

Date and Time: Thursday, May 2, 2024 6:45:00PM EEST

Job Number: 223362458

Documents (92)

1. [Africa's peace seekers: Betty Bigombe](#)

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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

2. [TALKING POINT A CHANCE TO HAVE YOUR SAY](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

3. [TALKING POINT A CHANCE TO HAVE YOUR SAY](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

4. [Holy avengers From American anti-abortion activists to Islamic suicide bombers certain traits are common among those who dedicate their lives to religious terrorism. While researching her book, a Harvard academic tries to find out why they believe they have a moral mandate to murder](#)

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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

5. [THE WEEK](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2004 to
Dec 01, 2005

6. [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, 2004 to
Dec 01, 2005

7. [Cab class](#)

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, 2004 to
Dec 01, 2005

8. [Crush of humanity - Overpopulation - Diseases - Immigration - Food Shortages - Essay - 40 YEARS OF THE AUSTRALIAN - Part 1 of 13](#)

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, 2004 to
Dec 01, 2005

9. [Muslims find strength in faith, frustration in politics](#)

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, 2004 to
Dec 01, 2005

10. [*Saturday Review: Essay : In the zone of the living: Can literature address the conflict in the Middle East? Linda Grant asks some of Israel 's best known writers whether fiction has a duty to reflect the unfolding catastrophe in the region: In the zone of the living*](#)

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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

11. [*Bordering on What?*](#)

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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

12. [*Israel and the God of war*](#)

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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

13. [*G2: The Clinton interview: 'Mandela helped me survive Monicagate, Arafat could not make the leap to peace, and for days John Major wouldn't take my calls': On the eve of the publication of his eagerly anticipated \\$ 10m autobiography, Bill Clinton speaks exclusively to Alan Rusbridger and Jonathan Freedland in New York*](#)

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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

14. [*Weekend: TALKING TOUGH IN GAZA: Ariel Sharon has won the first vote in the Israeli parliament for his plan to evacuate the settlements in the Gaza Strip. There have been accusations of betrayal and even talk of civil war. Are the Gaza settlers really considering taking up arms to resist eviction? Linda Grant went to their towns and villages to find out.*](#)

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, 2004 to
Dec 01, 2005

15. [Kerry's Undeclared War](#)

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, 2004 to
Dec 01, 2005

16. [Fern Holland's War](#)

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, 2004 to
Dec 01, 2005

17. [HAMAS WRONG TO GLORIFY SUICIDE BOMB MOTHER'](#)

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, 2004 to
Dec 01, 2005

18. [Hamas hopes election will move it to legitimacy](#)

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, 2004 to
Dec 01, 2005

19. [LETTERS: HAMAS SUICIDE WARNING PROVES KILROY WAS RIGHT](#)

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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

20. [The Killing of the Hamas Leader](#)

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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

21. [Hamas a threat, too](#)

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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

22. [LETTER: HAMAS HYPOCRISY](#)

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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

23. [Thousands bury leader](#)

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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

24. [DOOM & GLOOM](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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News

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25. [*Mum kills four in bombing*](#)

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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

26. [*Women in suicide pact; MARTYRS*](#)

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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

27. [*BOMBER AND CHILD*](#)

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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

28. [*Guardian Weekly: The Week: The roundup: Middle East*](#)

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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

29. [*Madonna cancels Israel dates*](#)

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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30. [*Three stops and you're out: Madonna won't be performing in Israel*](#)

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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

31. [NEWSTRACKER | UPDATES ON CONTINUING STORIES](#)

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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

32. [Guardian Weekly: The Week: The roundup: Middle East](#)

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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

33. [Bomber kills 4](#)

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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

34. [SUICIDE BOMBER ON INTERNET](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
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35. [Wife and bomb-maker](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
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Dec 01, 2005

36. [*Israel : Shin Bet reveals arrest of female bombmaker*](#)

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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Dec 01, 2005

37. [*Ignore the 'Charm' Of a Terrorist*](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2004 to
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38. [*'An Irrational Hatred'*](#)

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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Dec 01, 2005

39. [*Palestinian men must be over 45 to worship at Jerusalem shrine*](#)

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, 2004 to
Dec 01, 2005

40. [*STRAW GOT IT WRONG IN HIS ATTACK ON ISRAEL*](#)

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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

41. [Darts and Laurels](#)

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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

42. [DAILY STAR SAYS; DON'T CRY FOR SHEIKH](#)

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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43. [WOMAN SUICIDE BOMBER KILLS FOUR](#)

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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44. [Bomber mum boast](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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45. [Woman bomber kills four](#)

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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46. [Bus blast carnage; in Israel](#)

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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

47. [LETTER: BRITAIN MUST LEAD AN EU RESPONSE TO ISRAEL](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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News

Narrowed by
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48. [Abbas orders forces to prevent attacks against Israel](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by
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49. [NINE DAYS OF BLOOD AND TERROR](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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News

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50. [Al Qaeda tape rips peaceful change](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

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51. [Revenge bombers kill at least 16 in israeli bus attacks](#)

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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52. [WOMAN KILLS FOUR IN SUICIDE](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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Narrowed by
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53. [Poor judgment](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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News

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54. [Terror hurts victims and perpetrators](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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News

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55. [PROPER TARGET](#)

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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56. [No Headline In Original](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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Narrowed by
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57. [No Headline In Original](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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Narrowed by
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58. [No Headline In Original](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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Narrowed by
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Dec 01, 2005

59. [No Headline In Original](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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Narrowed by
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Dec 01, 2005

60. [No Headline In Original](#)

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, 2004 to
Dec 01, 2005

61. [No Headline In Original](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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News

Narrowed by
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62. [No Headline In Original](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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Narrowed by
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63. [No Headline In Original](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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Narrowed by
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64. [No Headline In Original](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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65. [Vriend Samir A. achter omstreden moslimboekwerk](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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News

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66. [Jihad-strijders steeds vaker vrouwen ; Achtergrond](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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News

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67. ['SLUIT HAAT-MOSKEE!'](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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News

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68. [LICHT UND SCHATTEN IM NAHEN OSTEN Siedler als Opfer der Politik Scharons](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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69. [No Headline In Original](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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70. [No Headline In Original](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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71. [No Headline In Original](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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72. [No Headline In Original](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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73. [No Headline In Original](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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74. [No Headline In Original](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Narrowed by
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75. [No Headline In Original](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Narrowed by
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76. [No Headline In Original](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Narrowed by
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77. [No Headline In Original](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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Narrowed by
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78. [No Headline In Original](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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Narrowed by
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79. [No Headline In Original](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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80. [No Headline In Original](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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Narrowed by
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81. [No Headline In Original](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Narrowed by
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82. [No Headline In Original](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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83. [No Headline In Original](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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84. [No Headline In Original](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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85. [No Headline In Original](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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86. [No Headline In Original](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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87. [No Headline In Original](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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Narrowed by
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88. [No Headline In Original](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

89. [No Headline In Original](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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90. [No Headline In Original](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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91. [West Bank Tensions High: Nablus Residents Face Strict Curfew](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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92. [No Headline In Original](#)

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

Africa's peace seekers: Betty Bigombe

Christian Science Monitor (Boston, MA)

September 13, 2005, Tuesday

Copyright 2005 The Christian Science Publishing Society

Section: WORLD; Pg. 01

Length: 2811 words

Byline: By Abraham McLaughlin Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Dateline: GULU, UGANDA

Highlight: Betty Bigombe spends her days talking to rebels and Army officers in Uganda's bush country. She is one of Africa's peace seekers - individuals willing to leave loved ones behind, shrug off personal threats, and even spend significant amounts of their own money to end some of the continent's most intractable conflicts. Part 2 of three.

Body

It was a CNN "breaking news" flash that first caught her eye.

On the chilly morning of Feb. 22, 2004, Betty Bigombe was racing around her cozy condo in Chevy Chase, Md. She was focused on paying bills, packing for a business trip, and hoping to squeeze in a workout.

Walking past her bedroom TV, she suddenly froze. In her native Uganda, the anchor said, the Lord's Resistance Army had just massacred more than 200 villagers. They had forced entire families to stay inside huts - then set the houses alight, shooting anyone who ran out. Ms. Bigombe remembers whispering, "Oh, my God, I can't believe it's still happening."

Her own picture appeared on the screen. The reporter explained that Bigombe, a former government minister in Uganda, was the one person who'd ever gotten the rebels and the government close to peace. But that was back in 1994.

Now the ongoing barbarity in her homeland filled her with shame. Standing there in her nightgown, she was deeply torn. Should she go back to Uganda to help? Could she afford to lose her well-paying job at the World Bank? Could she stand to leave her college-age daughter alone in the US? After hours of pondering, she concluded, "Maybe ... maybe I can give it another try."

* * *

That February day marked Bigombe's reluctant reentry into an elite group at the center of efforts to end this continent's most-intractable conflicts. They are Africa's peace seekers. And these days they're increasingly successful: Last year, the number of major conflicts in Africa (six) hit its lowest level since 1997, according to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), which tracks global conflicts. It spiked in 1998 and 1999 to 11, but has since trended downward.

The geopolitical reasons for the shift include the end of the cold war and the proxy conflicts it spawned in Africa, the rise of democracy on the continent, and the new peacemaking strength of African regional organizations. But the

Africa's peace seekers: Betty Bigombe

change also springs from individuals such as Bigombe - peace seekers who are willing to leave loved ones behind and strike out on quests others have failed to finish. They often work 20-hour days, endure sleepless nights, and even spend significant amounts of their own money. Some have succeeded. Others, like Bigombe, are pushing hard.

There's been a recent "surge in willingness" of individuals and regional groups in Africa to "be responsible for getting out of the mess" that has long pervaded their continent, says Sharon Wiharta of SIPRI. These people and organizations, she says, "have been more and more successful in negotiating the end of conflicts."

* * *

Little did Bigombe know her initial "maybe" would turn into 18 months of grueling work. She's mostly been camped out at a one-story motel in rural northern Uganda. It's a far cry from Chevy Chase. The sheets are so scratchy that Bigombe swears she'll bring her own set next time. Order chicken in the motel's dining room, and the staff goes out back to kill a squawking bird.

Bigombe says she has spent about \$ 8,300 of her own money on the peace effort - on things like calls to rebels' satellite phones. In the past year, she has seen her daughter, Pauline, for only a handful of days - and once nearly had to pull her out of college because money was so tight. Bigombe is on leave from the World Bank - and isn't getting a salary. Sitting in jeans and a white T-shirt at a plastic garden table on the motel lawn, she sighs, and adds with a laugh: "Three weeks - I thought I would be here three weeks" before a peace deal was struck.

When she arrived last year, two months after the February massacre, she began her one-woman peace effort with no official position or outside funding - just a history of trust among all sides. Hopes were high. The rebels seemed desperate - and willing to negotiate. International pressure was building on the government to end the war. But today, 1-1/2 years later, despite some near successes, the 19-year conflict rumbles on between essentially three factions: The rebels who've been branded terrorists by the US, and who've killed more people than Al Qaeda, Hamas, and Hizbullah combined; Uganda's headstrong president; and profiteering Army officers who apparently manipulate their commander in chief to prolong the war.

To some, her style seems organic, even haphazard. One day, she'll be poring over maps with government soldiers to establish the boundaries of a cease-fire zone. Other days, she'll joke and flirt with a commander to persuade him to delay a counterattack long enough to let her get between the two sides. At times, she's the target of expletives and even death threats.

"Oh, what I have to put up with," Bigombe says with an exasperated smile.

* * *

The thump-thump-thump of a borrowed British helicopter echoed over the scrub-brush of her native land. In December 2004, Bigombe was flying to meet with the rebels. She had a peace offering.

With the wind and dust still swirling after the landing, a sealed, 40-pound bag of rice from the World Food Program was unloaded. Bigombe ordered it deposited in front of the rebel officers, who were standing sternly in their crisp military uniforms. Twenty or so child soldiers in torn T-shirts were nearby, fingers on rifle triggers. They gazed longingly at the rice.

"Take it," Bigombe recalls telling the rebels.

But no one moved in the hot sun. "It might be poisoned," the top officer said.

He ultimately refused the rice. At first, Bigombe thought it was a setback. But her willingness to bring the food - even if they didn't take it that day - turned out to be a breakthrough on one of the most important elements of peacemaking: trust.

Africa's peace seekers: Betty Bigombe

The rebels already knew Bigombe as a member of their ethnic group, the Acholi. They knew that in 1994 she got them closer than they'd ever been to peace. And, after the rice-bag offering, they figured they could rely on her for supplies.

"We're hungry," one skinny rebel whispered at a subsequent meeting. With her own money, she bought sugar, coffee, cooking oil, and salt at local markets. Then she began arriving with cartons of soap and other supplies. The more they have, she explains, the fewer deadly raids they make on local villages.

Furthermore, as she brought supplies, the often-elusive rebels began contacting her more regularly, willing to talk peace. Some analysts worry the LRA is just manipulating Bigombe for their own gain. Regardless, outside observers say one of her great talents is building and keeping the trust of the warring parties.

Of that day with the rice, she says, "They were trying to see if they could trust us."

* * *

The LRA is a mystical group led by Joseph Kony, a recluse who claims he's a spirit medium. He reportedly wants a Ugandan government based on the Ten Commandments. In recent years, he's apparently been holed up across the border in southern Sudan - and hasn't issued any formal demands.

The LRA used to enjoy support among northern villagers, who complain of economic marginalization by Uganda's central government. But its brutality has turned villagers against it. Lately, the LRA has just been trying to survive, say analysts.

During village raids, LRA soldiers seek supplies and young recruits. They mutilate civilians who don't cooperate. Captured girls are forced to be sex slaves to LRA commanders. Sometimes boys are made to kill their parents before being turned into LRA soldiers. The UN estimates that 80 percent of LRA soldiers are children.

Independent estimates are that 100,000 people have died in the conflict, 20,000 children have been kidnapped, and 1.6 million people have fled their homes.

As one Western diplomat in Kampala puts it, the LRA represents "a different order of magnitude of evil" than most African rebels.

Bigombe has seen the LRA's brutality first-hand. In 1995, when she was a government minister, she was the first outsider on the scene of one of its bloodiest massacres. Rebels attacked a town and captured about 220 men, women, and children. The villagers were marched several miles to a riverbank and all methodically executed.

Yet sometimes Bigombe sees glimmers of humanity, too. Once, one LRA commander grew pensive during a conversation. He wondered how his fellow northerners would perceive him after all the terrible things the LRA has done. He asked plaintively, "Can I ever go home again?"

* * *

"Do you want to pamper these killers?" shouted Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni. It was 6 a.m., the time he often calls Bigombe. On this November morning he was seething.

"Hello, Mr. President," she answered in her gravelly voice.

The tirade continued. Mr. Museveni had declared a unilateral cease-fire to give rebels time to move toward peace. But his patience was wearing thin. Bigombe wanted an extension. He implied he was ready to end the cease-fire and loose the military on the rebels.

At first, Bigombe responded quietly, trying to soothe: "Do you want the killing to stop?"

But he continued, ending with: "Don't you ever ask me again for an extension" of the cease-fire.

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So she just remained silent. Bigombe spends hours every day talking on her two cellphones - coaxing, encouraging, and scolding the Army commanders, President Museveni, and rebels. But sometimes one of her most powerful tools is not talking at all. In the ego-heavy circle of guerrilla commanders, Ugandan military officers, and heads of state, she says, silence works wonders.

After a few quiet moments, Museveni said, in a slightly repentant tone, "OK, Betty." Then he began listening. He eventually extended the cease-fire from its original seven days to 47.

This episode "shows the president is patient," says his spokesman, Onapito Ekomoloit, even though he's skeptical the rebels want peace. "They have never been serious," he says. "They have never been sincere."

Rebel commanders also call Bigombe from their satellite phones in fits of rage, she says. They demand, for instance, that Uganda's Army withdraw fully from the north.

Bigombe goes quiet. After a while, the commander often asks, "Are you still there?"

Eventually he barks, "I'll call you back in 30 minutes." When he does, she says with a knowing smile, he's "much more reasonable."

"When I go silent, they know I'm not pleased," she explains. It sends a simple message: "Do you want to blow it all up - or move toward peace?"

* * *

Several recent changes, experts say, have improved the prospects for peace.

* Donor nations are pressuring Museveni to end the war. After largely ignoring the conflict for years, outside powers now worry about the scale of the humanitarian crisis and its destabilizing effects on the region. The US is providing "nonmilitary" support to Uganda's Army. But that's not enough, argues John Prendergast of International Crisis Group in Washington: "The lack of a direct American role - when both sides of the equation care more about the Americans than any other government - tells you the peace process is going to have tremendous limitations" despite Bigombe's efforts. He urges President Bush to appoint a high-level envoy, as he did in Sudan, to support Bigombe.

* The tactics of Uganda's long-ineffective Army have improved, in part because of US help. Fresh battlefield victories make Army commanders, now in a stronger position, more supportive of talks. Yet there's an economic incentive to prolong the war. The Acholi Inn where Bigombe stays, for instance, is owned by a top army commander. The war helps keep the motel full of diplomats, aid workers, and others. Commanders "deliberately misinform the president" to extend the war, says one source who requested anonymity.

* The LRA has lost most support from its long-time patron, the government of neighboring Sudan, whose leaders had long accused Uganda of backing Sudanese rebels in their 21-year civil war. So tit for tat, Sudan supported the LRA. But when Sudan signed a peace deal with its rebels in January, it no longer needed the LRA.

Last December, amid these changes, Bigombe engineered the first face-to-face talks between the government and the LRA in a decade. Hopes were high for a full cease-fire and a start to formal peace talks. But at the last minute, the deal collapsed. Both sides blame each other, and the fighting continues today.

The setback revived concern that Bigombe isn't tough enough to pull off peace. "She needs to be able to say, 'No!' to the government," says Sheikh Musa Khalil, a local religious leader.

It may be a matter of outside support. "A mediator must have leverage," says Paul Omach, a professor at Uganda's Makerere University. As an independent peace seeker, he argues, Bigombe has none. Whether it's her or someone else, "You need somebody with authority and power," he says.

* * *

Africa's peace seekers: Betty Bigombe

To ask for help or not?

In January 2005, the rebels wanted more food - more than Bigombe could buy herself. She could have turned to one of the donor-nation embassies, which are supporting her - paying her cellphone bills, lending her helicopters, and more. But there's a downside. "I could go to [one embassy] and get the food tomorrow," she says. "But if I did, the others would complain that I hadn't gone to them."

Despite a desire to help, she says, diplomats often complicate negotiations by jostling for the glory of supporting the peace effort. It's a common problem mediators face.

Sometimes diplomats "are like a bunch of jealous wives," Bigombe says in exasperation. Recalling her own divorce with a laugh, she adds, "I know - I was one."

In the end, she got the food from Museveni. "Everybody agreed it would send a better message if it came from the government," she says. It underlines her approach of putting Ugandans at the center of any solution here.

Yet she now faces the biggest outside intervention yet: The International Criminal Court in the Hague is expected to indict LRA leaders as early as this month.

The ICC's role in Uganda is controversial. Outsiders say Kony must be brought to justice, but locals worry indictments will make him feel cornered and less willing to end the war.

If the ICC indicts, it will end this phase of Bigombe's work, she says, and send her "back to the drawing board." But she won't give up: "I'll keep looking for opportunities for peace."

* * *

When the peace process hit a lull in May 2005, Bigombe made a five-day dash to the US. The last thing she wanted to do was see "Hotel Rwanda," a film about the 1994 genocide. But her daughter insisted. Pauline wanted her mom to see how the film's success in US theaters shows that Americans are capable of caring about Africa - about the kind of work Betty is doing. "It was important for her to see that people are paying attention," Pauline says.

So they went. Pauline watched her mom wince at several scenes. She'd been in Rwanda after the genocide - even to Hotel des Milles Collines, where the movie is set. People "can be so cruel to each other for no reason," Pauline remembers her mom saying, "and not even understand what they're doing." Such brutality "affects her deeply," Pauline says, and keeps her working hard for peace.

My Mom, the negotiator

Most of the time, Pauline Bigombe lives the normal life of a college junior studying history in Washington, D.C. But when people ask about her mom - where she lives and what she does - it gets a little weird.

"The joke with my friends is that no one knows what my mom does," she says. "I never quite know how to explain it." Her friends know Pauline sees her mom only a few times a year - and that Betty is usually off in Africa. "They just figure she's in the mafia," she laughs.

But there are unexpected moments when someone recognizes her mom's work.

At a Borders bookstore in D.C. recently, Pauline handed the clerk her mom's credit card. He glanced at the name, glared at her, and started yelling: "You're not Betty Bigombe."

He accused her of impersonation and credit-card theft. It turned out he's from Gulu, Uganda - the very town Betty is working in. Pauline finally convinced him that Betty is her mom. She promised to ask Betty to e-mail him. He beamed.

And there was the time she caught a ride with an Ethiopian cab driver. "Oh, you have problems there," he said of her native Uganda. But then he mentioned "the woman they're always talking about" who's making peace there.

Africa's peace seekers: Betty Bigombe

"I'm pretty sure that's my mom," Pauline said quietly.

Astounded, he tried to refuse payment for the ride. She smiled, and paid anyway.

"I miss her a lot," Pauline says. "But I'm so proud of her."

Bigombe Biography

1954 Born in northern Uganda

1981-84 Became corporate secretary of the Uganda Mining Corporation

1986 Elected to parliament

1988 Appointed minister of state for pacification of northern Uganda

1993 Named Uganda's 'Woman of the Year' for her peace efforts

1997 Received master's degree from Harvard

1997 Appointed senior social scientist at postconflict department of the World Bank

Children: Pauline and Emmanuel

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TALKING POINT A CHANCE TO HAVE YOUR SAY

Windsor Star (Ontario)

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Body

Postcard funds could have gone to health care

What a waste of money to put postcards on the side of a building to the tune of \$270,000. (Postcards Record History, March 19.)

Why not put that money toward health care, namely for angioplasty. I have friends who have had to wait to have this done in London. According to news stories, \$1.5 million are needed for this and \$270,000 was wasted on postcards.

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I would say the money would have been a darn good start towards a very useful and lifesaving target.

But what do I know, I'm just a taxpayer who pays and pays and pays.

BRUCE SOVRAN

Kingsville

LETTER OF THE DAY: Canadians still rely heavily on U.S. security

I hope I am not the only one troubled by recent news regarding our Canadian security. Let's start with one major concern. Canadians who are still U.S.-bashing need to have their heads examined. After Sept. 11, 2001, Canadians should be awakened to the fact that their civilized way of life is in jeopardy from a bunch of cowardly, religious extremists.

Are we forgetting 25 Canadians were also killed in the attack? Don't think these cowards are going to sit there next time and say, "Oh no, we can't bomb Detroit, all those innocent Canadians will be killed!" or, "We can't bomb Windsor, they're Canadians!"

It is our government and ultimately we as voters, who have come to rely heavily on the United States for our security. I would personally like to thank them. It is our responsibility to control our own country's security, which includes upgrading our military, changing our pathetic immigration practices and our shortsighted views on airport and nuclear power plant security, which are prime Canadian targets.

A recent story ran in The Star involving al-Qaida trainee Abdurahman Khadr, quoted him as being Canadian. He wants the federal government to help one of his brothers, who is being held by the U.S. in Guantanamo Bay. He also wants to bring over his younger brother, who is paralysed after being in a shootout with Pakistani soldiers. Boy, we sure can pick 'em.

TALKING POINT A CHANCE TO HAVE YOUR SAY

What can we do about our (lack of) security? Start using your vote and start writing the government to make changes now. Save your peace protests and the wood from your signs for the environmentalists. al-Qaida doesn't want peace. It wants to annihilate western civilization and Christendom with it.

CHRIS RODD

Cottam

Consider annual fee for public broadcasting

Public broadcasters in Canada should consider making their audience pay a yearly fee in order to generate enough revenue. This would mean commercial-free programming and no money from taxpayers.

This is a much better option than government privatizing or cutting funding to public broadcasters.

ZENON STUPNYCKYJ

Windsor

Cellucci should suffer attack of bad air from U.S.

I am writing in support of Windsor Police Chief Glenn Stannard's challenge to American Ambassador Paul Cellucci (The Star, March 20).

Stannard threw down the gauntlet and said if Cellucci has specific information that Windsor is under any greater threat from a terrorist attack than was the case in the days immediately after 9-11, then he should share that intelligence with the proper police authorities, or just button his ambassadorial lips.

It could happen here or it could happen in any one of a dozen different Canadian centres, but what is the point of shining the spotlight on this border town unless he knows something definitive?

Ambassador Cellucci, I suggest that you visit Windsor and stay long enough to get a whiff of the rotten air blowing over from Michigan. You should read the studies that tell us those lethal windstreams carry tons of carcinogenic particles into Windsor, from a variety of industrial sites in Michigan. You should study the figures that show elevated incidents of virtually every kind of cancer affecting Windsor residents.

We are already under airborne attacks from Americans and the Americans don't give a damn. It is probably impossible to table the exact number of Canadians who have died or have otherwise been seriously affected by deadly air pollution from the U.S. The Brophy-Gilbertson report was drawn from a study of 17 communities. Windsor goes through the roof on every count.

If no one has been able to prove that Michigan is culpable with absolute certainty, neither has anyone been able to produce evidence refuting the assumption. Until that happens, we have no option but to accept the presumptive smoking gun theory.

So, Ambassador Cellucci, you should save your breath, time and energy warning Windsor about possible terrorist attacks when we are living with threats from another form of friendly fire.

CARL MORGAN

Tecumseh

Only women who really need it should use FRO

As I read the article, Support Office Ruins Lives, critics say, I could have been reading about my husband's situation. It was only after my husband's divorce that his ex-wife insisted the support payments go through the Family Responsibility Office, despite he'd been paying his support regularly for almost four years. The reason: she

TALKING POINT A CHANCE TO HAVE YOUR SAY

wanted to be paid at the beginning of the month, not every two weeks as had been the practice. We did not find out until years later that in the four months it took the FRO to set up the support payment, they had sent automatic arrears notices to the credit bureau. We insisted this be removed from his credit rating because he had never been in arrears.

I'm a support recipient and never contemplated using the FRO. No one had to tell me the support amount needed to be varied when my daughter finished high school and didn't intend to go to university right away. I don't threaten my ex with the FRO if the support payment is a couple of days late. If my ex-husband lost his job due to circumstances beyond his control, the support payment would be amended. I'm not a saint, it just seems to be the reasonable and rational thing to do. Besides, the FRO was set up to target deadbeat dads.

What a sad message they are sending their children and what a disservice to women out there who really need the time and resources of the FRO. It's the martyr syndrome at its best.

MELINDA STRBA

Woodslee

Not just deadbeat dads registered with FRO

We have yet to have a positive experience with the FRO. It's just the norm that when parents divorce, in most cases mom gets custody, dad has an empty wallet. Yet, I do believe most people do not understand what happens when the FRO gets involved with support payments.

Try calling to check on your case. You can be put on hold for hours, not get through at all, or if you happen to contact an actual person, they have no idea what you are talking about or can't answer your questions.

Try finding out why the FRO deducted more than half your paycheque. Oops, their error they say, but nothing can be done about it now. They'll just keep it for a future payment to the ex.

Try getting a correct or proper statement of payments. Never has one ever been right in our case. And, when you send them all your receipts, no proper adjustment follows. What they say is always accurate, regardless of proof.

Children do need support and our payments are regularly made. However, I think many people feel that one is registered with the FRO because they choose not to pay. That is not always the case. But try dealing with them, it's not an easy task.

TRICIA MELOCHE

McGregor

No assembly-sector investment; no parts jobs

The recent quotes attributed to Dennis DesRosiers regarding the state of the Canadian automotive industry were both unfair and inaccurate. To blame the CAW for the loss of jobs in auto assembly is simply ignoring the facts.

It is also misleading to say the auto-parts sector is extremely healthy.

It is a well-known fact that where assembly goes, parts follows. By Des-Rosiers' own admission, Canada has seen very little new investment in the assembly sector and, therefore, parts jobs have been affected. The decision not to build the new DCX plant is just one example, the closure of the Pillette Road plant and the announced closure of others in Ontario and Quebec, mean the loss of assembly and parts jobs.

The CAW is actively involved in the pursuit of a national automotive trade policy to address this situation. What is difficult to understand is why the senior levels of government are not.

JOHN TOTH

TALKING POINT A CHANCE TO HAVE YOUR SAY

Windsor

Letter to dog dumpers, you know who you are

Letter to a dog dumper: I pray you read this. I don't expect you to feel any remorse because people of your kind are lacking in humane feelings, but maybe someone will recognize you and that may make you feel ashamed.

For some incomprehensible reason, you took two beautiful Chows to the Lakeshore Conservation Area and abandoned them to the elements. But Chows are extremely loyal, intelligent animals and so these two dogs stayed in the area, waiting for you. They even laid in the middle of the road so they wouldn't miss your familiar vehicle, waiting patiently, trusting that you would come back. No one really knows how long they were there without food, water or shelter.

Anyone who is looking for a good, loyal, family dog, please call or visit the Lakeshore Dog Pound. Most of the dogs there are well-trained, affectionate and eager to please.

GAIL WATSON

Essex

Bush ran roughshod over allies, including Canada

If you can ever get beyond your pro-Bush editorials, do you think you can pause long enough to extract the basic principles that should guide pre-emptive military interventions?

Since the very inarticulate President Bush has been forced to stumble about in search of a postwar justification of the invasion, what are we to make of his principles? I want to make certain I understand just what it is you find so admirable about the Bush doctrine and the bullying manner in which he ran roughshod over his allies, including Canada. How shall we characterize his principles? How about, might makes right? Or what about, the ends justify the means?

The point being, even if the outcomes in Iraq are ultimately largely positive, the Bush process has been crude and ignoble. And shame on The Windsor Star for not saying so.

FRANK WHITE

Windsor

Editor's response: Jimmy Carter was diplomatic, intellectual and ineffective. This week, Hamas threatened the U.S., had sober second thoughts and publicly withdrew its threat. President Bush may be crude, ignoble and even inarticulate, but he is effective.

Little rain leads to car damage in parking lot

To the inconsiderate people who let their shopping carts hit our car in the Zellers' parking lot at Tecumseh Mall on Saturday -- a sarcastic, thank you. After an outing with my family, we returned to our car to find three shopping carts wedged between our car and the car next to ours. Upon closer inspection, there were numerous scratches to the paint on the driver's side.

Now, because you were too lazy to walk your shopping cart back to the store or the cart corral, I have repairs to make. I cannot believe how inconsiderate people are in this city because they are afraid of a little rain. You know who you are. Thanks for ruining our day and our car.

JOANNE NOBLE

Windsor

TALKING POINT A CHANCE TO HAVE YOUR SAY

Who is making big bucks off of beef farmers?

My concern is with the farmers in Essex County. I know we may not be the biggest producers of beef in Canada, but I feel we have to support the local guys. Someone seems to be getting rich off these farmers ever since the mad cow scare. One way I feel we could help these farmers would be to start buying our meat directly from them. If the consumer stops buying meat from the supermarkets and the stores feel the same pinch the farmer has, then maybe someone will find out who is making the big bucks on the beef market.

The local farmers take the cattle to the abattoirs, where it's cut, wrapped and inspected. I purchase all my beef this way and have done so for some time. I feel it is the only way to enjoy beef. It's fresh and you can ask questions about what they are feeding their cattle. If everyone across Canada would do this, I bet we would get answers. Essex County has been known to be a great farming community, let's stick together and help out each other.

D. WRIGHT

Windsor

Put more funds into health care, not offices

I am sick of the government not fixing our medical system. There are people dying due to lack of facilities. My father has had one heart attack, three operations for a hernia and an aneurysm. His heart rate has been staying at more than 95 but the earliest appointment for a heart specialist is June 16 and he has to go to London.

He has already had an operation in the Chatham hospital, his doctor has left town and he is now forced to drive about 30 miles to see another one. If the government put money into the places needed instead of into fancy lawn ornaments and new offices, there would be less people dying and more being offered to the sick and needy.

If they can't figure this out, then why are we voting for them.

TRACY ARMSTRONG

Windsor

Take a walk, use less gas, maybe bring down prices

It seems soaring gas prices have sparked some unrest with citizens. I have heard many a theory for who is to blame for such highway robbery. Perhaps you've received e-mail messages suggesting different boycott strategies.

I would like to call to mind the basic principle of economics, supply and demand. Spring is near, take a walk to the store, bike with your friends and family and carpool to work, because the more you need the product, the more it will cost. These not-so-novel suggestions might have positive side-effects for the environment.

KRIS BARRON

Tecumseh

African Canadian building fundraiser successful

To all those who supported our We Have a Dream bowling fundraiser. By attending and/or donating raffle prizes, we had a successful three days. We also thank WI-TV.

On behalf of the African Canadian building fund, I thank you.

LEILA DENNIS

Windsor

Try applying Scriptures in our daily lives

TALKING POINT A CHANCE TO HAVE YOUR SAY

Re: The Passion Of The Christ.

The movie has an impact. The physical pain Jesus suffered was a pain that no other could bear. Jesus's strength came from being the son of God.

Jesus showed love by taking all of our weaknesses upon himself to make it possible for us to battle the evil one, Satan. Jesus stands for truth and the truth has set us free.

Are we willing to accept the truth? We can by reading the Scriptures and apply them in our lives.

C. DESCHAIINE

Windsor

Remember your manners, maybe get better service

My question to readers is this: what has happened to manners and courtesy?

Are please and thank you and acknowledgement of greetings a thing of the past?

As a worker in the service industry, I witness the lack of all of the above daily and feel both sad and frustrated.

Has the general public forgotten the lessons in manners taught to us by our parents and teachers, or are we just too busy to care?

Whether you are dining in a restaurant, ordering at a drive thru, buying an item of clothing or simply filling up your gas tank, please remember that a simple smile and thank you goes a long way.

It costs nothing nor takes any time out of your busy schedule to be polite. You will find you get better service because of it.

Thank you and have a nice day.

ZOE HUMPHREYS

Windsor

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TALKING POINT A CHANCE TO HAVE YOUR SAY

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Body

Abortion punishes baby for its mother's mistake

It's frustrating to hear that some women feel they deserve a choice when they are faced with an unwanted pregnancy. They had a choice. They had the choice to have sex. After that, it's not a choice, it's a responsibility.

Whatever happened to taking responsibility for your actions? I can understand that if the woman was raped, she didn't have a choice and abortion in that case is more understandable, but most women who have abortions come off as selfish.

Windsor Star

To take a child out of this world when they are all we really have for the future is appalling. Just because you don't want it, doesn't mean someone else doesn't. There are couples all over the world who desperately want children and can't have them and here women are taking away any chance these babies have to live and be loved.

Abortion is final. There's no going back. It's something you'll have to live with the rest of your life. Women say they can't give their baby up for adoption.

Think about your baby, this incredible one-of-a-kind creation that someone is guaranteed to love if you can't. The pain and regret you'll feel after aborting your baby can't compare to the appreciation you'll receive from the new parents of your adopted baby. Yes, it would be hard, but that's life.

To the women who gave their babies up for adoption, you're my heroes.

To the women who chose abortion, good luck with having to live the rest of your life with the reality that you punished your baby for your mistake. That was very responsible.

KATRINA CHORDASH

Harrow

LETTER OF THE DAY: A trucker's view on other drivers

Re: Plans to retest Ontario drivers. Just over a week ago, the morning of the 12 car pile up on 401, I was east-bound in my truck at the Dutton cut off. With a flatbed tractor and two cars ahead of me in snow, a car came out of nowhere, westbound on the eastbound lane. I could barely see as the tractor and the two cars drove out of the way.

I was able to miss both cars just as I saw this other small gray vehicle pass me by going west. It was only by the grace of God I was able to miss it, too.

TALKING POINT A CHANCE TO HAVE YOUR SAY

That is only one of the many times I have had to guess what a car driver is going to do. It's like they get their driver's licence and then throw the rules away. Every rule they had to learn is lost.

They should also put a minimum speed on the 401, because going too slow is almost worse than going too fast. I was travelling through Toronto when ahead of me all the traffic was diving to the left and I followed and what did I see? A guy, a grown man, driving with his knee steering the car, talking on his cellphone, while writing down information from the person on the phone. All of this while doing 60 km/h, in a 100-km/h zone, in the centre lane no less. The fines for going too slow should equal the speeding fines.

And for those people who think that "I've had my licence for 40 years, I don't need get retested." You're the ones it's for.

You're just the person who is most likely to fail, bad habits and all. Truck drivers have to be retested and so should you.

TOM LIVINGSTON

Windsor

Will retesting drivers have any real effect?

Re: Retesting of drivers.

It seems sensible at first glance, but then the thought hits: They're tested, they drive well, they're back on the streets, they're driving like maniacs again.

How much would we have to pay for retesting which would mostly just maintain the status quo?

GAIL AYRE

Windsor

Loss of local auto jobs will affect many others

I am a senior manager in the automotive sector and am currently watching a lot of people I know suffer, as such I write this.

I am an autoworker. I was just laid off. Yes, I made a lot and perhaps you have little sympathy and you think we are paid too much. Well, consider holding an eight-pound part and having to pick one up and insert it into position every 30 seconds for eight to 10 hours in a row. See the point?

Also, I have some considerations. Yes, I made \$80,000 a year. And I hear a lot of people talking about the companies in North America who produce here, but are not Big Three and how it is OK to buy from them. Well, where do the profits go? You are paying someone over in Asia or Europe to do my job. I am your neighbour and customer also.

I have two vehicles. Guess what, the bank will be getting them back. What do you drive as the banker?

I was planning to have my driveway paved this summer. What do you drive at the construction company?

I was planning on having trees installed in my back yard. What do you drive at the landscaping company?

My child needs a computer for school. What do you drive at the retail store?

My other younger child needs braces. What do you drive at the doctor's and dentist's office?

Now none of this will happen, but see the effects of your decisions in your own life. But rest assured, someone far away from our community will benefit due to your decision and the profits will leave North America all together.

TALKING POINT A CHANCE TO HAVE YOUR SAY

When 800 jobs disappear at approximately \$85,000 apiece from our community, guess how many trees, driveways and computers are getting purchased.

JOHN MCLAUGHLIN

Tecumseh

Buy North American goods and save jobs

Re: Buy Canadian and American. I commend Ed Wilder for his letter to the editor that appeared on April 3, China, Japan Grow, Our Economy Suffers. We are losing jobs to overseas manufacturing since wages overseas are much cheaper than products made here.

It's obvious that these industries are only concerned about maximizing their profits. Their products are manufactured overseas, then brought back here to be sold. They are draining our jobs from us.

I encourage people to buy products made in Canada or the U.S. where they are manufactured by employees from companies over here. Save our jobs and economy!

JASON SEVINGY

Windsor

Board ignores a teacher's real day

I am outraged with recent claims in the media concerning the impending teachers' strike. My grandson is a teacher with the Greater Essex County District School Board and on March 26 he was instructed to distribute a letter to all of his students stating the board's position.

In the letter, it was stated that teachers only work 300 minutes, or five hours, a day. This was a very biased look at what a teacher does during their average workday.

My grandson informed me that he begins work at 8:30 a.m. and usually does not leave the school until 4:30 p.m. He is supposed to receive one 40-minute uninterrupted lunch, but the reality of the job is that he often cannot even find time for a bathroom break.

Teachers are not just instructors, they're counsellors, coaches, mentors and sometimes the only person a child can talk to.

What about all the at-home time spent marking and planning? What about the numerous evenings devoted to compiling report cards?

I hope parents are not swayed by the board's recent newsletter and can see the reality of the situation.

G. MATISZ

Windsor

Acting professionally would benefit teachers

It has always been my understanding that salaried professions are never measured by the time involved, but by the output. In Roseann Danese's Friday article, Teachers' Union Increases Pressure, I read about the withdrawal of administrative duties by the public elementary school teachers and the dispute over 200 versus 150 minutes of paid prep time.

Students -- and their school boards -- should not be held hostage.

TALKING POINT A CHANCE TO HAVE YOUR SAY

Despite Greater Essex public elementary teachers earning \$8,500 more than the provincial average, it seems to me that this Windsor tradition of union threats and strikes has prevailed. For example, where else do you have Canada's largest and most notorious autoworkers' union representing casino workers?

The prep time dispute, something that would cost an additional \$1 million to \$3.5 million, is one of the most ridiculous quarrels I have seen as someone who has been through the public system.

Such an expensive change in policy would involve accountability -- could we also initiate a policy that would keep these employees to account, making sure that 200 minutes (no less) of paid prep time is accounted for?

As long as unionized teachers keep up the facade of being in brotherhood with factory labourers, public regard will remain uneasy.

Can you image if the Ontario Medical Association functioned more like a union? There would be public outcry if medicare were placed at risk.

If teachers want the recognition of being professionals then they should drop their work-to-rule mentality and anti-government vocabulary.

Dalton McGuinty, the answer to their prayers, is the same politician who introduced Bill 14 in 1992 that would effectively take away a teacher's right to strike.

In my opinion, professionalism begins with a good attitude. The Elementary Teachers' Federation of Ontario certainly does not exercise one.

Local president Hilda Watkins says they are exercising restraint. If anything, it should be them being restrained from impairing the education of our kids.

MATTHEW ALEKSIC

University of Toronto

Fumes from the trucks are also bad for truckers

With all the talk of trucks giving off deadly fumes, it's nice to see that local studies have been done to determine just how dangerous heavy and congested traffic is.

A few weeks back, I was watching Jeopardy and one of the questions was, what is the No. 1 job in Canada? I was pretty surprised to hear Alex Trebek say that it was truck driving. Now, just because I heard it on TV doesn't mean I necessarily believe it, but because of the show's nature and because Trebek is Canadian, I tend to.

Every time I think of the diesel fumes spewing from these trucks, I can't help but worry for my husband, who drives one 60 hours weekly.

As much as a rightful society hates to see them barrelling down their neighbourhood roads, everyone knows how critical product delivery is to our lives.

Drivers and their loved ones worry over the dangers incurred in driving these massive machines, as well as the long hours they are made to drive because of laws condoning such hours.

There is also worry over what the constant exposure of being in and surrounded by other trucks does to the driver's, as well as the public's, health.

The coal miners had canaries. Can anyone from the university respond as to the amount of toxins found in the truck cabs?

TALKING POINT A CHANCE TO HAVE YOUR SAY

Perhaps the large amount of money spent on where to put truck corridors should be at least matched with how to fuel vehicles with less poisonous substances.

If it's as bad for the truckers as common sense dictates and with such large numbers of our workforce employed in the transport of goods, leaving the the compassionate element aside, think of the monetary impact this could have on an already burdened health-care system.

S. ROMANO

Amherstburg

Thanks to all volunteers who picked up garbage

This is just a quick line to thank councillor Alan Halberstadt and the other people for giving up their Sunday to pick up garbage in the Memorial Park area.

If it is not already done, I would like to suggest that a sentence of community service include a couple of hours picking up the garbage that unthinking and uncaring people leave behind in our parks and on our streets.

Once again, thanks.

D. HANSON

Windsor

City should adopt stiffer litter fines

I am a former Windsorite and even though I do not live there, I still love to visit often.

I read the column from The Star's Gord Henderson about taking out the trash. I often check in and see what's happening in the city.

I agree with what he wrote and wonder why there is so much ignorance from people and how carelessly they discard their trash.

People of Windsor need to get a grip and follow some of the rules and programs implemented.

Windsor is a beautiful place -- where and when maintained. Give a bit of effort and pitch in and do your part in keeping it clean and maintained.

I know other cities would not allow this ignorance from people to continue. There are big consequences for such ignorance.

Maybe people would get a grip if they were hit with bigger fines in their pocket books.

MAGGIE NEILSON

Calgary, Alta.

Willistead needs to be cleaned up

After walking through Willistead Park on March 31, I was outraged to again discover more colourful tag (spray paint) markings. The maintenance building, cement pillars surrounding the park, garbage cans, signs, etc.

I am embarrassed to call Windsor my city because it looks like a dump. We need to catch those responsible and make them clean up their mess.

We need to have cameras in place and patrols that answer calls when these crimes are reported. We need help.

TALKING POINT A CHANCE TO HAVE YOUR SAY

Please do your part to police your neighbourhood. As for our city leaders, please take action now.

B. MARSHALL

Windsor

Detroit casino workers looking at Windsor

Although it is sad to see our union brothers and sisters on strike at Casino Windsor, I would like to let them know that the workers at the Detroit Casinos fully support their efforts to negotiate a fair and equitable contract.

We are all in the gaming industry together, regardless of which side of the border we work on. I work in one of the Detroit casinos and we are all supportive of their efforts, as Windsor workers are basically setting the standards for all of us in the gaming industry.

Although to our management, the bottom line is the revenue, our basic concerns regarding wages, pensions and dignity in the workplace are the same as our union brothers and sisters in Windsor.

To them I would say, keep up your fight, we are all looking to you to make conditions better in the gaming industry for all of us. You have our support. Remember, the first half of the word Solidarity is solid.

REBECCA FOURNIER

Belle River

Instead of Beyonce, use Canadian star

I find it totally inappropriate for Beyonce Knowles to appear on the front cover of Monday's paper, when there are more deserving Canadians, with more talent, that should have been on the cover.

It would have been nice to see a picture of Sarah McLachlan, Sam Roberts, or Nickleback.

Sunday was the Juno awards -- Canada's way of celebrating our greatest musical talent, which Beyonce is not a part of.

SARAH CARUSO

Windsor

UN must do more to end terrorism

It is not hard to imagine that the United Nations Human Rights Commission would condemn Israel for killing Sheik Ahmeed Yassin.

Both he and his replacement, Abel Aziz Rantisi, have nothing but hatred for Israel and anyone else who gets in their way.

While all these militants conceive every possible way to murder as many as they can, they only get a passing glance from the same members of the Human Rights Commission. Israel is in a fight for its life and its very existence. If it takes a huge wall to achieve its goal to live without fear, then so be it.

President Bush is in a constant struggle at home and abroad to bring democracy to Iraq and Afghanistan, while Israel is in a desperate struggle to keep it. Unless the United Nations starts acting in unity to put an end to groups like Hamas, then such terrorism will be spread worldwide.

R.J. MUNFORD

Harrow

TALKING POINT A CHANCE TO HAVE YOUR SAY

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Holy avengers From American anti-abortion activists to Islamic suicide bombers certain traits are common among those who dedicate their lives to religious terrorism. While researching her book, a Harvard academic tries to find out why they believe they have a moral mandate to murder

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Body

Events in Iraq have shown that a war cannot be prosecuted against terrorists without giving some thought to what motivates new recruits to the terror cause. In interviews with religious terrorists over the past six years I have been trying to discover what makes someone join a holy-war organisation and what makes them stay. I started by talking to an American: a repentant leader of an Identity Christian cult in a trailer park in Texas. From there I went to Pakistan, India, Israel, Palestine, Lebanon, and Indonesia. I talked to Muslim, Jewish, Christian, Sikh and Hindu radicals. I visited extremist seminaries in Indonesia and Pakistan that recruit the cannon fodder for global jihad. I toured refugee camps in Lebanon and Kashmir. A Pakistani charity arranged for me to see the new homes it provided to families of "martyrs," and to meet the martyrs' mothers, not all of whom were able to keep up a facade of pride. Since September 11, I do not feel safe interviewing terrorists in the field. Now I talk only to "retired" or jailed terrorists and arrange for local interviewers to administer detailed questionnaires, querying terrorists about their motivations.

Some of the operatives I spoke to have since been killed. I met two ***Hamas*** leaders in Gaza who were assassinated this year by the Israeli government- Ismail Abu Shanab and Abdel-Aziz al-Rantissi. And two operatives I met on death row in the US have since been executed. One of them - Mir Aimal Kansi - had murdered two employees of the CIA; the other - Paul Hill - had killed two abortion clinic staff. There were many differences among the various holy warriors. Some were intellectuals. Some appeared to be on a spiritual high; others seemed pumped up on adrenalin or the adventure of living at least partly on the run. A Sikh terrorist I met in Lahore said he never stayed two nights in the same place. Some clearly enjoyed their status and power. Sheikh Fadlallah, the spiritual leader of Hezbollah who was said to have survived an alleged CIA-led attempt on his life in 1985, exuded the air of a man who feels he has the best possible job in the world.

Some were obviously angry. I sensed in many that their commitment to the cause was a thin veneer covering some deeper, more personal need. For some, jihad had become a high-paying job; a few admitted they would like to quit but couldn't afford to. Some were unexpectedly rich, while others lived in slums.

A leader of Harkat-ul-Mujahideen, a group known for beheading foreigners and for its close alliance with Osama bin Laden, took me to meet his second wife, a startlingly beautiful young woman from Saudi Arabia, a country he

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visited regularly on fund-raising missions. He had ensconced his new wife in an outsized white mansion, leaving the first one at his parents' farm.

Despite these differences, it is possible, after this long journey, to identify some common themes that might help to explain how violent Islamic nihilism continues to spread beyond the lawless pockets and failed states where terrorists tend to thrive, and into the cities of the west.

My interviews suggest that people join religious terrorist groups partly to transform themselves and to simplify life. They start out feeling humiliated, enraged that they are viewed by some "other" as second class. They take on new identities as martyrs on behalf of a purported spiritual cause. The spiritually perplexed learn to focus on action. The weak become strong. The selfish become altruists, ready to make the ultimate sacrifice of their lives in the belief that their death will serve a supposed public good. Rage turns to conviction. They seem to enter a kind of trance, where the world is divided neatly between good and evil, victim and oppressor. Uncertainty and ambivalence, always painful to experience, are banished. There is no room for the other side's point of view. Because they believe their cause is just and that God is on their side, they persuade themselves that any action - no matter how heinous - is justified. They know they are right, not just politically, but morally.

In their view, arrogant one-worlders, humanists and promoters of human rights have created an engine of modernity that is stealing their identity. The greatest rage - and the greatest danger - stems from those who feel they can't keep up, even as they claim to be superior to those who set the pace. Over time, in some cases, cynicism takes hold. Terrorism becomes a career as much as a passion. What starts out as moral fervour about humiliation and deprivation becomes a sophisticated organisation. Grievance can end up as greed - for status, attention, political power or money. The rest of the world needs to understand this dynamic, and exploit it in every possible way, by sowing discord, confusion, and rivalry among terrorists and between terrorists and their sponsors.

While the terrorists I met described a variety of grievances, almost every one talked about humiliation. The Identity Christian cultist told me he suffered from chronic bronchitis as a child and his mother discouraged him from exerting himself. He had been forced to attend the girls' physical education classes because he couldn't keep up with the boys. "I don't know if I ever got over the shame and humiliation of not being able to keep up with the other boys - or even with some of the girls," he said. The first time he felt strong was when he was living on an armed compound, surrounded by armed men.

A man involved in the violent wing of the anti-abortion movement told me he was "vaginally defeated", but now he is "free", by which he meant celibate and beyond the influence of women.

A Kashmiri militant founded his group because he wanted to recreate the golden period of Islam, "to recover what we lost... Muslims have been overpowered by the west. Our ego hurts... we are not able to live up to our own standards for ourselves."

The notion that perceived humiliation could be an important factor in explaining terrorism has struck some academics as far-fetched. But my argument is not that humiliation and relative deprivation alone are sufficient to create a terrorist. Terrorist leaders offer a "basket" of emotional, spiritual and financial rewards to potential recruits, designed to appeal to a variety of followers whose needs and desires are understood to change over time. The leader has to understand his followers' psychology, to have a feel for what they want, "what they are thinking, what is missing", the repentant Identity Christian cultist told me.

Leaders cynically take advantage of their zealous recruits, manipulating them with an enticing mission, ultimately using these true believers as their weapons.

For the broad-based dystopic movement inspired by al-Qaeda, the new world order - al-Qaeda's term for globalisation - is a perfect foil. It is better for the youth of Islam to carry arms and defend their religion with pride and dignity than to submit to the humiliation of globalisation, bin Laden's deputy, Ayman al-Zawahiri wrote in his putative autobiography. He refers to global institutions such as the United Nations and international relief agencies as tools in the new crusaders' arsenal. "In the face of this alliance, a fundamentalist coalition is taking shape," Zawahiri

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writes, warning that its growth will continue to accelerate. "It is anxious to seek retribution for the blood of the martyrs, the grief of the mothers, the suffering of the detainees, and the sores of the tortured people throughout the land of Islam."

The purpose of fighting the new world order, in Zawahiri's view, is to restore the dignity of humiliated youth. Violence is a "cleansing force" that frees the oppressed youth from his inferiority complex, despair and inaction, making him fearless and restoring his self-respect.

It is in this context that the war in Iraq and, in particular, the heart-wounding images of American soldiers humiliating, torturing and killing Iraqi prisoners, becomes so important. If bin Laden were writing a script for George Bush and Tony Blair to follow, would he not command them to attack and occupy a Muslim country in defiance of the international community and in violation of international law? And would it not be his fondest wish to see "the new crusaders" humiliate those Muslims, and themselves, in the most graphic possible way? Having those soldiers then photograph their crimes might have seemed too much to hope for.

In assuming itself to be above the law in many instances, but especially in regard to detaining and interrogating supposed terrorists, the Bush Administration has made a serious moral error. It is the human condition to be imperfect; to seek to understand the mind of God, but also, tragically and frustratingly, to fail. Talking to religious terrorists has taught me this: when we become moral swaggarts, when we are so certain that God is on our side that we believe ourselves to be beyond the reach of normal moral inquiry or law, we make ourselves vulnerable to the basest aspects of our nature.

The first step in the direction of a perilous righteousness was when Bush announced on September 20, 2001: "Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists." Jim Wallis, an evangelical Christian activist and editor of Sojourners Magazine, responds: "To say that they are evil and we are good, and that if you're not with us, you're with the terrorists - that's bad theology." He points to Jesus in the Gospel of Matthew: "Why do you see the speck in your neighbour's eye, your adversary's eye, your enemy's eye, and not see the log in your own eye? Why do you see the evil in them but not in yourself?"

A year after 9/11, Bush continued in a similar vein, referring to America as the hope of all mankind. He referred to a light shining in the darkness, which the darkness will not overcome. That line is from the Gospel of John, Wallis explains. "But it's about the light of Christ and the word of God. Now, all of a sudden, it's meant to be America as a beacon of light to the world. (Bush) changed the meaning of the text. It's no longer about the word of God, the light of Christ, it's about us."

Omar Bakri Muhammad, the leader of the London-based radical Islamist movement, al-Muhajiroun, asks potential followers: "When will people see this war in Iraq and Afghanistan for what it really is - a Christian Crusade, full of the indiscriminate murder, rape and carnage just like, if not worse, than the Christian Crusades of 'Richard the Lionheart' and his own band of thugs in the past. Surely this is a wake-up call for all Muslims around the world who have any dignity left. Anyone... where our land, war, peace and honour is one, must do all he or she can to protect the men, women and children being tortured and humiliated in Iraq and Afghanistan. It is too late to stop the atrocities which have already taken place but it is not too late to drive these nasty infidels out of Muslim land once and for all."

Even before the revelations about the torture of Iraqi prisoners, al-Qaeda used the war in Iraq as a recruitment tool for their global battle against the "crusader alliance". They have long been aware that tension within the alliance over the Iraq war is a vulnerability. A number of polls show that support for that war is diminishing and antipathy to America is increasing. In a wide-ranging poll conducted a year after the Iraq war, the Pew Foundation found that the majority of Americans still believe that Bush made the right decision in going to war in Iraq and that the US will ultimately achieve its mission there. But since the publication of photos of prisoners being tortured, a USA Today/Gallup poll showed 58 per cent of Americans disapprove of Bush's handling of the situation in Iraq, and 54 per cent said going to war "was not worth it".

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Elsewhere around the world, a majority of those polled said that the war in Iraq has diminished their trust in the US. A growing percentage of Europeans would like to see Europe's foreign policy and security arrangements made independently of the US. British respondents - a majority of whom had supported the war in a poll taken a year earlier - are now significantly more critical, with only 43 per cent (down from 61 per cent) now saying it was right to go to war. The March 11 attacks in Madrid precipitated the surprise victory of Spain's new prime minister, Jose Luis Rodriguez Zapatero, elected partly because he promised to remove Spanish troops from Iraq. Polish president Aleksander Kwasniewski has suggested that he was deceived when his country agreed to participate in the coalition. As the Iranian cleric Rafsanjani noted gleefully in a sermon on the first anniversary of the war, "They are drifting apart. A gap has appeared in this group which they call a coalition."

But while the war has increased tensions within the western alliance but it has united the terrorist groups. On a website described by the US government as "jihadist," Hani al-Sibai, the director of the London-based Al-Maqrizi Centre for Historical Studies, says: "Iraq is currently a battlefield and fertile soil for every Islamic movement that views jihad as a priority." He notes that "the continuation of the anti-occupation resistance will produce several groups that might later merge into one large group." Very few of the participants in the Iraqi "jihad" are members of al-Qaeda, he says. "Even if the US forces capture all leaders of al-Qaeda or kill them all, the idea of expelling the occupiers and non-believers from the Arabian Peninsula and all the countries of Islam will not die."

Outside Iraq, a surprising array of groups has joined al-Qaeda in targeting the new world order and its instruments. Albert Huber, a Swiss neo-Nazi who converted to Islam and who is popular with both Aryan youth and radical Muslims, is calling for neo-Nazis and Islamists to join forces. Huber was on the board of directors of the Al-Taqwa Foundation, which the US government says was a major donor to al-Qaeda. Matt Hale, leader of The World Church of the Creator, an American white supremacist organisation, is disseminating a book that exposes the "sinister machinations" that led to September 11, including the involvement of Jews and Israelis.

A totalitarian Islamic revivalism has become the dystopic ideology of the new world order. In an earlier era, its converts might have described their grievances through other ideological lenses, perhaps communism, perhaps Nazism. In Europe a radical transnational Islam, divorced from its countries of origin, is appealing to youth in depressed or high unemployment areas, says Olivier Roy, research director at the French National Centre for Scientific Research. Leaders of the radical groups are often from the middle classes, many of them trained in technical fields, while followers are more likely to be working-class dropouts, he says.

Members of the London-based al-Muhajiroun openly support al-Qaeda. Several men arrested on suspicion of organising a terrorist attack in London in March had been followers of this movement, according to Omar Bakri Muhammad, the group's leader. Al-Qaeda used to be a group but has become a phenomenon, Muhammad told the Lisbon Publico newspaper. "The September 11 attacks made Muslims realise they have power, that the rebirth of Islam is inevitable and we are entering a new chapter in history. That is why we started a new calendar then. We are now in year three of the age of al-Qaeda." It makes no difference whether bin Laden is dead or alive, he said, the movement has taken off.

We must not romanticise al-Qaeda and its networks of nihilist minions by assuming that they have clear objectives that they could ultimately achieve, or that we could, if we chose, appease them. The groups that subscribe to al-Qaeda's ideology have a grandiose vision but no set goals. The purpose of lethal attacks is to rally the followers at least as much as it is to horrify and frighten the victims. The goals continue to shift - from forcing US troops out of Saudi Arabia or coalition troops out of Iraq to sowing discord in the west to setting Iraq aflame with sectarian tensions. To achieve these shifting goals, the movement aims to create a clash not only among civilisations but also within civilisations. The ultimate objective is to "purify" the world - replacing the new world order with a caliphate of terror based on a fantasised simpler, purer, past.

In thinking about how to respond to terrorism, it is important to realise that we are unlikely to persuade terrorists to change their approach. Terrorists, I have found, become professionals and, after some time on the job, it can be hard for them to imagine another life. But terrorists and guerrillas rely on the broader population for support. Mao

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Zedong described insurgents as fish swimming in a sea of ordinary people, whose occasional support they require. We are competing with the terrorists for the hearts and minds of the ordinary people who make up that sea.

Jessica Stern is lecturer in public policy at Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government and author of "Terror in the Name of God: Why Religious Militants Kill" (HarperCollins 2003).

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THE WEEK

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Body

WHAT TO SAY ABOUT . . . MADONNA

What happens when you're a pop star who has reinvented yourself so many times that the only incarnation left untried is a "retiring, poetry and children's book-writing English Jewess and mother of two"? You try it for a couple of years, get bored and then go on a 50-date "Re-Invention World Tour" of the United States and Europe, of course.

"If anything, the name seems a bit too obvious," you chortle, echoing The New York Times's review of Madonna's opening concert on Monday. "You don't see John Kerry crisscrossing the country on a tour called Lots of Speeches.

"Her marriage to Guy Ritchie, her new career writing children's books, her diminishing interest in sexual provocation: all of this may make Madonna happy, but it doesn't keep her fans salivating. So her new tour is designed to remind them why they loved her in the first place."

Shame it hasn't, then, you note, quoting a couple of unhappy reviews. First, the Los Angeles Times: "Message to Madonna: bring back the sex. Or at least something with flesh and blood, please. In launching her world tour Monday at the Forum, Madonna traded most of the old sexual teasing for social commentary, and she's no John Lennon, friends even though she sang Lennon's Imagine at one point."

Then the New York Post: "Madonna's blonde ambition is fading to bland. Just over a decade ago, when the sassy provocateur created a firestorm by displaying her blonde ambition in a pointy cone bra, it would have been insane to suggest she would mellow to the point of wearing buttoned-up army fatigues onstage."

"Never mind the sex," you concede. "We just want her to bring back the cone bra." Note that the show was filled with less-than-sexy references to Iraq, prison abuse and the West Bank, all backed by such get-up-and-dance hits as "I'm burning up, burning up for your love".

And then moan about all that preachy Kabbalah business the ancient Jewish mysticism that is the spiritual flavour of the month for this artist formerly known as the Material Girl. The irony of singing Papa Don't Preach while wearing a "Kabbalists do it better" T-shirt wouldn't have been lost on Madonna, you advise, but that doesn't make it forgivable.

And all that faith wasn't enough to take her to Israel, was it, you declare, noting that she canned her concerts in the Middle East hotspot. It was her manager who wouldn't let her go "because of the attack on the leader of Hamas",

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you explain, invoking your knowledge of the US TV show Access Hollywood. "It's not a good idea to go there and do concerts," you say, paraphrasing Maddy and pretending to understand her logic.

Maybe it's best she doesn't, you smirk, noting soberly that a rabid Jerusalem Post columnist called Shmuley Boteach this week labelled her "a slut". If only she was that simple, you observe. It would certainly be a whole lot easier to make sense of the show.

EDITORIALS

THE TIMES OF INDIA

Heavy-handed Americans

The British army has already expressed its disquiet at the heavy-handed approach of the US military in Iraq. Indian peacekeepers had experience of this in Somalia in 1993, when the US-led UNITAF ran offensive operations against the militia of Mohammad Aidid. In the decade since, the US has apparently learnt nothing. India should not even think of sending peacekeepers until US forces are out of Iraq and there is a genuine UN-run blue-helmet operation in place. New Delhi, May 27

The New York Times

Cowbell dining

At the Parker Meridien hotel, US\$1000 (\$1400) will get you a six-egg frittata with lobster, cream and 10 ounces of sevruga caviar. Staff ring a cowbell when the egg dish is served, lest other diners miss the event . . . This says less about the considerable wealth of some in the city than it does about the return of shamelessly ostentatious consumption and a curiosity about what the very high-end market will bear. The folks at Le Parker Meridien realise they won't be selling many \$1000 frittatas. Besides, it makes the \$28 French toast look like a bargain. New York, May 25

Independent

Bush's five-step plan

Mr Bush repackaged existing policy into a five-step plan that was intended to convey the impression, at least, of a firm hand at the tiller. Peer a little closer, however, and the "plan" proves to be an edifice constructed on the most fragile foundations. The hard truth is that a president who prides himself on his ability to shape the agenda is utterly at the mercy of events. If there are many more suicide bombings, urban insurgencies and US casualties, even far finer words than those Mr Bush uttered on Monday evening will not matter a whit, and he will end up a one-term president like his father. London, May 26

The Asahi Shimbun

Overboard nationalism

Last autumn, the Board of Education ordered schools to raise the Hinomaru flag and sing the nation's anthem at formal assemblies without fail. As a result, about 250 teachers and staff were disciplined for failing or refusing to comply. Some principals asked students to sing Kimigayo at the top of their voices, warning that teachers would otherwise be punished. We are not saying there is anything wrong with hoisting the rising-sun flag or singing Kimigayo. We simply believe these national symbols should not be forced on people. Threatening punitive action, it seems to us, is going way overboard. Tokyo, May 28

THE NATION

VICTORIA

All the bare facts

THE WEEK

A news service that hides nothing from the viewer will soon be available around the world, thanks to a Victorian company. The Naked News, a Canadian-produced "infotainment" program on cable TV, will be made available to mobile phone users. Announcing the deal this week, the Melbourne-based GoConnect said The Naked News featured an all-nude cast who delivered "the serious and lighter side of the news". Newsreaders, one of whom is from Adelaide, begin reading reports clothed, but disrobe as the story unfolds.

ACT

Cabinet leak

A faulty plug installed by ASIO caused a flood big enough to fill a suburban swimming pool in the federal cabinet room last month, resulting in \$700,000 damage. ASIO had installed a small perspex window to enable it to inspect the firewater system before each cabinet meetings, but the window ruptured.

QUEENSLAND

Doggone, they're gone

Thieves who stole 11 puppies from a Brisbane pet shop have released nine of them. Irene Harrison, of Daisy Hill in city's south, found the nine huddled around her letterbox on Wednesday. Two, a mini fox terrier and a maltese-cross mini fox terrier, are still missing.

TASMANIA

Back on the market

Sydney colonial convict-turned-success Mary Reibey would be watching wryly. Her son Thomas's 1819 Entally House, pictured, one of Tasmania's most significant public historic properties, is up for grabs again. In 2002 a NSW couple almost clinched a 99-year lease on the 22-room property with the National Trust for \$500,000, but an outcry against the privatisation led them to withdraw. Now the State Government has sacked the trust. The Heritage Minister, Ken Bacon, said the trust's lease would end in July.

NSW

Strong mussels

The Penrith Lakes are going to get a clean-out with the help of thousands of mussels from Warragamba Dam. Mussels feed off the nutrients in dirty water they die if they are in an area that's too clean and it is expected the new colony will result in clear water. The project, by the University of Sydney, University of Western Sydney and Penrith Council, has been delayed because of low water levels in the dam.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA

Dangerous primary school

A Perth primary school has hired security guards and started padlocking its gates because it says its teachers are being threatened, punched and kicked by students and parents. The situation has got so bad that the school built a fence and parents have to phone the office to get in.

NORTHERN TERRITORY

Not in the family

The Sydney restaurateur Peter Doyle is reportedly demanding a Darwin restaurant change its name. The Northern Territory News reports that the owner of Sydney's famous Doyles Seafoods has had his lawyers write to Tim Doyle, 26, of Darwin, telling him to find another name for his Doyles Family Restaurant, which opened last week. "We are

THE WEEK

a family restaurant and at the most have only two prawn dishes and one fish and chip dish on the menu," the Darwin Doyle said, adding he was not related to his famous Sydney namesake.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA

House prices rising

Adelaide house prices are outperforming those for the rest of the country, says Australian Property Monitors. While prices fell by 7.5 per cent in Sydney and 12.9 per cent in Melbourne, Adelaide saw a 2.7 per cent rise in the March quarter over the December quarter. The median price there is now a massive \$245,000.

TRAVEL RULES AND REFORMS

Editorial

The Australian, May 25

Just as it was forced to reform MPs' ridiculously generous superannuation entitlements under political pressure from the Opposition Leader, Mark Latham, the Howard Government has now been forced to address MPs' travel entitlements under the pressure of public concern over the Draper case . . . Any review that is just a Band-Aid to make the current embarrassment go away tightening a requirement here, sharpening a definition there will be yet another sidestep of real reform by the Howard Government.

Editorial

The Daily Telegraph, May 25

No doubt the stresses and strains of public life involve numerous personal sacrifices and if MPs seek to avail themselves of the consolation of their spouses' company on "study trips" abroad, who would blame them? Well, here's the thing. The guidelines state that a spouse must be a husband or a wife, or a de facto. Mr Sands was neither a husband, nor a de facto, so he was not entitled to travel at our expense with Ms Draper. End of story.

Editorial

The Sydney Morning Herald, May 25

By standards of plain English, the rule is clearer than most statutes. MPs can be accompanied only by spouses or de factos and then by only those living with them "on a genuine domestic basis". That is the rule made by parliamentarians for parliamentarians. But the Government cites a 1993 ruling by the Remuneration Tribunal, which apparently took words of clarity and precision and gave to them a meaning so broad a jumbo jet would fly through the loopholes. If the Remuneration Tribunal trampled on the Parliament's clear intention, what has the Parliament been doing for the past 11 years to reassert its will? The answer, of course, is that politics has accommodated the corrupted rule with a nod and a wink, choosing silence in the hope the rort would proceed unnoticed.

Editorial

The Adelaide Advertiser, May 25

Mrs Draper may have been unlucky to be . . . singled out. But another SA federal MP, Patrick Secker, has shown just how out of touch members can be on this issue. It is about time, he says, that someone pointed out that if MPs take a spouse on an overseas trip, they have to downgrade from first class to economy.

OBESITY THE RISE AND RISE

Editorial

Independent, May 27

THE WEEK

There can be no simple solution to Britain's obesity crisis because no single factor is responsible; the problem is bound up with the way we live our lives. But that is not to say there is nothing we can do to combat the problem and, as the Commons Health Select Committee report today makes clear, the costs of allowing the nation's waistline to expand any further would be disastrous. Obesity is already costing the NHS around £3.5 billion (\$8.95 billion) a year, and we will reap an undesirable harvest of rising levels of diabetes, cancer and heart disease in years to come.

Editorial

The Times, May 27

The clamour from svelte policymakers for draconian action to reduce obesity is more deafening than ever, after the declaration by the Commons Select Committee on Health that an obesity "epidemic" has hit Britain. The picture of sedentary guzzlers burdening the National Health Service is certainly worrying. But it is hard to accept that all these people are gormless, innocent, helpless and hapless victims of cynical marketeers, incapable of a single independent thought.

Editorial

The Scotsman, May 27

A call to ban the advertising of junk food is not necessarily the way ahead. Despite having banned adverts from being targeted at children, Sweden has as much of an obesity problem as anywhere else in Europe. Similarly, bans on tobacco advertising do not seem to have reduced smoking rates, particularly among young women. The problem is not advertising; the problem is that people like to eat foods that are high in fat and sugar, but are not doing enough exercise.

Editorial

The Guardian, May 27

The big disappointment is the readiness of the MPs pushed by Tory members of the committee to give the food industry three more years to clean up its act on junk food. Just how unrealistic this is was demonstrated by the British Soft Drinks Association's immediate rejection of the committee's suggested "traffic light" warning system on unhealthy food too much sugar, salt or fat. The simple truth, which Parliament must face, is that the food industry will not reform unless it is forced to.

Boris Johnson

The Daily Telegraph

Instead of whimpering about obesity, it would also be a good thing if we reclaimed the word "fat". What's wrong with it? Sometimes people call me fat. It stings. It works. And rather than engage in this pointless assault on apple pie, politicians might also speak up for motherhood. Not only are we having too few children, but motherhood, in all its aspects, is a very good way of losing weight.

QUOTES

We did not enter the coalition [of the willing] on the basis of opinion polls last year and we have absolutely no intention, on the basis of opinion polls, of altering our position at the present time.

The Prime Minister, John Howard.

Yes, and the community I represent says "yes, yes, yes". It would be very beneficial for the community in terms of reduction of crime and helping [users] get the support they need.

THE WEEK

Sydney's Lord Mayor and the MP for Bligh, Clover Moore, on decriminalising heroin and setting up a safe injecting room in Redfern.

I am going to answer yes but I would not class it an affair or a relationship.

Joanne Lees, on a question about having a sexual relationship with someone other than her boyfriend, Peter Falconio.

Marriage . . . is the union of a man and a woman . . . entered into for life.

The amendment to the Marriage Act rushed through Federal Parliament to ban same-sex couples from marrying and from adopting children overseas..

I've made it clear that, with two papers, the way I and my family have been treated is an absolute disgrace because at the end of the day, I'm a nice person and loving husband and father, and that's what I've made clear to these people.

Footballer David Beckham.

You don't know if you're going to turn a corner and get a handshake or a bullet, and I don't like that.

Victorian anti-corruption policeman Sergeant Simon Illingworth.

Cut out the booze. No more drinking and become a man instead of a little boy.

Sonya Mason, the mother of NSW rugby league player Willie Mason.

I've heard of people taking hatchets to their own heads after a disappointing result in the State of Origin.

A journalist in PNG.

THE FALLOUT

Grassy diet: An Indian from Kanpur, known as Gangaram, says he can't survive without eating a kilo of grass every day, the Hindustan Times reports. He says the grass gives him energy and a sense of being close to the environment.

Polly wants a . . . : To mark World Parrot Day on Monday, the World Parrot Trust in Britain has launched what is believed to be the world's first DVD for parrots. The 80-minute PollyVision: Strictly for Parrots aims to relieve the boredom of captive birds. "[Parrots] need a great deal of stimulation, or they get bored and depressed, and as humans do, they develop psychological and behavioural problems," said the film's producer, Jamie Gilardi.

Mum's the word: A motorcycle taxi driver in Bangkok has been reunited with her long-lost mum after almost 20 years. Laddawan Danpaibunpol, 29, asked a radio station for help, and after a couple of days it found 48-year-old Waleeporn Suksusil sleeping under a bridge. The woman was too upset to explain why she abandoned her then 10-year-old daughter.

Quality pizza: Italian legislators are mulling over a law laying down rules to protect real Neapolitan pizza. The draft law all three pages, eight articles and six sub-clauses specifies details like the size, height of the centre and crust and correct ingredients. If made to rule, restaurants can label their pizzas Guaranteed Traditional Speciality.

Load-Date: July 17, 2007

Letters to the Editor

The Daily Telegraph (Sydney, Australia)

March 24, 2004 Wednesday

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Section: FEATURES-TYPE- LETTER-COLUMN- LETTERS; Pg. 26

Length: 2789 words

Body

Please give us back our beautiful views

From childhood, I retain memories of a wide open plaza in front of the ferry wharves at Circular Quay in Sydney, with an uncluttered and beautiful view of Sydney Harbour. It was also possible, as I remember,

to catch views of the harbour when walking down the various north-south streets leading to the quay.

The construction of the Cahill Expressway blotted out one of the most beautiful harbour views in the world. It must also rank as one of the most ugly and poorly designed structures in the world.

Wouldn't it be wonderful if, after next Saturday's elections, the new Lord Mayor of Sydney had the vision, foresight and commitment to work with state and federal governments to demolish this obscene blot on the Sydney landscape. The overhead roadway could perhaps be retained, if necessary, supported by more modern, slender support structures.

MATP

All public transport including rail would be placed underground with an appropriate interchange. This would restore the open plaza in front of the ferry wharves and once again give the general public the opportunity to enjoy the unique beauty of Sydney Harbour.

Do any of the candidates for Lord Mayor have the necessary vision and commitment and are they up for the challenge?

John Chippendale, Marsfield

Obscure crews

Deputy Prime Minister John Anderson says he has been concerned about maritime safety issues for some time, yet the Government has allowed flag of convenience ships to come to Australia with foreign crews.

We don't know who they are. How do we know that cells have not already been set up around our ports?

Lyn Gray, San Remo

Open road's an invitation

Letters to the Editor

The Sydney Harbour Bridge is the international icon of our country and could be the prime target for a terrorist attack. I was astounded to learn that the roadway under the south pylon is still open to traffic.

A small van packed with a home-made nitrate bomb, similar to that used in Oklahoma City, and in such proximity to the abutment of the lower arch could easily buckle this vital structural member. This could cause the whole roadway above to fall. The uppermost arch would be of no help, as this was primarily used to span the gap.

I would feel more secure if this roadway was terminated at least 20m from the pylon and protected with bollards to prevent vehicle access.

Bill Barlow, Concord West

The latest news from Morocco is that the probable mastermind behind the Spanish atrocity is the scion of a wealthy Casablanca family. Osama bin Laden was a wealthy businessman before he became a full-time terrorist; the Saudis who carried out the September 11 attacks came from financially comfortable families; and to finance terrorism on the global scale that it has now reached requires a lot of money.

Moreover, if there is a lot of poverty in the Islamic world, there is also a lot of wealth. Well-meaning correspondents who tie themselves in philosophical knots to excuse the evil of terrorism by citing the poverty of Islamic countries are profoundly and dangerously misguided.

There are many areas of greater poverty around the world but the people of those countries have not engaged in a terrorist war against the West.

Norman Rich, Newport

Walkers run risks

It really is amazing how little some people value their own lives. Early morning drivers in our leafy suburbs are continually dodging walkers and joggers in dark clothing, travelling with their backs to following vehicles.

Often they are well out from the kerb, not using the footpath provided.

If pedestrians must walk on the road, they should face the oncoming traffic.

K. Williams,

Beecroft

Jungle rules

Business Council of Australia president Hugh Morgan thinks that Australia's corporate giants are being strangled by rules (Daily Telegraph, March 23).

Mr Morgan ought to identify the rules he was referring to, because when it comes to big business downloading its financial obligations to small business operators, the only rules that apply are the rules of the jungle.

Des Wilson,

Glossodia

Odd look

I can't believe Kym Wilson has been chosen as a fashion agent. The photograph of her at the weekend made me cringe. Who wears dark tights with open-toe sandals?

Carol Swensen,

Letters to the Editor

Sutherland

Hands off

If Bankstown councillors feel they can make money by investing in KFC outlets, they should use their own money and not ratepayers' (Daily Telegraph, March 22, and Letters, March 23).

Rates are levied to provide the basic services that councils need to provide for the community, not for a share club for councillors to improve their investing skills.

Henry Beckett,

Darlinghurst

League's sex scandals stem from players' lack of respect

Emily White (Letters, March 22) believes that we should get rid of cheerleaders at rugby league matches.

I can inform her that she knows little about families. I have two grand-daughters who I take to St George Illawarra games all the time and both love to watch the cheerleaders. My seven-year-old even wants to be a cheerleader and has done so for at least three years.

The sex scandals are there because the players have not been taught to respect females, and no other reason. If everyone respected each other we would remove a lot of problems.

Robert Murphy,

Werrington Downs

Yes, the Bulldogs' board has made some hard decisions, but the board and, importantly, club sponsors now have to consider whether these actions are sufficient to satisfy what is demanded by community standards of decency and decorum. While football results are essential for the viability of a club, community standards are essential for the viability of a society.

Bruce Reid, Kareela

Pines will stay

The National Parks and Wildlife Service (NPWS) has no intention of removing Norfolk Island pines in Botany Bay National Park at Kurnell ("Kurnell's European symbols facing the axe," Daily Telegraph, March 22).

These are commemorative plantings that will form a major part of the Middens to Monuments Walk. If those pines along the foreshore die, Norfolk Island pines will be replanted in their place.

Nor do we have any intention of removing the flagpole, which is an important site for flag-raising ceremonies. It will continue to fly the Australian, NSW and Aboriginal flags.

The replica anchor at the entrance to the park was placed there in 1972. We will be improving the entrance of the park to make sure it reflects the importance of the site as a place of national significance. This may mean retaining the replica anchor where it is, or it may mean moving the anchor to another prominent area of the park with information signs explaining its history.

Mike Patrick, NPWS regional

manager, Sydney South

Letters to the Editor

Back in the early 1970s, the National Parks and Wildlife Service wanted to demolish huts that had been built in the Depression at Crater Bay, below Dobroyd Head, Balgowlah Heights. This was stopped by the Land and Environment Court, which held that the huts were part of our heritage.

Perhaps the court needs to intervene at Kurnell.

Ian Foster, Willoughby

To the point

If the video referee was afforded, via an audio feed, the same insight into the musings of the TV commentary team as viewers, we would have far fewer clangers in rugby league. Fix it, someone. You're losing fans.

Brett Jack, Bonnyrigg Heights

After watching the Rugby World Cup and now the Super 12 competition, I cannot help but notice the number of fat blokes running around. No wonder England won the World Cup. Each of their players was toned and appeared extremely fit.

Trevor Buchanan, Berkeley Vale

In Federal Parliament, battle is joined: the bovver boy is back.

Don McLaren, Newport

I recently had a holiday in Sydney on my first visit in six years. The city's public transport made it so easy to get around. The station at the airport is a great idea -- only 10 minutes to Central.

D. Gardner, Hampton Park, Victoria

The water level at Warragamba Dam has dropped below 50 per cent despite all the rain we have had lately (Daily Telegraph, March 22). Obviously, the dam is in the wrong place. Move it.

Paul Shipton, Roseville

Kind words

I wish to thank the Lennox Head Golden Oldies Rugby Union Club (Stags) for their many acts of kindness to my family over the years.

Last Saturday marked the tenth anniversary of my husband's death and the Stags painted the interior of my house in remembrance of Glen. These wonderful men have continued to show an ongoing commitment to my family in many ways, with graciousness and a generous spirit.

Thank you to organiser Bindo, to president Beachy and to all the workers for your support. You embody the true spirit of the Golden Oldies.

Julie Nash, Lennox Head

I wish to congratulate the Prince of Wales Hospital emergency department for the attention I received on March 7-8, 2004.

The doctors, nursing staff and ambulance officers were so kind and considerate and every test was carried out. My heartfelt thanks to all concerned.

Joan Gates, Randwick

What's news

Letters to the Editor

1 Steve Mortimer has resigned as chief executive of the Bulldogs. In what year did he play his last game for the club?

2 What words did Mark Latham use to describe Foreign Minister Alexander Downer in Federal Parliament on Monday?

3 Name the Hamas founder and spiritual leader who has been assassinated by Israeli forces in Gaza City in an attack that killed seven others.

4 The Cremorne home of which two-time Olympic gold medallist was broken into at the weekend and memorabilia taken?

5 How many Sydney teams will compete in the relaunched national soccer league, announced on Monday and due to start in July-August 2005?

6 Name the actor who will be the new Dr Who when the TV series returns next year.

ANSWERS

1: 1988. 2: He called him a "rotten, lousy disgrace" and was forced to withdraw the remarks by Speaker Neil Andrew. 3: Sheik Ahmed Yassin. 4: Kieren Perkins. 5: One. 6: Christopher Eccleston.

In search

ODELL/BLACK

These families mentioned in a recent In Search entry asked for a reply to an internet site. As I do not have those facilities and as this family comes into my research, could the person who entered their inquiry please phone Max Sawyers on 96232339 or write to 8 Cooina St, Colyton 2760, to share family details.

RAAF REUNION NO 3 EX-APPRENTICES WAGGA

We are holding a reunion for ex-apprentices of No 3 intake 1949-1951. The reunion will be held on Saturday, May 22, 2004, at Dubbo. We need help in locating the following: Pete Kenny, Ray Millard, Pen Miller, Allan Bain, Bullet Baker, M. Boyden (Herb), Richard Head, Roy Toy, Peter Gibson, Jim Wallace, Bernie Stevens, Nuggett Wilson, Phil Cummings (Uncle Remus), Alex Hulol (Akka), Roy Downie. For more information please contact 25 Stonehaven Ave, Dubbo, NSW 2830, phone 68825169, fax 68852060.

NEIL ELLIS

Searching for Neil Ellis. Neil went to Darwin High School in 1971. Son of Vin and Toni Ellis. All very keen South Melbourne (Swans) supporters. School friends Alex and Bruce would like to make contact. Please phone 0401994548.

IRWIN CEMENT TUBS

I would like to obtain a photo or image of Irwin cement laundry tubs that I used in my laundry until the 1970s. Also the kerosene washing-up dish of the 1930s. Please contact Gloria Woolbank Hodgson, 49508648.

THE SEA AROUND US

I am an invalid pensioner and have no phone but am very sincere in my search for a sentimental and influential book from my first six years of life. This book was of the Little Golden Books series of the late 1950s or early '60s when they had hard covers. The book was called The Sea Around Us and it provided me with the only direction in life that I was sure of: scuba diving. It was truly a revelation because of its superlative artwork. I will pay up to \$30 for a copy in excellent condition or \$15 in reasonable condition, plus postage. Please contact Adrian Elliott, 11/459 Dowling St, Surry Hills 2010.

Letters to the Editor

KEN NICKS

I am seeking the whereabouts of my father, Ken Nicks. I was born August 20, 1979, in Coffs Harbour. My mother is Wendy Vorhauer. Ken is somewhere near Kent, maybe Lillydale. He might work in a hospital. Yvette, 0418440056.

If you have a reunion or are seeking information, send the details to In Search, Letters Editor, PO Box 2808, GPO Sydney, NSW 2001 or email us at letters@dailytelegraph.com.au. Include a contact name and phone number. Emails should not include attachments.

In search

EMILY LISTER

I am trying to locate distant family members, who I believe lived or may still live in the Neutral Bay area. These relatives are related via my grandmother (Emily Annie Lister) who recently died. My grandmother was born in London on June 13, 1913. Her father was Thomas Daw, a soldier in the Coldstream Guards and her mother was Susan Daw (nee Wood). I do not know the dates of birth of either Thomas or Susan Daw, other than Thomas would have been about 23 years of age. Thomas was killed on October 29, 1914, in Belgium during World War I. Susan Daw later remarried an Australian soldier and emigrated to Australia. My grandmother was brought up in this country by her aunt and uncle in Yorkshire. It is known that Susan Daw (nee Wood) and her new husband also had children, two twin sisters called Lily and Gladys, who may have been born about 1921 in the Neutral Bay area. Andrew G. Lister, 9 Well Ings Close, Shepley, Huddersfield, West Yorkshire HD8 8FG, United Kingdom. E-mail andylisters@aol.com

SILVER SALVER

I am searching for a silver salver presented to Charles Henry Thomas on August 3, 1864, in Goulburn, NSW. The salver, which is inscribed, was presented for courageous and praiseworthy service in the Goulburn floods. Charles Henry Thomas died on May 2, 1893, and on his death his son Edward Francis Thomas is said to have inherited the salver. Edward was a solicitor with a practice in the town hall, Auburn St, Goulburn. He was the son of Charles Henry Thomas. Edward had two children, Estelle b 1893 and Zilla b 1897. I am seeking this salver so I may obtain a photo of it for my family history chronicle. Terence Payne, 42612300, e-mail tpay3593@bigpond.net.au

WILLIAM McCANNON

I am seeking information on the descendants of William McCannon and Catherine Cruse, married Richmond, Tasmania, in 1852, Known children Michael b. 1851, William b. 1855, George b. 1857, Joseph b. 1861, John b. 1864, Ellen b. 1866 and Thomas b. 1867. Please e-mail P. McCarthy at mccannongenealogy@yahoo.com.au

ANNIE JANE HUDSON nee STEELE

Searching for descendants of above, b. 1881 Hillston, former resident of Australia St, Newtown, before 1960s and late of a Smithfield nursing home during 1960s. I would like to hear from anyone who has a connection for family history. Contact Brian Morgan at 49526340 or bmorgan@telpacific.com.au

GEORGE COLLINS

Trying to locate children or grandchildren of George Fredrick Collins, married Pauline, lived in Bankstown, NSW. George Fredrick Collins known as Jack was only son of Anne Maria Collins nee Stratton. Contact me on 49870074, reverse charge accepted after 7pm.

JOHN BARRETT

For family history purposes I am looking for descendants of John Patrick and Alice Margaret Barrett (nee McKee), late of Westbourne Rd, Lindfield. Alice died in 1975 and John in 1984. They had a daughter Helen Margaret

Letters to the Editor

(married George Gray) and a son John Michael (married Jacqui). Please contact Carole Cutts on 43925151 or MICAR@bigpond.com

ELIZABETH SCHULTZ

I am researching Elizabeth Schultz (b. 1873 Victoria) who married Robert Young (b. 1873 Victoria, d.1919 Braidwood NSW) in 1902 at Newtown, NSW. They had five children: Mary J.C. (b. 1903 Newtown) who married John P.R. Stewart in 1928 at Burwood. Robert N. (b. 1905 Camperdown) who married Laura A. Hannon in 1935 at Randwick. Lillian F.E. (b. 1907 at Camperdown, d. 1927) married Phillip A. Holman 1926. Ronald C.C. (b. 1909 Newtown) married Mollie P Scott 1934 at Katoomba. Donald G.C. (b. 1911 Hurstville) married 1932 Marion M. Dewar. I would love to hear from any descendants for my family tree. Contact elaine63@bigpond.com or 244 Peechelba St, Albury, NSW 2640.

STEPHEN KEAN(E)

My ancestor Stephen Kean(e) arrived from County Clare, Ireland, in 1841 and settled in Bathurst. Family connection remained there for nearly 100 years to my father's generation (born 1933). Eager to meet/share info with other researchers looking into this name and related names -- Prendergast, McQueeney, etc. Contact Greg Kean on gregk@uca.org.au

Mail

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1900-969545. Calls cost 82.5 cents including GST per minute. Mobile and pay phones extra.

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

Letters may be edited.

Load-Date: March 23, 2004

Cab class

Sydney Morning Herald (Australia)

August 25, 2005 Thursday

First Edition

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Section: THE SYDNEY MAGAZINE; Pg. 37

Length: 3741 words

Byline: James Mayson, James Mayson visited the taxi school anonymously and names have been changed. Driver profiles Mark Chipperfield

Body

The next time you jump in a taxi, remember that your driver had to sit an exam to get there. James Mayson enrolls in taxi school to get a first-hand experience - and picks up a few useful tips.

Day one: the basics

4pm, Joseph Street, Lidcombe

(Sydney map page 273, ref M17).

Squeezed between a Korean grocery and a dishevelled photo processing shop are the antiquated offices of one of Sydney's most popular taxi schools. A motley crew for whom English is mostly not their mother tongue loiters outside. Most are smoking. Some chat to each other and don a swagger of indistinct confidence; others avert their eyes or look nervously to the sky.

A voice barks from inside and two dozen cigarette butts hit the pavement. A tide of international flotsam ebbs towards their seats and over the next four nights these brave souls begin their introduction to the Sydney Knowledge Test - the "flaming hoop" that stands between them and their consecration into this city's most derided profession: taxi driving. But why?

Money. Bill is a legendary teacher from the old school of taxi drivers who doesn't mind telling it like it is: "I love taking money out of people's pockets. That's what I live for. My wife likes going to dinner ... She loves going to Hong Kong ... Gentlemen, we're only out there for one reason. What is it?"

He taps his back pocket and smiles. "Money ... Bloody wonderful."

This bravado, repeated ad nauseum during the course, has the whole room beaming. Yes, money is the motivator for some, although there are also a few who do it because they love it - it defines them.

Then there are the ones whose reasons are a little more complex: to be their own boss, to escape the confines of an office; because the flexibility lends itself to aspirational goals such as study or to feed another fledgling career; to get paid to learn English; to put their daughter through private school, or maybe just because no one else will hire them.

Cab class

The classroom is lined with banks of computer screens that look more like museum pieces than technology to aid education. The muted grey and grubby blue colour scheme is reminiscent of the 1980s.

Each person paid more than \$1000 to be here and as the class fills to 43, and personal space disappears, the overwhelming thought is that someone is doing extremely well out of this.

Casting an eye around the room it is soon obvious that there are no women. The ducting overhead rumbles like a runaway train. A faint smell of salami, five-spice powder, Old Spice aftershave and BO hangs in the air during the first rollcall.

We are blessed with three teachers: Bill is the corpulent "battler" whose preferred method of training is to fix the class with a petulant gaze, cross his arms and interrogate the weak; Dave is fairly young and speaks with a booming enthusiasm, although you wonder how long it will be before the tired, resigned sarcasm sets in. And then there's the boss, Alf, whose humour is dry, irreverent and often just

plain silly.

Despite this ethnic diversity a taxi school is no place for the politically correct. Nigerian, Irish, Turkish, Indian, Argentinean and English all have representatives at this sitting, but the majority of students are from mainland China or have Arabic backgrounds.

So it's just as well the class jibes are universal in their pointedness and, more importantly, help to break the ice.

Alf: "So if you keep travelling up Pirrama Road in Pyrmont, what's the big building you come to eventually? Chinese people don't answer this ... Yes, that's right, the c-a-s-i-n-o."

There are nine books to cover in this course. Most are left for us to do it in our own time, although over the next four nights, in no particular order, we manage to open four.

We begin with Book Two - Regulations, and some basic role-playing exercises. Hamas takes the job of a driver doing a pick-up, while Philippe stands at the side of the class in a make-believe house and waits ... and waits ... and ... well, the aim is to replicate real life. Bill prepares the scenario: "Eventually the driver arrives outside the house. Now remember, it's 5am. What does he do?"

"Blow the horn!" screams Irfan the class clown.

"No," sighs Bill. "The regulations state you must knock

on the door. The regulations are in section four. They are easy. You don't have to learn them because they're mostly just commonsense."

So we learn how to knock on a door and address a customer by his name: "In psychology, using someone's name is called stroking," explains Bill. "It makes the customer think that you do really care about them. You don't! But it makes them think you do."

We move on to Book Four: Taxi Driving Management. Bill sparks up the overhead projector that throws its lopsided light halfway across a whiteboard. Several transparencies are whipped on, read through and whipped off.

"When you pick someone up, what do you become?" Bill asks before pointing at those with the most baffled look for an answer.

"A target," says one of the pizza boys.

"Greedy person," fires another.

"A taxi driver?" queries one of the Chinese students in the front row.

Cab class

"A businessman," booms Bill. "And what are you selling?"

"A service?" peeps an unknown voice from the back.

"Taxi!" says Irfan (cue riotous laughing).

"No, mate," says Bill, "... no, you are selling a product." Bill then goes on to explain various occasions where he has "sold" his "product". As we near the end of the first day, it dawns on me that this is not so much a lesson in facts as a school of anecdotes.

Day two: customer service

4pm, Joseph Street, Lidcombe

(Sydney map page 273, ref M17).

We spend most of the early evening learning how to deal with those who have a disability - some people on welfare who have difficulty getting public transport can apply for subsidised travel in taxis.

This is an element of paid, public service that most people are unaware the taxi industry provides. We watch a video with the cerebral palsy-inflicted comedian Steady Eddy on a creaky old TV. A bunch of cabbies sits around having a beer, explaining to each other why terms like "spastic" and "retard" are not acceptable. Bill chips in by reminding us that "a disabled person is not an idiot".

We cruise through driver safety and pull up at the "bleeding-dog scenario". Certain individuals are pointed at and asked if they would stop and take it to a vet. The tone is accusatory. "There's always a few bleeding hearts," says Bill. "Me? I'd run over it. Gentlemen, the law states you are not responsible. So don't waste your time and money. Call triple 0 and keep driving."

The trick to earning a lot of money, apparently, is to have your finger on the pulse. As Bill so eloquently puts it: "I don't wanna be the dickhead driving up Moore Park Road not knowing the Sydney Swans are playing. You gotta be omni-cultural - if there's a Sikh temple throwing a party, or a ladies' night at Parramatta Leagues, I'll be there." His eyes become misty when he recalls a boatload of US sailors down at Woolloomooloo, reminiscing about multiple hirings to the Bourbon and Beefsteak and back.

Book Three is next. "Customer service," snaps Bill, scrawling it across the white board and underlining it several times. He swings around and fixes the room. "Where does it start?"

"Weez your fist passenger?" chirps a previously unheard South American accent.

"When zay put ze bum on ze seat," gargles Chemical Ali (so named because of his continuous phlegm-flecked sneezing).

"It starts," proffers Bill, tapping his temple, "in your head. You've got to start thinking like a taxi driver from the minute you wake up. You've got to shower. Use a deodorant - take it with you on the road. Wear a clean uniform. Clean your car because let me tell you, taxis do stink."

Bill returns to the bottom dollar: "A lot of people say 'I don't pick up gays'. Well, that's financial suicide, because that's where the money is. They pay well, they don't do runners and they don't thump ya." He then moves on to explain how to placate an angry customer who's been waiting too long: "Shift the blame. Blame the computer in front of you, or the radio operator, or the traffic. You make it look like you care about the customer. You don't! But you bloody well make sure they think you do."

Obviously all these constructive tips about customer service are getting through. As the student to my left whispers to me on the way out: "We pick 'em up when they're pissed. We pick 'em up when they're stranded. We take 'em to the hospital when they're sick or injured. We take them home at 4am, mate, on New Year's Day. And we never get

Cab class

thanks for it." Abdul is right. Driving a taxi is about the most under-appreciated task around. The fact that he hasn't even sat behind the wheel of a taxi yet seems a hair-splitting triviality.

Day three: the English test

10am, Mary Street, Surry Hills

(Sydney map page 28, ref K4).

Conducted at the NSW Government's Adult Migrant English Service, the test involves basic comprehension. One particularly gruelling section tests the ability to take commands - I am asked to open the cupboard behind me, take out the local Yellow Pages, find the phone number to Bondi Police Station and read it out.

According to Tony Butterworth, one of the teachers, some applicants are so well prepared that when asked to complete the above task, they recite the phone number before even opening the book. Clairvoyance is but one of the many skills some taxi drivers apparently possess.

On the third evening, two suits from the Australian Taxation Office attempt to bore the class into submission. Those who aren't nodding off are looking wide-eyed and petrified at ABN forms and BAS statements.

Most drivers work by the "pay-in" system. That is they virtually "hire" a car for a 12-hour period for about \$130-\$200, depending on the shift, Saturday night being the most expensive. On top of that they must pay for petrol, a car wash and excess kilometre charges. You begin to understand why so many drivers stress about even

making pay-in.

According to Bill, decent drivers make between \$500 and \$600 gross on a good shift. "I've never worked more than four shifts a week," he says. "The idea of getting up five days a week does not impress me at all. I hate the customers. They'll swear blind that I don't, but I do."

Day four: the physical test

11am, Bourke Street, Redfern

(Sydney map page 66, ref M8).

The doctor comes highly recommended by the taxi school for his bargain price - just \$15 for the compulsory physical examination. Most GPs charge anything up to \$80.

I am weighed, measured and then tested for Romberg's sign (an abnormality of balance), by closing both eyes while keeping my feet together. "Now urinate in here," the doctor says. Luckily he didn't mean his office but a plastic takeaway coffee cup that has been thrust into my left hand. He motions towards the toilets at the back. When I return I read the bottom line of letters on a wall chart, my blood pressure is taken and I am asked several other questions. And, 10 minutes after I've arrived, I'm done.

On the last evening, all talk is of the test. Set by the Ministry of Transport in consultation with the NSW Taxi Council, the Sydney Knowledge Test is a very involved process with 60 questions chosen from a bank of more than 700 (many of which are simply commonsense).

Even before you are allowed to sit it there are books to wade through and assessments to pass. To finish the course quickly one can expect to take three to four weeks, although for most the reasonable finishing time is six to eight weeks. But ... there are some fast-track tricks.

The taxi schools are first and foremost about getting their students through - that's what they're paid to do. More generally, they are about providing resources and the compulsory contact hours with students. The course fee includes unlimited access and use of the computer equipment and classroom to meet and study with other students - so depending on your needs, there is decent value for money.

Cab class

The real story of how people with limited English and little understanding of the questions pass the test comes in two ways: first with the voluntary study groups, where everyone moves at the speed of the fastest achiever.

Secondly, the answers to the multiple-choice questions rarely change, so "parrot" learning the answers (eg, the answer to the question about Pitt Street is always "C") can get you through the test without ever having to understand the question, let alone the correct answer.

Of course there is a balance to be struck, for taxi driving is not the most desired career. Make it too difficult and the pendulum of complaints swings from incompetence back to lack of drivers.

Many migrants who drive cabs become disillusioned as they witness their own skills atrophy because their qualifications are not recognised. Outside and inside a cab, they are faced with prejudice and discrimination.

On our last night we turn to Book One:

Navigation. The map drills are excellent and for the first time I understand how a street directory is set up and how best to use it.

We learn how to use the index effectively, how to trace a route across the city - everyone knows that streets on the left and right of each page run onto the next page, most don't realise that every street at the top of the page is continued on the map 20 pages back and every street on the bottom of each map is continued 20 pages forward.

Alf: "Learning how to read a map and how to work out how to get from A to B is like an art. It's a trade. It's something that people can't take away from you. You can't buy it ... but people will pay you for it ... It's important that you know where you're going, or at least look like you know what you are doing. You can't hand the customer the street directory and say: 'You show me.' When a customer asks you, 'Is this the best way, driver?' use the taxi driver's magic word - usually." At this point we begin exercises in plotting routes. Directories fly open, various languages fill the air and mayhem descends ... This is how we end our last evening.

Despite the negative preconception of Sydneysiders, most drivers do a decent job. We've all had the run around or the occasional bad experience - the nightmare trip that we tend to remember above and beyond all those non-eventful, completely forgettable journeys that get us from A to B.

But do we ever really consider what it's like on the other side of that plastic bubble? As one old cabbie put it: "When you go to work, do you contemplate the possibility that someone might vomit on you? Do you worry that someone might not pay you? That they'll rob you? Stab you? That when you kiss your wife goodbye to go to work, that you might not come back?" Perhaps he is being overly dramatic, but what he says is true to a point - most of us do not work in a potentially threatening environment. In all honesty, when you think about it, driving a taxi is about the most thankless job in our everyday world.

Are Sydney taxi drivers the worst in the world? Not by a long shot. They may not wear white gloves like they do in Tokyo, or know their streets like they do in tiny Manhattan (Sydney has one of the largest metropolitan zones in the world), but I've had worse rides on every continent on the planet.

I've been touched up in Cairo and fleeced in Quito, had death threats in Marrakech, been marooned in Kowloon and propositioned in Punjab. Sure, we'd all like our drivers to be Oxford scholars who only spoke to us when spoken to, agreed with all our beliefs, looked like Angelina Jolie (or for the girls ... um ... Angelina Jolie) and refused to take our money. But I'm saving that little fantasy for my last ride to the big nightclub in the sky.

Judgement day:

the Sydney Knowledge Test

11am King Street, Newtown

(Sydney map page 64, ref Q10).

Cab class

D-Day. Finally, after six weeks, after all the necessary workbooks, drills, gruelling physical and literacy examinations, I sit before a computer to take my place among the ranks of taxi drivers. There are five parts.

Street knowledge: 10 questions out of a possible 90. Eighty per cent to pass.

Major routes: 10 questions out of a possible 90. Eighty per cent to pass.

Locations and destinations: 20 questions out of a possible 260. Eighty per cent to pass.

Passenger transport regulations: 10 questions out of a possible 200. Ninety per cent to pass.

Street directory test: eight questions out of a possible 150. One hundred per cent to pass.

A score of 85 per cent across the board is the bare minimum. My head is hurting, my eyes watering, my palms sweaty - but I think this is something I picked up in a cab on the way to the test. I'm cruising until I hit locations. My score? A paltry 43 per cent.

I stumble out to the street and hail a taxi.

"Where to, boss?"

"Bondi Junction."

"Oxford Street or Edgecliff Road?"

"I think the answer's C... No, B!"

"Sorry?"

"Um ... Map 274, Ref I8?"

"Ah ... you wanna go via Moore Park Road?"

"I dunno. Is that quicker?"

"... Usually." (s)

DENNIS GABONE

Age: 45

Born: Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

How long have you been driving a cab? Nine years.

Why did you become a taxi driver? I came to Australia in 1995 and needed a job. That was the only thing available. I needed to put bread on the table.

What did you do before you were a taxi driver? I was a shipping manager in Tanzania for 15 years. When I first came here, I worked as a security guard and then I got into driving. I bought my own cab about four years ago.

What is the best thing about being a taxi driver? It's versatile. I can work anytime I want. Also, I can keep working until I'm 75 if I want - earning an honest income all the time. The best thing is getting good fares and good passengers. I've had Paul Keating in my cab.

What is the worst thing? Rude passengers. But you have to remember that the longest you have them in the cab is half an hour and then you're not going to see them again.

Cab class

What is your dream job? My boyhood ambition was to be a businessman, to be my own boss. So I'm content doing what I'm doing.

Best tip for a new driver? I tell them 'join in'. You have to be passionate about driving otherwise you're not going to make it. Don't get angry about small issues. Be calm and relaxed in the job.

HAKIM GUELLATI

Age: 51

Born: Algiers, Algeria

How long have you been driving a cab? 14 years.

Why did you become a taxi driver? When I came to Australia, I applied for a job with Qantas. They said I was over-qualified, so I became a cab driver.

What did you do before you were a taxi driver? I was an aircraft engineer, working on civil aircraft. I trained in France. I worked with Algerian Airlines for 10 years.

What is the best thing about being a taxi driver? Not having a boss. As a cab driver you have lots of freedom and I like meeting new people. Good people, bad people.

What is the worst thing? This is not an easy job. We work long hours. But the worst thing is that you learn nothing.

What is your dream job? My old job. Being an aircraft engineer. Very interesting. That was something I really loved doing. There was always a challenge.

Best tip for a new driver? If you have a permanent job, stay where you are. But if you want to drive, drive only on the weekends for extra money.

PETER CHAN

Age: mid-40s

Born: Hong Kong

How long have you been driving a cab? One year.

Why did you become a taxi driver? I was working as a mortgage consultant, but I'm making more money driving cabs.

What did you do before you were a taxi driver?

I trained as an accountant in Hong Kong, then I went into the mortgage business. It's a long story. Don't ask me about that.

What is the best thing about being a taxi driver? The more time you invest, the more money you can make. It is a professional job. You can serve many different types of people. It can be very interesting. People tell you funny stories.

What is the worst thing? Getting up early in the morning. If you sleep, you lose money. Driving can be risky, so you have to be alert.

What is your dream job? I would like to work as an accountant again, but I think I'm probably happier being a driver. I was in the accounting field for too long.

Best tip for a new driver? I hope they can stay in their present job, unless there is no alternative.

Cab class

JOE RODA

Age: 55

Born: Leiria, Portugal

How long have you been driving a cab? 27 years.

Why did you become a taxi driver? I trained as an accountant, but I didn't like it. I only lasted six months. I used to go home exhausted. I like the freedom of driving.

What did you do before you were a taxi driver? I was driving trucks interstate. The money was good, but then I got married and started a family. A friend of mine was going on holiday and asked me to look after his cab. That's where it all started. Then I bought my own cab.

What is the best thing about being a taxi driver? The public. I love it. People are so beautiful.

What is the worst thing? Those mongrels in Macquarie Street [politicians]. They've made me an official thief for them. The traffic is bad, but it's part of the job.

What is your dream job? Apart from this, maybe driving a truck. Once you get used to being on the road you can't get out of it. When I go on holiday in Queensland or overseas I dream about the cab.

Best tip for a new driver? Take your time, don't rush things. You also have to like the public.

ALAM SIDDIQUE

Age: 23

Born: Dhaka, Bangladesh

How long have you been driving a cab? Two years.

Why did you become a taxi driver? I am studying IT at college [Central Queensland University, Sydney International Campus] and I need to earn money. Taxi driving is good because I can work during my vacation and when it suits me.

What did you do before you were a taxi driver? I have been in Australia for five years. My first job was at Woolworths, where I was stacking shelves and working on the checkout.

What is the best thing about being a taxi driver? No one can push you around, there's no boss. I decide when I want to work. It's flexible. When I need extra money I can just work more weekend shifts.

What is the worst thing? People sometimes get angry if you don't know the way. Or they want you to speed up and we're not allowed to speed up. Drunk people can be very annoying. One time someone took me to Hornsby. Afterwards they ran away. I had to pay [the fare] from my own pocket.

What is your dream job? When I complete my degree I'd like to work in networking.

Best tip for a new driver? Everyone thinks there's big money in cabs, but there's a lot of competition. Be modest [in your expectations] about what you're going to earn.

Graphic

Cab class

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Body

Nobel prize winner Peter Doherty reflects on how the nation can use its intellect to address the world's great problems in the next 40 years.

THE AUSTRALIAN HAS been around for most of my long career as a research scientist. Before that there was no national newspaper.

Melbourne and Sydney had quality dailies, but this was not the case for my home town of Brisbane.

I recall very clearly how delighted I was by those first issues. Others to whom I have spoken recently have similar memories. Since then both "The Oz" and the world in general have changed enormously. What has happened during those 40 years? The answer clearly has to be "a hell of a lot".

MATP

I will focus on some issues that fascinate me. Much of what happens in Australia reflects global trends that are in many respects outside our control. Even so, the way we respond to such challenges defines what we are. There is no doubt in my mind that the single most important change over the past 40 years is the doubling of the world's population.

Most of this growth is in the developing world. We have gone from about 3 billion people in 1960 to the current count of 6.4 billion. The figure for the year I was born (1940) was 2.3 billion. The guess for the number of people on the planet at the time of Christ ranges from 200 million to 300 million. Throughout history, the control of key resources such as land, water and oil has defined social systems and determined patterns of war and alliance. Though gradual population increase promotes prosperity in countries with stable infrastructure and democratic institutions, the combination of explosive growth and poverty can be disastrous for marginal economies.

Can we be surprised that these past decades have been increasingly associated with conflict, massive refugee migrations and environmental degradation? Why should we in our well-resourced "lifeboat continent" of Australia care about this?

The effects of climate change are global. The winds and the migratory birds that can carry infectious diseases do not recognise national boundaries. The oceans that surround us extend to the shores of some of the most densely populated lands on Earth. The depleted catch means that Australia, like many other countries, is involved in permanent, low-key, undeclared fishing boat wars. A visceral fear is that our lifeboat will be swamped if too many

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try to climb on board. The "razor-wire lifeboat" strategy of the Tampa-Pacific solution has already created major tensions in this society. Such questions will continue to agonise successive generations of Australians, especially if the predictions of global warming are indeed true and many low-lying areas and islands are inundated.

How else does this global population explosion impact on us? If you go to the web, you will find that the characteristic common to many of the key political flashpoints is very high birth rates.

Just watching the world news will leave you with the sense that there are large numbers of young men with little better to do than wave rifles in the air.

Abdel Aziz Rantissi, the recently assassinated leader of the Palestinian militant group Hamas, was one of 12 children born to a family in a refugee camp.

The Israel-Palestine conflict makes sense if you simply look at the issue as two expanding populations competing for marginal resources of land and water. Rwanda was the most densely inhabited agrarian society on Earth when it blew up.

The resources of this small planet are finite.

We have been progressively running down the supply of arable land in the rich and the poor world.

Fresh water is becoming a major problem in many countries and, with possible climate change, looms as an enormous and immediate difficulty for Australia. Water has rapidly become a priority for federal and state governments. All of us need to do what we can at a personal level to save water.

Most people are not happy with the idea of drinking recycled sewage, though my eminent colleague Nancy Millis, chancellor of La Trobe University, believes that, provided it is treated appropriately, this would be one way to go. A good sharemarket tip might be to invest in bottled water companies.

Solutions that could address problems of drought resistance, soil erosion and salt accumulation by the use of genetically modified plants are anathema to some aggressive and extremely well-funded environmental groups.

Look carefully at what they are saying and take the trouble to read competing arguments before you buy into these scenarios. Most of the US population has been eating GM food for years.

Asthma rates, one of the favourite anti-GM targets, have actually been falling in New York City. Plant molecular genetics is extremely strong here, and Australian farmers are early adopters of new technology. We risk losing our competitive edge if we become a nation of rigid anti-GM ideologues.

More than 800 million people do not get enough

to eat each day. Nobody believes that GM can be the complete answer to global hunger and all agree that the utilisation of GM technology must be properly regulated. However, even the most altruistic, publicly funded efforts of the international agricultural community to expand food production and to correct nutritional deficiencies with engineered plants are being increasingly frustrated. If you want access to an African perspective, go to the web and read Kenyan scientist Florence Wambugu's Statement on Biotechnology in Africa to the Committee on Agriculture of the US House of Representatives.

Loss of forest environment proceeds almost unabated, even in wealthy countries. This in turn puts tremendous pressure on native animal species. At a recent infectious disease meeting in Texas, Beatrice Hahn - who works on AIDS-like viruses in non-human primates - raised the possibility that there will be no gorillas or chimpanzees in the wild within 20 years.

Two factors are at work. The first is the increase in hunting "bush meat" for food. The second is infection with the terrifying ebola virus.

MY PROFESSIONAL OBSESSION IS VIRAL immunity - not plant science, environmentalism or demography. Though Malthus predicted the population explosion more than 200 years ago, none of us was prepared for AIDS. The early 1980s marked our first awareness that we had a serious problem with a major outbreak of the fatal wasting disease in the gay male populations of San Francisco and New York. It took some time to sort out what was going on and to isolate the causative virus. Even then, there was silly debate within elements of the scientific community about whether the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) is the cause of this acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS). In fact, HIV may not kill directly; it just works to destroy the immune system so that the patient dies from cancer, tuberculosis or a number of other bugs that do not normally pose a problem. Academic arguments can be dangerous.

The confusion created in the minds of some political leaders resulted in policy decisions that have had disastrous consequences.

The AIDS pandemic is still far short of its full potential. Rather than diminishing the social disruption and erosion of infrastructure that have been a major consequence of the population explosion, AIDS has just deepened the problems.

Many African nations are losing their young professionals, their teachers and their farmers.

The disease is spreading in India, Cambodia and Vietnam. Australian public health workers are very concerned about what could happen in Papua New Guinea. AIDS is a heterosexual disease in the developing world, with women being particularly at risk. More than 3 million people, including at least 600,000 children, are expected to die of AIDS within the coming year. The current calculation is that 3000 new infections are occurring each day.

Being infected with HIV is no longer an almost certain death sentence for those in rich countries

that have access to triple drug therapy. The rapid development of these antiviral agents reflects the enormous power of modern molecular medicine.

Even so, there are concerns here and in the US that the availability of therapy is leading to an increase in high-risk behaviour. Whatever one may think about the current marriage debate, it makes sense from the public health aspect for gay males to form stable, long-term relationships. Many efforts are being made to supply cheap drugs to poor countries. The possibility of treatment has the enormously positive effect of bringing people into clinics, where they can be helped and counselled.

An affordable, very limited drug treatment schedule can prevent transmission to the newborn.

The AIDS research community is exploring every possible strategy for making an effective vaccine. My laboratory is involved in two programs, one in Australia and one in the US. None of the current vaccine candidates is, however, likely to give complete protection. The best hope at this stage is that there may be a decrease in the numbers of infected cells, which will in turn limit the extent of transmission. Such predictions are based on experiments in monkeys. Unfortunately, HIV does not grow in laboratory mice, so the pre-clinical testing has to be done in non-human primates. In the end analysis, however, the "proof of principle" for any AIDS vaccine is to give the product to people in an endemic area.

Such studies are mostly at an early stage. The type of well-resourced, absolutely honest, public awareness campaigns that were used so successfully to stem the progress of AIDS in Australia and Europe can also be highly effective elsewhere. The rapidly expanding epidemic in Thailand was cut significantly when all elements of society, including the King, the military and religious leaders, supported a campaign based on ABC, "Abstinence, Be faithful, use a Condom". The same approach has worked in Uganda and Senegal. The harm reduction and international health programs led by Nick Crofts and Mike Toole at Melbourne's Burnet Institute are making a major contribution by adapting such strategies to different cultural and economic realities.

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Given the severity of the AIDS problem, you may be asking how this will impact on the predictions for population growth. Current estimates are that the size of the human family will stabilise at about 9 billion by 2050.

The impact of about 300 million deaths from AIDS over that time may be seen more in the resultant social dislocation, grief and rage than a dramatic fall in total numbers. The possible strategic implications, including recruitment to terrorist agendas, are not escaping the attention of security agencies. We must surely do everything we can now to expand both the magnitude and the acuity of our foreign assistance in this area.

Encouraging data suggest that women everywhere are seeking to reduce family size.

Any trend towards the empowerment of women can, of course, be deeply threatening to the established power structures of traditional, patriarchal societies and religious organisations.

In my opinion, the single most important assistance we can give is to help provide comprehensive health clinics and economic opportunity for poor women. Sadly, because of sensitivities concerning the abortion issue, some conservatives in the US have been working to compromise family planning initiatives around the world.

Access to appropriate care and reproductive advice can serve to diminish the spread of HIV, to hold birth rates to tolerable levels and to promote the general well-being of families.

THE POPULATION EQUATION IS VERY different when it comes to Australia, Japan and Europe. Birth and marriage rates continue to fall.

Nobody has yet worked out how to sustain prosperity in a situation of declining numbers.

The US maintains growth largely by immigration and has had a spectrum of amnesties since 1986 that allow illegal (but otherwise law-abiding) immigrants to become citizens. President George W. Bush recently floated the possibility of a further amnesty, but the idea is not popular with the electorate at large. Maybe we could be a little more relaxed about this issue.

We worry a lot about the fact that a million Australians, or 5 per cent of the population, are now expatriates. The rapid increase in this trend over the past few years reflects the international "population churn" of globalisation. Australia is, in turn, attracting talented people who were born elsewhere. The current policy of facilitating immigration for the best and brightest makes a lot of sense. Though the "national face" may be changing, the accents and basic attitudes make current first-generation Australians seem much like everyone else.

The success of modern medicine has greatly altered the age profile in countries such as Australia. A major factor has been the enormous success in treating high blood pressure and cardiovascular problems. Surgical intervention has dramatically improved the quality of life for those with coronary artery disease, while cholesterol-lowering statins are highly effective preventive agents. We are also doing much better with some forms of cancer, and have recently seen the emergence of the first very specific anti-cancer drug, Glivec. This is a synthetic chemical that blocks the action of a faulty growth control protein in chronic myelogenous leukaemia and some other tumours.

The Australian capacity to exploit such "rational drug design" approaches will be greatly facilitated by the new synchrotron.

The strength of our medical research community is such that Australia can reasonably hope to stake out a position in what will, in coming decades, be a magnificent enterprise, both from health and economic aspects. The first locally made designer drug was Relenza, developed by Mark von Itzstein, Peter Coleman and Graeme Laver.

Their success depended on more than 40 years of research by Graeme on the influenza neuraminidase protein. Relenza has not yet been a great commercial hit but remains, together with its orally administered equivalent Tamiflu, the best protection that we have against a global influenza pandemic. The recent experience with SARS, which cost Asian economies more than \$28 billion, and the possibility that the extraordinarily virulent H5N1 bird flu could cross into humans, has increased our consciousness of the extreme danger that respiratory infections pose.

Crush of humanity - Overpopulation - Diseases - Immigration - Food Shortages - Essay - 40 YEARS OF THE AUSTRALIAN - Part 1 of 13

At least in the drug development area, innovation progresses increasingly from basic science studies in universities and research institutes to small start-up biotechnology enterprises, to purchase of their intellectual property (or the total operation) by Big Pharma.

Though it may be unlikely that any major pharmaceutical operation will want to establish a physical plant here, recent deals between Australian groups and the US Merck company have shown very clearly that we can be highly competitive at the discovery or early development stage that leads to novel drugs and vaccines.

The need is for Australian resources to support the initial basic research through peer-reviewed grant mechanisms, then to find the resources to take the potential product through to early human trials for safety and efficacy. Such clinical trial facilities have recently opened in Brisbane and Melbourne.

The new therapeutic interventions represented by designer drugs such as the statins and Glivec have the common feature that they are expensive, at least until they emerge from patent protection.

Even though such products have the potential for considerable saving by increasing productive life spans and decreasing hospital and surgical costs, they can provide a major shock for those attempting to budget healthcare dollars.

The other unintended consequence is that the longer we live, the more likely we are to develop chronic, expensive, degenerative neurological problems such as Alzheimer's disease.

A BIG PROBLEM IN COUNTRIES SUCH as Australia is the weighting of both resource allocation and personal wealth to the elderly.

Most of our healthcare dollars are spent on people at the end of life, often to prolong a low quality of existence. There is a lot of discussion about the morality of, for example, withholding support at the inevitable end of life, but relatively little attention is given to the ethical implications of the way healthcare budgets are divided.

A major challenge for the future is to redress this imbalance in resources between old and young, rich and poor. James Wolfensohn, the Australian who heads the World Bank, speaks with great conviction of the necessity for the wealthy nations to provide greater help for the developing world.

The communications revolution means that all people see, and many have ambitions to enjoy, an idealised version of the Western lifestyle.

The challenge is to move to a state of greater global equity, while at the same time protecting the environment and maintaining prosperity. The word that should remain at the forefront of our thinking is "sustainability".

How can Australia best contribute to future global stability? Perhaps our greatest advantage is that the relative lack of population pressure allows us the flexibility to experiment and to look carefully for practical solutions. We inhabit an ancient, physically degraded island that shares many aridity and environmental problems with developing countries. The spectrum of expertise in research and practice that we continue to build has great potential for the development of broadly applicable, green, sustainable and innovative technologies oriented towards the restoration of fragile ecosystems and the defeat of disease and hunger. Though it may be long term, there must inevitably be some major economic opportunities in these areas.

TIME CAPSULE - POPULATION 1964-2004

BOTH sides of the debate about how many people Australia can sustain without damaging the environment and our quality of life are equally certain they are correct. Either way, the figures can't be ignored. Since 1964, Australia's population has grown from 11.1 million to just over 20 million today. Evidence of how this has changed the nation is before our eyes. Our cities are larger and more crowded, but it's arguable whether our quality of life has suffered. There's less space and less fresh water, but then in 1964 we wasted both resources without giving much thought to tomorrow.

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In 1964, about 30 per cent of Australians were under 15. Today it's only 20 per cent. Then, about 8.5 per cent of us were over 65; now it's more than 12 per cent, rising to more than 20 per cent by 2034 when the last of the baby boomers will reach retirement age.

Maybe an ageing population will consume less and ease the pressure on the environment. But that would reduce demand and could slow the economy to a virtual stop. It seems unlikely in the near to medium term that there will be a rise in fertility that would help to top up Australia's population. Without a natural increase, the nation could once again turn to large-scale immigration with all its attendant social strains.

- Graeme Leech

TIME CAPSULE - FOOD 1964-2004

SINCE 1964, the Australian diet has changed from meat and potatoes - with perhaps peas, cabbage and pumpkin - into one where the choice ranges from Italian to Thai. Our food today is more sophisticated, better prepared and healthier - which makes the growth in obesity all the harder to comprehend because Australians are also obsessed with non-fattening foods.

Fast food is the norm. Forty years ago, the corner milk bar would do a good trade in burgers and chips.

In the 21st century, our fast-food options range from Lebanese to Portuguese. Japanese sushi bars serve low-cholesterol lunch boxes while American-style quarter-pounders and fries are cheap and pervasive.

Outside the nation's shopping malls, however, there is an unresolved debate about genetically modified foods and how GM crops might affect human health. British biologist Richard Dawkins says "a wheat grain is a genetically modified grass seed, just as a Pekingese is a genetically modified wolf". But anti-GM campaigners fear the introduction of such modified foodstuffs will have unforeseen consequences for human health.

It's a debate that will not be easily resolved, but a hungry world will not worry too much about whether their soya is GM-modified or not.

The question for Australians is: should we be growing and exporting the product?

- Graeme Leech

FOOD CONSUMPTION

Commodity ... 1968-69 ... 1998-99

Meat (kg) ... 85.9 ... 71.6

Bacon/ham (kg) ... 3.6 ... 8.7

Poultry (kg) ... 8.3 ... 30.8

Seafood (kg) ... 5.6 ... 10.9

Dairy products (kg) ... 25.4 ... 23.3

Fruit (kg) ... 86.5 ... 135.0

Vegetables (kg) ... 124.3 ... 162.0

Eggs (no.) ... 222 ... 137

Wheaten Flour (kg) ... 77.4 ... 69.7

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Breakfast foods (kg) ... 6.8 ... 7.9

Table rice (kg) ... 1.9 ... 7.1

Bread (kg) ... 59.5 ... 53.4

Oils and fats (kg) ... 14.3 ... 18.5

Sugars (kg) ... 51.9 ... 43.4

Tea (kg) ... 2.3 ... 0.9

Coffee (kg) ... 1.2 ... 2.4

Aerated and carb. waters (L) ... 47.3 ... 113.0

Beer (L) ... 113.5 ... 93.2

Wine (L) ... 8.2 ... 19.8

Source: ABS

TIME CAPSULE - DISEASES 1964-2004

FORTY years ago, Australians worried that their children might contract tuberculosis or polio - diseases that have now been virtually eradicated. Infant mortality was an unhealthy 19 per 100,000 births today it is under five - and smallpox vaccinations were made compulsory.

The death rate from all cancers was roughly the same as today except for lung cancer, which was rising to a plateau in the early 1980s of 50 per 100,000 men.

It has since dropped to about 35 per 100,000 men. Among women the trend is similar but delayed by about 10 years.

One in five adults suffers from a cardio-vascular condition and 4 per cent nearly half a million - have heart disease.

Despite fears in the late 80s that HIV/AIDS might become widespread, just 0.1 per cent of Australians are living with the condition that is now manageable in many cases. But HIV-AIDS was a harbinger of new diseases that are cause for concern.

New strains of malaria pose a risk in the north, as do the spread of other insect-borne diseases. An influenza pandemic has often been predicted and could yet kill millions around the world.

The outbreak of severe acute respiratory syndrome, or SARS, that originated in China was a useful alarm for health officials.

Perhaps the greatest fear for the future is the possibility that animal diseases could jump the species barrier.

Indeed, some scientists believe SARS passed from animals to humans.

The recent bird flu outbreak in Southeast Asia is a case in point.

- Graeme Leech

TIME CAPSULE - IMMIGRATION 1964-2004

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AUSTRALIAN - Part 1 of 13

BACK in 1964, when Donald Horne published *The Lucky Country*, Australia's population was 87 per cent Anglo-Celtic and 83 per cent of us had been born here. Today, about 75 per cent of Australians were born here. New citizens come from more than 200 countries, with the Chinese and other Asians collectively matching those from Anglo-Celtic sources.

These immigrants have helped put the muscle behind Australia's economic expansion.

They created demand for goods and services and contributed to the fabulous variety of cuisine and culture. Nearly 4 million immigrants have settled here since *The Australian* was first published. At the peak of immigration in 1969-70, more than 185,000 passed through our ports. Only 52,000 entered in 1975-76.

More than 100,000 are expected this year.

Given our record of accepting thousands of refugees fleeing oppression in the post-war era, it seems inevitable that this tradition will continue. But in future Australians could also open their doors to people escaping natural catastrophes, such as rising sea levels.

- Graeme Leech

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Muslims find strength in faith, frustration in politics

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Series: UNITED BY FAITH: THE STORY OF HERNANDO COUNTY'S MUSLIM COMMUNITY

Body

PART THREE OF SIX

The men in the Hernando County mosque had just finished wishing peace to the Muslim brothers next to them after the Friday afternoon prayer when Ayman Joud stood to speak.

Joud, a doctor of internal medicine, wanted to issue an invitation to a political fundraiser the next day at the home of urologist Nazir Hamoui.

The candidate has been "very fair" in her views, Joud said, and everyone who comes should bring his checkbook. The blatantly political announcement caused not a one of the 46 men in the mosque to bat an eye. And more than a dozen raised their hands to say they would attend.

The candidate - a black woman from Georgia named Cynthia McKinney - is someone the men in the mosque will probably never get a chance to vote for. The congressional seat she seeks - and held until two years ago - serves a district 400 miles away in suburban Atlanta.

As the men began to exit the mosque, Joud handed them a flier about McKinney. It praised her willingness to speak for the rights of Arab-Americans and American Muslims, and her willingness to speak against "the dehumanization of Palestinians and Iraqis."

Unmentioned on the flier was the stance McKinney is best known for: her declaration two years ago that the Bush administration knew the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11, 2001, were coming but took no action so his friends could reap profits from a war.

McKinney's comments - made just six months after the attacks - created a storm of controversy. Even a prominent fellow Democrat called her "loony." And McKinney lost the congressional seat she had held for a decade.

But recent questions about what the Bush administration knew prior to 9/11 and why it went into Iraq have struck a chord with many local Muslims, who see McKinney as a woman unafraid to speak the truth. And two years after her defeat, they are lining up to support her political revival.

In fact, McKinney's perspective is tame compared to some of the everyday political viewpoints expressed by members of Hernando County's Muslim community.

Muslims find strength in faith, frustration in politics

Mohammad Shuayb, a dentist born in Syria but raised in Hernando County, says Bush wasn't misspeaking shortly after Sept. 11 when he called the war on terror a "crusade."

"It is an open-ended war on Islam," Shuayb said.

Mahmoud Nimer, a cardiologist born in a Palestinian refugee camp, said Bush's decision last month to end any semblance of America's neutrality in the Middle East peace process is part of some greater plan to prepare Israel for the apocalypse.

"He is preparing the Middle East for the return of Jesus," Nimer said.

Those are just examples of the strong sense of alienation that local Muslims feel when it comes to the present course of American foreign policy.

For a community of immigrants who explain their original vision of America in Ellis Island terms - a beacon of liberty, a land of opportunity - these are difficult days.

Until recently, America had been as good as advertised. Muslims found prosperity and freedom of movement unimaginable in the countries they left.

Then came 9/11 and the war on terrorism.

"We knew this was going to bring terrible consequences for Muslims in general," said Ghiath Mahmaljy, a spiritual leader in the Muslim community who left the repression of Syria 25 years ago.

When laws such as the Patriot Act flew through Congress, Muslims began to worry that its powers of surveillance would be disproportionately used to invade the privacy of Arab-Americans.

As their unease grew, certain Muslim charities - including two that received \$1.3-million from Muslims in Hernando County - were shut down and investigated for links to terrorism.

For many Muslims, "random" checks at the airport have never been random.

And former University of South Florida professor Sami Al-Arian, whom many local Muslims know and appreciate for speaking out for the Palestinians, was charged with raising money for terrorists. Hatem Fariz, a Muslim living in Spring Hill, was pegged as his accomplice. Local Muslims think both men are innocent.

"We have seen when the government takes control," said Rodwan Hiba, a gastroenterologist who came from Syria. "When the government takes control, and you as a citizen do not have control, it is scary."

As the war on terrorism in Afghanistan blossomed into a confrontation with Iraq - a leap most local Muslims cannot comprehend - some began to fear the beacon of American justice was about to flicker out.

"We all want to fight real terrorism," Mahmaljy said. "What I'm seeing, what I feel, is that it is becoming a pretext for violating civil rights in the United States and a pretext for violating the sovereignty of other countries."

As they continue to disavow - and some say apologize for - the actions of the Sept. 11 hijackers, local Muslims are starting to get a bitter taste in their mouths.

That was especially true when President Bush stood next to Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon last month and endorsed a new direction for America's policy in the Middle East.

Many Muslims, such as Nimer, see Palestinian blood on Sharon's hands. For them, it appears Bush has given America's final blessing to the land grab that created Israel in 1948 and made refugees of the Palestinians.

Muslims find strength in faith, frustration in politics

When most Americans were focused on the rising body count of American troops in Iraq last month, local Muslims were also reacting bitterly to the pictures of dead Iraqi babies in Fallujah - images beamed into their homes via the Arab news network Al-Jazeera, images most Americans haven't seen.

Local Muslims shake their heads in disgust at the beheading of an American by people who praise Allah as they do the deed. But they recoil at the sight of naked Iraqi being abused by American soldiers in Abu Ghraib prison.

They see the death and destruction on both sides. And they wonder what happened to the righteous cause of answering the Sept. 11 attacks. It is from this perspective that their political desperation grows.

"We've been apologizing since 9/11, and every single day we keep getting attacked," said Shuayb. "It bums me out because I grew up here."

His father, gastroenterologist Husam Shuayb, puts it in a different perspective.

"I don't think the United States is like when I came here in 1972, when I felt the freedom," he said.

At this point, local Muslims just hope the beheading of an American by men praising Allah will not lead to a backlash. Beyond that, they are hoping, somewhere, to find a sympathetic ear in the American political wilderness.

Alienation replaces admiration

Four years ago, Muslims thought they had found such a person in Republican George W. Bush.

On social issues such as abortion and gay rights, Bush's conservative views fit their own. His aversion to taxes was sweet music to this community of wealthy doctors. And his discussion about his faith, albeit Christian, left the impression he valued religious freedom.

More important, Bush had come out against the use of "secret evidence" in deportation and criminal proceedings. At the time, Al-Arian's brother-in-law, Mazen Al-Najjar, was in jail on such secret evidence. Bush even went so far as to pose for a campaign photo with Al-Arian.

The overtures spoke to Arab-Americans.

On Election Day, more than 90 percent of Florida Muslims, estimated then to number nearly 60,000 voters, cast ballots for Bush in an election decided by fewer than 600 votes.

Less than two years later, Bush's response to the terrorist attacks had so alienated local Muslims that they were lining up to give money to Cynthia McKinney, a Democrat who supports abortion rights but someone unafraid to speak out against Bush.

The \$33,800 that local Muslims gave McKinney in 2002 - most of it at a single fundraiser in June - was more money than local Muslims spent on candidates they could actually vote for in Hernando County. Ginny Brown-Waite and Karen Thurman, for instance, received only about \$22,000 in their race for the congressional seat serving Hernando.

There's no word yet on the results of the recent McKinney fundraiser promoted in the mosque last month. But it drew some of the same contributors who turned out two years ago.

Aside from McKinney, Hernando's Muslim community has sent money to candidates in Michigan, California, Alabama and Illinois. More important than geography is finding someone who has shown concern about secret evidence, the nature of the response to Sept. 11 and the rights of Palestinians.

Of those three issues, support for the Palestinians seems to resonate the loudest.

Views through the prism of Palestine

Muslims find strength in faith, frustration in politics

Most Americans see the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians as an indecipherable cycle of killing and revenge killing - all adding up to a hazy mess. But for a Muslim community nearly unanimous in its view of the conflict, the Palestinians are victims who continue to be terrorized by Israel while the rest of the world sits idly by.

"We all sympathize with the plight of the Palestinians," Mahmaljy said. "These people have nothing but misery. They have no rights. They have no life."

No, local Muslims say they do not condone the suicide bombings that have killed scores of civilians in Israel - people whose only crime was to get on a bus.

"There is never any justification for the killing of innocent children," said Syed Ali, who came to Hernando from India.

Nevertheless, some say the decisions by Palestinians to resort to suicide bombings against Israel are a byproduct of the hopelessness and oppression they face.

Nimer vividly recalls the village near Jerusalem that was once his family's home. As a young man, he was shown the trees his grandparents planted and the streets his parents roamed as they came of age.

Nimer would love to go back. But he and his family - all Palestinians - have been cut off from their ancestral home. Israel, in seeking to make itself more secure from suicide bombers, will not allow Palestinians into the area.

Israel took control of the area in 1948, when it established its statehood. Land and property were redistributed to Jews seeking a homeland after the Holocaust.

Israel refers to this as the rebirth of its nation. Palestinians - even those such as Nimer who have since moved to America - see it as the beginning of a continuing nightmare.

"Some were killed, and some were kicked out," Nimer said. "Basically, Israel was built on terrorizing the Palestinians out of their land. They did not want to leave."

Husam Zarad, a Muslim doctor in Spring Hill, says his family was one of the thousands who fled their homes after the 1948 massacres that preceded Israel's statehood.

For five years, Zarad's family lived in tents at a refugee camp in Syria. They thought world opinion would turn and they would be restored to their home near Haifa. Eventually, they gave up, tore down the tents and built houses in the refugee camp that would become Zarad's birthplace.

His family remains there to this day.

Nimer, born nearly a decade after the establishment of Israel, has seen his ancestral village only through the eyes of a visitor. But since the escalation of violent confrontations between Palestinians and Israelis in 1985 even that sort of access has been cut off.

"We lost all our property," Nimer said. "We are refugees."

When you ask local Muslims about Middle Eastern terrorism, this is their definition: what Israel has done to the Palestinians for the past 56 years.

Nimer has a catalog of examples:

In 1948, 254 Palestinian villagers were killed in Deir Yassin, a western suburb of Jerusalem. Israel called it a battle, Palestinians a massacre. But the deaths sparked the Palestinians' flight from their homes.

In 1982, hundreds of Palestinian villagers - including women and children - were massacred at the Lebanese refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila. The killings came at the hands of a Lebanese Christian militia, but Israel bore much of the blame for authorizing the militia's movement.

Muslims find strength in faith, frustration in politics

In 2002, an Israeli pilot dropped a 1-ton bomb on a Palestinian residential neighborhood. The bomb killed its target, a militant leader of the terrorist group Hamas. But it also killed 15 others, including several children.

"Palestinians are getting killed in their homes. Palestinian kids are going to school, and somebody shoots at them and that's fine," Nimer said. "But the person who is trying to free himself is (called) a terrorist."

Nimer sees Ariel Sharon as a common thread through much of that history, particularly at Sabra and Shatila in 1982, when Sharon was in command of the Israeli defense forces.

So when Bush refers to Sharon as "a great man of peace," as the president did last year, Nimer grows nearly nauseated. "There are probably very few war criminals that have hands as bloody as Sharon does," Nimer said.

Declarations such as the one uttered by the president cause America to lose credibility in the Arab world, Nimer said.

"The free world is the biggest hypocrite that ever existed," he said.

Local Muslims say Americans are ignorant of such history because the American media have filtered out the Palestinian point of view. They say Jewish ownership of television networks and national newspapers has resulted in the news being biased in favor of Israel.

For that reason, they get their news from overseas, using satellite providers such as Dish Network to tune into Al-Jazeera or any number of broadcasts emanating from the Middle East.

They lament the fact that more Americans do not share their outrage about Palestine.

"It's a central crisis," Zarad said. "If you know the truth, you will be passionate about it."

Even charity viewed with suspicion

In sizing up how Hernando County Muslims see the world, it is difficult to overstate the importance of the Palestinian cause.

Some think it is the real reason that Sami Al-Arian is in jail.

Al-Arian, whom local Muslims know and respect for articulating the Palestinian argument, has visited Hernando's mosque - most often to seek support for his Muslim academy in Tampa.

Last year, Al-Arian was arrested and accused of raising money for the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, an organization the U.S. government has deemed a terrorist group. The organization is blamed for the deaths of more than 100 people in Israel.

Arrested with Al-Arian was Hatem Fariz, who lived in Spring Hill and attended the mosque for less than a year. The case sent shock waves through Hernando's Muslim community.

Aside from knowing Al-Arian and Fariz, four Hernando Muslims were members of the board of Al-Arian's school, which was described in a federal indictment as a front for terrorist fundraising. A handful of local families even sent their children to school there. Members of the mosque were asked to donate money to the school as recently as two weeks ago.

The case is due to go to trial next year, but local Muslims say they simply do not believe Al-Arian and Fariz were supporting terrorists.

"They don't like Al-Arian because he was very effective at what he was doing, which was to show what the truth is in the Middle East," Nimer said.

Muslims find strength in faith, frustration in politics

Samar Shakfeh, a local Muslim who once served on the board of Al-Arian's school, sees a tragic irony in Al-Arian's downfall: "One day, Dr. Al-Arian is invited to the White House, and the next day he is in jail."

Beyond politic concerns, Hernando Muslims send money to various charities that include those serving poor Palestinians.

For Muslims, it is mandatory to give 2 1/2 percent of one's standing wealth to the poor each year. But some of their giving has come under intense government scrutiny.

Two Muslim charities in particular - the Global Relief Foundation and the Benevolence International Foundation - received \$1.3-million from 15 local doctors in the five years prior to 2001.

Imad Tarabishy, a local orthopedic surgeon who sometimes delivers the weekly sermon at the mosque, gave nearly \$800,000 alone.

Before Sept. 11, such giving went unnoticed. But in searching out the funding sources for terrorism, the U.S. government began alleging that Global Relief and Benevolence International were funneling donations to al-Qaeda.

Tarabishy has declined to discuss his donations with the Times. But late in 2001, he told the Associated Press that he knew no more about where his money went than anyone else who donates to a church or a charity.

He assumed it went to the needy Muslims the charity had pledged to help. "Every penny I ever paid, I paid to a United States-approved, tax-deductible charity," he said.

Global Relief and Benevolence International have had their tax-exempt status revoked. And the government has frozen Global Relief's assets.

Last fall during Ramadan, representatives from an organization called Kind Hearts visited the Hernando mosque. One of the representatives, Khaled Smaili, preached about the blessings of charitable giving during Ramadan.

Kind Hearts sought money for impoverished Palestinians - money to buy food baskets and Ramadan meals, and to pay for new schools and clean water systems. It wasn't clear how much money came through then. But Smaili said local Muslims had pledged \$30,000 to \$40,000 to Kind Hearts the year before, though not all the pledges were fulfilled.

Within two months of the visit, the Washington Post reported that Kind Hearts was among 24 Muslim organizations having their financial records reviewed by the Senate Finance Committee, which is looking into alleged ties between charities and terrorism.

Also appearing on that list was the Islamic Society of North America, an umbrella group whose trust agency holds title to the property where the Hernando mosque sits.

Local Muslims say honest charities and positive, progressive nonprofit groups are being swept up in a dragnet by the government they helped elect.

"The power that has been given to (Attorney General) John Ashcroft is out of control," said Mahmaljy, one of the local Muslim leaders. "And the public isn't doing anything about it."

Seeking benefits through involvement

Local Muslims are seeking those sympathetic ears by getting more involved in the political process, as their support of McKinney illustrates. After giving just \$23,000 to congressional campaigns in 2000, they spent \$96,500 in 2002.

They have established ties - through cash and personal relationships - with local politicians such as U.S. Rep. Ginny Brown-Waite, state Rep. David Russell, County Commissioner Nancy Robinson and Sheriff Richard Nugent.

Muslims find strength in faith, frustration in politics

Some of the connections were made even before Sept. 11. And after the attacks, Russell visited the mosque to hear concerns and, after someone fired a bullet into the mosque, Nugent offered extra patrols there.

The sheriff, whose agency was peripherally involved in the arrest of Hatem Fariz last year, said there are good people and bad people in every ethnic group and every community.

By and large, Nugent said, the local Muslim community's friendships with Al-Arian and its contributions to charities under scrutiny do not concern him, and its outlook on politics gives him no cause for alarm.

"From what I know of the Muslims that I know, I think they are as American as anyone else," Nugent said. "Do they have some strong beliefs? Of course. So do I."

Russell, who says Husam Shuayb saved his father's life in 1985 by discovering cancer in his colon, similarly says, "There are good apples and there are bad apples. The Muslims I know and have known for years are good people."

Now, as Muslims see their interests threatened, these political connections are becoming more important. And broadening the community's influence has become part of the lessons they learn at the mosque.

"This is the system here in America. The money and the votes count," Ahmed Bedier, a spokesman for the Council on American-Islamic Relations, told worshipers recently while delivering the Friday sermon. "This is the system here in America."

The Muslim most local politicians are familiar with is Adel Eldin, a cardiologist who gave more than \$10,000 to candidates in 2002. He continues to build friendships with Republicans even as many Arab-Americans are abandoning the GOP.

Eldin says he wants to work within the system.

"Everybody is a lobbyist," he said. "I want to be a Muslim lobbyist."

Others, such as gastroenterologist Rodwan Hiba, aren't sure the fight is winnable.

In Syria, Hiba remembers a government officer pointing a gun at his head when he objected to the officer cutting in front of him in a bread line.

"We took oppression for granted in Syria," Hiba said. "Here, we realized what it meant to be a human being."

Hiba tells this story to make a point about the direction in which America is heading.

"I see it going that way," he said.

For Hiba, to remain in an America that is a shadow of its former self would be difficult. But the way America has changed since 9/11 has him considering a return to Syria - where he would be living under government oppression, but at least doing so among a nation of Muslims.

"I am a very proud American citizen. I don't want to be treated as a second-class citizen. I do not want to be discriminated against," Hiba said.

"I'm here. I'm doing a service. I'm trying to be as helpful as much as I can. All I'm asking back is respect."

- Times researchers Caryn Baird and Kitty Bennett contributed to this project. Robert King can be reached at (352) 848-1432. Send e-mail to rking@sptimes.com.

Learning the system

Muslims find strength in faith, frustration in politics

In 2002, Hernando County Muslims gave \$96,500 to federal candidates nearly four times more than they gave in 2000. Most of that money went out of state to candidates with an affinity for issues dear to Muslims and Arab-Americans. Here are the candidates, their party, state and the amount of money received from Muslims in Hernando County.+

Local Muslims also gave \$6,500 to the National Republican Senatorial Committee.

The out-of-staters

Cynthia McKinney

Democrat, Georgia, \$31,800

Has been a frequent critic of America's pro-Israel policies and has shown sympathy for the Palestinian cause. Also, over State Department objections, sent a member of her staff to Iraq in 1999 to survey the impact of sanctions against the Iraqi people. Said Bush administration may have had advance warning of Sept. 11 attacks but did nothing so its friends could profit.

Earl F. Hilliard

Democrat, Alabama, \$16,000

Has expressed sympathy for Palestinian and Muslim causes. Joined McKinney in sending staffers on the 1999 mission to study the impact of sanctions on Iraqi civilians. Like McKinney, was defeated in the 2002 election by a lesser-known opponent backed heavily by Jewish donors and pro-Israeli PACs.

David Bonior

Democrat, Michigan, \$14,800

Led the effort in Congress in 2000, and again in 2001, to restrict the use of secret evidence to detain or deport immigrants a response to the fact that Mazen al-Najjar of Tampa had been locked up on such evidence for three years. Once the No. 2 Democrat in the House, Bonior gave up his post in January 2002 to seek the governor's mansion in Michigan. By the time he made the choice to run for governor, he had already received nearly \$15,000 from Hernando County Muslims for his 2002 congressional campaign. Abdullah Al-Arian, son of Sami Al-Arian, worked as an intern in Bonior's office.

Merwyn Scott

Democrat, Georgia, \$5,800

A candidate in Georgia's 12th Congressional District, Scott's claim to fame was that he had been McKinney's chief of staff.

Muslims find strength in faith, frustration in politics

ON THE WEB: Find the series and more, including part of a recent message delivered at the mosque and a call to prayer, at <http://www.sptimes.com/united/>

Graphic

PHOTO, Courtesy of Al-Arian family via Associated Press; GRAPH; PHOTO, (4); Former University of South Florida professor Sami Al-Arian, center, and the rest of his family meet President George W. Bush and first lady Laura Bush during the 2000 presidential campaign in Plant City.; Graph illustrates how much money Hernando; County Muslims gave to federal candidates in 2002. Listed are candidates, their party, state and the amount of money each received.; Cynthia McKinney; Earl F. Hilliard; David Bonior; Merwyn Scott

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Saturday Review: Essay : In the zone of the living: Can literature address the conflict in the Middle East? Linda Grant asks some of Israel's best known writers whether fiction has a duty to reflect the unfolding catastrophe in the region: In the zone of the living

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Byline: Linda Grant

Body

"Many Israelis fell ill with the Saudi flu that winter, and some died of it . . . The flu also infected the inhabitants of the Palestinian Authority, and there too, many people died. Sometimes the illness and the severe cold brought fighters on both sides to their knees, and created the illusion of a ceasefire."

Orly Castel-Bloom: Human Parts .

By the second week of the Iraq war last year I was so tired of the yackety-yak, the Big Ideas and Big Words of British intellectuals about the Bush-Blair Axis of Evil that I got the first of BA's resumed flights to Tel Aviv in April, taking note of the sign for the nearest air-raid shelter at the baggage carousel at Ben Gurion airport. The novelist David Grossman said he had a gas mask and vial of Atropine, the anti- nerve-gas agent, for me, with accompanying booklet explaining their use. If Saddam really did have WMDs I'd soon find out. I only meant to go for six days but a flat in the Bauhaus centre of the city came up, and so I extended my stay to three weeks. Grossman negotiated a knock-down rate for me at the King David Hotel in Jerusalem for two nights. There were about a dozen guests.

I went to meet the novelist Aharon Appelfeld at the restaurant and art gallery where he goes every day to write. We talked about literature for two hours, about creation, no politics. "You can write with your head, or you can write with your heart, but to write real literature you must write with your whole being," he said. I abandoned the novel I was writing and began a new one.

The war turned Israel into one big bu'ah - a bubble; not yet knowing that the WMDs were a smokescreen, the Israelis created a kind of human shield around themselves of ordinary living. One night Grossman arrived home from having dinner with me and his anxious young daughter asked where he had been, so he told her a bedtime story: "Israel has a tourist," he told her, "and the government is issuing a commemorative stamp and a commemorative coin whose denomination will be called a linda. You will go to the post office and ask for two lindas for your letter, or say, have you change of a linda?"

Two weeks ago, a mother of two small children blew herself up at the Erez checkpoint at Gaza, killing four soldiers. Two days later the cartoon in Ha'aretz depicted a woman trudging along with a suicide belt round her waist. The caption - arrived at after intense debate in the newsroom - was "Damn it, I forgot to turn off the gas."

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Black jokes and new words had emerged in the country since the start of the intifada. Like dogs whose ears can hear certain notes that human ears cannot, the whispered syllables pigua - suicide bomb - became audible above the sound of a jet engine. And all the time people spoke of ha-matzav , the situation, which encompasses the collapse of the Oslo talks in July 2000, the ensuing intifada, the election of a right-wing government, the recession, poverty, government corruption, world opinion, anti-semitism.

Last October, I came back to Tel Aviv for four months. The reasons for my visit were personal, not political, connected with Appelfeld's remarks about literature. Writing every day in a small rented apartment near the sea I noticed how the beach started to take over my novel. "It's not surprising," said the playwright Joshua Sobol. "In Israel the sea is our only good border."

I wanted to know if literature could be created out of ha-matzav , and indeed whether any of the Israeli writers I knew were intending to create a fiction of the intifada years. If there was anyone who could, it was Appelfeld, whose masterpiece, *Badenheim 1939* , is the greatest novel of the Holocaust, largely because it deals with it indirectly, through allegory and even satire. Appelfeld was born in 1932 in Czernowitz, one of those towns that never knows from one day to the next which country it's supposed to be in. You wake up in Romania and go to bed in the Ukraine. A wealthy, assimilated, left-wing, German-speaking family, the Appelfelds spent their time looking for vacation resorts with no Jews. When Appelfeld was seven, in 1939, his mother was shot dead near his house and he and his father were transported to a concentration camp where his father vanished. At 10, Appelfeld escaped from the camp and spent three years foraging in the forest, sometimes travelling with gangs of Ukrainian thieves, used by murderers and prostitutes to steal for them, until in 1944 the Red Army found him and adopted him as a kind of mascot. He had barely spoken for years. He emigrated to Palestine on his own, aged 14, in 1946. In 1953 he found his father, an old man working in an orchard picking oranges.

I asked him whether fiction should reflect the current conditions of Israeli life. Two days before, I had sat in the bedroom of a 13-year-old boy murdered in a bus bombing in Haifa. I looked at his trainers, his Harry Potter books. My tongue felt like wood. Language had nothing to say, it couldn't help me.

"The tragedy of Israel is that we are living in an over-dramatised situation," Appelfeld said in his very quiet voice. He is a small bald man with glasses. He usually wears a peaked cap and is unnoticed as he sits at his cafe table, writing. "Horror is following horror, therefore it dulls the sensations. This is a threat that hangs permanently over us. It becomes banal, it repeats itself on the radio and the TV. It's killing and again killing. Wonderful people are dying and we expect those people to become a symbol of something meaningful in life, but because there are so many of them, it becomes banal. I know this feeling because I was a child in a ghetto and a camp and you lose touch, people are always passing away, disappearing, yet you continue to eat and sleep."

In Europe there is, I said, a widespread expectation that Israeli writers, culpable as Israelis, should address first and foremost the occupation. "A writer first of all deals with the individual and his weaknesses and pain," he replied. "This is a writer, not a prophet; he should be judged by every sentence he has written, not his politics." We were joined by Grossman, who had just finished writing what he called "my bestseller", the introduction to the Geneva accords, which would be distributed to two million households in Israel. On the one hand, Grossman has been politically active in the negotiations leading up to the signing of the Geneva accords last December, and has written searing journalism about the promise and collapse of Oslo; on the other, politics don't appear in his literary work. "My last two novels have had nothing to do with this reality," he said. "My last novel, *Her Body Knows* , I started when the intifada started. My whole world collapsed. The future that was so near suddenly evaporated, so I began to write about something that had nothing to do with it, I had to remind myself what were the real things. I could write about how a national psyche is created but it's so much more intriguing to understand why a wife is jealous of her husband. This zone of human behaviour is where I want to be."

Grossman describes the existential nature of Israeliness as a central problem in how to write about the country, and how the country is seen by others. "We are regarded as a metaphor," he said. "Since we started as a nation we were a big story, we are the Bible, and if you are already a story you are not real. Israelis are addicted to this condition and it makes it difficult for us to be normal, to adapt to the pettiness of routine." And then he ventured a

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devastating thought about Jews: "Maybe we were different because we never had the opportunity until now to inflict cruelty and suffering. That is such a nightmare for me."

As it happened, a literature of Oslo had begun to emerge in the very period that the prospects for a permanent settlement collapsed totally. AB Yehoshua is one of the few Israeli writers who (perhaps because he lives in bi-national Haifa where he teaches at the university) has attempted to document the Arab-Israeli experience, while young Arab-Israeli writers have also begun to emerge, such as Sayed Kashu'a, whose Hebrew-language collection of short stories, *Dancing Arabs* (2002), was on the Israeli bestseller lists for months. Yehoshua had already started his novel *The Liberated Bride* in 1998. "When I began (it), the peace treaty was in trouble but the breakthrough of Oslo was done so my interest was in writing about our relationship with Israeli Arabs," he told me. "This is a book about borders - how far can a father-in-law go behind his son's back to help him? What does a man say to his wife and what should he not say? What will be the frontier between us and the Palestinian state? For all our history as Jews we were crossing borders, it was Zionism that brought us back to the idea of having borders (of our own). After the six day war, the abolition of the border poisoned the two peoples.

"When the intifada started I didn't change the plan of the book because I didn't know that it would last so long and that it would have such a profound effect. The Arab Israelis were the main protagonists, not the Palestinians. It's very hard to describe an enemy from the inside but understanding the Arabs is the key to understanding ourselves, our crisis in the world and without solving it we will deteriorate."

Since September 11 and in particular the start of the Iraq war, throughout the world intellectuals have wanted to create a voice of opposition to the global forces that are seen as threatening social and political justice. The bind that Israeli writers have been placed in is that of being required to create acts of witness that will resonate universally while living in the complex daily realities of life in Israel. A martyr in the resistance in Hebron is a mass murderer when he gets to Haifa.

Sobol, whose play *Ghetto* won the 1989 Evening Standard Award, said: "I could hardly think of writing a play that would not address the situation or that would be out of context with the violent events. Either the situation is being addressed directly or indirectly." His play *Eye Witness* (2002) deals with an Austrian conscientious objector during the second world war, and *Real Time* (2002), as yet unproduced either at home or abroad, addresses the subject of the reservists' protest in Israel, which Sobol is involved in as an adviser.

Real Time tells the story of a young officer in an elite unit who has to carry out a mission to demolish 20 Palestinian houses. He decides he can't order his soldiers to do the job so he comes home to his parents for the weekend to try to work out what to do, and the play deals with the discussions he has with his father, his uncle and his men. At the end he decides to face a court martial rather than carry out what he regards as an inhumane act.

"The first version was ready two years ago," Sobol said. "The theatres are afraid of staging it, but I think the Israeli public is ready. *Eye Witness* played for six months at the Cameri with full houses; nobody was fooled that it was just about conscientious objection during the second world war. The audience here is so open, and not only left-wingers. Many young people came to see it. I concluded that the Israeli audience is mature and ready to deal with these questions. They want to be confronted with an artistic insight into the situation. It is so loaded and so terrible that they need to be offered a more articulate way of dealing with it."

But if *Real Time* remains unperformed in Israel, it would face the same difficulties finding a theatre abroad: "Something has happened recently to the refuseniks," Sobol said. "I see their attitudes are changing. They are fighting anyone who accuses them of a lack of patriotism. *Real Time* will create a problem for Europeans because the protagonist is a declared Zionist and yet he is also a refusenik. I think that my protagonist has reached the point where he will be as disconcerting to a left-wing as to a right-wing audience. "

The one Israeli writer who has documented life during the intifada was thought to be the very last person who would do so. Castel-Bloom's novel *Dolly City*, written a decade ago, was a surreal urban dystopia set in Tel Aviv, about a mother going to the most extreme lengths to protect her son from harm. When her most recent novel,

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Human Parts , was published in 2002, a literary critic at Ha'aretz said perhaps it was not that Castel-Bloom had turned realist, but that reality had turned Castel-Bloomian.

The novel, a bitterly funny satire of Israeli society and its media, draws on her own experience as an impoverished single mother. It takes place during an unusually cold Israeli winter when everyone is coming down with the "Saudi flu". A Kurdish mother of four gets her 15 minutes of fame on TV after a government report on poverty but the terror attacks drive poverty from the screens. An Ethiopian model tries to persuade her Ashkenazi boyfriend to marry her to satisfy her family while he wonders gloomily why anyone would bring a child into a country with no future. His ex-girlfriend, an unemployed divorcee, hoping that a dentist will give her free treatment, tries to work out whether he is left- or right-wing by decoding his responses to a radio talk show, so she can appear to agree with him. And throughout the novel the president of Israel roams the country, making his official appearance at one funeral after another.

"I had promised myself to write something realistic and I had already started before the intifada," Castel-Bloom said. "The cold was there, and the flu, but the bombs started when I was 70 pages in. I felt that I could not ignore the situation and I restarted the book adding this dimension. I wanted to testify as a witness, to cross the lines of daily journalism into literature. At the start of the intifada when the Palestinians lynched two Israeli soldiers in Ramallah, this was the moment I stopped writing and began to deal with the latest broken dreams. At the beginning I told my daughter only to take taxis but I ran out of money and gave her permission to play Russian roulette on the bus."

Human Parts rejects the media's view of the conflict, the banality of reporting in the Israeli media. "In my novel I wanted to achieve a distance, to give a legendary effect. 'A very long time ago - two days ago - there was a country . . .' It gave me the ability to observe the behaviour of the media, the cliches they are using. With every terror attack you have a ritual - Soon Breaking News - (flashing) over Seinfeld , so you know 13 people are dead." The routine in every news bulletin is to ask which faction - Hamas, Islamic Jihad, Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigade - has claimed responsibility. For Castel-Bloom, the word responsibility sanitises the atrocity: "The big question is, 'Who is taking responsibility?' Listen to that word, it is a total distortion of moral values, it's not who is responsible, it's who is to blame. As a spectator of this coverage you have to fill the gaps. 'The road was washed.' Of what? 'The event is over.' You know the event is not over at all."

Friends in Britain suggested to me that the way forward for Israeli writers was to create an alliance with their counterparts on the Palestinian side, to find some solidarity with each other, out of which a new humane literature could emerge from this region that might begin to recognise the pain of the other, and to respect the other's trauma - Nakba (the Arabic word for catastrophe) or Holocaust. But this is not a rational or humane part of the world.

"There is almost no contact now between Israeli and Palestinian writers," Grossman told me. "In the early 1990s I organised a group which met for almost three years, secretly, in Jerusalem or Ramallah, under the umbrella of some foreign embassies. The problem was that when Oslo started the Palestinians became very nervous, they said they got hints from Arafat not to contribute to the normalisation of Israel. Oslo was not very popular. Things continued on an informal, personal basis, by phone, I (remained) close friends with two of them, but Izzat al Gazawi died last year. I dedicated the Hebrew edition of Death as a Way of Life (2003) to him. They had big expectations of us. They thought we could change the politics here and when they saw that we couldn't deliver the goods, they despaired of the possibility of doing something with us."

For 20 years Grossman has been vilified by the Israeli right for his opposition to the occupation, attacked and threatened, while Sobol is involved, together with Arab-Israelis, in a legal challenge against the nationality laws. Castel-Bloom is considering joining Machsom Watch, a group of Israeli women who monitor abuses at checkpoints. All of Israel's major writers with international reputations could be described as liberal-left Zionists who view with distaste and anger those who deny Israel's right to exist. Less well-known abroad, and on the right, are the poet Naomi Frankel, a settler in Hebron, and Moshe Shamir, who after the Six Day War moved from the left to support the Greater Israel movement which seeks to expand Israel's territories. On the anti-Zionist far left are the poet and

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translator Aharon Shabtai whose collection *J'accuse* , accuses Israel of crimes against humanity, and Yossi Sukary, whose work deals with the experience of Sephardi Jews in Israel.

Israeli politics are exceptionally disputatious and polarised but according to Joshua Sobol, most writers feel isolated, marginalised and silenced both by the right at home and by an anti-Zionism abroad that is drifting into anti-semitism.

All the writers I spoke to view with distaste and anger those who deny Israel's right to exist. And all the writers I spoke to raised the question of the revival of anti-semitism. In the Middle East it is hard to avoid. Yehoshua has just written an essay on its origins, describing the anti-semitism of Seneca, who sounds like the prototype of Himmler ("the Jews are a criminal people"). The Egyptian government has recently inaugurated a new library in Alexandria in which each country and people is represented by a book. The selection for Israel and the Jews was *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* , the anti-semitic 19th-century forgery that invented a cabal of Jews plotting to control the world. When, in November, Unesco demanded the book be removed, the head of the library said he didn't understand why its inclusion was considered anti-semitic or offensive.

For Grossman, the revival of anti-semitism generates fear, anxiety and paranoia in the Israeli psyche, which drives the public to the right. "Since the intifada and the anti-semitism in the Islamic world, the average Israeli feels swept into the Jewish world of tragic aspect, of being the eternal outsider, and all the old feelings surface," he said. "We are cornered now, it's dangerous for us and others. I'm not sure our leaders will act rationally when these primal fears of ours will dominate."

Israeli artists and academics face increasing difficulties in finding international platforms for their work. Castel-Bloom is as savage about cultural and academic boycotts abroad as she is about the Israeli media, and particularly those Israelis who publicly support or even call for European academic and cultural institutions to cut off ties with their Israeli counterparts: "We have a few people here who are collaborating with this boycott, they have the Kapo gene," she said, referring to Jews who collaborated with the Nazis, often out of a desire to do something to help fellow Jews.

Sobol argues: "The collapse of communism has meant that too many people have lost their god so they become aggressive and full of hate," he said. "There is no element in the world that is going to help the Israeli left. The right in Israel tells us, you leftists have no friends in Europe, look, they're boycotting your academics. Anti-semitism has a certain character, it starts with anodyne symptoms and because it is taken as a common cold no one deals with it at that stage and it erupts as a deadly disease later on. The de-legitimisation of Israel's right to exist is a preparation of the minds of Europe to accept a genocide of us. The anti-Zionists and the Jewish left who collaborate with this de-legitimisation are playing with fire."

Appelfeld says calmly: "The things that happened to me in Europe are continuing to happen. I have been hated by the Ukrainians, I am hated by the Palestinians. In Europe my parents were misunderstood and I continue to be misunderstood. It follows me. What can I do? Last time I was in Europe I had a feeling that they think everyone here has a tank outside his apartment and in the morning he gets into it to go to Jenin and kill a child. But perhaps we are just human beings. Bald people, with glasses."

As to whether there can be a literature of *ha-matzav* , he says, "I do not believe a writer can change regimes. What is happening here in Israel has to wait 50 years or more to become literature. We are now in the journalistic phase, not the literary phase, it cannot become literature, so in the meantime I am still writing about my childhood in Europe, which was not spent among Arabs, but Ukrainians."

Aharon Appelfeld and AB Yehoshua will be appearing at the Bath Literary Festival on February 28, in a session chaired by Linda Grant. They also appear at Jewish Book Week, February 28-March 7 2004, Royal National Hotel, Bedford Way, London WC1.

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Bordering on What?

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Christopher Caldwell, a contributing writer for the magazine, is writing a book about immigration, Islam and Europe.

Body

The East in the West

On a warm Saturday night, beneath the cable car that runs up into the mountains from a quiet neighborhood in the historic Ottoman city of Bursa, the Teleferik Family Tea Garden is mobbed. Whole families from the farthest reaches of Anatolia, the Asian part of Turkey, are crowded around tables in front of glasses of tea, watching a pair of guys with a keyboard sing arabesques and rock songs in Kurdish. The families have arrived in the past few years, a cashier explains, from Tunceli, a town at the epicenter of the terrorist campaign against the Turkish state that Kurdish guerrillas waged from 1984 to 1999. Most of the young women wear the loose-fitting headscarves traditional in Turkey; others, the more elaborate and constraining ones that are a mark of newer currents in political Islam. Still others are on the dance floor, uncovered, bare-armed, dancing in an implausibly immodest way they have probably seen on videos. None of the boys are far enough removed from village mores to dare join them. Watching the dancers impassively, their mothers, in headscarves and long rain jackets despite the heat, smoke cigarettes and chatter on cellphones.

This jostling together of European fads, age-old rural folkways and Islamic fervor has been a fact of Turkish life for a long time, especially in big provincial cities like Bursa. Imitating Europe was already an Ottoman project when Mustafa Kemal Ataturk founded the Turkish Republic in 1923. But thereafter, the Europeanization of its citizens became the state's mission, its *raison d'etre* even. This meant modernizing industry, mores and the Turkish language. Mostly it meant pushing Islam out of the public square. There were bans on headscarves in university classes and at state jobs. There were government-trained imams who gave government-issued sermons on Fridays. Elites tended to approve Ataturk's vision; when they didn't, a huge standing army could be summoned to defend it.

And yet even as Turkey prepares to open membership negotiations with the European Union next week, the country's Europeanizing mission has been challenged, both at home and abroad. Turkey started petitioning for admission to the European Union's precursor organizations nearly half a century ago. Until the late 1990's, Europe wasn't interested. But embarrassed by persistent Turkish accusations that they were running a "Christian club," Europe's bureaucrats softened their stance. If Turkey could democratize according to the so-called Copenhagen criteria -- by getting the army out of politics, eliminating the death penalty and expanding freedom of speech and religion, among other things -- it could seek full E.U. membership. Turkey has complied, mostly. At a summit

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meeting last winter, the E.U. agreed to start talks this Oct. 3. There was cause for satisfaction on both sides. Turkey would get a ratification of its European identity from Europe itself. Europe would get a closer partnership with an economically dynamic Muslim country that has a long track record of keeping religious enthusiasm under control.

It looked different to the European on the street. French and Dutch voters rejected the union's proposed constitution last spring, citing worries about immigrant labor. A poll by the E.U.'s Eurobarometer service showed only 35 percent of Europeans favoring Turkish accession. So now, on the eve of negotiations, European politicians are looking for a face-saving way to leave Turkey at the altar. The French prime minister, Dominique de Villepin, spoke out in favor of delaying talks unless Turkey recognized the Greek part of Cyprus, which Turkey sees as a new condition. Germany's Christian Democrat leader, Angela Merkel, asked Turkey to be content with a "privileged partnership" rather than member status. It is not likely that Turks will consider that prize worth the self-abasement. Earlier this month, Foreign Minister Abdullah Gul told *The Economist*: "Should they propose anything short of full membership or any new conditions, we will walk away. And this time it will be for good."

What is unclear is where Turkey would walk away to. Back to its American ally, from whom the Iraq war has estranged it? Into ad hoc pacts with its neighbors Iran, Iraq, Syria and Russia? Or into the embrace of the worldwide Muslim umma? Maybe the failure of Turkey's E.U. candidacy could even cause Turks to renounce altogether their century-old aspiration of making themselves ever more European.

The Cultural Contradictions of Kemalism

Since the end of the cold war, the lid has come off Turkish life. Turkey's population is growing by nearly a million people a year, even as emigration to Europe continues. Suat Kiniklioglu, who heads the Turkish office of the German Marshall Fund of the United States, says, "Urban Turkey is being overrun by the countryside." Take Bursa. In the 1980's, the city had fewer than a million people. Now it is at 1.5 million and swelling daily with newcomers from both the surrounding villages and places like Tunceli. The western edge of Bursa is as modern and European as any place in Turkey, with malls, trimmed lawns, "Beware of Dog" signs and the Renault and Fiat plants that are the backbone of the country's auto industry. But some of the newer apartment blocks near the Teleferik Family Tea Garden are home to people who work for village-level wages, practice a village-level piety and give their votes to the three-year-old Islamist government of Recep Tayyip Erdogan's Justice and Development Party.

Maybe "Islamist" is a simplistic way of putting it, but maybe not. What Erdogan has sought to do since his party came to power in 2002 is to resolve some of the cultural contradictions of Ataturk's republic. The Turkish state has always tried to imitate the ways of Western democracies, but without giving the country's Muslim middle and lower-middle classes much voice in the matter. Turkey's masses are pious even by the standards of the Islamic world, though their piety has mostly been a private one, bearing scant resemblance to the authoritarian fundamentalism of the Saudi Wahhabis or the Iranian Khomeinists. For almost all of the last century, they were too distant, too poor and too disorganized to demand a hearing. Yet whenever society has reclaimed a bit of power or freedom from the Turkish state, it has done so in the name of Islam or, at the very least, of traditional Turkish values. In a Turkish context, more democracy generally means more Islam.

The lesson has never been lost on Erdogan. In 1994, the Welfare Party, founded by the hard-line Islamist Necmettin Erbakan, swept big-city mayoral races across the country. Erdogan, who as a young man led the youth wing of a precursor to the Welfare Party, became mayor of Istanbul. The key to his success was that there were 11 million people living in and around Istanbul, six times the population of three decades before. Empty lots and unclaimed fields had filled up with houses and apartments known as *gece kondu* -- a Turkish expression that means, roughly, "thrown up overnight." The devout, dirt-poor and disoriented new arrivals found in Erdogan a mayor who was one of them. It was not just that he himself had grown up a poor provincial in Istanbul (his family were sailors from the Black Sea) or that he had sold *simit* (Turkey's ubiquitous singed sesame bread rings) on street corners to pay for his schoolbooks or that his mighty baritone had made him a sought-after muezzin or that he eschewed alcohol (and even tried as mayor to ban it from the touristy neighborhood of Beyoglu). The new arrivals also respected him because he was a formidable organizer. He had studied management and understood how a modern municipality worked. In an era of endemic official corruption, he was accessible and relatively transparent. He was a maestro at bringing electricity and running water into the *gece kondu*s and garbage and sewage out.

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That first round of Turkish Islamism flamed out. When the Iranian ambassador sang the praises of fundamentalism at a public rally, the army sent tanks into the street. This "postmodern coup," as it is called, eventually resulted in Erbakan's resignation and the banning of his party. Erdogan, meanwhile, was arrested, jailed and stripped of his mayoralty in 1998 for publicly reciting a poem about bayonets and minarets.

But events cut in Erdogan's favor. The 1997 coup did not do what it was meant to. It brought a wave of corruption that discredited all the establishment political parties. As 2000 turned to 2001, Turkey underwent a banking collapse and then a currency crash. Erdogan broke with Erbakan and founded the Justice and Development Party, or A.K.P., in 2001 with the help of secular centrist politicians. He won an overwhelming parliamentary majority in elections the following year. He entered office in 2003 (once a ban on his holding office had been lifted) in very good shape. An International Monetary Fund bailout package gave him a road map for economic revival that he followed punctiliously. His mix of market economics and social conservatism won the support of newly prosperous Muslim entrepreneurs in the Anatolian heartland. And the perennial problem faced by any conservative Turkish politician -- wooing the Muslim base while not scaring the staunchly secular army -- was simplified greatly by Turkey's E.U. candidacy, which has always been understood to stand or fall on society's ability to keep the military out of public life.

Freedom and the Headscarf

Since Sept. 11, the West's biggest question about Turkey has been whether it forms part of the problem of an increasingly militant Islam or part of the solution. The E.U.'s rationale for welcoming Turkey into its councils and its economic sphere used to be a matter of "strategic rent," compensation for its position at a crossroads of continents and military blocs. Today, says Soli Ozel, a political scientist at Bilgi University, what Europe sees in Turkey is "an example that a modern, secular democratic state and capitalist society is compatible with a Muslim population." Europe has come to value Turkey not just for where it is but for what it is.

About a third of the Justice and Development Party's support comes from liberals who joined it in hopes that Erdogan's commitment to the European project would bring them visa-free travel, investment opportunities or equality for women. It is an open question which part of Erdogan's coalition is the dog and which the tail. He has shown signs of wanting to coax hard-line Islamists into the modernizing consensus. He has also shown signs of using Europe as a means to weaken the army to the point where he can pursue untrammelled an Islamist agenda of the sort he espoused a decade or two ago.

One of Erdogan's notorious pronouncements during his term as Istanbul mayor was that democracy was like a streetcar: "You ride it until you arrive at your destination, then you step off." In the old days, he was one of those Islamist politicians who would not shake a woman's hand. Turkey's secular order still poses problems in his personal life -- there have been state functions that his headscarf-wearing wife could not attend. And even as he has sought to Europeanize Turkey's political structures, he has lost few opportunities to Islamicize its social ones. Weeks before his visit to Brussels last December to make the final push for the start of Turkey's accession talks, he tried to change Turkish law to criminalize adultery. The A.K.P. has all but destroyed Turkey's fledgling wine industry with punitive taxes. And Erdogan has decriminalized "clandestine" Koran courses, even though they have been a meeting place for radicals of the Iran-backed Turkish Hezbollah movement.

Erdogan harps on the need for religious freedom -- American-style religious freedom. Last year he explained to a German newspaper that secularism as the French understand it (i.e., as a state ideology) was not the Turkish way. "We Turks," he explained, "are closer to the Anglo-Saxon understanding of secularism" (i.e., as religious freedom). As regards the government, this assertion is preposterous: the Turkish system was not just inspired by, but copied from, the French. As regards the public, he is probably right. The increasing visibility of religion in Turkey has many of the same sources that it does in the United States. In a recent Pew poll that asked why Islam's role is increasing, the largest reason cited (by more than a third of Turks) was the "growing immorality in our society."

Erdogan opposes abortion and contraception, both of which are legal. But Turkey's hot-button issues of religion and state concern whether university women and civil servants should be permitted to wear the headscarf and whether young men who attend religious schools should be allowed to transfer their credentials to nonreligious programs. These pit the parliamentarians of Erdogan's party against the Higher Education Council, which appoints

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rectors who can veto laws that threaten universities' secular orientation. The council was established by the military government in 1980, when radical leftist and radical rightist students were murdering one another by the literal thousands. But over time, public patience with such supervision erodes. "Suppose the scarf is a political symbol against the secular republic," says Nazli Ilıcak, a newspaper owner and columnist and an ally of Erdogan since before his A.K.P. days. "There is still no harm in their going to university. If you are against religion, let them go! They'll get more emancipated and have their own jobs."

More and more Turks share Ilıcak's view that Islam and its symbols are compatible with modernity, are perhaps even a sign of modernity: a woman who aroused no comment on a goat path migrates to a city and stands out when she takes a computer class or sits in Starbucks. "It's not that people are more religious," says Can Paker, a businessman and analyst at Tesev, an Istanbul policy center. "It's that they are more free." And free, upwardly mobile women may choose to wear the veil for a variety of reasons. It can be a sign of solidarity with the family or small town left behind. It can be a marker of membership in a new rising elite. It can be simply chic. After all, the prime minister's wife wears one.

Sunni Rotarianism

Calls for veiling and more religious instruction are modern in another way. They reflect the increasing economic clout of provincial Muslims. Before the Ottoman Empire collapsed and its ethnic populations were reshuffled, most businessmen were Christians and Jews. It has taken a long time for the Muslims who took over their functions to build up father-and-son firms into big national and international ones. But now they have done it, aided by a kind of Sunni Rotarianism. Muslim obligations of zakat, or charitable tithing, inevitably turn the country's rural businessmen into important community leaders and lead them into clubby (and formal) fraternal arrangements. The challenge to political establishments posed by powerful entrepreneurs espousing traditional values is familiar from the American Sun Belt or the Canadian or Australian west.

A natural affinity is developing between Erdogan's party and the most innovative sectors of the economy. For years, the centralized Turkish state bought social peace by creating jobs in state-backed industries, which are now a drag on the economy. About a sixth of the work force is still in the public sector, and its interests are protected by aggressive unions. The A.K.P.'s voters, however, are almost by definition outsiders to this statist system and have no stake in defending it.

No political party in Turkey has ever found itself more often in the Thatcherite role. Erdogan fought the public-sector paper company SEKA, which used to dump tons of chlorine into the Bay of Izmit while losing tons of money. Despite a 51-day occupation of the factory by militant workers, he succeeded in closing down the plant. He is now fighting to privatize Erdemir, the public steel company -- a fight that pits him not only against Erdemir's unions but also against supporters of the army, who have argued for its strategic importance. When Erdogan visited Diyarbakir, an impoverished eastern city, in August, a heckler called on him to build more factories. "Listen, my friend," Erdogan replied, according to a report in the English-language Turkish Daily News. "The A.K.P. government will not build any factories here." Instead he promoted a new enterprise-zone law his government had passed, which offered tax rebates and utility discounts to private companies. "What else do you want?" he asked. "Don't get used to freebies."

The provincial cities where Sunni Rotarianism flourishes -- Denizli, Gaziantep, Urfa, Konya and others -- are called the Anatolian Tigers. One of the more important is the 5,000-year-old Silk Road trading town Kayseri, which now makes furniture, beds, textiles, carpets and denim. Mehmet Ozhaseki, the mayor of Kayseri, is a direct fellow who wears a dapper gray suit and the regulation A.K.P. thick mustache. Close to Erdogan, he is one of the mayors who came to power in the Welfare Party's Islamist wave of 1994. Ozhaseki received 72 percent of the popular vote in the last election. He attributes his success locally to good government and the A.K.P.'s nationally to its perceived freedom from corruption. He says, "People never give their votes saying, 'They can be corrupted like other parties, but at least they're Islamic.'" He notes that the headscarf ranks seventh or eighth when voters are asked what's on their minds; jobs generally top the list.

So what interests Ozhaseki is managing the monsoon of social change. Last year, 139 factories opened in Kayseri, and dozens of 15-story apartment blocks are under construction on Kayseri's outskirts. Kayseri had

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100,000 people in the 1950's. It has 750,000 today and will have a million in five years. Traditionally, this growth came from agricultural villages nearby, but now Kayseri is one of many Turkish cities getting not just migrants but also immigrants. Local residents say thousands of Iranians live and work in Kayseri. In Turkey as a whole, estimates of the number of "irregular" immigrants -- from Iran, Syria and elsewhere -- run as high as a million.

Why Trust Turkey?

Turkey's aspiration to the E.U., its adjustment to the global economy, its booming tourist trade and, now, the first signs of mass immigration -- all of these make the country a more porous place than it has been for the past century. But the treatment of Armenians, Greeks, Jews and others remains a sensitive subject. Turkey has been mostly free of the anti-Semitism that is widespread in all other Muslim countries of the Middle East. But "Mein Kampf" is now a best-seller, on sale in at least a half-dozen low-price Turkish-language editions. The "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" is also for sale, and its theses are trumpeted regularly in *Vakit*, the large-circulation Islamist daily.

In late August, on the eve of important E.U. meetings to iron out Turkey's responsibilities on Cyprus, prosecutors announced that Orhan Pamuk, the country's most acclaimed novelist, would be tried under a law that prohibits denigrating Turks or Turkey. Pamuk had told a Swiss publication in February that "30,000 Kurds were killed here, one million Armenians as well." Many scholars (and the French National Assembly) call the Turkish killings of Armenians between 1915 and 1923 a genocide, but the Turkish state considers it fallout from a civil war. For many Europeans, Pamuk is the embodiment of the kind of Turkey that the E.U. could welcome. The decision of authorities to prosecute him could be a blunder that jeopardizes the country's accession chances, though the blame is likely not Erdogan's. The prosecutor who brought charges against Pamuk -- a member of the pre-A.K.P. state bureaucracy -- investigated Erdogan himself four years ago for "insulting the state."

If Turkey requires a new way of relating to its neighbors and its minorities, the man most influential in formulating it is likely to be Erdogan's adviser Ahmet Davutoglu, a historian and a specialist in international affairs. *Mutatis mutandis*, Davutoglu is Turkey's closest equivalent to a neoconservative. That is, as he makes moment-to-moment political judgments, he is never far from considering his country's history and ideals. In Davutoglu's case, the relevant history is that of the Ottoman Empire, and the relevant ideals are the ones that permitted that empire to accommodate (not without friction) a wide range of minorities and subcultures. His scholarly obsession of late has been what German historians call the *Mittelage* -- the geographical position that traps certain countries in the cockpit of history. How should such countries face the world?

Part of Davutoglu's answer is to be found in his 2000 book, "Strategic Depth" (not translated into English), in which he urges that Turkey pursue a "zero-problem strategy" with its neighbors. Ataturk's motto was "Peace at home and peace in the world." In the 1990's, Turkey's decision to damp down conflicts with its neighbors, particularly Syria, which had sponsored and sheltered Kurdish guerrillas, helped further its ambitions to enter the E.U. What is new about Davutoglu's formulation is that it looks to Ottoman history for inspiration. "If you want good examples of cultures living in harmony, where do you look?" he asked during an interview in the prime ministry in Ankara in July. "You look to Ottoman cities: Istanbul. . . Sarajevo." He sets great store by the fact that in Ottoman times Turkey was probably the most cosmopolitan place on earth, even if he tends not to dwell on the amount of governmental force that was required to keep the multiethnic empire together.

The practical consequences of a zero-problem strategy have been clearest in the cases of Iran and Syria. Turkey has favored talking with, rather than confronting, Iran over its nuclear program and has not been prominent among those countries stepping up the pressure on Syria to democratize. Erdogan, insiders suggest, is of the view that Bashar al-Assad of Syria is at heart a reformer and deserves support against elements in Syria's security forces that are responsible both for infiltrating terrorists into Iraq and for assassinating Rafik Hariri, the former Lebanese prime minister. Assad visited Turkey last year at Erdogan's invitation. Some Turks fear that a good-neighbor policy may be ideological camouflage to move the country's foreign policy in a more Islamist direction. And indeed, the A.K.P.'s supporters would like to see a bit more Muslim solidarity from Turkey. Nazli Ilıcak, for instance, laments that Turkey opposed the Algerian movement for independence from France. "Until the 1960's," she says, "we acted like Europeans toward the Arab world."

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That mending fences with your Muslim neighbors could constitute a defection from the West is something that appears not to have occurred to Davutoglu. In his office in July, he seemed affronted by the very suggestion. He called it "ignorant." Turkey, he noted, borders on just as many Christian countries -- Bulgaria, Greece, Georgia, Armenia -- as Muslim ones. Closer ties with Christian neighbors are something he positively invites. "Europeans feel if Turkey is part of Europe, Turks will invade," he told me. "I say the opposite: Istanbul will be invaded by Eastern Europe." It is a welcoming vision, even if it is not in line with Gallup's polls of Turkish opinion, which show that the top reason Turks favor belonging to the E.U. is the ability to move to any country in Europe and work there.

The End of the 'Deep State'

In confronting the Erdogan government's efforts to create a more Muslim democracy, the old Turkish order -- the army and the Kemalist institutions around it that are often called the "deep state" -- must cut against the whole logic of modern economics and life. There is not any sense in which A.K.P. leaders can be considered reactionaries. For all his interest in the past and whatever his level of personal piety, Davutoglu is pitching his vision in the language of multiculturalism and globalization. Erdogan has not only been custodian of Turkey's European ambitions for the last half decade; he is also talking about Americanizing its system of constitutional rights.

Against this, the deep state does not look particularly deep. Its civilian followers man the Turkish equivalent of Rust Belt industries. The army has some historic claim to be the guardian of Turkish institutions and freedoms, including ultimately its democratic ones, but its recent record has been mixed. The 1997 coup capsized the economy, which has been righted only by a combination of the International Monetary Fund's expertise and the A.K.P.'s discipline in following it. World conditions are moving to render the deep state less and less effective as a counterbalance to populist excesses. During the 1980 coup, 180,000 political activists were arrested, dozens were executed and most party leaders were banned from politics for a decade -- and the country's largely self-enclosed economy barely felt it. A coup under present circumstances would look very different. Any dip in the currency, for instance, could endanger Turkey's delicate international banking agreements.

It is such concerns -- over what the E.U.'s bureaucrats or America's bankers would think -- that have provided the real discipline of the A.K.P. These have kept under control a growing anti-Americanism in the party and in the public at large. According to polling by the youth-oriented policy institute ARI Hareketi, 36 percent of Turks think the United States and Turkey are heading toward a war. Last winter, "Metal Storm," a fantasy set in 2007 in which a U.S. invasion of Turkey ends with the nuclear destruction of Washington, became one of the best-selling novels in Turkish history. Turks are quick to insist that public opinion is not anti-American, only anti-Bush. They recall the standing ovation Bill Clinton got when he addressed the National Assembly in November 1999.

But much anti-Americanism in Turkey could be called "primary" and is unaffected by American behavior one way or the other. The last U.S. ambassador, Eric S. Edelman, who departed in June to replace Douglas Feith as under secretary of defense for policy, was a butt of calumny in the popular press, some of it anti-Semitic. Erdogan often has difficulty trammeling his own ideological reflexes, as when he referred to Iraqis killed in Fallujah as martyrs or when he questioned the legitimacy of Iraq's elections last January or when he accused Israel of "state terrorism" after the assassination of the Hamas leader Sheik Ahmed Yassin.

The March 1, 2003, parliamentary vote to deny the United States its request to attack Iraq from Turkish soil was a democratic milestone. Newspapers were filled with impassioned arguments, people wrote angry letters to their parliamentarians and phone lines were jammed at the National Assembly. According to Kiniklioglu of the German Marshall Fund, "People were behaving for the first time as if public opinion affected foreign policy." So Turks now quote resentfully an interview that Paul Wolfowitz, then the deputy defense secretary, gave to CNN-Turk two months later, lamenting that the military "for whatever reason. . . did not play the strong leadership role on that issue." This summer, Foreign Minister Gul -- who was acting prime minister at the time of the March 1 vote (since Erdogan was in the final days of his ban from holding office) and supposedly in charge of winning it -- said it was a good thing it had failed.

Treason and Paranoia

The recasting of the U.S. relationship and the sudden deterioration of the European one come at a bad time. Over the past year, Kurdish separatists have relaunched their war. Since June 2004, when the Kurdish Workers Party, or

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P.K.K., announced an end to its five-year cease-fire, more than 100 people have been killed, mostly by remote-control bombs. Mayors have been kidnapped, clandestine chemists blown up making bombs and tourists bombed in the resort town Cesme.

Terrorists enter the country from the Kurdish section of Iraq, Turks claim, where they have safe haven in the Kandil Mountains. One American official admits that there is a grain of truth to this. The U.S. Army has been too busy elsewhere in Iraq to do much about the problem, but Washington is now taking the matter more seriously. Earlier this month, top military officers visited Turkey's highest ranking general to discuss the P.K.K. Now that the United States is in Iraq, Turkish forces can no longer cross the border and sort out the problem themselves. So the frustration is multidimensional. Turks resent the European Union for placing obstacles in the way of a no-holds-barred antiterrorist strategy. They resent Americans for being in Iraq. And they resent themselves for removing themselves from the Kurdish region of Iraq.

Under such circumstances, the basic and perennial Turkish fear is easily reactivated -- namely, that foreign countries will gang up and dismember it, as European countries did the Ottoman Empire in the 19th and early 20th centuries. According to ARI Hareketi, two-thirds of Turks hold this view. Turks are easily whipped into a panic over threats to the nation. Last spring, there were huge protests, with flags hanging from balconies all over the country, after a flag desecration in the port city Mersin was shown on TV. Alongside this arguably healthy patriotism are signs of a malevolent nationalism. There have been attempts to lynch people suspected of terrorist ties in Trabzon, on the Black Sea coast, and in Seferihisar, near Cesme.

There is an explicitly nationalist party, the M.H.P., that draws thousands to its meetings atop Mount Erciyes outside Kayseri every summer. This year, Devlet Bahceli, the party's leader, accused the A.K.P. of compromising Turkish sovereignty and giving away Cyprus for the chimera of E.U. membership. "There are dress rehearsals for treason going on," Bahceli proclaimed. But these attitudes go far beyond the M.H.P. Erdogan himself is not immune to nationalism's promptings. In a bizarre speech early this summer, he said: "I condemn and curse the BBC and Reuters for describing the P.K.K. as a 'militia group.' . . . If this attitude continues, the terror that hits the sons of this country today will hit them tomorrow."

Nationalism is now the most plausible alternative to the A.K.P. That will be a rude awakening to Turkey's traditional allies, who tend to assume that there remains a Kemalist "loyal opposition" that will somehow "tone down" the enthusiasms of the A.K.P. or that the country has the option of "going back" to the semidemocratic, westernizing regime that suited the purposes of the free world very well. The problem is that that regime did not always suit the purposes of Turkish society, which, anyway, has entered into a new era. The past century has turned Turkey inside out. The Ottoman Empire was a multicultural society under a Muslim government. The Turkish Republic is an overwhelmingly Islamic society in an officially secular state. The open question at the front of European and American minds is whether reforming that state according to society's wishes can lead to anything other than an Islamic republic.

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Graphic

Photos: Urban Tradition: An open-air market in the conservative Fatih neighborhood of Istanbul.

Strong Rulers: Banners heralding Ataturk and Erdogan, legendary founder of the republic and current prime minister, respectively, at a political conference outside Ankara. Photographs by Lynsey Addario/Corbis)

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Body

David Wetherell ponders the role of language in land claims.

The conviction held by religious Zionists that God has given them the Holy Land in perpetuity is one of the underpinnings of Israel's occupation of the West Bank. The religious claim to occupy the West Bank rests with the Bible, which is used as the essential text for the provision of moral legitimacy. While the Bible is not the only justification, it certainly is the most powerful one, without which Zionism is only a conquering ideology. Read at face value and without recourse to doctrines of human rights, the Old Testament appears to propose that the taking possession of the Promised Land and the forcible expulsion of the indigenous population is the fulfilment of a biblical mandate.

In the United States the views of the Christian religious right support this claim. Republican senator James Inhofe said: "God appeared to Abraham and said: 'I am giving you this land' the West Bank. This is not a political battle at all. It is contest over whether the word of God is true." Former Senate majority leader Dick Armey was even more forthright: "I'm content to have Israel grab the entire West Bank I happen to believe that the Palestinians should leave."¹

The assertion that Israel has a God-given prerogative to dismiss the claims of others, mainly the Palestinians, is a political claim founded upon religious belief. The religious Israeli claim to the West Bank on the basis of divine right is, of course, only one of a recurrent practice of grounding a political program upon a religious sanction. There is the jihad of Islam, which consisted not of fighting but in the non-violent propagation of Islam. This is based on the Muslim division of the world into dar al-Islam, the place or possession of Islam, and dar al-harb, the abode of war. And the claim by some Israelis to a God-given right to displace Palestinians is not different in essence from the jurisdiction claimed by medieval Christendom to subjugate pagans, Jews and Muslims. Under Boniface VIII the papacy claimed universal political power in the name of Christ.

According to the Canadian theologian Charles Davis, any attempt to ground upon religious belief a political claim to territory as absolute and irrevocable amounts to an abuse of religious language. "It is a misuse because it does not respect the way religious language is created and functions," writes Davis.²

In the ancient Melanesian societies of the Pacific, what came first in language as absolute and unalterable for example God's (or the deities' or the ancestors') promise of land arose from an undifferentiated experience that did

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not chalk out differing lines of meaning between politics and religion. Any one with experience of the history of the Pacific Islands will know that the bane of early missionaries was the constant confusion between metaphorical and literal levels of meaning. And this Zionist-like confusion is alive and well in parts of the present-day Pacific. In recent years this has sometimes led to a tragically literalist misunderstanding of the Old Testament. For example, in 1987 the Fijian coup leader Sitiveni Rabuka insisted that the rationale for the overthrow of the Indian-dominated Bavadra government was religious: a covenant existed between the Almighty and the Fijian people. "God gave us this land," said Rabuka. In other words, God did not give it to the Fiji Indians.

Only slowly and gradually has the literal sense been teased out of the luxuriant forest of metaphorical language. Areas in which European colonial enterprise gained similar support from a biblical ideology include the invasion of Latin America from the 15th century, the Dutch settlements in the Cape Colony in South Africa from 1652 and its sequel over the rest of southern Africa until 1900. To this may be added Zionist settler-colonialism on the West Bank after the Six-Day War of 1967.

Despite the submerged literal sense in a tropical foliage of metaphor, a basis in literal meaning, grounded in common human experience, is always presupposed in a set of religious concepts and meanings. Take for example the description "God is our Father". What gives us our notion of "fatherhood"? Though the description is applied to God, originally there was no specifically religious meaning. Our application of the words "God is our Father" is grounded in our experience of the reality of human fatherhood. We extract the elements we want to use and by analogy we apply those elements of meaning to God. There is no such thing as a "proper" concept of divine fatherhood, because we have no "proper" first-hand knowledge of God. God is not a known object but a transcendent reality beyond our apprehension.

Language about the fatherhood of God or God's covenant with such particular peoples as the Jews or Fijians or Boers is derived from a particular social and cultural situation. Its meaning depends upon, and is drawn from, that cultural setting. In the religious use of words we are dealing with a dependent and derivative use of language. Language used religiously is always taken from the sphere of our worldly experience and the immediate meaning of religious language always exists in relation to the world. One cannot speak of religion, says Davis, as providing us through a supposed verbal revelation with information unknown beforehand to human experience and with meaning unformed by human culture.³

So the religious use of the concept of fatherhood has to be done first at the level of human interaction. There is no "revealed" concept of "the father" coming down, as it were, from on high, any more than the ownership of territory as asserted by Zionists about Palestine is a revelation given to a particular people from on high. The religious use of the concept does not give us any elements of meaning that are not found in human society. All the elements of meaning are taken from our knowledge of finite reality, and by extrapolation and analogy are then transferred to our response to transcendent reality. And it is on this misuse of religious language that the basis of the religious Zionist claim ultimately rests: that is, that God or Yahweh commanded their occupation of the whole of the ancient Holy Land and the expulsion of the indigenous Palestinians.

Because language used religiously is always taken from the sphere of our worldly experience, the immediate meaning of religious language is always in relation to the world. The language becomes religious when its immediate secular meaning is cancelled or rendered inoperative by some level of meaning that compels one to interpret it as having a deeper meaning and pointing towards mystery.⁴

Religious language about God, then, is based upon taking elements of literal meaning as created by human culture. This is then changed into metaphors about God's dealings with humans as individuals or as groups. But we may not move the other way and translate religious metaphors into literal propositions about a God-given right to occupy territory. As Davis says, we may take human fatherhood, or kingship, and turn it into a metaphor for our understanding of God. We may not take divine fatherhood, or kingship, and use it as a basis for the literal subjugation of women to men or for the literal right to dispossess Palestinians.⁵

Ian Ramsey, a former bishop of Durham, has pointed to the role of qualifiers in his analysis of religious language. So, we speak of "our Heavenly Father", "the Father almighty", or "our all-powerful, all-loving Father". But, whatever

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the device used, in one way or another the literal meaning with its reference to this world is cancelled as literal; "at the same time it is saved as a metaphor referring to transcendent reality".⁶

An outstanding example of the religious use of political language is the biblical history of Israel. In the Bible, political concepts, words, and images are used to create a particular religious language. Political events are interpreted as actions of God or Yahweh, symbols of divine intervention exodus, covenant, conquest, judges and kingship all these were originally political language. In particular, a "covenant" that designated a particular kind of political association was elevated to receive a religious meaning.

The moral problem that is underlined in the rest of this article is that the biblical record of Yahweh's treatment, not of the Jews but of the indigenous Canaanites and Hittites, is of a god who sanctions genocide. Though the Bible is generally taken as a yardstick of moral excellence, the land traditions of the Bible appear to sanction the maltreatment of the indigenes of Canaan. They seem to be in violation of general ethical principles and criteria of human decency such as is enshrined in contemporary conventions of human rights and international law.

The founder of political Zionism, the German Theodor Herzl, outlined the program of a state for Jews in 1896. The leading Zionists were non-religious or agnostics, and the secular program of Herzl's political Zionism was originally rejected out of hand by virtually all strata of religious Judaism. For his part, Herzl, while speaking of the common binding faith of Judaism, insisted on drawing a line between sacred and secular: "We shall keep our priests within the confines of their temples in the same way as we keep our professional army within the confines of their barracks."⁷

This separation of religion and its vocabulary from politics was not to last. Rethinking the promise of the "land of Canaan" to Abraham and his posterity through the political misuse of religious language has been used by Herzl's successors, religious and secular, to justify the Zionist enterprise. It has been used in the same way by many Christian fundamentalists. So today the most vibrant supporters of Jewish conquest come from the ranks of the religious establishment whose leaders 100 years ago regarded political Zionism as heretical and wrong.

While a longing for "Zion" was present in virtually all periods of Jewish history, a pious yearning for Jerusalem and the Temple of Solomon should not be confused with the desire to establish a nation state for Jews in Palestine. It is significant that during the 1800 years before the 19th century there was no concerted effort to resettle in Israel, let alone any attempt to recover a lost independence there. There has always been a voluntary Jewish diaspora, and living in a diaspora had its advantages. Just as the idea of Zion was accepted among Christians as purely figurative, it was also a religious metaphor when taught within the network of rabbinic institutions.⁸

When General Edmund Allenby entered Jerusalem in 1917, making Britain the dominant power in the region, Jewish people numbered from 5 to 10 per cent (38,000 to 85,000) of the whole population of well over half a million people. Of these about half were estimated to be political Zionists. Chaim Weizmann, elected president of the English Zionist Federation earlier that year, quickly sought to have a declaration of support from the British government. In the war cabinet meeting of October 4, Edwin Montagu, the only Jew in the cabinet, wrote that he regarded Zionism as "a mischievous political creed" and argued against British support, and said that the project of creating a Jewish state would end by driving out the Arab inhabitants. JH Hertz, the first Zionist sympathiser appointed to the post of chief rabbi, welcomed the reference to the civil and religious rights of the non-Jewish inhabitants in the confidential declaration of the war cabinet to US President Woodrow Wilson, saying that such a reference was an affirmation of the basic principles of the Mosaic legislation, "If a stranger sojourn with thee in your land, you shall not [oppress] him".⁹

The Balfour Declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations (November 1917) viewed with favour the establishment in Palestine of a "national home" for the Jewish people, "it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine". Fewer than 50,000 British Jews settled in Palestine during the first 10 years of the League of Nations Mandate.¹⁰

Between 1932 and 1937, 144,000 Jews migrated to Palestine, but Jewish ownership of land still amounted to only 5.7 per cent. By way of response to violence in 1929 and in the mid 1930s, and to a call by the Arab Higher Committee for a strike until Jewish immigration ceased, the Peel royal commission of mid-1937 reported that the

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mandate was unworkable as it involved two irreconcilables, a Jewish homeland and Palestinian Arab independence. Resorting to Solomonic wisdom, the Peel commission recommended Palestine be partitioned. The plan proposed to give Jews, who owned only 5.7 per cent of the land, some 40 per cent of Palestine, in which the Jewish state would embrace hundreds of Arab villages as well as the Arab bloc in Galilee from which, if necessary, there would be a forcible expulsion of Arabs. The plan rekindled the flames of Arab nationalism, to which the British responded with massive, repressive measures, resulting in 5000 Arab deaths and 15,000 wounded of a population of 1 million.¹¹

Britain, recognising that partition would not work, outlined its goal in the white paper of May 17, 1939: "the establishment within 10 years of an independent Palestine state to which Arabs and Jews share in government in such a way as to ensure that the essential interests of each community are safeguarded". The white paper required restrictions on land acquisition and Jewish immigration. Realising that British interests might conflict with Zionist ones, David Ben-Gurion began to activate American Jewry and gain more support from the US.¹² President Harry Truman, Franklin Roosevelt's successor in April 1945, proved to be an ardent supporter of Zionist intentions. He won the double advantage of securing Jewish support while allaying fears that the US might have to bear the brunt of receiving, at America's expense, 300,000 Jewish survivors of Nazi barbarism. Instead, they would go to Palestine. Truman explained to Arab diplomats in late 1945, "I am sorry, gentlemen, but I have to answer to hundreds of thousands who are anxious for the success of Zionism: I do not have hundreds of thousands of Arabs among my constituents".¹³

On October 4, 1946, Truman sponsored a Zionist map giving 75 per cent of Palestine to the Jews, who then still owned less than 7 per cent. While only 10 Jewish settlements (2000 inhabitants) would come under Arab rule, about 450 Arab villages (700,000 inhabitants) would come under Zionist rule. The flight of the Palestinians is a sombre reason for the extent of the resultant catastrophe. The major Arab towns were emptied of their Arab inhabitants with their assets falling to the Zionists. Hundreds of Palestinian villages were depopulated and destroyed. The estimates of the number of Palestinian Arabs displaced in 1948 fall between 700,000 and 800,000. This constituted about 54 per cent of the total Palestinian population of mandated Palestine and has now grown to create a diaspora of some 5 million. One of the best guarded secrets of the early Israeli state is the destruction of hundreds of Palestinian villages, and the fact that they were completely destroyed helped create the myth that Palestine was virtually an empty country before the Jews entered.¹⁴

About 100 Palestinian villages were not destroyed or depopulated, and survive. But over 80 per cent of the lands of those who did not leave their homes have been confiscated since 1948, and are at the exclusive disposal of the Jewish citizens of the state. Some 414,000 inhabitants of 213 villages had become homeless before the expiry of the British Mandate on May 15, 1948.¹⁵ Further, Israel's refusal to allow the displaced persons from the 1967 war to return strengthens the judgement that Zionism in its essence required the Jewish supplanting of the indigenous Palestinian population. As for the critical question of land: while before 1948 Jews had bought only 7 per cent of Arab land, the exclusive reserving of lands for Jewish use means that today 92 per cent of the area of the state of Israel is completely closed to non-Jews. But the Zionist conquest from 1967 has led to even further gains.

In November 1988 at Algiers, the Palestine National Council declared that the state of Palestine should exist side by side with the state of Israel. Chairman Yasser Arafat confirmed the Palestine Liberation Organisation's acceptance of Israel, its renunciation of violence, and its willingness to negotiate a peaceful settlement based on UN resolutions. **Hamas** rejected the Algiers Declaration, regarding it as an act of treason.¹⁶

Read literally, the Bible has been the foundation of Israel's post-1967 expansion over villages and lands occupied by Palestinians. The intellectual achievement of Zionism has been the turning of figurative language into a literal "promise" of land and thus a weapon of political legitimacy. This is reflected in the propagandistic claim of Ben-Gurion in 1954 that the Bible is the "Jews' sacrosanct title-deed to Palestine . . . with a genealogy of 3500 years".¹⁷ That the Bible provides a literal "title-deed" for the establishment of the state of Israel and its continued dispossession of the indigenous people has become the mainstream theology of the Jewish religious establishment. Zionist circles within fundamentalist Christianity hold a similar belief in Israel's right to pre-empt all other claims to the old land of Palestine, as is evidenced by the statements of US politicians Inhofe and Armeij cited above. But here there is a contradiction, for the Christian fundamentalist hopes for the ultimate demise of Judaism.

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Much of the rationale for the belief in recapturing the whole of Palestine derives from literalist interpretations of particular biblical texts.

The Bible narrates God's promise of Canaan to Abraham and his posterity, and to Moses and his fellow escapees from Egypt. The "promise and preparation" lies between the books of Genesis and Deuteronomy and the "conquest-settlement" in the books of Joshua to Judges. The moral problem posed by such texts when read at face value may easily be seen in its starkness.¹⁸

In the biblical narrative, Yahweh promised the land of Canaan to Abraham and his descendants (Genesis 12, 6-7). The Exodus theme symbolises God's deliverance of those in bondage, to bring them "to a good and broad land, a land flowing with milk and honey . . .". Yahweh confirms Moses as the leader and speeds the people on their way to possess the land of Canaan: When my angel goes in front of you, and brings you to the Amorites, the Hittites, the Perizzites, the Canaanite, the Hivites, and the Jebusites and I will blot them out . . . you shall utterly demolish their gods and break their pillars to pieces. (Exodus 23, 23-4)

Yahweh appointed Joshua to succeed Moses. Numbers 27, 31 brings us back to the war against the Midianites, the killing of every male and of the five kings of Midian. The Israelites captured the warriors of Midian and their little ones, took all their earth, buried all their towns and encampments, retaining all the booty, people and animals. Moses had been particularly aggrieved that they allowed the women to live (Numbers 31. 8-16). He ordered the killing of every male child, and every woman who had slept with a man. Yahweh directed Moses to speak to the Israelites, saying, When you cross over the Jordan into the land of Canaan, you shall drive out all the inhabitants of the land from before you, destroy all their figured stones, destroy all their images, and demolish all their high places.

The rules for the conduct of war to gain control of the land from the wilderness to Lebanon, and from the Euphrates to the Western Sea (Deuteronomy 11, 24) dictate that if a besieged town does not surrender, the Israelites shall kill all its males, and take as booty the women and children. The narrative, then, presents "ethnic cleansing" as not only legitimate, but as required by the divinity: But as for the towns of these peoples that Yahweh your God is giving you as an inheritance, you must not let anything that breathes remain alive. You shall annihilate them the Hittites and the Amorites, the Canaanites and the Perizzites, the Hivites and the Jebusites just as Yahweh your God has commanded . . . (Deuteronomy 20, 16-18)

Moses, having seen the Promised Land, laid hands on his successor Joshua. The first part of the Book of Joshua describes in epic style the conquest of the land, the capture of a few key cities and their conquest in accordance with Yahweh's rules of war. The crossing of the Jordan is followed by the destruction of Jericho. The city and all its inhabitants were to be given over to Yahweh for destruction (Joshua 5, 13-6, 17). When the ravaging troops moved on to Ai at Yahweh's command they encountered a spirited defence of the Hittites and their allies, but the inhabitants of Gibeon, spared the destruction, were destined to become "hewers of wood and drawers of water for all the congregation" (Joshua 9.21).

Thus the metaphor "God is our father" becomes "God is our general" who sanctions slavery and wholesale killing. By modern standards of international law and human rights, the land narratives from Exodus to Joshua mandate war crimes and crimes against humanity. One must also acknowledge that much of the Torah and Deuteronomy in particular contain menacing ideologies as well as xenophobic and militaristic tendencies.

Yet biblical scholars maintain a high regard for the Book of Deuteronomy, assessing it to be a theological book par excellence and the focal point of the religious history of the Old Testament. Nonetheless, however highly one esteems the theological thrust of Deuteronomy, the narrative does require the genocide of the indigenous inhabitants.

In his book *The Bible and Colonialism* (1997), Michael Prior argues that such narrative traditions as those in Joshua and Deuteronomy have the capacity to "infuse exploitative tendencies in their readers", and have in practice "fuelled virtually every form of militant colonialism emanating from Europe, resulting in the suffering of millions of people, and loss of respect for the Bible".¹⁹

Israel and the God of war

The Hebrew slaves who left Egypt invaded a land already occupied, and engaged in systematic pillage and killing. What distinguished the biblical account, whether through the blitzkrieg mode represented in the Book of Joshua, or the more gradual one reflected in the Book of Judges 20 is that it is presented as having not only divine approval, but mandated by the divinity. The Israelites killed in conformity with the directives of God.

This presentation of God as requiring the destruction of others poses problems for anyone who presumes that the conduct of an ethical God will not fall lower than decent, secular behaviour. The commandment that "You shall devour all the peoples that Yahweh your God is giving over to you, showing them no pity" (Deuteronomy 7, 16) is thus seen in a new light in Palestine when one recalls how such texts were used earlier than the period of modern Zionism in support of colonialism in Latin America and Africa, in which the native peoples were seen as the counterparts of the Hittites and the Canaanites.

GEM de Ste Croix, the foremost authority on the history of class politics in the ancient world, notes the unprecedented character of the biblical traditions of divinely mandated ferocity: I do not wish to give the impression that the Romans were habitually the most cruel and ruthless of all ancient imperial powers. I can say that I know of only one people which felt able to assert that it actually had a divine command to exterminate whole populations among those it conquered, namely, Israel. Nowadays Christians, as well as Jews, seldom care to dwell on the merciless ferocity of Jahweh, as revealed not by hostile sources but by the very literature they themselves regard as sacred . . . There is little in pagan literature quite as morally revolting as the stories of the massacres allegedly carried out at Jericho, Ai, and Hazor, of the Amorites and Amelekites all not merely countenanced by Jahweh but strictly ordained by him . . . The Greek and Roman gods could be cruel enough, in the traditions preserved by their worshippers, but at least their devotees did not seek to represent them as prescribing genocide.²¹

Suspecting the possible impact of biblical narratives on the formation of Israeli youth consciences, the Israeli socio-psychologist Georges Tamarin surveyed the presence of prejudices in the ideology of Israeli youth. He evaluated the degree to which an uncritical teaching of notions of the "chosen people", the "covenant" with Yahweh to possess the land, the superiority of monotheistic religions, and the study of acts of genocide carried out by biblical heroes contributed to the development of prejudice towards Arabs.

Tamarin chose the Book of Joshua, in particular the genocides at Jericho and Makkedah, because of its special position in the Israeli educational system, as national history and as one of the cornerstones of Israel's national mythology. He asked two questions:

* Do you think Joshua and the Israelites acted rightly or not?

* Suppose the Israeli army conquers an Arab village in battle. Do you think it would be good or bad to act towards the inhabitants as Joshua did towards the people of Jericho and Makkedah?

Only 20 per cent of the respondents disapproved of Joshua's behaviour, while 62 per cent would disapprove of genocide carried out by the Israeli army.

The figures were quite different when Tamarin substituted a fabricated "Chinese version" of the Book of Joshua, with "General Lin" committing a god-inspired genocide. Seventy-five per cent of the respondents totally disapproved of General Lin's genocide. Tamarin concluded that, The uncritical teaching of the Bible to students too young even if not taught explicitly as a sacred act, but as national history or in a quasi-neutral atmosphere concerning the real or mythological character of its content, no doubt profoundly affects the genesis of prejudices even among non-religious students, in accentuating the negative-hostile character of the strangers.²²

In conclusion, the Yahweh depicted in the books between Judges and Deuteronomy is a god whose actions are taught in religious and secular schools in Israel. A modern secular Israeli may not subscribe to Yahweh who commanded the maltreatment/extermination of the original Canaanites and Hittites but still support Israel's expansion into the lands of the indigenous Palestinians. A citizen of Israel does not need to be a religious Jew to endorse the national mythology. Supported by right-wing Christian fundamentalists in the US, the deeds of Israel's national heroes in the Bible have come to non-religious Jews as a means of organising biblical history to provide moral legitimacy for the walling in of indigenous Palestinians.

Israel and the God of war

The state of Israel is part of the present hope of the Jewish people and is of deep concern to almost all Jews. Disregard for its safety and welfare is incompatible with concern for the Jewish people. But concern for the safety of the state of Israel can in no way exclude concern for the Palestinian people, Muslim and Christian, living within Israel and on the West Bank and Gaza. They, too, have a claim on the attention and concern of the world.

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NOTES

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Graphic

TWO PHOTOS: Photograph: BRENNAN LINSLEY/AP Arabs leaving Jaffa in 1948. Photograph: FAIRFAX PHOTO LIBRARY

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G2: The Clinton interview: 'Mandela helped me survive Monicagate, Arafat could not make the leap to peace, and for days John Major wouldn't take my calls': On the eve of the publication of his eagerly anticipated \$ 10m autobiography, Bill Clinton speaks exclusively to Alan Rusbridger and Jonathan Freedland in New York

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Body

The stars have come out, just as they always did. There's Uma Thurman, hair beacon-blond. Glenn Close gives a little wave, taking up her place just a few seats away. Spike Lee is here somewhere. Officially, they've all come to the Skirball Center in New York's SoHo district for a movie premiere. But the truth is that tonight is only peripherally about a film. The performance this starry, liberal crowd really want to see is by the man who became the most divisive figure in American life since Richard Nixon, the man who was hailed, even by his enemies, as the most gifted politician of the post-war era. They're here to witness the rebirth of Bill Clinton.

First, comes the movie, *The Hunting of the President*, a highly partisan documentary which sets out to confirm the truth of Hillary Clinton's famous declaration that her husband was the victim of a "vast rightwing conspiracy". The film recalls it all: the Whitewater land deal; the Arkansas state troopers who claimed to have procured women to feed the then Governor Clinton's gargantuan sexual appetites; Paula Jones; Monica Lewinsky; and finally Kenneth Starr, the witchfinder-general bent on joining all these dots and turning them into a legal offence grave enough to unseat the president. The audience, Democrats all, hiss the villains and cheer the heroes.

Until the lights come up and there, on stage, is the hero himself. He looks like an ageing nightclub singer, as he saunters to the front of the stage, microphone in hand, hair now soft-white. The room is an ovation, of course, and Clinton basks in it. It's like the campaign rallies of old which is appropriate because, in a way, that's exactly what this is.

For Clinton, who has spent all his adult life campaigning, is once again out to sell himself to the American people. This time he is not asking for high office. Instead he seeks vindication, pleading his case in a 957-page autobiography. Starting today, he will embark on a round of TV events and public appearances, criss-crossing the US with the same packed itinerary as a presidential candidate.

Part of it is given over to an exclusive interview with the Guardian, which is also the only British newspaper granted access to the book, published tomorrow. In a hotel near his home in Chappaqua, New York, he speaks of the scandal that nearly brought him down and how he learned to let go of his rage. He talks about the war in Iraq and

G2: The Clinton interview: 'Mandela helped me survive Monicagate, Arafat could not make the leap to peace, and for days John Major wouldn't take my calls': On t....

his quest for peace in the Middle East. He speaks of his friend, Tony Blair - and the wife who might one day succeed him into the White House.

The Middle East - from triumph to failure

He may no longer be in office, but he still lives on CST - Clinton Standard Time. Aides pop in and out of the anonymous hotel conference room to explain that "The president is running about half an hour late." They're back 20 minutes later to explain that he is now an hour behind schedule. Finally, we are told to ready ourselves an hour and a half after our appointment was due to begin.

He is still preceded by a flurry of activity: his secret service detail acting as the advance guard who enter any room before he does. Like all previous US chief executives he will keep the 24-hour protection - and the title, Mr President - for the rest of his life.

And then he is there, tall, slimmer than he was in office, and with a face craggier than you remember. When he first ran for president in 1992, rivals teased him as a chubby "Bubba", a good ol' boy from the south with a taste for junk food and a waistline to match. He cuts a different figure now: the international statesman in sharp navy suit, salmon-pink tie, Oxford shirt and shoes brought to a military shine.

Nor does he turn on the megawatt smile and charm that used to be a feature of his every campaign appearance. His handshake is not the full body grip so memorably described by Joe Klein in *Primary Colors*: it is cordial. The eyes seem faraway. Perhaps the great campaigner never turned on the klieg-light charm for mere journalists. Or maybe, now that he is no longer an office-seeking politician, his style has changed.

He brightens though when the initial smalltalk turns to a pastime that is a passion: golf. He has just spent two hours with Klein: the two men are both weekend players, and he reels off details of Klein's home club. He knows every fairway. Then it's time for business. "OK, guys," he says. "Shoot."

We start with the one area that came tantalisingly close to handing him a golden legacy: the Middle East. With trademark Diet Coke in hand, Clinton rattles off the details of the Israel-Palestine conflict as confidently as he did when he was leading the global effort to end it. Percentages of territory, death tolls on both sides - he is a walking database. It's hardly a surprise. The attempt to make peace between Israelis and Palestinians was one of the constant threads of his presidency, bringing one of its greatest successes - the 1993 handshake between Yitzhak Rabin and Yasser Arafat on the White House lawn - and a lethal failure, the ill-fated peace talks at Camp David in 2000.

My Life is full of fond reminiscences of the early days of that effort: how he advised Arafat not to wear a pistol for that signing ceremony, how he and his aides devised a physical manoeuvre that would prevent the Palestinian leader attempting to kiss Rabin as well as shake his hand.

But he also details the deterioration of the process, giving his account of the Camp David debacle that led to the outbreak of the intifada that still rages. Clinton's version is that Israel's Ehud Barak was ready to make enormous concessions but that Arafat was not able to "make the final jump from revolutionary to statesman . . . he just couldn't bring himself to say yes".

Just before Clinton left office, Arafat thanked him for all his efforts and told the president he was a great man. "Mr Chairman," I replied, 'I am not a great man. I am a failure, and you have made me one.'

We ask whether that leaves Clinton convinced, as the Israelis are, that so long as Arafat is there, there is no Palestinian partner for peace. No, he says, President Bush and Ariel Sharon make a mistake if they think they can ignore the veteran Palestinian leader.

"Unless they just want to wait for him to become incapacitated or pass away or unless they seriously believe they can find a better negotiating partner in Hamas . . . then they need to keep working to make a deal."

G2: The Clinton interview: 'Mandela helped me survive Monicagate, Arafat could not make the leap to peace, and for days John Major wouldn't take my calls': On t....

He adds that the Israeli hope, also backed by Bush, of bypassing Arafat and dealing instead with a new Palestinian prime minister - Abu Mazen in the first instance - was fine in principle but it was "a step too far to expect a new prime minister, who had no following remotely equal to Arafat's, to, in effect, take his power away."

It was no good asking the prime minister to "publicly neutralise Arafat and render him ceremonial because he still controls too much of the security forces. He won't let that happen. He's too smart."

A power-sharing arrangement with Arafat was the most Bush and Sharon should have aimed for. Sidelining Arafat completely is, even according to a man who has good reason to resent him, not an option.

All this comes in long, detailed answers - often delving into deep history, with a detour on the way - structured into "three main goals" or "four reasons". Suddenly you understand why the Clinton White House - especially in the new president's first few months - became notorious as a talking shop, with poli cymaking meetings turning into late-night "bull" sessions. The habit extended to Clinton's dealings with world leaders: face-to-face encounters stretching to three or four in the morning. This is a man who can talk.

But at times there are also flashes of what, the previous night, one supporter had called "a hideous indiscipline". He was speaking about Clinton's impromptu post-movie appearance on stage, intended to last no more than 10 or so minutes, but stretching to an often-rambling 35.

There was the same mix of intellectual brilliance - a riff summarising the entire sweep of American political history - and looser passages where he almost seemed to lose the thread. Four years out of office, the former president had seemed a bit like a prize fighter no longer quite at his peak.

But here he is, now, wielding perfect recall and a searching analysis. What of Sharon's plan unilaterally to withdraw from the Gaza Strip? "If it's done in the right way, I think it's a good thing. The idea that Israel as the stronger partner . . . is strong enough to unilaterally make concessions, I think that is a very good thing - with two provisos. One is I don't think it should be done in a way that humiliates the Palestinians. If they're going to do it, they ought to just do it and do it in a dignified manner. Figure out what to do with the settlers and settlements, and if America needs to help financially to relocate them, then we ought to do that, whatever needs to be done.

"The second thing is, it cannot appear that 'This is the scrap we are throwing you from our table.' What the message of the Gaza withdrawal needs to be is, 'Here is a demonstration of our good faith . . . Now if you will give me security and give up the (Palestinian refugees') right of return' - as Arafat's already said he would do when he accepted my parameters - 'if you will do these things and work with us in good faith, more will follow.' Then I think good things will happen." In other words, Clinton welcomes the Israeli pullout plan if it is Gaza first, rather than Gaza only. He recognises that this might not be how Sharon sees it; the former president admits that the Israeli PM still regards the West Bank as crucial to Israel - a view not shared by Rabin or Barak or, he adds, himself.

Either way, Israel has to act. Clinton explains that continued occupation is a "loser" for Israel. "If they don't let the Palestinians in the occupied territories vote the way they let the Palestinians in pre-67 Israel vote, then they're an apartheid state. If they do let them vote then they won't be a Jewish state after a while." So they have to act. Besides, "I still think there's a deal to be had."

Iraq - low on the danger list

One of My Life's most arresting passages describes the handover meeting Clinton had with his successor in December 2000. George Bush reckoned the biggest security issues he would face would be national missile defence and Iraq. "I told him that, based on the last eight years, I thought his biggest security problems, in order, would be Osama bin Laden and al-Qaida; the absence of peace in the Middle East; the standoff between nuclear powers India and Pakistan, and the ties of the Pakistanis to the Taliban and al-Qaida; North Korea; and then Iraq."

Besides advertising his own prescience, Clinton seems to be making a point - that Iraq was fairly low, fifth, on the list of priorities, and that, by implication, his successor went on to slay the wrong dragon.

G2: The Clinton interview: 'Mandela helped me survive Monicagate, Arafat could not make the leap to peace, and for days John Major wouldn't take my calls': On t....

Yet when we ask the former president about Iraq, his answer is not so straightforward. Like the Democrats' nominee for the White House, John Kerry, Clinton's position is nuanced. The unkind would say it is confused, or at least political - designed to stay firmly on the fence.

On the one hand, he says, he would have acted like Kerry. "I would have voted, I confess, if I had been a senator, I would have . . . voted to give (the president) the authority to attack Iraq because Saddam Hussein in the past had never done anything that he wasn't forced to do. And we were in this post-9/11 era and I thought it was imperative that we find out whether he had this stuff."

Clinton knew from his own time in office that there were "unaccounted-for stocks of chemical and biological agents (in Iraq) which could be weaponised" and that they could fall into the wrong hands.

That much might comfort the pro-war camp. But opponents will also find much to cheer in Clinton's remarks. The day we meet, initial reports from the independent commission investigating 9/11 conclude that there was no link between Saddam and the attacks on New York and Washington. "That's what I always thought," says Clinton, his gaze firm and steady. "From the minute it happened, I was virtually positive it was al-Qaida. I don't think Iraq had the capability to pull it off."

Clinton reckons the danger list he had given Bush still remains the most accurate. "In terms of their own ability to act against us or the Israelis, I always felt that al-Qaida and bin Laden were a much bigger threat and that the Middle East was a bigger problem, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, because it fed all this other stuff."

In his view, Iraq was worth inspecting for WMD, but the United Nations was the way to get the job done. "My view was that we shouldn't attack until the UN inspectors are finished and they can say, 'He (Saddam) did or did not comply.'" For that reason, and to help Blair, Clinton started working the phones, lobbying the leaders of Mexico and Chile to vote for the famous second UN resolution on Iraq - because it would have given Hans Blix and his team a few more weeks and might have got "America to defer military action."

Clinton's wariness of US engagement in Iraq had another source. "I worried we'd be underdeployed in Afghanistan - and might make the same mistake as we made in the 1980s when the US walked away after the Soviets left."

But don't Republicans keep saying that toppling Saddam was Clinton policy too? "Our policy had been, since 1998, regime change, but our policy toward Castro had been regime change, too, and we hadn't invaded Cuba! There is more than one way to pursue that objective."

The special relationship - Blair's dilemma

The conversation moved naturally to his old friend Blair, for whom he clearly retains a warm regard. He's at pains to tell "British readers" how they should understand the nature of Blair's dilemma.

Nevertheless, asked if the "special relationship" was strong enough to bear a British prime minister speaking his mind frankly on issues that divided the two countries, he answers with an immediate and unequivocal: "Yes."

Clinton said he had much sympathy over the fix Blair was in over Iraq. "He had a very bad Hobson's Choice. If he says, 'Well, the UN didn't ratify this' and he walks away, it makes Europe happy but it imperils the transatlantic alliance and it still doesn't do anything to strengthen the UN. If he stays with President Bush - at a minimum, he's gonna have to do something about whatever it is there on the WMD side, and he gives himself the chance to be the person who put the transatlantic alliance back together - and he hasn't hurt the UN any more than it's going to be hurt anyway.

"I think he thought: 'In for a dime, in for a dollar. There's no good answer, this is the less bad alternative.' I think some of the criticisms he got in Britain didn't appreciate how hard he had tried to get that other UN resolution through."

G2: The Clinton interview: 'Mandela helped me survive Monicagate, Arafat could not make the leap to peace, and for days John Major wouldn't take my calls': On t....

Clinton also defends Blair by highlighting the positions the prime minister had taken against Bush on a number of issues. "Tony's been in favour of the comprehensive test ban treaty, he's for the international criminal court - you know, he didn't advocate abandoning the ABM treaty. He's for the Kyoto accord on climate change and has done far more than America has to meet his targets.

"As far as I know Tony Blair's never embraced the new nuclear policy developed by President Bush - small-scale nuclear weapons and a new one that breaks concrete bunkers. So I don't think it's quite fair to see all of his foreign policy through the lens of Iraq."

Clinton's admiration for Blair does not exclude his predecessor, especially over Ireland. "I particularly admired John Major because it was harder for him than it was for Blair because he needed the Unionists in parliament to sustain a narrow majority and yet he consistently tried to do the right thing. So I always thought Major never got enough credit for what he did on Ireland. He had a weaker hand to play than Margaret Thatcher in her heyday and I thought he played it about as well as he could."

But he does not conceal moments of tension in the relationship - moments where the two fell out publicly without any significant damage to the transatlantic alliance. "He had to be critical of my visa for Gerry Adams because it put him in a very difficult position. He wasn't politically able to say anything good about it, even if he thought it had any merit. For days he refused to take my phone calls. The press reported I was mad at him (over allegations that the Major team had helped George Bush's 1992 campaign, by seeking to dig up dirt on Clinton from British files relating to Clinton's two-year stint at Oxford.) I was never mad with John Major, though I didn't mind people thinking I was mad because, you know, it always gives you a little psychological advantage."

Monica - the couch months

There is a flash of anger only once in our exchange - at the mention of his chief persecutor, Kenneth Starr. It had been the same night before, as he railed against Starr's pursuit of his friends and former colleagues.

Clinton's book describes his agony as "the darkest part of my inner life" was dragged into full public scrutiny - initially as he tried to outwit Rutherford Institute (a rightwing foundation) lawyers acting for Paula Jones as they delved into his personal life. It was these lawyers who first advanced a legal definition of "sexual relations" which, in Clinton's mind, "seemed to require both a specific act and a certain state of mind on my part and did not include any act by another person." Clinton's decision to adopt this strict legalistic definition later cost him dearly.

"What I had done with Monica Lewinsky was immoral and foolish," he says in the book. "I was deeply ashamed of it and I didn't want it to come out. In the deposition (in which he denied "sexual relations") I was trying to protect my family and myself from my selfish stupidity."

He sees the affair as a resurfacing of "old demons", dating back to his earliest years. "I didn't like everything I learned about myself or my past, and it pained me to face the fact that my childhood and the life I'd led since growing up had made some things difficult for me that seemed to come more naturally to other people."

The book sheds some light on that, not only lovingly recalling the characters and adventures of a boyhood in 1950s Arkansas, but also revealing the pain of a boy unconfident about his looks and weight, raised in a household riven by "abuse" - chiefly at the hands of his alcoholic and violent stepfather Roger Clinton. The former president says that it was at this young age that he learned to lead "parallel lives". "When I was a child my outside life was filled with friends and fun, learning and doing. My internal life was full of uncertainty, anger and a dread of ever-looming violence. No one can live parallel lives with complete success; the two have to intersect."

When faced with the Lewinsky allegations, he soon realised his tactic of denial was "a terrible mistake" - but became determined not to let Starr use his sexual misbehaviour to drive him out of office. What appalled him most was that - as he fought on many legal fronts - he also found himself lying to his family and closest supporters.

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"I was misleading everyone about my personal failings. I was embarrassed and wanted to keep it from my wife and daughter. I didn't want to help Ken Starr criminalise my personal life, and I didn't want the American people to know how I'd let them down. It was like living a nightmare. Though she was right about the nature of our opposition, seeing Hillary defend me made me even more ashamed about what I had done."

He finally broke the truth to Hillary after a "miserable, sleepless night" on August 15 1998. "She looked at me as if I had punched her in the gut, almost as angry at me for lying to her in January as for what I had done. All I could do was tell her I was sorry . . . I still didn't fully understand why I had done something so wrong and stupid; that understanding would come slowly, in the months of working on our relationship that lay ahead."

Later the same day he talked to Chelsea. "I was afraid that I would lose not only my marriage, but my daughter's love and respect as well."

That same day, the news was dominated by the Omagh bomb, which killed 28 people. In the following days Hillary and Chelsea were supportive in public. In private they were barely speaking to Clinton, who was now sleeping on a couch in a small living room adjoining the couple's bedroom. "I deserved a kicking, all right, but I was getting it at home, where it should have been administered."

When pressed, Clinton offers a political analysis for the "hysteria" which led to his impeachment. He describes an ever more bitter fight between the right and the left over the role of government, a picture complicated by the rise of the fundamentalist Christian right. He argues that, rather than fight on ideology, the right increasingly targets the personal lives of progressive public figures, whom they genuinely believe morally unfit for office. He urges Democrats to stick to arguments - which they can win - rather than personal vendettas.

We ask whether, as a Christian himself, he had been able to forgive Starr. "I couldn't have done it without two people, both in Africa," he says. "One was a Rwandan woman, a survivor of the slaughter. She lived next to a Hutu couple. Their children played together for 10 years. The couple rat 'em out. They come and crack her across the back with a machete and she's left for dead. She wakes up in a pool of blood and looks around and her husband and her six children are dead. She's the only survivor. And she said, 'I screamed at God for letting me live with all them dead and then I realised I must have been spared for some purpose. It could not be something as mean as vengeance.'

"What was the lesson for me? What I went through was a tea party compared to that woman. I lost nothing compared to what she did. You know, I had my reputation in tatters, I was bankrupted, I was enraged because other people were persecuted who were completely innocent. It was nothing.

"The other person who helped me was Nelson Mandela. He told me he forgave his oppressors because if he didn't they would have destroyed him. He said: 'You know, they already took everything. They took the best years of my life, I didn't get to see my children grow up. They destroyed my marriage. They abused me physically and mentally. They could take everything except my mind and heart. Those things I would have to give away and I decided not to give them away.'

"And then he said: 'Neither should you.' And he said when he was finally set free he felt all that anger welling up again and he said, 'They've already had me for 27 years . . . I had to let it go'. You do this not for other people but for yourself. If you don't let go it continues to eat at you."

Clinton was finally allowed back off the couch at some unspecified time after admitting his infidelity to Hillary and being cleared by the Senate. "I almost wound up being grateful to my tormentors: they were probably the only people who could have made me look good to Hillary again."

Hillary - the next Clinton presidency?

The current book tour is the latest Clinton campaign - but it's unlikely to be the last. What of the former president's wife, now in the Senate representing New York? Does she have what it takes to be president?

G2: The Clinton interview: 'Mandela helped me survive Monicagate, Arafat could not make the leap to peace, and for days John Major wouldn't take my calls': On t....

He smiles at the thought. She considered running this year, he admits, but instead "wanted to honour her commitment to the people of New York" to serve a full term in the senate. Political convention demands that he say Kerry will triumph this year? "He has a slightly better than 50-50 chance to win," says Clinton - and that therefore there will be no Democratic vacancy for eight years. So maybe that could be Hillary's moment?

"We have no idea what the future holds. If, you know, eight years from now or sometime in the future she got a chance to serve, I have no doubt about her skills. She is the ablest person I've ever known in public life. And she does some things better than I do, better than I ever do. She is very well organised, she is very strong . . . I have no doubt she could do it . . . Who knows what will happen in the future?"

We ask him about the red and blue crocheted band around his right wrist - an incongruous clash with the statesman attire. For the first time in the interview he becomes emotional, the voice catching and his eyes redening. "I've worn it for two years. I went there (to Colombia) and met these unbelievable kids from a village on the edge of the rainforest where the narco-traffickers are dominant," he says. "They sang and danced for peace and I fell in love with these kids. I asked them to perform at the White House one Christmas. They came with the culture minister, a magnificently attractive woman called Consuelo. The bad guys hated these kids because they made them look like what they are. The guerillas couldn't kill these children, so they murdered her . . . I can still hardly talk about this.

"Two years ago they asked me back and I said, 'I'll come, but you've got to bring those kids to see me.' So I turn up - and the children greeted me at the airport, along with the new culture minister - the niece of the murdered woman. And they gave me this bracelet, which I've never taken off."

And, with that, he is up on his feet, posing for a photograph and out - ready for the next stop in the campaign that never ends.

My Life by Bill Clinton is published by Hutchinson. To order a copy for £22 plus p&p (rrp £25), call the Guardian Book Service on 0870 836 0875. On Guardian Unlimited - guardian.co.uk/usa/clinton - From Arkansas to the Oval Office, the Clinton years as the Guardian reported them.

Load-Date: June 21, 2004

Weekend: TALKING TOUGH IN GAZA: Ariel Sharon has won the first vote in the Israeli parliament for his plan to evacuate the settlements in the Gaza Strip. There have been accusations of betrayal and even talk of civil war. Are the Gaza settlers really considering taking up arms to resist eviction? Linda Grant went to their towns and villages to find out.

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Body

At 8.30 in the evening, two-and-a-half weeks ago, the Knesset, the Israeli parliament in Jerusalem, voted with a sizeable majority to evacuate Israeli settlers from the occupied Gaza Strip. Around the world, people watched on television as an angry mob of baying protesters outside the building screamed abuse and waved the yellow flags of the banned far-right organisation Kach. Framed by the TV screen, they seemed to number in their thousands, a fanatical army determined to thwart the will of their elected representatives with dire warnings of civil war, assassination of the prime minister, Ariel Sharon, and cries of "Death to the Arabs". But on the ground another picture was visible, a thin line of no more than 100 or so who were outnumbered by press and police. Few were from Gaza itself.

Much earlier in the day, the children of the settlers bussed into Jerusalem by their teachers had mounted an exuberant teenage demonstration, but they were long gone by the time the vote came in. All but a handful of settlers were sitting at home watching the vote on television, the same as everyone else. I had spent the whole of the previous week with the Gaza settlers, shopping for food at the same supermarket, eating a sandwich at the same coffee shop, waking at night to the sound of Palestinian mortars and Kassam rockets thumping to the ground. I saw the moments pass as they woke up to history. They could not believe God would do this to them, and they felt betrayed and abandoned by their leader, Sharon, the man who, as minister of housing in the early 90s, had presided over Israel's largest settlement-expansion programme, who had come to visit them only a year before and called them heroes. They watched the television news reports and did not recognise themselves. They saw camera crew after camera crew seek out the tiny number of messianic American settlers (perhaps no more than a dozen in Gaza, out of an estimated total of 8,500) and allow them to be the strident voice of a complex social fabric of overwhelmingly working-class Israelis whose families had immigrated from Tunisia, Morocco, Iraq, Syria and France. No one remembered any more, they felt, why most of them had come to Gaza: because 22 years ago the government had sent them there, offering them cheap mortgages and business loans to settle the land.

The Gaza Strip is a territory of about 360 square kilometres, running up the Mediterranean coast towards Tel Aviv, bordered to the south by Egypt. It's a strip of land no more than 14km across at its widest point, six at its narrowest, and is said to be the most densely populated piece of earth in the world. It is home to more than a million Palestinians. Until 1948, Gaza was part of British-run Palestine and was intended to be included in a new,

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contiguous Arab country under a UN plan for partition. That plan foundered in the Arab-Israeli war of 1948-49, and Gaza came under Egyptian control. More than 700,000 Palestinians fled or were ethnically cleansed from Israeli areas, and wound up in Gaza refugee camps. Nearly 20 years later, in the Six Day War of 1967, Israel gained Gaza and occupied the adjoining Sinai peninsula, a desert area of Egypt stretching to the Suez Canal. Settlements were soon established in Sinai but, under the terms of the 1978 peace treaty with Egypt, the land was handed back in 1982 and the settlements dismantled. A violent conflict took place between the Israeli army and the lone, hold-out settlement of Yamit, where settlers had to be dragged from their homes by soldiers.

Some of the Sinai settlers then moved on to Gaza, and the government encouraged Israeli civilians to settle there, too, offering them tax breaks and cheap mortgages. The area was popular with working-class North African Jews who liked the coast and small-town life. Better a house in Gaza and a job in the nascent Gazan agricultural sector than a cramped apartment in Bat Yam, the Israeli equivalent of a dull commuter town; and if you wanted, you could commute from Gaza to Tel Aviv, only an hour or so's drive away. There are three settlement areas; the largest in the south became known as Gush Katif ("harvest block").

For the first few years, until the first intifada, which started in 1987, there was free movement between the settlement areas and the rest of Gaza. Palestinians worked for Israeli bosses in the newly established Gush Katif hothouses, and settlers claimed that they were bringing jobs to Gaza. But the Palestinians remained in a kind of legal and human rights limbo: neither Egypt nor Israel had given the Palestinian population of Gaza citizenship or votes. The refugee camps established in 1948 were now permanent shanty towns bordering Gazan cities such as Rafah, Gaza City and Khan Younis. The settlers built roads between their communities on which Palestinians were forbidden to travel. Passage between Palestinian towns and villages was controlled by army checkpoints.

Palestinian resistance became focused on the settlements. Palestinians dug tunnels between Rafah and Egypt on the other side of the border, through which, the Israelis claim, they are smuggling weapons, though most of the contraband is cigarettes and other goods.

The settlers can only survive in Gaza with the protection of the Israeli army, manning checkpoints and providing firepower. But Gaza has little biblical significance - it contains no holy sites for Jews. Inside Israel, there has been a growing mood among soldiers and their parents that the Gaza settlers weren't worth dying for. In poll after poll, 60%-70% of Israelis have supported leaving. Sharon signalled his intention to withdraw from Gaza six months ago. I went to find out what the Gaza settlers themselves think about their enforced evacuation.

At the crossing into the Gush Katif settlements, two-thirds of the way down the length of Gaza, a single bored, dishevelled soldier sits at the checkpoint. Access is via an Israeli-controlled road, and visits from outsiders are rare; in a car with Israeli plates and a named destination, it's easy to pass through. You drive for a few minutes along a two-lane highway. Parallel to it is a single-track road along which white-scarfed Palestinian schoolchildren are walking home. People carry burdens on donkeys. This is al Mawasi, a tiny strip of land, 14km long and 1km wide, a strip within a strip, on which 5,000 Palestinians live, penned in by the settlement block and the sea.

As you approach a settlement, large Israeli-owned hothouses cover the sand. You turn left through a high fence ringing the town past another checkpoint. In front of you are municipal flowerbeds, and beyond them a pleasant community of red-roofed houses, some large, most modest, a community centre, a town hall, eight synagogues, a supermarket, a pizza stand, three sandwich shops and a number of small shops selling clothes, electrical goods, stationery. This is Neve Dekalim, the largest of the 21 Gaza settlements, with a population of around 2,500. A few minutes' drive away, a cluster of several more satellite settlements are connected by the same settler road, little villages each with their own fence and their own sleepy soldier on guard.

You cannot go to Gush Katif and interview settlers without the suspicious say-so of Eran Sternberg, their council's press spokesman. He is 29, dressed casually, with only the kippah sitting on the back of his head to indicate that he subscribes to the rigorous doctrines of the National Religious Party. He is a child of the settlements, born in Israel, but from the age of three most of his life has been spent on the other side of the Green Line (the original ceasefire line after the 1948 war), and he is intransigent. "I am a Jew who lives in a Jewish home on Jewish land," he said.

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"To evict Jews is an action that should not be done in any case." Publicly, he has compared the Israeli government to the Judenrat, the Jewish committees which acted as intermediaries between the Jews and the Nazis, eventually delivering them directly to the trains bound for the death camps.

Why is Sharon doing this, I asked. "Sharon is surrounded by snakes and vipers," said Sternberg. "He knows very well that the elitists, the left, are the ones who write the history books and the legal decisions. He presents it as a done deal, but he hasn't succeeded yet in moving one caravan. He knows the strength of the resistance and that there is total opposition in the army. There's a psychological war to hope we'll evict ourselves by our own free will. (Dov) Weissglass and the other snakes have persuaded him. But it won't happen: 4,589 mortar shells have fallen on Gush Katif and only one person has been killed - I have an update every few hours here on my laptop. These are the miracles we have seen, so how can I believe that God means to evict us?"

The public relations campaign of the Gush Katif settlers insists that there is 90% opposition to the disengagement plan, that almost no one will leave, and if they can persuade the Knesset not to implement the disengagement without a national referendum, they will win. This didn't seem possible, I said, given that a majority of Israelis already support withdrawal. The settlers' response plays on Israelis' enduring fears for their country's survival. In October, Palestinian missiles for the first time reached the border town of Sderot, inside Israel, and killed two children. Ferocious reprisals followed, resulting in hundreds of Palestinian dead. Nevertheless, the argument goes, hand back Gaza, and the Palestinians, invigorated by their victory, will next set their sights on Tel Aviv and beyond.

There is nothing to do and nowhere to go in Gush Katif if you are young and restless. Two adjacent sandwich shops, divided according to the dietary laws between meat and dairy, are the centre of the small universe, with a television showing football, around which the teenagers gather at night. Miriam ben Hamu, 24 and Orthodox, runs one of them. She hears and sees everything, and her assessment is at wide variance with Sternberg's line. "Why is Sharon doing this?" she says. "Somebody that fat can't be all there mentally. Somebody that fat spends all his time thinking about food, and so he doesn't have time to think about the real problems. But my gut feeling is that most of the people here are prepared to take the money and run. There is an incredible amount of hypocrisy. When the media come, they're taken round to the hardliners, but I know the people and what they say in the cafe. They're fed up and all the talk is of leaving. This business of the tunnels is driving people crazy - the mortars, the rockets. The media portrays us as a bunch of ignorant hooligans living on a hilltop by the sea, but we're just the same as anyone else.

"I didn't vote in the last election because I didn't believe in any of the candidates. I believe in God. If anyone knocks on my door to pull me out, I'm not going to put up a fight. I still live with my parents; my father is a farmer, so we want to go to a moshav (an agricultural village) outside one of the big cities in Israel. I'm not a spoilt child - what's good for my parents is good for me. I just want to meet someone and get married."

After I left Gush Katif, my Israeli friends were curious about the settlers of Gaza. No one I know has ever been there, except during army service. Someone said that, to Israelis, Gaza is a room into which you throw in everything you don't want or are afraid of and are terrified of opening the door, not knowing what kind of stench will greet you. The Gush Katif settlers seemed to me very different temperamentally from those on the West Bank, less ideologically motivated, a view they confirmed themselves. The settlements are very pleasant places. They are like American gated communities behind whose walls small children can and do walk the streets hand in hand between each other's houses, late at night. There is a strong sense of community and neighbourliness. Only the mortars and rockets that softly thumped into the earth every night I was there, the air force drones buzzing in the sky, the automatic- weapon fire interrupting your sleep, and the barbed wire and electric fences and the monstrously high wall and checkpoint that separates the back of Neve Dekalim from the Palestinian town of Khan Younis a few metres away, would tell you that you are not in a safe and sleepy portion of the world where nothing ever happens. The settlements can exist only on a life-support system from the Israeli army.

Yet Gush Katif has, like all small towns, its own demography and sociology. Most residents are religious, the men dressed in ordinary clothes with kippahs, the women in long skirts and hats. Three settlements are secular, and the teenagers - the girls with bare midriffs, boys with blond-streaked hair and tongue piercings - are the objects of

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giggling sexual interest from their religious friends, who stretch the Orthodox dress code almost to snapping point in order to attract attention. They live like teenagers do anywhere. One night, after the Israeli army had assassinated a Hamas military commander, the settlement was then rocked by the sounds of Palestinian mortars, Israeli tank shells, the air blazing with explosions, they continued to sit in front of Miriam's coffee shop at midnight, watching television, oblivious to the frantic warnings on the settlement Tannoy, lost in their own small adolescent world.

On the beach, the newest settlement, never mentioned by Sharon or the Gush Katif council, has established itself in the empty rooms of a closed-down hotel that used to cater to religious tourists from Israel until the intifada dried up its custom. The nine settlers are single, secular men (one, Miriam's brother, has drifted away from religion, like a growing number of the teenage settlers), some of whom were born and grew up in Gush Katif and now live a bachelor life, surfing, swimming, drinking, bringing their girlfriends down, and in all likelihood smoking dope, which is acknowledged in all the occupied territories as a growing problem.

It gradually dawned on me that some of the Gush Katif settlers, perhaps many of the secular ones, particularly the pony-tailed men, had something of the hippy about them. Some had moved to Gaza as part of some kind of romantic, back-to-the-land dream, like Vicky Sabaj, who lives with her electrician husband and 15-year-old son in a one-storey rented house in the tiny beachside secular settlement of Peat Sadeh, where the sand comes up to her door. The settlement has 20 occupied houses; the rest, all newly built, lie empty, the windows never glazed, the roofs already shedding tiles. "We built them, but no one came," she said.

Born in Vienna after the war, Sabaj came to Israel to live on a kibbutz in 1967, but left because she wanted to be a founder of something, of a new community. She wandered across the world, wound up in Mozambique at the time of independence, and did a million different jobs. "Most people who knew me before would have thought that this was the last place I would go. I had no sympathy with the Portuguese settlers who had been sitting on the backs of the Africans for 500 years. Everyone was frantic because the Frelimo were coming. I walked out on the street and I saw this little black guy with a Kalashnikov and a guitar. He was cute, really cute. Everyone was scared, but the Frelimo had the good grass and the spoilt settler kids would meet them on the street corners to smoke grass with them. The Frelimo were less bitter and less hostile than the Palestinians. The Palestinian police came here after Oslo and they were not local and they repressed their own, and a lot of Palestinians I know were scared shitless.

"I never trusted Sharon. I always thought he was unpredictable. I don't trust anyone now. I used to run a restaurant on the beach. I was 12 hours a day with an Arab worker, and I said that if there was a terrorist attack, I was sure he would protect me, but today there has been too much blood. Something has broken, there is too much distrust. I'm not running around shouting, 'Death to the Arabs', but when they killed my friend's husband I stopped wanting to know." I told Vicky that I thought that the Gush Katif settlers seemed different from the West Bank settlers. "That's true," she said. "Revolutionaries always come from the hills, never from the beach - Castro came from the hills, not the coast."

The Gush Katif settlements even have their own ethnic minorities: foreign workers from Thailand and the Philippines who, at the time of the first intifada, were brought in to replace Palestinian workers in the hothouses which grow organic produce such as tomatoes, green peppers, lettuce and houseplants they say is bound for Marks & Spencer. There is also a small community of Shinlung, Indians of Burmese origin who, in the 1990s, were discovered by a rabbi in possession of a fragment of something that resembled Judaism. He believed that the Messiah would not return until the 10 lost tribes of Israel were rediscovered and brought back to their country of origin. Thousands of Shinlung were plucked by the rabbi from their educated, professional jobs in India and settled in the occupied territories.

Yoshua Benjamin, a Shinlung, came to Israel from north-east India in 1995, because, he says, "it was very difficult to live a Jewish life. We had no rabbi, people laughed at us. My economic life was very good, but my religious life was not OK and I didn't want my children to grow up where there was the influence of bad children, with liquor and drugs. At the beginning, I felt very awkward and out of place, but when you get to know the people here, they welcome you into their society. I knew it was occupied territory, but I didn't know the terrorists would carry out those acts. The intifada was very unexpected, but we are not afraid. I voted for Sharon and he turned out to be something

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different - politics is politics all over the world. I believe the disengagement won't happen. I have a very strong belief in God, but I'm not one of those who will fight to the death."

The longer you spend at Gush Katif, the more you understand what really bothers the settlers about the disengagement plan. You see that what lies beneath all the bluster is disbelief, denial and its next stage, anger and a gradual sense of resignation. You have to accept that though the settlers are living on occupied, stolen land, though their presence in Gaza has gouged into an already overcrowded strip of earth and separated its inhabitants by checkpoints, walls and fences, though they seem oblivious to the suffering that surrounds them, though they have no political solution to the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians because they are part of the cause of it, though you know all this, it is also true that they are a people in deep trauma about the loss of their homes and businesses, schools and community centre. There is enormous distress that their houses might be turned over to the very Palestinians who had bombarded them with mortars. Local Palestinians told me that there is no chance that the settlement houses will be given to them; they are likely to be handed out as rewards to senior Palestinian Authority officials.

All the settlers know about the future is what they hear on the radio: the screaming, the threats, the hysteria. They live with perpetual uncertainty. "And beyond that is a feeling that we have been abandoned," said Roni Bakshi, a 40-year-old father of seven who works as an ambulance driver. Bakshi's father and his nine brothers fled Baghdad when the state of Israel was born. On their way, they went to Iran and invested their money in carpets, but were cheated by an Iranian partner. They arrived in Israel with nothing. At 18, Bakshi was a yeshiva student in Yamit when the army came to evacuate the settlement. His wife's father, from Syria, was one of the ideologues who went there to be part of the showdown with the army.

Roni wants you to see his fruit trees, his house, his children's bedrooms. "The word 'disengagement' is symptomatic of people who have no roots," he says, "who have no connection to the land, and this is an absurd notion in the Middle East, where land is what defines you." He cannot understand the mentality of a government that would drive people from their homes, that does not understand the sweat and struggle it takes to build a community. You could, I suggested, walk a few metres away, behind the wall at Khan Younis, to the refugee camp, and meet people who also had the experience of being forced from their homes. I don't think this had ever occurred to him before, but he reverted to biblical claims about the ownership of the land, and arguments about who had started the 1948 war.

Beneath the surface, the unanimous front of the settlers was cracking. A week earlier, representatives of Peat Sadeh had held a secret meeting with the Disengagement Authority to discuss the possibility of the whole community being rebuilt on the other side of the Green Line. In September, a meeting had been held in the homes of one of the settlers with members of Shuvi, a women's peace group that formed in February to support disengagement from Gaza. Many of its members are mothers of Israeli soldiers who do not want their children to serve there. Its first action, a letter-writing campaign to members of the Knesset, attracted 60,000 supporters. One of its founder members, Dorit Eldar, is a social worker who told me, a few days later in Jerusalem, that she understood the trauma that the settlers were going through and her members wanted to show them that they were not being expelled but were returning home, to Israel. "They are paying a heavy psychological price," she said, "they need to know what their future is. But at the end, what it really comes down to is family. My specialisation is divorce and I know that if the kids get the message from the parents that it's painful but they have to move on and ahead with their lives, they won't grow up miserable. They have to take control over their lives by choosing now where they want to live."

The meeting caused a rift among the settlers. Eldar described Eran Sternberg as a "dangerous man" who had threatened and frightened them. Roni Bakshi had turned up with a van full of teenagers and blocked their cars from leaving. A neighbour, who had not attended the meeting, told them to seek refuge in her house. Though she did not agree with them, she said, she was frightened that there would be "a pogrom". Meir Rosenstein, who runs an electrical store in Neve Dekalim and was prepared to talk to the press about what he estimates to be the 50% of settlers ready to take the compensation money at once, has had his business boycotted and his son so bullied at school that he now refuses to leave home. "It's not a question of if we are going," he said, "but when. Anyone who

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doesn't see that is a fool. I have talked to a lot of people who want to move, not only for the money -the first reason is because of the terror. If you are a responsible parent, you make plans. I was evacuated from Yamit and I have had it with the other side of the Green Line. I want to go to a small town in the Galilee or maybe the Negev."

Israelis have been whipped up into fear of civil war by West Bank settler leaders. After the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin, they are afraid that the far right will make Gush Katif a test case, that the only end could be a bloody showdown, leaving soldiers, settlers and even children dead. The army has been secretly preparing contingency plans, including helicoptering in paediatricians to treat wounded children. But it was hard to find Gush Katif settlers who expressed the kind of extremist views held by members of the banned Kach party, followers of the late Rabbi Kahane, the far-right racist. Most of those who will admit to considering leaving said that they would use every trick in the book to exhaust the democratic process, but would go no further. "When the army comes, I'll be long gone," Vicky Sabaj said. "I don't fight lost battles."

The official stance of the settlers, as expressed by Sternberg, is that they have "very clear limits. There will be no violence and no active assistance to the process of eviction." Roni Bakshi, ignoring the advice of Dorit Eldar, is not planning to send his children away. "I want them to go through the trauma, I want them to experience it, so afterwards they know how to relate to their country, not to serve in its army. The difference between here and Yamit is that Yamit did not have the history of sacrifice and tragedy that this community has undergone. People have fought and died and been murdered here, which makes the people much more bitter about being disposed of. The government is waging psychological war against us, but we live in an environment of danger - we will not be intimidated." I asked if he would pick up a gun and shoot if the army comes to drag him from his home. "I try not to think about that," he said. "It's not simple. There's no historic precedent, which is why it's so hard to get my head round it. In Yamit I hadn't built or grown anything, yet still we sat and cried."

Most of the settlers I spoke to expressed genuine horror at the idea of shooting Israeli soldiers. "God forbid we would kill a soldier," one woman said. "He's someone's kid, he's a Jewish boy - who am I to attack him?" The commander of the Rafah checkpoint, an officer from Jerusalem who had spent two years in the yeshiva at Gush Katif, told me that he thought there would be no violence. "We are the Givati brigade," he said, "and the children of the settlers serve in the Givati. I don't think they'll shoot their own kids and their kids' friends." But a few days later, in a conversation with the novelist David Grossman, he pointed out that it took only one Yigal Amir (Rabin's assassin). If there is such a person, who sets off a shoot-out, he is more likely to infiltrate from the West Bank. To counter such a possibility, the army is said to have a plan to turn Gush Katif into a closed military area, to confiscate all army-issued weapons and to turf out anyone who does not have a Gush Katif residency permit.

The settlers are trying to keep up a united front, but some can be persuaded to betray their worst fears. Moshe Sapperstein, a popular figure with visiting journalists because he is American-born and gives good copy, reminded me of a cross between Jackie Mason and Moshe Dayan. He lost an arm in the Yom Kippur war and the fingers on his other hand in a terrorist attack a couple of years ago, and keeps up a constant stream of deadpan wisecracks. He emigrated to Israel in 1968 and is the most rightwing individual I have ever met.

"Moshe," we asked, "who are you at war with?"

"You name it. With the Arabs, with the Jews who support the Arabs, with my countrymen who refuse army service."

But after hours of ranting over breakfast, after comparing me with Adolf Eichmann, architect of the Final Solution, and the liberal Israeli paper Haaretz with Der Sturmer, a virulently anti-semitic Nazi newspaper, he finally got serious. "If you sit down and look at the position of Israel, realistically you'd pack up and leave," he said. "Our situation is hopeless. In the Negev there is a Bedouin majority. In the north, if you take out Haifa, there are more Muslims than Jews. If you don't believe that it's the Jewish destiny to be here, then you're a fool to hang around."

"Mr Sharon has no belief in Jewish destiny. He's simply buying time. The government will buy several months after they give up Gush Katif, then they'll have to give up something else, then they'll give up everything. If someone could show me how my leaving here would benefit Israel, I would swallow my bile and leave, but nobody has made the argument. As a believer, I believe that all will be well in the end, but I have no idea what God is planning. Our

Weekend: TALKING TOUGH IN GAZA: Ariel Sharon has won the first vote in the Israeli parliament for his plan to evacuate the settlements in the Gaza Strip. There

chances of surviving Sharon are two in five - there is no real strong opposition to him. I can't see any way out. So Sharon goes and we get Netanyahu. So what? He has a spaghetti spine. I don't see any relief from him."

One of the few Israelis who has ever seen Gaza is Dror Etkes, coordinator of Peace Now's Settlement Watch, which monitors settlement expansion. He counts new houses, empty houses, he forms his opinions on the basis of the facts on the ground, not on theory, hypothesis or ideology. "I asked Israelis to go to the Gaza Strip to see for themselves what they were being asked to fight for, because in a year it will be history. Israelis are completely ignorant about the place, partly because of attempts by the government to hide the facts and partly because of the unhealthy structure of Israeli political life. Yes, it's dangerous, but what about the 21 years when it wasn't dangerous? The settlers say it's a unilateral withdrawal under fire, and they're right. Let's not fool ourselves: there will still be missiles, there will be a long war of attrition after the withdrawal. It will turn Gaza into a prison, yes, but one with fewer guards, a bit less friction, a bit less blood, and a first and a not-even-third world economy a metre away from each other. It will still be hell for the Palestinians, just a slightly sweeter hell. But the withdrawal is a necessary precondition to ignite the end of the conflict and the beginning of reconciliation. Its cardinal advantage is the introduction of history, of real political considerations. The majority of Israelis are terrified, traumatised people seeking to reach normality and, as in any other society, they are far from being equipped with a good political memory or able to assume real responsibility for democracy."

The disengagement plan has several more legislative stages to pass through before it becomes law and the package of compensation proposals is made available. The plan is for all settlers to have left Gaza by next summer, before the new school year starts, so their children's education won't be disrupted. Quietly, many families have left already. The settlements appear on the drawing board to be expanding, new houses continue to be built, but an air of silence and desolation lies over them. There are new arrivals, 60 houses and apartments have recently been rented, but not to families looking to build new lives. The newcomers are the zealots and fanatics from the West Bank, the hardcore of right-wing extremists who want to stage, in Gush Katif, a bloody showdown with the army that will leave soldiers and settlers dead in the streets. To anticipate this, the compensation bill includes provision for anyone who, without permission, enters the territories slated for evacuation to be liable for a three-year jail term, and it is over these clauses that the battle will be fought at committee stage.

A hot wind blows through the land, a blast of foul air of incitement to violence, threats, stormy rhetoric. The Israeli far left sits and spins conspiracy theories, that disengagement is an elaborate bluff by Sharon which will never be carried out. Meanwhile, the settlers confront their worst fears: the loss of their collective memories, the skein of community, the friendships, and a questioning of their faith, that God, who gave them the land, should expel them for no reason. Why can't we stay, they ask, bewildered. If the Palestinians would stop the terror, we could all be neighbours once more. What country would your neighbours be citizens of, I asked. And they stared at me and said they did not know

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Kerry's Undeclared War

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Body

As New York and Washington were under attack on Sept. 11, 2001, a film crew happened to come upon John Kerry leaving the Capitol. The brief moment of footage, included in a BBC documentary called "Clear the Skies," tells us something, perhaps, about Kerry in a crisis. The camera captures Congressional aides and visitors, clearly distraught and holding onto one another, streaming down the back steps of the Capitol building in near panic, following the bellowed instructions of anxious police. Off to one side of the screen, there is Kerry, alone, his long legs carrying him calmly down the steps, his neck craning toward the sky, as if he were watching a gathering rainstorm. His face and demeanor appear unworried. Kerry could be a man lost in his thoughts who just happens to have wandered onto the set of a disaster film.

"I remember looking up at the sky as I walked down the steps," Kerry told me recently, when I asked him about the film clip. He said that he and other members of the Senate's Democratic leadership had just watched on television as the second plane hit the World Trade Center, and shortly after that they heard the sonic boom of an explosion and saw, through a large window, the black smoke rise from the Pentagon. "We'd had some warning that there was some airplane in the sky. And I remember seeing a great big plane -- I think it was a 747 or something -- up there, but it wasn't moving in a way that, you know, I was particularly concerned. I remember feeling a rage, a huge anger, and I remember turning to somebody and saying, 'This is war.' I said, 'This is an act of war.'"

After leaving the Capitol on that terrible day, Kerry walked across the street to his office in the Russell Senate building, where he made sure that his staff had been evacuated and was safe. Reluctant to leave Capitol Hill, he watched TV coverage in his office and saw the second tower fall. He called his older daughter, Alexandra, who was living in New York, and his wife, Teresa, who was in Washington. Those who saw Kerry that morning recall mainly that he was furious, an emotion, those close to him say, that comes easily to him in times of trial. He thought it was a mistake to shut down the Capitol, to show terrorists that they had the power to send the United States government into hiding.

"You know, my instinct was, Where's my gun?" Kerry told me. "How do you fight back? I wanted to do something." That evening, sitting at home, he called an aide and said he wanted to go to New York that very night to help the rescuers; he was ultimately convinced that such a trip was logistically impossible. In the days ahead, Kerry would make two trips to ground zero to see what remained of the carnage.

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With the terrorist attacks of 9/11, the geopolitical currents that Washington had spent half a century mastering shifted all at once. It isn't clear how long it took Kerry -- a senator for nearly 20 years and, in September 2001, an undeclared candidate for the presidency -- to understand the political magnitude of that change. George W. Bush and his advisers got it almost instantly. Few men get to be president, and far fewer get to be president at a critical, transformative moment; Bush, seizing the opportunity, recast himself as the accidental protagonist of a new and dramatic national narrative. Less than a year removed from a disputed election, he set about elbowing his way into the small pantheon of modern presidents -- F.D.R. after Pearl Harbor, Kennedy during the Cuban Missile Crisis -- who led the nation in profound moments of peril.

Before the smoke had even dissipated over Manhattan, Bush presented the country with an ambitious, overarching construct for a new era in foreign relations. "The war on terror," as he put it, was this generation's test of military and ideological resolve, different from the ones that came before with regard to tactics, perhaps, but not in the magnitude of the challenges or the ambition of the enemy. Bush explained that Al Qaeda and its allies and imitators would constitute a new kind of menace in the years ahead, stealthier and less predictable than past enemies. And yet, in their opposition to American principles and the threat they posed to the nation, he suggested, the Islamic terrorists were the equivalent of Hitler and Stalin, and defeating them would require the same steel and the same conviction that guided America in the last century's campaigns.

While Bush and much of the country seemed remade by the historic events of 9/11, Democrats in Washington were slow to understand that the attacks had to change them in some way too. What adjustments they made were, at first, defensive. Spooked by Bush's surging popularity and the nation's suddenly ascendant mood of patriotism, Democrats stifled their instinctive concerns over civil liberties; and whatever their previous misgivings about intervention, many Congressional Democrats, a year after the terrorist attacks, voted to give Bush the authority to invade Iraq.

What few Democrats did at the time was think creatively about the new world of foreign policy. The candidates who began their runs for the presidency last year, from Dennis Kucinich and his peace platform on the left to Joe Lieberman and Dick Gephardt on the other side of the spectrum, attacked the president's foreign policy from different directions, but if any new ideas emerged during those months, they were soon drowned out by the booming anti-war voice of Howard Dean. When Kerry emerged as the most palatable alternative, he at first ran mostly on the viability of his personal story, focusing more on his combat experience in Vietnam than on any plan to fight Al Qaeda or remake Iraq. Only since Labor Day has Kerry begun to sharpen his distinctions with Bush on national security and foreign policy. In a series of combative speeches and statements, and in a crisp performance at the first head-to-head debate, Kerry has argued that Bush's war in Iraq is a disaster, that troops should be brought home before the end of the next presidential term and that the Iraq war is a "profound diversion" from the war on terror and the real showdown with Al Qaeda.

What Kerry still has not done is to articulate clearly a larger foreign-policy vision, his own overarching alternative to Bush's global war on terror. The difference between the two men was clear during the foreign-policy debate in Florida 10 days ago. Kerry seemed dominant for much of the exchange, making clear arguments on a range of specific challenges -- the war in Iraq, negotiations with North Korea, relations with Russia. But while Kerry bore in on ground-level details, Bush, in defending his policies, seemed, characteristically, to be looking at the world from a much higher altitude, repeating in his brief and sometimes agitated statements a single unifying worldview: America is the world's great force for freedom, unsparing in its use of pre-emptive might and unstinting in its determination to stamp out tyranny and terrorism. Kerry seemed to offer no grand thematic equivalent.

Inside liberal think-tanks, there are Democratic foreign-policy experts who are challenging some of Bush's most basic assumptions about the post-9/11 world -- including, most provocatively, the very idea that we are, in fact, in a war. But Kerry has tended to steer clear of this conversation, preferring to attack Bush for the way he is fighting terrorism rather than for the way in which he perceives and frames the threat itself.

The argument going on in Washington has its roots in the dark years of the cold war. Just about everyone agrees that many factors contributed to America's triumph over world communism -- but people differ on which of those factors were most important. The neo-conservatives who shaped Reagan's anti-Soviet policy and now shape

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Bush's war on terror have long held that the "twilight struggle" with the Soviet empire was won primarily as a result of U.S. military intervention in several hemispheres and of Reagan's massive arms buildup, without which democracy and free markets could not have taken hold. Many liberals, on the other hand, have never been comfortable with that premise; while they acknowledge that American military power played a role, they contend that the long ideological struggle with communism ended chiefly because the stifling economic and social tenets of Marxism were unsustainable, and because a new leader emerged -- Mikhail Gorbachev -- who understood that. They see Islamic fanaticism, similarly, as a repressive ideology, born of complex societal conditions, that won't be defeated by any predominately military solution.

In the liberal view, the enemy this time -- an entirely new kind of "non-state actor" known as Al Qaeda -- more closely resembles an especially murderous drug cartel than it does the vaunted Red Army. Instead of military might, liberal thinkers believe, the moment calls for a combination of expansive diplomacy abroad and interdiction at home, an effort more akin to the war on drugs than to any conventional war of the last century.

Even Democrats who stress that combating terrorism should include a strong military option argue that the "war on terror" is a flawed construct. "We're not in a war on terror, in the literal sense," says Richard Holbrooke, the Clinton-era diplomat who could well become Kerry's secretary of state. "The war on terror is like saying 'the war on poverty.' It's just a metaphor. What we're really talking about is winning the ideological struggle so that people stop turning themselves into suicide bombers."

These competing philosophies, neo-conservative and liberal, aren't mutually exclusive, of course. Neo-cons will agree that military operations are just one facet, albeit the main one, of their response to terrorism. And liberals are almost unanimous in their support for military force when the nation or its allies face an imminent and preventable threat; not only did the vast majority of liberal policy makers support the invasion of Afghanistan, but many also thought it should have been pursued more aggressively. Still, the philosophical difference between the two camps, applied to a conflict that may well last a generation, is both deep and distinct. Fundamentally, Bush sees the war on terror as a military campaign, not simply to protect American lives but also to preserve and spread American values around the world; his liberal critics see it more as an ideological campaign, one that will turn back a tide of resentment toward Americans and thus limit the peril they face at home.

Perhaps the most pressing question of the presidential campaign is where John Kerry stands in this debate. The man who would be the first Vietnam veteran to occupy the Oval Office has doggedly tried to merge both worldviews, repeatedly vowing to fight both a more fierce and a more restrained, multifaceted war on terror. Aides say this is evidence of his capacity to envision complex solutions for a complex world; voters, through the summer and early fall, seemed less impressed. In a typical poll conducted by The Washington Post and ABC News just before the first presidential debate, only 37 percent of the respondents agreed with the statement that Kerry would make the country safer. A New York Times/CBS News poll conducted in mid-September found that half the respondents thought Bush would make the right decisions to protect the nation from terrorism, compared with only 26 percent who said the same thing about Kerry.

More surprising than the poll numbers, though, is the sense of frustration, expressed not just by voters but by some in Kerry's own party, that even at this late hour, Kerry's long-term strategy for defeating the terrorists remains so ethereal. "You will lose, and we will win," Kerry told America's enemies in the most memorable line of his convention speech in late July. "The future doesn't belong to fear. It belongs to freedom." But how will we win? How do you root out and destroy Islamic radicals while at the same time capturing the "hearts and minds" of Islamic students? When John Kerry said, on Sept. 11, 2001, "This is war," what precisely did he mean?

On an evening in August, just after a campaign swing through the Southwest, Kerry and I met, for the second of three conversations about terrorism and national security, in a hotel room overlooking the Ferris wheel on the Santa Monica pier. A row of Evian water bottles had been thoughtfully placed on a nearby table. Kerry frowned.

"Can we get any of my water?" he asked Stephanie Cutter, his communications director, who dutifully scurried from the room. I asked Kerry, out of sheer curiosity, what he didn't like about Evian.

"I hate that stuff," Kerry explained to me. "They pack it full of minerals."

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"What kind of water do you drink?" I asked, trying to make conversation.

"Plain old American water," he said.

"You mean tap water?"

"No," Kerry replied deliberately. He seemed now to sense some kind of trap. I was left to imagine what was going through his head. If I admit that I drink bottled water, then he might say I'm out of touch with ordinary voters. But doesn't demanding my own brand of water seem even more aristocratic? Then again, Evian is French -- important to stay away from anything even remotely French.

"There are all kinds of waters," he said finally. Pause. "Saratoga Spring." This seemed to have exhausted his list. "Sometimes I drink tap water," he added.

After months of having his every word scrutinized by reporters and mocked by Republicans, Kerry appeared to sense danger in the most mundane of places. Interviewing him reminded me at times of what I'd read in "Tour of Duty," the historian Douglas Brinkley's flattering account of Kerry's service in Vietnam. The Swift boat crews on the Mekong Delta and the Ca Mau Peninsula did not aspire to be heroic, although they were. Kerry and the young sailors were given patrol missions that seemed unnecessarily dangerous; their job was essentially to prove the point that Americans could traverse the windy rivers of the delta, rife with Vietcong, and lure the enemy out into the open. They traveled slowly and kept watch in all directions, and if their leader got them from point A to point B and back again without serious casualties, he had done his job.

Kerry seems to find presidential politics in the era of Karl Rove as treacherous as riverine warfare, and he has run for the presidency in much the same way. From the beginning, Kerry's advisers said that the election would be principally a referendum on Bush, whose approval ratings, reflecting public anxiety over Iraq and a sluggish economy, were consistently low for a president seeking re-election. All Kerry had to do to win, the thinking went, was to meet a basic threshold of acceptability with voters and avoid doing or saying anything that might be fatally stupid. The riverbanks were lined with hostile Republicans and reporters, lying in wait for him, and Kerry's goal as he sailed upriver was simple: Stay down. Exercise caution. Get to November in one piece.

Which is exactly what it's like to interview Kerry as he runs for the presidency; he acts as if you've been sent to destroy him, and he can't quite figure out why in the world he should be sitting across from you. When I met him for our first conversation, in his cabin aboard the 757 that shuttles his campaign around the country, Kerry didn't extend his hand or even look up to greet me when I entered, and he grew so quickly and obviously exasperated with my questions about his thoughts and votes on Iraq that he cut the interview short. (Embarrassed aides later told me he had been abruptly roused from a nap.) He was far more gracious in our subsequent conversations about terrorism and foreign policy, but he still spent a lot of the time repeating phrases from his stump speech. ("You will lose, we will win," and so on.) What some politicians -- Bill Clinton comes to mind -- might have considered an opportunity to persuade and impress voters, Kerry seemed to regard only as an invitation to do himself harm.

Kerry's guardedness has contributed to the impression that he does not think clearly or boldly about foreign policy. In his short but fascinating book titled "Surprise, Security and the American Experience," the Yale historian John Lewis Gaddis suggests that Bush's framework for fighting terrorism has its roots in the lofty, idealistic tradition of John Quincy Adams and Woodrow Wilson. (The book was so popular in the White House that Gaddis was invited over for a discussion.) "What Bush is proposing is quite long-term, quite radical and quite Wilsonian," Gaddis told me when we spoke; when I asked him about Kerry, he said: "I don't know where Kerry is on this. I don't have the slightest clue."

Kerry's adversaries have found it easy to ridicule his views on foreign policy, suggesting that his idea of counterterrorism is simply to go around arresting all the terrorists. This is what Dick Cheney was getting at when he said last month that there was a danger, should Kerry be elected, that "we'll fall back into the pre-9/11 mind-set, if you will, that in fact these terrorist attacks are just criminal acts, and that we're not really at war." These barbs have some resonance, largely because Kerry is so obviously defensive about them; talking to him, you sometimes get the sense that he would gladly throw on a pair of night-vision goggles and abduct a member of his own staff if he

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thought it would prove he could be as tough on terror as his opponent. (When I asked one Kerry adviser what it was that voters needed to know about Kerry and terrorism, he replied without hesitation. "That he's strong and tough," he said. "In the case of John Kerry, unlike Dick Cheney and George W. Bush, he's looked people in the face and shot them dead.")

It's perhaps not surprising, then, that Kerry hasn't been eager to challenge Bush's grand notion of a war on terror; such a distinction might sound weak, equivocal or, worse yet, nuanced. It's equally unsurprising that, in the recent Times poll, 57 percent of the respondents said Kerry hadn't made his plans for the country clear, and 63 percent believed he said what he thought people wanted to hear, rather than what he actually thought. This reflected savage Republican attacks on Kerry's character, to be sure, but it probably also had something to do with the fact that he hadn't made his plans clear and seemed to be saying what he thought people wanted to hear.

When I asked Kerry's campaign advisers about these poll numbers, what I heard from some of them in response was that Kerry's theories on global affairs were just too complex for the electorate and would have been ignored -- or, worse yet, mangled -- by the press. "Yes, he should have laid out this issue and many others in greater detail and with more intellectual creativity, there's no question," one adviser told me. "But it would have had no effect."

This is, of course, a common Democratic refrain: Republicans sound more coherent because they see the world in such a rudimentary way, while Democrats, 10 steps ahead of the rest of the country, wrestle with profound policy issues that don't lend themselves to slogans. By this reasoning, any proposal that can be explained concisely to voters is, by definition, ineffective and lacking in gravitas. Other Kerry aides blame the candidate and his coterie of message makers, most of whom are legendary for their attack ads but less adept at thinking about broad policy arguments. "If you talk about this the right way, then the American people, or most of them, will get it," one of Kerry's informal advisers told me. "But you've got to have guts."

This is the Republican line on Kerry -- that he lacks guts. Kerry's often wobbly attempt to be both like and unlike Bush in his approach to terrorism and the war in Iraq enabled the Bush team, by the time Kerry and I spoke in August, to portray him, devastatingly, as a "flip-flopper" who careens from one position to another. In our conversation, Kerry seemed unusually sensitive to these allegations, to the point where he seemed unwilling to admit to having evolved or grown in the way that politicians -- or human beings, for that matter -- generally do. When I asked Kerry how Sept. 11 had changed him, either personally or politically, he seemed to freeze for a moment.

"It accelerated -- " He paused. "I mean, it didn't change me much at all. It just sort of accelerated, confirmed in me, the urgency of doing the things I thought we needed to be doing. I mean, to me, it wasn't as transformational as it was a kind of anger, a frustration and an urgency that we weren't doing the kinds of things necessary to prevent it and to deal with it."

Kerry did allow that he, like other Americans, felt less safe after 9/11. "Look, until a few months ago," he said, referring to the time before he was enveloped in a Secret Service escort and whisked around on charter planes, "I was flying like everybody else, you know, going through things. Absolutely, I've looked at people very carefully on an airplane. I'd look at shoes. I'd check people who I thought might be a little squirrely. Going into crowded events, I feel very much on the alert."

Bush attacked Kerry earlier in the campaign over this question of whether the war on terror was really a war. ("My opponent indicated that he's not comfortable using the word 'war' to describe the struggle we're in," Bush said, although whether Kerry had actually said that is debatable.) Now that I'd heard Holbrooke and others say flat out that we weren't in an actual war, I wanted to hear what Kerry thought. Is this a real war, or a metaphorical one? I asked him. Is "war" the right word to use?

"There's a danger in it," Kerry said, nodding. "But it's real," he went on, meaning the war itself. "You know, when your buildings are bombed and 3,000 people get killed, and airplanes are hijacked, and a nation is terrorized the way we were, and people continue to plot to do you injury, that's an act of war, and it's serious business. But it's a different kind of war. You have to understand that this is not the sands of Iwo Jima. This is a completely new, different kind of war from any we've fought previously."

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Kerry told me he would stop terrorists by going after them ruthlessly with the military, and he faulted Bush, as he often does, for choosing to use Afghan militias, instead of American troops, to pursue Osama bin Laden into the mountains of Tora Bora, where he disappeared. "I'm certainly, you know, not going to take second seat to anybody, to nobody, in my willingness to seek justice and set America on a course -- to make America safe," Kerry told me. "And that requires destroying terrorists. And I'm committed to doing that. But I think I have a better way of doing it. I can do it more effectively."

This was a word that Kerry came back to repeatedly in our discussions; he told me he would wage a more "effective" war on terror no less than 18 times in two hours of conversations. The question, of course, was how.

"I think we can do a better job," Kerry said, "of cutting off financing, of exposing groups, of working cooperatively across the globe, of improving our intelligence capabilities nationally and internationally, of training our military and deploying them differently, of specializing in special forces and special ops, of working with allies, and most importantly -- and I mean most importantly -- of restoring America's reputation as a country that listens, is sensitive, brings people to our side, is the seeker of peace, not war, and that uses our high moral ground and high-level values to augment us in the war on terror, not to diminish us."

This last point was what Kerry seemed to be getting at with his mantra of "effectiveness," and it was in fact the main thrust of his campaign pitch about terrorism. By infuriating allies and diminishing the country's international esteem, Kerry argued, Bush had made it impossible for America to achieve its goals abroad. By the simple act of changing presidents, the country would greatly increase its chances of success in the global war on terror. Both candidates, in fact, were suggesting that the main difference between them was one of leadership style and not policy; just as Bush had taken to arguing that Kerry was too inconstant to lead a nation at war, Kerry's critique centered on the idea that Bush had proved himself too stubborn and arrogant to represent America to the rest of the world.

But when you listen carefully to what Bush and Kerry say, it becomes clear that the differences between them are more profound than the matter of who can be more effective in achieving the same ends. Bush casts the war on terror as a vast struggle that is likely to go on indefinitely, or at least as long as radical Islam commands fealty in regions of the world. In a rare moment of either candor or carelessness, or perhaps both, Bush told Matt Lauer on the "Today" show in August that he didn't think the United States could actually triumph in the war on terror in the foreseeable future. "I don't think you can win it," he said -- a statement that he and his aides tried to disown but that had the ring of sincerity to it. He and other members of his administration have said that Americans should expect to be attacked again, and that the constant shadow of danger that hangs over major cities like New York and Washington is the cost of freedom. In his rhetoric, Bush suggests that terrorism for this generation of Americans is and should be an overwhelming and frightening reality.

When I asked Kerry what it would take for Americans to feel safe again, he displayed a much less apocalyptic worldview. "We have to get back to the place we were, where terrorists are not the focus of our lives, but they're a nuisance," Kerry said. "As a former law-enforcement person, I know we're never going to end prostitution. We're never going to end illegal gambling. But we're going to reduce it, organized crime, to a level where it isn't on the rise. It isn't threatening people's lives every day, and fundamentally, it's something that you continue to fight, but it's not threatening the fabric of your life."

This analogy struck me as remarkable, if only because it seemed to throw down a big orange marker between Kerry's philosophy and the president's. Kerry, a former prosecutor, was suggesting that the war, if one could call it that, was, if not winnable, then at least controllable. If mobsters could be chased into the back rooms of seedy clubs, then so, too, could terrorists be sent scurrying for their lives into remote caves where they wouldn't harm us. Bush had continually cast himself as the optimist in the race, asserting that he alone saw the liberating potential of American might, and yet his dark vision of unending war suddenly seemed far less hopeful than Kerry's notion that all of this horror -- planes flying into buildings, anxiety about suicide bombers and chemicals in the subway -- could somehow be made to recede until it was barely in our thoughts.

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Kerry came to his worldview over the course of a Senate career that has been, by any legislative standard, a quiet affair. Beginning in the late 80's, Kerry's Subcommittee on Terrorism, Narcotics and International Operations investigated and exposed connections between Latin American drug dealers and BCCI, the international bank that was helping to launder drug money. That led to more investigations of arms dealers, money laundering and terrorist financing.

Kerry turned his work on the committee into a book on global crime, titled "The New War," published in 1997. He readily admitted to me that the book "wasn't exclusively on Al Qaeda"; in fact, it barely mentioned the rise of Islamic extremism. But when I spoke to Kerry in August, he said that many of the interdiction tactics that cripple drug lords, including governments working jointly to share intelligence, patrol borders and force banks to identify suspicious customers, can also be some of the most useful tools in the war on terror.

"Of all the records in the Senate, if you don't mind my saying, I think I was ahead of the curve on this entire dark side of globalization," he said. "I think that the Senate committee report on contras, narcotics and drugs, et cetera, is a seminal report. People have based research papers on it. People have based documents on it, movies on it. I think it was a significant piece of work."

More senior members of the foreign-relations committee, like Joe Biden and Richard Lugar, were far more visible and vocal on the emerging threat of Islamic terrorism. But through his BCCI investigation, Kerry did discover that a wide array of international criminals -- Latin American drug lords, Palestinian terrorists, arms dealers -- had one thing in common: they were able to move money around through the same illicit channels. And he worked hard, and with little credit, to shut those channels down.

In 1988, Kerry successfully proposed an amendment that forced the Treasury Department to negotiate so-called Kerry Agreements with foreign countries. Under these agreements, foreign governments had to promise to keep a close watch on their banks for potential money laundering or they risked losing their access to U.S. markets. Other measures Kerry tried to pass throughout the 90's, virtually all of them blocked by Republican senators on the banking committee, would end up, in the wake of 9/11, in the USA Patriot Act; among other things, these measures subject banks to fines or loss of license if they don't take steps to verify the identities of their customers and to avoid being used for money laundering.

Through his immersion in the global underground, Kerry made connections among disparate criminal and terrorist groups that few other senators interested in foreign policy were making in the 90's. Richard A. Clarke, who coordinated security and counterterrorism policy for George W. Bush and Bill Clinton, credits Kerry with having seen beyond the national-security tableau on which most of his colleagues were focused. "He was getting it at the same time that people like Tony Lake were getting it, in the '93 -'94 time frame," Clarke says, referring to Anthony Lake, Clinton's national security adviser. "And the 'it' here was that there was a new nonstate-actor threat, and that nonstate-actor threat was a blended threat that didn't fit neatly into the box of organized criminal, or neatly into the box of terrorism. What you found were groups that were all of the above."

In other words, Kerry was among the first policy makers in Washington to begin mapping out a strategy to combat an entirely new kind of enemy. Americans were conditioned, by two world wars and a long standoff with a rival superpower, to see foreign policy as a mix of cooperation and tension between civilized states. Kerry came to believe, however, that Americans were in greater danger from the more shadowy groups he had been investigating -- nonstate actors, armed with cellphones and laptops -- who might detonate suitcase bombs or release lethal chemicals into the subway just to make a point. They lived in remote regions and exploited weak governments. Their goal wasn't to govern states but to destabilize them.

The challenge of beating back these nonstate actors -- not just Islamic terrorists but all kinds of rogue forces -- is what Kerry meant by "the dark side of globalization." He came closest to articulating this as an actual foreign-policy vision in a speech he gave at U.C.L.A. last February. "The war on terror is not a clash of civilizations," he said then. "It is a clash of civilization against chaos, of the best hopes of humanity against dogmatic fears of progress and the future."

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This stands in significant contrast to the Bush doctrine, which holds that the war on terror, if not exactly a clash of civilizations, is nonetheless a struggle between those states that would promote terrorism and those that would exterminate it. Bush, like Kerry, accepts the premise that America is endangered mainly by a new kind of adversary that claims no state or political entity as its own. But he does not accept the idea that those adversaries can ultimately survive and operate independently of states; in fact, he asserts that terrorist groups are inevitably the subsidiaries of irresponsible regimes. "We must be prepared to stop rogue states and their terrorist clients," the National Security Strategy said, in a typical passage, "before they are able to threaten or use weapons of mass destruction against the United States and our allies and friends."

By singling out three states in particular- Iraq, North Korea and Iran -- as an "axis of evil," and by invading Iraq on the premise that it did (or at least might) sponsor terrorism, Bush cemented the idea that his war on terror is a war against those states that, in the president's words, are not with us but against us. Many of Bush's advisers spent their careers steeped in cold-war strategy, and their foreign policy is deeply rooted in the idea that states are the only consequential actors on the world stage, and that they can -- and should -- be forced to exercise control over the violent groups that take root within their borders.

Kerry's view, on the other hand, suggests that it is the very premise of civilized states, rather than any one ideology, that is under attack. And no one state, acting alone, can possibly have much impact on the threat, because terrorists will always be able to move around, shelter their money and connect in cyberspace; there are no capitals for a superpower like the United States to bomb, no ambassadors to recall, no economies to sanction. The U.S. military searches for bin Laden, the Russians hunt for the Chechen terrorist Shamil Basayev and the Israelis fire missiles at Hamas bomb makers; in Kerry's world, these disparate terrorist elements make up a loosely affiliated network of diabolical villains, more connected to one another by tactics and ideology than they are to any one state sponsor. The conflict, in Kerry's formulation, pits the forces of order versus the forces of chaos, and only a unified community of nations can ensure that order prevails.

One can infer from this that if Kerry were able to speak less guardedly, in a less treacherous atmosphere than a political campaign, he might say, as some of his advisers do, that we are not in an actual war on terror. Wars are fought between states or between factions vying for control of a state; Al Qaeda and its many offspring are neither. If Kerry's foreign-policy frame is correct, then law enforcement probably is the most important, though not the only, strategy you can employ against such forces, who need passports and bank accounts and weapons in order to survive and flourish. Such a theory suggests that, in our grief and fury, we have overrated the military threat posed by Al Qaeda, paradoxically elevating what was essentially a criminal enterprise, albeit a devastatingly sophisticated and global one, into the ideological successor to Hitler and Stalin -- and thus conferring on the jihadists a kind of stature that might actually work in their favor, enabling them to attract more donations and more recruits.

This critical difference between the two men running for the presidency, over what kind of enemy we are fighting and how best to defeat it, is at the core of a larger debate over how the United States should involve itself in the Muslim world. Bush and Kerry are in agreement, as is just about every expert on Islamic culture you can find, that in order for Americans to live and travel securely, the United States must change the widespread perception among many Muslims worldwide that America is morally corrupt and economically exploitative. It is this resentment, felt especially strongly among Arab Muslims, that makes heroes of suicide bombers. The question vexing the foreign-policy establishment in Washington is how you market freedom. Is the establishment of a single, functioning democracy in the Middle East enough to win the "hearts and minds" of ordinary Muslims, by convincing them that America is in fact the model for a free, more open society? Or do you need to somehow strike at the underlying conditions -- despotism, hopelessness, economic and social repression -- that breed fundamentalism and violence in the first place?

"You've got to do something to acknowledge the gulf that exists between the dispossessed Arab world and us, because it's huge," says Bob Kerrey, the former Democratic senator who is now president of New School University and who served on the independent 9/11 commission. "We don't have enough money, we don't have enough parents who are willing to give up their sons and daughters, to win this with our Army, Air Force, Navy, Marine Corps and Coast Guard. We don't have the bodies to do it. So if you don't have a real agenda of hope that's as hard-headed and tough as your military and law-enforcement agenda, we're not going to win this thing."

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The neo-conservatives have advanced a viral theory of democracy. In their view, establishing a model democracy in the Arab world, by force if necessary, no matter how many years and lives it takes, would ultimately benefit not only the people of that country but also America too. A free and democratic Iraq, to take the favorite example, will cause the people of other repressive countries in the region to rise up and demand American-style freedom, and these democratic nations will no longer be breeding pools for nihilistic terrorists. Like so much of Bush's policy, this kind of thinking harks directly back to the cold war. The domino theory that took hold during the 1950's maintained that an ideological change in one nation -- "going" communist or democratic -- could infect its neighbor; it was based in part on the idea that ideologies could be contagious.

Bush crystallized the new incarnation of this idea in his convention speech last month, notable for the unapologetic sweep and clarity of its vision. "The terrorists know that a vibrant, successful democracy at the heart of the Middle East will discredit their radical ideology of hate," the president said. "I believe in the transformational power of liberty. As the citizens of Afghanistan and Iraq seize the moment, their example will send a message of hope throughout a vital region. Palestinians will hear the message that democracy and reform are within their reach, and so is peace with our good friend Israel. Young women across the Middle East will hear the message that their day of equality and justice is coming. Young men will hear the message that national progress and dignity are found in liberty, not tyranny and terror."

Kerry, too, envisions a freer and more democratic Middle East. But he flatly rejects the premise of viral democracy, particularly when the virus is introduced at gunpoint. "In this administration, the approach is that democracy is the automatic, easily embraced alternative to every ill in the region," he told me. Kerry disagreed. "You can't impose it on people," he said. "You have to bring them to it. You have to invite them to it. You have to nurture the process."

Those who know Kerry say this belief is in part a reaction to his own experience in Vietnam, where one understanding of the domino theory ("if Vietnam goes communist, all of Asia will fall") led to the death of 58,000 Americans, and another ("the South Vietnamese crave democracy") ran up against the realities of life in a poor, long-war-ravaged country. The people of Vietnam, Kerry found, were susceptible neither to the dogma of communism nor the persuasiveness of American "liberation." As the young Kerry said during his 1971 testimony to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee: "We found most people didn't even know the difference between communism and democracy. They only wanted to work in rice paddies without helicopters strafing them and bombs with napalm burning their villages and tearing their country apart. They wanted everything to do with the war, particularly with this foreign presence of the United States of America, to leave them alone in peace."

Biden, who is perhaps Kerry's closest friend in the Senate, suggests that Kerry sees Bush's advisers as beholden to the same grand and misguided theories. "John and I never believed that, if you were successful in Iraq, you'd have governments falling like dominoes in the Middle East," he told me. "The neo-cons of today are 'the best and the brightest' who brought us Vietnam. They have taken a construct that's flawed and applied it to a world that isn't relevant."

In fact, Kerry and his advisers contend that the occupation of Iraq is creating a reverse contagion in the region; they say the fighting -- with its heavy civilian casualties and its pictures, beamed throughout the Arab world, of American aggression -- has been a boon to Al Qaeda recruiters. They frequently cite a Pentagon memo, leaked to the media last year, in which Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld wondered whether Al Qaeda was recruiting new terrorists faster than the U.S. military could capture or kill them. "God help us if we damage the shrine in Najaf," Richard Holbrooke told me on a day when marines surrounded insurgent Shiites inside the shrine, "and we create a new group of Shiites who some years from now blow up the Statue of Liberty or something like that, all because we destroyed the holiest site in Shiism."

If forced democracy is ultimately Bush's panacea for the ills that haunt the world, as Kerry suggests it is, then Kerry's is diplomacy. Kerry mentions the importance of cooperating with the world community so often that some of his strongest supporters wish he would ease up a bit. ("When people hear multilateral, they think multi-mush," Biden despaired.) But multilateralism is not an abstraction to Kerry, whose father served as a career diplomat during the years after World War II. The only time I saw Kerry truly animated during two hours of conversation was when he talked about the ability of a president to build relationships with other leaders.

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"We need to engage more directly and more respectfully with Islam, with the state of Islam, with religious leaders, mullahs, imams, clerics, in a way that proves this is not a clash with the British and the Americans and the old forces they remember from the colonial days," Kerry told me during a rare break from campaigning, in Seattle at the end of August. "And that's all about your diplomacy."

When I suggested that effecting such changes could take many years, Kerry shook his head vehemently and waved me off.

"Yeah, it is long-term, but it can be dramatically effective in the short term. It really can be. I promise you." He leaned his head back and slapped his thighs. "A new presidency with the right moves, the right language, the right outreach, the right initiatives, can dramatically alter the world's perception of us very, very quickly."

"I know Mubarak well enough to know what I think I could achieve in the messaging and in the press in Egypt," Kerry went on. "And, similarly, with Jordan and with King Abdullah, and what we can do in terms of transformation in the economics of the region by getting American businesspeople involved, getting some stability and really beginning to proactively move in those ways. We just haven't been doing any of this stuff. We've been stunningly disengaged, with the exception of Iraq."

"I mean, you ever hear anything about the 'road map' anymore?" he asked, referring to the international plan for phasing in peace between Israel and the Palestinians, which Kerry supports. "No. You ever hear anything about anything anymore? No. Do you hear anything about this greater Middle East initiative, the concepts or anything? No. I think we're fighting a very narrow, myopic kind of war."

It is not a coincidence that Kerry's greatest success in the Senate came not during his long run of investigations but in the realm of diplomacy. He and John McCain worked for several years to settle the controversy over P.O.W.-M.I.A.'s and to normalize relations with Vietnam -- an achievement that Kerry's Senate colleagues consider his finest moment. "He should talk about it more," Bob Kerrey said. "He transformed the region." In the same way, John Kerry sees himself as a kind of ambassador-president, shuttling to world capitals and reintegrating America, by force of personality, into the world community.

He would begin, if sworn into office, by going immediately to the United Nations to deliver a speech recasting American foreign policy. Whereas Bush has branded North Korea "evil" and refuses to negotiate head on with its authoritarian regime, Kerry would open bilateral talks over its burgeoning nuclear program. Similarly, he has said he would rally other nations behind sanctions against Iran if that country refuses to abandon its nuclear ambitions. Kerry envisions appointing a top-level envoy to restart the Middle East peace process, and he's intent on getting India and Pakistan to adopt key provisions of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. (One place where Kerry vows to take a harder line than Bush is Pakistan, where Bush has embraced the military ruler Pervez Musharraf, and where Kerry sees a haven for chaos in the vast and lawless region on the border with Afghanistan.) In all of this, Kerry intends to use as leverage America's considerable capacity for economic aid; a Kerry adviser told me, only slightly in jest, that Kerry's most tempting fantasy is to attend the G-8 summit.

Kerry's view, that the 21st century will be defined by the organized world's struggle against agents of chaos and lawlessness, might be the beginning of a compelling vision. The idea that America and its allies, sharing resources and using the latest technologies, could track the movements of terrorists, seize their bank accounts and carry out targeted military strikes to eliminate them, seems more optimistic and more practical than the notion that the conventional armies of the United States will inevitably have to punish or even invade every Islamic country that might abet radicalism.

And yet, you can understand why Kerry has been so tentative in advancing this idea. It's comforting to think that Al Qaeda might be as easily marginalized as a bunch of drug-running thugs, that an "effective" assault on its bank accounts might cripple its twisted campaign against Americans. But Americans are frightened -- an emotion that has benefited Bush, and one that he has done little to dissuade -- and many of them perceive a far more existential threat to their lives than the one Kerry describes. In this climate, Kerry's rather dry recitations about money-laundering laws and intelligence-sharing agreements can sound oddly discordant. We are living at a time that feels

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historically consequential, where people seem to expect -- and perhaps deserve -- a theory of the world that matches the scope of their insecurity.

Theoretically, Kerry could still find a way to wrap his ideas into some bold and cohesive construct for the next half-century -- a Kerry Doctrine, perhaps, or a campaign against chaos, rather than a war on terror -- that people will understand and relate to. But he has always been a man who prides himself on appreciating the subtleties of public policy, and everything in his experience has conditioned him to avoid unsubtle constructs and grand designs. His aversion to Big Think has resulted in one of the campaign's oddities: it is Bush, the man vilified by liberals as intellectually vapid, who has emerged as the de facto visionary in the campaign, trying to impose some long-term thematic order on a dangerous and disorderly world, while Kerry carves the globe into a series of discrete problems with specific solutions.

When Kerry first told me that Sept. 11 had not changed him, I was surprised. I assumed everyone in America -- and certainly in Washington -- had been changed by that day. I assumed he was being overly cautious, afraid of providing his opponents with yet another cheap opportunity to call him a flip-flopper. What I came to understand was that, in fact, the attacks really had not changed the way Kerry viewed or talked about terrorism -- which is exactly why he has come across, to some voters, as less of a leader than he could be. He may well have understood the threat from Al Qaeda long before the rest of us. And he may well be right, despite the ridicule from Cheney and others, when he says that a multinational, law-enforcement-like approach can be more effective in fighting terrorists. But his less lofty vision might have seemed more satisfying -- and would have been easier to talk about in a political campaign -- in a world where the twin towers still stood.

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Graphic

Photos: Candidate in Motion Kerry in St. Louis in September. (video by Taryn Simon)

Taking Sides: Kerry disagrees with the democracy-at-gunpoint doctrine. "You can't impose it on people. . . . You have to invite them to it. You have to nurture the process." (Photographs by Taryn Simon for The New York Times)

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Fern Holland's War

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Body

Late one night this past March in the Babylon Hotel, on the banks of the Euphrates River, Fern Holland sat alone in her office writing e-mail -- unwinding, she wrote to a friend, with a glass of Johnnie Walker and listening to Michelle Branch singing "All You Wanted." She had many things on her mind, and among them was figuring out where she could get a bulldozer so she could help two Iraqi women get their land back.

The Babylon Hotel, in Hilla, about an hour's drive south of Baghdad, used to be a regular haunt of Saddam Hussein's intelligence agents. Now it was home to Holland's employer, the south-central regional branch of the U.S.-led Coalition Provisional Authority. The Hilla office was responsible for governing the Shiite heartland of Iraq. Holland, who was 33, had practiced law for several years in her native Oklahoma and worked as a human rights legal adviser in West Africa before she signed up in July of last year to help bring democracy and the rule of law to Iraq. "Whatever the Bush administration's motive was for invading Iraq, it didn't matter to Fern," a friend of hers in Tulsa told me. An idealist tempered by realism, Holland was a doer, not a doubter.

Since her arrival in Iraq, she and her Iraqi assistant, Salwa Oumashi, had fertilized a broad swath of the middle Euphrates region with ideas of change. She organized human rights groups, opened women's centers and acted as a strong advocate for Iraqi women's rights. She was working 18-hour days, seven days a week, and still, she wrote to a friend: "I wish I had more hours in the day. . . . It's crazy and is driving me crazy because I really love these people and I see the potential and I just can't give enough to do them justice."

Sitting at her computer that night in March, she sent an e-mail message back to Tulsa to her close friend Stephen Rodolf, for whose law firm she worked from 1993 to 1999. She told him about two women from a nearby farming village who had come seeking her aid in a legal dispute:

"They are widows. They wear all black, all you can see is their faces -- no hair or neck. They don't wear gloves though and you can see their hands -- very rough hands, dry and cracked and evidence of broken fingers from years ago, and huge knuckles from years of manual labor. Their faces wrinkled and dark, no makeup, but 2 small faded blue circles on their chins -- tattoos. One of Saddam's thugs grew crops on their land and they thought they could remove him upon liberation. No such luck. He built a house on their land and refused to leave. They have court orders and everything and nobody will move the guy. Everyone's afraid of him. So much for the rule of law. I'm

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going to see him Saturday morning, along with the little ladies, the manager of the new women's center, the judge, and a couple Iraqi policemen. These little ladies reminded me of my mother. Salt of the Earth."

Two days later, Fern showed up at the judge's courthouse in Kifl, a farming village about 12 miles from Hilla. The judge was impressed by her knowledge of Iraqi law. Holland promised, in her slight Oklahoma lilt, that she would bring an Internet cafe to his rice-farming village, which boasts the tomb of the prophet Ezekiel. He agreed with her when she said, "No one should jump over a woman's rights," but with all the suffering people in Iraq, he was a little puzzled why this slight, 5-foot-2, fiery American, with golden hair and sky blue eyes, was putting so much energy into this particular case. The judge pointed out how shameful it is to destroy somebody's house -- so much so that no local would dare to carry out his order to do so. Tribal or religious leaders usually mediate such quarrels.

Still, he gave his word to implement the ruling that he had himself issued, but on one condition: Holland had to bring the bulldozer.

"A bulldozer?" cried Adly Hassanein back at the Babylon Hotel. An elegant Egyptian-American human rights adviser with the C.P.A., Hassanein worked closely with Holland and shared her commitment. "Fern," he said, "that is an Israeli act." He begged her to let it go: it's family business; it's local culture. She smiled at him. She knew Hassanein's paternal routine. "They can't just harass women this way, Dr. Adly," she said.

Three days later, on a warm spring Tuesday, Holland collected some petty cash, found a bulldozer and a driver and returned to Kifl. The judge set off with 30 policemen following the bulldozer. The man's house was demolished. The "salt of the earth" got back their property. And in Holland's mind another step had been taken toward getting Iraqis to trust in the rule of law.

Arabs have a saying about meddling in family affairs: Put yourself between the onion and its skin, and you'll just get a bad smell. Holland also had a saying: If I don't do it, nobody will. Baghdad red tape infuriated her. She needed to be invested in Iraqi lives, and she was not going to serve up democracy by remote control from inside a fortress of barbed wire and concrete blast walls. The C.P.A. had already earned such a reputation for governing from the secure green zone in Baghdad that "green-zoned" had become a term for "safe but clueless."

From early in her life, Holland harnessed a go-it-alone, pioneer mentality to a Wilsonian belief in universal human rights and self-determination. As an American, she felt a moral obligation to the world, despite or maybe because of her decidedly rough beginnings. As one of Holland's Oklahoma neighbors told me: "You will never convince me that someone didn't leave that girl on the doorstep of that home. Because she's so different. And in that tiny town in Oklahoma, influences that touch on the problems of the world and the bigger picture of humanity just don't surface. She was just born with some light that comes from nowhere."

That tiny town was Bluejacket, a place of rolling pastures, wide, daunting skies, one store and 300 people -- as heartland America as Hilla is heartland Shiite Iraq. Fern, the youngest of five children, always considered the Holland farm in Bluejacket her home, although she lived and went to school a few miles away in Miami, a sports-proud, mostly Baptist community of about 13,000 settled by land-rushers and what the locals refer to as the "civilized Indian tribes."

Bluejacket was horses and fishing ponds, firing shotguns with her brothers and sisters; Miami was where her family fell apart, one summer afternoon, when Fern was 4 and her mother tried to kill herself. Her father was a charming, hard-drinking rancher who taught at a junior college and didn't know how to respond to his wife's suicide attempt. He put her in an institution where the doctors gave her electroshock treatments.

"After that, Fern didn't talk for a long time," her sister Vi says. Her parents split up. Fern became her mother's guardian angel, and over time, her mother became her hero as she resurrected herself at 40, working days as a secretary at a boron plant and studying at night for a psychology degree until she became a counselor for addicts and the mentally ill. When Fern was 12, her father died of a heart attack. There was pandemonium all around, her brother Joe Ben remembered when I met him recently in his mobile home north of Tulsa. But Fern sat quiet. When Joe Ben caught her pensive stare, she just said, "I wonder where he is now." Fern never got any special treatment,

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Joe Ben said, contemplating his sister's journey so far from Bluejacket. "There wasn't Aristotle or Socrates around to teach her," he said. "She just did it. Maybe being raised tough did it."

What is "it"? "Making herself perfect," Vi says. Fern got straight A's while working at Tastee-Freez and Radio Shack. She was the family's peacemaker, comedian and natural athlete. She was pretty and popular, a friend to the ostracized, class salutatorian and homecoming queen. She was an honor student in psychology at Oklahoma University, then flew off to see the world, which to her meant saving it. She tended children dying of nuclear-disaster-related diseases in a Russian hospital. She taught kids in a squatter camp in South Africa. She thought about medical school but concluded that the law, as she wrote in her law-school application, was the best means to "create the most equal and just global society obtainable." She got her law degree in Tulsa, then began handling medical malpractice suits while helping Vi take care of her mother, who was dying of emphysema. It was all preparation. A year after she buried her mother in the Bluejacket cemetery, she gave up her partner-track position, joined the Peace Corps and found herself in the Namibian bush not far from the Angolan border.

But if she sometimes did saintly things, she was a hard-living saint. In high school she loved to drive fast, blasting the Violent Femmes, and stay out late at the lake with a bottle of vodka and her best friend, Angie. Her vacations were on the wild side: jumping out of planes, diving with sharks, hiking alone in the snowy Himalayas with a busted knee and summer clothes.

Holland was not, and never claimed to be, a team player. She was an interventionist: getting her Oklahoma friends to send computers to Namibia to bring the Internet to the bush; rousing homeless people in New York City from their slumbers to give them what was left of her meal. As Joe Ben said: "Fern was tough. If she got mad, thought somebody was a bully, sure she could bulldoze his house down."

Two years ago, Holland moved to Washington, D.C., hoping to plug into the international-aid scene. She joined the firm of Woodley & McGillivray while looking out for pro bono work abroad. The American Refugee Committee sent her to Guinea to investigate claims that workers for certain nongovernmental organizations were demanding sex from Sierra Leonian and Liberian refugees, women and children, in exchange for humanitarian aid. Not satisfied with documenting the crimes, she proposed setting up a legal-aid clinic in the camps so abused women and children could pursue their cases in court. "Everyone thought, Come on, this is Africa," recalled Colleen Striegel of the American Refugee Committee. "We didn't think it was realistic. But she looked into Guinean law and learned that Guinea had signed on to international conventions against discriminating against women and children." That was enough. She persuaded the committee to go for the idea and began training local attorneys.

Holland was passionate about spreading the legal-aid clinics to other camps. But her firm did not want her making any more pro bono trips. Without much dithering, she decided to leave her six-figure job at the firm, went to work at Starbucks on a morning shift and spent the rest of her time trying to raise money for the Guinean project and pursuing, with her law professor John Norton Moore, the idea of an African Institute for Democracy. But it was the spring of 2003, and the only game in Washington was Iraq.

Babil, home of ancient Babylonia, is often called "the white flower." The Euphrates lolls through Babil, watering willows, eucalyptus and acres of date palms. The people in Hilla, Babil's capital, for the most part welcomed coalition troops as liberators. A mostly Shiite community, Hilla had lost thousands of men during the Iran-Iraq war and the disastrous, American-inspired 1991 uprising against Saddam. In the spring of 2003, after the Baathists were overthrown, the people of Hilla dug up mass graves to look for their relatives. I was traveling there at the time and, in some of the bleakest stretches of desert, watched men praying, "God is the only god," as they heaved remains from the heavy earth: shirts crumpled around skeletons, toe bones tucked in sandals, leg bones clanking like gourds. A man in a dishdasha, drenched in sweat, was searching for his wife among neatly lined-up piles in white shrouds. Inside one he found a black abaya crumpled as if the woman had melted. There was no jewelry, no shoes, just a mulch of henna-colored bones, hair and nails. He had no way of knowing who she was, but he broke down anyway. I looked at my interpreter, a Kurd from Halabja, whom I'd been traveling with since before the war began, and I could see as we drifted slowly from pit to pit that he just wanted to sink and die. One of the men shadowing a grave pointed inside. "This is America," he said. "They lie here because of America. I'm sorry if you

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are American, but tell your countrymen that's why they are here. The father Bush betrayed us and brought Saddam back, and look what he did."

It was graves like these that convinced Holland she had to stay in Iraq. As Stephen Rodolf, her Tulsa lawyer friend, recalled the story: "I was telling Fern about the protest in the U.S. against our being there, and the fact that the lack of W.M.D.'s was invalidating everything we went in for. She said: 'I don't know anything about W.M.D. But I can tell you this countryside is littered with the graves of men, women and children murdered by this regime.' " She was collecting testimony for future war-crimes trials from Shiite survivors of Saddam's massacres -- hair-raising tales of escape, of being buried alive beneath the dead, of identities hidden for 12 years until Saddam's fall. Some of these survivors formed the human rights associations that sprouted up across the south that spring.

Babil was ripe for the idealistic vision of Mr. Mike, as Mike Gfoeller, an Arabic-speaking American diplomat and the regional C.P.A. coordinator, was affectionately known. Gfoeller had a plan to open human rights and women's centers and tribal democracy centers in each of the five Shiite provinces he governed. Holland picked up Mr. Mike's vision and went flying, with her focus sharpened on the mission of democracy education and liberating Iraqi women.

Within a month, the crumbling, two-story building she identified in Hilla was a spanking-new women's center with computers and Internet access, sewing machines, a gym, an auditorium for democracy lectures and a kitchen where the local women could cater for the new Iraqi Olympic boxing team. Holland soon identified five more suitable buildings, one in every province.

It was an exciting time. Visions were grand. Cash was flowing by the truckload from Baghdad. Because it was confiscated money from Saddam's coffers that the U.S. was distributing and not official American funds, there were almost no regulations on how it was spent. As Rachel Roe, a reservist and lawyer who was rebuilding the legal system in Najaf, told me: "Fern showed up in the palace in Baghdad looking for the head of democracy and human rights to see what's the plan and found some 21-year-old political appointee who had no idea what was going on. Someone would just say, 'O.K., take this cash, put it in a backpack and build democracy centers.' It was insane. I was looking for guidance on Iraqi law and was met by a 22-year-old American in charge of the Ministry of Justice who said, 'Don't worry about that, I'm pretty sure we're going to rewrite that constitution anyway.' This is a country of 23 million people, and we're there with no plan for what we're going to do. So we just started figuring it out ourselves."

They had little time. The money and fancy gear generated envy, and Iraqi men were not accustomed to envying women in a fight over resources. In both Hilla and Karbala, the C.P.A. had kicked out religious parties from government-owned buildings to install the women's centers. A cleric "destroyed the reputation of a woman on the town council whom I'm very fond of and I love her kids," Holland wrote in an e-mail message to a colleague in Washington. "She was the driving force for the women's group, and now has withdrawn. . . . She's being called a Baathist and a Zionist, etc. . . . My brain is on overdrive trying to hold these fragile groups together. It's like you're on the verge of something explosive and just trying to contain it."

In the evenings, after a jog along the river inside the compound, Holland would eat, but not much, then begin her nightly e-mail to family and friends, to Republicans and Democrats and nonprofit organizations. She sought money and experts to implement the Bush administration's vision of democratizing the Middle East. "Islamic fundamentalism is spreading across the south-central region," she wrote in one letter, seeking money to hire professors. "Education is the key for democracy to take root," she continued. "People must know what it is and believe in democracy if we expect them to be motivated to protect it." She wanted to reach the "middle-of-the-road types who are very religious in their faith but not violent" before the Shiite religious parties engulfed the south, and before the confiscated Saddam cash, and perhaps America's commitment to teaching democracy, dried up. The local parties had 30 years of experience organizing underground cells against Saddam. They had money and they had those powerful campaign billboards -- party founders portrayed as sympathetic martyrs, just like the pictures of Shiism's beloved martyrs Hussein and Ali.

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So what started as a humanitarian endeavor to liberate Iraqi women quickly shaped into a political battle. It was the war after the war, and in the Shiite heartland, Holland and her assistant, Salwa Oumashi, were at this war's center. Oumashi's mother, a Christian Syrian widow who'd lost a son to Saddam, was growing anxious for her daughter. But Oumashi and Holland would always tell her, "If we don't take this opportunity now to fight for rights, we won't have another chance for 50 years." When Gfoeller rolled out his idea for a "heartland conference" at Hilla's university, gathering women activists as the vanguard for a democracy movement and a new political leadership, "Fern single-handedly took over the organizing, renovating dormitories at the university, arranging travel," recalled her onetime boss at the United States Agency for International Development, where she worked before the C.P.A. "She went gangbusters with visibility. She knew heavy hitters in D.C. Condoleezza Rice did a video-con message to the participants. Fern took it to greater heights than we ever imagined."

On Oct. 4 of last year, L. Paul Bremer III, the head of the C.P.A., choppered in and told the women that the Heartland Conference was one of the most exciting events he'd been to. He made a tour of Holland's women's center. Photos were snapped. What Bremer didn't stick around to see were the angry men outside threatening to bomb the place or the slogans that went up overnight on the university campus: "C.P.A., Americans, British don't intervene in Iraqi affairs." And: "These strange women are here to spread knowledge that doesn't belong to our culture." The elite, secular Iraqi women who had recently returned from exile were unnerved by the backlash. Conservative women from the holy city of Najaf, just half an hour away, resented the conference and its dubious teachings. Each group of women shouted down the speakers of the other groups. When Zainab Al-Suwaij, an Iraqi who was brought up by her grandfather, a revered ayatollah, gave a talk about the need for separation of church and state, even she was heckled, despite her Islamic credentials.

Suwaij told me later that Holland had taken a leadership position and tried to please everyone, but it was impossible. "It was very tense," Suwaij said. "My bodyguards would hear the men outside talking about Fern. They hated her. She was a threat to them. She was nervous and didn't know what was happening, and I told her: 'Be careful. These people you are dealing with are smiling in your face and at the same time putting up slogans against you and sending women to find out what's going on here.' Even I didn't feel safe."

Suwaij hadn't been back to Iraq in many years -- she went into exile after participating in the 1991 anti-Baathist uprising -- and she said: "Basra, my home, used to be a modern port city. After I came back, almost all the women were covered. The mentality of the people changed. The wars, the sanctions. They are generous and sweet when you visit, but they are cynical and don't trust people. The political parties are controlling their minds and the women's activities. . . . You find Hezbollah offices in Basra. Hamas offices in Nasiriya."

Last November, Holland persuaded families in Karbala and Najaf to allow her to take some women to Washington, New York and Boston for democracy seminars and to meet President Bush. She even included some of the conservative Najafi women. One Iraqi lawyer returned to her home in Najaf to find an effigy of herself hanging on her door with the word "spy." She dropped all her activities. One close Iraqi friend of Holland's recalled riding a minibus in Najaf with a simple man who told him, "My uncle, these foreigners have come to take our wives to foreign lands."

Fern Holland was making a name for herself. Those she touched called her Barbie, the doll, the white dove or the angel dropped from the sky. But there were also the other names that adhere to Westerners -- spy, Jew -- and, in her case, dangerous agent injecting Western notions in the minds of good Muslim women. Oumashi too, who had lived for a time in the United States and brought back her American clothes and airs and ideas about women's liberation, was considered an American agent. They were, after all, touching Najaf, the center of the Shiite world. It is the home of the shrine of Ali and of the Shiites' most sacred burial ground, where millions have transported their dead for burial in the city's catacombed cemetery. Billions of dollars were at stake from the pilgrim industry, as was the power to define much of the Shiite majority's future in the new Iraq. The last thing male religious leaders wanted was Holland and Oumashi teaching women that they had the power to select their own leaders.

By February of this year, Holland was busy getting a women's center up and running in Karbala, 12 miles northwest of Hilla, despite strong local opposition. It was not just a matter of struggling with local religious conservatives, though that would have been enough in a city built around the tomb of the Shiite martyr Hussein.

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Just across the street, Karbala's policemen worked in a blighted station house while Holland and Oumashi unloaded new computers and other fancy goods for the sole benefit of Karbala's women. The police were not even being paid any longer; the interior ministry had stopped sending money to the provinces, despite the desperate need for security. Why were the Americans spending their money in this way? In Friday sermons, clerics loyal to the young militant Moktada al-Sadr spread rumors: "You know what the Americans are doing in these centers, my brothers? They are offering free abortions. You know what these Internet centers are doing? They are offering free porn to the students of the Hawza [the Shiite seminary]."

Bremer flew in for a ribbon-cutting ceremony at the women's center with an entourage of private bodyguards and Western reporters. He extolled the talents of the Iraqi women -- all of whom were draped in black from crown to toe. The C.P.A. needed some good-news stories, and the liberation of Iraqi women -- which the administration had increasingly trumpeted as the insurgency failed to crumble and no weapons of mass destruction could be found -- read well back home. The more Iraq spun out of control, the more sugary were C.P.A. Hilla's press releases. "During the past few weeks, the coalition has given out more than 1,000 soccer balls to children," read one. "The children always come running up . . . happy smiles on their faces."

But inside the center, the women were worried about their men and the lack of jobs. Dr. Amal, a young farm veterinarian whom Holland had chosen to direct the Karbala center, asked Bremer what he planned to do for Iraq. "Always it was the same promises -- democracy, participation of women in the political future," she told me last summer. But no jobs. Companies, Bremer told her, couldn't come into such an insecure environment. Bremer touted the free market, borders flung open, no restrictions on goods. But in truth there was no free market. Bechtel and Halliburton were stepping in to do the work of the government ministries that had employed so many Iraqis. These companies were hiring foreign workers and security guards from around the world, paying enormous salaries, while young Iraqi men sat idle.

On March 9, the same day Holland went to Kifl and the house was bulldozed, she and Oumashi were scheduled to visit Karbala. Adly Hassanein, the avuncular Egyptian human rights adviser, later told me that he had urged Holland to skip her Karbala visit. Tensions were high in the city. A week earlier, suicide bombers tore apart hundreds of Shiite pilgrims congregated around the shrine of Hussein.

Holland told Hassanein she had to go, but she'd be quick and turn back if the roads were bad. She had a special appointment at the women's center. The previous summer, she began a close working relationship with Ahmed Alhilaly, an investigative judge, and Mohammed Alkinany, a lawyer. Together, the two men founded the Karbala human rights center. They never had any money, and they and Holland joked about forming a ballet company, with Alkinany as the lead dancer because he was so fat. On a trip home over Christmas, "she didn't forget to get the ballet slippers," Alhilaly remembered when I spoke to him in July. He and Holland had arranged a surprise gift-giving ceremony for the morning of March 9 to give Alkinany his dancing shoes. Alhilaly filmed the event and Holland gave a speech about how lucky she was to have discovered people like them who truly wanted to build a new Iraq.

Holland and Oumashi shared a lunch of fesenejoon -- chicken with dried-pomegranate sauce -- with the women on the Karbala center's board and began explaining how the money would be distributed when the C.P.A. left in June. Bob Zangas, an idealistic marine who fought in the invasion of Iraq and returned as a civilian, was upstairs giving a lecture about media ethics and the possibility of installing a radio station for women.

Well before sundown, Holland, Oumashi and Zangas headed out of Karbala with Salman Majeed, a translator who lived outside town. Majeed had taken Zangas to take pictures around Karbala that afternoon. "Fern was asking Bob about what he'd seen," Majeed recalled. "He was so excited describing the shrine and downtown. He'd taken pictures of faces, banana sellers, watch sellers, people celebrating the birthday of Al Hussein."

They dropped off Majeed and stopped at a tea stall on the crowded streets of Hindiya, then got back on the road, Holland at the wheel, driving past the blossoming farms. She often teased her worried sisters and brothers by saying Hilla was just like Bluejacket: "Peaceful. Birds chirping. Kids playing. Elderly walking hand in hand."

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As the three sped along a flat, desolate stretch of road 20 minutes from Hilla, a white police truck gunned its engine and veered alongside her Daewoo. Bursts of AK-47 rounds blasted through Holland's windshield. Her car swerved across the highway median and jolted still into a scraggy verge. The gunmen vaulted out of the pickup and fired again at Oumashi, who was crouched in the back, her arms covering her head.

Fifteen minutes later, Brigadier Qais Al Mamouri, the police chief of Hilla, whom Holland had befriended, showed up at the scene. "I pulled them out of the car with my hands," he told me. Holland was leaning into Zangas as if she were sleeping. "Fern had been driving," Mamouri said, "and most of the bullets targeted her. The man was shot in the head, but the bullets were fired 360 degrees around the car. Probably 30 or more."

Mamouri sent his officers across the fields and down dirt roads and before dark six policemen from the Karbala station were captured in a white Nissan pickup with supposedly hot AK-47's and pistols, which used the same types of bullets that were found at the scene. A witness had apparently noticed one of the gunmen shouting at Oumashi in Arabic, leading investigators to conclude that the gunmen knew their victims. The Hilla police arrested the men and turned them over to Polish and American forces. And the case appeared to be closed just as suddenly as the murder had ended the lives of Bob Zangas, Salwa Oumashi and Fern Holland.

That night, Abu Amir, on guard at the Hilla women's center, got a phone call from a friend in the police force. He couldn't believe the news. He thought of a night when had Holland pulled in from Jordan and was unpacking her car under a streetlamp, her hair radiant like the sun. Amir rushed out and told her to get inside for fear such a beauty would be abducted. But killed? He drove to the hospital. He opened the freezer drawer and talked to her, touching her hair. In tears he told her, "You don't deserve this."

Before dawn in Oklahoma City, Viola Holland, Fern's sister and best friend, was text-messaging her boyfriend because she couldn't sleep. The phone rang at 5 a.m. with a call from a friend in Washington saying she'd read something on the Internet about three people killed outside Hilla. Vi phoned the Pentagon looking for information. Then came the call from a general at the Pentagon and a simultaneous knock at the door -- two men in uniform from Fort Sill. She asked them to sit quietly for a few minutes while she composed herself.

Holland and Zangas were the first American civilian employees of the C.P.A. to be killed in Iraq. The murders had a lock-down effect. When Steve Moore, a democracy promoter and fellow Oklahoman, was e-mailed about the murder, he had to break the news to Salwa Oumashi's sister, Suhair, who was his interpreter and sat in the next office. "I had to tell Salwa's family," Moore told me. "And everything you might imagine about telling someone's mother that their daughter is dead. . . . It was absolutely awful." Suhair immediately quit the translating job. Oumashi's family became terrified of contact with foreigners. "Fern had been killed for doing what we both do, and so after that, I started thinking, Well, how long do I want to stay here?" Moore said. "What do I want to accomplish?" He'd been in country for nearly eight months. He decided it was time to move on.

Although the Shiite insurgency, the battles in Falluja, the kidnappings and the beheadings would not begin for another month, the us-versus-them atmosphere had already begun to take over the Shiite world. Women began receiving increasingly graphic death threats. "Fern changed my life," said Sausam al Barak, a chemical engineer and board member at the Hilla center. "She was the best face of America." But when I met her in May, Barak was holed up home with several armed guards posted outside. Women at the various centers read the March 9 murders as a clear augury of their own future. Iraqis who danced with the infidels would die like the infidels.

In Baghdad after the murders, I met Manal Omar, an American activist who has worked all over the Arab world and is director of Iraq's branch of Women for Women International, which in Hilla and Karbala operated out of Holland's centers. Omar immediately froze the work in the south after March 9. The previous day, she noted, had seemed so propitious. March 8 was international women's day; the interim constitution was signed, and it included a goal of 25 percent participation by women in the projected parliament. Holland had worked hard with Iraqi colleagues to ensure this, and it had seemed time for celebration. "It was pure ecstasy," Omar remembered. "And then the next day, pure terror."

That same morning of March 9, Omar's own staff members were ambushed on the way to Karbala and survived only by their driver's wits. The murders that day "challenged all my absolute beliefs," Omar recalled. "Fern and I had

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the same approach. No guns. Community outreach. Don't hide behind walls. Don't alienate the women. After her death, I thought maybe we're wrong."

Holland's story immediately took on mythic qualities. Rumors spread in Baghdad that she'd been riddled with 79 machine-gun bullets, a palpable symbol of Iraqi wrath against America. And in a way her story slipped effortlessly into a parable about American exceptionalism. Headstrong, reckless, idealistic, Americans have always believed in the power of will -- that one man or woman with enough faith and tenacity can at some moment pull off his or her vision. It happens here, in America, often enough. But in much of the rest of the world, the willful individual, moiling away against the system, may attain nobility in some moral order but is nonetheless fated to be crushed. These two perspectives are colliding in Iraq. The collision may, in the future, give way to some fruitful synthesis. For now, the result of the occupation is mostly carnage.

As if suspecting that Holland's death might breed doubts, one of her colleagues at the C.P.A. in Baghdad wrote to me: "Fern had no patience for the narcissistic anguish about the legitimacy of American power that now pervades the foreign-policy establishment, and that is all about what Americans feel about themselves. For Fern it was all about the Iraqi people and what she could do to help this obviously tortured people pull themselves out of the morass of repression."

But how do you separate Fern's humanitarian mission from the politics of American occupation?

Just off the banks of the Tigris in Baghdad stands an Alhambresque blue-and-white house, with peeling columns and faded arches -- a rare relic of old Baghdadi architecture in an impoverished neighborhood. Zainab Salbi's grandfather owned the house, and now she's using it as a center for Women for Women International, which she founded in 1993. Women for Women receives grants from the U.S. government, and when I traveled in Iraq this past spring, several fatwas and notices were circulating in the mosques forbidding Iraqis from working with foreigners. One of the Women for Women trainers, cloaked in a black abaya, told me: "Our society doesn't understand our relation with Americans, and that's why I and all of us are afraid. Anyone dealing with Americans -- friendship, work -- they're considered a spy. In my neighborhood, one of the clerics on the municipal council was threatened once to get off. The next time, they killed him."

The conservative, poor women I saw had all received approval to be at the center from their husbands and brothers. The program's goal is to lead women to financial independence and educate them about their rights. In one room a trainer was telling the women: "A woman cooks kuba and gives it to her husband to sell in the market. She must learn to ask her husband for a salary. She must speak out and ask for her rights. No one will give them to her." Then she added: "We mustn't work against the men. I have to help my husband, so he will demand even more for me."

One woman arrived late because her nephew, who drove a Kia-brand taxi, disappeared three days earlier, on the same day that three Kia taxis were blown up in a car-bombing. They were trying to find him or his remains. Another woman was absent because her nephew had been killed in a shootout. Every day this summer there were more such stories of killing and dying.

The center's director was completely rattled -- and like so many Iraqis these days wouldn't dare speak English on her cellphone if she was on the street. She talked about how patient Holland had been. And she said: "The Shia took the sweets from America and now their real face will appear. They want us to be like Iran. Iran is funding them with money, guns and people because the borders are open. They don't want women's rights or democracy. I am Shia. I know. They call America the biggest devil." It was an outburst made in anger and fear, but with regard to the religious parties, much of it was true.

As I left the center, one of the trainers told me how much Holland had changed the image of Americans and said she hoped such people would appear again. Yet everywhere I went, that idealistic, generous side of America was curdling, overwhelmed by cultural dissonance.

When I'd arrived in Karbala, the city was still in shock from the uprising of the Mahdi Army and a week of heavy American bombardment. The smell of rotting flesh baking in the noonday sun suffused the pilgrim hotels and the old

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market. Around the shrine to Hussein, crowds gathered in front of a small TV playing video of an American tank being attacked. The police station across from the women's center was ringed by Bulgarian tanks and American Bradleys. Most of the police fled the day the Mahdi Army rose.

I stopped in at the Karbala women's center, a two-story yellow and brown building set back behind a gated garden. A Bulgarian soldier was playing a video war game to a Metallica song in the reception room. His comrades were camped out with their machine guns and ammo boxes in the library amid the potted plants and democracy pamphlets and copies of the Swiss constitution. Bullets had pierced the monitors in the computer rooms and destroyed the windows. A machine gun on a tripod was perched beneath small posters with political aphorisms that were a testament to Holland and Oumashi's ambitious dreams: "A society of sheep must in time beget a government of wolves" (Bertran de Jouvenal); "Those against politics are in favor of the politics inflicted upon them" (Bertolt Brecht); "A great deal of intelligence can be invested in ignorance when the need for illusion is deep" (Saul Bellow).

Some of the women had come back to check the place out only to be handed a decree, announcing a new board, from the offices of Sayyid Farqat Qizwini, a cleric who had managed to endear himself to the C.P.A. A few days later the phone calls began -- You'll be followed and killed if you don't abandon the women's center. The C.P.A. had financed the sleek new Regional Center for Democracy in Hilla and appointed Qizwini director. The day before Bremer left Iraq, he flew down to Qizwini's for a photo op and a ceremony of encouragement. "He was just a great press release to send to the White House: 'Big religious figure, tortured by Saddam, saying great things about the liberation of Iraq,' " remarked Adly Hassanein. Nonetheless, Hassanein, too, found it expedient to accept Qizwini: "He opened up a place for us to teach democracy for people who didn't want to be seen as collaborating with the coalition."

After Holland's death, the C.P.A. gave Qizwini \$5 million in cash to administer all the provincial centers for democracy, human rights and women. However, it seemed that the human rights activists and women were refusing to submit. By empowering Qizwini, the C.P.A. had tried to create an alternative the Shiite establishment, but he had no credibility among Iraqis. "Fern would be rolling in her grave if she knew a man was running her centers," said Manal Omar of Women for Women International's branch in Baghdad. "Most of my staff is Shia, I am a practicing Muslim, we are all god-fearing women, but we're pulling out of those centers because of the unclear organizational structure. We love and respect the religious groups but need to preserve our independence when we are working with the women." The boardmembers Holland had chosen in Karbala were all young women who swore they would remain independent even if it meant they'd have no budget.

John Berry, the Karbala C.P.A. director and a seasoned Arabic-speaking foreign-service officer, had not had his optimism dented in the least. He was barricaded in a fortified compound inside a trailer on the outskirts of town and, despite everything that had gone wrong -- "we thought most people knew we were the good guys" -- he was proud of what he'd accomplished in less than a year. The C.P.A. had given way to the interim Iraqi government under Prime Minister Ayad Allawi. Berry saw his own job as having been exhilarating. "For the first time," he said, "I was running a province. Where does a guy go from here?" At times, he said, he'd felt like a medieval king taking petitions. "By golly this was a golden opportunity for Americans to interface with Arabs, to play a mentoring role with Iraqis and change the way they think," he said.

"I think we can take credit for a lot here," Berry continued. "I formed the provincial council and got the governor elected." In fact, there had been no election. Berry selected the council after a half-hour interview with each candidate, testing him or her on the fundamentals of democracy.

Holland had not been impervious to this kind of maneuvering. In Najaf, when Bremer's office saw that religious parties were going to win the provincial council elections, Bremer canceled them. Shortly thereafter the Najaf C.P.A. director was nearly killed and fled the country. Adly Hassanein told me that, in order to get more women on the council, John Berry simply drew up a list inside his trailer. "There was no democratic process at all, and Fern helped him by getting women's names to put on the list," Hassanein said. "They were all good people. But do they represent the will of the society? No. They weren't elected. So immediately they're 'our guys.' I wanted Fern out of this. Working on the ground to advocate for women's rights is different than working from the top and imposing your

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views. The backlash was that Moktada al-Sadr's people pressured 60 to 70 percent of the women in the council, and they withdrew."

In conversation, Abu Saddiq, the hospitable local representative of the religious party Sciri (the Supreme Council for Islamic Revolution in Iraq), immediately brought up the 11 women appointed to the 40-member provincial council. "I told the American representative: 'In the American Congress you don't even have that percentage. Why here in the religious city of Karbala? It's possible for you to develop our country in science, or by building factories and general services, but you can't change our traditions. Our religion is like a nail in the wall. When you hit the nail it doesn't come out. It goes deeper.' "

Who killed Holland, Oumashi and Zangas? As I drove around the region, I met many women and men who wept when they remembered Holland. But I was discovering that there were plenty of people who wanted her and Oumashi out of the south. Zangas, it seems, was simply in the wrong car. The Karbala police chief, a portly and friendly man known as General Abbas, told me one morning in May that the police officers accused of killing Holland had been released from Abu Ghraib prison two days earlier. Ballistics tests done by the F.B.I. didn't produce a match, so the men were presumed to be innocent.

In Hindiya, a notoriously seedy crossroads town where Holland stopped shortly before being killed, I met some farmers from the same tribe as the arrested policemen. At first they denied knowing anything, but later one of them said: "Don't think it was some spontaneous decision made that day. Everyone knew those 'journalists' were spies. A lot of special groups were watching them for a long time before they planned and killed them." In Hilla, the special police told me a small clique connected to Sadr's sharia court in Najaf ordered Holland's killing. An investigative lawyer in Najaf told me that her death was ordered by a 27-year-old self-proclaimed ayatollah in Hindiya, whose fanatical followers had killed American M.P.'s in Karbala and who has since disappeared. A judge in Baghdad told me it had to be Sciri or Dawa, the two most organized religious parties; Holland was becoming too successful at organizing women in Najaf, he said, and the clerics and political parties there had some bizarre notion that she was a Jew trying to create an espionage base for Israel. An American lawyer told me that the F.B.I. suspected her killing was connected to Kifl. It appeared that the woman who had chiefly instigated the bulldozing was a cousin and sister-in-law to the man whose house was destroyed. There were also rumors in Kifl -- whose Jewish population fled to Israel in the 1950's -- that Israel was sending agents to collect information on formerly Jewish properties. "Imagine you put your finger in that ball of fire?" Adly Hassanein said.

Americans working in Iraq blamed the occupation. The Shiite south was initially expected to be quiet. For Washington's political reasons, and out of an unwillingness to bring in more U.S. troops, the south was mainly handed over to a coalition of the least enthusiastic nations, who have demonstrated above all else a talent for conflict avoidance. "Everyone in Najaf will tell you that this was the second great betrayal of the Shia by the Americans," said Rachel Roe, the Army legal adviser working with marines in Najaf.

A State Department official in Washington told me: "We're responsible for her death. When you push someone with a greater sense of urgency to get their good-news stories done, and when you bring down Jerry Bremer for high-profile ceremonies with helicopters and bodyguards so he can take credit for liberating Iraqi women, after he flies off, the person caught in the crossfire is Fern. And we had a responsibility to protect her. We didn't."

In the lobby of one of Najaf's pilgrim hotels I met Fuad al-Turfi, a stout, white-turbaned cleric and a spokesman for Moktada al-Sadr. I expected him to have harsh words for Holland's work on women's rights. I was stunned when his eyes became red as he began talking about her. He said that Sadr had sent him to the inauguration of the Najaf human rights center. He met Holland there. She offered him cake. "She was so courteous," he told me as he smiled at the memory. "She had such good behavior."

He was dizzy for days after he heard she had been killed, he told me. "This is not our behavior," he said. "It's against the dignity of the Iraqi. She was a woman. She was unarmed. She came for humanitarian reasons and human rights. And I said, 'What will the good-intentioned people in the U.S. think of us?' To me her murder is a historical crime." Embarrassed, he whispered that he kept Holland's photograph as his computer's screen saver.

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Turfi bore the Americans no ill will, but was astounded at how badly they'd mishandled the Shiites -- not supporting the police, not securing the borders and most of all, welcoming every religious faction into politics except Moktada al-Sadr and his followers. The results, he said, were the growing popularity of Sadr as a revolutionary hero and the gun-toting young men outside the hotel trading shop talk -- Rocket the tank in the treads, not the turret -- and yearning for martyrdom.

Turfi said that Sadr's office had sent him to Karbala to investigate the murder. He said he had discovered that a tribal man angry over her work in Hindiya had told his buddies at the Hindiya police station that she was a spy. "He followed her with the local police and they killed her," he said. "He's called 'Aja,' a nickname meaning sandstorm, because he has such a temper. We say in our slang this man 'reached the devil hour,' that he could kill a woman."

Hassanein, however, didn't buy any of these theories in particular. He said that when he spoke to Iraqis about the murder, their answer was simple: "She crossed the line. She went deep into the land of male superiority. She was trying to bring with her a very Westernized women's-empowerment program, and she hit the wall. Whether there's a specific group or an individual or anything, it has to do with the religious beliefs in the region and it has to do with the folkways."

Holland probably knew what she was up against and, despite her indefatigable energy and will, was beginning to have doubts. A week before her death, she made the 20-hour journey from Jordan -- where she took some judges and lawyers to a conference -- to Hilla with Ahmed Alhilaly, the investigative judge from Karbala, who later fled Iraq to save his life. Holland was upset. She said she felt that too much money was being spent on buildings and not people. "She always said, 'We have to build people before buildings,' " Alhilaly recalled. "She loved those words. She asked me how we can change Iraqis. I told her we need years, not months. We know nothing about democracy or human rights or freedom." And then he recalled that she said to him: " 'I've failed. I've discovered I've been fighting for nothing.' "

Alhilaly protested, but Holland went on, he said: " 'I went back to America to get another contract with the C.P.A. to continue with you, to establish the women's centers and human rights centers. But if you want the truth, I didn't find almost anyone who is working for his community. Everyone is out for himself.' " Alhilaly suggested she go back home. "But she said: 'No. I'll wait. Every step is difficult, but we have to give some time to your people, and we can win three here, three there. It will make a difference.' She had lovely dreams. But they are still just dreams. They killed her and our dreams with her.' "

Shortly before I left Iraq, I went to a Baghdad provincial council meeting with a council member, Siham Hamdan. She lives in Baghdad's impoverished Sadr City and had spent several days with Holland in Washington. A professor of English literature at Mustansirya University in Baghdad, Hamdan tried to explain why Iraq's young men had revolted. "We did nothing for them in a year," she said. "No jobs. No projects. No water, services, sewage, electricity."

And then there was the cultural miscommunication, which seems to have been complete. The American military has its code of ethics and behavior; the Iraqis have their dignity; and the two have only clashed. She said she spent her last night in Washington touring the city with Holland and had met some of her friends. "I came to believe she was wonderful," Hamdan said. "She told me she wanted to come back to Iraq because she loved the people and couldn't leave them anymore."

The conversation reminded Hamdan of E. M. Forster's "Passage to India." She valued Forster for understanding that some English conventions were wrong, and that he needed to change the colonial mentality: "He tried to tackle this in all his novels until he made this final clash -- personal, religious, political, social, cultural, all in one time, in one place in the caves." She was describing the novel's climax, when two Englishwomen visit the Marabar Caves with their Indian male friends, and the young Miss Adela Quested comes flying out of the darkness accusing the Indian doctor of assaulting her. "From that point every party tries to defend his own," Hamdan said. "And what began as an attempt at friendship and understanding ends in misunderstanding, failure and total chaos. And the final sentence is marvelous." As Hamdan recalled it, the English colonial, Fielding, asks the Indian doctor if they can ever be friends again: "And the doctor answered: 'Not yet. Not now.' " Hamdan laughed, then said: "Sometimes I

feel what's happening between Iraqis and Americans is just like this: 'Not yet. Not now.' I can have an excellent understanding on the personal level but understanding between our nations is somehow impossible."

Actually, the novel ends a little differently than Hamdan remembered and, in the context of Iraq today, perhaps more prophetically. The Indian doctor on his horse rages at his old friend Fielding: "Clear out, you fellows, double quick, I say. We may hate one another, but we hate you most. If I don't make you go, Ahmed will, Karim will, if it's fifty-five hundred years we shall get rid of you, yes, we shall drive every blasted Englishman into the sea, and then' -- he rode against him furiously -- 'and then,' he concluded, half kissing him, 'you and I shall be friends.' "

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Graphic

Photos: The women's center in Karbala that Fern Holland helped open despite strong opposition from local clerics. It was damaged during the Mahdi Army uprising. (Photograph by Stephanie Sinclair/Corbis, for The New York Times)

Fern Holland with several of the women at the center in Hilla. Among those who benefited from her stubborn idealism, she was beloved. To many Iraqi men, she was a provocative interloper. (Photograph from the Holland Family)

The possibility of empowerment came suddenly to Iraqi women with the American-led occupation. Though the Coalition Provisional Authority championed women's rights from the start, threats from conservative clerics have grown steadily with the Shiite insurgency.

Fearing for their lives, the relatives of Salwa Oumashi pose in the shadows to mask their identities. Oumashi, Fern Holland's Iraqi assistant, was murdered with Holland.

In the religious Shiite heartland of the south -- and even in the women's centers of the conservative slums of Baghdad, above -- Fern Holland's vision of women's rights still seems a long way away. (Photograph by Stephanie Sinclair/Corbis, for The New York Times)

Load-Date: September 19, 2004

HAMAS WRONG TO GLORIFY SUICIDE BOMB MOTHER'

Daily Post (North Wales)

January 27, 2004, Tuesday

Copyright 2004 The Liverpool Daily Post & Echo Ltd

Section: NEWS; Pg. 16; Newspaper

Length: 183 words

Body

THE Palestinian terror group **Hamas** has risked alienating some supporters by glorying in its mother-of-two suicide bomber.

It has posted photos on its internet site of Reem Raiyshi, its first **female** bomber, posing with her two young children.

The move is in defiance of Palestinian critics who say the Islamic militant group was wrong to send the 22-year-old on a mission that left her toddlers without a mother.

One picture shows Raiyshi in camouflage dress holding an assault rifle in one hand while cradling her three-year-old son, Obedia, in the other arm.

Hani Almasri, a writer in the Palestinian newspaper Al-Ayyam, said the images hurt the Palestinian cause and that **Hamas** had gone overboard with its use of military symbols.

Two weeks ago, Raiyshi left Obedia and Doha with her husband, and blew herself up at a border crossing in the Gaza Strip, killing four Israelis.

More than 400 Israelis have been killed in suicide attacks. Most of those attacks have been carried out by **Hamas**.

Although Islamic Jihad and the Al Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades have used **women** bombers, none of them was married or a mother.

Graphic

Reem Rayishi in a video filmed by the terror group **Hamas** just before she killed herself and four Israeli soldiers

Load-Date: January 29, 2004

Hamas hopes election will move it to legitimacy

The Gazette (Montreal)

January 28, 2005 Friday

Final Edition

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Section: NEWS; Pg. A14

Length: 183 words

Byline: MARGARET COKER, Cox News Service

Dateline: ZAH'RA, Gaza Strip

Body

Standing outside a polling station yesterday in ankle-deep sand drifts that pass for a road, political novice Amal al-Louri needed no coaching on the mantra that all politics are local.

The **Hamas** matron, wrapped in the head-to-toe attire of a devout Muslim, engaged in some last-minute campaigning and eagerly urged neighbours to select her name on the ballot.

"I will build your children a park. I will work hard to solve your problems," al-Louri, a mother of five, told streams of veil-covered **women** using their lunch breaks to vote for a new town council.

About 90,000 Gazans went to the polls in the territory's first-ever vote to select municipal leaders.

This dose of democracy in Gaza, home to 1.3 million Palestinians, is being seen as a testing ground for the future of the terrorist group **Hamas**.

The organization wants to use the vote as a bridge to become a legitimate political party.

Official results are not expected for at least two days, but early exit polls indicated turnout exceeded 80 per cent and that **Hamas** candidates could have won at least 30 per cent of the 118 seats up for grabs.

Graphic

Color Photo: ADEL HANA, AP; A Palestinian casts his ballot in Beit Hanoun, northern Gaza Strip. **Hamas** is expected to win up to 30 per cent of 118 seats.

Load-Date: January 28, 2005

Hamas hopes election will move it to legitimacy

End of Document

LETTERS; HAMAS SUICIDE WARNING PROVES KILROY WAS RIGHT

The Express
January 23, 2004

Copyright 2004 EXPRESS NEWSPAPERS

Section: LETTERS; Pg. 55

Length: 38 words

Body

HAMAS spiritual leader, Sheikh Yasin, announced that **Hamas** will increasingly dispatch **female** suicide bombers in a 'new beginning' for Palestinian **women**.

Does this not prove how accurate Kilroy-Silk was?

P Simpson, Pinner, Middlesex

Load-Date: January 23, 2004

The Killing of the Hamas Leader

The New York Times
March 23, 2004 Tuesday
Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2004 The New York Times Company

Section: Section A; Column 4; Editorial Desk; Pg. 22

Length: 114 words

Body

To the Editor:

Re "Leader of Hamas Killed by Missile in Israeli Strike" (front page, March 22):

Sheik Ahmed Yassin and his terrorist organization, Hamas, have been responsible for relentless terrorist activities unleashed on innocent men, women and children. Ideals of peaceful coexistence and negotiated settlements were not part of his vocabulary; rather, he was committed to ruthless murder and to wiping Israel off the map.

Sheik Yassin was to Israel what Osama bin Laden is to the United States. The war on terror is a war against those who perpetrate terrorist crimes, and Sheik Yassin's death is good news to those who want to see terrorism end.

SHOSHANA BULOW
Bronx, March 22, 2004

<http://www.nytimes.com>

Load-Date: March 23, 2004

Hamas a threat, too

Gold Coast Bulletin (Australia)

April 22, 2004 Thursday

Copyright 2004 Nationwide News Pty Limited

Length: 91 words

Body

IF news was received that Osama bin Laden had been killed, apart from the followers of Islam, I suggest the rest of the world would be relieved.

Why then is the killing of the head of the terrorist organisation *Hamas* any different?

This group targets mostly innocent civilians, *women*, children and Westerners, and their leader encouraged suicide bombers to kill in situations where they were sure of many casualties.

A speech by an Israeli ambassador to the United Nations spelt out loud and clear the reason for the killing.

Alaire Dunlop Robina

Load-Date: April 22, 2004

LETTER: HAMAS HYPOCRISY

The Independent (London)

March 26, 2004, Friday

Copyright 2004 Independent Print Ltd

Section: First Edition; COMMENT; Pg. 32

Length: 177 words

Byline: DAVID KREIKMEIER-WATSON

Body

Sir: P J Stewart's letter of 19 March takes a rather rosy view of the experience of Jewish communities that previously lived under various Middle Eastern despots.

The fact that the votes of these communities overwhelmingly go to the "hawks" on the Israeli political scene seems to indicate that they and their descendants do not view things in quite the same light.

Indeed, it is the other Jewish communities in Israel (the "European" Jews as P J Stewart calls them) that are the main supporters of a more conciliatory line towards Arab neighbours, be it via the left-wing parties or organisations such as Peace Now.

As for the failure of the so called European Jews to fit into the Middle East, is P J Stewart suggesting that Israelis should abandon democracy for a feudal kingship or military dictatorship; abandon the rule of law for arbitrary fiat; abandon all realistic concepts of equality for women and then slash their GDP by two thirds for good measure? That's what it would take for Israel to "fit in" with its neighbours.

DAVID KREIKMEIER-WATSON

London EC1

Load-Date: March 26, 2004

Thousands bury leader

MX (Melbourne, Australia)

March 23, 2004 Tuesday

Copyright 2004 Nationwide News Pty Limited

Section: NEWS; Pg. 6

Length: 146 words

Body

THREATS FLY

Hundreds of thousands of angry Palestinians flooded Gaza's streets today to bury **Hamas** founder Sheik Ahmed Yassin.

The killing of Yassin threatened to deepen the conflict, with militants pledging unprecedented retaliation, including veiled threats against the US.

Chants of "revenge, revenge" rose from the huge crowd.

Salman Bdeiri, 24, a **Hamas** supporter crying near the mosque, said: "We will get revenge for every drop of blood that spilled from (Yassin)."

To protect against attacks, Israel sealed off the West Bank and Gaza, banning Palestinians from Israel, and placed security forces inside Israel on high alert.

More than 200,000 Palestinians, some carrying billowing green **Hamas** flags, poured into the streets of Gaza City for Yassin's funeral procession.

Mourners jostled to touch Yassin's flag-draped coffin, and **women** chanted and threw flowers and sweets.

Load-Date: March 23, 2004

DOOM & GLOOM

MX (Melbourne, Australia)

August 18, 2004 Wednesday

Copyright 2004 Nationwide News Pty Limited

Section: NEWS; Pg. 9

Length: 175 words

Body

FIVE DIE IN HAMAS HOME EXPLOSION

AN EXPLOSION tore through the home of a senior Hamas militant in Gaza today, killing five people and wounding the owner and about a dozen other Palestinians, medics said.

The cause of the explosion in the home of Ahmed al-Jabari, a senior commander in the Izz el-Deen al-Qassam Brigade, Hamas's armed wing, was not immediately known.

MUTATED MUSHROOMS POISON SIX

SIX children died and a dozen others were taken to hospital in Clug, Romania, in the past three days after eating poisonous mushrooms picked by their parents.

Doctors said they believe the mushrooms the children were given are usually good to eat but had mutated into a poisonous kind.

COSMETICS PLANT BLAST KILLS TWO

TWO women died in an explosion at a beauty products factory in the Algerian capital of Algiers today.

A civil defence official said the blast, which destroyed the plant and came shortly after workers had left for the day, had probably been caused by alcohol used in the production process.

"We found them burned to death," the official said.

Load-Date: August 18, 2004

Mum kills four in bombing

MX (Melbourne, Australia)

January 15, 2004 Thursday

Copyright 2004 Nationwide News Pty Limited

Section: NEWS; Pg. 6

Length: 187 words

Body

SUICIDE BLAST

A Palestinian mother of two blew herself up at the main border crossing between Israel and the Gaza Strip today, killing four Israelis and wounding seven people.

The militant Islamic group **Hamas** and the al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades claimed joint responsibility for the suicide bombing, which they said was to avenge Israel's killing of Palestinians.

Smiling as she cradled an assault rifle in a videotape she left, Reem Al-Reyashi, 22, professed love for her children a boy, 3, and a girl of 18 months.

The attack, she said, was meant to turn her body into "deadly shrapnel".

The **Hamas** militant blew herself up in a terminal where Palestinian labourers from the fenced-in strip were being put through Israeli security checks before entering a nearby industrial complex.

"Glass and black smoke flew everywhere. Arabs were screaming, Jews were screaming," a Palestinian witness said.

The army said the dead included three soldiers and one Israeli civilian. Four Palestinians were among the wounded.

It was the first time **Hamas** had used a **female** suicide bomber, saying potential male bombers now faced security "obstacles".

Load-Date: January 15, 2004

Women in suicide pact;
MARTYRS

MX (Melbourne, Australia)

March 24, 2004 Wednesday

Copyright 2004 Nationwide News Pty Limited

Section: NEWS; Pg. 11

Length: 81 words

Body

Female relatives of assassinated **Hamas** spiritual leader Sheikh Ahmed Yassin and hundreds of **women** followers gathered at his home today pledging their willingness to blow themselves up in Israel.

"Of course we're ready. We **Hamas women** have a role to play in the resistance, including martyr attacks," one of Yassin's sisters-in-law said.

"It's our duty to resist, to struggle and even to blow ourselves up in the face of the enemy. **Women**, men and children," another 21-year-old woman said.

Load-Date: March 24, 2004

BOMBER AND CHILD

Western Daily Press

January 27, 2004

default

Copyright 2004 Bristol United Press

Section: News; Other; Others; Pg. 2

Length: 107 words

Body

Hamas has posted photographs on its internet site of its first **female** suicide bomber posing with her two young children.

The move was in defiance of Palestinian critics who say the Islamic militant group was wrong to send 22year-old Reem Raiyshi on a mission that left her toddlers without a mother.

One picture shows Raiyshi with son Obedia. Another shows her in a bedroom, gazing at Obedia and her 18month-old daughter, Doha.

Two weeks ago, Raiyshi blew herself up at a border crossing between the Gaza Strip and Israel, killing four Israelis.

In the past 39 months more than 400 Israelis have been killed in 108 suicide attacks, mostly by **Hamas**.

Load-Date: January 28, 2004

Guardian Weekly: The Week: The roundup: Middle East

Guardian Weekly

May 13, 2005

Copyright 2005 Guardian Newspapers Limited All rights reserved

TheGuardianWeekly

Length: 155 words

Body

Sharon cancels inmate release

The Israeli prime minister, Ariel Sharon, has refused to free 400 Palestinians until President Mahmoud Abbas cracks down on militants.

Fatah sees off **Hamas** in poll

Palestinian leader Mahmoud Abbas's ruling Fatah movement defeated a challenge by **Hamas** in local elections in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, winning 56% of the vote against the Islamist group's 33%.

Kuwaiti **women** in poll setback

Kuwaiti **women** hoping to participate in their first elections suffered a setback when Islamist and conservative tribal lawmakers in parliament created a constitutional crisis that will delay the matter long enough to keep **women** out of this year's race for municipal council seats.

Exiled leader returns to Lebanon

Lebanon's most prominent anti-Syrian Christian opposition leader, Michel Aoun, arrived in Beirut after more than a decade in exile in France and 11 days after the last Syrian soldier left the country.

Load-Date: May 13, 2005

Madonna cancels Israel dates

Guelph Mercury (Ontario, Canada)

May 27, 2004 Thursday Final Edition

Copyright 2004 Metroland Media Group Ltd

Section: NIGHTLIFE; Pg. F5; NEWS

Length: 169 words

Body

Madonna says she has cancelled three Israeli stops on her Re-Invention tour because of violence in the region, including the killing of the leader of the militant group *Hamas*.

Madonna, who kicked off her worldwide tour in Los Angeles this week, told Access Hollywood that her manager wouldn't let her travel to Israel because of the "attack on the leader of *Hamas*."

Associated Press

"It's not a good idea to go there and do concerts," she told the syndicated entertainment TV show.

London tabloids had reported that the singer backed out of the Israeli stops after an unidentified Palestinian group threatened her and her children, Lourdes, 7, and Rocco, 3.

Asked by Access Hollywood if she had been threatened, she replied: "No, if I had my way, I'd go. My manager wouldn't let me."

Madonna, who practises Jewish mysticism known as Kabbalah, included provocative images in the tour, such as video footage of a Palestinian boy and an Israeli boy walking arm-in-arm, and simulated sex during a tango with a *female* dancer.

Load-Date: May 27, 2004

Three stops and you're out: Madonna won't be performing in Israel

Hamilton Spectator (Ontario, Canada)

May 26, 2004 Wednesday Final Edition

Copyright 2004 Metroland Media Group Ltd

Section: PEOPLE; Pg. G05; News

Length: 174 words

Body

Madonna says she has cancelled three Israeli stops on her Re-Invention tour because of violence in the region, including the killing of the leader of the militant group **Hamas**.

Madonna, who kicked off her worldwide tour in Los Angeles, told Access Hollywood that her manager wouldn't let her travel to Israel because of the "attack on the leader of **Hamas**."

The Hamilton Spectator/London tabloids had reported that the singer backed out of the Israeli stops, scheduled for September, after an unidentified Palestinian group threatened her and her children, Lourdes, 7, and Rocco, 3.

Asked by Access Hollywood if she had been threatened, she replied: "No, if I had my way, I'd go. My manager wouldn't let me." Madonna, who practises Jewish mysticism known as Kabbalah, included provocative images in the tour, such as video footage of a Palestinian boy and an Israeli boy walking arm-in-arm, and simulated sex during a tango with a **female** dancer. The 18-city tour ends Sept. 5 in Paris with stops in Las Vegas, New York, Toronto, Manchester and London.

Graphic

Photo: Robert Galbraith, Reuters;

Load-Date: May 26, 2004

NEWSTRACKER / UPDATES ON CONTINUING STORIES

St. Louis Post-Dispatch (Missouri)

October 24, 2005 Monday

THIRD EDITION

Copyright 2005 St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Inc.

Section: NEWS; Pg. A1

Length: 63 words

Body

AWAITING AID Winter will compound misery for quake survivors. World | A8

MERGER New York's Village Voice is expected to merge with New Times of Phoenix.

PALESTINIAN ELECTIONS Israel ends effort to keep **Hamas** candidates off ballot.

EDITOR JAILED **Women**'s magazine editor in Afghanistan was convicted of blasphemy.

NEXTEL CUP Jeff Gordon wins the Subway 500 in Martinsville, Va. Sports | D4

Load-Date: October 24, 2005

Guardian Weekly: The Week: The roundup: Middle East

Guardian Weekly

October 21, 2005

Copyright 2005 Guardian Newspapers Limited All rights reserved

*The***GuardianWeekly**

Length: 85 words

Body

Female bombmaker arrested

Israel's Shin Bet security service announced that it had arrested **Hamas**'s first **female** bombmaker in August. Samar Sabih, a 22-year-old university graduate, was arrested at her home in the West Bank town of Tulkarem.

Qatar donates football stadium

The Gulf state of Qatar has made a multimillion-dollar donation towards building a sports complex in Israel. The gift will provide a football stadium in the northern Israeli-Arab town of Sakhnin. The local team has mostly Arab players.

Load-Date: October 21, 2005

Bomber kills 4

The Advertiser

January 15, 2004 Thursday

Copyright 2004 Nationwide News Pty Limited

Section: FOREIGN; Pg. 34

Length: 68 words

Body

JERUSALEM: A **female** Palestinian suicide bomber blew herself up yesterday at the main crossing between Israel and the Gaza Strip, killing four people.

At least seven others were injured. Witnesses said the bomber was a woman waiting in line to pass through to the Israeli side.

The Islamic militant group **Hamas** and the Al Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades issued a joint claim of responsibility, according to a TV station.

Load-Date: January 14, 2004

End of Document

SUICIDE BOMBER ON INTERNET

Western Mail

January 27, 2004, Tuesday

Copyright 2004 Western Mail and Echo Ltd

Section: NEWS; Pg. 4; Newspaper

Length: 72 words

Body

HAMAS has posted photos on its internet site of its first **female** suicide bomber posing with her two young children.

The move was defiance of Palestinian critics who say the Islamic militant group was wrong to send Reem Raiyshi, 22, on a mission that left her toddlers without a mother. The pictures show Raiyshi in camouflage dress holding an assault rifle in one hand while cradling her three-year-old son, Obedia, in the other arm.

Load-Date: February 9, 2004

End of Document

Wife and bomb-maker

Hobart Mercury (Australia)

October 13, 2005 Thursday

Copyright 2005 Nationwide News Pty Limited

Section: WORLD; Pg. 16

Length: 97 words

Body

THE first **female** Palestinian bomb-maker is a newlywed 22-year-old university graduate who was recruited in Gaza and sent to the West Bank to teach **Hamas** militants how to assemble explosives, Israeli security officials say.
AP

Samar Sabih was arrested at her home in the West Bank in late August during a night raid.

Israel's Shin Bet security service announced her arrest yesterday after lifting a gag order.

It said Sabih, a graduate in Arab language studies and whose husband was also arrested, was taught to build bombs in Gaza's Jebaliya refugee camp and had confessed to charges.

Load-Date: October 13, 2005

Israel: Shin Bet reveals arrest of female bombmaker

The Guardian (London) - Final Edition

October 12, 2005

Copyright 2005 Guardian Newspapers Limited

Section: Guardian International Pages, Pg. 22

Length: 103 words

Byline: AP, Tulkarem

Body

Hamas's first **female** bombmaker is a 22-year-old university graduate recruited in Gaza and sent to the West Bank to teach others to assemble explosives, Israeli security officials say, noting a sharp rise in the use of **women** by militants in the past two years.

Samar Sabih was arrested at her home in the West Bank town of Tulkarem in late August, in a nighttime raid involving more than a dozen jeeps and a helicopter, her father-in-law, Jaber Sabih, said. Israel's Shin Bet security service only announced the arrest on Monday. It said she was recruited in Gaza's Jebaliya refugee camp and had confessed. AP, Tulkarem

Load-Date: October 14, 2005

Ignore the 'Charm' Of a Terrorist

The New York Times

April 23, 2004 Friday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2004 The New York Times Company

Section: Section A; Column 6; Editorial Desk; Pg. 22

Length: 94 words

Body

To the Editor:

"The Nicest Terrorist I Ever Met," by David Margolick (Op-Ed, April 21), depressed me. I imagine that some people would have found Hitler or Stalin or Saddam Hussein charming under the right circumstances.

But Abdel Aziz Rantisi, the **Hamas** leader killed by Israel, was a man whose "peace plan was simple: five million Jews should leave."

This was not a nice man but a terrorist, pure and simple.

An article that humanizes a killer of innocent men, **women** and children can only sadden us in the civilized world.

SUSAN SCHWALB

New York, April 21, 2004

<http://www.nytimes.com>

Load-Date: April 23, 2004

'An Irrational Hatred'

New York Sun (Archive)

July 20, 2004 Tuesday

Copyright 2004 The New York Sun, Two SL, LLC All Rights Reserved

Section: EDITORIAL & OPINION; Pg. 10

Length: 107 words

Byline: GEORGE JOCHNOWITZ Manhattan

Body

Jay Nordlinger tells us that "to be against America is to be against the West" ["An Irrational Hatred," Page 1, July 19, 2004].

Among the many people who are anti-American, there are some who have become de facto allies of Islamic extremism.

They seem to be unaware of America's achievements in civil rights, women's rights, and gay rights. They are reflexively anti-Israel, despite the fact that Hamas - not Israel - deliberately targets civilians.

Way back in 1979, when Ayatollah Khomeini deprived women of their rights in Iran - perhaps the greatest setback to women in recorded history - feminist anti-Americans at home and abroad were silent.

Load-Date: July 20, 2004

Palestinian men must be over 45 to worship at Jerusalem shrine

The Evening Standard (London)

March 26, 2004

Copyright 2004 Associated Newspapers Ltd.

Section: C; Pg. 22

Length: 96 words

Body

ISRAELI police have decided that only Palestinian men over the age of 45 will be allowed to attend Friday prayers at one of Jerusalem's holiest shrines.

The move at the Old City site, holding the Al Aqsa and Dome of the Rock mosques, comes amid fears of clashes after Israel's assassination of the Hamas spiritual leader. Women of all ages will be allowed to worship at the shrine, known to Jews as the Temple Mount. Meanwhile, two armed Palestinians in divers' outfits have been killed trying to infiltrate a Gaza Strip settlement from the coast, the Israeli army said today.

END

Load-Date: March 27, 2004

STRAW GOT IT WRONG IN HIS ATTACK ON ISRAEL

The Express
April 23, 2004

Copyright 2004 EXPRESS NEWSPAPERS

Section: LETTERS; Pg. 66

Length: 112 words

Body

IN a recent Sky News viewer poll there was an 82.5 per cent support for the assassination by Israel of **Hamas** terrorist leaders.

Palestinian terrorist groups, who have declared war on Israel, are willing to kill innocent men, **women** and even children to achieve their political aims.

All these fanatical terrorist groups, such as Al Qaeda, use religion as a justification for their murderous acts in places as far apart as Iraq, Bali, Madrid, New York and of course Israel to fight against our Western democratic way of life. Jack Straw's condemnation of Israel was totally counter-productive in the war against terror. No wonder Tony Blair has sidelined him.

S Henderson, Leeds

Load-Date: April 23, 2004

Darts and Laurels

The Toronto Star
January 17, 2004 Saturday
Ontario Edition

Copyright 2004 Toronto Star Newspapers, Ltd.

Section: NATIONAL REPORT; Pg. H06

Length: 118 words

Body

TIM STEVENSON: For lending a sympathetic ear; the Vancouver councillor has asked city staff to prepare a report on whether noisy and ineffectual car alarms should be banned.

AHMED QUREIA: For shrugging off terror; the Palestinian prime minister declined to condemn the *Hamas* group for despatching a young mother as a suicide bomber, killing herself and four others.

ED SCHECK: For leadership; the Toronto Board of Trade chief stumped on subway platforms, urging riders to get involved in the fight to get Ottawa and Ontario to move on a "new deal" for cities.

MARIE JOSE VALERA: For fighting for *women*; the Spanish lawyer helped convict Imam Mohammed Kamal Mustafa for advising Muslim men on how to beat their wives.

Load-Date: January 17, 2004

DAILY STAR SAYS; DON'T CRY FOR SHEIKH

Daily Star
March 23, 2004

Copyright 2004 Express Newspapers

Section: COLUMNS; Pg. 6

Length: 134 words

Body

THE whole world ganged up against Israel yesterday.

Britain's Foreign Secretary Jack Straw condemned them for "unacceptable, unjustified" conduct.

France accused them of "fuelling a cycle of violence".

South Africa claimed they were "in contravention of international law".

Israel's crime was to assassinate Sheikh Ahmed Yassin.

The frail, wheelchair -bound Sheikh looked harmless - but don't be fooled by appearances.

He was the founder and leader of the extremist **Hamas** organisation.

These religious zealots have slaughtered hundreds of innocent Israeli men, **women** and children.

They are the prime exponents of that most feared weapon of terror - suicide bombers.

This may seem a long way from home for now, but Yassin's main "spiritual" message was one of hate.

And that is an emotion that spreads fast.

Load-Date: March 23, 2004

WOMAN SUICIDE BOMBER KILLS FOUR

Liverpool Daily Echo

January 14, 2004, Wednesday

Copyright 2004 The Liverpool Daily Post & Echo Ltd

Section: NEWS; Pg. 8; Newspaper

Length: 133 words

Body

A **FEMALE** Palestinian suicide bomber blew herself up at the main crossing between Israel and the Gaza Strip today, killing four people and injuring seven.

Israel Radio reported the four dead were Israeli.

The Islamic militant group **Hamas** and the Al Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades, linked to Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat's Fatah movement, claimed joint responsibility, according to Lebanon's Al-Manar satellite TV station.

Few Palestinians were in the area at the time, despite the explosion occurring at the Erez crossing, the main entry point into Israel for Palestinian workers.

Palestinian witnesses said the bomber was a woman waiting in a queue to pass through to the Israeli side.

A witness said four Palestinian **women** went into an office at the crossing before the explosion from inside the building.

Load-Date: January 15, 2004

Bomber mum boast

Herald Sun (Melbourne, Australia)

January 28, 2004 Wednesday

Copyright 2004 Nationwide News Pty Limited

Section: WORLD; Pg. 29

Length: 127 words

Body

JERUSALEM -- Pictures of **Hamas**'s latest suicide bomber, posing with her two young children, has appeared on the group's internet site.

The gesture is in apparent defiance of Palestinian critics who say the Islamic militant group was wrong to send Reem Raiyshi, 22, on a mission that left her toddlers motherless.

AP

The pictures, revealed at the weekend, show Raiyshi in camouflage dress with the three-year-old and 18-month-old.

Two weeks ago, Raiyshi left the pair with her husband and blew herself up at a border crossing between the Gaza Strip and Israel, killing four Israelis.

It sparked a rare debate among Palestinians, not over the idea of bombing but the choice of bomber. Commentators fear pregnant **women** and children might be used next.

Load-Date: January 27, 2004

Woman bomber kills four

The Evening Standard (London)

January 14, 2004

Copyright 2004 Associated Newspapers Ltd.

Section: B; Pg. 2

Length: 121 words

Byline: RICHARD EDWARDS

Body

AT least four people died today and seven were injured when a woman suicide bomber blew herself up at the main crossing point between Israel and the Gaza strip.

The explosion happened at Erez, where Palestinian workers queue to cross into Israel. Security forces said all the dead were Israelis.

Palestinian witnesses said the woman bomber was waiting in the queue. One witness said four Palestinian women went into a security office before the explosion went off inside.

She said: "I heard soldiers screaming.

The blast was very strong and I saw one of the women bleeding from her legs."

The Islamic militant group Hamas and the Al Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades issued a joint claim of responsibility.

Sniper victim dies: Page 9

END

Load-Date: January 15, 2004

**Bus blast carnage;
in Israel**

Gold Coast Bulletin (Australia)

September 2, 2004 Thursday

Copyright 2004 Nationwide News Pty Limited

Length: 153 words

Body

IN synchronised attacks just moments apart, a pair of Palestinian suicide bombers detonated explosives in two buses in the southern Israeli city of Beersheba, killing 16 other people and wounding 100, mainly **women** and schoolchildren, said police and medical officials.

The twin blasts on Tuesday night were the first suicide bombings in Israel in more than five months, shattering the longest lull in such attacks in nearly four years of violence between Israelis and Palestinians.

The militant Islamic group **Hamas** claimed responsibility for the bombings, calling them revenge for Israel's killing of the founder and leader of the movement, Sheik Ahmed Yassin, in March, and the assassination of his successor, Abdel Aziz Rantisi, less than a month later.

The bombers came from Hebron in the southern West Bank, where Israel has yet to extend the separation barrier it is building

to thwart would-be Palestinian attackers.

Load-Date: September 2, 2004

LETTER: BRITAIN MUST LEAD AN EU RESPONSE TO ISRAEL

The Independent (London)

March 29, 2004, Monday

Copyright 2004 Independent Print Ltd

Section: First Edition; COMMENT; Pg. 32

Length: 143 words

Byline: ALAN SENITT

Body

Sir: Ishfaq Malik (letter, 26 March) notes that three times more Palestinians have been killed than Israelis during the Intifada.

Whilst the overall number is as Malik suggests, it is important to note that 77 per cent of Israeli victims have been civilians compared to 35 per cent of Palestinian victims, and of those, just 9 per cent were women, whilst 39 per cent of the Israeli victims were women.

These statistics are a direct result of the fact that whilst Israel does everything in its power to avoid civilian casualties, terror groups such as the late Sheikh Yassin's Hamas intentionally target the maximum number of civilians, and in particular women and children.

Any loss of innocent life is a tragedy, but the intentional targeting of civilians by Palestinian terror groups is an abomination that should be condemned by us all.

ALAN SENITT

London N3

Load-Date: March 29, 2004

Abbas orders forces to prevent attacks against Israel

Telegraph Herald (Dubuque, IA)

January 18, 2005 Tuesday

Copyright 2005 Woodward Communications, Inc.

Section: National/World; Pg. a5

Length: 172 words

Byline: ASSOCIATED PRESS

Dateline: RAMALLAH, West Bank

Body

Palestinian leader Mahmoud Abbas, under growing pressure to rein in militants, ordered his security forces Monday to prevent attacks on Israel and investigate a deadly shooting of Israeli civilians last week.

But Palestinian security officials were short on details about possible actions against armed groups, and a spokesman for Hamas said his extremist group would continue attacks.

The order by Abbas, approved by his Cabinet, was the Palestinian leadership's first step against militants since six Israelis were slain Thursday at the Karni crossing between Israel and the Gaza Strip.

While Israel's government cautiously welcomed the announcement, it remained unclear how far Abbas was willing to go. He has insisted he will use persuasion, not force, to get militants to halt violence.

Meanwhile, Israeli warplanes twice bombed suspected Hezbollah targets along the border in southern Lebanon on Monday, wounding two women, after guerrillas blew up an Israeli bulldozer in a disputed area near the frontier, Lebanese officials said.

Load-Date: January 18, 2005

NINE DAYS OF BLOOD AND TERROR

The Express
September 2, 2004

Copyright 2004 EXPRESS NEWSPAPERS

Section: NEWS; Pg. 3

Length: 162 words

Body

MUSLIM dissidents have spread murder and terror in nine days of bloodshed. August 24: Two planes crash after leaving Moscow. Eighty-nine are killed.

Blamed on Chechen black widow **female** suicide bombers.

August 26: Italian reporter Enzo Baldoni murdered in Iraq.

Video of his body delivered to Al Arabiya TV station by "the Islamic Army".

August 30: Two French journalists held hostage in Iraq by militants paraded on Al Jazeera TV.

The men, their fate still unknown, pleaded to President Chirac to revoke the law banning Muslim headscarves in French schools.

August 31: A woman Chechen suicide bomber blew herself up at a Moscow station, killing 10 and injuring 51. The same day 12 Nepalese hostages murdered by Iraqi militants. And 16 Israelis killed and 80 wounded in suicide bombings on two buses in Beersheba, southern Israel.

Palestinian militant group **Hamas** claimed responsibility.

Yesterday: Chechen rebels with bomb belts raided a school in Russia taking 400 hostage.

Load-Date: September 2, 2004

Al Qaeda tape rips peaceful change

The Toronto Star
June 18, 2005 Saturday

Copyright 2005 Toronto Star Newspapers, Ltd.

Section: NEWS; Pg. A12

Length: 177 words

Body

Al Qaeda deputy leader Ayman al-Zawahri called for an armed struggle to expel "crusader forces and Jews" from Muslim states and said peaceful change was impossible, in a videotape aired by Al-Jazeera television yesterday.

"Expelling the invading crusader forces and Jews from our Muslim homes cannot be realized solely through demonstrations and speaking out in the streets.

Reform and expelling the invaders from Muslim countries cannot be accomplished except by fighting for the sake of God," said al-Zawahri, wearing a white turban, a rifle at his side.

"We cannot imagine any reform while our countries are occupied by crusader forces ..."

The tape appeared to be recorded recently because Al-Jazeera said Osama bin Laden's right-hand man slammed assaults on women at a May 25 protest in Egypt. Both men are believed to be hiding in the Afghanistan-Pakistan border area.

Al-Zawahri also cautioned Palestinians against being drawn into the "election game," in an apparent warning to militant groups Hamas and Islamic Jihad not to take part in Palestinian polls.

REUTERS

Load-Date: June 18, 2005

Revenge bombers kill at least 16 in israeli bus attacks

Western Morning News (Plymouth)

September 1, 2004

default

Copyright 2004 Western Morning News

Section: News; Other; Others; Pg. 42

Length: 164 words

Body

Palestinian suicide bombers on a revenge mission blew up two buses seconds apart in southern Israel yesterday, killing at least 16 passengers and wounding more than 80. It was the first suicide bombings inside Israel for nearly six months, and was claimed by militant group **Hamas** as vengeance for the assassination of their spiritual leader. The explosions ended a period of relative calm. Israel has attributed the lull to its crackdown on Palestinian militants and continued construction of its separation barrier in the West Bank.

Palestinian militants have acknowledged they have faced increasing difficulties carrying out attacks.

The two buses blew up 15 seconds apart, about 100 yards from a busy intersection in the centre of Beersheba.

The attack was the deadliest since a **female** suicide bomber killed 21 people nearly a year ago in the northern city of Haifa. Militants hadn't carried out a major attack in Israel since March 14, when 11 people were killed in the port of Ashdod.

Load-Date: September 2, 2004

WOMAN KILLS FOUR IN SUICIDE

The Express
January 15, 2004

Copyright 2004 EXPRESS NEWSPAPERS

Section: NEWS; Pg. 8

Length: 157 words

Body

A WOMAN suicide bomber told Israeli guards she had a metal plate in her leg to dodge an X-ray machine, seconds before blowing herself up and killing four people.

Reem Al-Reyashi, a 22-year-old Palestinian mother of two toddlers, said goodbye to her children in a videotaped message recorded just hours before her murder mission.

Al-Reyashi killed three Israeli soldiers and an Israeli civilian at the joint Israeli-Palestinian industrial zone at Erez in the Gaza Strip yesterday. A dozen more people were injured, one seriously.

Smiling at the camera and cradling a rifle as she recorded the message, Al-Reyashi said she hoped to turn her body into "deadly shrapnel" and said she had dreamed since the age of 13 of "becoming a martyr" for her people.

It was the first time fundamentalist terror group Hamas has used a woman in a suicide attack.

Devout Muslims believe that male martyrs are rewarded in Heaven with 72 virgins.

Women get nothing.

Load-Date: January 16, 2004

Poor judgment

Ottawa Citizen

January 17, 2004 Saturday Final Edition

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Section: News; In Other Words; Pg. B5; Letter

Length: 171 words

Byline: Barbara Crook

Body

Re: **Female** suicide bomber kills 4, Jan. 15.

I guess it's tough for a suicide bombing in Israel to compete with the Citizen's choice of news stories about a telegenic **female** multimillionaire running for office, Canadian politicians' frenzied party-hopping and Prince Philip's pheasant-blasting.

The Ottawa Citizen

But that's no excuse for relegating the latest terror attack in Gaza to a three-paragraph brief at the bottom of page A12.

If the loss of more innocent Israeli lives doesn't strike your editors as particularly newsworthy, how about the fact that this is the first time the terrorist organization **Hamas** has used a **female** suicide bomber? Or that Palestinian Prime Minister Ahmed Qureia has not condemned the attack? Or that it damages not only the peace process but the Palestinians' own economy?

The failure to adequately report on this event and its implications is a disservice to readers and undermines the Citizen's otherwise solid coverage of Israel and the Mideast.

Barbara Crook,

Ottawa

Palestinian Media Watch

Load-Date: January 17, 2004

Terror hurts victims and perpetrators

The Gazette (Montreal, Quebec)

May 10, 2004 Monday Final Edition

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Section: Editorial / Op-ed; Pg. A20; Letter

Length: 186 words

Body

Every single time a new diplomatic initiative dawns in the Middle East, the PLO and **Hamas** send their killers to murder **women** and children - the Oslo plan, the Taba agreement, the Clinton plan, the Bush plan, and now the Disengagement plan. Terrorists invariably derail all efforts to reach a solution, inevitably perpetuating the "cycle of violence," and the blood bath continues unabated. The Gazette The most recent atrocity was the massacre of a pregnant woman and her four daughters.

Terrorism is a two-edged sword: It hurts the victims, but it also hurts the perpetrators.

Both peoples are paying the price for this insistence on terrorism as a political means, perpetuated by men whose lust for power is greater than their concern for their people.

When will they learn that the only way out of the morass is political? When will the shooting stop? Eventually peace will reign in Israel and Palestine, eventually the cult of death will be vanquished, and eventually a negotiated settlement will allow our children to grow with dignity and confidence on both sides of the border.

Esti Mayer

Dollard des Ormeaux

Load-Date: May 10, 2004

PROPER TARGET

The Sun
March 23, 2004

Copyright 2004 NEWS GROUP NEWSPAPERS LTD

Section: THE SUN SAYS; LEADING ARTICLE

Length: 191 words

Body

BEING "spiritual leader" of Hamas is not like being the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Ahmed Yassin was a Godfather of Terror, the man who founded the Palestinian killing machine and the inspiration for more than 50 suicide bomb attacks on Israel.

Blasting a man in a wheelchair from a helicopter gunship may seem like a sledgehammer to crack a nut.

But Yassin was no ordinary nut.

Israel brands him "the Palestinian Bin Laden" and says he deserved to die for the countless atrocities carried out in his name.

Critics of Israel say that country has aborted the peace process and that yesterday's act went too far and was unlawful.

But over the years Palestinian bombers have repeatedly blasted peace hopes to smithereens - taking hundreds of innocent Israeli men, women and children with them.

Foreign Secretary Jack Straw said Israel's action was "very unlikely to achieve its objectives".

Yet it has achieved its immediate objective because one more terrorist mastermind is dead.

But now Israel faces a major challenge. It must prove to the world that it is serious about peace.

An answer to this crisis will only be found round the negotiating table.

Load-Date: March 24, 2004

No Headline In Original

INTELLIGENCER JOURNAL (LANCASTER, PA.)

January 16, 2004, Friday

Copyright 2004 Lancaster Newspapers, Inc.

Section: A,

Length: 334 words

Byline: IBRAHIM BARZAK

Body

Female bomber gets heros funeral GAZA CITY, Gaza Strip The first **female Hamas** suicide bomber was given a heros funeral Thursday, a day after killing four Israeli border guards, and Israel sealed the Gaza Strip to review security at border crossings. The closure prevented thousands of Palestinian workers from getting to their jobs in Israel and a nearby industrial zone. The workers, among the few with jobs in the impoverished region, worried life would only become more difficult but few were willing to openly blame militants for their new hardship. Top Israel army commanders met at the Defense Ministry Thursday to consider a response to the latest attack, a security official said. Targeted killings of senior **Hamas** militants were expected to resume, said the official, who spoke on condition of anonymity. Wednesdays attack at the Erez border crossing between Israel and Gaza was the first time the Islamic militant group **Hamas** dispatched a **female** suicide bomber, and the group threatened more violence. She is not going to be the last (attacker) because the march of resistance will continue until the Islamic flag is raised, not only over the minarets of Jerusalem, but over the whole universe, **Hamas** leader Mahmoud Zahar said. The Israeli security official said **Hamas** spiritual leader Sheik Ahmed Yassin issued a religious edict permitting **women** to carry out bombings, something **Hamas** had resisted. He said Yassin personally approved Wednesdays attack. The Israeli closure shut down the Erez crossing and a nearby industrial park, where 6,000 Palestinians work.

#ISRAELJ16#The army said only those with humanitarian needs could cross. The closure was to last until Sunday, the security official said. The bombing was carried out by Reem Raiyshi, 22, a mother with two young children. She had been escorted into a room for a security search when she blew herself up. The attack was jointly claimed by **Hamas** and the Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades, a group linked to Yasser Arafats Fatah movement.

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Load-Date: January 18, 2004

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INTELLIGENCER JOURNAL (LANCASTER, PA.)

January 16, 2004, Friday

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Load-Date: January 19, 2004

No Headline In Original

INTELLIGENCER JOURNAL (LANCASTER, PA.)

February 2, 2004, Monday

Copyright 2004 Lancaster Newspapers, Inc.

Section: A,

Length: 354 words

Byline: JOSEF FEDERMAN

Body

Israeli defense chief threatens to kill Islamic leaders JERUSALEM The leaders of violent Islamic groups are targets for assassination, Israels defense minister said Sunday, raising the possibility of a further escalation in the three years of Israeli-Palestinian bloodshed. Shaul Mofaz issued the threat in response to a declaration by the spiritual leader of Hamas, Sheik Ahmed Yassin, that the group plans an all-out effort to kidnap Israeli soldiers. The statements of Yassin just emphasize the need to strike the heads of Hamas and the Islamic Jihad, Mofaz told the weekly meeting of the Israeli Cabinet, according to an Israeli official who attended the meeting. The statements by Mofaz and Yassin threaten to inflame an already violent confrontation that has led to the deaths of more than 3,500 people on both sides during three years of fighting. Last week, Israel killed eight Palestinians in a shootout in Gaza City, while a Palestinian suicide bomber killed 11 people in Jerusalem. Hamas took responsibility for the bombing, a day after a claim from the Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades, loosely linked to Palestinian leader Yasser Arafats Fatah movement. Sunday was a Muslim holiday, and Hamas officials were not available to react to Mofazs comments. During more than three years of violence, Israel has carried out many pinpoint attacks aimed at leaders of Hamas and Islamic Jihad often prompting a violent response. In September, Yassin narrowly escaped an Israeli airstrike in the Gaza Strip. But Israel has greatly reduced the number of targeted killings in recent months.

#ISRAELF2#Last month, Mofazs deputy, Zeev Boim, retracted comments calling for Yassins assassination.

Hamas, responsible for dozens of suicide bombings over the last three years, also appeared to have scaled back its activities until a Hamas female suicide bomber killed four Israelis at a Gaza-Israel checkpoint Jan. 14. Yassin encouraged kidnapping Israeli soldiers a day after Israel released 400 Palestinian prisoners as part of an exchange with the Lebanese militant group Hezbollah for a businessman and the bodies of three soldiers.

Load-Date: February 3, 2004

No Headline In Original

LANCASTER NEW ERA (LANCASTER, PA.)

March 22, 2004, Monday

Copyright 2004 Lancaster Newspapers, Inc.

Section: A,

Length: 910 words

Body

Hamas leader killed By IBRAHIM BARZAK Associated Press Writer GAZA CITY, Gaza Strip Israel killed **Hamas** founder Ahmed Yassin in a helicopter missile strike outside a Gaza City mosque today, prompting threats of unprecedented revenge by Palestinian militants against Israel and the United States. Yassin was the most prominent Palestinian leader killed by Israel in more than three years of fighting, and his assassination was seen as a major escalation. More than 200,000 Palestinians, some carrying billowing green **Hamas** flags, flooded the streets for the funeral procession, the largest gathering in Gaza City in recent memory. Thousands also took to the streets in the West Bank. Mourners jostled to touch Yassin's flag-draped coffin, and **women** ululated and threw flowers and candy. Two Israeli helicopters flew above, and the sky was blackened from the smoke of tires set ablaze in the streets by protesting Palestinians. At the cemetery, Yassin's body was carried between two rows of 200 militants armed with anti-tank missiles and machine guns. Words cannot describe the emotion of anger and hate inside our hearts, said **Hamas** official Ismail Haniyeh, a close associate of Yassin. Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon called Yassin the mastermind of Palestinian terror and a mass murderer who is among Israel's greatest enemies. Sharon said Israel will press ahead with its war on terror, signaling more targeted attacks and raids. The war against terror has not ended and will continue day after day, everywhere, he said.

#BC-ISRAEL-PALESTINIANS_532.TXT#In addition to Yassin, 12 Palestinians were killed today, seven in the airstrike, four in clashes with Israeli troops and one while handling explosives. Bush administration National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice said Washington had no advance warning of the attack. Rice said she knew of no consultations between Sharon and President Bush about any plan to target the sheik. But Rice, asked about U.S. reaction to the attack during an interview on NBC television, said, Let's remember that **Hamas** is a terrorist organization and that Sheik Yassin has himself, personally, we believe, been involved in terrorist planning. State Department spokesman Lou Fintor said U.S. officials were in touch with Israeli and Palestinian authorities. The United States urges all sides to remain calm and exercise restraint, he said. Israeli helicopters fired three missiles as Yassin, his bodyguards and dozens of others left a mosque in Gaza City at daybreak. Yassin, a quadriplegic who uses a wheelchair, and seven others were killed, including several bodyguards. Seventeen people were wounded. Only a charred metal seat and a twisted wheel were left of his wheelchair and a blood-soaked brown shoe lay in the street. Two or three people were lying next to him on the ground. One was legless, said taxi driver Yousef Haddad, who had rushed out of a nearby grocery when the missiles shook the Sabra neighborhood. Fearing reprisal attacks, Israel sealed off the West Bank and Gaza and confined many West Bank Palestinians to their communities. The Rafah border crossing between Gaza and Egypt was also closed. Troops reinforcements were sent to Gaza, and security forces in Israel were placed on high alert. Sharon, a former army general, was updated throughout the operation. The Israeli air force this morning killed the mastermind of all evil, Ahmed Yassin, who was a preacher of death, said army spokeswoman Brig. Gen. Ruth Yaron. The Yassin assassination was seen as an enormous gamble by Sharon, who is trying to score a decisive victory against **Hamas** ahead of a possible Israeli withdrawal from Gaza, but risks triggering a dramatic escalation in bloodshed that could turn the public's

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mood in Israel against him. Sharons critics in Israel warned that the Yassin killing could be seen as an attack by Israel on Islam and unnecessarily widen the circle of conflict. The Palestinian Authority said in a statement that Israel has exceeded all red lines with this cheap and dirty crime, and declared a three-day mourning period. Flags at Yasser Arafats headquarters in the West Bank town of Ramallah were lowered to half-staff, and the Palestinian Cabinet held an emergency session. Yassin was Arafats biggest political rival, but Arafat has always been careful not to confront the **Hamas** leader openly. Cabinet ministers stood as Arafat recited a Muslim prayer for the dead. The Palestinian leader, referring to Yassin, then added: May you join the martyrs and the prophets. To heaven, you martyr. Palestinian Prime Minister Ahmed Qureia said the Palestinians have lost a great leader. Earlier, about 2,000 demonstrators gathered at Arafats headquarters, calling for revenge. Arafat remained inside, apparently fearing he too might be targeted by Israel. However, an Israeli security official said there were no immediate plans to target Arafat, and that **Hamas** was the focus of Israels current offensive. Tens of thousands of Palestinians marched in the West Bank in protest, including about 15,000 people in Nablus. This morning, dozens came to us volunteering to be suicide bombers and we will send them at the right time, one masked man said at the rally. Thousands more demonstrated in the town of Jenin. In the West Bank town of Hebron, Palestinians threw stones at Israeli soldiers, who fired tear gas.xTn Assassination of key Palestinian sparks threats of revenge against Israel, U.S.DeEd

Load-Date: March 24, 2004

End of Document

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March 22, 2004, Monday

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INTELLIGENCER JOURNAL (LANCASTER, PA.)

January 20, 2004, Tuesday

Copyright 2004 Lancaster Newspapers, Inc.

Section: A,

Length: 221 words

Body

Sharon: Peace with Syria requires Golan pullout JERUSALEM (AP) Addressing two of Israels thorniest issues, Prime Minister Ariel Sharon told lawmakers Monday that peace with Syria would require a full withdrawal from the Golan Heights and ordered a review of the contentious West Bank separation barrier. Sharons comments on the Golan, made to parliaments Defense and Foreign Affairs Committee, were an unprecedented admission by the career hard-liner.

#ISRAELJ29#In the past, right-wing Israeli governments insisted a peace deal could be reached without a withdrawal from the strategic plateau captured in the 1967 Mideast war. The prime minister did not tell the closed-door meeting whether he was willing to pay what he defined as the price for peace. Also Monday, the **Hamas** founder announced a change in strategy, saying the Islamic militant group would increasingly recruit **female** suicide bombers. Last week, **Hamas** sent its first **female** assailant, a 22-year-old woman who blew herself up at the Gaza-Israel crossing and killed four Israeli border guards. Sheik Ahmed Yassin told reporters in Gaza there had not been a need in the past for **women** to carry out bombings. Now, he said, **women** must step up and fulfill their obligations. He suggested male bombers were increasingly being held back by Israeli security measures.

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Sharon: Peace with Syria requires Golan pullout JERUSALEM (AP) Addressing two of Israels thorniest issues, Prime Minister Ariel Sharon told lawmakers Monday that peace with Syria would require a full withdrawal from the Golan Heights and ordered a review of the contentious West Bank separation barrier. Sharons comments on the Golan, made to parliaments Defense and Foreign Affairs Committee, were an unprecedented admission by the career hard-liner.

#ISRAELJ29#In the past, right-wing Israeli governments insisted a peace deal could be reached without a withdrawal from the strategic plateau captured in the 1967 Mideast war. The prime minister did not tell the closed-door meeting whether he was willing to pay what he defined as the price for peace. Also Monday, the **Hamas** founder announced a change in strategy, saying the Islamic militant group would increasingly recruit **female** suicide bombers. Last week, **Hamas** sent its first **female** assailant, a 22-year-old woman who blew herself up at the Gaza-Israel crossing and killed four Israeli border guards. Sheik Ahmed Yassin told reporters in Gaza there had not been a need in the past for **women** to carry out bombings. Now, he said, **women** must step up and fulfill their obligations. He suggested male bombers were increasingly being held back by Israeli security measures.

Load-Date: January 21, 2004

Vriend Samir A. achter omstreden moslimboekwerk

De Telegraaf

April 6, 2005

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Section: Pg. 7

Length: 312 words

Body

door Joost de Haas

AMSTERDAM, woensdag

De uitgever van een omstreden moslimboek, waarin strafbare antisemitische passages staan, blijkt een huisvriend te zijn van terreurverdachte Samir A. (18), tegen wie vandaag vonnis wordt gewezen.

De 37-jarige uitgever Aris Hidayat werd vorig jaar zomer bij de inval in de woning van A. in Rotterdam gearresteerd en zat korte tijd vast. Volgens de nationale recherche had Hidayat een groot geldbedrag bij zich, waarvoor hij geen verklaring kon geven.

Samir A. hoorde twee weken geleden wegens het voorbereiden van aanslagen een celstraf van 7 jaar tegen zich eisen, alsmede ontzetting uit het actief en passief kiesrecht.

Hidayat gaat met zijn uitgeverij Noer in Delft schuil achter de publicatie van de 'Gids voor Islamitische Opvoeding'. Het openbaar ministerie in Amsterdam heeft de uitgever opgedragen de antisemitische teksten uit het boek te verwijderen. Het boekwerk is verspreid door de Rotterdamse moslim Maurice van Ettinger, die bekendstaat als sympathisant van de Palestijnse Hamas-beweging. Met het censureren van het boek ontsnappen Hidayat en Ettinger aan vervolging.

Het OM heeft besloten de Amsterdamse moskee El Tawheed niet te vervolgen wegens de verkoop van twee andere omstreden boeken: 'Fatwas of Muslim Women' en 'De Weg van de Moslim'. Daarin wordt opgeroepen homo's te doden en vrouwen te slaan.

Oproep

Volgens het OM bevatten de boeken, die vorig jaar voor veel opschudding zorgden, geen strafbare teksten. "Het gaat om passages die kenbaar in direct verband staan met de uiting van een geloofsovertuiging, waardoor het strafbare karakter aan de passages ontvalt", aldus het OM.

Het onderzoek wijst uit dat in de boeken geen oproep is te lezen individuele homo's te vermoorden. De islamitische regels over het slaan van vrouwen zijn volgens het OM lang geleden gegeven in maatschappelijk geheel andere omstandigheden.

Load-Date: April 6, 2005

End of Document

Jihad-strijders steeds vaker vrouwen ; Achtergrond

de Volkskrant

September 7, 2004

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Section: Buitenland; Pg. 5

Length: 760 words

Byline: VAN ONZE BUITENLANDREDACTEUR ALEX BURGHOOORN

Dateline: AMSTERDAM

Body

I Als mannen minder effectief zijn in gewapende acties komt de mujahida in beeld

Moslimterroristen zijn niet langer alleen mannen. Eerst bij de Tsjetsjenen, toen bij de Palestijnen en nu bij de Saudische tak van Al Qa'ida rukken vrouwen op.

Zelfs **Hamas**-leider sjeik Ahmed Yassin ging overstag. 'Vrouwen zijn als het reservistenleger - als de noodzaak er is, gebruiken we ze', zei hij, nadat de 22-jarige Reem al-Reyashi zich op 14 januari dit jaar als eerste vrouw namens de Palestijnse terreurorganisatie had opgeblazen bij een Israelische post langs de Gazastrook.

Twee jaar eerder, toen de Al Aqsa Martelarenbrigades voor het eerst een verpleegster met bommen omgord op pad hadden gestuurd, liet sjeik Yassin nog weten het inzetten van vrouwelijke zelfmoordcommando's af te wijzen, 'op grond van het fatsoen'. Anders gezegd: de jihad was een mannenzaak.

De uitleg van Yassin over zijn ommezwaai, in het Israelische dagblad Haaretz, beperkte zich tot een tactisch argument. 'Voor mannelijke strijders zijn er veel obstakels opgeworpen.' De Tsjetsjeense terroristen hebben de bezwaren tegen het inzetten van hun vrouwen langer geleden laten varen. De inzet van de Zwarte Weduwen in de afgelopen twee weken bij het opblazen van twee verkeersvliegtuigen, bij de aanslag op het metrostation in Moskou en de gijzeling van de school in het Noord-Ossetische Beslan, behoeft ook eigenlijk geen verbazing. Al in juni 2000 blies Hawa Barayev behalve zichzelf ook 27 in Tsjetsjenie gelegeerde Russische soldaten op, meldt Debra D. Zedalis, verbonden aan het Instituut voor Strategische Studies van de Oorlogsacademie van het Amerikaanse Leger, in haar onlangs verschenen studie **Female** Suicide Bombers.

De aanslag van Hawa Barayev was een operatie uitgevoerd door de avant-garde van de Tsjetsjeense terreurbrigades. Pas achteraf keurden de aan de rebellen gelieerde, maar anonieme geestelijken de actie goed in de fatwa 'Heeft Hawa Barayev zelfmoord gepleegd of het martelaarschap bereikt?'. Wie de tekst leest, kan zich verbazen over de voorspellende waarde. 'Zonder twijfel heeft ze het prachtigste voorbeeld gegeven met haar offer. De Russen kunnen de dood nu vanuit elke hoek tegemoet zien.'

De opmars van de vrouwelijke jihad-strijder loopt steeds meer in het oog en beperkt zich niet tot Tsjetsjenie en de Palestijnse gebieden. Het 'Informatiebureau voor Vrouwen van Al Qa'ida op het Arabisch Schiereiland' heeft in augustus het voor zover bekend eerste jihad-tijdschrift voor vrouwen op internet uitgebracht.

Al-Khansaa is vernoemd naar de dichteres Al-Khansaa bint Omar, die zich in de tijd van de profeet Mohammed heeft bekeerd tot de islam. Vier zonen verloor ze op het slagveld, en omdat ze God dankte voor die eer wordt ze wel gezien als de moeder aller martelaren.

De artikelen in Al-Khansaa gaan grotendeels over de steun die een vrouw haar man, als martelaar in spe, moet bieden - 'We staan schouder aan schouder met onze mannen.' Maar in het hoofdredactioneel commentaar, 'Ons doel is het paradijs', wordt de martelares van **Hamas**, Reem al-Riyashi, en een martelares van de Al Aqsa Martelarenbrigades, de lezeressen wel tot voorbeeld gesteld. 'Wij lopen, met Gods hulp, het pad van. . . Ayat en Reem.' (Ayat al-Akhras pleegde in 2002 een zelfmoordaanslag in een supermarkt in Jeruzalem.) Het tijdstip waarop de lokale Al Qa'ida-tak van Saudi-Arabie met een blad voor vrouwen komt is opmerkelijk, indachtig de opmerkingen van Yassin. De Saudische veiligheidstroepen jagen immers al maanden op terreurcellen in het land en ze zijn daar naar eigen zeggen succesvol in: Riyad meldt om de haverklap een overwinning. . Het is hoe dan ook zeker dat de mannen door het offensief ernstig in hun bewegingsvrijheid zijn beknot - en ziedaar de vrouwen hun intrede doen.

Het profiel van terroristen dat het Amerikaanse ministerie van Binnenlandse Veiligheid hanteert, is geschreven op mannen tussen de 16 en de 45 jaar oud. De Amerikaanse terrorisme-onderzoekster van Harvard, Jessica Stern, kapittelde in december in The Washington Post de regering om die kortzichtigheid. Immers, de Arabische krant Asharq al-Awsat publiceerde in maart 2003 al een interview met een mujahida, een vrouwelijke mujahid, jihad-strijder. Langs de wegen van internet kreeg ze van Al Qa'ida en de Taliban opdrachten voor een aanslag, zei ze. 'Het idee is afkomstig van de martelaarsoperaties die uitgevoerd zijn door Palestijnse vrouwen.'

Een vrouw houdt tijdens de begrafenis het portret omhoog van de 26-jarige Azamat Khutsistov. Hij werd gedood tijdens het gijzelingsdrama in Beslan. FOTO EPA

Load-Date: September 7, 2004

'SLUIT HAAT-MOSKEE!'

De Telegraaf

April 25, 2004

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Section: Pg. 9

Length: 1269 words

Highlight: Na affaire over band Al-Qaeda nu commotie over verspreiding walgelijke anti-homoboeken

Body

AMSTERDAM, zondag

VVD-Kamerlid Geert Wilders worstelt zich dezer dagen samen met collega Ayaan Hirsi Ali door een stapel literatuur uit de omstreden moskee El Tawheed. Twee verschillende tussenpersonen bezochten namens de Kamerleden de boekhandel in de moskee in Amsterdam-West. "Ze hebben daar voor tachtig euro weggehaald aan boeken met vaak misselijkmakende omslagen. De inhoud is even weezinwekkend", aldus de VVD'ers.

Wilders en Hirsi Ali pleiten onomwonden voor sluiting van de moskee, die afgelopen week voor de zoveelste keer in opspraak kwam. "Het bestuur maakt keihard misbruik van de rechtsstaat door propaganda te bedrijven voor de radicale islam", vinden de liberalen. Of zij de rest van de Tweede Kamer achter zich krijgen, zal deze week blijken wanneer het kabinet tijdens een spoeddebat moet komen uitleggen hoe het de moskee denkt aan te pakken.

Ook voor het CDA en D66 is de maat vol nu de moskee zijn leven niet lijkt te beteren. Imam Mahmoud el-Shershaby en diens rechterhand Farid Zaari spreken van een hetze tegen hun 'open' moskee; zij voelen zich in de hoek gedreven en menen ten onrechte 'aan de haaien' te worden gevoerd.

Reden voor de nieuwste commotie is de verkoop van omstreden boeken die door de moskee aan de Jan Hanzenstraat worden aangeprezen als 'goed' en 'betrouwbaar'. Uit publicaties in het ochtendblad Trouw blijkt echter dat de boekhandel van El Tawheed religieuze geschriften aanbiedt waarin wordt gepleit voor vrouwenbesnijdenis, het slaan van vrouwen en het doden van homo's.

Vestiging

Eerder meldde De Telegraaf dat twee bestuursleden van de moskee in de Verenigde Staten zijn aangeklaagd door nabestaanden van de terreuraanslagen van 11 september 2001. Het gaat om de Saoedische sjeiks Al-Aqeel en Al-Kadi, die worden beschouwd als belangrijke financiers van Osama bin Ladens Al-Qaeda. Jarenlang waren zij de kopstukken van het islamitische liefdadigheidsfonds Al-Haramain, dat in Amsterdam wordt vertegenwoordigd door de imam van El Tawheed en over een vestiging beschikt op hetzelfde adres als de moskee.

Het Haramain-fonds heeft zich volgens de VS en Saoedi-Arabië niet alleen schuldig gemaakt aan financiering van bloedige terreurdaden, maar zou ook actief betrokken zijn geweest bij de planning van aanslagen. Nadat de sjeiks door het Saoedische regime de laan waren uitgestuurd, verdwenen zij ook uit het bestuur van El Tawheed. Het Haramain-fonds bestaat echter nog steeds in Amsterdam, met de 'Al-Qaeda-sjeiks' als bestuursleden.

'SLUIT HAAT-MOSKEE!'

De in Saoedi-Arabië van het toneel verdwenen Al-Aqeel is nog op een andere wijze betrokken bij de moskee. Zoals deze krant in januari van dit jaar meldde, staat Aqeel te boek als hypotheekhouder van het gebedshuis in verband met een lening van ruim 1,3 miljoen euro.

Het feit dat de veelbesproken moskee is gefinancierd door een 'bankier' van Al-Qaeda, was ook bekend bij de Algemene Inlichtingen en Veiligheidsdienst (AIVD), die El Tawheed al enige tijd nauwlettend in de gaten houdt 'in verband met buitenlandse contacten'. De moskee is op de korrel genomen in het kader van een onderzoek naar de 'schaduwzijde van Saoedische structuren' in Nederland.

Tot de islamitische boeken die nu de genadeklap kunnen betekenen voor het gebedshuis behoort onder meer een uitgave getiteld 'Fatwas for Muslim Women', waarin de middeleeuwse geleerde Ibn Taymiyya voor vrouwenbesnijdenis pleit. Volgens de moskee is het 'een heel gewoon boek' van een 'algemeen bekende en erkende schriftgeleerde'.

Toelichting

Ter verdediging verwijst El Tawheed naar een beschrijving van vrouwenbesnijdenis op het internet, doorspekt met walgelijke details. "Dit is een toelichting en geen fiat om het in Nederland te doen", aldus imam Shershaby. Die vergoelijkende toelichting op deze in ons land uiterst strafbare handeling vermeldt: "Alle lof zij Allah. Het besnijden van vrouwen is geen slechte praktijk of schadelijk, als het met matiging wordt gedaan." Ook is in de toelichting van de moskee te lezen dat de profeet Mohammed zou hebben gezegd: "Snijd niet te diep! Dan (als je het niet te diep snijdt) zal dit de vrouw het fijnste gevoel geven en de man de meeste lust (bij geslachtsgemeenschap)."

De schriftgeleerde Taymiyya, die het boek over vrouwenbesnijdenis schreef, is inderdaad 'algemeen bekend' en wel voornamelijk in kringen van islamitische terroristen. Zo werd Taymiyya, wiens boeken in de Amsterdamse moskee worden aangeprezen, onlangs nog door Al-Qaeda aangehaald om aan te tonen dat de terreurbende het recht heeft vier miljoen Amerikanen te vermoorden.

Een ander boekwerk dat afgelopen week voor grote opschudding zorgde, betreft de driedelige reeks 'De Weg van de Moslim' waarin homofilie - in de islam verboden - als een doodzonde wordt beschreven. Het boek, dat in duizenden exemplaren is verspreid en gretig aftrek vindt onder Marokkanen, meldt dat homo's de doodstraf verdienen door verbranding of steniging. Ook kan men volgens het boek 'sodomie' bestraffen door de daders mee te slepen naar het hoogste gebouw in de buurt "waarvan men ze vanaf het terras met het hoofd naar beneden gooit, vervolgens doodt men ze met stenen".

De vertaalster blijkt een tot de islam bekeerde Nederlandse vrouw, Jeanette Ploeger, die sinds 1993 de uitgeverij Project Dien (geloof) in Leiden runt. Zij zegt de commotie niet te begrijpen: "Dit is een heel gematigd boek dat als standaardwerk geldt binnen de islam. De schrijver El Djezeiri is rector magnificus aan de universiteit van Medina in Saoedi-Arabië, dus een heel geleerde autoriteit. Er is in heel Nederland, ook bij diverse andere moskeeën, veel vraag naar dit boek."

De gesluierde vertaalster doet als uitgever van dergelijke islamitische literatuur veel zaken met de bestelsite islam-boeken.nl - het internetbedrijf van de Rotterdammer Maurice van Ettinger. Deze eveneens tot de islam bekeerde Nederlander verspreidt niet alleen de homohaarboeken, maar ook de werken van de fundamentalistische ideoloog Sayyid Qotb, nog zo'n bekende inspirator van Al-Qaeda.

Verder levert Van Ettinger op bestelling de giftige uitspraken van sjeik Yousef al-Qardawi, de 'geestelijk vader' van de Palestijnse zelfmoordaanslagen. Qardawi, onlangs nog over dergelijke aanslagen: "Het is een uniek wapen dat Allah in handen van de gelovigen heeft gegeven."

Van Ettinger zelf mag zich in de belangstelling van de AIVD verheugen vanwege zijn contacten met Hamas-activisten in Rotterdam en Vlaardingen. De 34-jarige Rotterdammer, wiens bestelbus uitpuilt van de radicale lectuur, heeft zich gestort op de fondsenwerving voor de Palestijnse Hamas-beweging nadat op last van de regering de tegoeden waren geblokkeerd van de stichting Al-Aqsa - een dekmantel voor terreurfinanciering in de Maasstad.

'SLUIT HAAT-MOSKEE!'

Van Ettinger haalt gelden voor Hamas op via een stichting waar een Syrier de scepter zwaait. "Wij twijfelen niet aan wat we doen", zei Van Ettinger eerder tegen deze krant. "Als moslim heb je nou eenmaal de waarheid in pacht." Dezer dagen wilde Van Ettinger geen enkel commentaar geven op zijn activiteiten.

Ayaan Hirsi Ali wist al langer dat radicale islamieten op grote schaal schokkende literatuur verspreiden, ook in Nederland. Maar bij haar vorige partij, de PvdA, was hoongelach haar deel: "Toen ik dat wilde aankaarten, werd ik belachelijk gemaakt. Men wilde het gewoon niet geloven. Daarom ben ik blij dat dit nu allemaal naar buiten is gekomen, zodat we er eindelijk iets tegen kunnen doen."

Wilders: "Deze moskee is een rotte appel. Hoeveel gegevens over radicalisme en over uiterst bedenkelijke en verwerpelijke invloeden moeten nog meer naar buiten komen voordat de regering eindelijk eens lef toont en overgaat tot sluiting?"

Load-Date: April 25, 2004

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LICHT UND SCHATTEN IM NAHEN OSTEN; Siedler als Opfer der Politik Scharons

Die Presse

3. Juni 2005

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Die Presse

Die Presse.com

Length: 603 words

Byline: Von WIELAND SCHNEIDER

Body

WIEN. "Ich lebe in interessanten Zeiten. Nur manchmal wünschte ich, sie wären nicht so interessant. In Abwandlung dieses alten chinesischen Fluches beschreibt Danny Wieler die derzeitige Lage in seiner Heimat Israel. Wieler ist Vizedirektor der israelischen Friedensbewegung "Givat Haviva", die sich um den Dialog zwischen Israelis und Palästinensern bemüht.

Israels Regierung will Mitte August damit beginnen, die jüdischen Siedlungen im Gazastreifen zu räumen. Für Wieler ist das ein erster Schritt in die richtige Richtung. Doch er kann auch Verständnis für die Siedler aufbringen. "Politisch ist der Abzug richtig, menschlich ist er ein Riesenproblem", meint der Friedensaktivist im Gespräch mit der "Presse". Viele müssten jetzt Häuser verlassen, in denen sie schon seit 30 Jahren lebten. "Ihre Verwandten sind dort begraben - oft Menschen, die bei Terroranschlägen umgekommen sind. Jetzt haben sie das Gefühl, als würden ihre Angehörigen ein zweites Mal ermordet.

Hauptverantwortlich für die jetzige Misere der Siedler macht Wieler den israelischen Premier: "Scharon hat sie ermuntert, als Pioniere in den Gazastreifen zu gehen. Jetzt sagt er: Der Mohr hat seine Schuldigkeit getan. Scharfe Kritik übt Wieler an der Barriere, die Israel im Westjordanland errichtet hat. Die Mauer habe sicher den Terror eingedämmt. "Würde sie entlang der grünen Linie (Grenze von 1967) gezogen, könnte ich sogar damit einverstanden sein. Der jetzige Verlauf - gerade rund um Jerusalem - sei aber inakzeptabel. Sollte die Barriere später einmal zu einer Grenze werden, bliebe den Palästinensern nur ein "Fleckerlteppich" als Staat.

Wieler kann sich zwar vorstellen, dass Israel die größten Siedlungen im Westjordanland behält, aber nur im Rahmen eines Gebietsaustausches mit den Palästinensern. Trotz aller Schwierigkeiten bleibt Wieler Optimist. "Wir leben im Nahen Osten. Wir haben ein Patent auf Wunder.

(Ausstellung, Givat Haviva: "Women in the Holocaust - Frauen im Widerstand"; 3. bis 23. Juni, Nestroyhof, Wien.)

Israel entlässt 400 Häftlinge

Neues Treffen Scharon - Abbas am 21. Juni.

LICHT UND SCHATTEN IM NAHEN OSTEN Siedler als Opfer der Politik Scharons

Von unserer Korrespondentin SUSANNE KNAUL

JERUSALEM. Im Nahen Osten gibt es neue Signale der Entspannung: Israel entließ am Donnerstag 400 palästinensische Gefangene. Damit kam Premier Ariel Scharon seiner Anfang Februar getroffenen Zusage nach, insgesamt 900 Häftlinge auf freien Fuß zu setzen; 500 Gefangene waren schon im Februar freigelassen worden.

Zudem wurde bekannt, dass Scharon und Palästinenserpräsident Mahmud Abbas am 21. Juni zu einem erneuten Gipfeltreffen zusammenkommen wollen. Die palästinensische Regierung versicherte, dass der Termin nicht durch Abbas' Gesundheitszustand gefährdet sei. Dem Palästinenserpräsidenten wurde am Donnerstag im jordanischen Amman ein Herzkatheder gelegt, er soll aber wohlauf sein.

Die Entlassung der 400 Palästinenser war in Israel nicht unumstritten: Finanzminister Benjamin Netanjahu, Scharons Rivale in der Likud-Partei, zeigte angesichts "der Hilflosigkeit der palästinensischen Autonomiebehörde" wenig Verständnis dafür. Schließlich sei Abbas seiner Verpflichtung, gegen Terrororganisationen vorzugehen, bisher nicht nachgekommen.

Die Freigelassenen gehören zu einem Viertel islamischen Untergrundbewegungen an. Keiner der Enthäfteten habe "Blut an den Händen", so Scharon. Der Premier begründete die Amnestie mit den für Mitte Juli angesetzten palästinensischen Parlamentswahlen und der Notwendigkeit, Abbas' moderate Führung zu stärken. Nach den Erfolgen der Hamas bei den jüngsten Kommunalwahlen im Gazastreifen und im Westjordanland wächst in Israel die Sorge vor einem Wahlsieg der Islamisten.

Load-Date: June 3, 2005

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No Headline In Original

LANCASTER NEW ERA (LANCASTER, PA.)

March 6, 2004, Saturday

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Section: A,

Length: 1295 words

Byline: trk-tpierce

Body

School fund gap HARRISBURG (AP) The state Education Department is overstepping its bounds in telling school districts to expect \$75 million more in education block grants in the next fiscal year than the amount agreed to by the Legislature, two Republican senators said in a letter to Education Secretary Vicki Phillips. The letter from Sens. Robert J. Thompson and James J. Rhoades was sent Thursday, two days after Phillips testified at a budget hearing that she planned to notify the 501 districts how much grant money they would receive based on \$250 million, the amount proposed by Gov. Ed Rendell in February. Rendell unlikely choice HARRISBURG (AP) Gov. Ed Rendell said that the timing and politics aren't right for him to become Democratic Sen. John F. Kerry's running mate in this year's presidential election, should the opportunity be extended. Asked about it Friday, Rendell said Kerry needs a vice presidential candidate who is from a Republican-leaning state that provides better geographical diversity. Erie offices reopen ERIE (AP) City Hall and the Erie County Courthouse reopened Friday afternoon after laboratory tests confirmed that white powder mailed in five envelopes to city and county officials was harmless. The tests didn't determine what the substance was, but the poison ricin, anthrax and other toxic substances were ruled out. Parade fees criticized PITTSBURGH (AP) Joseph Parente can barely scrape together the money for the occasional citations he receives while protesting in front of abortion clinics, so he doubts he can pay for the insurance policy, police protection and other expenses that could be required under the city's proposed parade and demonstration ordinance.

#BRIEFS.M6#Parente was one of the demonstration organizers testifying on behalf of the American Civil Liberties Union as it challenges the City of Pittsburgh's efforts to design a new parade ordinance. Abortion-record ruling SAN FRANCISCO (AP) Ruling that abortion records contain information that women would not want to share, a federal judge said that the Planned Parenthood Federation of America does not have to force affiliates to turn over patient files to the government. The case stems from a battle over the Partial-Birth Abortion Act, which was passed by Congress last year. The Justice Department requested the files after abortion providers persuaded federal judges in San Francisco, New York and Nebraska to temporarily block the law. Bush ignores setback CRAWFORD, Texas (AP) President Bush today hailed a new interim constitution as excellent progress toward democracy in Iraq, painting an upbeat picture that ignored the cancellation of Friday's scheduled signing of the document. An elaborate ceremony planned by U.S. and Iraqi officials for Friday was scotched indefinitely after Iraq's top Shiite cleric, Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Husseini al-Sistani, rejected portions of the charter. The enactment of an interim constitution represents a key step in the U.S. plan to hand over power to Iraqis on June 30. Kerry on armor WASHINGTON (AP) John Kerry, the Democratic presidential nominee-in-waiting, challenged the Bush administration today to reimburse the families of U.S. troops who had to buy the body armor needed for protection in Iraq. If I am president, I will be prepared to use military force to protect our security, our people and our vital interests, the Massachusetts senator said in the Democrats' weekly radio address. Rivals ripped Kerry WASHINGTON (AP) John Kerry has been described as a waffler who blathers, a son of privilege who won't stand up to millionaires, a

No Headline In Original

Washington insider whos a handmaiden to special interests and an inconsistent candidate whose word is no good. All of that comes from fellow Democrats who ran against Kerry in the presidential primary race but now are pledged to help elect him president. The also-rans in the race for the Democratic presidential nomination have supplied plenty of rhetorical ammunition that Republicans could refire in the fall campaign, although the strategy is not without risks.

2nd sign of water PASADENA, Calif. (AP) Both of NASAs Mars rovers have now found evidence of past water activity on the dusty, frigid Red Planet. The Spirit rovers instruments found signs that water may have altered a volcanic rock in a region called Gusev crater, halfway around the planet from where the Opportunity rover earlier uncovered evidence that its landing site was once drenched.

9 Taliban killed KABUL, Afghanistan (AP) U.S. special operations forces killed nine suspected Taliban rebels in a firefight in eastern Afghanistan after the militants tried to sneak by their position, a U.S. military spokesman said today. The clash occurred Friday east of Orgun, about 105 miles south of Kabul and not far from the border with Pakistan, Lt. Col. Bryan Hilferty, a military spokesman, said.

Al-Qaida in Africa? STUTTGART, Germany (AP) Squeezed out of sanctuaries elsewhere in the world, al-Qaida may be looking to the deserts and jungles of Africa as a haven where terrorists could train recruits and plan new attacks, the deputy head of U.S. forces in Europe said Friday. Key among U.S. military proposals to fight back is deploying American units of about 200 soldiers to train armies throughout the continent, patrol alongside them, or hunt terrorists on short notice if necessary.

Shiites blame Wahhabis BAGHDAD, Iraq (AP) Some Iraqi Shiites suspect this weeks deadly bombings of pilgrims may have been the work of Wahhabis, traditional enemies who consider Shiites heretics and whose warrior ancestors often raided their holy cities during two centuries of animosity. Born on the Arabian Peninsula in the 18th century, Wahhabism is among the strictest Islamic movements and considers Muslims who do not follow its teachings to be heathens and enemies. Al-Qaida terror network leader Osama bin Laden was raised as a Wahhabi.

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More women working GENEVA (AP) Women make up a greater percentage of the global work force than ever before, but many make so little money they can barely survive, the United Nations said. A report released Friday by the International Labor Organization said women now account for 40.5 percent of the worlds work force, up from 39.9 percent a decade ago and the highest figure ever recorded by the U.N. agency.

Haiti still unsettled PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti (AP) International peacekeeping efforts forged ahead in Haiti, but a political solution seemed elusive as rebels pressed to re-establish the army something Washington opposes and former President Jean-Bertrand Aristides supporters demanded his return. Even as U.S. special forces ran missions in northern and western Haiti to support the countrys National Police in disarming rebels, the shadow of Aristide threatened to push the shaky situation back to the open conflict of last week.

Load-Date: March 7, 2004

No Headline In Original

LANCASTER NEW ERA (LANCASTER, PA.)

March 6, 2004, Saturday

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Section: A,

Length: 1295 words

Byline: trk-tpierce

Body

School fund gap HARRISBURG (AP) The state Education Department is overstepping its bounds in telling school districts to expect \$75 million more in education block grants in the next fiscal year than the amount agreed to by the Legislature, two Republican senators said in a letter to Education Secretary Vicki Phillips. The letter from Sens. Robert J. Thompson and James J. Rhoades was sent Thursday, two days after Phillips testified at a budget hearing that she planned to notify the 501 districts how much grant money they would receive based on \$250 million, the amount proposed by Gov. Ed Rendell in February. Rendell unlikely choice HARRISBURG (AP) Gov. Ed Rendell said that the timing and politics aren't right for him to become Democratic Sen. John F. Kerry's running mate in this year's presidential election, should the opportunity be extended. Asked about it Friday, Rendell said Kerry needs a vice presidential candidate who is from a Republican-leaning state that provides better geographical diversity. Erie offices reopen ERIE (AP) City Hall and the Erie County Courthouse reopened Friday afternoon after laboratory tests confirmed that white powder mailed in five envelopes to city and county officials was harmless. The tests didn't determine what the substance was, but the poison ricin, anthrax and other toxic substances were ruled out. Parade fees criticized PITTSBURGH (AP) Joseph Parente can barely scrape together the money for the occasional citations he receives while protesting in front of abortion clinics, so he doubts he can pay for the insurance policy, police protection and other expenses that could be required under the city's proposed parade and demonstration ordinance.

#BRIEFS.M6#Parente was one of the demonstration organizers testifying on behalf of the American Civil Liberties Union as it challenges the City of Pittsburgh's efforts to design a new parade ordinance. Abortion-record ruling SAN FRANCISCO (AP) Ruling that abortion records contain information that women would not want to share, a federal judge said that the Planned Parenthood Federation of America does not have to force affiliates to turn over patient files to the government. The case stems from a battle over the Partial-Birth Abortion Act, which was passed by Congress last year. The Justice Department requested the files after abortion providers persuaded federal judges in San Francisco, New York and Nebraska to temporarily block the law. Bush ignores setback CRAWFORD, Texas (AP) President Bush today hailed a new interim constitution as excellent progress toward democracy in Iraq, painting an upbeat picture that ignored the cancellation of Friday's scheduled signing of the document. An elaborate ceremony planned by U.S. and Iraqi officials for Friday was scotched indefinitely after Iraq's top Shiite cleric, Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Husseini al-Sistani, rejected portions of the charter. The enactment of an interim constitution represents a key step in the U.S. plan to hand over power to Iraqis on June 30. Kerry on armor WASHINGTON (AP) John Kerry, the Democratic presidential nominee-in-waiting, challenged the Bush administration today to reimburse the families of U.S. troops who had to buy the body armor needed for protection in Iraq. If I am president, I will be prepared to use military force to protect our security, our people and our vital interests, the Massachusetts senator said in the Democrats' weekly radio address. Rivals ripped Kerry WASHINGTON (AP) John Kerry has been described as a waffler who blathers, a son of privilege who won't stand up to millionaires, a

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Washington insider whos a handmaiden to special interests and an inconsistent candidate whose word is no good. All of that comes from fellow Democrats who ran against Kerry in the presidential primary race but now are pledged to help elect him president. The also-rans in the race for the Democratic presidential nomination have supplied plenty of rhetorical ammunition that Republicans could refire in the fall campaign, although the strategy is not without risks.

2nd sign of water PASADENA, Calif. (AP) Both of NASAs Mars rovers have now found evidence of past water activity on the dusty, frigid Red Planet. The Spirit rovers instruments found signs that water may have altered a volcanic rock in a region called Gusev crater, halfway around the planet from where the Opportunity rover earlier uncovered evidence that its landing site was once drenched.

9 Taliban killed KABUL, Afghanistan (AP) U.S. special operations forces killed nine suspected Taliban rebels in a firefight in eastern Afghanistan after the militants tried to sneak by their position, a U.S. military spokesman said today. The clash occurred Friday east of Orgun, about 105 miles south of Kabul and not far from the border with Pakistan, Lt. Col. Bryan Hilferty, a military spokesman, said.

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Pittsburgh Post-Gazette (Pennsylvania)

September 5, 2004 Sunday

TWO STAR EDITION

Copyright 2004 P.G. Publishing Co.

Section: WORLD,; WORLD BRIEFS

Length: 579 words

Body

PALESTINIANS BEGIN VOTER DRIVE

JERUSALEM -- Palestinians began a voter registration drive yesterday, a first step toward long overdue elections and a response to domestic and international pressure for more democracy, openness and accountability.

But the only scheduled voting is for 38 municipal councils, which will begin in December and extend in three stages for a year. The vote will be a test of strength between militant groups and the Palestinian Authority, led by Yasser Arafat, ahead of an Israeli pullout from the Gaza Strip next year.

Palestinian officials say that if Arafat's Fatah faction does poorly and the militant Hamas or Hezbollah do well, further elections are likely to be halted or postponed indefinitely, as they have been in Gaza.

The mandate of Arafat and the Palestinian Legislature ran out in 1999, and he has regularly refused calls for new elections.

Pope denounces gay unions

VATICAN CITY -- Pope John Paul II kept up his campaign against gay marriage yesterday, telling the ambassador from Canada -- where some provinces allow same-sex couples to wed -- that such unions create a "false understanding" of marriage.

In past months, the pope urged authorities to stop approving gay marriages, saying that they degrade the true sense of marriage.

The pope spoke Saturday to the new Canadian Ambassador to the Holy See, Donald Smith.

Three Canadian provinces, accounting for about 70 percent of the country's 31 million people, allow same-sex marriage: Quebec, Ontario and British Columbia. The ruling Liberal Party has promised legislation legalizing gay marriage.

India, Pakistan expand talks

NEW DELHI -- Nuclear rivals India and Pakistan agreed yesterday to widen their peace dialogue in talks that focused on eight festering issues, including the decades-old dispute over the Himalayan region of Kashmir.

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Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh reiterated India's commitment to peace with Pakistan. At his first news conference since his Congress party unexpectedly swept to power in May, he said the people of South Asia were "bound together by a shared destiny."

Pakistan's Foreign Minister Khursheed Kasuri said settling the five-decade-long conflict over Kashmir is the key to peace.

Protest over adultery law

ANKARA, Turkey -- A proposal by Turkey's ruling party to revive a law criminalizing adultery has provoked a storm of protest from women's groups and fueled accusations that the government is seeking to steer this officially secular but predominantly Muslim country toward Islamic rule.

The opposition Republican People's Party has said it will try to quash the measure but has little chance of doing so in Parliament, where Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan's Islam-rooted Justice and Development Party enjoys a firm majority.

Women's groups have vowed to stage a protest in front of Parliament when it convenes Sept. 14.

Feminists fear the proposal will encourage so-called honor killings in which women are killed for allegedly besmirching family reputations by associating with unrelated men.

Tips start to get hip in China

BEIJING -- Tipping, long frowned upon in this still officially communist country, may be going mainstream. This month, one of China's leading travel agencies will begin offering three VIP tour packages during which customers will be encouraged to tip the guides. The pilot program has touched a nerve among a gratuity-shy society even as it underscores China's continuing shift to a market-driven economy.

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Canberra Times (Australia)

March 29, 2004 Monday

Final Edition

Copyright 2004 The Federal Capital Press of Australia Pty Limited

Section: A;

Length: 623 words

Body

Pedestrian killed A pedestrian was killed when he was hit by a ute while standing in the middle of the Princes Highway near Batemans Bay. The man, 36, of Orange, was thrown into the air by the force of the impact and landed in the tray of the ute. Police said he was pronounced dead shortly after the accident about 2am on Saturday. Police interviewed the driver of the ute, a man, 34, of Tomakin, and investigations were continuing. Meanwhile, police and other emergency services were searching St George Basin near Nowra yesterday where a man, 29, fell overboard from his boat after suffering a seizure. He was fishing with his father who tried unsuccessfully to rescue him. Bega rescues The Snowy Hydro SouthCare rescue helicopter landed on a speedway at Candelo, near Bega, yesterday to tend to two motocross riders injured in separate incidents. The men, both aged in their mid-40s, had leg fractures after accidents on their bikes. They were flown to Canberra Hospital, where they were both in a stable condition. It was the helicopter's second mission to Bega in a day, earlier transferring a man, 68, with a serious medical condition from the local hospital to Canberra. Muslims rally

SYDNEY: Australian Muslims urged the Federal Government yesterday to condemn the assassination of **Hamas** founder Sheik Ahmed Yassin as hundreds rallied in Sydney to show their support for peace in the Middle East.

About 300 people gathered in Hyde Park to show support for the Palestinian cause and voice opposition to Israel's attacks in the occupied territories. Carrying Palestinian flags, placards and pictures of Yassin, adult community members were eager to ensure younger protesters did not burn flags or incite violence. Heritage grants Applications for this year's heritage grants opened yesterday. A total of \$239,000 will be available to individuals and community groups wanting to undertake projects aimed at preserving the ACT's heritage. Applicants are invited to a special seminar on March 30 at Macarthur House in Lyneham and applications close on May 6. For information call 62079777. Schools connected Broadband Internet technology has been extended to three schools in Gungahlin, with Education Minister Katy Gallagher saying the connections were the first in the ACT. Ngunnawal, Amaroo and Palmerston District primary schools have been linked to the Transact 2Mb broadband service, part of a network expected to include all ACT Government schools by 2005. Flu vaccinations More than 4600 Department of Education, Youth and Family Services staff have been offered a centrally funded, voluntary flu vaccination. This is the first time the flu shot has been offered to staff and the \$50,000 program is aimed to minimise the risk of illness and to reduce the need for sick leave and relief arrangements. The vaccinations will be carried out in various workplaces including schools, colleges and office locations. Appointments Three prominent ACT **women** had been appointed to vacancies on the University of Canberra Council, Acting Chief Minister Ted Quinlan announced. Marion Reilly and Anne Holmes will join the council, while Anne Trimmer has been reappointed for another term. The ACT Chief Minister appoints 10 of the 22 members of the council. Search for boy

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BRISBANE: Hundreds of volunteers have joined the search for an autistic boy missing from his family's campsite since Saturday.

State Emergency Service volunteers, the Queensland Rescue Helicopter Service, locals and members of the family's church congregation have combined in the search for nine-year-old Thomas Sanday in bushland north-west of Brisbane.

Thomas, of Ferny Hills in Brisbane, went missing from the campsite near Kilcoy, about 1.30pm. Police said he was wearing only underpants.

Load-Date: March 28, 2004

End of Document

No Headline In Original

The Advertiser

March 27, 2004 Saturday

Copyright 2004 Nationwide News Pty Limited

Section: MAGAZINE; Pg. S10

Length: 700 words

Body

1. What is a hat-trick in cricket?
2. Name the first AFL club to appoint a **female** board member.
3. The contagious disease rubella is also known as what kind of measles?
4. What is a blue triangle?
5. Who was the first woman to fly in space?
6. What was the name of the character played by British actor Michael Crawford in the television comedy series Some Mothers Do 'Ave 'Em ?
7. What is rigor mortis?
8. Rugger is another name for which sport?
9. What star sign is US singer-songwriter Bob Dylan?
10. In air travel, what did the letters BOAC stand for?
11. Who played deranged motel keeper Norman Bates in the 1960's film Psycho ?
12. What is aviculture?
13. Who is Australia's cricket captain?
14. According to a well-known saying, what is the best medicine?
15. What is the Roman numeral for 10?
16. What was the code name for the successful US attempt during World War II to produce an atomic bomb?
17. Who, in Australian politics, frequently said: "Please explain?"
18. Name the container or storage room for cigars which keeps tobacco moist. 19. Name the Soviet leader who banged his shoe on the podium at the UN General Assembly in New York.

No Headline In Original

20. Ken Hiscoe (born 1938) was an Australian champion in which sport?
21. Who wrote the play Twelfth Night ?
22. Who is the member for the NSW seat of Werriwa in Federal Parliament?
23. Which medal is the highest civilian honour in the US?
24. What is bibliomania?
25. Who played Anne Wilkinson in the Australian television series Neighbours ?
26. Who was the first PM of India?
27. Who wrote The First Wives Club ?
28. What does the colloquial expression "know the ropes" mean?
29. What part of a blast furnace is the bosh?
30. Unscramble these letters to name an Adelaide suburb - YNTNOSEN.
31. What nationality was 19th-century poet Arthur Rimbaud?
32. The advertising for which 1993 film, starring Sylvester Stallone and Wesley Snipes, included the line: "The future isn't big enough for the both of them"?
33. Gippsland is an area in which Australian state?
34. Who plays Jesus in the film The Passion of the Christ ?
35. Mary, daughter of US Vice-President Dick Cheney, is a lesbian. True or false?
36. In Greek mythology, who were the Amazons?
37. Which dynasty ruled China from 1368 to 1644?
38. How is an Indian burn inflicted?
39. Pruritus is the medical term for what?
40. Cape Howe is a headland on the border of which two Australian states?
41. In the 1960s, which Adelaide store was advertised as "The Home of Everything Electrical"?
42. Name the founder of fundamentalist Islamic organisation Hamas, who was killed earlier this week?
43. Patagonia is a region in which two South American countries?
44. What is a poker face?
45. Souk is the sprawling central market in which Libyan city?
46. How often does a vicennial event occur?
47. In which year did KFC open its first restaurant in France - 1971, 1981 or 1991?
48. What is the capital of Afghanistan?
49. Hirsutism is excessive what?

No Headline In Original

50. Which Swiss city was the seat of the League of Nations from 1920 to 1946?

Answers on Page 12

1. Taking three wickets with three successive balls by a bowler. 2. Essendon (1993). 3. German. 4. A butterfly. 5. Valentina Tereshkova. 6. Frank Spencer. 7. Stiffening of the body after death. 8. Rugby union. 9. Gemini. 10. British Overseas Airways Corporation. 11. Anthony Perkins. 12. The rearing or keeping of birds. 13. Ricky Ponting. 14. Laughter. 15. X. 16. Manhattan Project. 17. Pauline Hanson. 18. Humidor. 19. Nikita Khrushchev. 20. Squash. 21. William Shakespeare. 22. Mark Latham. 23. Presidential Medal of Freedom. 24. Enthusiasm for collecting books, especially rare or valuable ones. 25. Brooke Satchwell. 26. Jawaharlal Nehru. 27. Olivia Goldsmith. 28. To understand the details or methods of any business. 29. The lower portion from the widest part to the hearth. 30. Tennyson. 31. French. 32. Demolition Man. 33. Victoria. 34. Jim Caviezel. 35. True. 36. A race of **female** warriors. 37. Ming. 38. By grasping a person's arm with both hands and twisting in opposite directions. 39. Itching. 40. New South Wales, Victoria. 41. Allan's. 42. Sheik Ahmed Yassin. 43. Argentina, Chile. 44. An expressionless face. 45. Tripoli. 46. Every 20 years. 47. 1991. 48. Kabul. 49. Hair. 50. Geneva.

Load-Date: March 26, 2004

End of Document

No Headline In Original

INTELLIGENCER JOURNAL (LANCASTER, PA.)

January 13, 2004, Tuesday

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Section: A,

Length: 730 words

Byline: ecornelius

Body

The changing tide The strategic reason for crushing Saddam was to reverse the tide of global terror that incubated in the Middle East. Is our pre-emptive policy working? Was the message sent by ousting the Baathists as well as the Taliban worth the cost? Set aside the tens of thousands of lives saved each year by ending Saddams sustained murder of Iraqi Shia and Kurds, which is of little concern to human rights inactivists. Consider only self-defense: the practical impact of U.S. action on the spread of dangerous weaponry in antidemocratic hands. t In Libya, Colonel Gadhafi took one look at our army massing for the invasion of Iraq and decided to get out of the mass-destruction business. He has since stopped lying to gullible U.N. inspectors and in return for U.S. investment instead of invasion promises civilized behavior. The notion that this terror-supporting dictators epiphany was not the direct result of our military action, but of decade-long diplomatic pleas for goodness and mercy, is laughable. tIn Afghanistan, supposedly intractable warlords in a formerly radical Islamist, female-repressing culture of conflicting tribes and languages have come together. Under our NATO security umbrella and with some U.N. guidance, a grand conclave of leaders freed by U.S. power surprised the Arab worlds doubting despots with the elements of a constitution that leads the way out of the past generations abyss of barbarism. t In Syria, a hiding place for Saddams finances, henchmen and weaponry and exporter of Hezbollah and Hamas terrorism the dictator Bashar Assad is nervously seeking to reopen negotiations with Israel to regain strategic heights his father lost in the last Syrian aggression.

#SAFIREJ13#Secret talks have already begun (I suspect through Turkey, Israels Muslim friend, rather than the unfriendly European Union); this would not have happened while Saddam was able to choke off illicit oil shipments to Syria. t On the West Bank, incipient Israeli negotiations with Syria on top of the overthrow of the despot who rewarded Palestinian suicide bombers further isolates the terror organizations behind Yasser Arafat. Under the pressure of Israels security fence, and without the active support of Egypt and Saudi Arabia (each eager to retain protection of a strong-willed Bush administration), Palestinians now have incentives to find an antiterrorist leader who can deliver statehood. t In Iran, the presence of 130,000 U.S. troops near the border was not lost on the despot-clerics in power, who suddenly seemed reasonable to European diplomats seeking guarantees that Russian-built nuclear plants would be inspected. Colin Powell has been secretly dickering with the so-called reform ayatollah for a year in hopes of being on the right side of a future revolution. The old Great Satan crowd has just barred four-score reformist Parliament members from seeking re-election. That panicky crackdown in Tehran is a sign of the rulers weakness; the example of freedom in neighboring Iraq will help cause another part of the axis to fall. t In Iraq, where casualties in Baghdad could be compared to civilian losses to everyday violence in New York and Los Angeles, a rudimentary federal republic is forming itself with all the customary growing pains. After the new Iraq walks by itself, we can expect free Iraqis to throw their crutches at the doctor. But we did not depose Saddam to impose a puppet; we are helping Iraqis defeat the die-hards and resist fragmentation to set in place a powerful democratic example. t In North Korea, a half-world away from that example, an unofficial U.S. group was shown

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End of Document

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January 13, 2004, Tuesday

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Section: A,

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Byline: ecornelius

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January 13, 2004, Tuesday

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Byline: ecornelius

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INTELLIGENCER JOURNAL (LANCASTER, PA.)

January 13, 2004, Tuesday

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Section: A,

Length: 730 words

Byline: ecornelius

Body

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Canberra Times (Australia)

April 25, 2004 Sunday

Final Edition

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Section: A;

Length: 899 words

Body

Courage under fire HYPOCRISY is far too gentle a word. Our leaders help start a war which kills over 22,000 people, and an aid worker in the war zone is "putting at stake the lives of many people". Creating a war-zone is OK, that's patriotic, but walking into that war zone to deliver aid is "careless and foolhardy". A massacre occurs in Fallujah, with over 450 people dead (possibly closer to 700) and well over 1000 injured (possibly over 1700), many of them being women and children, and our PM is silent. Not a word about the US bombs, missiles, mortar attacks and snipers. Simply condemnation of an unarmed aid worker who narrowly misses one of our ally's bullets. Perhaps it is Donna Mulhearn's courage which our leaders find so irksome. Those who sit in their offices in Canberra, Washington and London and order the bombs to fall haven't a clue what courage really is. Or perhaps it's her humanity. Foreign Minister Downer, in dismissing her story as "highly improbable", obviously has no concept as to why anyone would want to deliver medical aid in a risky situation. Thank God our leaders' poverty of insight and values has not poisoned all Australians. The Australian Government could in fact help the people of Fallujah, as Donna Mulhearn has tried to do. Thousands of them are now refugees, stranded in the desert. Howard and Downer probably haven't been to the Iraqi desert, but it's very inhospitable.

These people desperately need medical and other supplies. Dr SUE WAREHAM President, Medical Association for Prevention of War (Australia) Stunt of stupid proportion IT IS A new experience to find myself in agreement with our PM on anything to do with anything he says or has done concerning our nation's involvement in the US-led war in Iraq. But I am in complete agreement with the views he has expressed publicly of the young Australian woman who decided to protest the war in Iraq. It ranks as marginally more stupid than the self-styled loony tunes who called themselves "human shields". The latest "protester" made an utterly pointless and downright dangerous gesture. She put herself not merely in harm's way in Iraq, but in the hottest spot in that country, during the conduct of a pitched battle, which is still in progress. Did it escape this person's attention that US soldiers, Iraqi militia and Iraqi civilians were being killed and wounded in ever-increasing numbers, while she sought to make her silly gesture? If she had been taken hostage, no doubt she would have expected every effort to be made to free her by the same people against whom she protests. The PM is correct to ridicule this person's irresponsible behaviour. It was a selfish, self-interested, self-indulgent and irresponsible act, without a shred of virtue to it. PETER FUNNELL Farrer Water watch still vital IT'S HOT and we're in the midst of an historically dry period. Let's stack up the evidence. The ACT's dams are at 50 per cent and going further into the red. CSIRO reports say we are in the throes of a 40- to 45-year dry. Records indicate South-Eastern Australia has had its driest eight-year period in recorded history. In our region we are entering our fourth dry year and bureau predictions for the next three months give no reason for comfort. Outside Canberra authorities are responding to conserve precious supplies of water. Sydney is soon to implement tighter restrictions; Melbourne is keeping a close watch on its situation. What does the ACT do? Ease the restrictions. Hey, where's common sense? Since March 1, I estimate we have used up around a fortnight's supply (based on pre-March 1 arrangements) which would have been conserved had modified Stage 3 restrictions

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remained. Mark my words, that will hurt Canberra at the end of the day. Over to you, ACT Government. Your bushfire awareness in January 2003 wasn't up to the mark. At least get your awareness on water right and act now. BRUCE KENNEDY Melba Time to make a stand YET AGAIN Israel carries out a political assassination, this time the recently elected Hamas leader Abdel-Aziz al-Rantissi. Yet again Israel's actions are condemned by all except the United States. On this occasion, British Foreign Secretary Jack Straw declares the killing to be wrong and unhelpful to peace and even our own Foreign Minister Alexander Downer describes the actions to be "provocative and counterproductive". When will these "influential" members of the "coalition of the willing" show some fortitude and demand that the United States play an active role in stopping these political assassinations? Such actions do nothing other than strengthen the resolve of those determined to follow their leaders into martyrdom by killing themselves and many more innocent victims. Of course there is no simple solution to this complex issue, but for however long Israel continues to receive the tacit approval of the United States for these political assassinations the level of violence will continue to escalate. IAN DE LANDELLES and MARY PORTER Hawker Playing the blame game

IT IS THE ACT Chief Minister who must accept ultimate responsibility

for the fumbling ineptitude exposed by the 2003 bushfire inquiry. Jon Stanhope seems to have been asleep in that most fundamental duty of public safety. He cannot blame anyone else; it was his turf, on his watch, and he failed. He ought to have the integrity to apologise and resign his post to a more duty-oriented politician. JOHN HEALY Fadden

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Courier Mail (Queensland, Australia)

April 19, 2004 Monday

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Section: FEATURES; Pg. 10

Length: 1286 words

Body

Mail to: The Courier-Mail GPO Box 130 Brisbane 4001, fax 07 3666 6690, or email cmletters@qnp.newsltd.com.au

Downer

response

THE United Nations condemns the killing of Abdel-Aziz al-Rantissi, the second **Hamas** leader, by Israel. The European Community condemns it. The Japanese Government condemns it. Foreign Minister Alexander Downer, speaking for the Australian Government, merely "does not condone it" but also "understands what the Israeli perspective was".-- S. Dean, Kelvin Grove.

April 18

Colleges

warned

A NURSING student has demanded a refund of fees, claiming a course in which he was enrolled did not meet expectations.

If a private provider or even the Government is charging to provide a service, that is what they should provide. If you charge for a service, you should be expected to give value for money. Hopefully, all students at tertiary institutions will take note of this example and demand the right to receive what they or, in some cases, their parents are paying for.

-- Tony Steele, Bundamba.

April 17

Too long

to decide

THE Craig Stevens saga continues. If the swimmer had announced within a week of the Olympic trials that, as a proud Australian, he would surrender his place in the 400m freestyle to give the team the best opportunity to win gold in the race, he would have been seen as a great sportsman.

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Stevens has held out for too long in the attempt to make financial gain. If he now decides to relinquish his spot, he will not be seen in such a positive light. He has missed a big opportunity.-- Dean Wilson, Chermiside.

April 18

Government control failed in past

THE Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission came into being 14 years ago because of past governments' failure to deliver and fund much-needed basic indigenous services.

It appeared, at the time, that self-determination was the way forward. What has changed significantly that now allows government bureaucracy to better deliver these services?

Most agree that ATSIC has failed. However is this the fault of the many successful regional councils which are doing an excellent job in remote areas? No. For several years, while the politicking has continued, young indigenous Australians have been denied basic health and education rights.

On this point alone, the Federal Government has a responsibility to fix ATSIC, be it under a different name and structure, get rid of the deadwood and ensure that processes and controls are in place to maximise dollars spent. Can this be achieved through government control? I don't think so. It didn't work in the past.

Can it be achieved with government assistance and guidance through indigenous self-determination? Perhaps with perseverance.

The challenge for the Government and indigenous leaders is to find a workable solution and fix it. It's interesting to note how quickly politics change in a brief period. It wasn't that long ago that Pauline Hanson was branded a racist for suggesting the very thing that the Government is now proposing.-- Rod Terrill, Thornlands.

April 16

Getting inner conflict out in the open

KAREN Brooks believes that 13-year-old Alex should continue counselling with a view to adjusting her to womanhood (Perspectives, Apr 16).

The worst thing you can do to developing human beings is tell them that their inner convictions are false and that they need to "adjust" to what they perceive as fundamentally wrong. How can they then develop personal integrity?

I have interviewed more than 300 people with gender identity disorder, and keep in touch with many of them for up to 10 years.

I have seen their happiness when they were assisted to stop performing to societal expectations.

I am quite convinced that gender identity disorder is biological. How many of these teenagers does Brooks know? Many have changed their gender all by themselves, obtaining hormones from friends or the Internet, because they think no one will believe them or help them. Often they drop out of school because no system supports them. It is better that this process be transparent, carefully considered, professional and accountable. Alex's case is a step in this direction.-- Gale Bearman, Bardon.

April 17

* CONGRATULATIONS for the fine article about Andrew Gills -- an honest, brave and proud man who chose to speak out as being transgender (C-M, Apr 17). The suicide rate for those dealing with gender identity disorder is appallingly high. Suicide is attempted by 50 per cent of such youth.

Confident and socially secure male and **female** transgender role models are necessary for at-risk youth, and as an example to all youth that there is nothing to fear in the difference of being transgender.

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Gills could have remained unknown. His choice to be publicly honest is selfless and humanitarian. I urge his workmates to give him unqualified acceptance.--John Frame, Wavell Heights.

April 18

Sadly, just another long weekend?

WHY IS there is a "holiday" on Monday, April 26? When Anzac Day falls on a weekend, why has it become necessary to have a working day "off" on the Monday?

It becomes another mad weekend on the roads with all thoughts of what Anzac Day means put in the back drawer.

Anzac Day always has been observed on April 25 and it is a day to remember those who have served their countries in times of conflict and to celebrate the lifestyle we now enjoy through their sacrifices.

Our fellow Anzacs across the Tasman, and the state of Victoria do not have a "holiday" on the day after Anzac Day.

We should observe this special day on its appropriate date without giving ourselves another long weekend. -- Maureen Millichip, Loganholme.

April 17

* I REFER to the heading "Home-grown heroes add to Logies lure" (C-M, Apr 17).

While I may be dismissed as just a mere pedant, I would like to suggest that, with Anzac Day less than a week away, now would be a good time for the media to cease and desist from tarnishing our true heroes by misusing the word "hero" to describe all and sundry. Entertainers and movie stars, while being of interest to many readers, usually have not been involved in any actions or occupations, even remotely related, to true heroism.

Maybe a quick peek at a dictionary will help with the true meaning.-- Alan Fardon, Wilston.

April 18

Patient

stress

I DO not condone violence in hospitals -- or anywhere else -- but I can understand how some people could get to that point at the Princess Alexandra Hospital emergency section.

I have had the misfortune to visit it many times. My record waiting time is seven hours and 20 minutes.

@optusnet.com.au

April 17

Problem

for PM

BEFORE its partial sale, Telstra was a valuable asset, 100 per cent owned by the people of Australia. The Howard Government, by its endorsement and support of former chairman Bob Mansfield and chief executive Ziggy Switkowski, must accept responsibility for the current debacle.

Howard's statement (C-M, Apr 16) that "this is the largest corporation in Australia and it should be managed and dealt with and viewed like any other major corporation" is rubbish. The million or more shareholders who were persuaded to pay the Federal Government \$7.40 a share would disagree.-- Kevin Farrelly, Carindale.

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April 17

Sign of times

I'M sure residents of Maleny will be able to find a platypus or two when Woolworths is built -- in aisle 9, bearing the tag "Made in China".-- Theresa Scott, Chapel Hill.

April 17

Letters and e-mail must be dated, carry the full address of the writer and a daytime telephone number for verification. Letters should be concise, topical, not more than 300 words and are submitted on condition that Queensland Newspapers, as publisher of The Courier-Mail, may edit and has the right to, and license third parties to, reproduce in electronic form and communicate these letters.

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LANCASTER NEW ERA (LANCASTER, PA.)

January 23, 2004, Friday

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Section: A,

Length: 1360 words

Byline: trk-tpierce

Body

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LANCASTER NEW ERA (LANCASTER, PA.)

January 23, 2004, Friday

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LANCASTER NEW ERA (LANCASTER, PA.)

March 24, 2004, Wednesday

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Byline: trk-tpierce

Body

3 taken off ballot HARRISBURG (AP) A Commonwealth Court panel Tuesday threw three Republican state representatives off the April 27 primary ballot because they failed to list their legislative jobs as sources of income on their financial-disclosure statements. Two of the three panelists ruled against the lawmakers Reps. Kerry Benninghoff of Centre County, Chris Ross of Chester County and William Gabig of Cumberland County while Judge Mary Hannah Leavitt argued in a dissenting opinion that the court lacked jurisdiction to decide the case. Illness closes schools CORAOPOLIS (AP) A mysterious illness that has sickened dozens of students at a school district outside Pittsburgh forced administrators to cancel classes for about 800 students at least until next week. Classes were canceled Friday at the Cornell School District when a large number of students grew ill, and many of them remained home Monday. There were 55 high school students and 79 elementary school students sickened with flu-like symptoms. Liberty Bell security PHILADELPHIA (AP) The National Park Service has a new security plan at Independence Mall to go into effect on Monday that will disrupt traffic and walking routes on Sixth and Chestnut streets. Under the plan, visitors to Independence Hall and the Liberty Bell will go through security in the old Bell pavilion on Market Street, rather than in two current locations. Once screened, visitors will have to remain in a secure area and cross streets to other park buildings in quarantined groups.

#BRIEFS.M24#Accident kills soldier BEDFORD (AP) A Pennsylvania soldier who re-enlisted after the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks died from injuries he suffered when an Iraqi road gave way, sending his Bradley Fighting Vehicle tumbling 60 feet into a river, his family said. Spec. 4 Clint Matthews, 31, of Bedford, a soldier with the 18th Infantry, based in Schweinfurt, Germany, died Saturday in a hospital in Germany, according to his brother, James Matthews and his father, Rick Thomasich. Epidemic of obese kids WASHINGTON (AP) An obesity epidemic threatens to wipe out other improvements in childrens health and safety over the past three decades, a new Duke University report says. About 15.6 percent of American children between 12 and 19 were obese in 2002, up from 6.1 percent in 1974, according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. 532 downloaders sued LOS ANGELES (AP) The recording industry has sued 532 people, including many using computer networks at 21 universities, claiming they illegally shared digital music files over the Internet. The latest wave of copyright lawsuits brought by the Recording Industry Association of America marks the first time the trade group has targeted computer users swapping music files over university networks. Overtime pay fight WASHINGTON (AP) A Senate battle on overtime pay is erupting in the midst of a corporate tax bill designed to end a trade dispute with Europe and cut taxes for American manufacturers. Democrats want to use the bill to combat the administrations effort to rewrite rules that outline when businesses must give their employees overtime pay. Republicans, trying to shut down any opportunity for that debate, have scheduled a vote today that could block unrelated items from the tax bill. Generic Oxycontin OKd WASHINGTON (AP) The first generic versions of the potent painkiller Oxycontin have been approved for market, a move likely to help patients with long-term pain save money on the drug that has been illegally used by drug abusers. Oxycontin is a long-lasting version of oxycodone, a narcotic considered important therapy for many

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patients suffering long-term, severe pain from illnesses such as cancer. The tablet, when swallowed whole, provides 12 hours of pain relief. Teens taunted gorilla DALLAS (KNS) A zoo visitor saw two teen-age boys throwing rocks or ice at Jabari the gorilla shortly before he escaped from his exhibit Thursday and attacked three people at the Dallas Zoo, officials said. Mammal curator Ken Kaemmerer said the man told zoo officials that he warned the teens not to taunt the gorilla and was walking away from the exhibit when he heard someone yelling that the animal had escaped. The 13-year-old gorilla injured two women and a 3-year-old boy before being fatally shot by police. Identical quads born BIRMINGHAM, Ala. (AP) Naturally conceived quadruplets born at UAB Hospital are believed to be identical. Doctors said the four girls have identical blood types. Dr. John Hauth, chairman of the hospitals Ob/Gyn department, said the mother had virtually no complications with the rare delivery. Each baby weighed at least 2 pounds, 3.25 ounces at birth March 18. No casino on ballot WESTON, W.Va. (AP) The Lewis County Commission says it won't put a casino referendum on the May primary ballot. Mountaineer Group LLC, which is developing the former Weston Hospital property as a resort, had sought the referendum. A 1999 state law allows table-game casinos in historic structures, if voters approve. No county has approved a casino since the law was passed. U.S. closes embassy DUBAI, United Arab Emirates (AP) The U.S. Embassy in the Emirates closed today after receiving a specific threat against it, while anti-American protests in the Mideast and fears of a terror attack on U.S. interests prompted beefed-up security near potential targets. The Americans briefly shut their embassy doors to the public in Saudi Arabia today on rumors of a Riyadh explosion that turn out to be false. Security was increased near the already heavily guarded embassy in downtown Cairo, and protesters were chased away from the embassy in Bahrain. 3 killed in Iraq BAGHDAD, Iraq (AP) Insurgents attacked a U.S. military patrol west of Baghdad early today and an ensuing fight left three civilians dead and two U.S. soldiers injured, the U.S. military and Iraqi hospital officials said. The fighting came after assailants shot at a van carrying police recruits south of Baghdad, killing nine, while gunmen killed two policemen in the north. The slayings Tuesday were the latest to target police and other Iraqis who work with the U.S.-led occupation. FBI clears 2 Saudis WASHINGTON (AP) Dispelling a theory raised by congressional investigators, the FBI has concluded that two Saudi men questioned about the Sept. 11 hijackers were not intelligence agents for their country or aiding the terrorist plot, officials said. After conducting additional interviews and reviewing documents, FBI agents recently closed down their investigation into Omar al-Bayoumi and Osama Basnan, two friends who raised suspicions because one briefly lent money to two of the 19 hijackers while the other received money from the Saudi royal family. Accident kills Afghans KABUL, Afghanistan (AP) Four soldiers from the U.S.-trained Afghan National Army were killed by an accidental explosion during a training exercise, the American military said, in the deadliest incident yet involving the fledgling force. Five more Afghan soldiers and four U.S. soldiers were injured in Tuesday's blast near Gardez, 60 miles south of the capital, Kabul, in eastern Paktia province, spokesman Lt. Col. Bryan Hilferty said. Israel defends killing UNITED NATIONS (AP) Israel's need to defend its citizens forced it to kill Hamas leader Sheik Ahmed Yassin, the Israeli ambassador told the U.N. Security Council, while other countries and the Palestinians said the assassination pushed Mideast peace further from reach. Speakers at Tuesday's open Security Council meeting repeatedly urged the Israelis and Palestinians to refrain from further violence and adhere to the road map peace plan which calls for a separate Palestinian state living alongside Israel. Powell visits Spain MADRID (AP) Secretary of State Colin Powell was meeting today with Spain's outgoing and incoming leaders during a visit to pay tribute to the 190 victims of this month's terrorist bombings. Powell planned a meeting before the state funeral with Prime Minister Jose Maria Aznar, one of America's strongest allies in the counterterror war and the war in Iraq. 6 trapped in cave CUETZALAN DEL PROGRESO, Mexico (AP) Emergency teams were converging on a remote cave system in central Mexico Tuesday where flood waters had trapped five British military divers and their guide for nearly a week. Members of the expedition had said six Britons were trapped in the Alpazat system, near this town some 110 miles northeast of Mexico City, but authorities said late Tuesday night it was unclear where the guide was from. Blair to visit Libya LONDON (AP) Prime Minister Tony Blair will hold talks this week in Libya with Moammar Gadhafi, British officials said today, marking improved relations as Libya scraps its banned weapons programs. DeEd

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Body

Senate primary debate WASHINGTON (AP) The debate over debates in Pennsylvanias bare-knuckles Republican Senate primary ended Monday when challenger Rep. Pat Toomey agreed to face off against incumbent Sen. Arlen Specter next month. For months, Toomey pushed Specter to participate in six debates before the April 27 primary. But Specter would accept only one forum: the now-set April 3 debate in Altoona. Democratic Rep. Joe Hoeffel will face the primarys victor in the general election. Tribal gambling licenses HARRISBURG (AP) Saying he cannot beat his head against a wall much longer, a key Democratic state senator said Monday that he and other Democrats may drop a demand that any legislation on gambling-financed property tax cuts include gambling licenses for Indian tribes. But Philadelphia Sen. Vincent Fumo, the ranking Democrat on the Senate Appropriations Committee, insisted that the question of whether to allow for Indian-run slot machine parlors in an expansion of gambling is not the only disagreement holding up the legislation, which is designed to lower property taxes by legalizing and taxing slot machines. Republicans in the Legislature have refused to agree to grant licenses to Indian tribes. Rendell economic plan HARRISBURG (AP) Gov. Ed Rendell on Monday expressed hope that the Legislature would complete work within the next two weeks on the \$2 billion plan he proposed last year to expand businesses or attract them to Pennsylvania. The goal is to invigorate small- and medium-sized businesses and attract others to the state to create jobs and new tax revenue.

#ABRIEFS M23#The program aims to reverse the exodus of Pennsylvanias young college-educated residents to more economically vibrant places. Conservation program HOOKSTOWN (AP) Western Pennsylvania farmers will soon be able to participate in a conservation program that pays them not to farm fragile land in an effort to protect waterways. Under the Ohio River Basin Conservation Reserve Enhancement Program, western Pennsylvania farmers would be paid \$130 an acre to allow the land to revert to native grasses and vegetation, which helps prevent erosion and soil from washing into water ways. Medicare funds dwindle WASHINGTON (AP) Medicares financial outlook is deteriorating because of the new prescription drug benefit and other changes that will swell costs to the program by more than \$500 billion over 10 years, analysts say. An existing surplus built up by taxes on baby boomers is likely to start dwindling by the end of the decade just as they start retiring, said analysts across the political spectrum in anticipation of todays annual report by government trustees of the Medicare and Social Security programs. Gay-marriage critics ATLANTA (AP) More than two dozen black pastors added their voice to the critics of same-sex marriage, attempting to distance the civil rights struggle from the gay rights movement and defending marriage as a union between a man and a woman. When the homosexual compares himself to the black community, he doesnt know what suffering is, said the Rev. Clarence James, an African-American studies professor at Temple University. Marriages suspended PORTLAND, Ore. (AP) Faced with the threat of a lawsuit, an Oregon county that had been poised to become the states second to issue gay marriage licenses has now backed off until courts intervene. Commissioners in Benton County, home to Oregon State University and the liberal city of Corvallis, decided Monday to stop issuing all marriage licenses until there is a court ruling on whether gay marriage

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LANCASTER NEW ERA (LANCASTER, PA.)

March 24, 2004, Wednesday

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Body

3 taken off ballot HARRISBURG (AP) A Commonwealth Court panel Tuesday threw three Republican state representatives off the April 27 primary ballot because they failed to list their legislative jobs as sources of income on their financial-disclosure statements. Two of the three panelists ruled against the lawmakers Reps. Kerry Benninghoff of Centre County, Chris Ross of Chester County and William Gabig of Cumberland County while Judge Mary Hannah Leavitt argued in a dissenting opinion that the court lacked jurisdiction to decide the case. Illness closes schools CORAOPOLIS (AP) A mysterious illness that has sickened dozens of students at a school district outside Pittsburgh forced administrators to cancel classes for about 800 students at least until next week. Classes were canceled Friday at the Cornell School District when a large number of students grew ill, and many of them remained home Monday. There were 55 high school students and 79 elementary school students sickened with flu-like symptoms. Liberty Bell security PHILADELPHIA (AP) The National Park Service has a new security plan at Independence Mall to go into effect on Monday that will disrupt traffic and walking routes on Sixth and Chestnut streets. Under the plan, visitors to Independence Hall and the Liberty Bell will go through security in the old Bell pavilion on Market Street, rather than in two current locations. Once screened, visitors will have to remain in a secure area and cross streets to other park buildings in quarantined groups.

#BRIEFS.M24#Accident kills soldier BEDFORD (AP) A Pennsylvania soldier who re-enlisted after the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks died from injuries he suffered when an Iraqi road gave way, sending his Bradley Fighting Vehicle tumbling 60 feet into a river, his family said. Spec. 4 Clint Matthews, 31, of Bedford, a soldier with the 18th Infantry, based in Schweinfurt, Germany, died Saturday in a hospital in Germany, according to his brother, James Matthews and his father, Rick Thomasich. Epidemic of obese kids WASHINGTON (AP) An obesity epidemic threatens to wipe out other improvements in childrens health and safety over the past three decades, a new Duke University report says. About 15.6 percent of American children between 12 and 19 were obese in 2002, up from 6.1 percent in 1974, according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. 532 downloaders sued LOS ANGELES (AP) The recording industry has sued 532 people, including many using computer networks at 21 universities, claiming they illegally shared digital music files over the Internet. The latest wave of copyright lawsuits brought by the Recording Industry Association of America marks the first time the trade group has targeted computer users swapping music files over university networks. Overtime pay fight WASHINGTON (AP) A Senate battle on overtime pay is erupting in the midst of a corporate tax bill designed to end a trade dispute with Europe and cut taxes for American manufacturers. Democrats want to use the bill to combat the administrations effort to rewrite rules that outline when businesses must give their employees overtime pay. Republicans, trying to shut down any opportunity for that debate, have scheduled a vote today that could block unrelated items from the tax bill. Generic Oxycontin OKd WASHINGTON (AP) The first generic versions of the potent painkiller Oxycontin have been approved for market, a move likely to help patients with long-term pain save money on the drug that has been illegally used by drug abusers. Oxycontin is a long-lasting version of oxycodone, a narcotic considered important therapy for many

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patients suffering long-term, severe pain from illnesses such as cancer. The tablet, when swallowed whole, provides 12 hours of pain relief. Teens taunted gorilla DALLAS (KNS) A zoo visitor saw two teen-age boys throwing rocks or ice at Jabari the gorilla shortly before he escaped from his exhibit Thursday and attacked three people at the Dallas Zoo, officials said. Mammal curator Ken Kaemmerer said the man told zoo officials that he warned the teens not to taunt the gorilla and was walking away from the exhibit when he heard someone yelling that the animal had escaped. The 13-year-old gorilla injured two women and a 3-year-old boy before being fatally shot by police. Identical quads born BIRMINGHAM, Ala. (AP) Naturally conceived quadruplets born at UAB Hospital are believed to be identical. Doctors said the four girls have identical blood types. Dr. John Hauth, chairman of the hospitals Ob/Gyn department, said the mother had virtually no complications with the rare delivery. Each baby weighed at least 2 pounds, 3.25 ounces at birth March 18. No casino on ballot WESTON, W.Va. (AP) The Lewis County Commission says it won't put a casino referendum on the May primary ballot. Mountaineer Group LLC, which is developing the former Weston Hospital property as a resort, had sought the referendum. A 1999 state law allows table-game casinos in historic structures, if voters approve. No county has approved a casino since the law was passed. U.S. closes embassy DUBAI, United Arab Emirates (AP) The U.S. Embassy in the Emirates closed today after receiving a specific threat against it, while anti-American protests in the Mideast and fears of a terror attack on U.S. interests prompted beefed-up security near potential targets. The Americans briefly shut their embassy doors to the public in Saudi Arabia today on rumors of a Riyadh explosion that turn out to be false. Security was increased near the already heavily guarded embassy in downtown Cairo, and protesters were chased away from the embassy in Bahrain. 3 killed in Iraq BAGHDAD, Iraq (AP) Insurgents attacked a U.S. military patrol west of Baghdad early today and an ensuing fight left three civilians dead and two U.S. soldiers injured, the U.S. military and Iraqi hospital officials said. The fighting came after assailants shot at a van carrying police recruits south of Baghdad, killing nine, while gunmen killed two policemen in the north. The slayings Tuesday were the latest to target police and other Iraqis who work with the U.S.-led occupation. FBI clears 2 Saudis WASHINGTON (AP) Dispelling a theory raised by congressional investigators, the FBI has concluded that two Saudi men questioned about the Sept. 11 hijackers were not intelligence agents for their country or aiding the terrorist plot, officials said. After conducting additional interviews and reviewing documents, FBI agents recently closed down their investigation into Omar al-Bayoumi and Osama Basnan, two friends who raised suspicions because one briefly lent money to two of the 19 hijackers while the other received money from the Saudi royal family. Accident kills Afghans KABUL, Afghanistan (AP) Four soldiers from the U.S.-trained Afghan National Army were killed by an accidental explosion during a training exercise, the American military said, in the deadliest incident yet involving the fledgling force. Five more Afghan soldiers and four U.S. soldiers were injured in Tuesday's blast near Gardez, 60 miles south of the capital, Kabul, in eastern Paktia province, spokesman Lt. Col. Bryan Hilferty said. Israel defends killing UNITED NATIONS (AP) Israel's need to defend its citizens forced it to kill Hamas leader Sheik Ahmed Yassin, the Israeli ambassador told the U.N. Security Council, while other countries and the Palestinians said the assassination pushed Mideast peace further from reach. Speakers at Tuesday's open Security Council meeting repeatedly urged the Israelis and Palestinians to refrain from further violence and adhere to the road map peace plan which calls for a separate Palestinian state living alongside Israel. Powell visits Spain MADRID (AP) Secretary of State Colin Powell was meeting today with Spain's outgoing and incoming leaders during a visit to pay tribute to the 190 victims of this month's terrorist bombings. Powell planned a meeting before the state funeral with Prime Minister Jose Maria Aznar, one of America's strongest allies in the counterterror war and the war in Iraq. 6 trapped in cave CUETZALAN DEL PROGRESO, Mexico (AP) Emergency teams were converging on a remote cave system in central Mexico Tuesday where flood waters had trapped five British military divers and their guide for nearly a week. Members of the expedition had said six Britons were trapped in the Alpazat system, near this town some 110 miles northeast of Mexico City, but authorities said late Tuesday night it was unclear where the guide was from. Blair to visit Libya LONDON (AP) Prime Minister Tony Blair will hold talks this week in Libya with Moammar Gadhafi, British officials said today, marking improved relations as Libya scraps its banned weapons programs. DeEd

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LANCASTER NEW ERA (LANCASTER, PA.)

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Body

Senate primary debate WASHINGTON (AP) The debate over debates in Pennsylvanias bare-knuckles Republican Senate primary ended Monday when challenger Rep. Pat Toomey agreed to face off against incumbent Sen. Arlen Specter next month. For months, Toomey pushed Specter to participate in six debates before the April 27 primary. But Specter would accept only one forum: the now-set April 3 debate in Altoona. Democratic Rep. Joe Hoeffel will face the primarys victor in the general election. Tribal gambling licenses HARRISBURG (AP) Saying he cannot beat his head against a wall much longer, a key Democratic state senator said Monday that he and other Democrats may drop a demand that any legislation on gambling-financed property tax cuts include gambling licenses for Indian tribes. But Philadelphia Sen. Vincent Fumo, the ranking Democrat on the Senate Appropriations Committee, insisted that the question of whether to allow for Indian-run slot machine parlors in an expansion of gambling is not the only disagreement holding up the legislation, which is designed to lower property taxes by legalizing and taxing slot machines. Republicans in the Legislature have refused to agree to grant licenses to Indian tribes. Rendell economic plan HARRISBURG (AP) Gov. Ed Rendell on Monday expressed hope that the Legislature would complete work within the next two weeks on the \$2 billion plan he proposed last year to expand businesses or attract them to Pennsylvania. The goal is to invigorate small- and medium-sized businesses and attract others to the state to create jobs and new tax revenue.

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Ottawa Citizen
May 7, 2005 Saturday
Final Edition

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Section: NEWS; Pg. A16

Byline: Reuters

Graphic

Photo: Suhaib Salem, Reuters; **Hamas** Celebrates Municipal Win: **Female** Palestinians, supporters of **Hamas**, participate in a rally to celebrate the militant group's win in a municipal election in southern Gaza. **Hamas** won nearly one-third of the West Bank and Gaza towns up for grabs in the elections, unofficial results said yesterday, cementing the group as a significant political force as Palestinian leader Mahmoud Abbas tries to make peace with Israel. Mr. Abbas's corruption-tainted Fatah movement, which had feared defeat, did better than expected, and held on to control over most of the area, winning in 45 of 84 communities.

Load-Date: May 7, 2005

West Bank Tensions High: Nablus Residents Face Strict Curfew

Hamilton Spectator (Ontario, Canada)

January 16, 2004 Friday Final Edition

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Section: CANADA/WORLD; Pg. A10; Caption

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Body

The Hamilton Spectator

Graphic

Photo: Nassser Ishtayeh, the Associated Press; An Israeli soldier points his rifle at a Palestinian woman and her child after they were turned back yesterday when trying to enter the West Bank city of Nablus, which is under curfew. On Wednesday, a **Hamas female** suicide bomber killed four Israeli soldiers at the Erez border crossing between Israel and Gaza.

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The Advertiser
December 3, 2004 Friday

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Body

Women of silk

Lawyers Maurine Pyke and Melissa Perry have been named Queen's Counsels, perhaps the first time two **women** have been appointed QCs at the same time in the state.

WORLD 38

Election turmoil

Jailed popular leader Marwan Barghouthi has decided to contest the Palestinian presidential election while **Hamas** vows to boycott it, throwing it into turmoil.

BUSINESS 40

Move to Sydney

BankSA managing director Rob Chapman will temporarily leave Adelaide to fill the position of head of retail business at parent St George Bank in Sydney.

SPORT 99

Brett's chance

Pace bowler Brett Lee's bid to regain his Australian spot should start on Sunday when he replaces resting Glenn McGrath in the one-day side for the triangular series.

Load-Date: December 2, 2004