The same painstaking rebuilding procedure was also carried out following Lockerbie when the Pan Am flight was brought down by a bomb hidden in a suitcase in the hold and triggered by a barometric timing device which went off when the aircraft reached a certain height at a certain time.

Investigators believe Pan Am 103 should have exploded over the Atlantic, but was over land because its departure had been delayed by an hour. Flight 800 was also subjected to an hour's delay or it too could have been around 400 miles further out to sea, making the search for clues all but impossible. The culprits behind the world's worst air disaster blamed on a bomb, an Air India Flight blown out of the sky in deep water off the Irish coast in 1985, killing all 329 people on board, have never been traced.

FOR the residents of Lockerbie, who shared in Britain's worst air disaster, the explosion brought on a profound sense of *disaster*, as pieces of brutally-shattered aircraft began to dominate television bulletins worldwide. Pictures of Filofaxes, shoes and rag dolls being plucked out of the water among a host of other personal possessions, brought back painful memories of December 1988, when bodies fell from the sky on to the local golf course and the main fuselage of the stricken Pan Am jumbo ploughed into the town, killing 11 people on the ground.

Now the name of Lockerbie has been joined by East Moriches, Long Island, a small town of fishermen and duck farmers who fear that their neighbourhood will forever be tainted with disaster.

The tragedy has brought an invasion of outsiders and world attention to this normally placid beach community. Over the town's main street - a delicatessen, liquor store, stationer's, hardware outlet and a service station is all

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there is - the buzz of helicopters overhead is a constant reminder of the grim search offshore. Moriches Bay is full of unfamiliar boats. Its coast guard station, one of the nation's smallest, has become a makeshift morgue.

Katherine Cavanaugh, who saw the fiery crash while she was gardening at her farm on the bay, was also thinking about Lockerbie. "We're a small town of people who look out for each other," she said in the hardware store she runs with her son Mike.

"Lockerbie was running through my mind. I didn't want East Moriches to be only known for such a horrible event."

Yesterday, at least the bathers and beachcombers were beginning to return to the nearby Westhampton beaches that face out on to the crash site. For the last three days, many have been reluctant to take to the water for fear of what they might find washed close to shore.

Tom Cozine, 28, who owns a pool cleaning company, said that things seemed quieter around town in the wake of the disaster.

"A lot of people I spoke to still aren't coming to the beach because they are worried about body parts and other grotesque things washing up."

Jean Austin was brave enough to take off her sandals and head for the water. She has spent summers at Westhampton Beach for more than four decades and loves the place. Gesturing towards where Flight 800 plummeted into the sea, she said: "This is a beautiful place. But what happened here is beyond comprehension. It makes you think of the precariousness of life." TRANS WORLD AIRLINES INC;

Load-Date: July 22, 1996

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TRAVEL / Christmastime for everyone; In Japan it might mean a celebration in a hotel bed. In Russia it's merrier than it used to be. Our correspondents report on how it's marked and marketed around the world

The Independent (London)

December 19, 1993, Sunday

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Section: THE SUNDAY REVIEW PAGE; Page 77

Length: 3428 words

Byline: RUPERT CORNWELL, TERRY MCCARTHY, HELEN WOMACK, ADRIAN BRIDGE and SARAH HELM

Body

UNITED STATES

ANY DISCUSSION of the American way of Christmas must start with Jennings Osborne, of Little Rock, Arkansas. No, this has nothing to do with the more celebrated Arkansans who have recently moved into the White House (of them more in a moment). Mr Osborne is simply a man who takes the festive season seriously.

Each December he decks out his 2 1/2 -acres in a smart Little Rock suburb more magnificently than the last. The 1993 offering, expanded over two adjacent lots he's just bought, features 1.6 million flashing lights, a giant pulsating star and 40 angels with computer-controlled fluttering wings. These join existing attractions that include 80ft-tall Christmas trees, illuminated Wise Men, camels, Santa Claus, and Mickey Mouse driving a train on top of a 150ft brick wall. Last year more than 20,000 tourists went to see the show, which at one point consumed so much power that it blew a transformer, blacking out half the neighbourhood.

Not surprisingly, some local residents have had enough. They have taken Mr Osborne to court to force him to scale down the extravaganza. But he is unrepentant, insisting that his idiosyncracies are protected by the First Amendment which guarantees freedom of speech and religion. Christmas, he says, is fun: "I always try to go overboard, I can't do anything in moderation." And, as in Little Rock, so across the country.

From the shopping malls to the courts and the bureaucracies, Christmas here is immoderation made flesh. Mr Osborne is undisputed national champion in his category, but almost every street has his imitator - that homeowner a few doors down, who at this time of year turns his house and garden into a set from A Christmas Carol. Only in America, too, could you find a local authority (in this case the District of Columbia Fire Department) which regulates the decoration of office buildings with instructions such as: "If electric trains are placed under Christmas trees, the use of metal icicles on trees is prohibited."

But forget the bureaucrats and their seasonal excesses. Washington revolves around the President, and the real trends are being set by the Arkansans who moved into the big house at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.

The arrangements for the first Clinton Christmas have drawn media coverage rivalling that given the health care reform. "Out-reach" is the hallmark of this Administration, and the Clintons asked folk artists around the country to send in ornaments. They got 7,500 of them, displayed on 21 Christmas trees which adorn the formal White House

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rooms and hallways. Pride of place goes to a gingerbread cake topped by a sledge drawn by cats, in honour of Socks, the First Feline.

But the Clintons have a problem. Like every other American they adore Christmas shopping - "It's a big part of our Christmas, going out, walking around and watching people," Mrs Clinton says. Alas, it is an unwritten constitutional requirement that every public step of the First Family be accompanied by an army of secret service agents, reporters and TV cameras. So how it can be done? She confesses: "I don't quite know yet."

But perhaps she need not worry. Her compatriots will be so busy shopping themselves, they probably wouldn't even notice. Christmas is for the US retailing industry what the Normandy landings were for the Allies in the Second World War, a make-or-break campaign planned months in advance. Read the financial pages, and you imagine the entire fate of the national economy hinges on its outcome. Every whim of consumers is monitored on an almost hourly basis; despatches from the front lines at Sears and Macy's are as avidly awaited as communiques from General Schwarzkopf in that other war. And, happy to relate, the news at Christmas 1993 is good. After three dodgy years, Americans are moving back to shop-till-you-drop mode.

For those interested in such things, this season's hottest toy is a garish, red and white \$ 10- model of the Mighty Morphin Power Ranger, star of the eponymous Fox TV series, and virtually unobtainable in Washington-area toy stores without prior order. For bored millionaires, there are personalised luxury submarines for \$ 4.5 million a throw, complete with a two-week training course. For your pet, you may buy a Doggie Jogging Suit for \$ 55 or \$ 65, depending on his size. Other gems around this year include a machine which hurls small biscuits "up to 60 yards at incredible speeds", according to the catalogue (although it doesn't say why you might want to do this), and yours for \$ 19.50; a \$ 4.95 tongue cleaner; and a converted flame thrower for garden use, called the "Flame Jet Weeder", costing a mere \$ 14.95.

And so on, and on, and on. Amazingly, in the midst of all these temptations the country still finds time to worship; measured by churchgoing, the US remains one of the most religious countries on earth and never more so than at Christmas. And America being America, people still find time to litigate.

"Don't Let Them Steal Christmas", proclaimed a recent full-page advertisement in USA-Today, taken out by the American Centre for Law and Justice, a public interest group which has taken up cudgels against the "censors" allegedly trying to replace Christmas with politically correct terms such as Winter Pageant and December Break. If Christmas is under threat, the Centre will not sleep in its defence. It promises to defend "the right of Americans to observe holiday traditions" through all legal means, "including court action". Come to think of it, that could even be the answer to the Clinton's shopping problem. Rupert Cornwell

JAPAN

A JAPANESE department store reputedly once put up a big Christmas cartoon which had a Santa Claus prominently displayed on a crucifix. Whether or not this story, which has been doing the rounds in Tokyo for some years, is true or just another urban legend, is unclear. But either way it serves to illustrate the mixing of traditions and symbols that pervades the celebration of Christmas in Japan.

In principle Christmas should not even exist here, since the Japanese are mostly Buddhist or Shintoist, and barely 1 per cent are Christian. From the government's point of view, 25 December is just another working day, with offices, banks, shops and the stockmarket open for business. But Japan is never slow to pick up on a glitzy idea from overseas, and in something of a marketing triumph, retailers and hoteliers have managed to convert an entire nation into honorary Christians for the festive season. The department stores are all decked out with Christmas decorations, their background Muzak tapes have been switched to carols and seasonal jingles, and special "present offers" are given prominent display.

How deeply the Christmas spirit has sunk in is another matter, and many of the seasonal rituals have been given a distinctly Japanese flavour. For example the Western focus on family get-togethers has been supplanted in Japan by a more modern tradition, Christmas Eve night in a hotel room with one's girlfriend or boyfriend. If the budget

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allows this "celebration" includes champagne, satin sheets and the gift of a diamond necklace, which seems to owe more to St Valentine's Day than the Nativity. But once a trend catches on in Japan, everyone wants to get on board.

For those who might happen to find themselves at a loose end in Tokyo this Yuletide, and would like to experience a Japanese Christmas, the Independent's Tokyo office has compiled the following suggestions: a big hit every year is the special show put on at Tokyo Disneyland - which, in contrast to its French cousin, continues to pack 'em in. Christmas is celebrated with spectacular evening fireworks shows on the 24th and 25th - but you will have to beg or steal a ticket for those two days, as they have been sold out since November. But don't worry, Disneyland is on the way to Tokyo's international airport, so if you are flying in to the city after dark, get a seat on the left-hand side of the bus from the airport and watch the fireworks for free from the inevitable traffic jam on the expressway. More sedate is a Christmas cruise on Tokyo bay, where guests on special boats can sip champagne and tuck into turkey as they watch the chemical refineries, factory fronts, and warehouses slip by. A two-hour cruise on the Vingt et Un, including dinner and a Christmas present, is pounds 312 for two.

Present giving in Japan has been as thoroughly researched as any other prospective market, and a spokesman for Marui department store said that this year the average price of a present from a man to a woman is pounds 193. Men, on the other hand, are being given cheaper gifts, on average pounds 106. Clothes, watches and ties for men, please, jewellery for women. Tiffany's diamond necklaces used to be the most fashionable present during the bubble economy boom years, but budgets have shrunk a bit in the last two years, and a salesperson for Tiffany's Tokyo branch meekly said it was against company policy to reveal what was their best-selling item this year. Terry McCarthy

RUSSIA

IF YOU are one of those people who hate Christmas, then book yourself a package tour to Russia over the dreaded festive season. Since the Russians celebrate New Year and only Orthodox believers bother to make anything of Christmas which falls, according to the Russian Church calendar, on 6-7 January, you will be delighted to find that 24-25-26 December are just ordinary working days.

Personally, I love Christmas and will be Yorkshire-bound with great glee this year after two years of missing the holiday in England as I was working. In the bad old days before Mikhail Gorbachev, when the Soviet authorities looked on foreign correspondents as enemies, they did all in their power to spoil Christmas for us. Without fail, at two o'clock in the afternoon on Christmas Day, when the correspondents were just sitting down to their meal, the Foreign Ministry would summon them to a press conference. They could never afford to miss it just in case something important, such as the death of Leonid Brezhnev, was to be announced. But of course the subject was always tedious, for example "How the Soviet Union sees the future of the United Nations", and the journalists would return without a story to a cold Christmas dinner. To his credit, it was Mr Gorbachev's Foreign Ministry spokesman, the urbane Gennady Gerasimov, who put a stop to this harassment.

Back in those days when the foreign community in Moscow was small, the British embassy would supply each expatriate citizen with a turkey and a pound of thick Irish sausages (since in Russia you can only get salami-type sausage). Nowadays we can buy all we need, from mince pies to crackers, in the hard-currency supermarkets which have sprung up all over town.

In other ways, too, Christmas is merrier in Moscow now. For example, a group of Western amateur singers have founded a choral society called Moscow Oratorio and in early December they put on a performance of Handel's Messiah which is virtually unknown in Russia since the Communists did not encourage religious music. Many Russians came to the performance, eager to hear it.

Russians like what they see of Western Christmas and some of them celebrate it with us before they start their own New Year holiday, thus getting the best of both worlds. We also have our cake and eat it by sharing their New Year after we have had our Christmas.

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On the evening of 31 December, Russians gather round the yolka (fir tree) to drink out the old year with vodka and drink in the new with champagne. Children get presents delivered by Father Frost and his assistant, the Snow Maiden, whose task is to prevent him from getting too drunk on his rounds. Economic hardship has made Russian New Years lean of late but families put on the best spread they can afford.

It is a rare Russian who can restrain himself from giving and receiving presents at New Year and wait until Orthodox Christmas, so that on 6 January all that remains to do is to go to church. Believers attend all-night services with candles, incense, icons and chanting, and emerge into the frosty morning air to the sound of bells.
Helen Womack

GERMANY

FOR SOME Berliners, it is still known as the Festival of Love; for others it is more like the festival of greed. Some see it simply as a good excuse to knock back plenty of Gluhwein (mulled wine). But nearly all are agreed that for all its stresses and strains, Christmas remains the focal point for tradition and custom in their calendar. And it does not come cheap.

"Every year I tell myself that I am not going to get sucked into the mad frenzy, but every year I am," said Elizabeth Reiner, one of the tens of thousands of Berliners seeking gift inspiration in the Kaufhaus des Westens (KaDeWe), Berlin's equivalent to Harrods. "The pressure to buy ever more extravagant presents has increased incredibly. It is hard to escape from it." KaDeWe hits this year include cordless telephones, perfumes, puppets and the wide range of dolls, cribs and nutcracking soldiers hand-crafted in the traditional way in the Erzgebirge region just south of Dresden. But the real eye-catching feature is an astonishing display of Christmas trees decorated in different shades of red, turquoise, yellow or green. Designer baubles - priced at anything from pounds 5 to pounds 50 - are selling like hot cakes.

"People now see Christmas trees as modish accessories, something to fit in with the colour scheme of their living rooms," complained Wolfgang Rudolf, an architect, who, like many, feels uncomfortable with the ever-increasing commercialism and gaudiness of the event. He looks back nostalgically to days when Christmas in Germany was somehow more elegant - only white decorations instead of the increasingly popular multi-coloured variety now seen flashing from living rooms all over the city - more simple, and more meaningful. "Beneath the mountains of presents, the true significance of Christmas has been lost."

Some of the traditions survive. In many households, biscuits are still specially baked for Christmas, and nearly all homes have their Advent wreaths bearing four candles to be lit, one each week, over Kaffee und Kuchen (coffee and cakes) on the four Sundays preceding Christmas. Santa Claus comes early for most German children: on 6 December, when those that have been good all year find sweets and presents have been placed in their shoes, while those that have been naughty, so legend has it, are confronted with a whip.

The defining moment of the celebration is Christmas Eve - Heiliger Abend or Holy Evening. In homes large enough to boast separate living rooms, children find themselves banished during the course of the afternoon while the decorations are being applied to the tree and piles of presents and Lebkuchen (a kind of spiced ginger bread) are placed before it in preparation for the Bescherung - the grand unwrapping ceremony.

"There is an incredible build up to Christmas Eve, and when the tree is finally unveiled in all its glory, it is simply magic," said Rita Schroder, a Bavarian now living in Berlin. "In my family, we still sing a carol together - 'Stille Nacht, Heilige Nacht' Silent Night, Holy Night - before launching into the presents. It is still a very special and intimate moment."

The Bescherung is essentially only for immediate family - children, parents and maybe grandparents - and, of course, it is followed by a meal. Perhaps surprisingly, this is usually quite a modest affair, consisting typically of sausage and potato salad. The serious eating begins on Christmas Day, known here as the First Christmas Holiday, when larger family groups will sit down to a lunch of goose, or, increasingly frequently, turkey. No special

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traditions are attached to the Second Christmas Holiday (Boxing Day), but it is usually a case of more of the same: visits to other members of the family or friends, or simply staying at home.

In many Berlin families, however, there is a palpable sense of relief when the whole thing is over. Suddenly being thrown back together with members of the family not otherwise seen too often can lead to tensions - particularly given the hectic build-up and high expectations raised all round. "It is a shame, but in the rush to get everything perfect for the great moment, we no longer give ourselves time to prepare ourselves for it spiritually and in peace," said Mr Rudolf. "It does not take much for tempers to fray. Many people I know, when talking about Christmas, will frequently say: 'Yes, we had the traditional fight'." Adrian Bridge

JERUSALEM

"CHRISTMAS tree distribution in Jerusalem," began a city municipality press release. "Jerusalem Mayor Ehud Olmert would like to inform the public that the municipality, together with the Jewish National Fund, will be distributing Christmas trees on December 13."

The traditional Christmas tree distribution is a nice gesture from a Jewish mayor. Christian institutions in the city take advantage of the offer, along with a handful of the 16,000 Christian Palestinians living in the Arab East side. Apart from this, Christmas goes almost unnoticed in Jerusalem. For Jews, Christmas holds no meaning. Before the Palestinian uprising, Jewish music-lovers might venture into churches in the occupied territories to listen to Christmas concerts of classical music. But nowadays none would dare. And since the uprising Palestinian Christians themselves have boycotted Christmas celebrations.

So why not go to Bethlehem, rightfully the centre of all festivities? One reason why not is the military presence. Since 1967, Bethlehem, a small Palestinian town on the West Bank, has been under Israeli occupation. Before the troops moved in, Bethlehem had 90 restaurants; now the town has little to offer the tourist in comfort or Christmas shopping, never mind spirituality. A few shabby souvenir stalls are dotted around Manger Square, which can only afford the tackiest of tinsel decorations.

And since 1987, when the Palestinian uprising began, the siege atmosphere has become ever stronger. Pilgrims are bussed in, staring out at the sad little town through grilles to protect them from stone throwers. Those attending midnight Mass have to undergo the ordeal of bag and body searches before entering the Church of the Nativity.

With the new peace accords, Bethlehem should be able to celebrate Christmas properly again for the first time in many years. A "Merry Christmas" sign has been hoisted on to the town hall balcony. And Elias Freij, the Palestinian Christian Mayor, has tried to rally support for the peace deal around the season of goodwill. "It's time for us to prove to the world through this celebration that we support the peace process and to express our desire to co-exist peacefully with our Israeli neighbours," he says.

There are plans for 5,000 Palestinian boy scouts to resume a traditional practice of greeting the Roman Catholic Patriarch, Monsignor Michel Sabbah, at the town's plaza as he arrives to celebrate midnight Mass. Some of the factions of the PLO have given permission for local Christians to celebrate on Christmas Day, for the first time since the start of the intifada. And, also for the first time since 1987, the live cypress tree sandwiched between an Israeli police station and the Christmas Tree Cafe in Manger Square will be decorated.

But, sadly, there are many signs that Bethlehem is in for one of its grimmest Christmases ever. **Hamas**, the Islamic Resistance Movement, which opposes the peace accords, has barred Palestinian Christians from joining the celebrations, and, if only out of fear for their lives, most will obey. Bethlehem is near the epicentre of the violent opposition to the settlement: the West Bank town of Hebron, where, in recent weeks, Jewish settlers have been killing Palestinians, and Palestinians have been killing Jewish settlers. A soldier was killed last month standing outside Rachel's Tomb, on the edge of Bethlehem.

The Israeli Ministry of Tourism, keen to bring tourists to the Holy Land, tries to put a brave face on Bethlehem's Christmas, sending out detailed circulars for tourists on how to survive the experience. Meanwhile, it is trying to

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promote Nazareth as the Christmas centre of the future. When the peace agreement is finally in place, Bethlehem will revert to Palestinian control. Nazareth, however, is an Israeli town inside Israel proper. And he was, after all, Jesus of Nazareth. Sarah Helm

(Photographs omitted)

Load-Date: December 19, 1993

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**LOTS AND LOTS TO OFFER;
KAREL MIEDEMA RUNS THE RULE OVER THE STALLIONS WHOSE
PROGENY WILL BE ON OFFER AT THE NATIONAL YEARLING SALE NEXT
MONTH**

Sporting Life

February 25, 1997, Tuesday

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Section: SPORT

Length: 6587 words

Byline: Karel Miedema

Body

Following the world-wide trend, prices at the Cape Yearling Sale last month reached record levels.

For the first time this decade, percentage increases went into double figures. The average went up a solid 35 per cent on last year, when the same number of yearlings came under the hammer.

The increase was no fluke, for the median price followed suit, up 37 per cent. The top price at the sale was R220,000, twice as much as the next highest price achieved during the Nineties.

Sterling buyers were to the fore. The top-lot was secured by Lord and Lady Lilford, who returned as owners to South African racing after an absence of more than a decade. Their purchase was a colt by leading sire Model Man out of a half-sister to the dam of Western Rocket, the Cape Derby winner.

There is a marked presence of European racing people in South Africa this year. Lester Piggot and Julian Wilson have been part of the furniture in the Cape for the best part of the summer season.

Wilson showed his intentions for years to come by buying a flashy Fair Season colt for R55,000. With the value of the Rand at almost eight-to-the-pound, this translates into less than 10.000gns. Putting things into proper perspective, the average race-value in the Cape is R30,000 - more than adequate to pay for a year's training fees.

Sellers of yearlings must now look forward to the prestigious National Yearling Sale with eager anticipation. In previous years, prices at this major sale have followed the trends set by the Cape sale, but with averages running twice as high.

About 560 yearlings will come under the hammer at the 1997 National Sale, a number reduced from just over 600 last year. Among these are the progeny of eight first-season sires and it is with these that we start this sales review.

FIRST SEASON SIRES

Dancing Duel is a South African-bred son of Nijinsky stallion Dancing Champ. He is a full-brother to seven-time Group One-winning filly Olympic Duel and, like his full-sister, Dancing Duel was voted champion three-year-old after winning three Group One races at that age.

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Dancing Duel is out of Mashka, a mare by New South Wales (Abernant). Mashka is inbred 4x4 to Aurora (dam of Alycidon and Borealis). Her second dam, Chione (by Borealis) is a three-part sister to Guineas, Oaks and St Leger winner Meld (by Alycidon).

Dancing Duel is represented by 13 yearlings. These include a half-brother to 1997 Cape Guineas winner Alpha Omega and Group Three-winning filly Final Claim. Their dam, Ollies Last (in foal to Badger Land) recently changed hands for a sum seldomly attained by a South African broodmare.

Dancing Duel also has a yearling filly out of Northfield's mare Field Princess, dam of four winners. The yearling's third dam is a full-sister to Bold Ruler. The mare, Kisma, has bred Group One Cape Guineas winner Turncoat and Group Two winner Wing Leader among her eight winning foals. She has a colt by Dancing Duel.

So, too, has the mare Waving Corn, half-sister to French Group two winner and sire Easy Regent. The yearling is a half-brother to Group Three winner Azuaga. One of the best racemares seen in recent history was Empress Club, voted South African horse of the year. Empress Club had two Group-winning half-sisters, and it is an unraced third half-sister who has a Dancing Duel yearling colt here.

Roland Gardens mare Pax Vobis carries elements in her pedigree that should fit in well with those from Dancing Duel's **female** line. Pax Vobis is a winning half-sister to three Graded Stakes winners (including champion three-year-old filly Kiss Of Peace) and has a yearling filly on offer. Esplendor mare Drumdeedoo (seven wins) is a full-sister to Group Two winner Drumdeedoo (seven wins) and Stakes winner Waldo (eight wins), as well as to the dam of Group One winner Planetary Music.

The mare's yearling colt by Dancing Duel is a half-brother to three winners, all the dam's foals to race.

Desert Team is a staying son of Blushing Groom, bred to the same cross as Rainbow Quest (Blushing Groom x Herbager mare). He won over a mile at two in Ireland and was victorious in the Group Two Princess Of Wales Stakes the next season. Timeform rated him 114 at three.

Desert Team is a half-brother to US Grade One winning filly Bemissed, dam of Epsom Oaks winner Jet Ski Lady. The **female** line is that of sire Round Table.

Desert Team has eight yearlings at the National Sale. US-bred mare Fete Royale is a daughter of The Minstrel, out of a half-sister to Cloonlara and Kings Lake. She has a yearling colt. Eton Fields is a four-time winning mare by Northfields, from the **female** line of Broadway Flyer. Her yearling filly is her third foal.

Inbreeding to Nasrullah pops up in the first foal, a filly, of five-time winner Triple Tempo. The dam is by Northern Guest (Northern Dancer) out of a mare by Peaceable Kingdom. More Nasrullah still is found in the yearling colt out of the mare Rain Shower. The dam is a Group One- placed sprinter, and half-sister to two staying Stakes winners, their dam a three-part sister to sire Full Colour.

Fort Wood was acquired by the Oppenheims at the end of his European three -year-old racing career. He ranks as one of the most exciting acquisitions to the South African stallion ranks in recent times.

Fort Wood is a son of champion sire Sadler's Wells out of the incredible mare Fall Aspen. Voted broodmare of the year in the US, Fall Aspen is the dam of six Graded Stakes winners, including July Cup winner **Hamas** and Breeders' Cup Juvenile winner Timber Country.

Two of her daughters followed suit, Elle Seule breeding One Thousand Guineas winner Mehtaaf and Dance Of Leaves coming up with last year's Group One Racing Post Trophy winner, Medaaly.

Fort Wood's own victories included the Group One Grand Prix de Paris and Group Two Prix Noailles from six starts at three. Timeform rated him 117.

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Fort Wood's pedigree elements suggest that he should fit in well with prevalent strains in the South African mare population. The Oppenheimers seldomly sell their home-bred progeny, so Fort Wood is represented at the sale only by progeny from other breeders, who all had to fork out R20,000 for a service two years ago.

Fort Wood yearlings include a colt out of A Thousand Stars, a Group One-placed half-sister to Group One winners and dams of Group One winners. A Thousand Stars is the dam of six winners, three of whom are Graded Stakes performers. Fort Wood also has a colt out of a mare by champion broodmare sire Royal Prerogative, the next dam a half-sister to six-time champion sire Foveros.

An interestingly-bred yearling colt is the first foal of Carib Girl, a daughter of Golden Thatch out of multiple Group One winning mare Grey Sun. Golden Thatch (full-brother to Thatching) is emerging as a major broodmare sire, and provides several links to the pedigree of Fort Wood, notably Hyperion and Sadler's Wells granddam Special.

The same combination can be found in the yearling filly out of Dreaming Gold, the Group Three-placed full-sister to promising young sire Goldmark, by Golden Thatch. Then there is a half-brother to SA Oaks winner Victoria Bay - their dam, Emma, is in turn a daughter of Natal Oaks winner With Pleasure.

Green Lightning is a son of Green Desert, out of Crowned Prince mare Etoile De Paris, a Group Three winner in Europe. Etoile De Paris is the dam of dual Group One Yorkshire Oaks winner Only Royale, and herself a half-sister to sire Northern Treasure. Green Lightning raced in Ireland, winning twice, and was Group Three-placed.

Green Lightning's only yearling at the Cape sale fetched R45,000, almost twice the sale average. He also has just one representative at this sale, a filly out of the mare Idle Vice. The dam has bred four winners, including two Graded Stakes-placed winners.

Krusenstern is a full-brother to US sire sensation Gone West, by Mr Prospector, and is inbred 4x4 to Nasrullah. The pedigree of their dam, Secrettame, is strong on Teddy. More than a few of Gone West's best offspring are out of mares with either Nasrullah or Teddy close up.

If Krusenstern nicks in the same way as his full-brother he should fit in well with a large number of broodmare sires present in South Africa. Several of his eight yearlings on offer have been bred that way.

Firle is a granddaughter of Northern Dancer, and bred Group One-placed Stakes winner Firle Beacon from a mating to Secret Prospector (by Mr Prospector). Her yearling colt is three-parts related to Firle Beacon.

Bold Streak is a mare by Plum Bold (Bold Ruler) and the dam of SA Oaks winner Fast Break. Her yearling colt gets the desired line of Nasrullah through his dam's male line.

Northfields mare Crescent Fields is a half-sister to US sire Lord At War, from a strong Argentinian **female** line. The mare is a Stakes winner of seven races, and has a yearling filly. Another Northfields mare, Lady Felice, is a half-sister to two Stakes winners. Lady Felice is out of a mare by What A Pleasure (Bold Ruler) and has a yearling colt.

Danzig mare Elegantly has bred two winners by Secret Prospector (Mr Prospector). She has a yearling colt by Krusenstern. An interesting combination comes from the mare Princess Turandot, a full-sister to Cape Guineas winner Dance Every Dance. She is by Northern Guest (Northern Dancer) out of a mare by Jungle Cove (Bold Ruler), and has a filly by Krusenstern.

Peter Davies won the Group One Racing Post Trophy as a two-year-old, earning himself a Timeform rating of 120. He is a son of Bering (Arctic Tern x Lyphard) out of French Flick (by Silent Screen), who won five races in the US. The third dam is Leallah, champion juvenile in the US in 1956. This is the **female** line of Miswaki, Targowice, Manila and Stately Don.

There are four yearlings by him on the sale. The colt out of Jackie's Joy is a half-brother to seven winners, the latest a promising two-year-old of 1997. The dam's progeny is renowned for its prowess at two. Del Tempestad has

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her second foal, a yearling colt. The dam won four races and is a daughter of champion two-year-old filly Tempest Queen.

Sapieha is a son of Mummy's Pet stallion Petorius. He won the Horris Hill Stakes at Newbury on his third outing at two, which earned him a Timeform rating of 115. At three, he ran third to Hector Protector in the French 2000 Guineas. Exported to South Africa, he finished his career with a win in the Group One Mainstay International.

His dam, Sugarbird, is by Star Appeal out of Sacred Ibis, a half-sister by Red God to well-known broodmare sire St Cuthbert. Their dam is The Veil (Nimbus x Sister Sarah). Sacred Ibis is inbred to Nearco 3x3, Sapieha to three-part brothers Grey Sovereign and Nimbus 4x4.

Sapieha has five yearlings on offer. Cream Of The Crop is a Group Three- winning daughter of Group One winner Devon Air. Cream Of The Crop has what appears to be a very useful three-year-old in Topsational, unbeaten in two starts, and is represented by a colt here.

High Banner is an unraced half-sister by Blushing Groom sire Mt Livermore to multiple Group One winner Teal. The next dam is a daughter of Northern Dancer, and is closely related to sire Dancing Champ. The yearling colt is his dam's second foal. Royal Prerogative mare Royal Belle is a half- sister to SA Oaks winner Kama's Pride, and is herself the dam of Group Two winner Regal Satisfaction. She has a yearling filly by Sapieha.

Val Des Bois won six Graded races in France and the US, and was five times Group One-placed, notably when second in the Breeders' Cup Mile. His career earnings were a fraction under \$ 1 million, and he had a Timeform rating of 119.

His dam ,Vallee Des Fleurs, was a high-class winner in France (TFR 116 at 3). The third dam, Pederoba, won the Irish 1000 Guineas. Val Des Bois is by Bellypha, a son of Lyphard. The pedigree elements in Val Des Bois suggest that he will suit a large part of the South African mare population. He has three yearlings at the sale.

The mare Romany Rose is the dam of six winners. Her colt by Val Des Bois boasts an interesting pedigree, with a 3x4 cross of Captain's Gig and My Babu, who have very similar pedigree elements. The mare Claire Bloom has her second foal, a filly. The dam is a half-sister to the dam of Cape Derby winner Western Rocket.

THE LEADING SIRES

Current leading sire Foveros died a few years ago, leaving a void among leading sires at the sales. Sprint sires Harry Hotspur and Golden Thatch have their last crop on offer this year, which should boost the prices of their progeny.

Golden Thatch is proving to be a major addition to the broodmare sire ranks, and his fillies should be in demand. This full-brother to Thatching has a successful son at stud as well in Goldmark, putting a premium on Golden Thatch yearling colts as well.

Elliodor and his sire son Model Man keep on delivering the goods. Model Man's most recent Group One addition was his daughter League Title, winner of the prestigious Paddock Stakes in January.

National Assembly, sire of last year's multiple Group One winner National Emblem (now a sire in his own right), has a red-hot juvenile filly this year. She is Historic Lady, winner of all three of her starts to date, by margins of 11, five and four lengths!

This group of sires, all in the current top ten by earnings, is not complete without Al Mufti and All Fired Up. Both have sired Graded Stakes winners during 1996.

It is more than likely that the highest prices at the National Sale will be paid for the offspring of the sires mentioned. Several of their choice offspring at the sales are detailed here.

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Golden Thatch has, by his own standards, a very large consignment of 26 yearlings. Over the years the son of Thatch has had outstanding success when crossed with Royal Prerogative mares, his sire-son Goldmark the best to date. He has three yearlings so bred at this sale.

One, a filly out of Queen Of Flowers, a Stakes-placed full-sister to Group One winner Mark Anthony. Another, a filly out of Tiffany Bluff, is a daughter of champion filly Taima Bluff.

The third, a filly out of Group One-placed Regal Blue, looks set to fetch real money. The yearling is a half-sister to Guineas winner Imperious Sue and to Group Three-placed Stakes winner City State. If only the yearling had been a colt!

The same may not go for the yearling filly out of Cashelmara. She's a full -sister to Group Two winner Cash Gold, who bred Group One winner Shoe Shac as her first foal.

Golden Thatch has a pedigree which lends itself to crossing with female lines strong on Court Martial. It has worked with Averof mares, from which he produced Gold Flyer and Gilded Cage. Here he has a filly out of Time To Appeal, half-sister to Be My Queen from the Party Time family.

Another cross involving Court Martial comes through mares by Elliodor, and this is the first time the combination is represented. There is a filly out of a half-sister to dual Group One winner Space Walk and a colt out of All Weather, half-sister to Group Two winner Special Squad. Both yearlings are first foals.

A third yearling with the same cross is a colt out of Little Kiss, a Stakes -placed full-sister to Bloodline Million winner and sire Leopard Strike.

Interesting, too, is the colt out of Roland Gardens mare Blissful Bower. The dam of Golden Thatch and the sire of Roland Gardens both have Abernant and Darius as their sire and damsire.

Elliodor is by Lyphard out of a full-sister to Busted. He has been the most influential sire of the last decade in South Africa, with both sons and daughters producing Graded Stakes winners. Elliodor's son Model Man was the best racehorse seen here since the mid- Eighties, and is now a leading sire in his own right.

Elliodor is 21 years old, but there's life in the old man yet. He has over 30 yearlings at the National Sale. As Elliodor is inbred to Court Martial, it comes as no surprise to note an affinity with mares who carry the same.

Broodmare sires Averof and his son Foveros, as well as Roland Gardens, deserve attention. Averof mare The Fleet has Group One-placed Perfect Guest among her three winners, and has a yearling colt.

Foveros mare Rock Show is represented by a filly, her second foal. The dam is a daughter of Group One winning mare Rock Star. Opal Sky, another daughter of Foveros, has a yearling colt.

The mare is a half-sister to SA Oaks winner Turndor. Garden Gossip is a daughter of 2000 Guineas winner Roland Gardens. The mare has a yearling half -sister to Group Two-placed Lapswae.

Elliodor's son Model Man has 30 yearlings to represent him. One to attract attention will be the full-sister to champion juvenile Special Preview and highclass four-year-old Top Classic.

Lords mare Eliza is the dam of Group One winner Eldoriza, a son of Elliodor. That makes the Model Man yearling a three-parts brother.

A similar relationship exists in the yearling filly out of Taxiarchos mare Double Chance, who is the dam of Group Three winner The Hunk (by Elliodor).

Mares from the Party Time family make for close inbreeding to Filipepi, sire of Party Time and damsire of Model Man. Representing that cross are a yearling full-brother to two winners out of Perfect Gift, a yearling colt out of

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Divine Party, and a yearling filly out of Group Three winner Popular Girl, her dam's first foal. The latter yearling in addition is inbred to Northern Dancer 4x4.

The Model Man colt out of Harry Hotspur mare Cricket Lover comes from the female line of sire Bush Telegraph. The mare has a nicely constructed pedigree, which should suit Model Man's.

National Assembly is a son of Danzig, out of Buckpasser mare Renounce, who is a half-sister to US sire Sovereign Dancer. The next dam is a full-sister to sire What A Pleasure.

National Assembly is the sire of last year's champion four-year-old National Emblem, who has started a career as a sire in his own right. National Emblem has a full-brother at the sale, who is bound to attract plenty of attention.

Then there is a half-sister to last year's champion juvenile Blossoming Fields, out of American mare Torsion, who has a record of eight winners from eight runners.

National Assembly introduces inbreeding to Bold Ruler in the progeny from mares by half-brothers Home Guard and Peaceable Kingdom. Home Guard mare Bold Eileen is a daughter of Group One winner Eileen Alanna, and has a yearling filly.

Peaceable Kingdom mare Social Graces is a half-sister to SA Oaks winner Rootin Tootin; she has a yearling colt.

Tabitha Twitched, a daughter of Brer Rabbit, is the dam of Tommy Hotspur, beaten only once in nine starts. She has a yearling half-brother to Tommy and two other well-above average winners - all by different sires.

Inbred to Northern Dancer is the filly out of SA Oaks winner Lambarina, a daughter of Dancing Champ (Nijinsky). The filly is her dam's first foal. The same Northern Dancer cross appears in the filly out of Group Three winner Island Paradise, already the dam of 4 winners. This is the first time this daughter of Elliodor (Lyphard) was bred to a Northern Dancer line sire.

Northern Guest, full-brother to El Gran Senor and Try My Best, is the sire of Group One winners in South Africa. His daughters are promising to keep the son of Northern Dancer in the limelight as well. Northern Guest has his usual vast consignment of yearlings at the National Sale, this year just over 50 individuals.

Northern Guest has a good record with mares who have Bold Ruler close up, especially daughters of champion broodmare sire Jungle Cove (Bold Ruler). He has just one yearling out of such a mare here, a half-sister to Stakes winner Divine Nectar. Dam Drinks All Round is a half-sister to Zimbabwean Oaks winner Pass The Port, from a British female line.

Bush Telegraph's daughter Beltel has a yearling colt. The mare is a half-sister to champion sprinter Senor Santa, who was by Northern Guest. Another half-sister to Senor Santa is Group Two winner Model Guest, who has a yearling filly by Northern Guest.

Then there is a colt out of Parisian Affair, a multiple Group One winning daughter of Del Sarto. The latter is a grandson of Bold Ruler through Bold Bidder. That same cross comes through a colt out of Lover's Bid, a daughter of Auction Ring (Bold Bidder). The yearling is a half-brother to four winners, including Stakes winner Brief Affaire.

Also from the Bold Ruler male line is What A Pleasure mare Daha, dam of two Stakes winners. She has also has three useful winners by Northfields, like Northern Guest a son of Northern Dancer.

St Cuthbert mare Travel Along has mated Northern Guest previously. Those matings resulted in a host of winners, including Group One winner Travel North and Stakes placed Northern Singer.

Another interesting mating is the one with Aeropasser mare Flying Mary. Aeropasser, like the dam of Northern Guest, is a son of Buckpasser, giving a 3x3 cross in the yearling colt.

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Former sprint champion Harry Hotspur, a son of Mexico, is essentially a sire of sprinters - even though he has sired a winner of the SA Derby as well! He is represented by 19 yearlings from his last crop.

Charm is a yearling half-sister to Group Three winner Allied Invasion. She is bred on the same cross (Harry x Brer Rabbit) as Group One winning sprinter Tommy Hotspur. An interesting filly, too, is the daughter of Summer Solstice. The dam is a half-sister to Song Of Songs, the **female** line that of sire Bush Telegraph.

The yearling's pedigree is simply loaded with Gold Bridge. Foveros mare Amber Desert has her first foal at the sale. The dam is a daughter of champion sire Foveros and there is lots to like about the way the yearling's pedigree is constructed.

The most wanted of Harry Hotspur's progeny this year seems likely to be the full-brother to champion filly Harry's Charm, a filly with earning of well over half a million Rand. Ondla is a half-sister to Politician, South Africa's champion of the Seventies. Ondla produced last season's leading two-year-old Nationality as her first foal, and has a filly by Harry Hotspur here. Group One Garden Province Stakes winner Dynamite Lady has a yearling colt, inbred 4x4 to Tudor Minstrel.

All Fired Up is again high up the list of active sires by earnings this season. The Group One Arlington Futurity winning son of Timeless Moment has sired Graded race winners over a variety of distances. His yearlings include a colt out of Home Guard mare Dashin' Home.

The second dam is a half-sister to 2000 Guineas winner Roland Gardens and to the dam of Group One winner Kooyonga. The mare, Piastar, is a Group Three winner of three races. She has a yearling colt, her first foal.

Al Mufti, by Roberto out of Lassie Dear from the **female** line of AP Indy, has a potent pedigree. He has been successful with his first crops on the course. His daughter Arabian Lass won the Group One Cape Fillies' Guineas this season (with another daughter, Kal Sufi, third). Al Mufti has the largest crop of his short career on offer this year.

Jamaico mare Jules is the dam of Jamaican Justice, one of the fillies that put Al Mufti on the map with his first crop. This winner of the Bloodline Million has a full-sister at the sale. Group Three winner Sharp Ledge has a half -sister on offer, out of the mare Judy Sharp. The yearling is inbred 3x3 to Buckpasser, and is a full -sister to a useful winner.

Close inbreeding (4x4 to Tom Fool) is also found in the filly out of Dancing Champ mare Dancing Flower. The dam is a half-sister to Stakes winner Wild Cocktail.

Blueberry is the dam of leading juvenile Pittsburgh, and a half-sister to the dam of Group One Guineas winner Turncoat. She has a yearling filly by Al Mufti. Elliodor's daughter Frangr Lady is a Group One placed Stakes winner, from a successful American **female** line. She has a yearling colt.

Fillies' Guineas winner State Treasure is a half-sister to multiple Group One winner and sire Priceless Asset. Her yearling is a filly.

The Al Mufti colt out of Group One placed Eastern Venture has an interesting pedigree. His dam is a daughter of Mullineaux, full-brother to Al Mufti's sire Roberto, giving inbreeding 2x2.

Peactime mare Gala Honours is from the very successful **female** line of Swan Lake. She has a yearling colt.

Graphic

LOTS AND LOTS TO OFFER; KAREL MIEDEMA RUNS THE RULE OVER THE STALLIONS WHOSE
PROGENY WILL BE ON OFFER AT THE NATIONAL YEARLING SALE NEXT MONTH

Peter Davies . . . a Group One winner as a juvenile, he has four youngsters on offer

Load-Date: February 26, 1997

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Passion Set in Stone

The New York Times

September 10, 1995, Sunday, Late Edition - Final

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Distribution: Magazine Desk

Section: Section 6; ; Section 6; Page 42; Column 1; Magazine Desk ; Column 1;

Length: 7374 words

Byline: By PAUL GOLDBERGER;

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Body

A PSYCHIATRIST COULD DO nothing to solve this city's problems -- Jerusalem has no subconscious at all," Yehuda Amichai, Israel's most revered poet, remarked recently. "Everything is out in the open, even the infighting."

It was a sunny, intensely hot morning earlier this summer, and Amichai was sitting in his small cottage in Yemin Moshe, an exquisite neighborhood of 19th-century stone houses set along flower-bedecked walkways, not far from the center of Jerusalem. "Where else do you see Jews dressed like 19th-century Russians and Arabs dressed like Arabs and people in modern dress, all at each other?" he continued. "You could say that this city is an open madhouse. But its great accomplishment is that it has succeeded in not being a museum. It is heavenly and earthly together, and that is what will sustain it -- the real life."

Life here had become startlingly real just minutes before: news had come through that Palestinian terrorists had bombed a bus near Tel Aviv. The bombing had shaken Amichai, and he broke off our conversation repeatedly to check the radio for the latest bulletins. In 1994, he went to Oslo with Yitzak Rabin, the Prime Minister, to read his poems when Rabin and Yasir Arafat were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, and he knows that each new violent incident involving Palestinians threatens the whole peace process, precarious enough as it is. Everyone else in Jerusalem seems to know it too, which is why the Tel Aviv bombing shook this city nearly as much as the similar bombing a month later in one of Jerusalem's own buses -- an act of terror that the Islamic resistance movement **Hamas** took responsibility for, and that killed 4 passengers and the bomber himself, and wounded 100 others.

Unlike Tel Aviv, whose identity as Israel's financial and cultural center is unlikely to be challenged, even by what **Hamas** called, in a statement describing the Aug. 21 attack, "a systematic military campaign," Jerusalem -- its sense of itself and its future -- hangs in the balance of world events. Uneasily united under Israeli rule since 1967, the city may again be divided, with a section turned over to Palestinian administration, much as the Gaza Strip and portions of the West Bank have already been. The 1993 agreement between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization specifies that negotiators will take up the question of Jerusalem's future in May 1996, and as that date

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approaches, every moment of stress between Israel and the Palestinians sends a vast shudder through the city. No item on the long Israeli-Palestinian agenda incites the emotional response that Jerusalem does, and Israelis are bitterly split between those who say that Jerusalem should be formally divided for the sake of peace and those who feel that giving up so much as a block of the city would be tantamount to ceding to the Palestinians Israel's most important national symbol.

JERUSALEM IS LIKE NO OTHER CITY ON earth, and the fact that it has no idea -- or such different and strongly held ideas -- of what its future will be is only a part of it. Nowhere else is there such a mix of the profound and the provincial. Paradoxically, the profound is easier to see: it is everywhere in the stones, in the overpowering presence of places sacred to three great religions, in the rhythm of hills and valleys that make half the city into an overlook, in the light so rich and golden that at dusk you could almost hold it in your hand. The provincial side is better hidden. It takes a bit of time here to discover that the capital of Israel, a city whose history goes back thousands of years, is a small town rife with political factionalism, a city that prides itself on its international presence but proves better than Chicago the axiom that all politics is local. The city is increasingly a set of neighborhoods fighting for their own interests; year by year, it seems, the fabled, sacred Jerusalem is less a whole than a set of distinct parts. And more and more it has become a battleground not only between Jews and Arabs, but between Jews and Jews.

These factional fights, along with the coming Israeli-Palestinian negotiations involving the city, have cast a pall over what was expected to have been a joyous, yearlong cultural festival, beginning this month, marking Jerusalem's 3,000th anniversary. The festival is going ahead, but without much enthusiasm from the city's Palestinians, who point out that what occurred 3,000 years ago was not the founding of the city, but King David's declaration of Jerusalem as the capital of the Jewish people. To the Palestinians -- who number 167,000, or about 29 percent of the city's population of 570,000 -- the festival is propaganda for the argument that the city belongs to the Jews, not to the Muslims or the Christians whose histories are also deeply bound up in it. And at best, the birthday is an arbitrary date: scholars are not sure precisely at what moment King David proclaimed Jerusalem his capital, and the timing for the cultural festival was set a few years back in the hope that it would provide a fitting climax to the final term of Teddy Kollek, the legendary Viennese-born liberal who had been Jerusalem's Mayor since 1965. What Kollek didn't count on was that he would lose his bid for re-election in 1993 and retire in some bitterness; the festival will now shine its spotlight on his very different successor, the sharply conservative Ehud Olmert.

The transition from Kollek to Olmert stands as an apt symbol of what has happened in Jerusalem in the last few years. Kollek turned Jerusalem from something of a sleepy backwater whose appeal was largely in its history into a city with a vibrant, international cultural presence. He helped found the Israel Museum, which marked its 30th anniversary this spring, and started the Jerusalem Foundation, which since 1966 has funneled more than \$350 million in philanthropic gifts from around the world into the physical transformation of the city. A lover of architecture and urban design, Kollek set up an international advisory committee that included architects like Louis Kahn and Philip Johnson to advise the city on planning. And when the group recommended a tough line against high-rise building in Jerusalem, he went along with its wishes, throwing aside plans for highways and skyscrapers in the center of town and turning himself into a strong advocate of building in a way that would be consistent with the traditional spirit of the city.

Teddy, as he is referred to by everyone -- an affectionate anomaly in this country where most politicians are sneeringly dismissed by their last names -- is as well known outside Jerusalem as within it. Olmert is different: a pragmatic member of the conservative Likud Party, he set his sights on defeating Kollek by portraying him as old (Kollek is now 84) and out of touch. But the strategy worked less because of Kollek's weakness than because of Olmert's canny alliance with an increasingly powerful group in Jerusalem politics, ultrareligious Jews, known here as Haredim, literally "those who tremble," as with the awe of God. The throngs of Haredi sect members, with their black suits, beards, black hats and rigid devotion to rabbis who dictate when and how they can involve themselves in contemporary life, are the city's Jewish fundamentalists.

The heart of their community is in the twisted streets and ramshackle buildings of Mea Shearim, an old neighborhood in central Jerusalem that looks eerily like an Eastern European ghetto of a hundred years ago. The streets are narrow and there is virtually no play space for children, but room is somehow found for more than 50 small synagogues. Many of the Haredim themselves look as if they had just come off a street in 18th-century

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Poland or Lithuania, and until a few years ago they had seemed more a curiosity than a factor in Jerusalem's political life. But they are growing rapidly in number, thanks to immigration and to a birthrate far above the city's norm. And with a total population of roughly 130,000, they have spread far beyond Mea Shearim to take over most of the neighborhoods on the northern side of Jerusalem. The Haredim average seven to eight children per family, and last year citywide school enrollment figures showed that 52 percent of Jewish children under 10 in Jerusalem were from ultrareligious families. Certain now that the demographics of the city are in their favor, the Haredim have begun to flex their political muscle as never before.

Their concerns are simple and direct: they want the city to provide money for their religious schools, and they want it to use the rule of law to protect their view of Judaism. To the Haredim, this means closing city streets and places of entertainment like movie theaters and restaurants on the Jewish Sabbath (when the ultrareligious are prohibited from driving cars or operating machinery) and limiting nonkosher restaurants. They can be fiercely intolerant of Jews who do not practice their style of Judaism -- to the Haredim, Jews who have assimilated into modern society are the true heathens, far more so than non-Jews, who they tend to view with indifference. ("We are the goyim now," Yehuda Amichai says.)

Teddy Kollek dealt with the Haredim at a distance. Under him, the city banned Saturday traffic from Mea Shearim and adjacent neighborhoods, in an implicit trade for their keeping to themselves and out of politics. Sometimes the Haredim kept to the bargain; sometimes they did not -- as when they threw rocks at cars driving near their neighborhoods on Saturday. Rock throwing still goes on from time to time, but that is the least of it. For the Haredim now constitute the single most potent bloc of voters in the city, and they no longer even pretend to remain quiet, studying Torah and leaving day-to-day governance to others.

Indeed, it is the Haredim who made Olmert, who is not himself ultrareligious, the Mayor of Jerusalem. On the day before the election the rabbis of the Haredi sects threw their support en masse to Olmert after he had agreed to offer high positions in his administration to ultrareligious politicians, among them Meir Porush, who until then had been running for Mayor himself. In exchange for Porush's withdrawal, Olmert became the head of a new coalition between the various ultrareligious parties and his own Likud. Porush became one of his deputy mayors, in charge of education; Chaim Miller, another Haredi, became a second deputy mayor, in charge of a new department of Haredi cultural affairs, and Uri Lupolianski, also a Haredi, became the senior deputy mayor and was given charge of the all-important area of city planning.

To Olmert, the new coalition was nothing more than a practical response to the demographic realities of the city. In the view of many of the city's liberal Jews, however, Olmert had turned over control of the city to the Haredim. These liberal Jews fear the Jerusalem of Teddy Kollek is dead. In the next century, they say, the city will be essentially the capital of Jewish fundamentalism.

JERUSALEM HAS ALWAYS BEEN A CITY OF separate and distinct neighborhoods, but never more so than today. The beginning of the intifada, or Palestinian uprising, in December 1987, sharply curtailed traffic between the Arab neighborhoods of East Jerusalem and the rest of the city, and even now, with the intifada largely over, there are few places in Jerusalem where Jews and Arabs are likely to meet. The central business district is almost entirely Jewish, while the markets in the Old City, the walled district that is the city's ancient heart, are almost entirely Arab. Haredim rarely leave their own neighborhoods except, these days, to go to City Hall.

It is not true, however, that there are no Jews in Arab areas. There are vast numbers of them, living not in old East Jerusalem but in new neighborhoods built by the Israeli Government in the last 25 years. When Israel won the Six Day War in 1967, it did not merely unite Jerusalem, it began to expand it. Satellite neighborhoods were built to establish a Jewish presence on formerly Jordanian land outside the city. The Jewish sections of this new Jerusalem have become so extensive that they leave the Arabs in control today of only 13.5 percent of East Jerusalem and the annexed areas, according to Sarah Kaminker, a planner and former member of the Jerusalem City Council.

This new Jerusalem -- suddenly a metropolis -- was not created simply by drawing a big circle; its borders were as skillfully drawn as a gerrymandered Congressional district, zigzagging around areas that had considerable Arab populations and including plenty of raw land for new Israeli neighborhoods, all so as to keep the voting population

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of the city heavily Jewish. And thus it remains. Although the city's Arab population once supported Kollek, it has withdrawn into itself since the intifada, and the level of voter participation, even among Arabs entitled to vote in the Jerusalem municipal elections, is small. Not surprisingly, the Arab indifference bothers the ultrareligious Jews of Jerusalem not at all -- and not just because it leaves the way clear for them to play a larger role in local politics. It also points up a striking similarity between the two groups, who in some respects have an increasingly common vision of the city's future.

When Israel was established in 1948, its founding generation of Zionists was driven by a desire to create a utopian, largely socialist nation that would break away from the dark, dreary ghetto life of Eastern Europe; it would be Jewish, but not rigidly religious, and would substitute free intellectual inquiry for the doctrinaire Talmudic study of the past. There is little room for this Zionist dream in the minds of either the Haredim or the Palestinians. Some of the most zealous Haredim do not even recognize the Government of Israel, believing that a Jewish state is only appropriate after the coming of the Messiah. Even the ultrareligious who have come to see the benefits of political power have their hearts elsewhere -- turned inward to their own small, closed communities. And the Palestinians, needless to say, never thought much of the Zionist dream in the first place. They dismissed its utopianism as hypocrisy, and saw it only as a naked grab for land that they believed was rightfully theirs.

The city's secular Jews, for their part, increasingly present another obstacle to the dream of an integrated city: prosperity. Half the people on the streets of West Jerusalem seem to have cellular phones in their ears. Israel's economy has been strong in the last few years, spurred on by the country's success in developing itself as the high-tech center of the Middle East, and the standard of living has grown by leaps and bounds. As the old Zionists die off, the modest, communal life they envisioned as the Israeli ideal has been replaced by something much richer, much more oriented to consumption, much more American. In a country that once had relatively few cars, the streets are now clogged with late-model Subarus, Volvos and Mercedes-Benzes. And there are more good restaurants, music clubs and movie theaters -- plenty of which are open on the Sabbath -- than ever before. Indeed, the proliferation of night life in Jerusalem, and the presence of so many more entertainment options on Saturday than there were even five years ago, is taken by some observers as a sign that the Haredi influence is exaggerated. But what it really indicates is that the secular community has changed its nature, and is much more interested now in having a good time.

The most conspicuous sign, at least architecturally, of this sea change in the life of secular Jerusalem is the Kenyon Jerusalem, the city's first shopping mall -- a sprawling structure on three levels with vaulted skylights, covered parking and a central atrium -- which opened last year in the southeast corner of the city. It is jammed with people, and except for the signs in the windows and the language an eavesdropper hears, it could be suburban Dallas. If the increasing presence of the Haredim, bustling about City Hall in their long black frock coats and black hats, is one symbol of the new Jerusalem, the mall is surely the other.

"When I first came here, there was an idealism," says Shula Navon, an American who immigrated to Jerusalem in 1965 and now runs a United States-based foundation here. "Life was difficult -- you would save tinfoil because it was so expensive, you would only call the United States once a year, but it was passionate, intense, and you felt you were here for a purpose. Now everyone has faxes and E-mail and two cars and you might as well be in a suburb of Boston."

URI LUPOLIANSKI, 44, WOULD NOT BE likely to have been the deputy mayor in charge of planning and building in a suburb of Boston. He would not have had that job in Jerusalem, either, had Olmert's victory last year not made him one of the most powerful Haredi politicians in the city. Lupolianski, a member of the United Torah Party, is a short, stout man with an easy manner and a round face out of which springs an endearing, satisfied smile and a medium-length black beard. He represents the new breed of Haredim, worldly and determined to operate within the sphere of the secular world -- if not to change that world, then to extract as much as possible from it.

Lupolianski has not spent his life only studying Torah. Although he has no training in architecture and planning, he has been in public life in a sense since he founded Yad Sarah, Israel's largest volunteer organization, 20 years ago. Widely acclaimed for the support it provides for the aged and infirm, Jews and non-Jews alike, the organization was

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awarded the Israel Prize, the Government's highest civilian honor, last year, and it has made Lupolianski one of the few Haredim with a high profile in Israel's broader culture.

Lupolianski sees himself as a manager who once applied his talents to the problem of volunteerism and can apply them just as easily to the future of the physical city. In his view, the city is filled with competing populations who cannot live in proximity to one another and should not be forced to, and he makes no apologies for a planning strategy that presumes that neighborhoods will be totally segregated.

"There is a difference in mentality between Arabs and Jews, and I do not believe that they can live on top of each other," he explained when I visited him in City Hall. "Different populations have different needs -- the Arabs will not build a lot of apartments on a plot of land and the Jews will. And then the religious families need different apartments from the secular Jews, bigger ones with room nearby for schools and synagogues they can walk to. You can't plan a neighborhood without knowing who it is being planned for."

Both Lupolianski and Mayor Olmert believe that the city can continue to grow beyond its current population, and say that it may reach as high as 850,000 in another decade. (Israel Kimhi, a senior researcher at the Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies, a local think tank, foresees a population of 750,000 by 2010, still an increase of more than 30 percent.) To accommodate Jerusalem's continued expansion, the Mayor and his chief planner envision both more housing around the periphery and denser construction in the center, reversing Teddy Kollek's slowdown of high-rise construction.

"There is only a given amount of space we have -- this is not Mexico or Australia," Lupolianski says. "You cannot make flat declarations like no skyscrapers. People say don't build in the east, that is where the Arabs are, don't build in the north because Arabs are there too, don't build in the west because that's where the green forests are, don't build in the south because there are too many political conflicts there, don't build up because it will ruin the skyline and don't build down because there are ancient graves. So where will the people live?"

About high-rises, he says: "If people come to me with proposals I will say all right, if you leave me some land, some open space on the street, for people. It's not appropriate for the Old City or Mea Shearim, but downtown -- let them build."

Lupolianski's view of the city is pragmatic and down-to-earth; like many of the Haredim, he saves his emotions for religious matters. Not for him the romantic images of Jerusalem as the place where golden light dances upon ancient stones. He thinks in terms of numbers of housing units and of conflict resolution. At a recent hearing at City Hall, called to discuss a proposed restaurant to be added to a movie theater in the German Colony, a secular and rapidly gentrifying neighborhood that is known for cafes, restaurants and restored houses, Lupolianski was businesslike, even brusque, as he listened to neighbors objecting to the noise and disruption they allege the theater causes by remaining open on the Sabbath. Presiding at the head of a long table with a gavel and a can of Diet Coke, he cut off long-winded speakers, argued technicalities with the architect and acted generally like a teacher determined to put an unruly class in order.

What he did not do at any point was tip his hand and indicate sympathy for the neighbors, even though he might have been expected to support anyone determined to make it more difficult to do business on the Sabbath. But he is too savvy a politician to use up points on a minor issue in a neighborhood that is primarily secular. He saves his energy for more important battles -- for example, the recent one he led to defeat an expansion plan by the Intel Corporation, which has a large factory in an industrial park on the northern side of Jerusalem. Lupolianski claimed that there were environmental risks to the high-tech manufacturing done by Intel, and successfully beat back the chip-maker's proposal. Few observers were convinced that Lupolianski, who until then had shown little interest in environmental issues, had turned green. What mattered to Lupolianski was the industrial park's proximity to the rapidly growing Haredi neighborhoods on the north side of the city, virtually all of which are in desperate need of more apartments -- which could be built on the land Intel sought.

In my conversation with Lupolianski, he made no attempt to hide the fact that the housing problems of the ultrareligious are his first priority: "The need is greatest among the Haredim," he said. The land on which Intel had

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hoped to build is now likely to be used for housing for the ultrareligious, and while Intel continues to have facilities in Israel, it will locate its proposed new enterprise elsewhere, taking new jobs and investment away from Jerusalem.

THOSE JEWS IN JERUSALEM WHO ARE THE MOST religious tend to see the city in the most practical way, and nowhere in the city is this paradox more marked than at Ramat Polin, an extraordinary new neighborhood on the city's north side. Built in the 1970's to the designs of Zvi Hecker, one of Israel's most determinedly avant-garde architects, Ramat Polin was one of the few attempts by the national Ministry of Housing, which oversees the design and construction of Jerusalem's new neighborhoods, to break out of the standard architectural mold. Hecker created a "beehive" -- a cluster of prefabricated, hexagonal units that were stacked in a manner that made for intriguing geometries but for little livability. The hexagonal shapes yielded internal spaces that were determinedly bizarre, with no vertical walls and a nearly overpowering sense of arbitrary and intrusive architectural presence.

Not surprisingly, the project was a failure: apartments went unsold, since few Israelis had any interest in being guinea pigs in an architect's ongoing experiment about rethinking the nature of domestic space. It was rescued financially -- and filled to overflowing -- only when an arrangement was made for one of the ultrareligious housing cooperatives to take it over, filling it with Haredi families who were eager for a roof over their heads, and cared not at all if that roof came down at a 15-degree angle. In fact, they seemed not to care much what the roof even looked like, or the walls, or much of anything else. They have turned Ramat Polin into a kind of avant-garde shtetl. Open balconies are crowded with lean-tos, scrolled ironwork now decorates many of the windows and terraces and the pathways in front of these futuristic buildings are chock-full with men dressed in the 18th-century garb of the most traditional Haredim. Nowhere in Jerusalem, surely, is there as striking a contrast between the container and the people it contains.

Ramat Polin is like a concert of difficult, atonal music for which tickets have been sold only to the tone-deaf. The Haredim are almost entirely without interest in esthetics, for theirs is a culture of words, not images. (Martin Weyl, the director of the Israel Museum, recalls a visit to the museum by one of the Haredi rabbis, itself a startling event, since the ultra religious community has made no secret of its disapproval of the museum for showing contemporary art and images of women. But the rabbi, Weyl recalls, paid little attention to the pictures: he spent most of his time reading the labels, and looking at pictures that themselves contained writing.) At Ramat Polin, an unusual, highly personal notion of utopia was envisioned by an architect. The Haredim who live there give no indication of seeing this, or of perceiving Hecker's ideas at all. They see the buildings only in the most earthbound terms, blinkered by their obsession about a heaven of their own.

HEAVEN IN ONE FORM OR another is, of course, ever present in Jerusalem. It is there in the route Jesus took through the city to his crucifixion, the Stations of the Cross; it is at the Dome of the Rock, where the prophet Mohammed is said to have leaped toward the sky for his nighttime rendezvous with God, and it hovers over the Western Wall, the remnant of the foundations of the Second Temple and the most sacred shrine in Judaism. All three of these sacred sites are close upon one another in the Old City, and while they are deluged continually with both tourists and pilgrims, in their political status they are more like little countries than tourist attractions, for control over them has been the subject of two thousand years of struggle. Indeed, these sacred places are in one sense the most earthly realms of all, for in the long history of Jerusalem they have inspired as much war as peace.

Heaven intrudes upon Jerusalem in another way, too, in the recurring question of how much the whole city should itself resemble a perfect kingdom, or simply be allowed to look like other places. The British, who governed Jerusalem from 1917 to 1947, made a powerful gesture toward a higher Jerusalem when they decreed that all buildings had to be faced with Jerusalem stone, a local form of limestone with an exceptionally warm, golden hue. The rule remains in effect, lifted only for a short time in the 1930's when a stonecutters' strike led to the approval of several modernist buildings of stucco, and again briefly in the 1950's, in the rush to build subsidized housing. This rule may be the most important single act of city planning ever in Jerusalem. The stone is an extraordinary material, rich and textured and almost magical in the glow of dawn and dusk in the city's heavy light, and it brings even the most mediocre architecture into a sense of wholeness with the city.

It is difficult to imagine what Jerusalem would be like without that stone. It turns the Old City into a single, glowing mass, and it saves the newer sections, with their waves of identical apartment blocks rolling over the hills, from total

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dreariness. Teddy Kollek said not long ago that he felt that "keeping the stone and keeping the city green" were his two greatest accomplishments so far as physical planning is concerned, and he is right -- the city has numerous parks and open spaces, many of which were expanded and improved with the help of the Jerusalem Foundation. The area around the walls of the Old City, where buildings once went right up against the stone, has now been cleared and turned into a public open space as well, setting off the Old City with a slender belt of green. Construction is now moving ahead on one of the most ambitious projects of the Kollek era, Mamilla, a huge urban renewal project combining hotels, condominiums, retail space, parking and terraced open space in a mix of new and rehabilitated buildings in front of the Jaffa Gate, the prime entrance to the Old City. Designed by Moshe Safdie, Mamilla was initially to have been a huge complex that threatened to overpower the Old City beside it; after years of controversy, the plan was scaled back to something smaller in scale, more pedestrian-oriented, and more likely to provide a comfortable bridge between the central business district and the Old City.

JERUSALEM, WHICH THE ISRAELIS claim as their capital and like to suggest is synonymous with Jewish identity, was almost not a part of Israel in the first place. The founders of the state, including David Ben-Gurion, the first Prime Minister, accepted a 1947 United Nations proposal to partition Palestine into Jewish and Arab states that would have placed the city under international sovereignty. They agreed partly for practical reasons -- they did not want to take on the United Nations at that stage -- and partly because Jerusalem was never central to the dreams of the secular Zionists anyway. (Chaim Weizmann, the first President of Israel, called Jerusalem "a cursed city which has nothing in it," and also said, "As for the Old City, I would not take it even as a gift.") The Arabs rejected the partitioning plan and initiated what became Israel's war of independence, but even when the war was won in 1948, and the western sections of Jerusalem were in Israeli hands, the newly declared state of Israel still established its capital in Tel Aviv.

It was only a year later, in 1949, when the United Nations tried to move ahead on a plan to internationalize Jerusalem, that Israel had second thoughts and announced that Jerusalem would be considered its capital. (Most countries, including the United States, still do not recognize Israel's right to Jerusalem as a capital, and maintain their embassies in Tel Aviv.) Capital or not, Jerusalem in the years before 1967 had a profound sense of isolation from the rest of the country. The post-1948 borders were drawn in such a way as to make Jerusalem a kind of finger sticking into Jordanian territory, so the city's residents were surrounded on the north, east and south by Arabs.

Israel has controlled East Jerusalem for more than 28 years, but the difference in the condition of the two sides of the city is as striking, in some ways, as it was in 1967. Teddy Kollek was a passionate advocate of tolerance, and moved audiences around the world with his pleas for unity and concern for the Arab citizens of Jerusalem, but the fact is that his administration did relatively little to improve conditions on the Palestinian side of town. East Jerusalem was largely poor and depressed before the Six Day War, and it remains so today. While electricity and telephone service have been upgraded, it's probable that these things would have happened eventually even under the Jordanians, who controlled East Jerusalem along with the Old City until their defeat in the '67 war. The one major capital improvement made in the Kollek years in East Jerusalem -- modernizing the sewer system -- came only after an outbreak of cholera led to fears that disease in East Jerusalem could put the citizens of West Jerusalem in jeopardy.

Actually, making things better for West Jerusalem was the goal of most of the Kollek policies. The former Mayor was probably better at easing the concerns of liberal Jews that he was not doing enough for the Arabs than he was at caring for the Arabs themselves; since 1967, for example, according to a study by B'Tselem, the Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories, 64,880 housing units have been built in Jerusalem for Jews and only 8,800 for Palestinians. "Since the annexation of East Jerusalem in 1967, the Israeli Government has adopted a policy of systematic and deliberate discrimination against the Palestinian population in all matters relating to expropriation of land, planning and building," the B'Tselem study declared.

A report from this spring by the city government itself contains statistics that are just as damning: out of 900 sanitation workers, only 87 are assigned to East Jerusalem; out of 100 firefighters, only 14 are assigned to East Jerusalem. Mayor Olmert shows off the report as a sign of his predecessor's hypocrisy, and claims that he will do things differently. "Teddy could afford to do nothing for the Arabs -- he was a liberal," Olmert says. "I am a right-

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wing conservative, so I will have to prove that I am concerned. So we are going to provide better services -- it is incumbent upon us to show we can live with them equitably."

Sarah Kaminker, the former City Council member and, on the Israeli political spectrum, left of center, says, in reference to the Kollek years: "The government was absolutely brilliant in everything it did in East Jerusalem, because the policy was to isolate the Arabs and keep them quiet and yet appear to be treating them well. There are no master plans for a lot of the Arab neighborhoods, and not even roads to connect the older villages with each other. All the new roads were built to connect the new Jewish neighborhoods to the center of the city."

The new neighborhoods were not of the city's own making, of course; they were a policy decision by the national Government, which was determined to create what came later to be called "facts on the ground" -- irrefutable evidence of Jewish presence on land that had once belonged to Arabs. Yet Teddy Kollek endorsed the thrust of this policy, with its overwhelming bias in favor of Jewish residents of Jerusalem, and put the city's resources at its disposal. His passion for a unified city drove him to reject proposals shortly after the 1967 war to reconstitute the old municipal government of East Jerusalem and allow it to operate under the supervision of Israeli authorities, as the governments of many West Bank cities did -- a system that would have meant that Jerusalem would have been governed by two separate entities, both reporting to the same national Government. Complex though it seems, such a plan could well have made the political life of the city easier today.

"I worked long and hard on that plan -- I even kept the green chairs from the East Jerusalem council chamber in storage for four or five years," recalls Meron Benvenisti, a deputy mayor under Kollek, and now a writer, scholar and frequent critic of the Kollek administration. "But Teddy said he didn't want it. He demolished the legitimately constructed Arab municipality of East Jerusalem" -- to assure that Jerusalem would be managed only by a single government, the Jewish government of West Jerusalem.

"NOBODY WANTS A GOOD government -- they only want their own government," Kollek says now. "We see this all over Africa -- no country has as good a government as it did under the Dutch. But you can't go back." The comparison of the Israeli government of Jerusalem with the colonial governments of Africa is a startling and damning one, of course, and it points up precisely where Kollek is out of touch: he has no sense of the power of nationalist passions, and no understanding of the extent to which they could lead Palestinians, as they had led Africans, to be willing to forgo creature comforts in exchange for a sense of control over their own destiny. In his belief that the promise of parks, schools and health centers would suffice to keep the Palestinians happy, Kollek really did see himself as a kind of benign colonial ruler, not only over the Arabs but over many of the city's recently immigrated Jews, too. "The Jews coming here from the former Soviet Union, the Arabs, the ultrareligious Jews -- none of them really know democracy," he says. "They think not of what they can do, only of what they need."

Kollek began during his administration to institute what he called a borough system to give neighborhoods some control over their own affairs by turning over management of certain city services, like street cleaning, to localities. But this was as much a means of holding back power as granting it, creating the illusion of broader participation in city government as a means of keeping the lid on dissatisfaction; the goal, as in Mikail Gorbachev's perestroika, was to preserve the existing system, not to undermine it. For Kollek was as committed, at least publicly, to the notion of Jerusalem's oneness throughout his 28 years in City Hall as much as he was in 1969, when he rejected any possibility of continued life for the government of East Jerusalem. "The Arabs have more freedom under us," he says. "A divided city is not a practical proposition."

And those in power in Jerusalem now, if they lack Kollek's colonialist slant, take an even harder line. "The city cannot be divided like Berlin," Uri Lupolianski says. Mayor Olmert says, "If Jerusalem is split, the city will be destroyed -- it is a death penalty on the city." Palestinians, not surprisingly, offer no such dire predictions. They have nothing to lose from a change in Jerusalem's governance. Lacking any real control over any portion of Jerusalem, they can only describe the prospect of their getting it as assuring a future of tranquillity and good feeling -- something that, in truth, is no more likely to occur than the apocalypse feared by conservative Israelis.

"There is a division now between East and West Jerusalem -- people from the east do not go to the west, and people from the west do not go to the east," says Faisal Hussein, the head of the Palestine Liberation Organization

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in Jerusalem. "What good is it to control some area if you cannot go there except with guns, and you cannot enjoy the life there? I think people want to enjoy life in Jerusalem, and not to have all this fighting go on. I accept that the west side of the city is under Israeli sovereignty if the east side is under Palestinian sovereignty. What they cannot say is that all of Jerusalem is under Israel's sovereignty."

Sovereignty has become a buzz word in Jerusalem. There have been dozens of proposals by politicians, political scientists, research institutes here and research institutes from around the world as to how some form of shared jurisdiction over Jerusalem might work. (One study counted 56 separate proposals for how the city might be governed.) Two distinct municipalities; one municipality with two separate governing bodies reporting to it; international sovereignty; Israeli sovereignty with special privileges for a Palestinian authority; a joint administration of an undivided city; shrinking the city to the pre-1967 borders; expanding it even beyond the current borders -- all of these things have been proposed, so frequently that they have given rise to what Meron Benvenisti calls "the solution industry."

Most Palestinians continue to view East Jerusalem as the future capital of their future state, and the Israeli Government continues in its efforts to disabuse the Palestinians of such notions. Late last month, Israel ordered the closing of three Palestinian offices in East Jerusalem, claiming they were run by Yasir Arafat's government of Palestinian autonomy in violation of the peace agreement. The Israeli Government believes the P.L.O. is trying to establish its own "facts on the ground" -- establishing a de facto government in the eastern sector of the city.

It is impossible to know at this stage how the negotiations between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization will resolve the status of Jerusalem. It is only clear that the negotiators in Oslo, where the timetable was set up in 1993, knew what they were doing holding Jerusalem for the end.

THE ISRAELIS AND THE Palestinians both believe that their past relationship to the city gives them a rightful claim on its future. And who can say otherwise? The most convincing Israeli argument against giving over a portion of Jerusalem to Palestinian control is how hard it would be to administer a city that was effectively part of two countries. Yet things are hardly working as they are, and it is possible that a Jerusalem under dual sovereignty could serve not as the model for conflict that it has been for so long, but as a model for harmony, as a reminder not of Israeli intransigence, but of Israeli generosity of spirit.

Israelis seem to be coming, gradually, to accept the notion that the only way to a permanent peace may be to give up total control over their capital. According to a public opinion poll conducted in May for the Israel-Palestine Center for Research and Information, 28 percent of Israeli Jewish adults say they are ready to accept some form of divided sovereignty over Jerusalem, so long as Israel could retain control over the Jewish neighborhoods in East Jerusalem. It is not a huge number, but more than had been widely believed. There appears to be an increasing number of Israelis who believe, as the architect Moshe Safdie puts it, "that it is time to separate the notion of sovereignty from the idea of a divided city. We have a divided city now in all but name -- and maybe by giving up sovereignty over a portion of it, we could actually make it more united."

Safdie's paradox -- that in division there may, in the end, be a truer unity -- is an essential observation, for it cuts through much of the denial on both sides. The city is no more truly united today than it was before the 1967 war; it is unified only administratively, not socially, culturally or economically. A solution to Jerusalem's future must acknowledge this, even as it also acknowledges, as Israel Kimhi of the Jerusalem Institute says, "that we still have to manage planning, transportation, water, electricity and everything else together. This is a holy city, but people have to go to work each morning."

They have to go to work, and not on a bus that might, one morning or the next, be carrying a suicide bomber. Last month's attack brought many Jerusalemites back to the terrible killing of February 1993 in Jerusalem's new East Talpote neighborhood, set high on a ridge above the poor Arab village of Jabel Mukaber. A resident of East Talpote was stabbed to death and another seriously wounded as they waited for a city bus, and the tragedy is marked in two ways: there is a monument at the bus stop, and there is now a high fence separating the Jewish settlement from the Arab village.

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Jerusalem cannot afford more fences between its East Talpiots and its Jabel Mukabers. Taking them down will not be easy, especially in an atmosphere in which people wonder if and where there will be a next bomb. In the end, the solution for Jerusalem cannot be one that makes anyone terribly happy, because any solution that makes someone too happy will probably make someone else too unhappy, and things will be right back where they started. The political solution, whatever it turns out to be, will be one that people will live with grudgingly, not exuberantly. For what will save Jerusalem will not be a miracle, but the ordinary, slow, dreary business of compromise, the acknowledgment by all sides that no one is going away, and that what is sacred to them is always going to belong, in part, to someone else. But what better lesson, in the end, could a holy place confer than that of understanding reality, and of seeing the sacred city as something more profound than an object to be held like a trophy won in battle?

"I am against the solution industry, because the solution is going to have to be ambiguous," Meron Benvenisti says. "I see neither redemption nor apocalypse, but a future in which Jerusalem will learn how to cope with friction, and develop a way of living with it -- a future in which the city will become wise enough to live with ambiguity."

Graphic

Photos: IN THEIR HANDS -- Mayor Ehud Olmert. The support of the ultrareligious Haredim put him over the top. Center: Uri Lupolianski, a deputy

mayor and unapologetic separatist. Bottom: Moshe Safdie, architect, on the site of his Mamilla project, where urban renewal shadows the Old City. (pg. 44); AVANT-GARDE SHTETL -- The Ramat Polin complex has been filled by ultra-Orthodox Jews eager to have a roof -- any roof -- over their heads. (pg. 45); FLYING COLORS -- Near the Damascus Gate in East Jerusalem, an Arab boy claims a piece of the sky with a kite that resembles the Palestinian flag. (pg. 46); The profound and the provincial: A souvenir vendor atop the Mount of Olives, not far from the Old City, the ancient heart of Jerusalem. (pg. 42)(PHOTOGRAPHS BY ESAIAS BAITEL/GAMMA LIAISON, FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Load-Date: September 10, 1995

WHY NEGATIVE ADS ARE GOOD FOR DEMOCRACY

The New York Times

November 3, 1996, Sunday, Late Edition - Final

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Distribution: Magazine Desk

Section: Section 6; ; Section 6; Page 52; Column 1; Magazine Desk ; Column 1; ; Biography

Length: 4122 words

Byline: Bob Torricelli, Dick Zimmer

By John Tierney;

John Tierney is a staff writer for the Magazine.

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Body

ON SEPT. 4, THE REAL CAMPAIGN FOR BILL BRADLEY'S SENATE SEAT began secretly in a conference room at the Sheraton Hotel in Woodbridge, N.J. About 70 people, recruited by a market-research firm offering \$40 for two hours' work, sat there with meters recording their reactions to a dozen television commercials. They weren't told the source of the commercials, but it quickly became obvious. One ad praised the Democratic candidate, Representative Bob Torricelli, as a man with "our values." The rest were chiefly devoted to savaging his Republican opponent, Representative Dick Zimmer.

"New Jersey, meet Dick Zimmer. He's taken more money from polluters than anyone else in the state."

"Dick Zimmer voted against Medicare coverage of mammogram tests for breast cancer."

"Dick Zimmer. He's not on our side."

As the ads played over and over, the spectators were asked to rate their feelings. How believable is the ad? How does it make you feel toward the candidate? The people dutifully twisted the dials on their meters between 0 (very negative) and 100 (very positive). But finally they rebelled. One of the participants, Eileen Kaczmarek, recalls the scene:

"They showed us a commercial saying that Dick Zimmer was for teen-age drinking and driving. One man stood up and shouted, 'Look, if Dick Zimmer was my father and I saw this, I wouldn't vote for him!' Other people started screaming. 'Come on, this is so unbelievable!' and 'I can't take this anymore! It's too negative!' The woman in charge told us to quiet down: 'This is not a focus group. If you want to talk, talk through your dial.' So I did. I put my dial on 50 -- neutral -- and left it there the rest of the session. The woman next to me did the same thing. It was amazing to see how the negativity in the ads created negativity in the room. The nasty ads make you not want to vote at all."

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By now just about everyone in New Jersey has seen some of those ads, and the campaign has become one of the nastiest in America -- which is actually not an unusual distinction for a New Jersey race. The state's politicians have a singularly difficult time reaching voters, most of whom watch newscasts from New York and Philadelphia. So the state has become notorious for vicious advertising showdowns between high-priced consultants, like the one between James Carville and Ed Rollins during the 1993 gubernatorial race won by Christine Todd Whitman. This fall two maestros of negative advertising, Robert Shrum, a Democrat, and Arthur J. Finkelstein, a Republican, are running the country's most expensive television campaigns in a state election. Altogether, this tightly contested race is expected to generate nearly \$20 million of television advertising, much of it misleading, most of it negative. One effect will surely be to replicate Eileen Kaczmarek's experience. The negative ads will probably discourage 5 percent of the electorate -- some 200,000 disgusted New Jerseyans -- from voting on Tuesday.

But while this is the campaign everyone loves to hate, it also happens to be a demonstration of what's right with modern politics. On balance, poll-driven consultants and attack ads have been good for democracy. If they have turned off many people, they have also educated unprecedented numbers of voters, made politicians more accountable and counteracted the biases of the media establishment. Negative ads produce positive results, even as they offend weary viewers like Eileen Kaczmarek.

Kaczmarek, who lives in Woodbridge, was so angry after the screening session that she got in touch with the Zimmer campaign and described what she had seen. Zimmer's consultants were happy to get a sneak preview of their opponent's campaign, and they saw a chance to embarrass Torricelli, who had been proclaiming his desire to run a positive campaign. They urged Kaczmarek to tell her story to reporters, which she did, starting with *The Record*, the influential newspaper in Bergen County. Its article about the screening session included a denunciation from Larry Weitzner, a political consultant who is Zimmer's campaign chairman: "It's not surprising that the Torricelli campaign would strap 70 strangers to a hate meter to see which ads generate the most hate."

It was a wonderfully pious bit of theatrics. Zimmer's strategists were using the negative-ad screening session as an excuse to create negative publicity themselves -- all the while proclaiming their own abhorrence of such tactics. By this time, of course, they already had their own series of attack ads ready to go, and Weitzner was busy working on more.

"BREAKING NEWS," THE AD REVEILED AS THE NADIR OF THE NEW JERSEY race, began taking shape the morning of Wednesday, Oct. 2. The previous evening, Fox News -- Channel 5 in New York City -- had opened its 10 o'clock newscast with the revelation that Torricelli had once spoken at a symposium sponsored in part by an Islamic group accused of having links to Hamas terrorists. That morning, *The Record* reported that Torricelli had helped care for the daughter of a fugitive, a former campaign donor who had fled to his native South Korea to escape charges of embezzling \$34 million. Zimmer's strategists plotted their reaction at campaign headquarters, in a suburban office park in Lawrenceville. "We're going to see how these scandals play out," Weitzner said after the meeting, "but we're already thinking about an ad."

The "we" included Zimmer and Finkelstein, who is officially the campaign's pollster and in practice its master tactician, supervising from afar. Finkelstein, whose office is in Irvington, N.Y., is renowned both for his successful clients (Senator Alfonse D'Amato, Gov. George Pataki, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel) and for his reclusiveness. (He refuses to grant interviews.) Finkelstein doesn't use focus groups or test screenings like the one held by Torricelli's consultants. He relies instead on polls and proven tactics. In previous campaigns in New York, Finkelstein had labeled Gov. Mario Cuomo "too liberal too long" and Attorney General Robert Abrams "hopelessly liberal." This time, Weitzner says, they discussed a couple of possibilities for Torricelli -- "Too liberal for New Jersey" and "Liberal and not worth it" -- before settling on the slogan "Foolishly liberal."

Some consultants pride themselves on commercials with rich images and cinematic flourishes, but Finkelstein is known for blunt messages with simple graphics and underlined text -- what others sometimes dismiss as "direct mail on the screen." This style is in evidence around the country now thanks to Finkelstein's former proteges at the Dole campaign as well as at the Republican National Committee and the National Republican Senatorial Committee.

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Zimmer's campaign, like Torricelli's, began with a commercial extolling its candidate and then quickly went negative. Zimmer's inventory included vintage direct-mail-on-the-screen ads as well as a couple of innovations, which Weitzner screened in the conference room that Wednesday morning. One ad, a takeoff on the beer commercial with frogs croaking, "Bud-wei-ser," showed three frogs gazing at Torricelli as they croaked, "Lib-er-al." Another showed a man at a computer screen surfing the Internet and clicking on the word "liberal" to read Torricelli's positions on crime, welfare and taxes.

The screening was interrupted by the entrance of Zimmer himself, who wanted to see a tape of the Fox newscast about Torricelli's speech. "I'm going to have to talk about it, but I still haven't seen it," Zimmer said. "It's strange: this whole campaign is being fought on television, but I'm so busy I don't get to see of any of it." He watched it and rushed off to a press conference at the State Capitol, where he told reporters, "These disclosures raise real questions about Bob Torricelli's fitness to be a United States senator."

Two days later Weitzner began reinforcing that message at a private television studio near his firm's office outside Princeton. He and Finkelstein had written a 60-second commercial listing alleged scandals involving Torricelli (the recent news stories as well as earlier controversies about fund-raising and a student's nomination to West Point). It would be a simulated news bulletin, showing images from real newscasts and newspaper articles in a box above the shoulder of a pseudo-newscaster, with the words BREAKING NEWS scrolling across the screen.

Weitzner watched that Friday evening in the studio as an actress sat on a stool adjusting her white blouse and blue blazer. Once she had attained the proper anchorwoman gravitas, she looked into the camera and began reading: "In another bizarre twist in this year's New Jersey Senate race, The Bergen Record reported Bob Torricelli was involved with an indicted Korean bank embezzler."

"Let's underline 'bizarre,' " Weitzner told the producers, who underlined the word on the teleprompter. It took several hours to underline the right words -- missed votes, bounced checks, mobsters -- and compress the reading to 56 seconds. When they finished, Weitzner pronounced himself proud of the spot: "This is a factual ad. We're saying that the press has reported certain ethical lapses, and this format is a good way to present those genuine news reports."

"What if they criticize you for trying to fool people with a fake newscast?" I asked.

Weitzner smiled. "Let them criticize," he said. "We won't mind the publicity."

THE NEXT MORNING, AS ZIMMER'S media team was editing "Breaking News," I went to Washington to see Torricelli's consultants -- Shrum and Michael Donilon, partners in the firm of Shrum, Devine & Donilon. Shrum is known in the business as the creator of the Cranston Strategy, named for Senator Alan Cranston's successful campaign in 1986 that established a guiding principle for consultants: attack early and often. This year Shrum's firm is representing a half-dozen candidates around the country, including Senator John Kerry of Massachusetts.

"What do you expect next from Zimmer's consultants?" I asked.

"I assume they will continue to push the 'liberal, liberal, liberal' line we're seeing everywhere this year," Donilon said. "I assume they'll continue to push the smear argument."

Shrum said: "They'll have to make a decision about when and if they want to do something with this personal stuff. They're clearly headed for a smear campaign. It's the Republican modus operandi: spread every rumor they can about Torricelli and see if they can do to him what they tried to do to Clinton and Hillary. They try to create headlines in the free press, which are then used in ads."

"Torricelli has rebutted all the charges," Donilon said, "but they can run an ad with a newspaper headline, and the viewer won't see the rebuttal."

It was an impressive display of professionalism. Not only had Shrum and Donilon correctly anticipated Zimmer's next attack ad; they were already using it as an excuse for a new attack of their own. They spent much of the next

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hour denouncing the tactics of Finkelstein and Weitzner. Then they played their new commercial, "The Mammogram," which would become one of the most heavily used commercials during the weeks ahead.

It begins with a somber-looking woman in a blue hospital gown undergoing a mammogram as a soft female voice announces: "The mammogram. Every woman knows it saves lives." The video image freezes and turns to black-and-white as a photograph of Zimmer and a red block of text cover the woman. The announcer reads the words on the screen: "Dick Zimmer voted against Medicare coverage of mammogram tests for breast cancer." Then Torricelli appears, talking to women, as the announcer continues: "Bob Torricelli's fought to cover mammogram tests and to expand research into women's health issues. Our values. Our fights. Torricelli." It takes only 15 seconds.

The consultants knew from their test of Eileen Kaczmarek's group that it would work. "Mammograms and Medicare -- very powerful issues," Donilon said. Shrum shook his head in disgust. "People think it's preposterous," he said, "that somebody would have voted to have Medicare stop covering mammograms."

Yes, it did seem preposterous, but it wasn't true. Zimmer hadn't voted to stop paying for coverage. He had voted against a proposal to expand Medicare. It currently pays for a routine mammogram every two years for women over 64; the proposed expansion would have covered annual tests. Zimmer hadn't tried to deny those women a benefit. The ad's wording was technically correct, but the message was false.

Zimmer protested the ad as soon as it went on the air, but he got little attention in the media. Instead, the controversial format of "Breaking News" and its personal attacks on Torricelli -- "innuendoes and half truths," said an editorial in the Star-Ledger of Newark -- became the news. Shrum and Donilon counterattacked with a commercial featuring an image of the actress anchorwoman under the label NEGATIVE AD, along with excerpts from editorials declaring the Zimmer ad "an abomination" and "a new low."

Weitzner couldn't have asked for more publicity. Political leaders of both parties pleaded with the candidates to stop mudslinging. Torricelli went around the state challenging Zimmer to sign a mutual pledge to stop negative ads, and much of the candidates' televised debate on Oct. 18 was devoted to the topic of negative advertising. But in all the laments about the degraded state of politics, little attention was given to a couple of pertinent questions:

Why is a phony newscaster more controversial than a phony scare about breast cancer?

Are these negative ads really fooling anyone?

THE MOST EXHAUSTIVE STUDY OF NEGATIVE ADVERTISING, PUBLISHED this year in a book titled "Going Negative," took place in two Southern California offices designed to look like living rooms. Several people at a time sat on couches and overstuffed chairs, drinking coffee and eating chocolate-chip cookies, as a television showed a videotape of a local newscast. The subjects thought it was a study of how people perceive news, but the real experiment was buried between news segments. Interspersed with commercials for Tylenol and dog food were political ads -- some taken from real campaigns, some created especially for the experiment. After testing more than 3,000 people, the political scientists who conducted the experiment concluded that negative ads definitely work -- but not in many of the ways commonly feared.

"We found that television advertising doesn't really change a lot of people's opinions," says Stephen Ansolabehere of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who conducted the study with Shanto Iyengar of the University of California at Los Angeles. "The main effect of ads is to reinforce what you already believe and to bring apathetic people back into the fold. They don't convert a Democrat into a Republican. The independent voters largely tune out both positive and negative ads, although they're somewhat more responsive to negative advertising because they're more cynical about government to begin with."

Misleading ads trouble editorial writers, but voters know better than to believe everything they see on the tube. "People are pretty savvy," Ansolabehere says. "They wouldn't believe an ad saying that Zimmer favors teen-agers' drinking and driving. They come into campaigns looking for certain information that's important to them, and they'll disregard extraneous material. Television advertising has led to more informed voting because it reaches so many

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more people than traditional media and provides so much useful information. During a campaign a candidate will typically put on 15 different commercials, and it's amazing how much they pack into that eight minutes."

Articles about the campaign (like this one) tend to focus on the candidates' ads attacking each other's integrity. But most of Torricelli's and Zimmer's negative commercials deal with issues like taxes, crime and education, and they're crammed with statistics and footnotes about candidates' voting records. A 30-second spot often addresses three different substantive issues -- which is at least two more issues than voters will find in the typical two-minute television story or 500-word newspaper article. Journalists concentrate on who's winning and how the campaigns are being waged. They entertain audiences with stories about personalities, scandals and colorful conflicts. Weitzner knew that he could get free publicity for "Breaking News" because it featured personal attacks in a provocative format and raised an issue about media manipulation that was easy to understand (and, not incidentally, of personal interest to reporters). It made a much better story than one about Torricelli's ad about mammograms.

The news media do occasionally provide special reports on the issues and give candidates a chance to present positions in depth. But the public doesn't pay much attention -- as politicians well know. The best way for them to convey a coherent, substantive message is in small doses, administered over and over. For a message to sink in, consultants figure they have to run a 30-second spot during enough programs so that the average TV viewer is exposed to it at least five times. In New Jersey, the consultants are aiming for 10 times.

Viewers complain about the barrage of negativity and say they would prefer positive messages, but they're more likely to believe negative ones. In the California study, the researchers presented two versions of the same ad -- one saying, for instance, that a candidate "supported new government ethics rules," the other saying the opponent opposed the rules. Republicans and independents, who each constitute roughly a third of the electorate, were more likely to be swayed by the negative version. Only Democrats were more convinced by the positive version.

A positive ad tends to reinforce the Democratic belief in government's capacity to help people, and the study found that if both candidates ran only positive ads, the Democrat benefited overall. But if the Republican went negative, the Democrat's positive ads lost their impact. At that point, it paid for the Democrat to go negative, too. "On the whole, negative ads are effective even though they turn off voters," says Ansolabehere, who found that negative ads made viewers lose faith in the political process. "Voters end up thinking government doesn't work and both guys are bums -- but they think the guy being attacked is a lot worse than the other bum."

So critics are right when they complain that negative ads create skepticism about government. But why assume that's bad for the nation? It was exactly what the Founding Fathers hoped to encourage by establishing freedom of the press, which in their day meant allowing newspapers owned by political parties to run viciously negative print campaigns. Negative advertising forces candidates to address voters instead of the insiders -- party leaders, special-interest groups, journalists -- who used to dominate the political agenda. Politicians could raise taxes, support unpopular programs and reward special interests without worrying about their votes being advertised on prime-time television during the next election. They could break campaign promises without enduring a punishment like President Bush's in 1992: watching endless video replays of himself saying, "Read my lips: no new taxes."

Journalists like to see themselves as the best arbiters of political discourse; unlike media consultants, they can't slander a candidate and leave town after the election. But while journalists try to be fair, they see the world differently than voters do. Studies have repeatedly shown that journalists are more liberal than the average American. A recent survey found that 89 percent of bureau chiefs and correspondents in Washington voted for Clinton in the last election.

"Coverage is bound to be affected when 89 percent of us support one candidate," says Michael Barone, a co-author of "The Almanac of American Politics" and a senior writer at U.S. News & World Report. "Advertising is a way of countering that bias and raising important issues that journalists ignore. Journalists are offended by the negative ads calling candidates liberal, but that's because in our circle there's nothing wrong with the word."

During New Jersey's last famously nasty campaign, in 1993, the press gave little credence to Christine Todd Whitman's proposal to cut income taxes by 30 percent. Reporters, who focused on her tactical blunders and poor

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standing in the polls, presented the tax cuts as a strategy that wasn't working. Editorial writers almost unanimously denounced the proposal as insincere and irresponsible. The New York Times called the tax cuts "incredible" and "magic tricks"; the headline of an editorial in The Philadelphia Inquirer, "It's a Fraud!" was featured in Jim Florio's attack ads.

But Whitman managed to reach voters directly with her commercials -- particularly the negative ones that Ed Rollins finally persuaded her to run. She coupled her tax-cut plan with attacks on Florio for raising taxes, and voters believed the simplistic ads instead of the thoughtful editorials endorsing Florio for his courage in facing the state's fiscal realities. As governor, Whitman went on to deliver the tax cuts and become a model for Republicans around the country. Florio, meanwhile, has become the Democratic equivalent of Newt Gingrich. He looks almost satanic in the Republicans' attack ads during this race.

THREE WEEKS AFTER "BREAKING NEWS" first appeared, Weitzner reported with satisfaction a finding from the Zimmer campaign's polls: that 45 percent of New Jerseyans associated Torricelli's name with the allegations mentioned in the ad. Three weeks after "The Mammogram" debuted, Shrum was similarly contented: his tracking polls showed that among people over 60, Torricelli's support rose to 40 percent from 26 percent after the ad went on the air.

What difference will all this negativity make on Tuesday? Ansolabehere estimates that television advertising can affect a result by about eight percentage points, a crucial margin in many races. Since both sides have gone negative and are spending comparable sums, the two ad campaigns might just end up canceling each other out. But the negative advertising will undoubtedly have one impact: a smaller turnout. A negative ad campaign, according to Ansolabehere's research, typically discourages 5 percent of the electorate from voting -- chiefly, independents. Ansolabehere and others worry that negative advertising is polarizing politics by suppressing moderates' votes and encouraging candidates to pander to the extremes.

That may be a danger, but you wouldn't know it from the New Jersey election. Both candidates are determined to come across as centrists. In Congress both were more moderate than their fellow party members, moving closer to the center as the campaign season approached -- aware, no doubt, that any vote could be used against them in an attack ad. During the campaign they have to appeal to television's mass audience. It costs candidates about \$1 million to reach every viewer in New Jersey with a commercial. At that price, they can't afford many appeals to special interests.

New Jersey's voters may not realize that they're choosing between two relatively moderate candidates -- and that is the greatest deception induced by six weeks of attack ads. The candidates seem a lot more extreme than they really are. Torricelli isn't George McGovern and Zimmer isn't Newt Gingrich.

But at least voters have a reasonable idea of the essential differences between them. In September 90 percent of New Jerseyans couldn't name the two candidates for Senate; now they've all at least heard that Torricelli voted for tax increases that Zimmer opposed and that Zimmer voted against Federal education and health-care programs supported by his opponent. Torricelli may not be guilty of ethical lapses in the cases cited in "Breaking News," but it's true that reputable news organizations have raised questions about his fund-raising activities. Zimmer may be wrongly suspected of denying mammograms to the elderly, but it's true that he favors tax cuts that would diminish the amount of revenue available for Medicare.

Negative ads do serve a purpose, and perhaps we should stop getting angry at the commercials -- drop our own negative campaign against the candidates who run them. If anyone ought to be complaining about negative advertising, it's Torricelli and Zimmer. This campaign has left the public convinced that they're both horribly vicious, venal characters. They don't enjoy slandering each other, but we give them no choice. They do it all for us.

Graphic

WHY NEGATIVE ADS ARE GOOD FOR DEMOCRACY

Photos: Torricelli as presented by Larry Weitzner, a Zimmer campaign consultant. (JAMESTOWN ASSOCIATES) (pg. 52); Zimmer as presented by the attack-ad maestro Robert Shrum. (SHRUM, DEVINE & DONILON) (pg. 53); Torricelli, at a debate with Zimmer at Rutgers University last month. (LARRY FINK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); The controversial mammogram ad. (pg. 54); Zimmer with Weitzner, and his campaign team. (LARRY FINK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); The "Foolishly Liberal" ad. (pg. 55); The Zimmer team and the now-famous commercial. (PHOTOGRAPH BY LARRY FINK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (pg. 56)

Load-Date: November 3, 1996

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**ARAZI'S ATTRACTIVE SQUAD;
FRENCH RACING AND BLOODSTOCK**

Sporting Life

August 6, 1996, Tuesday

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Section: FEATURES

Length: 6654 words

Body

ALLEGED (3c): The trio by this excellent American stallion includes Lot 94, a colt whose pedigree contains the same components as that of Suave Dancer.

ALYSHEBA (1f): Haras du Cadran's filly, Lot 192, is the first foal of Queenemara, a leading Provincial filly from a sought-after **female** line.

ALZAO (6c, 1f): Most of these were foaled in France, an exception being Lot 66, an IR22,000gns filly from Kildaragh Stud. The colts are out of daughters of Miswaki, Rainbow Quest, Bering, Kris, Spectacular Bid and Dominion.

A. P. INDY (2c): The pair from the second crop by this American Horse of the Year should attract plenty of attention. Lot 34 is a half-brother to Marchand De Sable (Criterium de Saint-Cloud) and Lot 124 is out of a speedy daughter of the top-class Sigy.

ARAZI (2c, 5f): An attractive team from Arazi's second crop could well be headed by Lot 150, a half-brother to Irish Derby winner Winged Love.

The first of the fillies, Lot 62, is out of a three-parts-sister to Ensconse and cost 31,000gns last year. Lot 134 is out of the classic-placed Duckling Park, while Lot 143 is a half-brother to this year's impressive French juvenile winner Majorien.

BELDALE FLUTTER (1c): The dam of Lot 154 is very closely related to Lavirco, this year's star German three-year-old.

BELMEZ (1c, 1f): Although he has yet to hit the headlines, Belmez has already sired two Group-winning daughters from a limited number of runners. Lot 241 is a son of the smart Bright Crocus.

BERING (12c, 10f): The majority of this large team by the sire of Pennekamp and Mat-iara appear during the select sessions, and understandably so. Bering is based at Haras du Quesnay, which consigns five of his youngsters, including Lot 13, a son of Riverman's smart daughter Liska's Dance inbred to Lyphard.

Also on offer from other studs are Lot 27, a half-brother to the Group-winning Marie De Ken, and Lot 112, a half-sister to Anabaa's fast dam Balbonella.

ARAZI'S ATTRACTIVE SQUAD; FRENCH RACING AND BLOODSTOCK

CAERLEON (5c, 2f): In view of the worldwide success Caerleon has enjoyed this year, there is sure to be great interest in such as Lot 81, the first foal of the Group-winning Silicon Bavaria; Lot 107, a half-sister to the very smart Lady Winner from a classic family; and Lot 262, a colt from the same family as Sanglamore.

Lot 406 is a sister to two Group winners, including the smart French filly Garden Rose.

COMMON GROUNDS (1c, 1f): Lot 73 is a brother to Astu-dillo, a Listed scorer in France before becoming a Grade Three winner in the USA.

CRYPTOCLEARANCE (1c): Lot 55 is a half-brother to the high-class juvenile Noblequest and to the dam of Pursuit Of Love and Divine Danse.

DEPUTY MINISTER (1c): Lot 108 is an interestingly-bred colt out of the speedy Nureyev mare Angelina Ballerina. He is inbred 3 x 3 to Northern Dancer, which may be significant in a colt from the same family as El Gran Senor and Try My Best.

DIESIS (2c): Haras du Mezeray is the consignor of these well-connected colts. Lot 39 is out of a winning half-sister to Trempolino, an Arc winner by the same sire as Diesis, while Lot 129 is out of a half-sister to Diesis's noted daughters Diminuendo and Pricket.

EXIT TO NOWHERE (16c, 20f): If this top miler can do as well as his half- brother Machiavellian, there will be some smart performers among this very large contingent.

He is based at Fresnay le Buffard, which offers Lot 121, a half-brother to the classic-placed Guislaine, and Lot 177, a filly from the same family as the great Miesque.

Haras du Thenney's filly, Lot 36, is a half-sister to the high-class Mendez, while Lot 169, from Petit Tellier, is a half-sister to the Grade Two winner Miatuschka. Others whose dams have already produced a Group winner are Lot 196, a half-sister to Kaldounevees, and Lot 243, a half- brother to Guiza.

FABULOUS DANCER (6c, 4f): Lot 224 is a brother to the Group-placed Paix Blanche.

FAIRY KING (3c, 5f): This impressive team will surely have benefited from the exploits of Helissio (a graduate of Deauville's foal sales). It is led off by Lot 75, a filly whose dam is a half-sister to Shahrastani, and 76, a daughter of the Prix Vermeille winner Sharaya. Another well-bred filly is Lot 133, a half-sister to two Group winners, including the dam of Colonel Collins.

The first of the colts, Lot 120, cost 25,000gns as a foal and is out of a half -sister to the dam of Lemon Souffle and Caramba. The next colt, Lot 135, is a son of Prix de Diane winner Escaline and the third, Lot 270, is a half-brother to the Group-winning Garendare.

FIJAR TANGO (5c, 3f): Haras des Capucines offers a half-sister to Glaros, winner of the Prix Noailles, as Lot 273.

FORZANDO (1c): Lot 199 is a half-brother to the Group-winning Secret Quest and is closely related to the classic-placed Secret Form.

GEIGER COUNTER (1c): This son of Mr Prospector is represented by Lot 56, a half-brother to German Derby fourth Provolino.

GENEROUS (1f): Societe Aland's filly, Lot 6, is out of the well-bred Nureyev mare Rive Du Sud, a granddaughter of Riverqueen.

GONE WEST (2f): The highly promising achievements of Gone West's current two -year-olds should guarantee this pair's popularity. Lot 16 is out of a young half-sister to three Group winners, while Lot 65 is a three-parts- sister to the Group-placed River Waki.

GREEN DANCER (1f): Lot 26 is a half-sister to the top French stayer Top Sunrise and the smart Old Rouvel.

ARAZI'S ATTRACTIVE SQUAD; FRENCH RACING AND BLOODSTOCK

GREEN DESERT (1c, 1f): Last into the ring on Sunday night is Lot 151, a son of Dominion's good daughter Just Class.

GROOM DANCER (6c, 6f): The final French crop of this Japanese-based sire includes several likely sorts. Japanese buyers could well be interested in Lot 33, a half-brother to the leading Japanese filly Fabulous La Fouine, out of the Prix du Cadran winner Mercalle.

Lot 59 is out of a mare by Fabulous Dancer, and so is bred to the same pattern as Fabulous La Fouine.

Lot 128 is a half-brother to the Prix Vermeille third Crnagora, while the fillies include Lot 37, a half-sister to the good two-year-old Shining Molly, and Lot 49, whose dam is a sister to Great Commotion and Lead On Time.

HAMAS (1f): Lot 172 is out of a half-sister to Arcadian Heights.

HANSEL (1c): Lot 113's dam, the Group-winning Belka, produced the fast French colt West Man to a previous mating with a stallion from the Mr Prospector line.

HERO'S HONOR (9c, 5f): Lot 144 is a three-parts-brother to the Grade Two winner Vieille Vigne.

HIGHEST HONOR (8c, 9f): This champion sire in France gets a lot of very useful performers and there are sure to be more among this large team, the majority of which are consigned by Haras du Quesnay.

For example, Lot 138 is a son of the Prix Chloe winner Formidable Flight; Lot 161 is a filly out of a half-sister to the Group One winners Grand Flotilla and Marvellous Crown; and Lot 260 is a filly from the outstanding Sunny Valley family.

IN THE WINGS (2f): Lot 102 is out of a winning daughter of the outstanding broodmare Stresa.

IRISH RIVER (2c, 1f): Lot 20 is a brother to two group performers, while Lot 384 is a sister to the Grand Criterium runner-up River Drummer.

JADE HUNTER (1c): Golden Gate Stud surely struck a great bargain at the 1995 Keeneland January Sale, when it paid only 10,000 dollars for Steinlen's talented half-sister Sophonisbe, in foal to Jade Hunter.

The Jade Hunter foal, a colt, now comes on the market as Lot 86, with the huge bonus of being a half-brother to the exciting Zagreb.

KADROU (1f): Lot 162 is a half-sister to this year's Group winner Luna Mareza, their dam being a half-sister to Linamix and Luna Wells.

KALDOUN (8c, 8f): The large team by this leading French stallion is led off by Lot 78, a filly out of a winning half-sister to Diffident.

KENDOR (7c, 7f): The Group-winning milers Grey Risk and Nec Plus Ultra have been advertising Kendor this season. His well-bred team includes such as Lot 91, a half-sister to Oaks second Sudden Love, and Lot 168, a three-parts -sister to Kendor's Group-winning daughter Marie De Ken.

KENMARE (1c): A bid of 18,000gns was enough to secure Lot 89 as a foal, a half -brother to the very useful Stylish Ways.

KRIS (2c, 1f): Haras d'Etreham's colt, Lot 126, is out of Alzao's very useful daughter Daisy Dance.

LAST TYCOON (5c, 2f): Last Tycoon received many good mares in 1994, following his 1993 successes with Bigstone, Lost World, Ezzoud and Monde Bleu. This is reflected in such as Lot 115, a half-sister to the top-class Kendor, and Lot 211, a grandson of the flying Texanita.

LEAR FAN (1c): Lot 67 is out of a sister to the very speedy Tenue De Soiree.

ARAZI'S ATTRACTIVE SQUAD; FRENCH RACING AND BLOODSTOCK

LION CAVERN (1f): Haras du Quesnay's filly, Lot 157, is out of a half- sister to the dam of Breeders' Cup Sprint winner Cardmania.

LYCIUS (1c, 2f): Lot 206 is a granddaughter of the fine broodmare Siliciana, while Lot 280 is a filly from the family of Celtic Swing.

MACHIAVELLIAN (1c, 2f): Machiavellian has done well with granddaughters of Northern Dancer, which is a pointer to Lot 85, a half-sister to Fyfield Flyer from a top family.

MARJU (2c, 2f): This sire of Sil Sila is showing distinct promise, so take a look at such as Lot 28, a filly out of a sister to Top Sunrise, and Lot 117, a half-sister to the smart Tarvisio, inbred to Irish Lass.

MISWAKI (1c, 1f): Societe Aland's filly, Lot 10, has the attraction of being closely related to the top-class Ravinella.

NABEEL DANCER (1c): 45,000 dollars was the foal price of Lot 110, which has since been boosted by the classic exploits of his three-parts-brother Polaris Flight.

NIGHT SHIFT (2c): Haras des Capuchines' colt, Lot 32, is the first foal of a winning half-sister to Group winners Floripedes and Dadarissime. Lot 38 is the first foal of a winning Caerleon mare.

NORTHERN FLAGSHIP (1c): Lot 83 is by the sire of Polaris Flight out of a half -sister to the dam of Insan.

NUREYEV (1c, 2f): This trio are sure to attract a lot of attention. Societe Aland's filly, Lot 4, is out of Pursuit Of Love's very talented half-sister Divine Danse

Haras d'Etreham's filly, Lot 51, is a three-parts-sister to the smart Neverneyev, who topped this sale in 1991. And Lot 80's dam, Sierra Roberta, went close to winning the 1989 Breeders' Cup Turf.

PISTOLET BLEU (7c, 4f): The second crop by this top-notch middle-distance performer includes Lot 221, a filly out of a half-sister to Arcangues and Agathe.

PURSUIT OF LOVE (2c, 1f): The bright start made by Pursuit Of Love's early runners should pay dividends with this team. Lot 237 is a half-brother to the smart River Of Light.

QUEST FOR FAME (1c): This Derby winner is already off the mark with his first crop and is here represented by Lot 22, a son of the Japan Cup heroine Mairzy Doates.

RED RANSOM (1f): Lot 253 is out of a sister to the high-class French colt Air De Cour.

ROYAL ACADEMY (1c, 2f): The Group-winning Truth Or Dare represented Royal Academy here two years ago. This time one of Royal Academy's fillies, Lot 174, comes from the outstanding Moon Madness family, her dam being a half-sister to Mersey and Muncie.

The colt, Lot 274, is out of a three-parts-sister to the Prix de la Salamandre winner Oczy Czarnie.

RUDIMENTARY (1c): This promising young sire relies on Lot 125, a half- brother to the Curragh Stakes winner Leading Time.

SADLER'S WELLS (1c): The shortage of yearling colts by Sadler's Wells will guarantee that Lot 87 receives plenty of attention. His dam is a winning half -sister to the American Grade One winner Metamorphose.

SANGLAMORE (6c, 4f): The second French crop by Sharpen Up's Prix du Jockey -Club winner should get off to a good start with Lot 7, a half-brother to the smart St Mawes. Lot 35 is out of a half-sister to Sharpen Up's smart son In Extremis.

Lots 43 and 106 are out of young Listed winners, while Lot 259 is a three- parts-brother to a Listed winner by Trempolino.

ARAZI'S ATTRACTIVE SQUAD; FRENCH RACING AND BLOODSTOCK

SAUMAREZ (5c, 5f): Lot 44's dam produced the smart Guide to another Blushing Groom line stallion, while Lot 156 is a filly whose second dam is a talented close relative of Soviet Star.

SEATTLE SONG (1c): Haras de Fresnay le Buffard's colt, Lot 122, is out of a half-sister to Korveya, dam of Bosra Sham, Hector Protector and Shanghai.

SEPTIEME CIEL (2c, 1f): This talented sire has a half-sister to the Criterium de Saint-Cloud winner Magistros as Lot 31 and a three-parts brother to the fast Dictator's Song as Lot 242.

SHAREEF DANCER (2c): The high-class American mare Persian Tiara is dam of Lot 52.

SHINING STEEL (6c, 9f): Lot 277 is a sister to the multiple American Grade Two winner Gold And Steel.

SHIRLEY HEIGHTS (2c, 1f): Whereas Lady Carla is by Caerleon out of a Shirley Heights mare, Lot 63 is a colt by Shirley Heights out of a Caerleon mare. The other colt, Lot 137, is out of a winning daughter of Sadler's Wells, sire of such as In The Wings from Shirley Heights mares.

SILLERY (5c, 6f): Sillery's first crop has been showing promise. He should do well with Lot 14, a grandson of the high-class Proskona, and Lot 209, a half -sister to two Group performers by Kaldoun.

SLIP ANCHOR (4c): All four of these colts come from strong families, and both Lot 79 and Lot 160 are from families which have produced Group winners to Slip Anchor's sire.

SUAVE DANCER (4c, 3f): Haras de Fresnay le Buffard's colt, Lot 72, is a half -brother to the very useful Philanthrop, from the family of the top-class April Run. The last of the colts, Lot 278, has a half-sister to Danzig as his dam and is a half-brother to the dam of Mubhij.

Lot 244's dam produced the very useful Collecta to another Nijinsky line stallion, and another filly, Lot 261, is a half-sister to the smart Witness Box.

SUBOTICA (1c, 5f): Subotica's first crop is already off the mark. His second includes Lot 183, a filly out of Blushing Groom's Italian Group winner Overdose.

TAKE RISKS (1c, 1f): Lot 21, the filly from the first crop by this very smart miler, is out of the Group-winning Madame Est Sortie and comes from the family of Ragmar.

TEL QUEL (5c, 5f): The first crop by this Champion Stakes winner includes Lot 214, a half-sister to the Group Two winner Valanjou, and Lot 225, a half -sister to Prix du Jockey-Club winner Celtic Arms.

THATCHING (1c): 54,000gns was the foal price of Lot 96, a half-brother to Prix Morny hero Tagula.

THEATRICAL (1f): Zagreb's sire is represented by Lot 109, a daughter of the very smart American mare Anka Germania.

TREMPOLINO (4c, 3f): The 1987 Arc winner has an impressive team on offer. For example Societe Aland's colt, Lot 11, is a grandson of Reine Mathilde; Lot 18 is a brother to the very smart Talloires; and Lot 61 is a half- brother to the Group-winning Roi de Rome, from a top family.

Lot 71 is a daughter of Savoureuse Lady, a Group-winning half-sister to Mtoto.

WARNING (1c, 1f): 18,000gns was the foal price of Lot 118, a colt from a smart French family.

WOLFHOUND (1c, 2f): The fillies from the first crop of this fast horse include Lot 25, a half-sister to a Listed winner from the family of Group One winners Sakura Reiko and Top Sunrise.

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ZAFONIC (2c): There will be plenty of interest in the sons of this exceptional performer. Lot 46 is the first foal of a very close relative of the high-class Phantom Breeze, while Lot 145 is the first foal of Halesia, a Group Two - winning daughter of Champion Stakes winner Hurry Harriet.

ZILZAL (1c): 95,000 dollars was the foal price of Lot 77, a colt out of a well -bred Alydar mare.

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Lot 244's dam produced the very useful Collecta to another Nijinsky line stallion, and another filly, Lot 261, is a half-sister to the smart Witness Box.

SUBOTICA (1c, 5f): Subotica's first crop is already off the mark. His second includes Lot 183, a filly out of Blushing Groom's Italian Group winner Overdose.

TAKE RISKS (1c, 1f): Lot 21, the filly from the first crop by this very smart miler, is out of the Group-winning Madame Est Sortie and comes from the family of Ragmar.

TEL QUEL (5c, 5f): The first crop by this Champion Stakes winner includes Lot 214, a half-sister to the Group Two winner Valanjou, and Lot 225, a half -sister to Prix du Jockey-Club winner Celtic Arms.

ARAZI'S ATTRACTIVE SQUAD; FRENCH RACING AND BLOODSTOCK

THATCHING (1c): 54,000gns was the foal price of Lot 96, a half-brother to Prix Morny hero Tagula.

THEATRICAL (1f): Zagreb's sire is represented by Lot 109, a daughter of the very smart American mare Anka Germania.

TREMPOLINO (4c, 3f): The 1987 Arc winner has an impressive team on offer. For example Societe Aland's colt, Lot 11, is a grandson of Reine Mathilde; Lot 18 is a brother to the very smart Talloires; and Lot 61 is a half-brother to the Group-winning Roi de Rome, from a top family.

Lot 71 is a daughter of Savoureuse Lady, a Group-winning half-sister to Mtoto.

WARNING (1c, 1f): 18,000gns was the foal price of Lot 118, a colt from a smart French family.

WOLFHOUND (1c, 2f): The fillies from the first crop of this fast horse include Lot 25, a half-sister to a Listed winner from the family of Group One winners Sakura Reiko and Top Sunrise.

ZAFONIC (2c): There will be plenty of interest in the sons of this exceptional performer. Lot 46 is the first foal of a very close relative of the high-class Phantom Breeze, while Lot 145 is the first foal of Halesia, a Group Two - winning daughter of Champion Stakes winner Hurry Harriet.

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Graphic

Ted Voute's consignment includes an El Gran Senor filly (Lot 24, leading) followed by a Kenmare colt (Lot 89), a Fairy King colt (Lot 120), a Midyan filly (Lot 42) and a Caerleon filly (Lot 98); Suave Dancer, the 1992 Arc winner, is represented by four colts and three fillies

Load-Date: August 6, 1996

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Out of America: Spartan Senate wages war on the free lunch

The Independent (London)

May 18, 1994, Wednesday

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Section: INTERNATIONAL NEWS PAGE; Page 12

Length: 4345 words

Byline: RUPERT CORNWELL

Body

WASHINGTON - The prospect is enough to have you weeping for the future of the capital of the free world: swathes of pricey restaurants filing for bankruptcy protection, operas at the Kennedy Centre with hardly a patron, empty seats in the VIP box at Redskins football games.

Still, when your public approval rating is in the upper 20s and falling, you have to do something. So, last week, the Senate passed a law against lobbyists' gifts and favours. It was so strict, it shocked the Senate itself.

Campaigns to "clean up Washington" are as old as the Republic. But rarely are they initiated within the institution at which they are aimed. By any standard, this show of virtue was impressive. No meals, trips, or tickets from anyone but family or close friends; no more invitations to charity golfing or ski weekends at glitzy resorts, where the lobbyists queue to pick up the bill. In short, no gifts; even small ones worth less than \$ 100 (pounds 67) apiece, which previously Senators could accept without limit.

A reluctant House of Representatives has yet to pronounce, and a final bill will require hard bargaining. But a Senate vote of 95 to 4 sends an unmistakeable message: the age of the free lunch is over. If the Restaurateurs Association of Metropolitan Washington complains that its members will lose \$ 5m a year, then so be it.

Not of course that Capitol Hill is about to turn into Sparta. By conservative estimates, one Senator in two is a millionaire. House members are less well-heeled. But a salary of \$ 133,640 a year is not exactly a ticket for Skid Row. The state pays for small armies of staffers. But, undeniably the halcyon days are gone.

The great House Bank scandal of 1991-92 was the turning point. First for the radio talk-show hosts and then for Ross Perot, it was manna from heaven. The Augean stables had nothing on the United States Congress.

The besieged organisation sought to polish up its image. Overdraft-proof bank accounts disappeared: then, free health care, free gym facilities, free haircuts and free late-night snacks - believe it or not, even congressmen have to put in the odd 80- hour week. Finally, it was decreed that extra-curricular speaking fees, which could sometimes double an income, had to be donated to charity.

To no avail. Nothing could make the public love politicians. No wonder so many are throwing in the towel, retiring to more remunerative lines of business.

For those who soldier on, self- preservation is the order of the hour. A proposal to cut congressional salaries by 15 per cent was rejected, as in April was an amendment to remove free VIP car parks at Washington airports. But only

Out of America : Spartan Senate wages war on the free lunch

thanks to departing members, beyond the reach of the voters' wrath. Of the 26 Senators up for re-election this autumn, 22 voted for the measure.

The pity is, it's pointless. This generation of congressmen may be corruptible, but they are far less so than their predecessors. A decent meal or two will not purchase their favours.

But this is the age of the politics of symbolic gestures. Hardly had he entered office than President Bill Clinton slapped a \$ 20-a-time, \$ 50-a-year limit on the cost of lunches which his staff may accept from journalists. The practice is "honoured in the breach", one White House correspondent confesses (understandably so, given that \$ 20 barely buys a decent sandwich and large Diet Coke for two.

I suspect the clampdown on lobbyist favours is to deflect attention from the real scandal of American politics - campaign finance. The rule is that the candidate who has the most money wins. That usually means the incumbent. Hundreds of thousands of dollars may be contributed legally by a single interest group. The National Rifle Association, the health insurers and the tobacco industry are not charities. If they have a supporter in office, they will pay to keep him there.

So why not level the playing field by insisting that congressional campaigns are publicly funded? The pat answer is always the same: Americans would not finance the politicians they so despise. If last week's show of virtue was designed to prove that these assumed venal rascals had repented, and deserved taxpayers' dollars, we could all applaud. Alas not. The intended beneficiaries are the incumbents. It is enough to make you feel sorry for the Washington restaurant owners.

ace and colour. This time it is gender.

The hearing, which could last three weeks or more, bids fair to be an American courtroom spectacular. Psychologists, education experts, and former state governors as well as male students hostile to Ms Faulkner, are among the 70-odd witnesses expected to testify. The Justice Department and the American Civil Liberties Union have thrown their weight behind Ms Faulkner.

But the question arises - why does she want to join an institution which would make her life a misery if she were admitted? The ostensible reason is one of principle, the right of equal access for both sexes to an academy funded by public money. And then there is "the ring".

The Citadel's ring is more than a formal badge of graduation. For Shannon Faulkner it means "the education you have to go through, and the world that is open to you when you get the ring, the immense network of alumni". Right now, however, those alumni would probably give a warmer reception to an Aids-infected leper - as long as he were male.

As a sign of its determination to crack Citadel resistance, the Department yesterday appealed against a lower court ruling allowing the only other all-male public military college, the Virginia Military Institute, to escape desegregation by promising to set up a school for women. That remains the hope of the Citadel, too, in the war to save its purity.

share, had remained inviolate. Then came the 19-year-old Ms Faulkner.

Fresh out of high school, she wanted to enrol at the Academy. Artfully, she made out her application form with no mention of her sex, and the Citadel provisionally accepted her. But when she appeared in person, the awful truth was apparent: Shannon could be a girl's name, too. The acceptance was revoked. Shannon Faulkner sued.

And so, exactly 40 years after the historic Brown vs Board of Education ruling by the Supreme Court which outlawed "separate but equal" systems of public education, another legal struggle for desegregation is under way. In 1954 the issue was <Text Omitted> and mortals," it added in a harsh front-page editorial that captured the mood of change that has swept Malawi since Dr Banda relaxed his iron grip two years ago.

Out of America : Spartan Senate wages war on the free lunch

Political analysts say Dr Banda, once revered as a virtual messiah for leading the country to independence from Britain 30 years ago, is likely to lose the presidential election. They tip Bakili Muluzi, the opposition leader who heads a grouping of pro-democracy campaigners and rebels from Dr Banda's Malawi Congress Party, to win.

Mr Muluzi, a 51-year-old former MCP secretary-general, is head of the United Democratic Front (UDF), which earlier this year teamed up with four smaller parties to contest the presidency. Two other opposition parties are fielding candidates in this poll.

In the parliamentary ballot, where 177 seats are at stake, eight parties, including the MCP and UDF, are taking part. The four parties that joined the UDF for the presidential poll are standing separately in the parliamentary poll.

Until two years ago Dr Banda, in his 90s and unwell, presided over Malawi as if it was his personal fiefdom, jailing hundreds of people at the slightest suspicion of disloyalty. Human rights groups say thousands of opponents were killed or disappeared as he fought to maintain his one-party rule. Mounting demands for democracy coupled with a cut-off in economic aid in 1992 forced Dr Banda to call a referendum to decide the country's future. Malawians backed multi-party politics in a stunning defeat for the President, paving the way for this ballot.

<Text Omitted> deals are nothing special. But not one reluctantly agreed to by the United States government this week, involving the sale of nearly 2,000 acres of central Nevada to a Canadian company for the price of \$ 5 per acre. Under that chunk of sagebrush scrubland lies gold worth \$ 11bn (pounds 7.5bn). And Uncle Sam will not see a penny of it, writes Rupert Cornwell.

How the richest gold deposit in the US fell into foreign hands for such a pittance is the direct consequence of an 1872 law aimed at speeding the settlement of the West. It allows metal mining companies virtually unlimited rights to buy up federal lands for a pittance and develop them without paying royalties to the Treasury.

For more than a year, the Senate and House of Representatives have squabbled over a bill correcting the anomaly. After the Toronto-based American Barrick Resources applied to purchase its Barrick Goldstrike mine at Carlin, Nevada, the Clinton administration stalled in the hope a compromise measure could be agreed. Finally, a federal judge to complete the sale, for the grand total of \$ 9,765.

At a bitter little ceremony in Washington this week, Bruce Babbitt, the Interior Secretary, did so. Behind him was a mock cheque for \$ 10bn made out to Barrick and signed "by the American people". Environmental groups have called it the "Great Terrain Robbery". For Mr Babbitt it was "the biggest gold heist since the days of Butch Cassidy".

But Barrick is unrepentant, claiming it has already invested \$ 1.5bn in a venture which will create 1,500 new jobs. Even so, there is a tidy profit waiting. The mine contains an estimated 30 million ounces of gold. At the current price of \$ 380 an ounce, that works out at \$ 11.4bn.

<Text Omitted> no word yesterday from the United Nations secretariat as to when it might produce the 5,500 troops the Security Council finally authorised during a marathon session to try to end the violence in Rwanda. All Rwanda can expect immediately is 500 extra troops to secure the airport in Kigali, the capital, and 150 observers to assess what the troops might do, if they get there.

This was the gloomy outcome for Rwandans displaced by the fighting as the United States, in an effort to implement its new, cautious policy of UN peace-keeping, delayed Boutros Boutros-Ghali's grand plan for a rescue mission. Opposing the plan because they feared "another Somalia", the US fought a mostly lone battle in the Security Council, trying to scale down the Secretary-General's effort. It is far from clear where that leaves Mr Boutros-Ghali's plan, or where it leaves US policy, which was being made up as the closed council meeting dragged on.

The US ambassador, Madeleine Albright, used her cellular telephone to discuss the next move with Washington while her deputy took the flak at the meeting, as one frustrated council member after another criticised the US for foot-dragging and, even worse, for possibly jeopardising the whole mission. France, Spain and New Zealand were among those who expressed their displeasure.

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Afterwards several diplomats wondered how the US had got itself into a position of having to make up policy at the last minute. The Rwandan crisis has been escalating for weeks and the Security Council negotiations have been going on for several days.

The United States all but agreed last Friday to go ahead with approval of Mr Boutros-Ghali's plan to send in the 5,500 troops to reinforce the tiny garrison of fewer than 500, but Washington wanted certain conditions. Before trying to make secure areas around Kigali, which Mr Boutros-Ghali had called for, the US suggested the creation of safe areas on the border with Tanzania, where hundreds of thousands of refugees have gathered. Only after this was complete should troops venture towards the capital, the US argued. Otherwise, the UN forces were likely to take high casualties and not make any political headway.

But when the Security Council session opened, the US surprised all other 14 members by trying an even tougher tack. It now wanted a two-phase operation. First the securing of the airport by the Ghanaians and the introduction of the 150 observers. Then, two weeks later, the US wanted a report from the Secretary-General on the military situation to include how many troops he had been able to muster for the all-African force, and the views of the warring parties on the UN force. The US also wanted a second vote of approval in the council before the troops were dispatched.

The other members objected to this formula because, as a rule, UN members states will not volunteer troops unless there is a definite Security Council mandate. "It was a chicken and egg situation," said one diplomat. In addition, only a handful of African nations, among them Tanzania and Senegal, have indicated they are willing to join the 5,500 force. Some members argued they would be put off by the disarray in the council.

As the evening progressed, the US backed down, but not all the way. It dropped the idea of a second council resolution, and of the two-week delay, and agreed to authorise the Secretary-General to find the troops as soon as possible. This was passed by the council.

However, the US remained steadfast on its demands for some kind of review of the Secretary-General's plans. In keeping with the new Presidential Directive 25, the US is still seeking three criteria: the consent of the warring parties to the introduction of the 5,500, the security of Kigali airport and the availability of troops and funds.

The key phrase in yesterday's resolution authorising the 5,500 is a clause that says the Secretary-General's report will be followed by a review, or action "as required" by the council. In other words, the council retains leeway to approve or disapprove Mr Boutros-Ghali's final plan.

BRUSSELS - Arsonists gutted a Red Cross refugee centre in Mons, South-west Belgium, that had been due to shelter Rwandan children, Reuter reports. The blaze occurred on Monday night.

US shame in Africa, page 16

<Text Omitted> lightly charged debate over smoking in the US has flared again over an unprecedented attempt by America's largest tobacco company to stall the national trend against smoking by appealing directly to voters.

The tobacco giant Philip Morris is behind a bid to persuade the electorate in California to pass a law which gets rid of several hundred local anti-smoking bylaws and replaces them with one, less rigid, state-wide regulation.

Few doubt that the move is the opening volley in a battle which the tobacco industry intends to fight on a national front, as California has led the way in anti-smoking legislation. As a result, the consumption of cigarettes in the state has dropped by a third.

It is illegal, for example, to smoke anywhere in a restaurant in Los Angeles, and in Davis, near Sacramento, cigarettes are even banned in bars. Such is the emotion surrounding the issue that fights have erupted between health-conscious Californians and die-hard smokers.

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Philip Morris, supported by a group of restaurants and hotels, wants a law which gives restaurants and businesses - rather than government - the right to designate smoking zones, so long as they are well-ventilated and no more than a specific size.

To get the proposal placed on the ballot for November's elections, the company was legally required to gather 385,000 signatures from registered voters in the state. After bombarding the public with mail-shots, it managed to collect 607,000.

According to Americans For Non-Smokers' Rights, the signatures were gathered by using misleading methods. They accuse the company of dishonestly labelling the ballot initiative a tobacco "control" act, and hiding behind an umbrella organisation called Californians for State-wide Smoking Restrictions.

"Poppycock," replies Lee Stitzenberger, the consultant hired by the company to run its campaign. "I find it interesting that these people are willing to go to these extremes to prevent voters deciding the issue. Our proposal would be the toughest state-wide legislation in the country. There is a prohibitionist element at work that would like to completely ban the sale and use of tobacco."

<Text Omitted> el-Harith Madani, a lawyer who defended Muslim militants opposed to Egypt's secular government, brought colleagues on to the streets for a second time this week. The protest ended as police fired tear-gas. Five lawyers were injured and six arrested

(Photograph omitted)

<Text Omitted> demonstrated once again its growing confidence that President Bill Clinton will not cancel the country's preferential trading status despite continuing human rights abuses, writes Teresa Poole.

Public security officials raided the home of Wang Dan, a prominent student leader during the June 1989 Tiananmen Square pro- democracy movement, as he was giving an interview to the US television network NBC. Mr Wang and the television crew were taken away and detained briefly.

The interview was being conducted ahead of the deadline on 3 June for President Clinton to decide on extending China's Most Favoured Nation (MFN) trading status. MFN renewal is linked to significant human rights improvements. Without the Chinese government's over-zealous intervention, the NBC interview would have attracted little attention. Indeed, Mr Wang had just told the interviewer that he supported the unconditional renewal of MFN. But with the fifth anniversary of the Tiananmen Square shootings, the authorities are cracking down on any sign of dissent or any independent voices.

Last Thursday, China's rubber- stamp parliament adopted a set of draconian laws that allow the authorities to impose even greater control on religious and ethnic groups or those "doing harm to the public interest". Among the provisions is one apparently aimed at those political prisoners who have been released on parole.

China's leaders are publicly stressing that stability is their priority, whatever the cost in Western opinion. In a speech on the front page of all big Chinese newspapers yesterday Li Peng, the Prime Minister, said: "China will not export its own ideology nor its concept of values, neither will it allow any country to impose its ideology or concept of values."

Leading article, page 15

<Text Omitted> Measured by the mile, it is no distance from Gaza City to Hebron; just an hour or so across rugged hills, writes Sarah Helm. But measured by the mood yesterday, these two Palestinian towns were a world apart.

In Gaza the people were clutching at their new-found freedom. Palestinian police were directing the traffic. Teenagers were scouring deserted Israeli bases for souvenirs, and the last Israeli soldiers were packing their bags.

In Hebron, the streets were seething with anger. Israeli forces were sending reinforcements to guard the local Jewish settlements. The eager, young, white-clad international observers were "reporting on unusual incidents".

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An experiment in self-rule is underway on two tiny patches of land. But while attention focuses on the flag-waving in the enclaves of Gaza and Jericho, 90 per cent of the occupied territories remains firmly under Israeli control.

Yesterday, near Hebron, two settlers were shot dead by Palestinians. Apparently the attack was in revenge for the wounding on Monday of 19 Palestinians by Hebron settlers and Israeli soldiers. The observers from Norway, Denmark and Italy, deployed in the town in the wake of the Hebron massacre, could do nothing to prevent the violence. They were ordered out of the area by the Israeli army.

In Gaza's Palestine Square, the news from Hebron did not stir people. Here, the Israelis were preparing for their final pull-out. A new authority was preparing to fill the vacuum and Palestinians were struggling to grasp the new reality unfolding before their eyes.

The new authority, in the person of General Nasser Youssef, chief of Palestinian police, inspected Gaza's newly evacuated prison. Flanked by pistol-carrying bodyguards, he posed for pictures amid the rubbish in the prison yard, and pledged to convert the building into a barracks. The gunmen in Gaza would be forced to apply for licences or hand in their arms, he said. Asked if he would stop the militants' attacks on Israel, the general said: "We are now in an era of peace." Outside, crowds gazed at Palestinian flags hanging from its crumbling roof.

Teenagers exchanged stories of imprisonment. "It was like butchery. They used telephone wires for torture. They beat us," said Hassan Abdel Amoudi, a Palestinian policeman. Nearby, "old fighters" queued for jobs with the new Palestinian police.

"The intifada was for the younger men. But now we want a role. We are not too old," said Tawfik Hussein Saleem, who won his battle honours fighting with the Palestine Liberation Army in the Sinai in 1964.

Across the hills in Hebron, Majid Hamjoun, 17, displayed his gun-shot wounds in hospital and questioned whether the Israeli army would ever withdraw from the town. "They are killing us and yet they say they are withdrawing from Gaza and Jericho. They will never withdraw from here."

The latest Hebron clashes followed a familiar pattern. On Monday, about 20 Jewish settlers from a settlement in the centre of the town marched towards the Tomb of the Patriarchs, apparently in a fresh attempt to enter the building where Baruch Goldstein massacred 29 Muslim worshippers in February. Palestinians say settlers, backed by Israeli soldiers, opened fire. The settlers and the Israeli army say shots were fired only after Palestinians attacked with stones. The international observers were unable to get close enough to see what happened.

Last night, in the Gaza Strip, Palestinians moved freely after nightfall for the first time since the intifada started in 1987. With no Israelis present, there was no curfew. In Hebron, a curfew was again imposed on Palestinians, and a Jewish settler, Noam Arnon, described the peace process as a "process for spilling of Jewish blood". A new era may have dawned in Gaza and Jericho this week, but the peace-makers ignore Hebron at their peril.

<Text Omitted> settlers were shot dead by Palestinian gunmen near the West Bank town of Hebron yesterday, scuppering hopes that the first phase of Palestinian self- rule in Gaza and Jericho would be implemented peacefully.

Margolit Ruth Shochat, 46, and Rafael Yairi, 35, became the first Israelis to be killed by Arab gunmen since the Palestinian autonomy agreement was signed in Cairo two weeks ago. Their deaths came just hours before Israeli military commanders in the Gaza Strip formally transferred power to the new Palestinian authority. In a separate incident, in the West Bank city of Nablus, armed Israelis driving in a truck shot and killed a Palestinian man after Arabs stoned the vehicle.

In Jericho Warren Christopher, the US Secretary of State, congratulated Palestinians on the progress towards peace during a visit to the new self-rule enclave, but his words were marred by news of the killings.

The settlers killed yesterday were ambushed in their car on a road south of Hebron. The Izzedin al Qassem brigades, the armed wing of the Islamic Resistance Movement, **Hamas**, claimed responsibility for the deaths, saying the attack was further revenge for the Hebron mosque massacre.

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The army said at least two gunmen fired several bursts from automatic weapons at the car. A burnt-out car believed to be that of the assailants was later found nearby.

Palestinian attacks against settlers had been widely expected after Jewish settlers and Israeli soldiers opened fire on Palestinians in the streets of Hebron on Monday, leaving 19 Palestinians wounded, including an 11-year-old boy, Banen Zayed, who was last night critically ill in hospital.

The renewed violence in Hebron, where Baruch Goldstein, a Jewish settler, killed 29 Muslim worshippers in February, has once again put the Israeli government under pressure to remove extremist settlers from centres of Arab population where their presence exacerbates conflict.

However, Yitzhak Rabin, the Israeli Prime Minister, has so far refused to act against any Jewish settlers, insisting that the continued presence of about 120,000 of them in the occupied territories can only be discussed when the final status of the land is on the agenda in two years' time.

Since the Hebron massacre, the 400 Jewish settlers living in the heart of Arab Hebron and the 5,000 who live close by in Kiryat Arba have continued to move about the city with military protection.

Roldan, wanted on suspicion of building a personal fortune from illegal commissions and unaccountable funds, to spy on Mr Conde, then chairman of the big Banesto bank. Such reports were false and irrelevant, he said.

Mr Roldan, from hiding, has said that Mr Serra ordered the investigation of Mr Conde which the then Guardia Civil chief entrusted to Kroll Associates without the knowledge of Spain's Interior Minister. Mr Roldan said he delivered copies of the Kroll report to Mr Serra, Mr Gonzalez and Carlos Solchaga, then Economy Minister, and paid Kroll with 100m pesetas (pounds 500,000) from the "secret funds", delivered in suitcases.

The case has come down to Mr Serra's word against Mr Roldan's. Mr Gonzalez has so far avoided a direct denial. "How can you believe the words of a fugitive from justice?" asked Mr Serra. "Let him give himself up and tell all he knows." Kroll Associates, as always, declined to confirm or deny the reports, saying secrecy is a condition of its contracts.

A parliamentary commission investigating Mr Roldan's seven-year tenure as head of the paramilitary Guardia Civil ends its hearings today. Its work bordered on farce yesterday as members leaked vastly divergent versions of the hearings.

Interviú this week published pictures of what it called an orgy involving Mr Roldan and five other scantily dressed people. After days of publicity that said Mr Roldan's "private parts" would be revealed, the magazine included one photograph revealing a patch of pubic area. The magazine sold out for the second consecutive week.

Load-Date: May 18, 1994

**MANAGER SQUARE;
IN THE MUSLIM CITY OF BETHLEHEM**

The New York Times

December 24, 1995, Sunday, Late Edition - Final

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Distribution: Magazine Desk

Section: Section 6; ; Section 6; Page 20; Column 1; Magazine Desk ; Column 1;

Length: 4378 words

Byline: By ANDRE ACIMAN;

Andre Aciman, the author of "Out of Egypt," a memoir chronicling three generations of Sephardic Jews in Alexandria, Egypt, teaches French literature at Princeton.

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Body

THE RAIN FALLS ON BETHLEHEM under a light gray morning sky, as fleets of tourist buses creep up the dusty slope leading to Manger Square. The area is crowded with people, pushcarts and parked vehicles, and the buses must thread their way between rows of taxis before finding a place where they can unload passengers. The last bus, far older than the rest, looks as if only a miracle could have got its weather-beaten carcass up the hill to Bethlehem. Its pilgrims look weather-beaten, too, and as they mass on the street waiting for their guide, who is arguing with a guide from another tourist company, to usher them to the holy sites, they look uneasily across Manger Square. All of them are wearing the glazed, startled look of people who are at once awed, tired and disappointed. The Bethlehem they have found looks nothing like the town the son of God might want to be born in. But that's the whole point. Everything here is meant to test your faith.

The pilgrims, mostly women, will soon recover from the shock, but as they take in the unfamiliar place, with its light rain and glistening pavement teeming with boys who scurry about Manger Square brandishing open and mostly broken umbrellas for the tourists, they cannot believe that this may be the holiest moment in their lives. This, the most un-Christmaslike spot in Christendom, is what they will take with them and remember. Many will come to celebrate Christmas this year, as so many pilgrims do, but the festivities will have a different tenor: barring some last-minute hitch, this is the first time in 28 years that Bethlehem will celebrate Christmas without an Israeli presence.

A traditional midnight Mass is celebrated in the Church of St. Catherine every Christmas and broadcast worldwide. But now that the Israelis have decided to hand over the city to Palestinian authorities a week before Christmas, "maybe they'll have big celebrations," says Itzhak, a Jerusalem cabby whom I summon by cellular phone.

I ask whether he really believes this. Itzhak snickers. "The Christians are leaving," he says. The implication is clear: they're afraid of the Muslims. Everyone knows but no one says it: they are the Jews of Bethlehem.

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Itzhak is not only a driver, but an amateur historian who doubles as a tour guide, which he does by holding on to the steering wheel with one hand and pointing freely with the other, constantly turning around to look you in the face as he expounds on the more subtle aspects of Jewish history. In the end, it seemed safer to sit next to him. He is a burly sort with a thick mustache, deep voice and muscular body. He speaks good English, has an instinct for wit and paradox and knows a proverb for every occasion. When he tried to temper my fears of going to Bethlehem by uttering a proverb, I almost said, "Enough with proverbs." Then I remembered that Sancho Panza had a proverb against proverbs, too.

LIKE THE PILGRIM WOMEN FROM THE small bus, I, too, am thinking of another Bethlehem, of the one I learned about from Christmas carols. Of distant, imagined evenings draped in snow that is always deep and crisp and even, and of that medieval village that rises in our fantasy each year for at least 12 days, the way a tree inevitably rises in every living room, even in my own, though I am Jewish. It is not so much Christmas I celebrate as that aura of peace, which lasts no longer than my tree, but a peace that I anticipate for months and sometimes lose before even finding.

I think of the carols I learned long ago in Egypt, where I was born -- carols I still love but that seem so out of place here, even in these incense-ridden churches, which are bleak, tense, medieval and cruel. And I think, too, of the word Bethlehem and of the strange place it acquired in the bowdlerized lyrics we used in school, where Bethlehem replaced -- and indeed almost rhymed with -- another three-syllable word that had suddenly disappeared from our carols. The word was Israel.

Bethlehem is poor, dirty, shabby. It is the smells I recognize. A small cafe on Manger Square, located under a large pine, is called the Christmas Tree; it gives off a smell of skewered-meat sandwiches, of falafel and coffee. It is well situated and the owner, a Christian, has obviously done well. But he paid a price for refusing to close his business during a general strike. Islamic fundamentalists burned his car and bombed his home. I am tempted to order a sandwich, but think twice about doing so.

Not five steps away from the Christmas Tree is the town's largest mosque. Behind it is Friday's open-air market, crammed with a slovenly array of fruits and vegetables hanging from shops, pushcarts and portable stalls. Vendors scream out their produce, and women lug heavy loads home, howling at children who have strayed too far, while clusters of men sit around, some doing nothing, others arguing, everyone smoking. A vendor wearing the traditional kaffiyeh is talking on a cellular phone. A small boy has just delivered coffee to three old men and is respectfully kissing the hand of the eldest. A shopkeeper is trying to tape two Santas to his store window. Inside another shop, a young man sits cross-legged wearing only one sneaker; the other shoe is in the hands of an old cobbler trying to sew a torn seam. The tiny barbershop is empty -- except for the barber who reads on his barber seat. Outside the shop, seven youths stand against a wall, idling New York style.

"This is Bethlehem?" I blurt out to my driver.

"This is Bethlehem," he replies spiritedly, as though to ask, What did you expect, Jerusalem? Indeed, Bethlehem is not more than 20 minutes from Jerusalem, whose outline we can still see; yet it seems worlds away.

ON ANOTHER DAY I AM DRIVEN TO Bethlehem by a cabby named Moishe. We had agreed that he would drop me off at Manger Square and go back to the outskirts of the city to wait for my telephone call when I was finished meeting with Elias Freij, the Mayor of Bethlehem. This was my idea, not Moishe's. He would have waited at Manger Square the whole time, probably near the Israeli police station, which is surrounded by a tall barbed-wire fence.

No sooner has he left with his car than a man in his mid-60's approaches me. "And this is the basilica of the Nativity," he breaks in as if we had already been speaking for hours. "And my name is George. And I am Christian. And please, this way," he adds, warning me not to trip as we enter the church through the Door of Humility. George likes to start his sentences with the conjunction "and." The entrance, he explains, was purposely narrowed to prevent people from riding horses into the church and to force them to bow as they enter. When we are inside, he asks where I come from. I know what he is really asking, and I don't want to tell him. I say I am from America, but I don't mention New York. Nor do I tell him I was born in Egypt. He would deduce that I am Jewish, and I don't want

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anyone to know -- not when I feel I am probably the only Jew in a place where all the other Jews are safely ensconced behind a barbed-wire fence that stretches around the police compound.

George hands me a taper. When I search my pocket, he motions me not to. I light the taper with a lighted candle and wedge it in place among others on a tiny crammed candle stand, thinking of a custom a Greek Orthodox nanny had taught me in Alexandria when you want to make a wish or mourn the dead.

Meanwhile, a contingent of women from South America has arrived. The women lie down next to the 14-pronged silver star of Bethlehem embedded in the stone floor, marking the spot where Jesus was said to have been born. They will be shown the altar of the manger, then the place where the Magi laid their presents down, light a few tapers, and, holding hands, band together around the altar of Christ's birth and sing lullabies to the child Jesus.

As the group prepares to step into the adjoining cloister of the Church of St. Catherine, it is clearly time for me to get rid of George. Impossible. And would I really leave Bethlehem without seeing the church bell? he asks. The bell, as it turns out, is best seen from an alley where, as if by chance, I am led to a small souvenir shop. This was bound to happen. I am now sure that George is in cahoots with its owner. I am wrong. George is the owner. And I am not to feel I must buy something, he says. I scan the shop, feeling totally dispirited, still trying to make the best of things. After all, the business generated by tourism is what keeps Bethlehem alive. There are plenty of shops and factories devoted exclusively to the manufacture of Christian art and trinkets. But I cannot find a thing to buy here. I have rarely seen such ugly merchandise: inlaid mother-of-pearl boxes, sculptured candles that look like bloated human organs and those carved, unpolished olive-wood statues of the manger, the Magi and the Crucifixion.

Itzhak, my other cabby, has a theory about olive trees. Twisted, short, yet beautiful, they tie you to the land, he says, because they grow well in this dry, rocky landscape and can be transplanted easily. With olive trees, you could stake out land and make it your own, the way squatters are tied to their land, or the way parents are tied to their children or to each other through their children. During the Intifada, I remember watching on television a group of Arab villagers transplanting very young saplings. No sooner were their roots buried in the soil than an Israeli patrol car swooped into position and a foreman type got out, lumbered up to the two shoots and yanked them out of the ground. The ban on growing things -- or on begetting children -- has an ancient history here, not irrelevant to Christmas.

The Mayor of Bethlehem agrees with Itzhak's view of olive trees. The Mayor should know. His family, I am told, owns olive groves and has done very well. But, the Mayor adds when we're talking in his office, the trees shouldn't just tie you to the land. They should bind people together as well. Olives, I am reminded, are a symbol of peace. Mayor Freij dreams of a loose federation of Benelux-type states that will include Jordan, Palestine and Israel. "Everyone must learn to live together since everyone is destined to live together," he says.

This implies that everyone should sit together at the same table and enjoy the meal. I wonder why no one has thought of it sooner -- until I realize that, in this part of the world, the question is not how to sit three adversaries at the same table, but how to sit them on the same chair. These are not just three nations or three religions; each has its subsidiary warring sects and, within each of these, ageless rivalries, fiercely and relentlessly petty, as everything is when God, land and pride are at stake. The squabbles are colossal, the curses deadly, the massacres real. Roman Catholics, Armenians and the Greek Orthodox seldom agree about anything. Among ancient Jews, the same tussling consumed the Essenes, Pharisees and Sadducees; it continues today among Jews who cannot even agree on what constitutes a Jew. Among Arabs, the bloody claims of the Shiites and Sunnis have wiped entire areas from the face of an earth that has no more cheeks to turn. As for the Christians of Bethlehem, they were so contentious among themselves that European nations were forced to intervene and take sides -- a situation that fueled the outbreak of the Crimean War.

You only have to visit the Old City of Jerusalem to sense that even dust from one quarter hates dust from another. In the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, each corner is zealously guarded by a different sect, and the spite among them is legendary. Tourists would give anything to witness their brawls. In Bethlehem, the Church of the Nativity literally feeds into the Church of St. Catherine through a network of caves, but these churches are of different denominations; the first is Greek Orthodox, the other is Roman Catholic.

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Everyone lives on top of one other, for the land belongs to no one, but there is no one to whom this land does not belong. In the language of the New Testament, the first who were here were the last to return, and the last to settle on this land were the first ones here. Things shift, nothing can be taken at face value and everything always means too much.

This land is awash with memory, driven by memory. And memory, like spite, is bottomless. Nothing is ever forgotten, much less forgiven, and time is a revolving door, where faith runs loops around fact and fact turns into fiction, fiction into history and history into enduring gall. Between you and everyone else here there is -- as Rousseau said of his lifelong, devoted mistress -- not the least spark of love.

Politics and religion are so intricately braided that, in talking about the current conflict, it is customary to refer to the Israelis as Jews and to the Palestinians as Arabs. Apples and oranges. We speak of nationalism, but what we are witnessing is the Ayatollization of nationalism -- a mix of barbarism, spirituality and abominable claptrap. It killed Sadat. It killed Rabin. It will kill others.

But there are temperate moments as well. To celebrate the indivisible Muslim-Christian coalition in the new Bethlehem on Christmas Eve, someone suggested releasing inflatable Santas into the night sky. Then they decided to release inflatable Arafats as well. Both ideas were nixed.

A MAN OPENS THE DOOR TO MAYOR Freij's conference room and carries in two demitasses. He places one before the Mayor, another before me. The Mayor is a cordial man but he is uncomfortable with mannered civilities and assumes I will drink my coffee without being prompted. I remember visiting powerful Egyptians in their offices with my father 30 years ago, and watching him try to negotiate thorny points in the best Arabic he -- a foreigner and Jew -- could muster while sipping coffee. I, too, am now drinking coffee with an Arab, discussing, after many years, more or less the same unspoken, unresolved issue: can there be truth, let alone friendship, between Arabs and Jews? The answer, even if it is no, is irrelevant. There will never be real trust between the English and the French either. What matters is not so much peace as the peace process, the willingness and necessity to consider peace.

Process is a tricky word: it embraces neither the present nor the future tense, but something grammarians might call the imperfect conditional. In other words, neither here nor there. Still, people speak of the fruits of the peace process as if something that is neither here nor there could actually bear fruit. Itzhak, who is very lucid, could not have said it more clearly, "I trust the peace process not because I have faith in it but because I have nothing else." Some of the best contracts are forged that way.

Freij, 77, who has been Mayor of Bethlehem since 1972, and whose political savvy has allowed him to survive Jordanian rule, the Israeli occupation, the Intifada and the ensuing terrorism with surprising agility, says he may seek re-election next year, though some suspect he covets the ministry of tourism under Arafat. He believes that Bethlehem and Palestinians have yet to reap the fruits of peace. He complains that the closing of the Israeli borders has had a disastrous and humiliating effect on people who -- he points out the window -- are right now standing in the rain to obtain entry permits to Israel. The unemployment rate here stands at approximately 40 percent and yet, with the closing of the border following a wave of terrorist attacks, the Mayor claims that 80,000 to 100,000 jobs in Israel have gone to Romanians, Thais, Filipinos and Portuguese workers. He understands Israeli fears. . . . His sentence trails off.

The Mayor turns his attention to the Christmas revels. The date originally proposed for the transfer to Palestinian self-rule was Dec. 25. Christian Palestinians, however, who now constitute a minority of the city's population (they used to be the majority in the 1940's), wanted to hold a Christmas service in an independent Bethlehem. So the Israelis agreed to pull out a week earlier, on Dec. 18. An Italian company has offered, free of charge, to install Christmas lights around Manger Square. The Mayor expects the celebrations to be substantial and tourism to boom. "But we need hotels," he laments. He wants to redesign Manger Square to accommodate more buses, tourists, restaurants and hotels, so that the pilgrims can stay the night and not scurry back to Jerusalem after a two-hour visit.

Christmas is good business here: the town's financial well-being relies almost exclusively on tourism. This may explain why, during the Intifada, the citizens of Bethlehem kept the violence relatively tame so as not to frighten off

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visitors. "They would put their hands into their pockets as if to pick stones, but what they hurled at the Israeli soldiers were paper napkins," an Arab journalist said.

I inquire about the Christians. I try to avoid direct questions, but I ask Freij about the Christians' future prospects in a Muslim world. Are there any similarities between the endangered Copt minority in Egypt and Bethlehem's Christians? "None whatsoever," he replies. He insists that the Christian community is thriving and faces no threats. "Still, many Christians are leaving," he adds upon reflection, confirming my cabdriver's observation.

I know the story well. Christians are nervous. Whether or not Freij decides to run, it is quite possible a Muslim will become the next Mayor. This does not worry the Christians as much as the fact that Hamas and Islamic fundamentalist elements will inevitably make life difficult for them as a minority. Bethlehem University, which is partly supported by the Vatican, has been asked to build a place for prayer to accommodate Muslim students. Koranic words have been scribbled on church walls. A few years ago, a graffito in Beit Zahur, nearby, proclaimed, "First the Saturday people, then the Sunday people." To illustrate the extent of Christian fears, a conservative Israeli essayist told me that since the announcement of the redeployment of Israeli soldiers from Palestinian territories, more than 10,000 Palestinians, many of them Christian, have applied for Israeli citizenship.

The writing on the wall is clear. There are Christian mothers who breathe easily once their children are safely abroad. Young Christian couples claim they cannot find adequate housing in Bethlehem and therefore leave. There are numerous Orthodox Palestinian communities in South America. Many Christians apply to emigrate.

I want to ask Freij whether a latter-day Joseph and Mary would come to Bethlehem or whether they would flee to South America instead. I know what he would say.

I AM WAITING FOR Moishe, the cabby, on Manger Square.

A boy wandering about the square hugs what seems to be a bundle of newspapers, but is really a collection of sides of corrugated cardboard boxes.

A man at a pastry stall catches me staring at a huge round rainbow cake. He offers me a slice. I have to accept, though its dubious ingredients trouble me. Someone is scowling in my direction. I feel uneasy. Everyone is glaring. I tell myself I am imagining things.

This place is hardly welcoming. I try to think of the sheep I had seen on the way up to Bethlehem and of Shepherds' Field nearby, and of Bach's "Sheep May Safely Graze." But the melody, so familiar, will not come. Instead, I suddenly hear the voice of the muezzin intone the opening call to prayer Continued on page 44

from a loudspeaker at the very top of the minaret on Manger Square. Allah is great, Allah is great, Allah. There is no Allah but Allah.

After summoning the faithful to prayer, the muezzin begins a sermon. People are drawn closer together, packing the entrance to the mosque, which is already full. I understand now why young men were thronging along the walls only 10 minutes earlier; they were saving the nearest spot to the mosque.

The sermon, which I don't understand, is impassioned. The muezzin frequently repeats the words amrikan, yahud, harb, meaning Americans, Jews, war, but I don't know the context and don't want to mistake what I fear is being said for what, perhaps, is not being said. Some of the faithful, arriving late, find no room and move across the road, clustering outside the Christmas Tree, where an Israeli Army patrol car has also staked a position. A teen-age boy passes in front of those packed by the cafe and makes the sign of the cross. It is not even clear who is snubbing whom: the Israelis parked three yards away from the Muslims or the Muslims who decide to pray right in front of the Army Jeep. Everyone is aware of everyone else, the atmosphere is tense and hostile and everything is being done with an "in-your-face" attitude. It could not be otherwise in a square that has a steeple, a minaret and a flagpole that bears the Israeli flag. Rarely in my life have I sensed collective anger seethe to the point of explosion. The sermon lasts 40 minutes.

And still no Moishe.

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Then there is a change of voices and the muezzin intones something I recall from the past and have not heard in 30 years. These are the opening verses to the Koran, and they fill me with a sense of joy and serenity I have not experienced all day. I remember learning these verses long ago in Egypt, and the punishment for not learning them fast enough and the sense of dread with which I, a Jew, would go up to the front of the class and recite what I feared I had not studied; I never knew at what point, during my recitation, things would break down. But I also remember waking late on winter Fridays and hearing the voice of the muezzin, realizing there was no school that day. And I remember the clear morning sky on summer Fridays when we would head for the beaches, listening to the opening verse reverberate in the Alexandrian sky, still and beautiful, relayed from mosque to mosque, from all corners of the city until it reached us on the beaches, which were empty because all the men had gone to pray.

Suddenly, there is a mad rush into the square. People seem to be coming from everywhere, from the marketplace especially, each carrying a square of corrugated cardboard in his hand. The little boy with the great stack does a brisk business selling them to those who did not bring their own. It is time for prayer, and the faithful begin to prostrate themselves, using the cardboard as makeshift prayer rugs on the streets and sidewalks. Rows of prostrating men form rapidly, each growing in size as stragglers keep joining in. "Allah!" the muezzin sputters. "Allah," he repeats in a heart-rending, disconsolate, last gasp of sadness so intense that it hovers over the crowd like a benediction of grief, love and premonition, though no one cries and no one seems moved and everyone thinks only of praying. "Allah," the muezzin intones, with the sorrow of prophets who have stood by and worried for mankind and watched cities die. There is no more stirring sound in the world. "Allah," he repeats, his voice almost crackling with emotion. Then, totally sobered, "May Allah be with you," and finally closes.

Without any show of emotion, people pick up their cardboard pieces and go back to what they were doing before the prayer. Gradually, voices and shouts can be heard rising in the marketplace. Things are back to normal. I hear the words kheyar, zeitoun and marameyeh -- cucumbers, olives and sage. I have not heard them in 30 years. The last time I walked into a souk must have been with my mother, when I was 10.

LATER THAT DAY, I AM STANDING high on the Mount of Olives in East Jerusalem with Itzhak. The clouds have broken momentarily and we are standing along the parapet looking over a sunlit view of the Old City, studded with beautiful olive groves. Olive trees are not beautiful and yet they are -- stumpy, majestic, austere. I have an impulse to walk down the slope and tear a twig and, as in Dante, watch the tree bleed.

A boy walks up to me and tries to sell me olive leaves. I want to buy the whole branch. But I remember that I have no change and apologize to the boy. He insists I take it anyway. Itzhak says he has some change in the car, opens the door, searches in the glove compartment and hands the boy a coin. The boy seems pleased. Itzhak, who knows how to leave you alone, probably suspects I am thinking of peace symbols. But I am thinking of Jesus on Gethsemane looking over Jerusalem, his sweat falling like drops of blood, sensing that someone is about to betray him.

So this is where He was born, I think, scanning the horizon for Bethlehem. I want to nurse this thought, to stroke its beauty and feel what I know I will never have words for. But suddenly a tussle breaks out between the boy who sold me the olive branch and another boy who is trying to sell palm fronds. The olive boy kicks the palm boy. I turn and am about to tell them to stop, but Itzhak is faster than I am and yells at them in Hebrew. The boys pay no heed and are now throwing punches at each other. Itzhak urges two Arabs sitting on the wall to do something to stop the fight. But the men do not budge, do not seem interested, and go on talking. Now Itzhak gets in between the boys and separates them, pushing each away, cursing in Arabic, still imploring the men to help. One of the boys begins to cry: I know how these things can turn. All we need is an Israeli grabbing an Arab boy. "Let's go," I tell Itzhak. He is breathing hard, obviously more disturbed than I thought. Meanwhile, a camel, with its rider, squats on the ground not far from us and urinates. The stench is unbearable and the stream endless. "Yes, let's go," Itzhak says.

As we drive down the slope, I turn to take a last look at the Mount of Olives, thinking of Bethlehem and the broadcast of midnight Mass that I know I, too, will be listening for this year. Itzhak chuckles. He has heard a rumor that the Israelis may be asked to help with the broadcast. The Palestinians want to be in charge of transmitting the midnight Mass from the Church of St. Catherine, but they don't have the expertise. So they will ask the Jews to help a predominantly Muslim city broadcast a Christian Mass.

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"And we'll do it," Itzhak adds. "It's Christmas."

Graphic

Photos: SUMMONING THE FAITHFUL -- Responding to the voice of the muezzin from a loudspeaker, Muslims pray in Manger Square in front of the Christmas Tree cafe, which is owned by a Christian. (pg. 21); THE SACRED - - Tourism is big business in Bethlehem, with factories and artisans churning out wooden infant Jesuses and other Christian-related art and trinkets.; THE SECULAR -- Someone suggested releasing Santa balloons into the sky on Christmas Eve as a way of celebrating the new Muslim-Christian coalition. The idea was nixed. (pg. 22); THE DEVOTED -- Worshipers at the Church of the Nativity, which is Greek Orthodox. Pilgrims flock to Bethlehem especially at Christmas, and for the first time in 28 years, the Israeli presence will be gone. (pg. 23); ILLUMINATING THE DARKNESS -- In over-commercialized Bethlehem, the holiness seems hidden, except inside the churches, where this child lights a taper. The city is still groping for peace. (pg. 24); BECKONING TOWARD CONCILIATION -- An Arab, in a traditional keffiyeh, in a field south of Bethlehem. On his right is a grove of young olive trees. The branches are still used as a symbol of peace. (pg. 27) (PHOTOGRAPH BY ESAIAS BAITEL/GAMMA LIAISON, FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Load-Date: December 24, 1995

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**MAGIC IS SENDING A HIGH;
PREVIEW OF THE TATTERSALLS BREEZE-UP SALE AT NEWMARKET ON
TUESDAY AND WEDNESDAY**

Sporting Life
April 11, 1997, Friday

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Section: FEATURES; Pg. 6, 7

Length: 7787 words

Byline: Andrew Caulfield

Body

When nearly 200 two-year-olds come under the hammer at Tattersalls' Park Paddocks after racing at Newmarket next Tuesday and Wednesday, they face the daunting task of matching the impressive figures of last year's Breeze-Up Sale.

The 1996 sale produced a record turnover of 1,485,400gns and the average price surged from 9,750gns in 1995 to 12,076gns.

Both the top-priced colt and filly went on to fulfil some of their buyers' hopes, with Caerfilly Dancer, a 46,000gns Caerleon filly, going on to win and be fourth in a Listed race, while Musheer, a 40,000gns Known Fact colt, beat Monza at Ascot before finishing third to Bahhare in the Laurent- Perrier Champagne Stakes at Doncaster.

Judged on the yearling prices paid for some of this year's candidates, there should be more good-class juvenile winners on offer. For example, the Portlester Stud, which made a 31,000gns profit on Caerfilly Dancer, is this time offering youngsters by Wolfhound, Selkirk, Alzao and Suave Dancer.

All the two-year-olds will be breezed over approximately three furlongs of the Rowley Mile course next Monday morning, starting at 9.30am. They will breeze again at the same time on the morning of the day on which they are scheduled to sell.

This sometimes allows buyers to get a much better idea of the youngsters' potential than inspecting an unbroken yearling, and yearling prices can only be a rough guide to the prospects of two-year-olds on offer.

AL NASR (1c): 9,000gns was the yearling price of Lot 151, the first foal of a daughter of the very effective Silver Hawk.

ALHIJAZ (1c): when Lot 34 appeared at the foal sales he made an impressive 18,000gns - a reflection of the fact that he's a half-brother to the successful sprinter Standown and that his dam is a grand-daughter of the classic-winning Favolella.

ALMOOJID (1c): Lot 167 must have filled the eye as a yearling, judged on his 6,000gns price. He is closely related to Anen, a winner of nearly pounds 70,000 in France.

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ALWAYS FAIR (1c): Always Fair has an admirable record in France, and this son of Danzig is represented by Lot 82, a colt who cost the equivalent of 8,155gns at Deauville. The colt's dam is a winner-producing half-sister to the great Pebbles and she is also closely related to the very smart Supreme Leader.

ALZAO (4c): it will be a surprise if this team doesn't produce a good price or two - the Alzao colt which sold for 16,500gns here last year went on to win twice in France.

All four colts are May foals, so could easily have made more than normal improvement in the months that have elapsed since their appearance at the yearling sales.

Kirriemuir Stud's colt, Lot 60, comes from the first-rate female line descending from Oaks winner Monade. He was a 9,500gns yearling.

Lot 62, from Musley Bank, is a half-brother to some fairly useful winners out of the smart Royal Loft. 7,500gns was his price.

Lot 98's dam has already produced Listed winners in Scandinavia and Germany to Red Sunset.

Completing the team comes Lot 141, a 12,000gns yearling. He is out of a well -bred mare by Bustino.

ARAGON (1f): Lot 157 is quite closely related to Touch Of White, a useful five -furlong performer, and her second dam produced the very successful Rotherfield Greys to Aragon's sire Mummy's Pet.

ARCHWAY (2c, 1f): Archway has made a bright start to 1997, thanks to Pelham.

The two colts, Lots 92 and 94, are from very distinguished female lines. The former, an IR5,800gns yearling, comes from the family of Parthia and Salsabil, while 94 is out of a close relative to Las Meninas, winner of the One Thousand Guineas.

The filly, Lot 195, has the attraction of being a half-sister to some good broodmares, including the dam of the fast Don't Worry Me and the second dam of Lucky Lionel.

ARDKINGGLASS (2c): German buyers could well be interested in Lot 52. He is a half-brother to Troglio, a German Listed winner, and to the dam of Keniana, a smart German two-year-old. He cost 8,500gns as a yearling.

Lot 71, the other colt by this first-crop sire, is a half-brother to the dam of the successful Non Vintage. His dam is also a half-sister to King Persian, winner of the Phoenix Stakes.

BALLA COVE (3c): there is good reason to expect Lots 20 and 35 to sell well. 20, a 9,500gns yearling, is the first foal of a winning Taufan mare and 35, a 10,000gns buy, is a grandson of Reo Racine, a Group winner from the family of Deadly Dudley and Millkom.

BATSHOOF (2c, 1f): a couple of these cost 10,000gns at the yearling sales, namely Lot 49, a son of the very useful and tough Sipsi Fach, and 182, a grandson of Diadem Stakes winner Sovereign Rose.

The filly, Lot 10, is out of a winner-producing daughter of Cry Of Truth, the champion two-year-old filly of 1974.

BE MY CHIEF (2c): Be My Chief has sired a Group winner in each of his first three crops, so demands respect. Lot 30 is a 7,500gns son of a winning mare by Song, while Lot 78, a 6,800gns buy, has winning mares as his first three dams.

BELMEZ (1c): Lot 173, a half-brother to the good-class all-weather performer Gulf Shaadi, is out of a three-parts-sister to Pebbles.

BERING (1c): Bering sired the classic-winning Matiara from a mare by Nureyev, a stallion who appears as the broodmare sire of Lot 177.

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The colt's dam is a half-sister to three Group winners and his second dam is a half-sister to the brilliant Pawneese.

BEVELED (2c): the fact that Beveled is a son of Sharpen Up is relevant to Lot 112, the colt from Bloomsbury Stud. This youngster is out of a winning half -sister to Pole Position, a Group-winning son of Sharpo, and his second dam is a winning half-sister to Pushy, an excellent daughter of Sharpen Up.

Lot 29's dam is a half-sister to the dam of Pen Bal Lady, a triple Grade One winner in the US.

BLUSHING JOHN (1c): Airlie Stud's colt, Lot 83, is out of Hispanolia, a Listed winner by Kris with the added distinction of being a half-sister to Erhaab and Oumaldaaya.

BOB BACK (1f): Bob Back has been siring all sorts of winners in recent months, including Inner City, a Stakes winner in the USA. Here he is represented by Lot 8, a half-sister to the fast and precocious Cameroun.

BROKEN HEARTED (1c): although he has sired some smart performers, Broken Hearted hasn't often received mares with pedigrees as good as that of Lashing, the dam of Lot 165. A winning daughter of Storm Bird, Lashing is out of a half -sister to the American champion Ack Ack.

CADEAUX GENEREUX (1f): Southburgh Manor Stud must have high hopes of Lot 45, a filly purchased for 21,000gns at the October Sales. She is out of a winning sister to the very successful Efisio and her dam is also a half-sister to Mountain Bear, a Grade One winner in the US.

CASTEDDU (1c): Lot 134 has received a boost from the recent Australian exploits of Guineas, winner of the Golden Slipper Stakes. Both Guineas and Lot 134 have the Hilary Needler Stakes winner No Relation as their third dam.

CHARMER (1g): Passion For Life's sire is represented by Lot 120, a gelding out of a winning daughter of Never So Bold (broodmare sire last year of Abou Zouz, Easycall and Crystal Crossing).

CLASSIC SECRET (1c): Lot 27 is a half-brother to Amyas, a fairly useful two -year-old six-furlong winner last year. He cost 9,000gns as a yearling.

CONTRACT LAW (1c, 3f): Lots 153 and 196 are both out of young winning mares, Lot 196 being a colt out of an Irish six-furlong winner by Fayruz.

Allangrange Stables' pair includes Lot 180, a filly from the same speedy family as Lycius.

CRICKET BALL (1c): arguably the most impressive female line in the Breeze- Up Sales catalogue belongs to Lot 114, a 10,000gns yearling. This son of the very tough and fast Cricket Ball is a half-brother to the Group One winners Brief Truce and Again Tomorrow, their dam being a sister to Royal Statute, ancestress of Lammtarra, Hector Protector and Bosra Sham.

CYRANO DE BERGERAC (1c): Lot 93 is the second foal of a half-sister to Reprint, a very useful Irish filly.

DAMISTER (1f): C & N Bloodstock's filly by the sire of Celtic Swing is out of a talented daughter of Our Native.

DARSHAAN (1f): the sire of Mark Of Esteem and Key Change is represented by a very well-bred filly as Lot 110. She is out of a winning half-sister to the dams of Flash Of Steel (Irish 2000 Guineas), Fire Of Life (Premio Roma) and Imperial Frontier.

DILUM (1c): Lot 166's dam has produced winners in Italy as her first two foals. His second dam was a three-parts sister to Weavers' Hall, winner of the Irish Derby.

DISTANT RELATIVE (1f): Distant Relative's daughters have done very well, with two of them becoming Group winners. The filly on offer here, Lot 9, is out of a half-sister to Enharmonic and Soprano.

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DISTINCTLY NORTH (2c, 2f): although it isn't mentioned in the catalogue, Lot 168 is a three-parts-brother to that prolific sprint winner Times Of Times. This 14,000gns yearling also has a half-sister to Oaks winner Circus Plume as his dam, which means he comes from the same family as Mtoto.

Lot 192 also comes from a very good family, his second dam being the excellent broodmare Knighton House, a sister to the top-class Reform.

DON'T FORGET ME (3c): Don't Forget Me has been represented by Grade Two winners in the US in 1996 and '97, so he occasionally comes up with a smart performer. Lot 5, a half- brother to several winners, comes from the family which produced Don't Forget Me's Tetrarch Stakes winner Irish Memory.

Two lots later comes Cornagher House's colt, whose dam is a winning half- sister to the smart Flashfoot.

Lot 80 is out of a Listed-placed Taufan mare with two winners to her credit.

EFISIO (1c, 1f): Efisio had youngsters sold for 20,000gns and 14,000gns here last year and there is a fair chance that he will better those prices. Lot 145 was knocked down for 18,500gns at the October Sales and her dam is a three -parts sister to that fast filly Rivers Rhapsody, as well as being a half-sister to the Group -winning Regal Scintilla.

Later comes Lot 170, a 10,000gns yearling out of the very well-bred Clytie, already dam of the well-regarded Carati.

ELMAAMUL (2c): the sire of Dankeston and Mukaddar is represented by Lot 115, a 6,500gns yearling from the family of Primo Dominie and Swan Princess, and Lot 131, the first foal of a well-bred Lear Fan mare.

ENVIRONMENT FRIEND (1g): the under-rated Environment Friend is represented by Lot 64, a half-brother to the useful middle-distance winner General Mouktar. The gelding's second dam is Slip The Ferret, a very useful half-sister to the very smart Skyliner.

EXBOURNE (1f): the well-regarded Running Stag is the latest of several good -class winners to represent Fruhlingstag, the classic-placed dam of Lot 22. Exbourne, of course, was runner- up to Nashwan in the Two Thousand Guineas, before doing even better in the US.

FLYING TYKE (1c): this little-known stallion is represented by Lot 124, a brother to three winners, including two juvenile scorers. As he fetched 9,000gns as a yearling, this colt must take the eye.

GEIGER COUNTER (1c): this very well-bred son of Mr Prospector currently has the smart Australian two-year-old Gold Guru representing him. Here he relies on Lot 86, a colt out of a winning half-sister to that good broodmare Moon Drop (dam of Moon King, Mithl Al Hawa and Dancing Drop).

GENEROUS (1c): the IR7,800gns paid for Lot 58 last autumn could prove a sound investment. The colt's sister, Tenuous, was second at Longchamp early in April. Although Generous hasn't hit the headlines as a sire, his British runners from his first two crops achieved a median Timeform rating of 82, placing him alongside the likes of Danehill, Danzig, Diesis, El Gran Senor and Silver Hawk.

GROOM DANCER (1c): this talented sire is represented by a well- bred colt as Lot 39, a 13,500gns yearling. The colt's dam Ever Genial was a Group winner at two and three and comes from a family which did well last year with Grape Tree Road and Stretarez. This is also the family of Commanche Court.

HAMAS (2c, 1f): this son of the phenomenal broodmare Fall Aspen has an attractive team on offer, including a well-bred pair from Redpender Stud. Lot 88 is a half-brother to the Listed winner Lady Ambassador, his second dam being the highly successful Sarah Siddons. And Lot 89 is a half-sister to Lucky Lindy, runner-up in the Two Thousand Guineas.

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Kirriemuir Stud's colt, Lot 61, is inbred in the third generation to Northern Dancer. His second dam is a sister to those top-class two-year-olds Bitty Girl and Hot Spark.

HIGH ESTATE (1c): 7,500gns was the yearling price of Lot 183, a colt out of a mare by the very fast Bay Express.

IMP SOCIETY (1f): after the success of Imp Society's first Irish crop, there should be interest in Lot 174, a filly whose second dam was a winning sister to Tap On Wood, winner of the Two Thousand Guineas.

INCHINOR (1c): Lot 104's dam has had three winners from five runners, so is proving a worthy member of the Peggy West family - the source of such as In Command, Royal Applause and Mr Fluorocarbon.

KEFAAH (1c, 1f): Tara Stud's filly, Lot 37, is being consigned from Willoughton Stables, which once consigned the smart Midnight Legend to these sales.

Coincidentally Lot 46, a IR9,600gns buy, is out of a half-sister to the dam of Midnight Legend and to the dam of Rio Duvida.

KRIS (1c): Kris sired the very successful Common Grounds from a mare by Lyphard and Lot 90 is out of another. His dam, My Sister Ellen, is a winning daughter of the smart American mare Cat Girl.

LAST TYCOON (1f): Last Tycoon has made an impressive start to 1997, with Stakes winners in the US, Japan, Australia, New Zealand and France. Here he is represented by Lot 21, a daughter of a winning mare by Sir Ivor from the family of Jet Ski Lady.

MAC'S IMP (2c, 2f): Jeremy Glover consigns Lot 56, an 8,500gns colt out of a half-sister to the smart Japanese colt Prest Symboli. The other colt, Lot 119, comes from the famous Mesopotamia family.

Tally-Ho Stud's fillies by its former stallion include Lot 51, a grand-daughter of that good broodmare Julip.

MAGIC RING (3c, 2f): this very quick-maturing grandson of Danzig should make his mark with this attractive team. Lot 150, a 13,500gns yearling, comes from the family which produced the Group-winning Hill Hopper to Danzig's son Danehill.

The other colts are Lot 53, a half-brother to two juvenile winners, and 63, a half-brother to the triple 1996 winner Sistar Act.

The fillies are Lot 32, a 6,000gns half-sister to last year's good two-year-old Shadow Lead, and Lot 161, a IR7,000gns yearling out of a sister to the very smart Broken Hearted.

MAGICAL WONDER (1c, 1f): Tara Stud's colt, Lot 36, comes from a long line of winning mares, while Lot 117 is out of a prolific winner-producer.

MIDYAN (1c, 1f): Midyan notched up ten domestic two-year-old winners last year, plus another four abroad, so his pair should be on the short-list for people looking for juvenile winners.

The last two foals of the dam of Lot 118 are Wildwood Flower, a useful sprinter, and Zaretski, a seven-furlong winner this year.

The colt, Lot 149, is a brother to one of Midyan's 1996 juvenile winners and cost 6,000gns.

MOST WELCOME (1c): the colt by Most Welcome has the unenviable task of getting proceedings under way. He is out of a well-bred mare by Tate Gallery, which means that he is inbred in the third generation to Northern Dancer.

MUJADIL (2f): Mujadil's progeny made up to 26,000gns here last year, one of them being that useful colt Craigievar. This should benefit the fillies on offer this time, Lots 140 and 190. The latter is inbred 3 x 3 to Northern Dancer.

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MUJTAHID (1f): this filly, Lot 129, should benefit from the fact that nine of Mujtahid's 14 European two-year-old winners last year were fillies. She is a grand-daughter of Moqueuse, the third dam of the very promising Musical Pursuit.

MUKADDAMAH (1c): Camogue Stud's colt, Lot 26, comes from a female line which has supplied the Aga Khan with several Group winners, including Tashtiya and Tarwiya.

NIGHT SHIFT (2c): could this pair include another Midnight Legend, a 32,000gns buy here in 1993?

Both colts are well qualified. Lot 33 is a grandson of Siliciana, a Cambridgeshire winner who has done very well at stud, and Lot 99, an IR14,000gns colt, is out of a talented German winner by Glint Of Gold.

NORTHERN FLAGSHIP (1c): 10,500gns was the yearling price of Lot 125, a colt by the sire of Polaris Flight. The colt is a half-brother to the Stakes-winning dam of Wood Of Binn, a Group Three two-year-old winner in France. NORTHERN PARK (1c): this classically-bred son of Northern Dancer could be ably represented by Lot 79, a half-brother to that admirable mare Lap Of Luxury which cost 8,000gns as a yearling. NUREYEV (1f): fillies by this great sire made up to 375,000 dollars at the Barretts Sale last month. Pier House Stud's filly, Lot 65, is out of a Secretariat mare and is therefore bred along the same lines as the Group winners Atticus and Dance Treat. PERSIAN BOLD (1c): with an 18,000gns price-tag as a yearling, Lot 146 is sure to attract plenty of attention - especially as he is a three-parts-brother to the Group -winning Baba Karam. PERSONAL HOPE (1f): Personal Hope, a winner of the Santa Anita Derby by Storm Bird, achieved prices of up to 155,000 dollars with his first-crop yearlings last year. Lot 102 is out of the well-bred Trickily, a half-sister to the top French filly Tropicar o and to the dam of Lucayan Prince. PETARDIA (7c, 2f): the biggest team in the sale comes from the large first crop by this Tally-Ho Stud stallion. Tally-Ho offers two colts and a filly. Genesis Green Stud's colt, Lot 72, is out of a half-sister to Miss Silca Key, the Group-winning dam of Central City, and Lot 105 is a half-brother to Spaghetti Western, a dual Listed winner in Italy. Suirview Stables' colt, Lot 69, is closely related to Paris House, and Bushy Park Stables' colt, Lot 172, is out of the successful Irish mare Dotis Dictio. PETONG (2c, 1f): 22,000gns was the best price for a Petong colt at last year's sale. His candidates this time include Lot 13, a half-brother to the multiple winner Sense Of Priority, and Lot 87, a colt out of a well-bred Rainbow Quest mare with two winners already to her credit. The filly, Lot 152, is out of a mare by Mummy's Pet, broodmare sire of Petong's smart son Petardia. PETORIUS (1c): Lot 97 is a half-brother to seven winners and cost IR8,500gns last October. PHARLY (3c): Busy Flight's sire ought to do well as two of these colts realised 12,000gns at the yearling sales - Lot 143, a colt from the family of Unblest and Mysilv, and Lot 198, a half-brother to the classic-placed German filly Anna Domani. Lot 107, a half-brother to a 1996 two-year-old winner, is out of Scales Of Justice, a prolific winner at around a mile. PIPS PRIDE (3c): Charnwood Stud consigns two of the three colts from the first crop of this very fast (but short-lived) sire. Lot 15, a IR5,500gns yearling, is out of Bold Lillian, a mare with the unusual record of having won from nine furlongs to two miles since the birth of this colt. The other Charnwood offering, Lot 108, cost IR6,400gns and is a half-brother to eight winners, including an Irish Cambridgeshire winner. Lot 184 cost 12,500gns at the October Sales, so must take the eye. POLAR FALCON (1c): Fulling Mill Stud offers Lot 76, the only representative of this very promising young sire. The colt is out of a winning Try My Best mare from the family of Katies, the Irish 1000 Guineas winner who produced the Japanese superstar Hishi Amazon. PRESIDIUM (1c): Lot 164 should stay better than most of Presidium's progeny, as his dam is the 12-furlong winner Arachova, a half-sister by High Line to that grand long-distance horse Mountain Cross. PRINCE SABO (1c, 2f): Dullingham Bloodstock Centre's colt, Lot 17, cost 11,000gns as a yearling and is out of a triple two-year-old winner. One of the fillies, Lot 44, is a sister to Ortolan, a winner five times in 1996. She was knocked down for 20,000gns at the October Sales. The other filly, Lot 175, is a January-foaled daughter of a mare with an impressive American pedigree. PUISSANCE (2c, 1f): Lot 12 should be fairly forward, as his brother Divide And Rule was a five-furlong winner in June last year. The other colt, an 11,000gns purchase, is a half-brother to several winners and has the smart stayer Queen Of Twilight as his second dam. Mrs Peacock's Manor House Stud consigns Lot 111, a filly whose second dam is a winning half-sister to Caergwrle, winner of the One Thousand Guineas. RAINBOWS FOR LIFE (2c): Vincent O'Brien and Hamdan Al Maktoum are among the owners of colts from the first crop of this Canadian champion by Lyphard. Rainbows For Life is represented here by Lot 169, an 17,000gns yearling from the family which produced A Izao to Lyphard, and Lot 68, a IR12,000gns colt out of a winning, winner-producing Kris mare. RISK ME (3c): Risk Me is already in fine

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form with his 1997 juveniles, with Risky Whisky and Mister Bankes winning for him. Lismacue Stables' colt, a 6,800gns buy, has the distinction of being inbred 3 x 2 to the excellent Sharpen Up, while Lot 18, a 5,000gns yearling, is a brother to a dual two-year-old winner in 1996. The third colt, Lot 156, is out of a half-sister to those good fillies Jolimo and Sparkling Suzie. RIVER FALLS (2c): both these colts were fairly popular as yearlings, with Lot 185 costing IR8,000gns and 201 fetching IR5,000gns. ROANOKE (1c): the 13,000gns paid for Lot 4 should yield dividends, as his half-sister Wandering Star developed into a smart performer in Britain and North America last autumn. His dam is a half-sister to that very good stallion Silver Hawk. ROBELLINO (3c, 2f): I am expecting Robellino's 1995 crop to do well and it is already off the mark, thanks to Stately Princess. Ted Walsh must also have high hopes of Mister Baileys' sire, as he paid 20,000gns for Lot 66, a colt from the famous Valifami ly. Lot 178 must also be an attractive individual, judged on his yearling price of 13,500gns, and Tally-Ho Stud's colt, Lot 74, is out of a half-sister to Party Season, a smart performer both here and in the US. Both fillies come from top female lines, Lot 100 coming from the family of the great Dahlia and Lot 194 being the first foal of a Lyphard mare from the family of Mark Of Esteem. ROCK CITY (1c): 5,200gns was the yearling price of Lot 109, whose dam is a granddaughter of the famous Windmill Girl. Last year's smart juvenile Falkenham also comes from this family. ROCK HOPPER (1c): as a half-brother to the very useful Nigrasine, it isn't surprising that Lot 55 made 10,500gns as a yearling. ROI DANZIG (2c, 1g): Ted Walsh's Bushy Park Stables consigns Lot 138, an IR8,000gns yearling from a good Aga Khan family. The gelding cost IR6,200gns and comes from a good-class family. RON'S VICTORY (1c, 1g): Mocklershill Stables colt, Lot 84, cost IR7,000gns as a yearling and is the first foal of a well-bred Soviet Star mare. The gelding, Lot 121, is a half-brother to Northern Sun, winner of two of his first three starts as a two-year-old in 1996. ROYAL ACADEMY (1c, 1f): Pollardstown Stables consigns the colt, Lot 48. A 14,000gns yearling, he is a half-brother to Cos, twice a winner in Italy since the catalogue was published, and his second dam is the very smart Dancing Rocks. Glenvale Stud's filly, Lot 189, has the attraction of being a sister to Caviar Royale, who sold for 62,000gns after a useful two-year-old campaign last year. The filly's third and fourth dams are the famous French mares Corejada and Tourzima. RUDIMENTARY (2c, 3f): it will be a surprise if this promising stallion doesn't match or better the 27,000gns paid for one of his 1996 team. Lot 54, a colt with a sister to Ballad Rock as his second dam, cost Malcolm Bastard 13,500gns, while Lot 128 was an 11,500gns buy. Mocklershill Stables consigns Lot 57, an IR9,500gns yearling from a good family, and Lot 147, a 7,800gns filly from the family of In The Groove. Herringswell Manor Stud is the vendor of Lot 176, a filly out of a successful sister to the very smart sprinter Kind Music. SADDLERS' HALL (1c): with two Listed winners among his first two-year-old runners, Saddlers' Hall made a pleasing start last year. Here he is represented by Lot 96, a 9,000gns yearling whose second dam is Par Excellence, a Canadian champion. SALSE (1c, 1f): there is sure to be plenty of interest in Salse's son, Lot 199. The colt is out of a Sir Ivor mare and cost 18,000gns as a yearling. As Salse's previous daughters include Lemon Souffle, Spout and Bianca Nera, it would be dangerous to overlook Lot 162, a 5,200gns yearling out of a very well-connected Sadler's Wells mare. This filly is inbred to Northern Dancer, as is Spout. SCENIC (1c, 1f): Italian buyers could well be interested in the youngsters by Scenic, following the 1996 classic exploits of Beauty To Petriolo (Premio Regina Elena) and Backdrop (second in the Derby Italiano). Lot 202, a IR5,500gns yearling, is out of a successful Caerleon mare from the family of Lomond and Seattle Slew. Lot 11 is out of a mare by Auction Ring, and it was Scenic's sire Sadler's Wells who sired In Command from another daughter of Auction Ring. SEATTLE SONG (1c): Lot 148 was bred in America but both of his parents won in France, as did his Group-winning half-brother Ruscelli. SECOND SET (1c, 1f): Ted Carter possibly picked up a bargain when he paid 9,000gns for Lot 14, as this colt had cost IR18,500gns as a foal. The colt is a half-brother to Call To Mind, a fair winner in England who went on to do well in Hong Kong. Lot 50 is out of a winning Forli mare from a talented family. SELKIRK (3c, 2f): this top-class miler has made a very pleasing start, with Kirkwall, a recent French Listed winner, becoming the fifth black-type winner from Selkirk's first crop. This bodes well for his second -crop team, which includes Lot 59, Kirriemuir Stud's 15,000gns half-brother to the very useful NC Owen. Earlier offerings include Lot 3, a colt out of a half-sister to the smart Italian horse Big Reef, and Lot 42, a half-sister to the American Grade Three winner Sacque. Three of Selkirk's five black-type winners are out of mares by Northern Dancer, Sadler's Wells and Lyphard. This could help Lot 28, a colt out of a mare by Northern Dancer's son Night Shift. Completing the team is Lot 103, a filly whose first four dams all won. SHALFORD (1c, 1f): Shalford colts made 36,000gns and 20,000gns here last year, so watch out for Lot 23, a 7,300gns purchase last November. Lot 193 is a granddaughter of Suvanee, a very smart French filly. SHARPO (1f): Vax Rapide has already got Sharpo's last crop off the mark, and this top sprinter is represented here by Lot 200, a filly out of a young daughter of the top broodmare sire Graustark. SHERNAZAR

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(1c): Boot Hill Stud's colt, Lot 160, is the first foal of an Irish 11-furlong winner from the family of the top stayer El Badr. **SIMPLY GREAT** (1c): a IR7,000gns half-brother to Flanagan Cocktail, a Group Three winner in France, represents this versatile sire as Lot 19. **SOVIET LAD** (2f): Soviet Lad's previous daughters include White Sea and here he is represented by Lots 6 and 106. **SOVIET STAR** (1c, 1f): 23,000gns was the price of a Soviet Star filly here last year. As Soviet Star's reputation has since been boosted by Ashkalani and Sensation, he could do well with Lot 16 and Lot 144, the latter being a filly bred along similarline s to King's Signet. **STATOBLEST** (2c): Statoblest had a high proportion of winners among his 1996 juvenile runners, and there could be more winners on offer here. Lot 188 comes from the family which produced Almante - a winner of nearly pounds 1 million as Right Way in Hong K ong - to Statoblest's sire, Ahonoora. Ted Walsh paid 12,000gns for Lot 171, a colt out of a winning daughter of Vielle. **SUAVE DANCER** (1f): Lot 142 is inbred 4 x 4 to Northern Dancer through Nijinsky and Danzig, whereas the top sprinter Iktamal is inbred 3 x 3 through the same horses. Suave Dancer's daughter is out of a half-sister to Creag-An-Sgor, the winner of the Middl e Park Stakes. **SUPERLATIVE** (1c): Lot 122, a half-brother to a two-year-old winner, has the distinction of coming from a top Uruguayan family. **TENBY** (2c): both colts by 1993's odds-on Derby favourite are the first foals of grand-daughters of Northern Dancer. Lot 41, a 5,000gns yearling, is out of a winning mare by Fairy King, while Lot 133, a 6,700gns buy, is out of The Poachers Lady, a useful winner from the family of Pipe Major. **TERIMON** (1c): Bloomsbury Stud's colt, Lot 113, could have dual-purpose prospects as his dam Kovalevskia scored eight times on the flat and five times over hurdles. **THATCHING** (1c, 1f): this veteran sire is represented by Lot 163, a IR7,600gns filly who, like the smart Fatherland, is inbred to Forli and Thong. Her second dam is the classic-winning Lady Capulet. The Thatching colt, Lot 187, cost 25,000gns at the December Sales. He is out of a winning half-sister to Super Sheila, a leading sprinter in South Africa. **THEATRICAL CHARMER** (1c): Lot 40 must look the part as he realised 9,500gns as a yearling. His dam is a half-sister to the Group-winning Smelter. **TIROL** (2c): Lot 132 could do well for Malcolm Bastard's Coln Pen, as his dam is a half-sister to Dance By Night, who produced the top French filly Danseuse Du Soir to Tirol's sire Thatching. Lot 38, a 5,000gns yearling, is a brother to a winner from a smart Chilean family. **UNFUWAIN** (2c): with Shamikh and Alhaarth on his side, Unfuwain could be heading for a good 1997. Here he is represented by Lot 77, a 7,500gns yearling, and Lot 85, a half-brother to the useful miler King Balladeer. **WARNING** (1c): Warning is already off the mark with his 1997 two -year-olds, thanks to the French colt Zelding. Lot 186 should also do well, as he is a brother to the talented Indhar and cost 18,500gns at the December Sales. The colt's dam is a half-sister to Teenoso and Topsy. **WELDNAAS** (2c): Weldnaas has made a good start to the year, with White Hot winning the Turf Paradise Derby for him in the US and Blushing Victoria getting his 1995 crop off the mark. Lot 139 is a brother to a triple winner and cost 5,000gns, while Lot 154, a 6,400gns yearling, is a grandson of Sovereign Rose, winner of the Diadem Stakes. **WOLFHOUND** (1f): last but certainly not least, I come to Lot 43, one of the best-bred fillies on offer. A 23,000gns yearling, she is a half-sister to Mezzogiorno, third in last year's Oaks, and her dam is a sister to the smart Torchon.

Graphic

Magic Ring (right), pictured winning the Norfolk Stakes at Royal; Ascot in 1991, is represented by an attractive-looking team of five at the sales; Petardia (right), pictured winning at Doncaster, is represented by the biggest consignment - seven of his first crop will pass through the ring

Load-Date: April 11, 1997

TEMPTING PRIZE AWAITS;
THE ST LEGER YEARLING SALES PREVIEW; ANDREW CAULFIELD
PREVIEWS THE ST LEGER YEARLING SALES AT DONCASTER

Sporting Life

September 5, 1997, Friday

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Section: NEWS; Pg. 4, 5, 6

Length: 5995 words

Byline: Andrew Caulfield

Body

There is a very tempting pounds 100,000 dividend awaiting one of the buyers of the 500 yearlings on offer at next week's St Leger Yearling Sales, which run from Tuesday to Saturday.

That is the first prize on offer in the proposed St Leger Yearling Stakes, due to be run over six furlongs at Doncaster in a year's time.

"This is a first for British racing," pointed out Henry Beeby, a director of Doncaster Bloodstock Sales.

"In the past, races of this nature had to go the route of bonus schemes, rather than offer large amounts of prize money.

"However, we believe that actual prize-money is imperative if we are to capture the imagination of the racing public and potential buyers, and we have been striving behind the scenes to get the necessary permission with the help of John Sanderson.

"Our race will carry a minimum total of pounds 200,000 in prize money, with pounds 100,000 to the winner, pounds 40,000 to the second, pounds 20,000 to the third and even pounds 10,000 for the fourth. There will also be pounds 5,000 apiece for the fifth to tenth finishers.

"Prize money is such an issue in British racing at the moment and this attempts to address the issue head on.

"The potential rewards on offer are outstanding when you remember that the average price at last year's sale was 9,100gns.

"Because of the race, we were offered more horses and we had to take a far harder line, so I would say that the general quality of the catalogue has been raised," Beeby continued.

"As last year, we have the problem that our sale again clashes with the Keeneland September Sale, the biggest yearling sale in the world.

"But only the 500 horses in the St Leger catalogue can run in our race. To use a Tony Blairish soundbite, 'If you're not in, you can't win.'

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"I would also advise British buyers to take another look at our record for producing two-year-old winners.

"This sale, which sells from 400 to 450 yearlings each year, has averaged 100 individual two-year-old winners in each of the last five seasons.

"That backs up our assertion that the St Leger Sale is the most successful sale for two-year-old winners.

"Many of these two-year-old winners go on to do well in subsequent seasons. For this year's catalogue front-page photo we deliberately chose a slightly older horse - the Gallinule Stakes winner Johan Cruyff, who came from our 1995 sale, as did Crystal Hearted."

There are over 120 stallions represented in the catalogue, including some well -qualified new sires. Here is a run-down of some of the candidates for the pounds 100,000 first prize.

STALLION A-Z

ABSALOM (1c): Lot 127, a 4,000gns foal, is out of a three-parts sister to the dam of Dashing Blade.

ALHIJAZ (2c, 2f): Dim Ots and Alfiglia helped Alhijaz make a quick start with his first crop. His second includes Lot 122, a filly whose dam was second to Lyric Fantasy in the National Stakes on her debut. Both colts, Lots 342 and 446, are three-parts brothers to Dim Ots.

ALNASR ALWASHEEK (1c, 1f): Lot 459, a daughter of that good broodmare Mirkhan Honey, has the attraction of being closely related to the very useful Lee Artiste (by a brother to Alnasr Alwasheek's sire Sadler's Wells).

ANITA'S PRINCE (1f): Lot 348 is a sister to six winners at home or overseas, including three juveniles.

ANSHAN (2c, 3f): This tough performer has had plenty of winners this year, including Alezal.

Lot 314 should be popular, as a brother to the useful Repertory and half- brother to Sir Tasker. Lots 7 and 493 are out of winning two-year-olds, the latter being a daughter of the Fillies' Mile third Fujaiyrah.

ARAGON (3c, 5f): Of the ones sold as foals, the highest-priced was Lot 184, at 7,000gns. This good-looking individual is a half-brother to the very successful Tedburrow, while Lot 461 is a half-brother to Marowins, another prolific winner.

The fillies include Lot 301, a sister to the quick-maturing Duke of Aragon; 445, whose dam is a half-sister to Diaghilef and Kilcora; and 456, a sister to the dual Irish winner Zoe Baird.

ARCHWAY (4c): Lot 11 was a 6,000gns foal, whereas IR4,200gns was the price of Lot 44.

ARDKINGGLASS (8c, 5f): This Jersey Stakes winner has sired three winners from a limited number of runners. There are likely to be plenty more among this sizeable team from his second crop.

The likeable types include a trio from Sledmere Stud comprising Lot 6, Lot 253, a half-sister to the admirable K-Battery, and Lot 346, a half- brother to the Listed-winning Home Shopping.

Others to watch for include Lot 65, a filly out of a sister to the speedy Saint Express; Lot 146, a half-brother to the Newmarket juvenile winner Pacifica, out of a half-sister to Nicolotte; and Lot 418, a half-sister to Lennox Lewis, from a fast family.

BATSHOOF (1c): 6,800gns was the foal price of Lot 307.

BEVELED (3c): This trio should be popular. Lot 237 is out of a three- parts sister to the very fast Glen Kate; Lot 288 comes from the family that produced the top-class Risk Me to another son of Sharpen Up; and Lot 300 is a half -brother to the prolific winners Captain Carat and Gi La High.

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BLUEBIRD (1c): With 1997 Group winners in several parts of the world, Bluebird could do well with Lot 202, a son of the talented French mare Plume Magique.

CASE LAW (2c): The Irish colt Law Library has already shown that Case Law can get useful winners. Here his colts include Lot 242, whose brother made 18,000gns at the Two-Year-Olds in Training Sale. This colt's dam is a half -sister to Tenuous, a Group winner since the catalogue.

CASTEDDU (3c, 1f): Glenvale Stud can be expected to do well with Lot 223, a colt whose dam is a half-sister to three mares with Stakes winners to their credit, including the dam of Revoque.

CLANTIME (11c, 5f): Several Clantime yearlings made five-figure sums at last year's sale, and he looks set to do even better this time with his large squad.

Quite a few are out of mares who have already done well with Clantime, examples being Lot 305, a sister to Lago Di Varano; 355, a sister to Dande Flyer; 368, a brother to two winners; and 370, a brother to two winners from the Branston Abby family.

Furnace Mill consigns an interesting colt as Lot 231. A half-brother to the multiple winner Traceability, he is out of a half-sister to Meis El-Reem, a classic-placed mare whose son Princely Heir has won the Phoenix Stakes since the catalogue.

Lot 306 is inbred 2 x 3 to Clantime's sire Music Boy and his second dam is a sister to the very fast Kind Music. He cost 5,800gns as a foal.

Others worthy of a mention include Lot 168, a colt out of a half-sister to Deep Finesse; 169, a half-sister to the admirable Croft Valley; 266, a colt out of a successful half-sister to Regiment; and Lot 464, the first foal of a granddaughter of the highly successful Jojo.

COMMON GROUNDS (3c, 2f): This dependable stallion is another who looks set to do well here. Old Meadow Stud's colt, Lot 318, was a 120,000gns foal. His dam is a winner- producing half-sister to Orojoya, winner of the Haydock Sprint Cup.

Lavington Stud's colt, Lot 103, is out of a half-sister to Wind In Her Hair and Capo Di Monte, while Lot 254 is the first foal of Whittle Woods Girl, a successful half-sister to Atrah and Son Pardo.

Yeomanstown Stud consigns the other two, Lots 233, a filly from the family of this year's good Italian filly Sopran Mariduff, and 298, a brother to a six -furlong winner.

CONTRACT LAW (2c, 1f): Whitsbury Manor Stud's filly, Lot 312, has the attraction of being a half-sister to Warning Shadows, winner of the Sun Chariot Stakes.

CYRANO DE BERGERAC (9c, 5f): This large contingent comes from the first crop sired by Cyrano De Bergerac after his move from Ireland to England, and reflects the 1994 success he enjoyed with Millkom. As many as nine of them come up from Glen Andred Stud, the breeder of Millkom.

Other studs are represented by Lot 14, the first foal of a daughter of the excellent broodmare Lighted Lamp; Lot 33, a half-brother to Islamabad, a successful 1997 juvenile; and Lot 468, a grandson of the champion two- year -old filly Cry Of Truth.

DEPLOY (3c, 2f): The unexpected success of the two-year-olds from Deploy's first crop earned him renewed support, which is reflected in his team here.

Lot 259 is a half-sister to Filey Brigg, a good juvenile who has been Group -placed since the catalogue, and descends from Oaks winner Pia.

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Southill Stud's colt, Lot 357, is a half-brother to a major winner in Mexico and comes from the top German female line which produced Slip Anchor to Deploy's sire Shirley Heights. Lot 420 is a half-brother to Deeceebie, a 1997 juvenile winner.

DILUM (1c, 1f): Lot 246 is a half-brother to a couple of two-year-old winners and descends from Oaks winner Juliette Marny. And Lot 21 is a half-sister to High Ranking, a dual five-furlong winner at two.

DISTANT RELATIVE (4c, 3f): Lot 394 has the credentials to do well here, as a half-brother to the tough 1996 Listed winner Head Over Heels. Another colt, Lot 482, comes from a fast family, even though he is a half-brother to Saleel, a useful middle-distance stayer.

Distant Relative's daughters always merit a close look and here they are Lot 39, whose family has produced the smart fillies Suni, Media Luna and Eva Luna; Lot 171, whose dam is the Wokingham winner Red Rosein; and Lot 409, a grand-daughter of the top-class May Hill.

DISTINCTLY NORTH (3c, 1f): A colt by this sire made 62,000gns here last year and he could again do well with Lot 296, a IR16,500gns foal whose brother Distinctly West won three times at up to a mile at two last year.

Glenvale Stud's colt, Lot 224, is out of a half-sister to Trevita, a high-class performer in the States.

The filly, Lot 310, is a sister to a 1997 juvenile winner, as well as being a half-sister to a talented Italian three-year-old.

DOUBLETOUT (1c): IR5,200gns was paid for Lot 153, a half-brother to two two-year-old winners, including the useful Test The Water.

EFISIO (1c, 3f): With rarely a day seeming to go by without Efisio siring a winner, he can hardly fail here.

His son, Lot 356, is out of a half-sister by Nureyev to the very useful Florid. Efisio's fast son Tomba is also out of a grand-daughter of Northern Dancer.

The fillies are Lot 230, a granddaughter of that good broodmare Julip; 289, whose dam is a sister to the Prix Lupin winner Metal Precieux; and 374, whose dam is a speedily-bred Fairy King mare which won ten times in Sweden.

ELBIO (1c): IR10,000gns was paid for Lot 334, a colt bred to be speedy. His dam is a half-sister by Fairy King to that fast filly Fundraiser, now dam of Clever Caption.

EMARATI (5c, 4f): The new National Stud stallion could do well with several of these, such as Lot 211, a brother to two winners, and Lot 275, the first foal of that admirable stayer Farmer's Pet.

Don't leave the Thursday night session before you have seen the penultimate lot, 354. This half-brother to King Of Peru, a winner at up to seven furlongs with a Timeform rating of 105, comes from the family of Roland Gardens and Kooyonga.

FAIRY KING (1c): Camas Park Stud consigns Lot 221, the first foal of Whatcombe, a Listed two-year-old winner from the famous Mesopotamia family.

FAYRUZ (9c, 2f): Fayruz had a good 1994 which earned him a book of over 70 mares the following spring. He is well represented here, with a large squad that contains several colts which were popular as foals.

Lot 297 must look the part as he cost IR12,500gns, and Lot 324, a 12,000gns purchase, is a brother to Kingsandvagabonds, a useful sprint winner at two in Ireland.

Lots 72 and 225 both fetched IR8,500gns, the latter being a half-brother to eight winners, including the recent German Listed winner Geneva.

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Lot 84 is a filly inbred 3 x 2 to Lady Jester, a strong influence for speed.

FORMIDABLE (5c, 4f): Lot 363 is likely to make a two-year-old, as his dam won twice at two and her first three foals have won at that age. Three of the others come from Lavington Stud, including Lot 176, a filly whose dam won twice over six furlongs at two. The dams of Lots 167 and 336 won 11 times between them.

FORZANDO (2c, 2f): Whitsbury Manor should do well with Lot 311, a half- brother to the useful 1996 juvenile Shadow Lead, the dam being a successful half-sister to the smart Punishment.

Lot 212 is a sister to a triple winner, as well as being a half-sister to the talented Maserati Monk,

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and Lot 239, an 8,000gns foal, is the first foal of a two-year- old winner by Fairy King.

GREAT COMMOTION (1c, 1f): But for fertility problems, Great Commotion would surely have become a popular stallion. Here he is represented by Lot 23, a half-sister to the successful Italian filly Carol Alt, and 276, a colt from the family of Troy.

GREEN DESERT (1f): Gainsborough Stud Management bred Lot 283, the first foal of Zafaaf. This Kris mare won at Newmarket and Ascot before finishing a good sixth in the Coronation Stakes.

GREENSMITH (2c): The astonishing start made by his first crop has seen Greensmith sire four winners of 13 races. Could Lots 79 or 157 develop into another Lord Smith or Prince Foley? Lot 157 is a brother to a winner and his dam is a half-sister to the very smart Sapience.

HADEER (1c): The dam of Lot 42 has two foals of racing age and they have won six two-year-old races between them.

HAMAS (1c): The bright start made by this extremely well-connected son of Danzig will help Lot 294, whose dam is a half- sister to 11 winners.

HIGH ESTATE (2c): Lot 338, a 6,200gns foal, is a half-brother to Reprehend, a useful winner at up to a mile. Next comes Lot 358, a colt out of a sister to that very useful handicapper Steerforth.

INCHINOR (3c, 4f): The triple winner Shawdon and Friar Tuck are among the winners from Inchinor's first crop. Here his second crop includes Lot 399, a colt out of a Known Fact mare with a 100 per cent record for producing two -year-old winners.

Lot 290 is a half-sister to that prolific winner Mazilla, and Lot 174 is a colt out of a well-connected Sir Ivor mare.

KEEN (5c): This brother to Kris and Diesis has been having a good year, with Group winners in the United States and Japan. He should do well with Lot 499, as this colt is a half-brother to Regal Revolution, a two-year- old filly who has won three times more since the catalogue and has been fourth at Group Three level.

Other likely types are Lot 469, a half-brother to a two-year-old Listed winner in Italy, and Lot 476, a brother to a 1997 three-year-old winner.

KING'S SIGNET (5c, 8f): Furnace Mill Stud's pair by this Stewards' Cup winner appropriately includes as half-brother to the Stewards' Cup winner For The Present as Lot 303.

Trickledown Stud's team includes several likely sorts, such as Lot 161, a filly from the family of the Guineas winners Dancer Mitral (Italian 2000), Donna Cressida (Irish 1000) and Las Meninas. Later come Lot 330, a half-sister to the talented and precocious Only For Gold; 331, a half- sister to the admirable Lord Smith; and 427, a colt whose dam is a half- sister to Bunty Boo.

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Downclose Stud's colt, Lot 91, is out of a half-sister to those smart performers Great Deeds and Busaco and to the dam of Bianca Nera.

KOMAITE (3c, 3f): Komaite's smallish crop of two-year-olds has already produced six winners, including Piccolo Cativo, a sister to Lot 163. Others by this good winner-getter include Lot 332, a half-sister to several winners out of a well-bred Luthier mare, and Lot 373.

LAHIB (1c): Lahib has done well with the first few two-year-old runners from his second crop. Here he is represented by Lot 349, the first foal of Beneficiary, a multiple winner whose half-brother Decorated Hero has won the Hungerford Stakes since the catalogue.

LASHKARI (2c): The dams of both these colts are half-sisters to smart performers, Lot 423's dam being a half-sister to Bezelle (Princess Margaret Stakes and Gladness Stakes). Lot 329's family has produced such as Seattle Rhyme, Aliante and Dairine's Delight.

LION CAVERN (2c): There must be high hopes of Lot 371, a half-brother to the useful miler Arany who cost 11,500gns as a foal. Doyce, who numbered the Chester Cup among her wins, is dam of Lot 402.

LOCAL SUITOR (1c): Goosemoor Stud's colt, Lot 113, is out of a winning half -sister to Young Pokey.

LUGANA BEACH (3c, 7f): This fast horse made a fine start in 1994, with five winners from ten first-crop runners, and consequently he should do well with the foals conceived in 1995.

Those on offer here include Lot 152, a sister to Pure Coincidence (second in the Weatherbys Super Sprint).

Lot 16 is a half-sister to Poets Cove, winner of the Molecomb Stakes; Lot 89 is a half-brother to Mumkin, a two-year-old winner; and Lot 93 is a half -brother to Combination, a useful juvenile of 1991.

Later comes Lot 286, a half-sister to the very fast Sizzling Melody, from the family of Puissance.

LYCIUS (1f): 8,000gns was paid for Lot 372, the second foal of an Irish six -furlong winner. The dam is a granddaughter of Northern Dancer, as are the dams of Lycius's Group winners Hello, Media Nox and Aylesbury.

MAC'S IMP (2c, 3f): The likes of Kilbride Lad, My-Lorraine and March Star have been running well for this precocious two-year- old. Worth a look here are Lot 323, the first foal of Almasa, a speedy juvenile from the family of Ridgewood Pearl, and Lot 140, a half-sister to several winners.

MAGICAL WONDER (1c): Lot 492's dam won at two and has two winners to her credit from her first three foals.

MAGIC RING (5c, 3f): With Magic Ring ranking among the leading first- crop sires, his team will attract plenty of attention.

Lot 455 is a half-brother to Sabre Rattler, a very useful sprinter, and Lot 500 - the last horse in the catalogue - is the first foal of True Precision, a successful performer at up to seven furlongs who was placed in Rated Stakes.

There are several other likeable types, such as Lot 313, a half-sister to Love Returned, and Lot 385, a 9,500gns foal.

MARJU (1f): Lot 448 comes from the same female line as Arc second Comtesse de Loir and Miesque.

MAZAAD (2c): Lot 395, a 3,800gns foal, is out of a winner-producing half- sister to the very smart Rich Charlie.

MERDON MELODY (2c, 1f): These three from Llety Farm include a brother to two winners as Lot 97 and a sister to another two as Lot 99.

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MIDYAN (2c): Midyan had 14 two-year-old winners among his 1994 crop and has the Listed winner Photogenic among his current juvenile scorers. Lot 158 should also make a juvenile, as he is a half-brother to two two-year-old winners, while Lot 247 is out of a half-sister to the smart miler Centre Stalls and comes from the same family as Rebecca Sharp.

MINSHAANSHU AMAD (1c, 1f): The first English crop by the sire of Distinctly North includes Lots 32 and 414, the latter a filly from a fast family.

MON TRESOR (2c): This reliable winner-getter is represented by Lot 192, a 3,700gns foal whose dam is a sister to a juvenile Listed winner. Lot 361 is the second foal of a juvenile winner.

MOST WELCOME (1f): The dam of Lot 315 has already produced two winners to Most Welcome, notably the very useful Naked Welcome, and she has also bred the quick-developing Olympic Spirit.

MUJADIL (1c, 2f): This up-and-coming sire is sure to do well with Lot 277, an IR8,600gns foal. The fillies, Lots 387 and 417, are bred to be speedy, with mares by Tumble Wind and Tate Gallery as their dams.

MUKADDAMAH (3f): Rathbarry Stud's filly, Lot 197, is out of Bourbon Topsy, a very well-bred Listed winner. More speedily bred is Lot 319, whose dam is a winning half-sister to the very useful sprinters Pencil Point and So Careful. Lot 494's dam is a half-sister to the smart juvenile Amigo Sucio and she won at two.

MY GENERATION (1c): Lot 1's dam produced the two-year-old five-furlong winners Bold African and White Emir as her first two foals.

MYSTIKO (3c): Lot 36's dam is an unraced half-sister to Princely Heir, winner of the Phoenix Stakes since the catalogue.

NASHWAN (1c): Gainsborough Stud bred Lot 284, a three-parts brother to a useful two-year-old mile winner. The colt's dam is a talented half-sister to Optimistic Lass, the Group-winning dam of Golden Opinion, and to Dangerous Diva, a 1997 Listed winner.

NESHAD (1c): Palacegate Jack's sire is represented by Lot 489, a colt from the family of Al Sylah.

NEVER SO BOLD (3c, 1f): Possible two-year-old winners include Lot 391, a colt out of a two-year-old winner whose first two foals have won as juveniles, and Lot 422, a filly out of a Godswalk mare whose wins included one at two.

NOBLE PATRIARCH (1c): Lot 35 is a half-brother to Foreman, an early-season two-year-old winner at Newmarket.

PARIS HOUSE (5c): This very fast performer already has five dual two-year-old winners from his first crop, including the useful fillies Parisian Lady and Maduka.

Interesting types are Lot 190, the first foal of a half-sister to this year's talented juvenile Blueridge Dancer, and Lot 350, a half-brother to two juvenile winners.

Later on come Lots 389, a IR6,500gns colt out of a two-year-old winner, and 443, a half-brother to the speedy Continental performer Look And Like.

PERPENDICULAR (1c): Lot 51 is a half-brother to two winners, including Polly Peculiar.

PERSIAN BOLD (1f): IR6,500gns was the foal price of Lot 351, a likeable individual whose dam is a sister to Gipsy Fiddler, winner of the Windsor Castle Stakes.

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PETARDIA (4c, 3f): Five of these members of Petardia's second crop come up from Tally-Ho Stud and among them are Lot 138, a daughter of the winner- producing Oriental Splendour, and Lot 396, a half-brother to the very useful sprinter Call Me I'm Blue.

Lot 71, from Burgage Stud, has the attraction of being a half-sister to the smart Royale Figurine and Lot 139, from Lynn Lodge Stud, was a IR7,000gns foal.

PETONG (8c, 6f): A couple of the colts were popular as foals, with Lot 195 costing 12,000gns and Lot 270 12,500gns.

Lot 109, a half-brother to the sprinter Croeso Cynnes, is a grandson of Sweet Emma, winner of the Phoenix Stakes.

Among the fillies you will find a 6,000gns half-sister to the smart Nominator at Lot 177; a sister to a dual two-year-old winner as Lot 251; and a daughter of the accomplished five-furlong performer Heaven-Liegh-Grey as Lot 359.

PHARLY (2f): Pharly has shown there are still plenty more miles left on the clock by siring the likes of Nicole Pharly, Busy Flight and The Fly. Lot 260's dam, Khadino, has bred three consecutive winners to Komaite, including La Volta, a talented two-year-old of 1995. Lot 477's dam won at two and has bred a two-year-old winner.

PIPS PRIDE (7c, 7f): Cortachy Castle and Shadow Of Doubt have shown Pips Pride's ability to get useful early sorts. There will be some more among his sizeable team on offer here, which includes three five-figure foals.

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Trump could hold aces

FIRST-CROP SIRES

BIGSTONE (1c): This top miler should be well represented by Lot 497, a half -brother to the accomplished Louis' Queen and the Group-placed Golden Agos.

CHADDLEWORTH (1c): Most of Ahonoora's stallion sons have sired something worthwhile and the highly-rated Chaddleworth could follow suit, given enough support. Lot 441's dam is a half- sister to the very useful fillies Countess Eileen and Jermaric.

COLLEGE CHAPEL (4c, 3f): This handsome sprinter strikes me as just the type to impress the Doncaster buyers. Lot 117 should get him off to a good start, as this 10,000gns foal is the first produce of an Italian winner bred along similar lines to Baratheia. IR8,500gns was the price of Lot 216, a colt from Cobhall Court Stud.

Watch, too, for Lot 210, a half-sister to this year's July Stakes runner- up Linden Heights, and Lot 180, a colt from the same family as Rakaposhi King, Nocturnal Spree and Moonax.

COSMONAUT (3c, 2f): This young horse has two very illustrious parents in Mr Prospector and Sonic Lady. Collin Stud consigns Lots 56, a half- sister to several winners from a family which has done very well in Germany, and 57, a half-sister to General Concorde. Lot 467 is a half-brother to Sandbaggedagain, a fair winner this year.

DOLPHIN STREET (1c, 4f): This handsome horse is another who could impress yearling buyers, especially as his team includes such as Lot 309, a half- sister to the Princess Margaret Stakes winner A Smooth One; Lot 375, a colt from the family of Glory Of Dancer; and Lot 393, a daughter of that fast filly Food Of Love.

FIRST TRUMP (4c, 5f): First Trump was himself a good-looking yearling and there is plenty to like about his team here.

Among the colts are Lot 293, a half-brother to the Group-placed Rosebud; Lot 388, a half-brother to the talented Strathmore Clear, from the famous Highclere family; and Lot 486, whose dam is a half-sister to Vindaloo.

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The fillies include Lot 229, whose second dam produced the outstandingly successful Italian filly Arranvanna to First Trump's sire; Lot 274, a daughter of the fast Blues Indigo; and Lot 410, a half-sister to Gipsy Fiddler, winner of the Windsor Castle Stakes.

FOREST WIND (5c, 5f): The winner of the Mill Reef Stakes has a large first crop and could be well represented here by the likes of Lot 209, a 13,000gns foal, and Lot 345, a IR9,000gns buy. The former is out of a winning sister to Cyrano De Bergerac and has been boosted by the useful 1997 form shown by his half-brother Cyrian.

Tally-Ho Stud sells two of the colts, including Lot 136, who comes from the family which recently supplied the Aga Khan with Rayseka and Rifapour.

The fillies include Lot 207, a half-sister to the useful Wafir from a good **female** line.

GRAND LODGE (1c): Lot 406 must look the part. This 14,000gns foal is out of a half-sister to Arctic Lord, just one of the many Group winners to come from this family.

KARINGA BAY (1f): IR7,000gns was invested in Lot 386, the first foal of a winning half-sister to Nibbs Point and Prince Ibrahim.

MIDHISH (1f): Lot 250, who cost IR5,800gns, is bred to be speedy, her dam being a Music Boy mare from the family of Eva Luna (IRE), Double Form and Aminata.

PERUGINO (3c, 4f): Like his three-parts brother Fairy King, Perugino ran only once (when he won over six furlongs as a two- year-old). He was given plenty of support by Irish breeders when he retired to stud and buyers are also likely to give him the benefit of the doubt. The colts include Lot 339, an IR8,000gns foal, and 173, a IR6,200gns purchase. Both of Cappaneale House Stud's fillies, Lots 67 and 69, come from good families, the latter being out of a half-sister to the top -class Kartajana. Lot 435 is another from a successful family.

UNBLEST (1c): Lot 179 comes from the top-class Vareta family, as do Ashkalani and Deep Finesse.

UP AND AT'EM (4c, 4f): This fast performer was by no means the highest- priced new stallion of 1995, but he looks likely to do well here. His attractive youngsters include such as Lot 126, an IR8,200gns buy; Lot 178, a 14,000gns colt whose dam has produced a couple of juvenile winners; and Lot 194. Lot 108 is a half-sister to Cheering News, a dual Listed winner.

WHITTINGHAM (5c, 2f): precocity was one of Whittingham's assets, so he should get quick-maturing stock. Holly Bush Farm offers most of these youngsters, including Lot 154. Could it be an omen that this filly's dam is a half-sister to Another Fantasy, recent winner of a very valuable sales-linked race?

Also from Holly Bush come Lot 58, the first foal of a winning half-sister to Kahir Almaydan; Lot 256, a colt from the family of the recent USA Stakes winner Miss Universal; and Lot 257, a daughter of the three-time juvenile winner The Fernhill Flyer.

Musley Bank's colt, Lot 426, is a half-brother to the tough and successful sprinter Bold Lez.

Lot 228, whose half-brother Wildcat has won since the catalogue, cost 13,500gns; Lot 245, a brother to the useful Italian colt Aupride, was a 11,500gns buy; and Lot 384, the first foal of a winning two-year- old, cost IR15,500gns.

Yeomanstown Stud consigns five of the youngsters, including colts out of speedily-bred mares by Tate Gallery (Lot 232), Sharpo (234) and Auction Ring (299). Lot 235 is a sister to Selkirk Rose, a winner since the catalogue, and 236 is a filly out of a winner-producing sister to Fayruz.

Since Lot 282 was bought for IR3,000gns, the Nell Gwyn Stakes has been won by Reunion, a half-sister to this filly's dam.

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POLAR FALCON (1c, 1f): Anticipate plenty of interest in this pair by the sire of Pivotal and Red Camellia. The filly, Lot 272, has the smart Callianire as her second dam.

POLISH PATRIOT (1c, 3f): The only colt by the sire of Gothenberg is Lot 185, a 5,000gns foal out of a winning Alzao mare. Polish Patriot has also sired some talented fillies, such as Samara and Unconditional Love, so take a look at Lot 218, a grand-daughter of the good broodmare Ishtar Abu, and Lot 249, a filly from the Compton Place family.

PRESIDIUM (6c, 1f): Presidium has sired several above-average two-year-olds and Lot 73 is a brother to one of them, Knayton Lass. Others bred to make two -year-olds include Lots 8, 433 (whose first three dams won at two) and 472.

PRINCE SABO (3c, 2f): Prince Sabo enjoyed a very rewarding 1994, thanks to Princely Hush, Maid For Walking and Easy Option and this earned him some good mares the following spring. For example, Lot 219, a 12,000gns foal, is out of La Piaf, a Stakes winner in the States, and Lot 352, a 13,000gns buy, is a half-brother to In Like Flynn and Out Like Magic.

PUISSANCE (5c, 7f): Bearstone Stud is offering a filly by its resident stallion as Lot 214. This filly has been boosted since the catalogue by another five-furlong win from Salamanca, her two-year-old half-sister.

PURSUIT OF LOVE (1c): Sure to attract a lot of attention is Lot 364, as this colt is a half-brother to Craze Mental and comes from the same family as Midnight Legend and Rio Duvida.

RAMBO DANCER (2c, 2f): Both fillies by Ramooz's sire - Lots 75 and 317 - are sisters to winners, the latter being a sister to three winners.

REPRIMAND (3c, 1f): A couple of these should be well worth a look. Lot 401 has been greatly boosted by the efforts of his half-brother Trans Island, an impressive Listed winner at Deauville last week. And Lot 182, a 10,000gns foal, is out of a half-sister to Pips Pride.

The others, Lot 227 and 431, are out of half-sisters to smart performers.

RISK ME (5c, 5f): Plenty of these have winning full-brothers or sisters, and Lots 125, 143, 203, 204 and 205 are out of mares which have produced two-year-old winners to Risk Me.

RIVER FALLS (8c): Several of these were quite popular as foals, good examples being Lot 437 (9,500gns), 258 (IR6,600gns) and 425 (IR6,000gns).

ROBELLINO (2f): Both the fillies by Classic Park's sire come from good families. Lot 366's second dam is a three-parts sister to On Tiptoes, the Queen Mary Stakes winner, and Lot 478 is out of a winning Shareef Dancer mare with three winners to her credit.

ROCK CITY (1c): Lot 200 must fill the eye, judging by his 10,500gns foal price. He is a half-brother to six winners by Red Sunset.

RUDIMENTARY (2c, 1f): The sire of those speedy fillies Conspiracy and Stop Out could do well with Lot 31, a half-sister to Young Precedent, a winner of a pounds 7,500 race since the catalogue. Lot 88's half-sister Sans Rivale has won since the catalogue.

SABREHILL (1f): The sire of Alboostan is represented by Lot 13, the first foal of a sister to the useful My Lamb.

SAFAWAN (5c, 5f): The majority of these are out of mares with at least one two-year-old winner to their credit, such as Lots 45, 164, 187, 268 (a half-brother to three juvenile winners), 439, 440 and 485.

SALSE (1c): Take a look at Lot 271, a half-brother to two juvenile winners from a good American family.

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SHALFORD (2c, 3f): The sire of Muchea and Poker-B could do well with Camas Park Stud's colt, Lot 220, which cost IR7,800gns.

One of the fillies, Lot 281, has links with the July Cup winner Compton Place and another, Lot 181, is a half-sister to Masterkind, a classic winner in Norway this year.

SHAREEF DANCER (1c, 1f): The filly, Lot 447, is the first foal of Little Beaut, a six-furlong winner at two, and the colt, Lot 488, is out of a young Ahonoora mare.

SKYLINER (1f): This sire of Blyton Lad, Mamma's Too and Prince Sky is represented by Lot 454, the second foal of a winning half-sister to ten other winners.

SOVIET LAD (1c, 2f): The colt, Lot 8,700gns, is a brother to Liprandi, a useful early-season two-year-old in Ireland who later won in Hong Kong.

Lot 379 is a granddaughter of the influential broodmare Cafe Au Lait.

SUPERLATIVE (1f): Lot 22, a 4,000gns foal, is the first foal of a half-sister to the very smart Bonny Scot.

SUPERPOWER (2c): These are also bred for speed, Lot 241 being a half-brother to the talented 1997 juvenile One Singer and Lot 369's dam being a sister to the very useful Saint Express.

SURE BLADE (1f): 4,500gns was the foal price of this half-sister to the talented Polish Warrior.

TERIMON (1c): Terimon's progeny have generally been showing more speed than many people expected, with the likes of Woodbeck, Bollin Terry and Third Party doing their winning at a mile or less. Lot 262 could follow their example, as his dam won at up to seven furlongs.

THATCHING (4c): There is sure to be plenty of interest in Lot 344, a 17,000gns foal who is a three-parts brother to the very fast Mistertopogigo. Also well worth a look is Lot 328, the first foal of a winning sister to the Listed winners Domynga and Fair Dominion.

THEATRICAL CHARMER (2c): Both these colts are out of winner-producing dams, and Lot 432 is a half-brother to the successful sprinter Tuscan Dawn.

THEN AGAIN (7c, 3f): Cast your mind back to 1994 and you may recall that this top miler was represented by the very successful performers For The Present, Options Open and Sumoquinn. This naturally brought him greater support in 1995 and his sizeable team could reward inspection. Lot 453 is a half-brother to two colts who won at two, including Lomberto (Timeform 100).

Lot 20 was a 5,800gns foal, while Lot 335 cost 6,000gns, and Lot 335 is the first foal of a winning half-sister to Dealers Wheels, a four-time juvenile winner.

TIMELESS TIMES (7c, 1f): This remarkable performer gets plenty of two-year-old winners, including Aurigny. Appropriately, Lot 166 is a sister to none other than Aurigny, who has won the St Hugh's Stakes since the catalogue and been second in the Prix Robert Papin.

TRAGIC ROLE (1c, 6f): This versatile stallion has three daughters coming up from Bearstone Stud, namely Lot 215, whose dam now has three winning two-year-olds from her first three foals, Lot 279 and Lot 280, whose dam is a winning half-sister to the very smart Radetzky.

WAAJIB (1c): Waajib is having a very good year thanks to such as Royal Applause and Carrowkeel, so take a good look at Lot 308, a brother to two winners as well as being a half-brother to the fast A Prayer For Wings.

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WARNING (2f): Both these fillies by this excellent stallion come up from Low House Stud, Lot 201 being the first foal of Thewaari, a triple winner at around seven furlongs, and Lot 285 being the first foal of a three-parts sister to that great filly Indian Skimmer.

WELDNAAS (2c): Filey Brigg in England and White Hot in America have done well for Weldnaas this year. Lot 327's second dam is the very successful My Therape, dam of Domynsky and Petrullo.

WOLFHOUND (1f): Lot 495 is the second foal of Heavenly Waters, a winning half -sister to the dam of Tenby and Bright Water.

Graphic

Paris House (right) . . . this very fast performer has five colts up for offer; First Trump (right) . . . four colts and five fillies from this first -season sire

Load-Date: September 5, 1997

Year-end chronology

Telegraph Herald (Dubuque, IA)

January 1, 1996, Monday

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Section: National/World, Pg. unpublished

Length: 5905 words

Byline: Associated Press

Dateline: EDITOR'S NOTE

Body

1995, Day By Day

Jan. 1 - Sweden, Finland and Austria join the European Union.

Jan. 2 - The United States boosts to \$9 billion the line of credit it is providing Mexico to defend the peso against further devaluation; Chechen defenders drive Russians out of Grozny.

Jan. 3 - The Postal Service raises the price of a first-class stamp to 32 cents; Mexican President Ernesto Zedillo announces an emergency plan for wage and price controls and budget cuts.

Jan. 4 - The 104th Congress convenes, first under Republican control since Eisenhower era.

Jan. 6 - The U.S. military begins sending Haitians housed in Guantanamo Bay home against their will.

Jan. 7 - Maj. Gen. Viktor Vorobyev, a senior commander leading Russian troops in their advance on the secessionist capital of Chechnya is killed by a mortar shell as artillery peppers rebel positions and the presidential palace's upper floors burn.

Jan. 11 - Fifty-one people are killed when a Colombian airliner explodes as it was preparing to land near the Caribbean resort of Cartagena; Pope John Paul II sets out on tour of four Asian nations.

Jan. 12 - An American soldier is killed and another is wounded during a shootout with a former Haitian army officer in Port-Au-Prince, Haiti; Qubilah Bahiyah Shabazz, the daughter of Malcolm X is arrested in Minneapolis on charges she tried to hire a hitman to kill Louis Farrakhan.

Jan. 13 - Italy names Lamberto Dini as its new Prime Minister; Philippine authorities say they have unearthed a conspiracy by Muslim militants to assassinate the pope during his visit.

Jan. 15 - Israeli military aircraft target Palestinian guerrillas in 13 sorties south of Beirut, killing three people and wounding four.

Jan. 17 - An earthquake with a magnitude of 7.2 strikes Kobe, Japan, killing at least 5,000, injuring more than 26,200 and damaging or destroying more than 56,000 buildings.

Year-end chronology

Jan. 18 - South African President Nelson Mandela's cabinet denies amnesty sought by 3,500 police officers in apartheid's waning days.

Jan. 19 - Russia regains control of the presidential palace in Grozny, Chechnya; Dusan Boljevic, 47, becomes the first Serb soldier to be convicted of war atrocities and is sentenced to 20 years in prison.

Jan. 22 - Twenty-one Israelis are killed and 59 others injured in a suicide bombing in central Israel.

Jan. 24 - President Clinton delivers his second State of the Union address; opening statements in O.J. Simpson murder trial; Clinton freezes Mideast terrorists' assets held in American banks and moves to outlaw raising money in the United States for their operations.

Jan. 26 - By a vote of 293-139, the House gives approval to a balanced- budget amendment to the Constitution designed to eliminate chronic federal deficits.

Jan. 27 - About 5,000 mourners gather at Auschwitz to commemorate the 50th anniversary of its liberation; the United States and Vietnam agree to permit the opening of liaison offices in each other's capitals.

Jan. 30 - At least 42 people are killed and 284 wounded when a car bomb explodes in downtown Algiers; opening statements begin in the biggest terrorism trial in U.S. history, in which a Muslim cleric and 11 disciples are charged with plotting to blow up the United Nations, the FBI headquarters and bridges and tunnels in New York.

Jan. 31 - President Clinton scraps a \$40 billion rescue plan for Mexico and instead announces he will act unilaterally to provide Mexico with \$20 billion from a fund normally used to defend the U.S. dollar.

Feb. 1 - The Federal Reserve boosts interest rates by one-half of a percent, the seventh rate hike in a year.

Feb. 3 - Space Shuttle Discovery blasts off with a woman in the pilot's seat for the first time in NASA history, bound for an unprecedented rendezvous with the Russian space station; Denise Brown bursts into tears on the witness stand at O.J. Simpson's murder trial as she describes her sister's humiliation and abuse at the hands of the former football star.

Feb. 6 - President Clinton unveils a \$1.61 trillion budget for 1996, mixing mild tax relief and spending reductions.

Feb. 7 - Ramzi Yousef, the alleged mastermind of the World Trade Center bombing, is arrested in Pakistan after two years as a fugitive.

Feb. 8 - The U.N. Security Council approves sending 7,000 peacekeepers to Angola to cement an accord ending 19 years of civil war; 38 people are killed when an earthquake strikes Colombia.

Feb. 13 - A tribunal indicts 21 Serbs for atrocities against Croats and Muslims interned in a Bosnian prison camp.

Feb. 14 - A federal judge rejects the Justice Department's proposed antitrust settlement with Microsoft Corp. He is later overruled.

Feb. 15 - A fire roars through a three-story nightclub in Taichung, Taiwan, killing at least 67 people.

Feb. 17 - Colin Ferguson is convicted of six counts of murder in the Dec. 7, 1993 Long Island Rail Road shootings that killed six people and wounded 19 others (he is later sentenced to life in prison); Ecuador and Peru sign a peace accord aimed at ending their three-week border war and starting talks to resolve the decades-old quarrel.

Feb. 20 - An American Marine dies in a helicopter crash during the evacuation of United Nations forces from Somalia.

Feb. 21 - Chicago stockbroker Steve Fosset becomes the first person to fly solo across the Pacific Ocean in a balloon.

Year-end chronology

Feb. 22 - Security forces in Algiers kill 95 inmates as they crush a prison uprising by Islamic extremists; France accuses four American diplomats and a fifth U.S. citizen of spying and asks them to leave the country.

Feb. 23 - The Dow Jones industrial average closes at 4,003.33.

Feb. 24 - House leaders abandon a campaign promise to disband the food stamp program that helps 27 million Americans buy groceries.

Feb. 26 - The first of 1,800 U.S. Marines land in Somalia to evacuate the last U.N. peacekeepers; Barings PLC, Britain's oldest investment banking firm collapses after Nick Leeson, a 28-year-old British securities dealer loses over \$1.4 billion gambling in Asian futures markets.

Feb. 28 - Raul Salinas de Gortari, brother of former Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari, is arrested in connection with the September 1994 slaying of Jose Francisco Ruiz Massieu, the No. 2 man in the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party; Denver International Airport opens after 16 months of delays and \$3.2 billion in budget overruns.

March 2 - The Senate rejects the balanced-budget amendment; space shuttle Endeavour blasts off on a 151/2-day mission to study the far reaches of the universe; the last U.N. peacekeepers in Somalia are evacuated.

March 7 - Gov. George Pataki signs the death penalty bill into law, to make New York the 38th state with capital punishment.

March 8 - Two United States diplomats are killed and one is injured when their car is ambushed by a gunman as they drive to the U.S. Consulate in Karachi, Pakistan.

March 11 - Former President Carlos Salinas de Gortari flees Mexico for the United States.

March 13 - President Clinton declares emergencies in more than half the counties in California as one of the worst winter storms this century pelts the coast with rain; two Americans working for the McDonnell Douglas Corp. in Kuwait are seized by Iraqis after they stray across the border.

March 14 - American astronaut Norman Thagard becomes the first American to enter space aboard a Russian rocket.

March 15 - President Clinton formally blocks a \$1 billion contract between Conoco and Iran to develop a huge offshore oil tract in the Persian Gulf.

March 17 - The White House hosts Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams and Irish Prime Minister John Bruton.

March 19 - Michael Jordan returns to professional basketball after 21 months.

March 20 - Twelve people are killed and nearly 5,000 others are sickened when packages containing the poisonous gas sarin leak on five separate Tokyo subway trains.

March 21 - Thousands of police in gas masks raid offices of a secretive religious group across Japan in connection with nerve-gas attack on Tokyos' subways.

March 24 - For the first time in 20 years, no British soldiers patrol the streets of Belfast, Northern Ireland.

March 25 - Mike Tyson is released from the Indiana Youth Center after serving three years for a 1992 rape conviction.

March 27 - Former President Jimmy Carter announces he has brokered a two- month cease-fire between Sudan's Islamic government and rebels.

March 29 - House rejects term limit amendment to Constitution.

Year-end chronology

March 30 - An estimated 20,000 Rwandan refugees, fleeing violence in Burundi, begin a two-day trek to sanctuary in Tanzania.

March 31 - A federal judge grants preliminary injunction against baseball owners.

MORE

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UNDATED: baseball owners.

April 3 - UCLA defeats Arkansas to win the NCAA basketball championship; baseball players and owners sign an agreement calling for a schedule of at least 144 games; former United Way of America President William Aramony is convicted of 25 counts of fraud for stealing nearly \$600,000 from the nation's biggest charity.

April 4 - At least 100 people die and 30 more are injured when about 200 Islamic separatists attack a southern Philippine town.

April 5 - The House approves Republican tax-cut package.

April 9 - Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori is re-elected; two suicide bombings on buses in the Gaza Strip kill seven Israelis and an American college student.

April 10 - Bob Dole launches his third White House bid.

April 12 - Billionaire Kirk Kerkorian and former Chrysler Chairman Lee Iacocca make a \$22.8 billion bid to buy the nation's No. 3 automaker.

April 17 - Cheyenne Brando, the daughter of actor Marlon Brando, commits suicide; an Air Force jet explodes and crashes in a wooded area in eastern Alabama, killing eight people, including an assistant Air Force secretary and a two-star general.

April 18 - The Houston Post closes after more than a century; Joe Montana retires from professional football.

April 19 - A car bomb explodes outside the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, Okla., killing 169 people, and injuring 500.

April 21 - Timothy McVeigh, 26, a former soldier is arrested by the FBI at a small-town Oklahoma jail where he had spent two days on minor traffic and weapons charges. He is charged with blowing up the Alfred Murrah Building.

April 22 - At least 2,000 Rwandan refugees are massacred by Rwandan troops at a camp in Kibeho.

April 23 - The nation observes a national day of mourning for the victims of the Oklahoma City blast.

April 24 - A package bomb linked to the Unabomber explodes inside the offices of a lobbying group for the wood products industry, killing one.

April 25 - Ginger Rogers, show business legend dies at age 83.

April 27 - Former Orange County Treasurer Robert Citron pleads guilty to six counts of defrauding investors in Orange County investment pool.

April 28 - A gas line explodes in the middle of an intersection crowded with morning traffic in Taegu, South Korea, killing 100 people and injuring 125 others.

May 1 - Charges that Qubilah Shabazz, the daughter of Malcolm X, plotted to murder Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan are dropped.

Year-end chronology

May 2 - An appeals court overturns the convictions of Kathryn Dawn Wilson, and Robert Kelly Jr., who were accused of molesting children at the Little Rascals Day Care Center; President Clinton agrees to allow some 20,000 Cubans into the United States after months of detention at Guantanamo Bay.

May 7 - Jacques Chirac, the conservative mayor of Paris, wins France's presidency in his third attempt, defeating Lionel Jospin in a runoff to end 14 years of Socialist rule.

May 8 - Dr. Jack Kevorkian is present at the death of a 78-year-old Michigan man who suffered from lung disease.

May 9 - The city of Kinshassa, Zaire is placed under quarantine after an outbreak of the Ebola virus; the United States returns 13 Cuban boat people to their homeland, the first refugees to be sent back under a new policy that ended 35 years of open arms.

May 10 - One hundred miners die in elevator accident in Orkney, South Africa; Terry Nichols is charged in Oklahoma City bombing.

May 12 - Dr. Jack Kevorkian attends the suicide of a terminally ill 27-year-old man in Pontiac, Mich.

May 13 - Angry crowds burn schools, government buildings and Hindu temples in the Himalayan state of Kashmir in apparent retaliation for the destruction of a 15th-century Muslim shrine.

May 15 - Dow Corning files for Chapter 11 bankruptcy protection.

May 20 - President Clinton announces that the two-block stretch of Pennsylvania Avenue in front of the White House is permanently closed to motor vehicles.

May 22 - The Supreme Court rules in a contentious 5-4 decision that states cannot limit service in Congress without amending the Constitution.

May 23 - James Nichols, whose brother and a friend are charged in the Oklahoma bombing, is released from federal custody; the nine-story hulk of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building is demolished.

May 24 - Hollywood Madam Heidi Fleiss is sentenced to three years in prison and fined \$1,500 for running a call-girl ring that catered to the rich and famous.

May 25 - NATO warplanes strike Bosnian Serb headquarters and Serbs answer with swift defiance, storming U.N. weapons depots, attacking safe areas and taking peacekeepers as hostages.

May 26 - In the tobacco industry's largest recall ever, Philip Morris USA halts sales of several cigarette brands, including some versions of top-selling Marlboro, because some filters are contaminated.

May 27 - Serbs invade all nine U.N.-monitored weapons collection sites around Sarajevo, seizing over 250 weapons and U.N. peacekeepers as hostages; actor Christopher Reeve is paralyzed after he was thrown from his horse during a jumping event.

May 28 - An earthquake with a magnitude of 7.5 devastates the Russian oil town of Khabarovsk, killing at least 2,000 people.

May 29 - The last three bodies entombed in the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building are recovered.

June 2 - A U.S. Air Force F-16C is shot down by a Bosnian Serb surface-to-air missile while on a NATO air patrol in northern Bosnia.

June 6 - Bosnia's Serbs free 108 U.N. peacekeepers to Serbia amid indications more of the 148 who remain could be released soon; U.S. astronaut Norman Thagard breaks NASA's space endurance record of 84 days, one hour and 16 minutes.

Year-end chronology

June 7 - President Clinton vetoes his first bill, striking down a plan to cut \$16.4 billion in spending this year.

June 8 - The Cuban government arrests Robert Vesco, who fled the United States in 1973 to avoid swindling charges; U.S. Marines rescue Capt. Scott O'Grady, whose F-16 fighter jet was shot down over Bosnia on June 2.

June 12 - The Supreme Court deals a potentially crippling blow to federal affirmative action programs, ruling Congress is limited by the same strict standards as the states in offering special help to minorities.

June 13 - France says it will abandon its 1992 moratorium on nuclear testing and conduct eight more tests between September and May.

June 18 - A private plane carrying the Angolan soccer team crashes in Luanda, Angola, killing 48; 300 immigrants overpower guards and trash a converted warehouse serving as an immigration detention center in Elizabeth, N.J.; Serbs release the last 26 U.N. hostages held since NATO airstrikes.

June 19 - Chechen rebels and more than 100 people acting as their human shields ride a convoy of buses back to Chechna; Harry Wu, a Chinese-born American human rights activist is detained as he tries to enter China.

June 20 - Royal Dutch Shell abandons its controversial plan to sink an aging oil platform in the North Atlantic.

June 22 - Riot police storm the hijacked jumbo jet in Hakodate, Japan, freeing all 364 people on board and capturing the hijacker; House and Senate Republicans announce agreement on a compromise seven-year budget-balancing plan that would cut taxes by \$245 billion and slow spending for Medicare, Medicaid and dozens of other programs; the Senate rejects Dr. Henry Foster's nomination for surgeon general.

June 23 - Polio vaccine developer Dr. Jonas Salk dies at age 80.

June 25 - Warren E. Burger, the 15th chief justice of the United States, dies of congestive heart failure at age 87.

June 26 - Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak's motorcade comes under attack en route to an African summit in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia; Dr. Jack Kevorkian is present at the death of a 60-year-old Kansas City, Mo. woman at a clinic he established in Southfield, Mich.

June 28 - The San Francisco Chronicle receives a threat from the Unabomber to blow up a plane by the July Fourth weekend, leading federal agents to ground all mail in California and impose the tightest airport security since the Gulf War. In a letter to The New York Times, the Unabomber later said this was a prank; the House overwhelmingly approves a constitutional amendment designed to protect Old Glory from desecration; Webster Hubbell is sentenced to 21 months in prison for bilking clients of the law firm where President Clinton and his wife were partners.

June 29 - A department store in Seoul, South Korea collapses, killing at least 135 people and injuring 900; the shuttle Atlantis and the space station Mir dock, forming the largest man-made satellite ever to orbit the Earth; the House and Senate pass GOP balanced-budget plan, completing congressional action.

MORE

BC-YE--Chronology, 2nd Add,1474

UNDATED: congressional action.

July 4 - Boris Yeltsin announces that Russian troops will be permanently stationed in Chechnya.

July 5 - More than 100 Grateful Dead fans are injured when a deck on which they are dancing collapses in eastern Missouri.

July 6 - The prosecution rests in the O.J. Simpson murder trial.

Year-end chronology

July 7 - Atlantis and marathon astronaut Norman Thagard return to Earth.

July 8 - Chinese-American human rights activist Harry Wu is arrested in China and charged with obtaining state secrets.

July 9 - French commandos using tear gas board the Greenpeace ship Rainbow Warrior II in the South Pacific and subdue the crew.

July 10 - A week-long heat wave begins that kills at least 805 people nationwide, including 457 in Illinois; Nobel laureate Aung San Suu Kyi is freed from her almost six-year-long house arrest in Rangoon, Burma; lawyers for O.J. Simpson begin his defense.

July 11 - The U.N.-designated "safe haven" of Srebrenika falls to Serb forces; the United States normalizes relations with Vietnam.

July 13 - About 2,500 workers at the Detroit Free Press and The Detroit News go on strike.

July 14 - Under pressure from Congress, FBI Director Louis J. Freeh removes his friend Larry Potts as the bureau's deputy director because of controversy over Potts' role in a deadly 1992 FBI siege in Idaho.

July 16 - William Barloon and David Daliberti, the two Americans who were jailed in Iraq for crossing the border from Kuwait, are freed.

July 19 - In the busiest trading day in history, the Dow Jones industrial average ends at 4,628.87, down 57.41 points, after plunging more than 130 points during the session.

July 20 - Leaders of the University of California vote to drop affirmative action admissions and hiring; baseball Hall of Famers Duke Snider and Willie McCovey are convicted of tax evasion.

July 21 - At a 16-nation conference in London, the United States and NATO allies warn Bosnian Serbs that further attacks on U.N. safe havens would draw a "substantial and decisive response"; Congress approves \$16.3 billion in spending cuts for current year.

July 22 - Susan Smith is found guilty of first-degree murder for drowning her two sons when she pushed her car into a lake on Oct. 25, 1994. She later is sentenced to life in prison.

July 24 - A suicide bomb rips through a crowded commuter bus in the heart of Tel Aviv, killing six people.

July 25 - A bomb explodes on a Paris subway, killing seven people and injuring at least 60; a U.N. war crimes tribunal indicts Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic, army commander Gen. Ratko Mladic, Milan Martic, leader of the rebel Serbs in Croatia and 21 other Serbs for war crimes.

July 26 - The Senate votes 69-29 to unilaterally lift the U.N. embargo on arms shipments to Bosnia.

July 27 - U.S. officials detain Mousa Mohamed Abu Marzook, one of the senior leaders of **Hamas**, at Kennedy airport in New York.

July 30 - Russia and Chechan rebels sign an agreement that calls for a gradual withdrawal of Russian troops and the disarmament of rebel fighters.

July 31 - In the second-largest takeover in U.S. corporate history, Walt Disney Co. acquires Capital Cities-ABC Inc. in a \$19 billion deal.

Aug. 1 - Westinghouse Electric Corp. announces a \$5.4 billion deal to buy CBS.

Aug. 2 - Hurricane Erin comes ashore in Vero Beach, Fla., killing two people on land and five at sea.

Year-end chronology

Aug. 4 - Croat forces launch a massive attack on breakaway Serbs in their self-proclaimed capital of Knin.

Aug. 9 - Jerry Garcia, lead singer of the Grateful Dead, dies of a heart attack at age 53.

Aug. 10 - Norma McCorvey, known as "Jane Roe," the woman whose demand for an abortion led to the 1973 Roe vs. Wade decision, announces that she was been baptized by the leader of Operation Rescue and has joined the anti-abortion group; Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols are charged with 11 counts in the April 19 bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building. (They later plead innocent). Michael Fortier is charged with four lesser offenses and pleads guilty; Hollywood madam Heidi Fleiss is convicted of conspiracy, tax evasion and money laundering; Lt. Gen. Hussein Kamel al-Majid, the head of Iraq's weapons program and a son-in-law of Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein, defects to Jordan.

Aug. 13 - Mickey Mantle dies of cancer at age 63.

Aug. 14 - Shannon Richey Faulkner officially becomes the first woman cadet in the history of The Citadel, South Carolina's state military college. She quits a week later.

Aug. 15 - The Justice Department agrees to pay \$3.1 million to white separatist Randy Weaver and his family to settle their claims over the killing of Weaver's wife and son during a 1992 siege by federal agents at Ruby Ridge, Idaho.

Aug. 17 - James B. McDougal, McDougal's ex-wife, Susan H. McDougal, and Arkansas Gov. Jim Guy Tucker are indicted by the Whitewater grand jury on fraud and conspiracy charges.

Aug. 19 - Robert Frasure, the chief U.S. negotiator for Bosnia; Joseph Kruzel, a deputy assistant secretary of defense; and Samuel Nelson Drew, an Air Force colonel at the National Security Council are killed when their vehicle crashes and burns near Sarajevo.

Aug. 20 - A passenger train rams another that had stopped on the tracks after hitting a cow in northern India, killing 348 people.

Aug. 21 - ABC News settles a \$10 billion libel suit by apologizing to Philip Morris Cos. for reporting the tobacco giant had manipulated the amount of nicotine in its cigarettes; Dr. Jack Kevorkian attends the suicide of a woman with multiple sclerosis.

Aug. 22 - Congressman Mel Reynolds is convicted on charges of criminal sexual assault, sexual abuse, child pornography and obstruction of justice for having sex with a former campaign worker while she was underage.

Aug. 24 - China finds American Harry Wu guilty of spying and says it will expel him.

Sept. 1 - The Rock and Roll Hall of Fame opens in Cleveland, Ohio; Rep. Mel Reynolds announces his resignation.

Sept. 5 - France ends its three-year moratorium on nuclear tests and sets off an underground nuclear blast on Mururoa Atoll in the South Pacific; O.J. Simpson jurors hear tapes of the star prosecution witness - Detective Mark Fuhrman - uttering a racist slur, and advocating the killing of blacks.

Sept. 6 - Hurricane Luis, one of the strongest storms this century, lashes St. John's, Antigua; Cal Ripken breaks Lou Gehrig's record by playing his 2, 131st consecutive game; rioting erupts in French Polynesia, in response to France's detonation of an underground nuclear device.

Sept. 7 - After 27 years in the Senate, Bob Packwood announces he will resign, heading off a vote by colleagues to expel him for allegations of sexual and official misconduct.

Sept. 8 - Monsoon rains blanket northern India, raising the death toll in a week of flooding to more than 400 people.

Sept. 12 - The Belarussian military shoots down a helium balloon during an international race, killing its two American pilots.

Year-end chronology

Sept. 14 - Pope John Paul II starts his 11th visit to Africa in Cameroon.

Sept. 15 - Hurricane Marilyn, the third major storm to batter the Caribbean in less than a month, hits the Virgin Islands with heavy rains and 100 mph winds.

Sept. 19 - The New York Times and The Washington Post agree to publish a 35, 000 word manuscript penned by the Unabomber.

Sept. 22 - An AWACS plane carrying U.S. and Canadian military personnel crashes on takeoff from Elmendorf Air Force Base near Anchorage, Alaska, killing all 24 people aboard; lawyers in the O.J. Simpson trial rest their cases; Time Warner strikes a \$7.5 billion deal to buy Turner Broadcasting System Inc; publishing tycoon Steve Forbes announces a latecomer bid for the Republican presidential nomination.

Sept. 25 - Ross Perot announces he will form a new Independence Party that would field its own White House candidate and would try to be the swing vote in congressional races.

Sept. 28 - Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Yasir Arafat, chairman of the PLO, sign an accord to transfer much of the West Bank to the control of its Arab residents.

Sept. 29 - California Gov. Pete Wilson abandons his bid for the 1996 Republican presidential nomination; three U.S. servicemen are indicted in the rape of a 12-year-old Okinawan girl and handed over to Japanese authorities.

Sept. 30 - Sheik Omar Abdel-Rahman and nine other defendants are convicted in a seditious conspiracy plot to attack the United States through bombings, assassinations and kidnappings.

MORE

BC-YE--Chronology, 3rd Add,1492

UNDATED: and kidnappings.

Oct. 1 - An earthquake in southwestern Turkey kills at least 55 people, injures about 200, destroys 1,000 homes and damages 4,000 others.

Oct. 3 - After the nation waits overnight for the verdict, O.J. Simpson is acquitted of murdering his ex-wife Nicole Brown-Simpson and her friend Ronald Goldman.

Oct. 4 - Pope John Paul II proclaims himself "a pilgrim of peace" as he arrives in the United States for a five-day visit.

Oct. 5 - Israel's parliament ratifies an accord that grants the PLO control over West Bank cities; Seamus Heaney of Ireland wins the 1995 Nobel Prize in literature; Hurricane Opal kills 11 people and causes \$1.8 billion in damage to the Florida Panhandle; Bosnia's combatants agree to an Oct. 10, 60-day cease-fire and new talks on ending their 3 1/2 years of battle.

Oct. 6 - Boeing Co.'s largest group of union workers strikes after voting down a new three-year contract offer.

Oct. 7 - A 7.0 earthquake strikes Sungaipenuh, Indonesia, killing at least 100 people and injuring 700.

Oct. 9 - An Amtrak train carrying 268 people derails in the Arizona desert, killing one and injuring 100. A note at the scene refers to the government sieges at Waco, Texas, and Ruby Ridge, Idaho; a federal judge finalizes details of a scaled-back breast implant injury settlement, allowing women to reject the deal and file their own lawsuits if they believe payments are too low.

Oct. 10 - World chess champion Garry Kasparov wins monthlong championship match against Viswanathan Anand.

Year-end chronology

Oct. 11 - Israeli troops begin their West Bank pullback and release 881 of 1,000 Palestinian prisoners slated to be freed; Haitian President Jean- Bertrand Aristide and his Lavalas Platform coalition win 77 percent of the 110 Parliament seats.

Oct. 12 - After a 48 hour delay, the U.S.-brokered cease-fire in Bosnia takes effect.

Oct. 13 - Joseph Rotblat and the Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs, which have worked tirelessly to rid the world of nuclear weapons, win the 1995 Nobel Peace Prize.

Oct. 16 - Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan addresses an estimated 400, 000 black men at the Washington monument as part of his Million Man March.

Oct. 17 - In the first known violent border clash in years, an armed North Korean agent is shot to death just inside South Korea; a bomb explodes on a Paris subway car, wounding 29.

Oct 19. - Toshihide Iguchi, the central figure in a bond-trading scandal at Daiwa Bank Ltd., pleads guilty, accusing senior bank management of conspiring with him to hide \$1.1 billion in losses.

Oct 20 - France, the United States and Britain announce a treaty banning atomic blasts in the South Pacific - but only after France finishes testing there next year; Christopher Lynn Johnson, a black protest leader's son, is acquitted of burning down a Wedowee, Ala., high school whose white principal had condemned interracial prom dates.

Oct 22 - The largest gathering of world leaders in history marks the 50th anniversary of the United Nations by demanding the organization change so it can fulfill its founder's dreams.

Oct 23 - After a meeting in the Hudson Valley, Russian President Boris Yeltsin announces accord with President Clinton that Russian troops would help enforce peace in Bosnia.

Oct 25 - John J. Sweeney is elected AFL-CIO president; a commuter train slams into a school bus in Fox River Grove, Illinois, killing 7 students and injuring 28.

Oct 27 - A sniper kills one soldier and wounds 18 at Fort Bragg, N.C.

Oct 28 - The Atlanta Braves defeat the Cleveland Indians to win the World Series.

Oct. 30 - By a 50.6 percent to 49.4 percent vote, Federalists prevail over separatists in Quebec in a secession referendum.

Oct. 31 - Presidents Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia, Alija Izetbegovic of Bosnia and Franjo Tudjman of Croatia arrive in Dayton, Ohio, for peace talks.

Nov. 1 - The House votes to ban "partial birth" abortions, the first prohibition on an abortion method since the 1973 Supreme Court legalization decision.

Nov. 2 - A man claiming to hold a bomb hijacks a school bus with 11 disabled children aboard and leads police around Miami-area highways before being fatally shot by police; The United States expels Daiwa Bank for allegedly covering up \$1.1 billion in trading losses.

Nov. 3 - President Clinton dedicates a memorial at Arlington National Cemetery to the 270 Pan Am Flight 103 bombing victims.

Nov. 5 - Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin is assassinated at a peace rally in Tel Aviv; law student Yigal Amir is arrested and confesses.

Nov. 6 - Cleveland Browns owner Art Modell announces plans to move his team to Baltimore.

Year-end chronology

Nov. 8 - Retired Gen. Colin Powell announces he will not run for president or any other political office; Dr. Jack Kevorkian takes part in a 26th suicide.

Nov. 10 - Searchers in Katmandu, Nepal, rescue 549 hikers after a massive avalanche strikes the Himalayan foothills; 24 tourists and 32 Nepalese are killed. A second landslide in western Nepal kills at least six people, including four tourists.

Nov. 12 - Israel's ruling Labor Party unanimously approves Shimon Peres as its new leader, replacing slain Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin.

Nov. 13 - Glen Rogers, a drifter suspected of killing at least four women in a cross-country string of slayings, is captured after a high-speed chase in Kentucky.

Nov. 14 - The U.S. government institutes a partial shutdown, closing national parks and museums while government offices operate with skeleton crews; Utah Rep. Enid Waldholtz files for divorce from her husband, under federal investigation for possible campaign financing improprieties.

Nov. 16 - Attorney General Janet Reno discloses she has Parkinson's disease.

Nov. 18 - Two freight trains collide in Wyoming, killing an engineer and sparking a fire that causes evacuations nearby.

Nov. 19 - The Clinton administration and Republican congressional leaders end a six-day budget standoff, sending federal employees back to work after the White House commits to speedy negotiations to balance the budget in seven years; the Machinists union and The Boeing Co. reach a tentative agreement to end a 61/2-week strike.

Nov. 20 - The Food and Drug Administration approves the first new therapy for use as an initial AIDS treatment in nearly a decade, authorizing the drug 3TC to be used with AZT; a new Beatles song, "Free As a Bird," is released.

Nov. 21 - Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman endorse an agreement crafted to end years of ethnic warfare in Bosnia; the Dow Jones industrial average closes above the 5,000 mark for the first time.

Nov. 24 - Irish voters approve a constitutional amendment legalizing divorce.

Dec. 1 - Former Barings trader Nick Leeson admits to fraud and forgery after being accused of breaking Britain's oldest merchant bank with \$1.38 billion in debts from a bungled trading scheme and is sentenced to 61/2 years in prison.

Dec. 3 - Union members at Caterpillar Inc. reject a contract offer, getting their old jobs back with nothing gained after a bitter 17-month strike.

Dec. 4 - The first NATO troops land in the Balkans to begin setting up a peace mission that will involved 20,000 American soldiers.

Dec. 5 - France ends a 29-year boycott of NATO's military institutions.

Dec. 6 - President Clinton vetoes the Republican balanced-budget plan with the same pen used 30 years ago by President Lyndon B. Johnson to sign the legislation that created the Medicare and Medicaid health care programs; Michael Jackson suffers from dehydration and collapses on stage while rehearsing for an HBO special.

Dec. 7 - A Russian-built Tupolev 154 carrying 97 people disappears from radar screens along forested mountains of Russia's Far East.

Dec. 8 - Four months after the death of its founder and guiding spirit, Jerry Garcia, The Grateful Dead announces it is breaking up after 30 years of making music.

Year-end chronology

Dec. 13 - The Senate gives grudging endorsement to deployment of U.S. troops to keep the tenuous peace in Bosnia.

Dec. 14 - Presidents Alija Izetbegovic of Bosnia, Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia and Franjo Tudjman of Croatia sign the U.S-sponsored peace treaty in Paris.

Dec. 15 - Clinton defies a deadline for turning over a former aide's Whitewater notes, prompting a deeply divided Senate investigative committee to vote to challenge him in federal court.

Dec. 16 - Budget impasse leads to second shutdown of federal government.

Dec. 17 - Communists take the largest share of votes in Russian parliamentary elections.

MORE

BC-YE--Chronology, 4th Add,0214

UNDATED: parliamentary elections.

Dec. 19 - The Dow Jones industrial average drops 101 points as the stock market suffers its biggest drop in more than four years.

Dec. 20 - The green and brown helmets of NATO fighters replaced the baby blue headgear of U.N. peacekeepers as the new American commander in Bosnia takes control with a terse, "Let's get on with it."

Dec. 21 - The White House agrees to surrender disputed Whitewater notes to investigators and halt a dramatic confrontation between Congress and President Clinton; the PLO takes control of Bethlehem; an American Airlines jet with 164 aboard smashes into an Andean mountain crest in Buga, Colombia, killing 158.

Dec. 23 - 400 people are killed in a blaze at a community shelter, where more than 1,000 people were attending a year-end program staged by schoolchildren, in Dabwali, India;

Dec. 24 - Smoke that spread through a primate house after a fire broke out at the Philadelphia Zoo kills 23 rare gorillas, orangutans, gibbons and lemurs.

Dec. 28 - CompuServe Inc. obeys a German order to suspend member access to 200 Internet newsgroups deemed pornographic.

The AP's Luke Sheridan helped compile this chronology.

Load-Date: December 9, 1996

**TATTERSALLS PREVIEW: OFFERING UP A PLETHORA OF TALENT;
ANDREW CAULFIELD SORTS OUT THE POSSIBLE STAR ATTRACTIONS IN
THE MAMMOTH OCTOBER YEARLING SALE**

Sporting Life

September 26, 1997, Friday

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Section: NEWS

Length: 8473 words

Byline: Andrew Caulfield

Body

The spectacular trade at the 1996 Houghton Sales swelled over to the October Sales two weeks later, with the average working out at an impressive 21,891gns, compared to only 12,180gns in 1994 and 16,965gns in '95.

Although such splendid prices as 185,000, 175,000 and 160,000gns had been achieved in 1991, no youngster made six figures in 1992. One reached that barrier in 1993, two in '94 and another two in '95, but none made more than 125,000gns.

All that was forgotten last year, when as many as 13 youngsters made 100,000gns or more and a colt by Polish Precedent smashed the long-standing October Sales record of 220,000gns, falling to a bid of 310,000gns.

Two of these six-figure buys have already established themselves as very good prospects: the 105,000gns Alboostan took his record to two wins from three starts when he landed the Listed Stardom Stakes, and the 100,000gns Trans Island looked very much a Group horse when he won a Listed race at Deauville for his third successive win.

Not to be outdone by the Houghton, the October Sales has also produced a 1997 classic winner, in the shape of Classic Park, the Irish 1000 Guineas winner who was bought for 30,000gns at the 1995 sale.

This filly joins a long list of important winners, such as Bijou D'Inde, Hello and Lake Coniston, from past October Sales.

The 1997 catalogue is about the same size as last year, with 1,023 youngsters due to come under the hammer from Tuesday, October 14 to Saturday, October 18.

The quality appears to be very good, but the size of the catalogue means that by no means all the yearlings worthy of mention are included in the A-to-Z which follows.

ALHIJAZ (2c, 7f): Several of the fillies are related to notable winners, good examples being Lot 484, a half-sister to the smart Petardia; Lot 323, a daughter of a half-sister to Forzando; Lot 577, the first foal of a winning half-sister to the dam of Classic Cliche; and Lot 884, a half-sister to several juvenile winners out of a sister to Petong.

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ALNASR ALWASHEEK (2c, 1f): Both colts were popular as foals, with Lot 103, a member of the famous Doubly Sure family, costing 10,000gns and Lot 409, a half -brother to a Listed winner, fetching 10,500gns.

ALZAO (4c, 1f): There is sure to be strong demand for some of these, such as Lot 675, a brother to the Group-winning Sheridan and the classic- placed Aldbourne; Lot 712, a half-brother to the useful juvenile fillies Dame Laura and Kyra; and Lot 946, a half-brother to Sergeyev, winner of the Jersey Stakes.

ANSHAN (1c): Lot 658 is a son of Secret Waters, a useful half-sister to the dam of Tenby.

ARAGON (5c): Lot 39 is a brother to the Group-winning Cloud Of Dust, while Overbury Stud's colt, Lot 777, is out of a granddaughter of Money For Nothing, a great influence for speed.

ARDKINGGLASS (3c): Lot 361's dam is a sister to the dam of Glory Of Dancer; Lot 400 is a son of a winner-producing Seattle Slew mare; and Lot 483 is a half -brother to the useful Royal Loft.

ASCOT KNIGHT (1f): 25,000 dollars was the foal price of Lot 891, a filly from the family of Bluebird.

BALLA COVE (1f): IR5,000gns was the foal price of Lot 164, a filly out of a sister to the fast Carranita.

BALLAD ROCK (3c): The last crop by Ballad Rock includes Lot 845, a half -brother to the smart Thrilling Day. IR8,500gns was paid for Lot 10 and IR5,000 for Lot 155.

BATES MOTEL (1c): 10,000 dollars was the foal price of Lot 536, a colt out of a very useful French miler.

BATSHOOF (5c, 5f): The interesting fillies include Lot 476, a three- parts -sister to the useful Italian filly She Bat; Lot 90, a half-sister to the smart Abbey's Gal; and Lot 641, a granddaughter of that wonderful broodmare Peace.

Among the colts are Lot 815, a half-brother to the very successful Bold Gait, from the family of Royal Gait, and Lot 644, a half-brother to several juvenile winners from a speedy family.

BE MY CHIEF (14c, 8f): There appear to be a couple of standouts among this large team. Lot 56 is the first foal of Lochbelle, a winning half- sister to the flying Lochsong, and Lot 480 is a brother to the Group-placed Magongo, as well as being a half-brother to Classic Park (Irish 1000 Guineas) and Rumpipumpy (a Grade Two winner since the catalogue).

Several made five-figure sums as foals, including Lots 339 (10,000gns), Lot 394 and Lot 805 (both 12,500gns) and Lot 680 (15,500gns).

Also worth a look are Lot 214, a half-brother to the successful 1997 performers Optimistic, Woodbeck and Carburton; Lot 606, a son of a very useful performer in France and the US; and Lot 935, a granddaughter of Jacinth, the top two-year-old of 1972.

BE MY GUEST (6c, 2f): Several likely sorts represent this notable veteran. Lot 619 is closely related to Regular Guest, a major winner in Hong Kong, and to Batshoof and King Of Kings; Lot 638 is a colt out of a half-sister to Coigach, Applecross and Kyle Rhea; and Lot 669, a 23,000gns foal, is a three-parts-sister to Late Parade, a smart Continental sprinter.

Lot 545, a well-connected colt, is inbred 2 x 3 to Northern Dancer and Lot 583 was a 15,000gns foal.

BELMEZ (1c): Lot 445 is a half-brother to two juvenile winners, his second dam being the fast Bitty Girl.

BELONG TO ME (1c): This son of Danzig has made such a good start with his first crop that he has been moved to the prestigious Lane's End Farm in Kentucky. Lot 732 is out of a dual Stakes winner over a mile in California.

BLUEBIRD (8c, 5f): This sire of good-looking stock can be relied upon to do well with such as Lot 491, a colt whose dam is a half-sister to the smart Shemozzle.

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Redpender Stud's colt, Lot 597, cost 14,000gns and is out of a sister to Princely Hush (Mill Reef Stakes).

Lot 735 is a colt out of a half-sister to the smart Ivor's Image and comes from the same family as Cloudings, a 1997 Group One winner. And Lot 755 is bred for speed, his dam being a half-sister to Bolshoi, Tod and Great Chaddington.

The fillies include Lot 413, whose dam is a winning sister to Miss Demure, the Lowther Stakes winner.

BRIEF TRUCE (4c, 7f): This team should prove popular after Brief Truce's bright start. Lot 147 is a half-brother to Nashcash, a very useful Irish sprinter, and Lot 896 is a grandson of White Star Line, a multiple Grade One winner whose latest winner is Titanic, who has been Group-placed since the catalogue. Lot 610 was a 13,000gns foal.

One filly, Lot 378, is inbred 3 x 3 to Northern Dancer and is out of a three -parts-sister to the very useful Saxon Maid.

BUSTINO (1c, 1f): Lot 325, a 17,000gns foal, is out of a winner-producing sister to Bluebird, while Lot 826 is a three-parts-sister to the excellent Terimon.

CADEAUX GENEREUX (5c, 4f): There is strength in depth in this contingent, a good example being Lot 690, a colt out of Jester's fast sister Tricky Note.

Lots 317 and 758 have Group-winning dams, the latter being a son of Ever Genial, a mare from the family of 1997 Group winners Windsor Castle, Stretarez and Coastal Bluff.

Rechant, a half-sister to the classic-placed Sapience, is dam of Lot 643, a colt.

Quite a few of Cadeaux Genereux's best winners are out of mares by Northern Dancer-line stallions, which turns the spotlight on to Lot 688, a filly out of a sister to the smart What A Guest.

Another filly, Lot 404, is out of Quiet Week-End, a quick-maturing half- sister to Lemon Souffle and Caramba, and Lot 944 is a half-sister to the talented Vagabond Chanteuse.

CAERLEON (2f): Caerleon has Stakes-winning daughters this year in Britain, France, Japan and the US, so there should be plenty of interest in this pair, which includes Lot 939, whose second dam is Dafayna, a Group-winning sister to the high-class Dalsaan.

CASE LAW (2c): The sire of the speedy Law Library could be ably represented by Lot 277, a IR13,500gns foal out of a half-sister to smart winners on the Flat and over jumps.

CHIEF'S CROWN (1c): Lot 977 is the first foal of a good winner in Malaysia.

COMMON GROUNDS (10c, 12f): This sire achieved prices of up to 80,000gns here last year, and looks set for another rewarding time.

Lot 785 is a colt bred along similar lines to Oh So Sharp and Ristna and he is inbred 3 x 3 to Sharpen Up.

Others from Yeomanstown Stud include Lots 788 and 681. The former's brother, Chips, added the Kronimus Rennen to his wins and Chips' family also produced the Group-winning Three For Fantasy to Common Grounds. The latter is a brother to Hear The Music, a Stakes-placed winner in Britain and the US.

Lot 685 is a sister to another of Common Grounds' Group winners, namely the high-class turf horse Earl Of Barking. Another filly, Lot 836, is out of a half-sister to Lady Alexander's fast dam Sandhurst Goddess.

Early on comes Lot 33, a colt whose dam is a Deauville winner and whose second dam is the high-class Khariyda. And Lot 105, a 10,000gns foal, is a colt out of a mare by Caerleon, also broodmare sire of Common Grounds' Group-winning son Artema.

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12,000gns was the foal price of Lot 366, a grandson of the excellent Sarah Siddons, and Lot 481 is a half-brother to the 1997 juvenile winner Marksman and has a sister to Shirley Heights as his second dam.

COZZENE (1f): An interestingly-bred filly is Lot 123, who is inbred 2 x 3 to Caro through two of his best stallion sons, Cozzene and Kaldoun.

CYRANO DE BERGERAC (7c, 3f): Five of these come from Glen Andred Stud, including Lot 154, a potentially fast colt out of a winning half-sister to the smart American sprinter Superstrike.

Lot 984 is a half-brother to Very Welcome, a winner of the Hong Kong Derby.

DANEHILL (1c, 5f): This phenominal son of Danzig has an attractive team featuring such as Lot 838, a daughter of the Group-winning Pernilla, closely related to the very tough Azra.

The other fillies are Lot 191, a 41,000gns foal purchase out of a winning half -sister to the smart Tanami (by another son of Danzig) and Lot 280, a half -sister to the smart French colt Faru.

Then come Lot 588, whose dam won twice at two and whose second dam is Petipa, winner of the Moyglare Stud Stakes, and Lot 632, the first foal of a sister to a juvenile Group winner.

The solitary colt, Lot 184, is out of Usaylah, a successful half-sister to Alhijaz.

DEPLOY (3c, 3f): Deploy earned stronger support with a very pleasing number of first-crop two-year-old winners in 1994, so should make his mark at this year's sales.

Lot 508 has the attraction of being a half-brother to the smart Muchea and comes from the Pelting family,

Lot 553 is a half-sister to the talented juvenile Merlin's Ring, whose has been Listed-placed since the catalogue, and Lot 790 is a half-sister to a Listed winner and comes from the excellent Aiming High family.

DIESIS (1c): 52,000 dollars was the foal price of Lot 708, the second foal of a sister to the high-class sprinter-miler Green Line Express.

DILUM (4c, 2f): 19,500gns was paid for Lot 701, a colt whose dam won twice at two and is a half-sister to Anzio. Another colt, Lot 124, should make a two -year-old as his dam is a half-sister to the juvenile Group performers Touch Paper and Safe Home.

DISTANT RELATIVE (10c, 6f): Distant Relative's feat of siring ten first- crop two-year-old winners in 1994 earned him strong support in 1995 and this is evident here.

His powerful team includes numerous likely types. Among the fillies are Lot 256, a half-sister to a German Listed winner from a good family; Lot 590, a half-sister to the smart Punishment; and Lot 859, a grand-daughter of Oaks winner Scintillate.

The interesting colts include two bought as foals. Lot 17, a 13,500gns buy, is out of a half-sister to Only Yours and Osario, and Lot 146, a 17,500gns purchase, is a half-brother to the good Italian colt Stato King.

Lot 251A is a half-brother to Photogenic, a 1997 two-year-old Listed winner, and his second dam is Reprocolor.

A three-parts-brother to Distant Relative's Group winner Germane is Lot 417; a talented half-sister to Moon Madness and Sheriff's Star is dam of Lot 819, a colt; and a half-brother to Mister Fire Eyes, an American Grade Three winner, is Lot 875.

DISTINCTLY NORTH (2c, 1f): The filly, Lot 816, cost IR16,500gns and should make a two-year-old, as her dam was second in the Cheveley Park Stakes.

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Lot 504 is a half-brother to a two-year-old Listed winner and comes from the same very fast **female** line as Hever Golf Rose.

DOUBLETOUT (1c, 1f): IR15,000gns was the foal price of Lot 141, a three-parts-brother to the smart Irish filly Double On, and Lot 190 is out of a half-sister to Shake The Yoke and Tropical.

DOYOUN (1c): Daylami's sire relies on Lot 858, a half-brother to the smart Irish sprinter Nautical Pet.

EFISIO (6c, 4f): The improvement in Efisio's fortunes is apparent in this team, which includes youngsters out of mares by such as Roberto (Lot 19), Dancing Brave (Lot 281) and Sadler's Wells (Lot 461). The dam of 461 is closely related to the recent Group winner Almushtarak.

Overbury Stud's filly, Lot 922, is out of Buzzbomb, a winning sister to Mysilv, and Lot 961 is another filly from a top family.

ELA-MANA-MOU (4c): The sire of Double Trigger and Double Eclipse could do well with Lot 37, who is out of a half-sister to the dam of Kistena.

ELBIO (3c): All of these were popular foals, including Lot 721, at IR13,000gns, and Lot 576, at IR12,000gns. The former is a half-brother to the speedy Miss Potter. The other colt, Lot 612, is a half-brother to Aahsaylad.

ELMAAMUL (4c, 1f): Lot 800 has the distinction of being a brother to Dankeston, a tough Group winner, and Lot 874 is the first foal of a mare by Sadler's Wells out of the high-class Untold.

EMARATI (4c, 1f): Likely winners in this squad include Lot 781, a half-brother to a German Group winner which cost 9,500gns as a foal, and Lot 719, a 6,000gns brother to the speedy Lamarita.

ENVIRONMENT FRIEND (1c): Lot 1023 is a brother to Green Jewel, a filly who has run well at Grade One level in the USA since the catalogue.

EXBOURNE (1f): Lot 360 is a daughter of Meteoric, a useful juvenile, and cost 12,500gns.

EXIT TO NOWHERE (3c, 1f): One of the colts, Lot 507, is out of a winning Sadler's Wells mare from the high-class Miss Glasso family.

FAIRY KING (1c, 6f): The solitary colt, Lot 940, is a half-brother to that smart sprinter Mistertopogigo, their dam being a sister to the fast Hallgates. The fillies should be much in demand, especially as Lot 309 was a 55,000gns as a foal and has since been boosted by the Nunthorpe Stakes victory of her three-parts-brother Ya Malak. IR16,000gns was the foal price of Lot 249, a sister-in-blood to the Group-winning Pernilla.

Lot 254 is a three-parts-sister to the Group-winning Burden Of Proof and is inbred 2 x 4 to Northern Dancer; Lot 385 represents the successful Fairy King -Shirley Heights cross; and Lot 682 is bred along similar lines to In The Wings and several other Group winners.

Dedicated Lady, winner of the Goffs Fillies' Challenge Race, is dam of Lot 941.

FAYRUZ (2c): Lynn Lodge Stud's colt, Lot 585, cost IR18,000gns and is a half-brother to that fast filly Double Quick, while Lot 166 cost IR11,500gns.

FORMIDABLE (2c, 1f): The filly, Lot 804, comes from a good French family and cost 9,800gns as a foal. Lot 244 is a brother to a winner.

FORZANDO (4c, 2f): One of the fillies, Lot 714, has the attraction of being a half-sister to the smart Falkenham, while the other, Lot 477, cost 10,500gns and is a half-sister to a two-year-old Listed winner in Italy.

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The colts include Lot 579, a 17,000gns foal; Lot 668, a three-parts-brother to the very successful Philidor; and Lot 731, a 13,500gns buy.

GEIGER COUNTER (1c): 17,000gns was the foal price of Lot 262, a colt from a good American family.

GENEROUS (1c): John Troy's colt, Lot 283, cost 32,000gns as a foal and has since been boosted by Generous' impressive 1997 record and by the Listed win of his half-sister Brave Kris.

GLITTERMAN (1c): Glitterman is not a familiar name here but he is doing well in the States, where his team is headed by the Grade One winner Glitter Woman.

GREAT COMMOTION (2c): Both these colts were in demand as foals, Lot 341 fetching 15,000gns and Lot 871 IR16,000gns.

GREEN DANCER (1c): 82,000 dollars was the foal price of Lot 12, a grandson of the smart French filly Hamada from the family of Erhaab.

GREEN DESERT (1c, 2f): This trio should attract plenty of attention, especially as Lot 343 is a half-brother to Ya Malak.

Lavington Stud's filly, Lot 418, is out of a Riyoom, a young and useful daughter of Vaguely Noble, and Lot 647 is inbred 3 x 3 to Northern Dancer.

HAMAS (3c, 6f): The start made by this well-bred horse could help several of these reap profits on the sums they cost as foals. IR29,000gns was the price of Lot 854, a filly whose dam produced Cayman Kai to another grandson of Northern Dancer.

The fillies also include Lot 318, the first foal of a winning Slip Anchor filly from the Mesopotamia family.

HERMITAGE (1c): Grapeshot's sire is represented by Lot 726.

HIGH ESTATE (3c, 5f): The last Irish crop by this top two-year-old includes Lot 760, a filly who, like Phantom Gold, is a grand- daughter of the Ribblesdale winner Expansive; Lot 415, a IR13,500gns filly closely related to the French Group Two winner Dajraan; and Lot 865, a 9,400gns colt out of a sister to that prolific winner Loki.

HIGHEST HONOR (2c, 1f): Fares Stables' filly, Lot 242, is the first foal of a successful French filly, while Lot 635 is the first foal of a daughter of Opale, the Irish St Leger winner.

IMP SOCIETY (1c, 1f): The sire of Proud Native could do well with Lot 873, a 13,000gns foal out of a Thatch mare.

IN THE WINGS (3c, 2f): The squad by this first-rate stallion includes a pair from Aston House Stud, which features Lot 186, a half-sister to the very useful Irish sprinter Mitsubishi Vision (whose 1997 two-year- old, Tropic Lightning, has won over 100,000 dollars).

Corduff Stud's colt, Lot 587, is out of a three-parts-sister to the top- class Lear Fan and cost 10,500gns.

INCHINOR (2c, 5f): Both colts fetched good prices as foals, with Lot 349, a grandson of the Gimcrack runner-up Late Love, costing 27,000gns and Lot 550, whose dam is a sister to the high- class Maximova, making 18,500gns.

Of the fillies, Lot 127 made 10,500gns and comes from the smart Sleat family, while Lot 187 cost 9,200gns.

INDIAN RIDGE (6c, 2f): Two of the colts made plenty of money at the foal sales, with 37,000gns being the price of Lot 621, a descendant of the champion American two-year-old Queen Empress, and 38,000gns the cost of Lot 625, whose first three dams were above-average two-year-olds.

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Kirtlington Stud's colt, Lot 885, has been considerably boosted by the Zukunfts-Rennen success of his half-brother El Maimoun. Westerlands Stud's colt, Lot 776, is a half-brother to two useful performers and his dam is a half-sister to those very fast horses Thatching and Golden Thatch.

The fillies are Lot 718, the second foal of a half-sister to College Chapel, and Lot 434, a half-sister to the tough and useful Priolina.

IRISH RIVER (1c): Haras du Quesnay's colt, Lot 824, is very closely related to the exceptional Hatoof and his dam is also a half-sister to Mrs Penny.

KEEN (3c): Lot 60, a 9,000gns foal, is inbred 2 x 4 to Sharpen Up and Doubly Sure, through the brothers Keen and Kris. His dam is a sister to the very successful Needle Gun, as well as being a half-sister to Luso.

KINGMAMBO (1c): Haras du Quesnay's colt, Lot 818, is the first foal of a Listed winner by Bering, his dam being a half-sister to the very successful Maximova and two other Group-winning fillies.

KRIS (1c): Brook Stud's colt, Lot 829, is a half-brother to the useful performers Ouaisne and Portelet, his dam being a half-sister to three Group winners.

KYLIAN (1c): Lot 598 is out of the seven-time winner Lady Ever-So- Sure.

Lot 964, whose dam produced the useful Westcourt Magic to another stallion from the Danzig line.

Fillies well worth a look include Lot 114, a half-sister to the useful 1996 juvenile Sheer Face; Lot 288, a daughter of Ayr Gold Cup winner Final Shot; and Lot 563, a half-sister to the dam of Shaamit.

Later come Lot 767, a half-sister to the very successful Rio Duvida, and Lot 949, a 13,000gns three-parts-sister to the Listed-placed Gold Desert.

MAGICAL WONDER (2f): This underrated sire is represented by Lot 438, the first foal of a winning Shernazar mare from a good female line, and Lot 761, a member of another good family, this one responsible for the American Grade One winner Deputy Commander.

MAJOR IMPACT (1c): The second crop of this son of Roberto includes Lot 282, a half-brother to this year's dual Italian Listed winner Timekeeper. Farfalla, the second dam, won the Queen Mary Stakes.

MANILA (1c): 30,000 dollars was the foal price of Lot 387, whose dam is a half-sister to Gwydion, the Queen Mary Stakes winner.

MARJU (3c, 5f): Marju's fine record with his 1997 juveniles should guarantee a profit for the pinhooked youngsters on offer here.

They include Lot 333, a 16,000gns filly out of a three-papts-sister to the high-class Khariyda; Lot 235, a 16,200gns three-parts-sister to useful Italian filly Woopi Gold; Lot 81, a 10,500gns filly from the Dark Finale family; and Lot 335, an 8,000gns filly.

MAZILIER (1c): Lot 821 was a 6,200gns foal and his dam is a half-sister to the dam of Donna Viola.

MIDYAN (2c, 2f): Don't miss looking at Lot 2, as this filly comes from the family that produced those high-class colts Alhijaz and Beauchamp Hero to Midyan. Also closely related to a good winner by Midyan is Lot 711, a three-parts-brother to Jaunty Jack.

Lot 46, a colt, was a 12,500gns foal.

MON TRESOR (1f): 17,000gns was invested in Lot 959 as a foal, no doubt because she is a half-sister to Cape Merino, a winner of the Two-Year-Old Trophy at Redcar.

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MOST WELCOME (3c): Two of these sons of the dependable Most Welcome are closely related, with Lot 61 being a three-parts-brother to the champion German filly Flying Dream and Lot 289 being a brother to the same filly.

MTOTO (4c, 2f): In view of the exploits of Crown Of Light, Book At Bedtime and several other three-year-old fillies by Mtoto, Lots 693 and 774 deserve a look. The latter is out of a winning daughter of Embla, winner of the Cheveley Park Stakes.

The colts by the sire of Celeric and Maylane include Lot 442, a half- brother to the smart colts Acharne and King Cobra, and Lot 567, whose dam is a half -sister by Sadler's Wells to Light Cavalry and Fairy Footsteps.

MUJADIL (5c, 9f): This Rathasker Stud stallion has done so well with his first two crops that he is sure to be popular here.

Six of his youngsters (one colt and five fillies) come from Rathasker, including Lot 219, a sister to the useful Barba Papa and to a dual juvenile winner; Lot 533, a filly out of a sister to Hever Golf Rose; and Lot 540, a sister to a juvenile winner, as well as being a three-parts-sister to the talented Monte Lemos.

Several sold well as foals, including Lot 414, a IR15,000gns; Lot 517, a 14,000gns colt; and Lot 945, a 29,000gns colt out of a winning Shirley Heights mare.

Lodge Park Stud's filly, Lot 652, is a half-sister to the quick-maturing Rohita.

MUJTAHID (4c, 5f): Two fillies likely to sell well at Friday's session are Lot 911, the first foal of a well-related winner by Diesis, and Lot 915, the first foal of a useful two-year-old by Green Desert.

Among the colts are Lot 202, a half-brother to Hever Golf Glory, and Lot 695, a half-brother to the speedy Wavian.

MUKADDAMAH (5c, 1f): With Baby Grand, Branston Berry and Monte Lemos all doing well for him, this son of Storm Bird will be popular.

Two of the colts sold well as foals, Lots 240 costing IR15,000gns and 538 13,500gns. The latter is out of a useful juvenile by Fairy King, which means he is inbred 3 x 3 to Northern Dancer.

Lot 978 could be speedy, as this filly is a half-sister to Ffestiniog and her dam is a half-sister to Regal Scintilla and Rivers Rhapsody.

MYSTIKO (4c, 2f): Lot 25, a grandson of the classic-placed Joking Apart, cost 14,500gns as a foal.

Lot 662 is a half-brother to the smart Jimmy Barnie and Lot 916 is a half -sister to the Group-placed winners Warning Star and Brindle.

NIGHT SHIFT (6c, 3f): The majority of these appear to have plenty to offer. Prime examples are Lot 314, a 23,000gns colt whose family has produced Kirov Premiere and Gothenberg to other Northern Dancer line stallions; Lot 696, a filly out of a useful half-sister to Leap For Joy; and Lot 779, a three-parts-brother to the admirable Midnight Legend.

The 15,000gns paid for Lot 199 should pay dividends as her two-year-old half -sister is Viola Royale, who has won and been Listed-placed since the catalogue. She is inbred to Almahmoud.

Lot 347 is a colt out of a useful sister to a Grade Three winner, while Lot 49 is the first foal of a winning Slew O'Gold mare.

Lot 900 is a three-parts-brother to a dual two-year-old winner by Fairy King and Lot 974 is a three-parts-brother to Sweetness Herself.

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NORTHERN FLAGSHIP (1c): Polaris Flight's sire is represented by Lot 596, a son of a very useful American performer.

NORTHERN PARK (2c, 2f): Burton Agnes Stud's colt, Lot 487, is out of a half-sister to those smart performers Azzilfi, Khamaseen and Tamnia.

Lot 562, a filly, is the first foal of a well-bred Affirmed mare, and Lot 962 is a half-sister to the remarkable Vindaloo.

PARIS HOUSE (4c): All four of these should be speedy. Lot 142 was a 13,500gns foal; Lot 505 is out of a half-sister to the fast Polykratis; Lot 569 is a half-brother to the Stakes winners Himiko and Without Reserve; and Lot 646, 32,000gns foal, has the attraction of being a half-brother to Deadly Dudley and Miss Nosey Parker.

PERSIAN BOLD (2c, 3f): The potential star of these is Lot 928, the first foal of Cliveden Gail, Rock Hopper's very successful staying half-sister.

PERSONAL HOPE (1c): 12,000 dollars was the foal price of Lot 943, the second foal of a Stakes-winning mare.

PETARDIA (8c, 10f): Of the colts, Lot 108 cost IR9,000gns as a foal, while Lot 1015 was so impressive that he made 20,000gns.

One of the fillies, Lot 423, is a half-sister to the talented Buddy Marvel and her dam is a half-sister to To-Agori-Mou, winner of the Two Thousand Guineas.

PETONG (6c, 11f): Several of the colts are interesting. For example, Lot 403, a member of a fast family, is a brother to a juvenile winner; Lot 479 is a son of the Listed winner Wantage Park; Lot 482, whose dam won twice at two, cost 23,000gns; and Lot 909 is out of a winning half-sister to the high-class Sarab.

Fillies worth a look include Lot 69, the first foal of a half-sister to Piccolo; Lot 511, a sister to a juvenile winner, out of a half-sister to Forzando; and Lot 634, a half-sister to the speedy Amazing Bay, from the family of Lochsong.

PHARLY (3c): The sire of Busy Flight, Further Flight and The Fly could have another talented son in Lot 373, a colt out of the Irish St Leger winner Mountain Lodge. Lot 754 was a 7,200gns foal.

PIPS PRIDE (6c, 3f): The Pips Pride yearlings sold well at Doncaster and they should be popular here too, especially as Lot 352 cost 17,500gns, Lot 933 IR11,000gns, Lot 402 9,500gns and Lot 750 IR8,200gns.

PISTOLET BLEU (1c): 27,000gns was the foal price of Lot 798, a half-brother to the very useful Etoile. His dam is a sister to the top-class Bellypha.

POLAR FALCON (12c, 8f): With the exciting Exclusive among his growing number of juvenile winners, Polar Falcon should again be popular at a sale where his stock made up to 76,000gns last year.

Two colts who were 30,000gns purchases as foals are Lot 375, who is inbred 3 x 3 to Northern Dancer, and Lot 660, a member of a good Aga Khan family.

Oak Lodge Stud's colt, Lot 22, is the first foal of a half-sister to Zarani Sidi Anna; Lot 370 is the first foal of a very well-connected winner by Darshaan; and Lot 436, a brother to Cryhavoc, is out of a half-sister to Gothenberg.

Later offerings among the colts are Lot 737, a half-brother to the speedy Cathedral, from a good family, and Lot 814, a half-brother to two Group-placed two-year-old winners.

Among the fillies are Lot 380, a 10,000gns daughter of the multiple winner No Hard Feelings, and Lot 727, a half-sister to Heard A Whisper from the family of College Chapel and Leap For Joy.

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POLISH PATRIOT (4c, 4f): The last Irish crop by Polish Patriot is well represented here by such as Lot 293, a half-sister to the smart Mick's Love; Lot 359, a colt out of a half-sister to Polar Falcon; and Lot 408, a sister to the very useful Recondite from a very good family.

Several were bought for five-figure sums as foals, with Lots 233 and 236 each costing 10,000gns and Lot 926 IR20,000gns.

Lot 83 is a colt from the immediate family of the admirable Penny Drops, while Lot 275 is a filly from a smart family.

POLISH PRECEDENT (2c, 1f): Polish Precedent's early crops included Her Ladyship and Precede, two good winners out of Shirley Heights mares, and this is reflected in the fact that Lot 586 (a colt) and Lot 591 (a filly) are also out of Shirley Heights mares.

22,000gns was the foal price of Lot 628, a half-brother to the Listed winner Thornberry from a prolific winner-producing family.

PRESIDIUM (1c): Lot 94's dam is Petitesse, a successful sister to Paris House.

PRIMO DOMINIE (9c, 8f): There are plenty of likely sorts among this large team, both among the colts and the fillies.

The colts feature such as Lot 36, whose dam is a fast half-sister to Ya Malak; Lot 145, a brother to the Group-placed Bid For Blue; and Lot 170, a brother to the Prix Morny runner-up Bruttina.

Highclere Stud's colt, Lot 506, is closely related to the talented Brandon Magic, while Lot 1010 is a son of the very speedy Boozy. Another colt, Lot 217, cost 13,000gns.

The fillies on the first two days include Lot 316, a three-parts-sister to the smart Bezelle; Lot 452, a well-connected filly from the family of Silver Patriarch; and Lot 555, a 10,000gns foal.

Later come Lot 575, the first foal of Meon Valley's splendidly-Bred Footlight Fantasy; Lot 801, the first foal of a half-sister to Sahara Star and Yalaietanee; and Lot 846, a 21,000gns foal whose dam is a winning half-sister to the smart French colt Pole Position.

Lot 868 is a daughter of Shoot Clear, a very good two-year-old out of the outstanding mare Unsuspected.

PRINCE SABO (4c, 3f): Meon Valley's filly, Lot 627, is out of a winning daughter of One In The Million, the One Thousand Guineas winner who produced Milligram.

Watch too for Lot 518, a 30,000gns colt out of a well-bred Dancing Brave mare, and Lot 976, a colt out of a sister to the multiple Group winner Invited Guest.

PRIOLO (8c): The all-male team by this promising stallion includes Lot 546, a IR14,000gns buy which has been boosted by the 1997 efforts of his half-sister Daunting Lady, and Lot 775, whose dam is a sister to Derby runner-up Glacial Storm.

Moygaddy Stud's colt, Lot 794, is out of a Listed winner and Rathcannon Stud's Lot 851 is inbred 3 x 3 to Northern Dancer, his dam being a winning El Gran Senor mare.

PUISSANCE (6c, 1f): several of these sold well as foals, examples being Lot 573, at 21,000gns; Lot 968, a half-brother to the fast Dancing Music, at 22,000 dollars; and Lot 456, a grandson of the Group-winning Tashtiya, at 13,000gns.

Lot 291 is a sister to the multiple winner Albert The Bear, while Lot 430 is a brother to the good earner Anniversarypresent.

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PURSUIT OF LOVE (11c, 7f): Limestone Stud's filly, Lot 840, comes from an outstanding **female** line and her dam is a three-parts-sister to the Group -winning Honoria, while Brook Stud's filly, Lot 920, is out of a half-sister to the dam of My Emma and Classic Cliche.

Other fillies include Lot 209, the first foal of a winning Alzao mare from the Doubly Sure family; Lot 520, a 13,000gns foal; and Lot 999, the first foal of a winning sister to the very useful Referendum.

Likeable colts include Lot 264, the first foal of a winning half-sister to the smart Top Class; Lot 457, a son of the Magnet Cup runner-up Tell No Lies; and Lot 471, a 10,000gns foal whose dam is a three-parts-sister to the high-class Wind And Wuthering.

Lavington Stud's colt, Lot 526, is out of a half-sister to Irish Oaks winner Knight's Baroness who produced Riyadian to another sire from the Blushing Groom male line.

Ballymorris Stud's colt, Lot 631, was an 8,000gns foal, while Lot 931's dam is a sister to Primo Dominie.

QUEST FOR FAME (2c): This highly-promising stallion is represented by Lot 501, a grandson of the dual Grade Three winner Hope Of Glory, and Lot 932, a colt from the family of those excellent European winners Committed and Musicale.

RAINBOWS FOR LIFE (6c, 3f): Lot 797 has the attraction of being out of a sister to the flying Habibti, and this colt's dam is also a half- sister to Eight Carat, an astonishing broodmare in Australia.

Lot 153 is a half-brother to Luqman, winner of the Mill Reef Stakes, and Kildaragh Stud's colt, Lot 340, comes from a very, very good family. IR10,000gns was paid for Lot 435, another colt.

The fillies include Lot 4, a IR6,800gns buy, and Lot 338, the first foal of a talented half-sister to that fast sprinter Freddie Lloyd.

RED RANSOM (1f): **Female** lines don't come much better than the one that produced Lot 697. The third dam is Fairy Bridge.

REGAL CLASSIC (1f): This Canadian stallion is siring plenty of Stakes winners, including at the top level, and here he is represented by a filly from the same family as Dernier Empereur, winner of the Champion Stakes.

RISK ME (3c, 2f): The dams of Lots 997 and 1002 have already bred winners to Risk Me. The latter is out of a half-sister to the high-class Hellenic, and so too is Lot 1014, another filly.

RIVER FALLS (1c): Lot 260's dam produced the useful juvenile Al Abraq to another stallion from the Mummy's Pet male line.

ROANOKE (1f): The dam of Lot 535 is a half-sister to Russian Countess, a mare who has done well this year with Crown Of Light and Alboostan (a Listed winner since the catalogue).

ROBELLINO (7c, 10f): The sire of Classic Park and Mister Baileys has a very likeable team here. The colts feature such as Lot 203, a 10,000gns buy who represents the successful Robellino-Sharpen Up cross; Lot 247, a 9,500gns half -brother to that good 1995 juvenile Take A Left; and Lot 308, a son of a well-bred Riverman mare. Other well-connected colts are Lot 371, a half-brother to Catwalk, and Lot 745, a 45,000gns foal from the family of Lochsong. Could the fillies include another Classic Park, a graduate of the 1995 sale? Lot 303 is the second foal of a Listed-placed winner; Lot 384 was an 8,500gns foal; and Lot 655 is a half-sister to Nettle and Humourless, out of the useful Sans Blague. Lot 862 is a three-parts -sister to Sonic Boy, a Group-placed winner, and Lot 1001 is a daughter of Title Roll, a King George Stakes winner.

ROCK CITY (1c, 1f): The 16,500gns investment in Lot 460 looks sound, as this colt's half-brother, Johan Cruyff, has won the Gallinule Stakes and been fourth in the Irish Derby.

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ROCK HOPPER (4c, 1f): A half-sister to the useful two-year-old Shii-Take is Lot 157. Lot 135 is a colt from Dick Hollingsworth's famous family.

ROI DANZIG (1c, 1f): The colt by the sire of Caiseal Ros is Lot 486, a IR7,200gns buy.

ROYAL ACADEMY (8c, 4f): Some high prices must be in prospect for some of these, as Lot 863 cost 40,000gns as a foal and comes from the family that produced Shahrastani to Royal Academy's sire; Lot 670, a grandson of Oaks d'Italia winner Paris Royal, was a 38,000gns buy; and Lot 296, a filly out of a half-sister to Dancing Brave, made 20,000gns.

Royal Academy has sired the Group winners Painters Row and Centaine from daughters of Shirley Heights, which is a pointer to Lots 525 and 594, both colts. Other colts are Lot 549, a half-brother to the Stakes-winning Polish Spring, and Lot 770, a colt whose second dam is closely related to the mare which produced Oscar Schindler to Royal Academy.

Lot 741 is a colt inbred 2 x 4 to Nijinsky, his second dam being the very smart Green Dancer filly Dancing Rocks.

The fillies by Sleepytime's sire include Lot 412, whose grandsires are the three-parts-brothers Nijinsky and The Minstrel; Lot 930, who comes from the family which produced Mashaallah, Folk Art and Sportin' Life to Nijinsky; and Lot 960, a half-sister to the speedy Power Lake, from a top family. . Stakes.

RUDIMENTARY (11c, 8f): Several of the colts look to have potential, such as Lot 431, a IR13,000gns foal out of a half-sister to Sprintsail and Emperor Fountain; Lot 786, a half-brother to the Group-winning Shining Water, out of the Park Hill winner Idle Waters; and Lot 987, a 36,000gns foal from the family of Sun Princess and Saddlers' Hall.

Lot 807 is a colt from the same family as Guineas, last season's top Australian two-year-old; Lot 847 is a half-brother to a couple of juvenile winners out of a half-sister to Mummy's Pet and Parsimony; and Lot 1013 was an 8,400gns foal.

Three fillies well worth a look on the opening day are Lot 1, a half-sister to the highly successful Missile; Lot 30, the second foal of a close relative to First Trump; and Lot 109, a half-sister to the speedy Saint Express.

SABREHILL (5c, 1f): Alboostan and Bullion have helped draw attention to Sabrehill's first crop.

Two of the second-crop colts sold well as foals, with Lot 565, the first foal of a winning Dominion mare, making 15,000gns and Lot 629, a son of the successful seven-furlong performer Penny Banger, making 18,000gns.

Watch out too for Lot 292, a half-brother to a two-year-old Listed winner by another sire from the Sharpen Up male line, and Lot 921, a colt out of a useful half-sister to Terimon.

SADDLERS' HALL (5c, 3f): The sire of Silver Patriarch could do well with Lot 253. This 11,000gns foal out of the useful Comic Talent is a half-brother to a two-year-old winner by Slip Anchor.

Later offerings include Lot 581, a colt out of an accomplished sister to the dam of Tenby, and Lot 906, a 17,000gns buy.

Two of the fillies are inbred to Northern Dancer, namely Lot 85, a daughter of the Nassau Stakes third North Wind, and Lot 993, from the same family as Wixim and Salmon Ladder. Lot 221 is a half-sister to the successful Warning Time.

SALSE (6c, 2f): 100,000gns was the best price for a Salse at last year's sale. Candidates for sizeable prices this year include Lot 705, a filly who can boast that her second dam is the top-class Milligram and her third dam is the classic-winning One In A Million.

Lot 405 is a brother to a two-year-old winner, as well as being a half-brother to two Group-placed winners, and Lot 811, a 15,000gns buy, is a colt out of May Hinton, a quick-maturing half-sister to Mary Hinge.

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Two colts out of Shirley Heights mares are Lot 748, a 25,000gns foal, and Lot 497, a grandson of the very fast Amaranda.

SANGLAMORE (1c, 1f): The colt, Lot 620, has plenty to recommend him as his dam, the Jersey Stakes winner Miss Silca Key, has produced Central City, Miss Zafonic and Consigliere. 27,000 dollars was paid last year for Lot 266, a grand-daughter of the high-class Devalois.

SCENIC (3c, 1f): Lot 93 is a brother to Oh'Cecilia, a useful Irish performer, and Lot 645 is a colt out of a half-sister to that admirable sprinter Perion.

Lot 467 is a half-sister to Tourandot, a speedy Irish performer.

SEATTLE DANCER (2c, 2f): This half-brother to Seattle Slew has sired top performers in Britain, the US, Australia, Germany and Japan, so these members of his only Irish crop are worth a look.

Lot 510, a colt, is the first foal of a half-sister to the smart Nomination. The other colt, Lot 956, is out of a half-sister to two high-class German winners.

SECOND SET (7c): This high-class miler has made a fine start, with Jay Gee and a couple of Group-placed winners among his early runners.

Quite a few sold pretty well as foals, including Lots 687 and 698, both of whom made IR14,000gns, and Lot 996, a IR15,000gns purchase.

The pair from Mount Coote are Lot 614, a IR9,500gns foal, and Lot 640, a half -brother to nine winners.

SELKIRK (3c, 7f): Fillies predominate here, which isn't a problem when Selkirk has already sired such talented daughters as Squeak, Orford Ness and Entice.

Several of his best winners are out of mares by Northern Dancer line stallions, which could be a pointer to such as Lot 13 (out of a Shareef Dancer mare), Lot 47 (a daughter of a Golden Fleece mare) and Lot 218 (whose dam is by Lyphard).

Later fillies include Lot 332, a half-sister to the Listed winners Arden and Kerulen; Lot 401, whose family produced Sharp Prod to another son of Sharpen Up; and Lot 963, a January foal out of a winner-producing sister to the Group winners Luck Of The Draw and Lucky Ring.

Selkirk's colts are also excelling, which should benefit Lot 106A, the first foal of a three-parts-sister to the very smart Raami; Lot 194, a half-brother to the successful Pinchincha; and Lot 1011, a 26,000gns foal.

SEPTIEME CIEL (1c, 1f): This well-bred horse has two Grade Two-winning daughters in the US this year, so take a look at Lot 694, a half-sister to the smart Robellation.

The colt, Lot 604, is out of Let's Sgor, a champion filly in New Zealand.

SHADEED (1f): Lot 888 is out of a winning half-sister to the successful 1997 juvenile Timekeeper.

SHALFORD (3c, 1f): All three colts sold as foals, Lot 205 fetching 7,000gns, Lot 516 IR9,000gns and Lot 734 IR10,500gns. The first of these has been boosted by the fact that his dam's sister has produced Princely Heir.

SHAREEF DANCER (4c, 1f): Lot 998 shares the same broodmare sire, Halo, as Singspiel and this colt comes from the same family as Priolo.

Lot 432, a 28,000gns foal, is a colt from the family of Riverman, while Lot 1018 is a filly closely related to the high-class Rock Hopper.

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SHEIKH ALBADOU (1c, 2f): There is plenty to like here, with Lot 130 being a son of Sarba, a very useful filly from a good French family, and Lot 425 being a half-sister to the very useful Unusual Heat out of a Grade One winner.

SHIRLEY HEIGHTS (3c): This is a potentially popular team, made up of Lot 704, a close relative of the Group-winning Along All from the family of the highly -regarded 1997 French juvenile Arnaqueur; Lot 771, a close relative of the Prix Saint-Alary winner Air De Rien; and Lot 951, the first foal of the Listed winner Forthwith.

SILVER HAWK (1c): Benny The Dip's sire relies on Lot 773, a 50,000-dollar foal from the family of the top European performers Alydar's Best and Gyr.

SLIP ANCHOR (2c, 1f): The sire of Posidonas, Stowaway, Harbour Dues, Kalia and Three Cheers could do well with Lot 344, a half-brother to a couple of useful juveniles out of the Grade Two winner Lady Norcliffe.

STOP THE MUSIC (1c): Lot 354 is closely related to Obeah, the Group- winning dam of Panama City.

STRIKE THE GOLD (1f): This Kentucky Derby winner is represented by Lot 778, a filly from the family of Breeders' Cup Classic winner Skywalker.

SUAVE DANCER (8c, 2f): With Dust Dancer and The Faraway Tree doing well at Group level, there should be no shortage of interest in the fillies in this team.

Lot 393 is a member of the celebrated Violetta family, while the other filly, Lot 994, comes from the same family as the top-class Lure.

Several of the colts could also be useful. Two which sold well as foals are Lot 226, a 20,000gns buy whose dam is a half-sister to the classic- winning Nicer, and Lot 464, a 26,000gns half- brother to the classic-winning Bolas.

Lot 156 is the second foal of Mtoto's very useful daughter Sumoto, while Lot 849 is a son of Regent's Folly, a useful performer from the family of Ascot Knight and Petit Loup.

SUMMER SQUALL (1c): Lot 78 is by the sire of last year's top American juvenile filly Storm Song. The colt is out of an earner of 340,000 dollars.

SUNSHINE FOREVER (1c): IR21,000gns was the foal price of Lot 422, whose dam is a half-sister to the fast French filly Parioli.

TENBY (6c): Tenby ranks among the most successful first-crop sires of 1997, with Listed winners in Italy and Britain. He should, therefore, do well with such as Lot 208, a well-related colt inbred 3 x 2 to Kalaglow, and Lot 715, a IR16,500gns foal buy.

Lot 45 is a half-brother to the Group-winning Baba Karam, while Lot 58 is out of a winner-producing sister to Tap On Wood, the Two Thousand Guineas winner.

THATCHING (4c, 7f): One of the fillies, Lot 278, has been boosted by the recent Group Three win of her half-brother, Almushtarak.

Of the other fillies, Lot 196 cost 9,500gns and is out of a winning Sadler's Wells mare, while Lot 813, the first foal of a useful half-sister to Ancestral Dancer, was an 8,400gns foal.

All four colts have appealing pedigrees. Lot 389 is a grandson of the outstanding Mrs Penny; Lot 678 is a three-parts-brother to Chaumiere, a winner of over pounds 125,000; Lot 717 cost 12,000gns; and Lot 791 is a member of the Pelting family.

THEN AGAIN (2c): Lot 950 is a half-brother to Quws, winner of the Irish Cambridgeshire since the catalogue.

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THORN DANCE (2c): 20,000 dollars was the foal price of both these colts by the sire of General Monash. Lot 676, like Benny The Dip, is out of a Stakes -winning Ack Ack mare and Lot 988 is a grandson of the very useful Mariella, from the excellent Monade family.

TIROL (2c, 3f): Could there be another Tarascon or Miss Tahiti among the fillies? One of the colts, Lot 420, is the first foal of the quick- maturing Rohita.

TRAGIC ROLE (5c): Three of these sold very well as foals, with Lot 397 fetching 10,000gns, Lot 1004 13,000gns and Lot 200 14,000gns. 397 is a three -parts-brother to Louis' Queen, a Group-placed Listed winner, and so is Lot 11.

TREMPOLINO (1c): This successful son of Sharpen Up is represented by Lot 700, a 55,000-dollar foal. The colt's family has produced a Group winner and a Listed winner to Diesis, another son of Sharpen Up.

TURGEON (1f): This fine French stayer is represented by Lot 66, whose dam is a winning sister to a Group Three winner from the celebrated Dinner Partner family.

UNFUWAIN (6c, 3f): Unfuwain can be expected to do well with his foals of 1996, who are out of the good mares sent to him after the 1994 Group wins by Bolas and Mamlakah.

Here the fillies include Lot 707, a half-sister to the classic-winning German filly Princess Nana, and Lot 919, whose dam is closely related to the dam of Flemensfirth.

Among the colts are Lot 63, a 17,000gns brother to the classic-placed Italian filly Streisand; Lot 104, a son of the useful Pure Formality; and Lot 799, whose dam is Lady Shipley, a very useful daughter of Circus Ring.

Well worth waiting for are Lot 881, a half-brother to this year's good Italian juvenile That's The Way, out of a talented half-sister to Candy Glen, and Lot 991, a half-brother to last year's Group-winning French filly Shigeru Summit.

WAAJIB (1c): 16,500gns was the foal price of Lot 495, a colt whose dam is a half-sister to the high-class two-year-olds Kafu and Moomba Masquerade.

WARNING (4c, 3f): Two potentially smart colts are Lot 163, a three-parts- bbrother to Piccolo out of the useful Tahilla, and Lot 455, a son of a well -bred Sadler's Wells mare, which means that he is bred to the same pattern as Charnwood Forest and Bishop Of Cashel.

Lot 478 is a half-sister to the speedy Vilayet, her dam being the high- class and well-connected Vilikaia.

WARSHAAN (1c): There is plenty to like about the pedigree of Lot 649, a half -brother to Fly To The Stars from the outstanding Highlight family.

WOLFHOUND (7c, 3f): Most of these are well-connected, Lot 548 being a grandson of Upend (St Simon Stakes), Lot 787 being a half-brother to the fast Averti and Lot 936 being a half-brother to Doyce, his dam being the useful Current Raiser.

Lot 110 was a 28,000gns purchase, while Lot 739 made 32,000gns.

Lot 488 is a half-brother to Charillus, a useful Irish performer, and Lot 602 is a half-brother to Joie De Soir, a Listed winner.

All three fillies have accomplished relatives, Lot 530 being out of a winning half-sister to Thrilling Day; Lot 825 being a half-sister to the admirable Midnight Legend; and Lot 980 being the first foal of a sister to the top-class Millkom.

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WOODMAN (1f): Haras du Quesnay's filly, Lot 887, comes from arguably the hottest **female** line around, her dam being a grand- daughter of Fall Aspen. Fall Aspen produced the champion American colt Timber Country to Woodman.

ZAFONIC (2f): Lot 82 is a half-sister to Alexandrovich, a smart Continental performer, and Lot 905 is a daughter of Altiyna, a smart half-sister to Oaks "winner" Aliysa.

ZILZAL (3c, 2f): This very effective stallion looks set to do well, especially as Lot 648 is a three-parts-brother to the high-class miler Shaanxi and Lot 796 is another colt from the same family.

Lot 789 is a half-sister to the versatile Noyan, from the family of Ebadiyla (Irish Oaks), and the other filly, Lot 653, is out of a young half-sister to the very useful King Sound.

Graphic

Fares Stables' Brief Truce colt out of Ma Minti was a 13,000gns foal

Load-Date: September 26, 1997

**ALZAO HOLDS STRONG HAND;
TATTERSALLS OCTOBER YEARLING SALES PREVIEW; ANDREW
CAULFIELD RUNS THE RULE OVER THE LOTS ON OFFER AT NEXT
WEEK'S OCTOBER YEARLING SALES**

Sporting Life
October 11, 1996, Friday

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Section: FEATURES; Pg. 5, 6

Length: 11960 words

Byline: Andrew Caulfield

Body

I believe that our vendors can look forward to a solid October Yearling Sale," was the prediction of Edmond Mahony, theTattersalls' Chairman, at the end of the exceptionally successful Houghton Sales.

Tattersalls certainly has every cause for optimism, as the aggregate at this popular sale has risen consistently over the last four years, from just over 6,000,000gns in the gloomy days of 1992 to nearly 12,400,000gns last year, when the average rose to a new record price of 16,965gns.

Mahoney explained: "After a record-breaking 1995 October Sale, we were expecting an overwhelming number of entries for this year's sale."

Those expectations proved correct. Demand for places was so strong that this year's sale will span five days - from Tuesday to Saturday next week - as opposed to four days in 1995.

Despite the increase in numbers from 882 yearlings last year to 1,005 this time, Mahony insists that Tattersalls has been more stringent than ever in its selection procedure and that the quality of the catalogue reflects this policy.

Considering that recent October Sales have produced plenty of this year's Group performers, including Bijou D'Inde, Definite Article, Indian Rocket, Muchea, Easycall, Gothenberg, Mons, High Baroque and Mind Games, it would be no surprise to see last year's 125,000gns top price bettered.

Perhaps there will even be a return to the type of trade which produced such prices as 185,000, 175,000 and 160,000gns in 1991.

ABSALOM (1c): Lot 888 is a three-parts brother to Dead Certain.

AFFIRMED (1c): Lot 782 is a half-brother to three Stakes winners.

ALLEGED (1f): a three-parts-sister to the smart stayer Allegan is Lot 847.

ALWAYS FAIR (1f): Lot 817 is the first foal of a winning Slip Anchor mare. The second dam produced three very useful performers.

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ALZAO (6c, 9f): with his Houghton yearlings selling for such prices as 300,000, 240,000 and 220,000gns, there is every reason for thinking that Alzao will again do well with his strong team.

One of the colts, Lot 554, cost 32,000gns as a foal. And Floors Stud should do well with Lot 581, a colt whose young dam has already produced Jellaby Askhir and Brave Act - the latter winner of the Solario Stakes since the catalogue went to press.

Lot 819 is a granddaughter of the extremely good French filly Northern Trick, which means she is inbred 3 x 3 to Northern Dancer. Another well- connected filly is Lot 650, a half-sister to Prix Marcel Boussac winner Mary Linoa.

ANSHAN (6c, 1f): among the youngsters by the sire of Quakers Field and North Song are Lot 166, a half-brother to this year's Norsk 1000 Guineas winner Top Cat, and Lot 685, a half-brother to the Group-winning Flying Squaw who cost 18,000gns as a foal.

ARAGON (2c, 2f): Lot 183 is a half-sister to the dual two-year- old winner Sheer Face, and her first two dams won 27 races between them. Lot 838 has the attraction of being a half-sister to the smart Midnight Legend, while Lot 949 is a son of that good producer Jolimo.

ASTRONEF (2c): Knocktoran Stud's colts are both well related, Lot 9 being a grandson of Green Rock, a Group-winning sister to the dam of Toulon, and Lot 72 being a son of the very successful Gay Apparel.

BALLAD ROCK (5c, 1f): two of the colts were five-figure foals, 15,000gns being the price of Lot 404, a three-parts brother to the Middle Park winner Balla Cove, and 12,000gns the cost of Lot 687, a brother to the successful Rock Symphony.

BARRYS GAMBLE (1c): Lot 928 is a half-brother to Blue Iris.

BATSHOOF (3c, 4f): 10,000gns was the foal price of Lot 668, a half-brother to the Group-winning Lord Of Tusmore. One of the fillies, Lot 232, is a sister to the four-time winner Stride, while Lot 56 is a half-sister to the useful Venus Observed.

BELMEZ (4c, 1f): although his first two crops contain fewer than 70 foals, this King George winner has sired the Group-winning fillies Caramba and Spanish Falls. Here his yearlings include a sister to the Group-placed Pedraza (Lot 156).

Lot 808 is a son of the very useful Jamarj, while Lot 1003 comes from the family of Inchmurrin and Inchinor.

BE MY CHIEF (14c, 6f): since the catalogue went to press, this high-class juvenile has enjoyed Group success with Donna Viola and the French filly Shigeru Summit, so he could prove popular here.

One sure to attract attention is Lot 46. This colt cost 23,000gns as a foal, since when his half-sister Arethusa has done very well. Another likely sort is Lot 109, a half-brother to that promising filly Lima.

Lot 434 is a colt out of a winning half-sister to Desert Shot and Mojave, while Lot 658 is the first foal of the Wokingham Handicap winner Nagida.

Lot 929 is the first foal of a triple two-year-old winner and shares the same broodmare sire, Never So Bold, as Easycall and Abou Zouz.

Shigeru Summit is inbred to Northern Dancer, and so, too, are Lots 171 (a half -brother to Quality), 197 (the first foal of a talented Rainbow Quest mare), 353, 764 (the first foal of a winning Lomond mare) and 990.

Lot 503 is a half-sister to that very fast colt Argentum, and Lot 950 is a sister to a winner, as well as being a half-sister to Alphard.

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BE MY GUEST (1c, 2f): the team by Pentire's sire includes Lot 810, a colt out of a half-sister to Kala Dancer, and Lot 993, the first foal of that talented filly Sumoto.

BERING (2c): Bering has sired the excellent performers Matiara and Beau Sultan from Nureyev mares, as well as Lot 858. Lot 292 is the first foal of Bobbysoxer, a successful half-sister to the Queen's Vase winner Stelvio.

BEVELED (2c): Lot 470 comes from the Mrs Moss family, which has produced the Group winners Pushy to Sharpen Up (sire of Beveled) and Pole Position to Sharpo.

BLUEBIRD (2c, 1f): Lot 841 is the first foal of the useful six- and seven- furlong winner No Reservations, from a fast family.

CADEAUX GENEREUX (1c, 7f): with his colts selling for up to 300,000gns and a filly fetching 160,000gns at the Houghton Sales, this champion sprinter is reaping the rewards of his racecourse successes.

There are fillies on offer out of winning daughters of Blushing Groom, Sadler's Wells, Auction Ring, Shareef Dancer Lot 376), Northfields (Lot 432) and Formidable. Of course, Cadeaux Genereux has a fine record with Shareef Dancer mares and he sired Bijou D'Inde from a Northfields mare.

Lot 604, the filly out of an Auction Ring mare, is a three-parts sister to the very useful Ultimo Imperatore. And Lot 647 is a half-sister to those successful performers Tod, Bolshoi and Great Chaddington.

The solitary colt, Lot 729, is out of a winner-producing Caerleon mare.

CAERLEON (1c, 1f): the filly has a first-rate pedigree, her dam Passamaquoddy being a Stakes-winning sister to the dam of Dancing Brave. Passamaquoddy has already produced the Chesham Stakes winner Humam to Caerleon's sire. Hascombe Stud's colt, Lot 989, is a half-brother to the talented fillies Sumoto and Sumonda.

COMMON GROUNDS (10c, 7f): with Rich Ground and Referendum among his current two-year-olds, Common Grounds must have a chance of bettering his top price of 50,000gns at last year's October Sales.

Lot 651 cost 23,000gns as a foal and comes from the family of Lyric Fantasy and Royal Applause. He comes from Yeomanstown Stud, which also offers Lots 331, 406, 598 (a brother to the Newmarket winner Disputed), 776 (a sister to three winners, including a Listed-placed horse), 806 (a colt bred on similar lines to the Group-winning Three For Fantasy) and 834.

Lots from other vendors include 391, a colt from the family of this year's Prix Hocquart winner Arbatax; Lot 752, a half-sister to the King George third Top Class; and Lot 864, a half- sister to the admirable Head Over Heels.

Then there are Lot 683, a IR15,000gns foal, and Lot 516, a sister to a winner, from the excellent Triple First family.

CONTRACT LAW (4c): Tally-Ho Stud consigns four colts from good families, including Lot 512, a half-sister to Snap Crackle Pop.

COX'S RIDGE (1f): Lot 715 is from a good European family, her dam being the Rockfel Stakes winner Top Hope, dam of the useful Free Thinker.

CRICKET BALL (1c): a half-brother to Brief Truce and Again Tomorrow represents this top French sprinter as Lot 784.

CYRANO DE BERGERAC (1f): Lot 474 is a sister to the speedy Miss Nosey Parker and is a three-parts-sister to the high-class Millkom.

DANCING SPREE (1f): a filly from the outstanding Lady Berry family comes from Overbury Stud as Lot 856.

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DANEHILL (3f): the Danehill fillies are Lot 511, who - like Danehill's Group One winner Desert King - is inbred 3 x 3 to Northern Dancer; Lot 693, who, like Danehill Dancer, is out of a Sharpen Up mare; and Lot 783, a half-sister to the very useful stayer Silence In Court.

DARSHAAN (1c, 1f): like Mark Of Esteem, Lot 755 is out of a granddaughter of Northern Dancer, his dam being the useful Lomond filly Chouchounova.

Lot 635 is a sister to the Listed winner Shandon Lake and the talented Clifdon Fog.

DEPLOY (1c, 1f): the pair by this up-and-coming stallion are consigned by Ted Voute, including Lot 203, the first foal of a half-sister to Alriffa.

DEVIL'S BAG (1c): Lot 955 is out of a winning half-sister to those smart performers Sasuru, Sally Rous and Little Bean.

DIESIS (1f): Lot 832 is out of the useful Migiyas, dam of Nanton Point.

DISTANT RELATIVE (4c, 3f): the squad by this successful son of Habitat could get off to a good start with Lot 261, a half-brother to the juvenile winner Spaniards Inn, out of a half-sister to Moorestyle.

Later offerings include Lot 306, a filly from the family of Glory Of Dancer; Lot 492, a colt from the family of Steinlen, Habitat's most successful son; and Lot 937, a colt whose dam is a winning half-sister to the top- class Cormorant Wood.

DISTINCTLY NORTH (2c, 2f): with his progeny having sold for up to 62,000gns at Doncaster and IR54,000gns at Fairyhouse, the omens are good for these Distinctly North youngsters.

DOYOUN (1c, 1f): the colt, Lot 499, comes from the family which produced Doyoun's Listed-winning daughter Shamaniya. The filly, Lot 557, has the attraction of being a half-sister to the smart Gothenberg and the useful Omaha City.

EASTERN ECHO (1c): Eastern Echo was undefeated in three starts and he has sired this year's smart American juvenile Swiss Yodeller from a mare by Raja Baba - sire of the second dam of Lot 522.

EFISIO (5c, 7c): there should be plenty to please buyers among this sizeable team. For example, Kingwood Stud is offering Lot 591, a brother to the very successful Pips Pride, and Lot 509, a half-sister to the Listed winner Cragganmore.

Yeomanstown Stud could also do well with Lot 644, a 26,000gns foal. This colt's dam is a sister to Needle Gun and half-sister to Luso.

Watch out, too, for Lot 184, the first foal of a half-sister to Rock City and Kerrera; Lot 308, a half-sister to that fast filly Premiere Cuvee; and Lot 338, a half-sister to a multiple Listed winner from the family of Oaks winner Polygamy.

Fares Stables' filly, Lot 826, is a half-sister to the very useful Medaille Militaire, while Lot 852 is a half-sister to Margaret's Gift.

ELA-MANA-MOU (3c, 2f): the possible pick among the colts is Lot 706, a IR10,500gns foal whose dam is a winning half-sister to Oaks d'Italia winner Bright Generation.

The fillies include Lot 882, a half-sister to the very useful Silk Petal.

ELMAAMUL (6c, 6f): the likes of Dankeston and Mukaddar have been advertising Elmaamul's merit this season, which will help these youngsters from the first British crop by 1990 Eclipse winner.

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There are some interesting types, including Lot 220, the first foal of a winning granddaughter of the famous Sunny Valley.

Lot 741, a filly, is the first foal of a half-sister to College Chapel; Lot 828 is a colt bred on similar lines to the great Halling; and Lot 865 is a filly inbred 3 x 3 to the exceptional broodmare Doubly Sure.

EMARATI (3c): Lot 377 is the first foal of a half-sister to the Group winners Only Yours and Osario.

EXIT TO NOWHERE (3c): with his first Listed winner under his belt, this half -brother to Machiavellian is showing promise.

Lot 125 is out of a half-sister to the top German colt Mondrian; Lot 217 is out of a half-sister to Dancing Dissident; and Lot 727 is a grandson of the Free Handicap winner Lyric Dance.

FAIRY KING (11c, 3f): it will be a big surprise if this large team by Helissio's sire fails to produce plenty of excitement.

Camas Park is consigning two of the most blue-blooded members of the team. Lot 361 is a brother-in-blood to the very useful performers Ernani and Lilian Bayliss, as well as being a three-parts brother to the high- class Phydilla. And Lot 837 is out of Mountain Ash, a well-related Group winner.

Landscape Stud's colt, Lot 596, cost IR38,000gns and is a half-brother to the classic-winning Nicer, while Lot 631 is a brother to the fast Ya Malak.

Lot 645 is a half-brother to the very useful Lifewatch Vision; Lot 654's dam is a half-sister to the Group One winners Mister Majestic and Homme De Loi; and Lot 745 is a filly from the family of Dawna and Muchea, two good winners this year.

Lot 796 is a half-brother to Golden Pond, a Listed winner in France since the catalogue was printed; Lot 840 is a filly from the family of the top Sadler's Wells colt Barathea; and Lot 914 is out of a Riverman mare.

FORMIDABLE (3c, 4f): Hesmonds Stud's pair includes Lot 403, a half-sister to the good juvenile State Fair.

Lot 774, a 13,000gns foal, is a three-parts sister to a Listed winner and Lot 799 comes from the family of Prix de la Salamandre winner Lord Of Men.

FORZANDO (4c, 2f): Easycall's efforts should benefit this team, which includes two colts who look the part, judged by their foal prices of 16,500gns (Lot 286) and 11,000gns (Lot 700). The latter will also have been helped by the useful 1996 efforts of his brother Russian Music.

GEIGER COUNTER (3c): a Geiger Counter colt made 32,000gns here last year. This time his well-bred team includes Lot 730, a half-brother to the classic- placed Art Francais.

GREEN DESERT (3c): as one would expect, all three Green Desert colts come from notable families. Lot 352 is a grandson of the classic-winning Fairy Footsteps; Lot 735 is a half-brother to the useful Stimulant; and Lot 959 is out of the Listed winner Lady Shipley, which makes him a grandson of the excellent Circus Ring.

GREEN FOREST (1f): Lot 680 is out of a close relative to the Prix Royal- Oak winner Braashee.

GROOM DANCER (3c, 2f): powerful pedigrees are par for the course with Groom Dancer's team, which includes a son of that smart filly Ever Genial as Lot 595.

Overbury Stud offers both fillies, namely Lot 659, whose dam is bred on similar lines to the Kentucky Derby winner Ferdinand, and Lot 795, whose dam is a sister to the Derby second Glacial Storm.

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HERMITAGE (1c, 1f): Grapeshot's sire - a three-parts-brother to Sadler's Wells - is represented by Lot 550, a colt from the family of Danzig, and Lot 710, a half-sister to the very speedy Boozy.

HIGH ESTATE (5c, 2f): Lot 454 is a brother to the talented Parrot Jungle, and comes from the family of Nabeel Dancer. He cost IR12,500gns.

Lot 620 is a half-sister to the useful Flyfisher.

HIGHEST HONOR (1c, 2f): Fares Stables consign all three youngsters by this champion French stallion, including Lot 785, a brother to a two-year-old Listed winner, and Lot 786, a filly closely related to Ken de Saron, a Grade Three winner in the States.

IMP SOCIETY (2c, 1f): the sire of Proud Native and Roman Imp is represented by Lot 218, a 10,000gns foal; Lot 510, a half-sister to the smart German filly Savage; and Lot 529, a filly from the family of Gothenberg.

INDIAN RIDGE (12c, 6f): with his Houghton yearlings selling for up to 220,000gns, Indian Ridge's career is entering a new epoch. Several members of his October team were popular foals, with Lot 879 (a sister to a Group winner) fetching 40,000gns, Lot 681 (a colt out of a well-bred Kris mare) 25,000gns, Lot 337 IR24,000gns and Lot 637 (a son of the Listed winner Lee Artiste) 20,000gns.

Lot 68 is a half-brother to the very useful Forest Cat; Lot 252 is the first foal of a half-sister to Shake The Yoke and Tropical; and Lot 453 is out of a winning half-sister to Captain Horatius.

Later offerings include Lot 548, a half-brother to the admirable Mr Martini, and Lot 704, the first foal of a well-bred Chief's Crown mare.

IN THE WINGS (1c, 1f): Lot 318, Rathbarry Stud's colt by the sire of Singspiel, Winged Love and Annaba is out of a half-sister to those smart colts Dihistan and Dazari.

KAHYASI (3c, 1f): this

under-rated stallion has been doing well this year with the three-year-old fillies Shamadara and Zafzala, so the vendors stand to make a profit on the money they invested at the foal sales.

Lots 917 and 537 cost 10,000gns and IR10,000gns respectively. Lot 537's dam is a half-sister to Hishi Natalie, a recent winner of a Group Two race in Japan. Lot 830 is a granddaughter of the Oaks runner-up Media Luna, whose daughter Eva Luna has won the Park Hill Stakes since the catalogue was published.

KRIS (5c): Bearstone Stud's colt, Lot 476, cost 30,000gns as a foal and is a brother in blood to the One Thousand Guineas runner-up Kerrera. The others include Lot 399, a colt from the family of Breeders' Cup Sprint winner Cardmania and Irish River, and Lot 496, a son of that very smart mare Sesame.

LAHIB (3c, 4f): this top miler achieved one of the best prices at last year's sale. This time his squad includes Lot 506, a filly whose dam is a half-sister to the Group winners Common Grounds and Angel In My Heart; Lot 831, a son of a well-bred Sadler's Wells mare, and Lot 850, a grandson of the outstanding Mrs Penny.

LAST TYCOON (3c, 5f): this team includes youngsters out of winning daughters of Sir Ivor (Lot 283), Lear Fan (324) and Reference Point (608).

LEAR FAN (1c, 1f): the colt, Lot 732, is out of Alia, winner of the Princess Royal Stakes, and Lot 873 is a daughter of a Nureyev mare. Lear Fan has already sired the top French winners Loup Solitaire and Verveine from other Nureyev mares.

LITTLE MISSOURI (1c): Lot 743's half-brother Mukaddar has recently gone close to winning the Tattersalls Houghton Sales Stakes.

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LYCIUS (5c, 3f): two colts by Lycius made 165,000gns and 150,000gns at the Houghton Sales. Here the colts include Lot 456, a son of a winning half-sister to the top performers Providential and Play It Safe; Lot 626, a 28,000gns foal from Ashtown House Stud; and Lot 689, whose dam is a half-sister to the Prix de Diane winner Lady In Silver.

Then there is Lot 857, whose dam is a winning grand-daughter of the classic- winning Favoletta. Among the fillies is Lot 334, a half-sister to a good winner in Hong Kong, out of a half-sister to the high-class In Excess.

LYPHARD (1f): Lot 913 comes from a **female** line which has produced several smart winners, including Vacarme, to Lyphard or sons of Lyphard.

MARJU (2c, 1f): Marju's achievements this year should guarantee the popularity of this quartet. Lot 254 is the first foal of a winning Wassl mare and Lot 746 is the first foal of a winning Elegant Air mare, and both of these are inbred to Mill Reef. Lot 273 was a 30,000gns foal.

MIDYAN (7c, 4f): this sizeable team includes Lot 347, a colt closely related to two of Midyan's best winners, Alhijaz and Beauchamp Hero. Lot 85 is a half -sister to the Group-winning Tout Est Permis; Lot 684 was a 14,000gns foal; and Lot 800 is the first foal of a winning half- sister to Midnight Legend.

MINING (1f): this Grade One-winning son of Mr Prospector is represented by Lot 887, a filly whose dam is a half-sister to Group winners in Italy, the States and South Africa.

MISWAKI (1f): \$ 40,000 was the foal price of Lot 985, a grand-daughter of the smart Nijana.

MON TRESOR (1c): Lot 397 is a half-brother to the successful Cape Merino.

MOST WELCOME (4f): Most Welcome has had a fine year, thanks to such as Prize Giving, Sasuru and Wilcuma. There are relatives to all three in this team, Lot 55 being a three-parts sister to Sasuru, Lot 835 being a sister to Wilcuma and Lot 925 being a three-parts sister to Prize Giving. The other filly, Lot 829, is a half -sister to the smart American sprinter Superstrike.

MT LIVERMORE (1c): this good American stallion is represented by Lot 527, a \$ 77,000 foal from a good European family.

MTOTO (4c, 2f): Shaamit's sire has a well-bred colt as Lot 597. His dam Fairy Feet is a half-sister by Sadler's Wells to the classic winners Fairy Footsteps and Light Cavalry. Three of the others fetched more than 10,000gns as foals and their value has surely been boosted by Mtoto's 1996 efforts.

Lot 71, a 16,000gns buy, is out of a half-sister to Kalaglow; Lot 811, a 15,000gns purchase, comes from a smart German family; and Lot 924, a 11,000gns buy, is out of a half-sister to Bustino's classic-placed son Supreme Leader.

MUJADIL (8c, 5f): Mujadil's record of eight domestic first-crop winners should ensure that trainers will want to look at his team. Lot 96 is a half-sister to the useful Iamus, while Lot 575 is a half-brother to the versatile Indefence. Lot 701, from Lodge Park Stud, is the first foal of a winning sister to a Group winner, this being the family of such smart two-year-olds as Pipe Major, Classic Ruler, Bezelle and Peace Girl.

MUJTAHID (6c, 6f): Mujtahid has an encouraging proportion of winners among his 1996 two-year-old runners, so he deserves to do well here. The fillies include Lot 267, out of the useful Alzao filly Almond Flower, Lot 621, a daughter of a French Listed winner, and Lot 997, a half-sister to the very useful Tillandsia.

Moving on to the colts, Lot 325 is a half-brother to the successful Aradanza and Lot 707 is a half-brother to Churchland, a very useful Irish two-year- old this year.

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The others were sold as foals, including Lot 820, a 32,000gns buy out of a sister to the Middle Park runner-up Pure Genius; Lot 773, a 21,000gns grandson of the Group-winning Upend; and Lot 588, a 15,500gns buy out of a winning Caerleon mare.

MYSTIKO (9c, 3f): among the most attractive pedigrees on offer here are Lot 120, a half-brother to the Group One-winning Lapierre; Lot 422, a half-sister to the smart Italian filly Streisand; Lot 132, a half-sister to the useful sprinter That Man Again; and Lot 463, a son of the very useful Power Take Off. Lot 167's dam has produced nine winners, including the Listed winner Quango.

NIGHT SHIFT (6c, 12f): the fact that fillies predominate here need be no problem, as Night Shift's best winners this year have been his daughters Listening (Hollywood Oaks) and Eveningperformance. Plenty of the fillies could prove popular, including such as Lot 127 (out of the Group Two winner Maria Stuarda), Lot 297 (a sister to a Group-placed juvenile), Lot 301 (the first foal of a winning sister to the fast Argentum) and Lot 455 (the first foal of a half-sister to the champion colt Pistolet Bleu).

Lot 475 is out of a winning sister to Miss Demure, winner of the Lowther Stakes, and Lot 976, an 18,500gns foal, comes from a family which produced Belmez and Lypharita to other sons of Northern Dancer.

Moving on to the colts, Lot 24 is a very well-bred individual whose dam sold for 230,000gns last December. Lot 623 is a half-brother to the Gold Cup winner Ashal and Lot 375 comes from the family of Lear Fan and Alysheba. Lot 605 was a 31,000gns foal purchase, while Lot 614 cost IR16,000gns and Lot 726 14,000gns.

NINISKI (2c, 1f): there won't be many more chances to buy youngsters by this very successful stallion. Here he is represented by Lot 76, the first foal of a sister to Puissance; Lot 395, a three-parts brother to a Listed-placed winner; and Lot 926, a colt whose dam is a half-sister to a Hollywood Oaks winner.

PERSIAN BOLD (6c, 2f): a string of 1996 Stakes winners, including the Group scorers Brave Act and Khalisa, have underlined that this veteran is no back number. He could get off to a good start with Lot 161, a 13,000gns half-brother to the Italian St Leger winner Pay Me Back. Later offerings include Lot 280, a colt out of a well-bred Sadler's Wells mare, and Lot 296, a colt out of an Ahonoora mare with a 1996 two-year-old winner to her credit.

Lot 577 is a three-parts brother to the smart Baba Karam, while Lot 716 is a three-parts brother to the triple Listed winner Lady Of Persia.

PETONG (12c, 7f): three of the colts made more than 10,000gns as foals, including Lot 88, a 15,500gns buy which is bred to be mature and speedy, and Lot 298, a 14,000gns purchase. Several others are brothers or sisters to winners, notably Lots 561, a sister to Belle Vue, out of a half-sister to Forzando, and 766, a brother to the very useful Petula. And Lot 853 is a three-parts sister to the very smart Petardia.

Lot 110 is a filly whose dam is a half-sister to the dam of Lake Coniston. Lot 333 has been boosted since the catalogue went to press by the exploits of Indian Rocket, as their dams are half-sisters, and Lot 425 has a winning half-sister to Tina's Pet as his dam.

PETORIUS (2c, 1f): one of the colts, Lot 884, has the attraction of being a brother to the smart Irish colt Nautical Pet. The filly, Lot 174, is the first foal of a winning half-sister to the champion sire Pitcairn.

PHARLY (3c): with those smart colts Acharne and Busy Flight among his three-year-olds, Pharly is another old-timer showing he has not lost his touch. Lot 182 is the first foal of a well-connected winner by Dominion and Lot 809 is a half-brother to the very useful German filly Anna Domani.

POLAR FALCON (8c, 5f): the vendors of this team have every reason to be optimistic, following the efforts of Pivotal, Red Camellia and Falkenham. Trickle-down Stud's colt, Lot 521, has the distinction of being a half-brother to Bolas. Other colts include Lot 753, a 17,000gns foal out of a sister to a Group winner; Lot 876, a 12,000gns foal; and Lot 986, whose dam is a winning grand-daughter of the top two-year-old Rose Dubarry.

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A very likely type among the fillies is Lot 269, a half- sister to Fard, the 1994 Middle Park winner. Then there is Lot 433, a filly from the family of Sizzling Melody and Puissance; Lot 744, a filly from the family of College Chapel and Leap For Joy; Lot 920, a daughter of a winning Riverman mare; and Lot 927, a sister to the Group-placed French colt Brindle.

POLISH PATRIOT (3c, 2f): two of the colts by the sire of Gothenberg sold well as foals, with Lot 424 costing IR23,000gns and Lot 274 15,000gns. The former is a half-brother to the Group-placed Queenfisher. The third colt, Lot 972, comes from the family of Penny Drops.

POLISH PRECEDENT (7c, 1f): with sons selling for 480,000gns and 170,000gns at the Houghton Sales, Polish Precedent is reaping the rewards of siring such as Pilsudski and Riyadian. All his sons on offer here have something to recommend them on pedigree, good examples being Lots 756 (a grandson of Oaks winner Circus Plume) and 757 (a son of Circus Plume herself). The dams of both these colts have 1996 two -year-old winners to their credit.

Lot 778, like Riyadian, is out of a Rainbow Quest mare, and Lot 378, a 16,000gns foal, is a half-brother to the Group-winning Radwell. The dam of the solitary filly, Lot 74, is a sister to Organza, who produced the very smart Desert Style to another son of Danzig. This is also the family of Barathea.

PRECOCIOUS (1f): Lot 415 is a three-parts sister to the top sprinter Elbio.

PRIMO DOMINIE (9c, 6f): this dependable Cheveley Park Stud stallion had six youngsters sold here last year for sums between 24,000gns and 46,000gns and he should again go well. For example, a brother to the speedy Bid For Blue comes up from Cheveley Park as Lot 205. Two of the others have recently been boosted by important wins from 1996 two-year-olds - Lot 59's dam, a winning Rainbow Quest mare, is a half-sister to Papua, and Lot 566 is a half-brother to numerous winners, including the dam of Falkenham. One of the fillies, Lot 724, cost 18,500gns and is the first foal of a winning Forty Niner mare.

PRINCE SABO (5c, 3f): it was here last year that Prince Sabo's promising daughter Sabina was bought for 29,000gns on behalf of the Queen. This time he could do well with Lot 122, a three-parts brother to the Richmond Stakes winner Rich Charlie; Lot 951, a sister to the successful Ortolan; and Lot 954, a half-sister to Story Line from the very successful Dark Finale family.

Lot 214 is a colt out of a half-sister to the high-class Bold Arrangement, and Lot 844 has been boosted this year by the Listed race success of his French -trained half-brother Night Watch.

PRIOLO (4c, 1f): there are an encouraging number of above-average performers in Priolo's first crop. His third-crop team includes Lot 12, a 9,800gns foal who has received a boost this year from Priolo's son Zero Problemo, a Group -placed German colt who comes from this **female** line. Lot 400 is the first foal of a sister to Duckling Park, runner-up in the Poule d'Essai des Pouliches.

PUISSANCE (3c, 2f): Lot 95 is a half-sister to this year's useful Italian juvenile Magic Surprise, her dam being the Group-winning Ibadiyya. Lots 341 and 747 are both out of winner-producing Formidable mares, which means that they are inbred to Forli.

PURSUIT OF LOVE (9c, 8f): Pursuit Of Love's first-crop yearlings sold for up to 95,000gns at last year's sale and there is every reason to think he will again go very well, following the fine efforts of his first runners.

He has a strong team of colts, including Lot 905, a 38,000gns foal out of the Moyglare Stud Stakes fourth Tenderetta. Cheveley Park Stud's colt, Lot 139, is a grandson of the fast Music And Dance, whose Nashwan colt sold for 400,000gns at the Houghton. Lot 346 is a half-brother to the top German filly Flying Dream, while Lot 630 is a half-brother to the dual German Listed winner Flying Anshan.

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Lot 394 is a half-brother to the Group-placed Reason To Dance; Lot 673 is a half-brother to two Listed winners, from a very successful family; and Lot 960 is a son of that good mare Langtry Lady.

Could there be another Head Over Heels (an 8,200gns buy here last year) among the fillies? Lot 366 is out of a well-bred Riverman mare; Lot 728 is a half -sister to that smart sprint handicapper Sarcita; and Lot 791 is a half-sister to the very smart American colt Jumron.

Finally, Lot 968 is a half-sister to the Group-placed two-year-olds Fast Eddy and Stone Mill.

QUEST FOR FAME (1c): the 1990 Derby winner relies on Lot 983, the first foal of a Group-placed French filly.

RED RANSOM (1c): \$ 38,000 was the foal price of Lot 384.

REPRIMAND (6c, 8f): Deep Finesse and Fard have confirmed Reprimand's ability to get smart two-year-old colts and there could be more on offer here.

Lot 52 is a half-brother to that useful sprinter Espartero; Lot 348 is out of a half-sister to the very speedy Superpower; and Lot 493 is out of a winning half-sister to the Gimcrack winner Full Extent. Lot 500 is out of a sister to the top-class Infamy.

There are also some likely types among Reprimand's daughters. Lot 4 - a half -sister to the useful Carburton - is out of a half-sister to the top filly Madam Gay, and Lot 8 is out of a sister to a Group winner, from the family of Muchea. Lot 686 is the second foal of the talented Secret Waters, from the family of Tenby, and Lot 798 is a granddaughter of that very good sprinter Parsimony.

RISK ME (5c, 4f): this team was conceived shortly after Risk Me had done so well with Niche and Risky in 1993. Elsenham Stud's fillies are Lot 136, a sister to three winners, and Lot 163, a sister to the talented Bilko out of a half-sister to the fast Kind Music.

Among the colts are Lots 27 and 241, both of them out of winning half- sisters to the high-class Hellenic; Lot 215, a son of the dual French Listed winner Star Rose; and Lot 359, a half-brother to the good two-year- old Melody Park.

RIVER FALLS (4c): an all-male team represents this Gimcrack winner, who had two sons sold for 30,000gns at last year's sale.

ROBELLINO (9c, 6f): the 1993 Group successes of Mister Baileys and Holly Golightly earned Robellino some good support in 1994, as this team demonstrates. Lot 178 is a sister to Holly Golightly. Several sold well as foals, with Lot 562 costing 22,000gns, Lot 543 20,000gns and Lot 573 15,000gns. Lot 543 comes from the same family as Cigar's conqueror Dare And Go.

Lot 305 is a colt out of a winning grand-daughter of Mrs Moss; Lot 738, a filly, is out of a half-sister to the highly successful Heart Lake; and Lot 977 is a daughter of a winning half-sister to Nicolotte.

ROCK CITY (4c, 1f): Lot 698 is a half-brother to the Group-winning Lord Of The Field, and Lot 883 is a half-sister to the Group-placed Ptoto.

ROCK HOPPER (3c, 1f): Lot 48 is a half-brother to this year's talented juvenile Nigrasine. 10,000gns was the foal price of Lot 933, from Childwick Bury Stud.

ROI DANZIG (3c): the star attraction here is likely to be Lot 765, a brother -in-blood to the top sprinter Iktamal (sired by Roi Danzig's brother Danzig Connection). However, the rest of the Roi Danzig squad is also well connected. Lot 804's dam produced the Premio Dormello winner Foolish Heart, while Lot 671 comes from a successful branch of the Violetta family.

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ROYAL ACADEMY (12c, 7f): this large team should create plenty of demand and it is hard to single out just a few to mention. Lot 892 has been boosted this year by the three American Graded Stakes victories of his half-sister Electric Society.

Other interesting colts are Lot 371, the first foal of a winning half-sister to the dam of Tenby; Lot 471, whose dam - a half-sister to Lemon Souffle and Caramba - has a 100 per cent record with her first three foals; and Lot 578, a grandson of the high-class sprinter Polyponder.

Lot 761, a grandson of the very smart Dancing Rocks, is inbred to Nijinsky, while Lot 805 is out of a talented half-sister to that very good filly Musicale.

The fillies include Lot 317, out of a young winning daughter of Kris and Catalpa, and Lot 618, a daughter of the Group-winning Impudent Miss.

RUDIMENTARY (7c, 6f): this beautifully-bred late developer has made an encouragingly quick start at stud, with the good fillies Conspiracy and Alberelle among his winners. This should ensure some profitable returns to the sales ring by several members of this team, such as Lot 469, a colt from the Sunny Valley family, and Lot 836, a filly out of a half-sister to Aragon.

Rudimentary is a half-brother to Sharpen Up's top sons Kris and Diesis, so it is interesting that Lot 143 is out of a winner-producing Sharpen Up mare. Lot 980 is out of a Kris mare and is therefore closely inbred to Doubly Sure.

SADDLERS' HALL (6c, 4f): the best is surely yet to come from this very well-bred horse, even though he has already sired several winners. Among his colts are Lot 70, a son of a well-bred Shirley Heights mare with a 100 per cent record with her first three foals, and Lot 113, who is out of a winner-producing half-sister to Carroll House.

The fillies include Lot 173, the first foal of a winning sprinter from a fast family, and Lot 300, a half-sister to the Group-winning Tantum Ergo.

SAFAWAN (1f): Lot 589 is a sister to the Group-placed Esquive.

SALSE (9c, 5f): there was only one Salse youngster in the Houghton Sales, so there is sure to be plenty of demand for the October squad by this very popular sire.

Lot 312, a 22,000gns foal, is the first foal of a speedy daughter of the Cherry Hinton winner Crime Of Passion, and 20,000gns was the price of Lot 583. Lot 213's dam is a half-sister to the top miler Priolo; Lot 656 shares the same second dam as Salse's top daughter Lemon Souffle; and Lot 672 is out of a well-bred Rainbow Quest mare.

The fillies include Lot 740, whose dam is a half-sister to Dashing Blade and Royal Solo.

SANGLAMORE (3c): this Prix du Jockey-Club winner's team includes Lot 49, a brother to this year's winning juvenile Vagabond Chanteuse. Ted Voute's pair includes Lot 335, a colt out of a mare closely related to Shantou.

SCENIC (8c, 1f): Scenic's European runners have yet to match up to his Australian stock, which include five Group winners - three at Group One level. But the time may come. For example, Lot 190 is out of a talented half-sister to Safawan and Lot 546 is a colt from the family of Anna Of Saxony and Annus Mirabilis.

SELKIRK (12c, 4f): with Granny's Pet and Beautiful Fire among his eight first-crop winners, this top son of Sharpen Up is living up to expectations. These expectations were apparent

at last year's foal sales, when Lot 388 realised 45,000gns and Lot 748 made 20,000gns.

Other colts well worth a mention are Lot 445, the second foal of Galtres Stakes winner Nibbs Point, and Lot 878, whose family has produced Sure Blade and Sure Sharp to other members of the Sharpen Up male line. Lot 221's

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second dam produced the high-class filly Sudden Love to Kris, another son of Sharpen Up. And Lot 720 is out of a winning three-parts sister to the smart colts Braashee and Adam Smith.

The fillies include Lot 87, the first foal of Hawayah, a winning Shareef Dancer mare from an excellent family.

SHALFORD (6c, 3f): this young sire has been making a name for himself as the sire of Muchea, a 10,500gns buy here last year. IR29,000gns was the foal price of Lot 458, the first foal of a winning Night Shift mare from the family of Mind Games.

Highclere Stud's colt, Lot 279, is a grandson of the stud's good mare Silk Stocking, and Lot 105 is a half-sister to the Listed winners Proud Native and Karikata. Lots 531 and 688 were both IR10,000gns foals.

SHAREEF DANCER (7c, 7f): Shareef Dancer has been back in the limelight, with Glory Of Dancer, Dancer Mitral and their fellow Group winner Snake Snap among his current crop of three-year-olds.

He has what looks like a strong team here, too, with a brother to Dancer Mitral, the Premio Parioli winner, as Lot 733. Another likely to attract plenty of attention is Lot 941, a colt out of Timarida's successful half- sister Double Entendre.

Lot 26 is a son of a useful winner by Troy, the broodmare sire of Shareef Dancer's Group winners On Tiptoes and Spartan Shareef.

SHARP VICTOR (2c): both these are brothers to winners - Lot 61 is a brother to Coventry Stakes fourth Sharp Phase.

SHARPO (3c, 7f): these yearlings from the last crop by Sharpo could help this champion sprinter go out on a high note. For example, the colts include Lot 465, a three-parts brother to the very successful Sharp Prod, and Lot 582, a half-brother to the fast French filly Touch And Love.

Overbury Stud should do very well with Lot 616, a sister to the smart Leap For Joy, as well as being a three-parts sister to College Chapel. Lot 640 comes from the same fast **female** line. Lot 413 is a sister to the progressive Sharpical, while Lot 175 is a sister to two winners, one of them Listed placed.

SHERNAZAR (2c): Lot 343 is a half-brother to Favourite Prince, a leading performer in Germany.

SHIRLEY HEIGHTS (4c): as one would expect, this is a well-connected team. Lot 373's sister Trick has won since the catalogue, and his dam is a winning half -sister to Hittite Glory. Lot 374 is also a brother to a winner, and his second dam is the champion filly Attica Meli. Lot 665's **female** line produced the French Group Two winner Light The Lights to Shirley Heights, and Lot 872 is a half-brother to Deputy Governor, a very smart performer on both sides of the Atlantic.

SLIP ANCHOR (4c, 3f): the colts include Lot 35, a son of the Listed winner Comic Talent, Lot 44, a half-brother to the smart Port Helene (dam of this year's French Group Two winner Helen Of Spain), and Lot 634, a half- brother to the South African Group One winner Chief Advocate.

One of the fillies, Lot 423, is out of a half-sister to the top-class Ibn Bey (by Slip Anchor's grandsire Mill Reef) and Lot 30 is a three-parts sister to the useful Anchorite.

SOVIET STAR (4c, 6f): Soviet Star has been in the ascendant over the last couple of years, so much so that one of his Houghton yearlings made 250,000gns. His interesting youngsters here include Lot 255, a daughter of that fast filly Welsh Note; Lot 295, a half-brother to two Listed winners, from the family of the Listed winner Sovinista; and Lot 321, a sister to the 1994 One Thousand Guineas runner Mytilene.

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Lot 574 is a half-brother to two Listed winners, including Brave Music (Windsor Castle Stakes and Hong Kong Derby), and Lot 900, who is inbred to Northern Dancer, comes from a speedy family.

STATOBLEST (5c, 6f): with a high proportion of winners among his 1996 two-year-old runners, this fast son of Ahonoora could be popular here. Lot 383 is a daughter of a winning Sadler's Wells mare; Lot 547 is a half-sister to the Two Thousand Guineas fourth Pipe Major; and Lot 593 is closely related to Ahonoora's excellent daughter Ruby Tiger.

SUAVE DANCER (5c, 6f): with The Faraway Tree and the dual Italian Listed winner Classem Ducere among his early runners, Suave Dancer has made a pleasing start for a horse who did not win at two. Haras du Buff could do well with Lot 751, a 15,000gns foal whose dam has already bred the Group-winning Cajarian to a Nijinsky line stallion.

Others with links to the Nijinsky line are Lot 607, a filly out of a sister to Shining Water, who produced Tenby to Nijinsky's son Caerleon.

Lot 304 is a half-sister to the Group-winning Chicmond; Lot 402 is a son of the Group-winning Llyn Gwynant; and Lot 861 is a son of the Listed winner Polista.

TERIMON (2c): the pair by this admirable racehorse include Lot 98, whose dam is a winning half-sister by Roberto to the American Grade One winner Bequest.

THATCHING (3c, 1f): this veteran has an attractive team, including Lot 181, a three-parts brother to the classic-winning Danseuse du Soir.

TIROL (5c, 3f): Lot 257 is a half-brother to this year's useful two-year-old Great Ovation. And Lot 97 is a half-sister to A Smooth One, winner of the Princess Margaret Stakes.

TOPANOORA (1c, 1f): Lot 206 is a sister to Even Top, the Two Thousand Guineas runner-up.

TRAGIC ROLE (3c): Lot 137 is a half-brother to the Group winners Lemhill and Young Moon.

UNFUWAIN (9c, 2f): Lot 472, a colt, is out of a half-sister to the top miler Lear Fan; Lot 696 is a half-brother to the Cheshire Oaks winner Salchow; and Lot 762 is a half-brother to a good Italian winner, out of a sister to Runnett. Lot 408 cost 10,500gns as a foal, while Lot 714 cost 11,500gns.

WARNING (3c, 2f): as you would expect, these yearlings come leading families. For example, Lot 405 is out of a half-sister to Wind In Her Hair, from the Highclere family, and Lot 772 is out of a winning half-sister to Lugana Beach, from the family of Mtoto. Lot 505 is a grandson of Heavenly Cause, a champion two-year-old filly in the States..

WELDNAAS (3c): Lots 157 and 200 are both brothers to winners.

ZILZAL (1f): Lot 622 is the first foal of a talented filly by Lomond out of Welsh Fantasy.

Graphic

LOT 796 is a bay colt by Fairy King out of Golden Bloom; LOT 872 is a bay son of Shirley Heights out of Regent Miss; LOT 708 a chestnut colt by Hamas out of Tea House

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CAULFIELD RUNS THE RULE OVER THE LOTS ON OFFER AT NEXT WEEK'S OCTOBER YEARLING
SALES

Load-Date: October 11, 1996

End of Document

Soldier's death blamed on Hamas

Telegraph Herald (Dubuque, IA)

April 11, 1997, Friday

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Section: National/World; Pg. b 8

Length: 196 words

Byline: Associated Press

Body

2 arrested: Arafat promises to help stop suicide attacks

JERUSALEM (AP) - An Israeli soldier who disappeared last fall was found dead in a Palestinian village in the West Bank today, the Israeli army said. The army said the Islamic militant group **Hamas** was responsible for the soldier's death.

Sharon Edri was last seen Sept. 9 at a hitchhiking post near his army base in central Israel, between Tel Aviv and Jerusalem.

The army said Edri got into a car with Israeli license plates near the base. A few moments later, one of the people in the car shot him with a pistol.

The body was found in Zurif, a West Bank village outside Hebron. At least 20 people were arrested in the village today, local residents said.

Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, speaking from The Hague, said Yasser Arafat's Palestinian Authority assisted in cracking the case. The Palestinians arrested two **Hamas** members, which led to the discovery of the location of Edri's body, Netanyahu said.

Israel's army radio said the arrested men were members of the same cell responsible for the March 21 suicide bombing in a Tel Aviv cafe that killed three Israeli **women**, and for four shooting attacks on Israelis.

Load-Date: April 26, 1997

ARAB BOMBERS WERE DISGUISED AS SOLDIERS

The Philadelphia Inquirer
FEBRUARY 3, 1995 Friday FINAL EDITION

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The Philadelphia Inquirer
Found on Philly.com

Section: NATIONAL; Pg. A06

Length: 200 words

Byline: ASSOCIATED PRESS

Dateline: JERUSALEM

Body

The Islamic suicide bombers who killed 21 Israelis last week were dressed as soldiers to avoid detection, police said yesterday.

The daily Yedioth Ahronoth said the men, identified as Salah Shagr and Anwar Sukar from PLO-ruled Gaza, were aided by Palestinians who once collaborated with Israel and now live in an Israeli-guarded enclave in the strip.

Yedioth said the collaborators gave the militants army uniforms, which they used to reach a junction in central Israel on Jan. 22 without being detected.

The two suicide bombers, 20 Israeli soldiers and one civilian were killed in two blasts. The bombing dealt a blow to Israeli-PLO peace talks and led to an intensified crackdown on Islamic militants.

Police spokesman Eric Bar-Chen confirmed the attackers were wearing either uniforms or similar clothing.

The Islamic fundamentalist Hamas group has threatened to carry out 42 suicide attacks during the holy month of Ramadan, the daily Maariv reported yesterday, citing Israeli security sources.

There was also concern that female Hamas activists would join the suicide attack squads, Yedioth reported, saying that a number of Islamic women met recently with Hamas leaders asking to participate in attacks.

Load-Date: October 28, 2002

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

International Herald Tribune (Neuilly-sur-Seine, France)

January 19, 1993

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Section: OPINION

Length: 173 words

Body

Israel and the Deportees

Once again we are seeing a big show of criticism of the Israeli government, this time concerning the expulsion of the Hamas members. Again the hypocrisy level has risen very high.

It is evident that any democratic government has the right and the duty to protect its citizens, particularly from an organization that publicly announces the aim of opposing any peace process and the determination to physically eliminate Israel and its people.

Unfortunately Hamas has already proved that these are not merely words, as shown by the stabbing of women, elderly people and schoolgirls.

Curiously, I didn't hear the same media make a lot of noise when tens of thousands of Palestinians were brutalized and expelled from Kuwait after the Gulf War or when, in other Arab countries, members of Hamas are brutally eliminated. Must we conclude that these critics prefer this method of treating the problem? Or must we find a reason for it in the amount of business these countries offer to Western firms?

M. EISENFELD.

Paris.

Load-Date: January 21, 1993

Timetable of Bomb terror;100 are slaughtered as Israel shells women and children in UN base

The Sun (England)

April 19, 1996 Friday

Edition 3G

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Section: HOME NEWS; Pg. 6

Length: 90 words

Body

ISRAEL has been under terrorist attack for months from inside and outside its borders. This is the countdown to its Lebanon onslaught:

February 26: Twenty five people killed in double suicide bombing by Palestinian **Hamas** in Jerusalem and Ashkelon.

March 4/5: **Hamas** suicide attacks kill 19 in Jerusalem, followed by 12 in Tel Aviv.

March 21: Hezbollah launches suicide bomb campaign in Israel.

April 1: Hezbollah fires missiles on northern Israel to derail Israeli-Syrian peace bid.

April 11: First Israeli attack on Beirut in 14 years. Five die.

Load-Date: April 3, 2020

Palestinians Reject Israel's Crackdown Call

The New York Times

March 25, 1997, Tuesday, Late Edition - Final

Copyright 1997 The New York Times Company

Distribution: Foreign Desk

Section: Section A; ; Section A; Page 4; Column 4; Foreign Desk ; Column 4;

Length: 173 words

Byline: Reuters

Dateline: JERUSALEM, March 24

Body

The Palestinian Authority today rejected Israel's demand that it crack down on Muslim militants and said it had suspended security ties with Israel amid Israeli fears of more suicide bombings.

Hundreds of Palestinian demonstrators clashed with Israeli troops in the West Bank and soldiers shot and wounded an Arab at a Gaza Strip roadblock on the fifth straight day of violence.

Israeli security forces remained on alert for attacks by Palestinian militants three days after a suicide bomber killed three women in a Tel Aviv cafe.

The militant Islamic movement Hamas has threatened more suicide bombings if Israel presses ahead with the construction of a Jewish neighborhood in Arab East Jerusalem, which the Palestine Liberation Organization wants as the capital of a future Palestinian state.

Hamas said the Middle East peace process was dying and it was time to deliver the final blow.

In Tel Aviv, Israeli and Jordanian military officials met today to discuss an attack by a Jordanian soldier this month that killed seven Israeli schoolgirls.

Load-Date: March 25, 1997

Arab man runs down tourists

Courier Mail (Queensland, Australia)

July 24, 1997, Thursday

Copyright 1997 Nationwide News Pty Limited

Section: NEWS; Pg. 19

Length: 198 words

Body

TEL AVIV: An Israeli Arab man armed with a sword, knife and plastic gun tried to run down a group of British tourists in Tel Aviv yesterday, then stabbed two women at a sidewalk restaurant, police said.

Eleven people suffered minor injuries, a police spokesman said.

QNPIsrael Radio said seven people were admitted to hospital but all would be released soon.

Israeli radio reports said the attacker was a supporter of the militant Hamas group, but police did not confirm this and said his motives remained unclear.

Police said that at 9.45pm local time, the man drove his car into a group of about 20 tourists in a plaza in the Jaffa quarter of Tel Aviv, injuring eight or nine. The radio said there were no skid marks on the road, suggesting he did not try to brake.

The British tourists were a group of Jewish teenagers in Israel on a tour, Israel radio reported.

The man then got out of his car and stabbed a Toronto woman and her daughter before he was subdued by a police officer, radio reports said.

Israel Radio said the man, identified as a 32-year-old from the northern city of Nazareth, was known to police as a Hamas supporter and an activist in militant organisations.

Associated Press

Load-Date: March 1, 2002

Reprisal fears grow after Arab kills female Israeli soldier

Hamilton Spectator (Ontario, Canada)

December 1, 1994 Thursday Final Edition

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Section: NEWS; Pg. A3; News

Length: 199 words

Dateline: JERUSALEM

Body

An Arab man with an axe killed a **female** Israeli soldier in Afula yesterday, raising fears of reprisals in the northern city where a suicide bomber killed eight Israelis in April.

Israel sent 150 soldiers to reinforce police who escorted Arabs home as angry Jewish residents gathered on the streets.

FROM SPECTATOR WIRE SERVICES Police also went to factories and advised Arab laborers to go home.

Afula, north of Jerusalem, has a large population of Arabs with Israeli citizenship. Its factories also bring in Palestinian workers from the occupied territories.

The soldier was waiting at the city's bus station when the attacker hit her in the head with the axe several times before he was chased down by passers-by.

Liat Gabai died a few hours later in a hospital in the coastal city of Haifa.

Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin condemned the attack but said violence would not stop Middle East peace talks.

The captured man was identified as Wahib Abu Rub, an unemployed 24-year-old from the occupied West Bank whose brother is a jailed **Hamas** member.

West Bank police recently cracked down on **Hamas**, arresting 400 members of the Muslim militant group that has claimed responsibility for recent terror attacks.

Load-Date: October 13, 2002

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

International Herald Tribune (Neuilly-sur-Seine, France)

February 11, 1993

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Section: OPINION

Length: 58 words

Body

Outrage and Silence

One cannot help but compare the expressions of ire and outrage that came from Western democracies when Israel temporarily exiled Hamas terrorists to a sympathetic Arab country, to the West's silence over the Kuwaiti expulsion of a quarter of a million Palestinian men, women and children 22 months ago.

MICHAEL KAUFMAN.

Jerusalem.

Load-Date: February 12, 1993