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MEMORANDUM

TO: Ann Pincus, Director

FROM: R - Alvin Richman

SUBJECT: AMERICAN PUBLIC'S VIEWS OF ISLAM AND IRAN

SUMMARY -- A review of polls taken since 1993 on American attitudes toward Islam and the Middle East reveals: (1) ISLAM -- Most Americans do not have a clear opinion of Islam or Muslims. Among those expressing an opinion, negative impressions of Islam outweigh positive impressions by about 3-to-2. But, few Americans tie Islam either to terrorism or to Iran.

(2) IRAN -- Americans make much clearer distinctions between Iran and other countries in its region than between Islam and other religious movements. About three-fourths of the public have a negative opinion of Iran, including about half who view it as "an enemy" of the U.S. Only Iraq ranks lower in the public's esteem.

Islam

(1) "Islamic fundamentalism" is NOT ranked among the most serious threats facing the U.S. -- The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations survey, conducted by Gallup last October, asked respondents to rate the importance of eight different threats to U.S. interests in the next 10 years. The "possible expansion of Islamic fundamentalism" ranks 6th in importance as an expected threat -- 33% rated it as a "critical threat" during the next 10 years. (Thirty-six percent rated it an "important, but not critical threat" and 14% said it is not an important threat.) More than twice as many cited nuclear weapons proliferation (72% "critical threat"), large-scale immigration (72%) and international terrorism (69%). (See Table 1)

(2) Public's image of Islam/Muslims is not clear -- The predominant response of the American public to questions about Islam and Muslims has been "no opinion." The proportion of Americans giving this response has ranged between two-fifths and three-fifths. Among those expressing an opinion, negative impressions have

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1 The Chicago Council posed this question last fall also to a sample of "American leaders" in various government and private organizations. U.S. leaders ranked Islamic fundamentalism third out of eight possible threats to U.S. interests in the coming decade. (Thirty-nine percent rated it a "critical threat," 52% an "important threat," and 8% "not important.") This is below nuclear arms proliferation (61% "critical threat") and "the development of China as a world power" (46% "critical threat").
outweighed positive impressions by about 3-to-2 on polls taken before and after the World Trade Center bombing in late February 1993:

- **Los Angeles Times (2/93 -- before the World Trade Center bombing):** 14% had a *favorable impression* of "the religion called Islam" and 22% had an *unfavorable impression*. However, nearly two-thirds opted to respond that they "hadn't heard enough about that to say" (56%) and another eight percent said "don't know."

- **Zogby Group/American Muslim Council (3/93 -- after the World Trade Center bombing):** 23% had a *favorable impression* of the "Islam or Muslim spiritual group" and 36% had an *unfavorable impression*. But, a plurality of 41 percent volunteered "not sure" or "no opinion." This rating was similar to that given Hinduism (23% favorable vs. 31% unfavorable, with 46% not sure/no opinion), but was considerably less positive than recorded for all of the western religious groups tested -- for example, Roman Catholic (67% favorable vs. 17% unfavorable), Judaism (52% vs. 20%) and Fundamentalist Christian (39% vs. 24%).

(3) **Few Americans equate Islam with terrorism --**

- **LA Times (2/93):** When Americans were asked, "What comes to your mind" about "the religion called Islam," six percent replied "violence/terrorism" and another seven percent said "fanatics/zealots." About 25% mentioned the Middle East region or Arab countries and 4% mentioned Iran. Seven percent named the Black Muslim movement in the U.S.

- **Zogby Group (3/93):** Americans are inclined to agree with the description of Muslims as "religious fanatics" (43% agreed with this characterization vs. 24% disagreed, with 33% "not sure"). But, even in the immediate wake of the World Trade Center bombing, Americans also tended to believe that "the vast majority of Muslims hate terrorism" (34% agreed with this statement vs. 17% disagreed, with 49% "not sure").

(4) **Sympathy toward the Bosnians is little diminished by describing them as "the Bosnian Muslims" --** A Times Mirror poll (9/93) employed a split sample and asked the two halves slightly differently worded questions about which side in the conflict in the former Yugoslavia they most sympathized:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sample A</th>
<th>Sample B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sympathize mainly with:</td>
<td>Bosnians - 35%</td>
<td>Bosnian Muslims - 33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Serbs</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Neither(Vol)</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No opinion</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Serbs</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Neither (Vol)</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No opinion</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Iran

Various polls show Americans distinguish sharply among countries they like and dislike, and Iran is one of the countries Americans most dislike. In the Middle East, only Iraq achieves a more negative rating than Iran:

- **Chicago Council on Foreign Relations/Gallup (10/94):** Iran ranks next to last among the 23 countries rated on Gallup's "thermometer scale." The results for countries in the Middle East:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive (Warm Feelings)</th>
<th>Neutral (Cool Feelings)</th>
<th>Negative</th>
<th>Don't Know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRAN</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Roper (7/93):** Iran ranked next to last among 18 countries on Roper's "ally-enemy" rating scale. The results for the Middle East:

  **Question:** "I'd like to have your impressions about the overall position that some countries have taken toward the U.S. [RESPONDENT SHOWN CARD LISTING COUNTRIES] Would you read down that list and for each country, tell me if you believe that country has acted as a close ally of the U.S., has acted as a friend but not a close ally, has been more or less neutral toward the U.S., has been mainly unfriendly toward the U.S. but not an enemy, or has acted as an enemy of the U.S.?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Close Ally</th>
<th>Friendly</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Mainly Unfriendly</th>
<th>Enemy</th>
<th>Don't Know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>16 (45)</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>15 (21)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>3 (29)</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>10 (15)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>-- (2)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>26 (76)</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>-- (1)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17 (87)</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For further information regarding this report contact:
Al Richman (202) 619-5140
Table 1. Americans Rate Threats to the U.S.
(Chicago Council on Foreign Relations/Gallup, 10/94)

Question: "I am going to read you a list of possible threats to the vital interest of the United States in the next 10 years. For each one, please tell me if you see this as a critical threat, an important but not critical threat, or not an important threat at all." ("No opinion" responses omitted from Table)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Threat</th>
<th>Critical</th>
<th>Important</th>
<th>Not Important</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Large numbers of immigrants and refugees coming into the U.S.</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The possibility of unfriendly countries becoming nuclear powers</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International terrorism</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic competition from Japan</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The development of China as a world power</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSSIBLE EXPANSION OF ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The military power of Russia</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic competition from Europe</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Europe's Muslim Population: Frustrated, Poor and Divided

By YOUSEF M. IBRAHIM

Marseilles, France — In the streets rising from Marseilles’s old port, couscous is easier to find than croissants. Cockney neighborhoods in London are now bazaars for Muslims from Bangladesh. Muezzins call Turks to prayer from new minarets in Cologne.

With 10 million to 13 million Muslims living in Western Europe, conservative and far-right politicians, clinging to European slogans familiar: Legal taxes, swelling the welfare rolls, making the streets unsafe. And some politicians play on Europeans' fears of terrorism rising from the Muslim world. "Some Muslims are not doing as well as we used to," he said. "When I came here I didn't think much of religion. Like most who came here, I was illiterate, but the living was good and there was no friction. They treated us well, and we behaved better than the young generation now."

"I now find myself praying regularly," he said. "My children have had problems in school. Some have dropped out. So now, when I look back, I can't blame it on the Dutch, really, but it is true they have become resentful of foreigners and we are not doing as well as we used to."
A former close aide to the Muslim cleric wanted by the United States told of a shiek-sanctioned conspiracy to murder former Egyptian President Mubarak, an archenemy of the cleric.

Mr. Haggag said that as one of the shiek's followers, he was told by the cleric to assassinate the President of Egypt. He said that after a dispute he had with Mr. Abdel Rahman, he became more distant from him and began feeding information to the Egyptian Government, eventually telling an Egyptian aide in New York about the Mubarak assassination plot.

A lawyer for Mr. Haggag, Lynne F. Stewart, dismissed Mr. Haggag's testimony yesterday, calling it "a total lie, a total fabrication." She held that not only did Mr. Haggag have a "personal animus" against her client, after a dispute with him, but also that he "had a motive to lie."

At the time that Mr. Abdel Rahman was arrested in the terrorism case in July 1993, the United States Government was seeking to deport him.

Mr. Haggag testified that he arrived in the United States on a 30-day tourist visa in 1981 but stayed illegally until 1989, when he gained legal immigrant status under a Federal amnesty provision. The trimly bearded witness said he had helped Mr. Abdel Rahman find apartments, compose his writings and get around in general.

The cleric and his co-defendants are charged with plotting, in the months after the World Trade Center bombing, to blow up targets including the United Nations Building, the Holland and Lincoln Tunnels and the George Washington Bridge. Four other men, also followers of Mr. Abdel Rahman, have been convicted of carrying out the trade center bombing in February 1993 that killed six people. The defense says the current trial is based on trumped-up charges.

The Government informant in the current case, Emad Salem, secretly recorded a May 1993 conversation with Mr. Abdel Rahman in which the cleric is heard apparently advising him on which targets to bomb and not to bomb, including such advice as "find a plan to inflict damage on the American Army" and avoid bombing the United Nations.

Mr. Haggag said that as one member of the conspiracy — not Mr. Abdel Rahman — described the plan, Mr. Mubarak was to have been killed outside the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in Manhattan in an attack with hand grenades and machine guns.

She works as a teacher and counselor at Lycée Jacques Raynaud, a vocational training school whose 250 students are largely Muslims who dropped out of other schools.

"My students accuse me of being a traitor because the image I reflect is one of success in an atmosphere of failure," she said. "Many of these kids come from homes where both parents are unemployed. They are lost as second-class citizens to whom France is inaccessible. Some adopt Islam as an exhibitionist factor to signal discontent, but, in reality, they are yearning to be equal citizens. Their problem is idleness and deprivation."

But of her own eight brothers and sisters, only two have jobs. "This high rate of unemployment is new, and it is the problem facing our communities — not Islam, nor militancy and not what is happening in Algeria," she said. "Work is the backbone of integration. The lack of it leaves a fertile ground for exploitation by fundamentalists.

Salah-Eddine Bariki, a 43-year-old Algerian who works at Radio Gazelle, a local station broadcasting ethnic programs in Marseilles for minorities, said it was absurd that Muslim communities could be the bedrock of an Islamic revolt.

There are an estimated 150,000 Muslims in Marseilles, with 43 places of worship. But a recent survey of foreigners living in France by the National Institute of Demographic Studies, which polled 13,000 people over eight months, found that 68 percent of those from Algeria considered themselves to have no religion.

Only 10 percent said they practiced Islam regularly, and 22 percent occasionally. Half of the men and a quarter of the women between 18 and 25 said they were involved in a relationship with a French-born person, and 87 percent of those born to Algerian parents considered French their mother tongue.

The problem, Mr. Bariki said, is not Islamic militancy but unemployment, in a country where more than 13 percent of all workers are jobless, with far more than that unemployed among the immigrants.

Hans Korz, a 56-year-old Dutch coordinator of welfare and rehabilitation consultant for the government in Venlo, said the same was true in the Netherlands, where unemployment is about 8 percent.

"Among immigrant youths, largely Turks and Moroccans, it is 60 percent for those between 17 and 29," he said. "The problem is not social, cultural or ideological. It is economic in the first place."

Many Moroccan immigrants, however, say that part of the problem lies in the resistance of Dutch society to foreigners who want to become part of it.

Feared

A Few Militants Generate Suspicion

Despite lack of evidence that militants have made significant inroads, some officials believe that Europe is in danger of being taken over by a wave of fundamentalism.

Patrick Lalande, a Paris prosecutor who specializes in terrorist affairs, said such thinking dominates French and other European government circles. Indeed, over the last year France, Germany and Belgium have arrested or expelled close to 200 Islamic militants on charges of subversion and arms trafficking.

The most important activity by such militants is logistical support — buying weapons or sending faxes on behalf of armed groups in Algeria and fundamentalists battling the Governments of Tunisia, Egypt, Jordan and countries in the Persian Gulf region.

Members of one such group, the Algerian Fraternity in France, which included Moroccans, Algerians, Tunisians and one Egyptian fundamentalist, were arrested in France in July. Some members were found near the French-Spanish border loaded with arms and military uniforms on their way to Algeria. But most of those expelled were thrown out for nonmilitary activities like fundamentalist propaganda.

"We are facing a sort of Islamist international assault made up of networks of militants with connections to fundamentalist countries including the Sudan, Afghanistan and Iran," Mr. Lalande said. He said the militants' focus was not France or Europe, adding, "I think their main objective is to take over North Africa."

One way in which France has tried to cope with its estimated five million Muslims, the largest population in Europe, is to encourage what it calls "French Islam" — promoting, through progressive Muslim preachers born in France, a modern, secular outlook for the religion.

It is still a modest effort, and far from successful. The French-appointed imam of the mosque of Paris, Dallal Boubaker, often says there is no contradiction between Islam and living in a secular society.

This approach has yet to prove convincing to orthodox believers. On the other hand, Muslim militants have yet to prove they can attract a significant following.

Sheik Mohammad Abdelhadi Douidi is a staunch supporter of the Islamic Salvation Front, which is battling to establish an Islamic state in Algeria, and administers a mosque in Marseille. He says that after more than a decade of trying, his militant version of Islam is simply not strong enough to win adherents who are unemployed, especially French, and are exposed to "temptations" of Western life.

"If I give a young man a Koranic verse, does it solve his problems?" he said. "No. I have been doing this for 14 years, but it's like sowing the sea. Even if there are fruits, they are small and bitter. Islam cannot breathe freely in the West."

NEXT: Western Europeans react to Muslims in their midst.
Judge Upholds Cap on Welfare By New Jersey

By ROBERT PEAR

WASHINGTON, May 4 — A Federal district judge today upheld a New Jersey law that denies increased welfare payments to mothers who have more babies while they are already receiving welfare. Congress and many states are seriously considering similar laws.

The judge, Nicholas H. Politan of Newark, said the New Jersey law had rational, legitimate goals and did not violate the reproductive rights of welfare mothers.

Before the law took effect in October 1992, New Jersey paid welfare benefits up to $352 a month for a mother and child, $424 for a woman with two children and $488 for a woman with three children. As part of a comprehensive revision of its welfare laws, the state eliminated the standard increase in benefits for welfare mothers who have additional children while the women are on the welfare rolls.

In upholding the law, Judge Politan said, "New Jersey's reform proposal does not attempt to fetter or constrain the welfare mother's right to bear as many children as she chooses, but simply requires her to find a way to pay for her progeny's care."

A bill passed by the House in March would impose a similar cap nationwide, prohibiting the use of Federal money to pay additional welfare benefits for children born to a family already receiving assistance under the main Federal-state welfare program, Aid to Families

Continued on Page B6, Column 6

Continued From Page A1

With Dependent Children. The Senate has yet to debate the proposal, which has come under intense criticism from women's rights groups, advocates for the poor and opponents of abortion rights, who say it creates a strong incentive for pregnant women to seek abortions.

The provision is widely but unofficially known as a family cap. Judge Politan, who was appointed by President Ronald Reagan in 1987, said it "puts the welfare household in the same situation as that of a working family, which does not automatically receive a wage increase every time it produces another child." Moreover, he said, "The family cap sends a message that recipients should consider the static level of their welfare benefits before having another child, a message that may reasonably have an ameliorative effect on the rate of out-of-wedlock births."
By CRAIG R. WHITNEY
PARIS, May 5 — Michel Gourdin, a French baker in the northern Paris suburb of Garges-les-Gonesse, remembers the day a year ago when gangs of unemployed North African Muslim youths wrecked his shop in a riot.

One of the gang members, he said, had been killed by a rival Asian group, and the North Africans, believing that the French police had let the suspected killer go, attacked the local precinct house and then all the French-owned businesses in the neighborhood.

"What I don't understand," Mr. Gourdin said, "is that some of them were involved in hard-core gang robberies and drugs. The police know who they are, but they don't do anything. I think they are afraid of provoking an even bigger explosion here if they do any.

Gargas is a working-class town of 40,000 people with housing projects built for refugees from France's colonial wars in North Africa. Today it has been radically transformed, like other cities throughout Europe, by Muslim immigrant families who suffer from the same problems of unemployment, high crime and bewilderment social change that affect the Europeans who also live there.

Europe's struggle to integrate its minority of 10 million to 13 million Muslims is in crisis. It is more than a profound cultural conflict. It is one with grave echoes of racism, fundamentalism and fears of terrorism.

Whether Europe succeeds or fails could have important lessons for the United States, with its own large, new Muslim presence.

But for Europe, so far, many of the signs are troubling.

"The sad fact is that interaction is very difficult and rare," said Ian Hastings, a Briton who grew up in India and who has chosen to live in the cultural and ethnic area that is East London and has become today.

From the British National Party in London's East End to Jean-Marie Le Pen's National Front in Marseille, racist far-right politicians openly appeal to white fears in the image of Europe where local populations are being steadily replaced by immigrants.

Mr. Le Pen, a candidate in the first round of the French presidential elections last month, won 15 percent of the vote nationwide, his strongest showing in two decades. A young Moroccan man drowned after being pushed into the Seine. A young Englishman was killed by a rival Asian gang.

"The French butcher remains," said Le Pen rival here on Monday pushed him into the Seine.

On Thursday night, unidentified people sprayed anti-Islamic graffiti on the walls of the Grand Mosque of Paris and defaced the entrance with black tar.

Government crackdowns on legal and illegal immigration in European countries have been prompted in part by the fear of right-wing demagoguery if the influx is not brought under control. Such moves have helped steal the thunder from the far-rightists in Britain and Germany.

Though modern urban crime and chronic high unemployment do not discriminate between Muslims and Christians in the poor European neighborhoods where the local and immigrant populations coexist, they do contribute to rising tensions.

In interviews in France, Britain and Germany, three Western European countries with a heavy concentration of Muslims in urban neighborhoods, show a range of attitudes toward Muslims of various cultural and ethnic backgrounds. It is estimated that there are five million Muslims in France, one million in Britain and two million in Germany.

The French View
Sharing Problems, Not Blame

In Aulnay-sous-Bois, a residential sprawl north of Paris, Communist and Socialist-dominated governments over the years built housing projects intended for local French low-income families. Most of these apartments are now occupied by Muslim immigrants from Algeria.

One of the few remaining ethnic French residents of one project is Yves Hiestand, a 48-year-old accountant who has been unable to work for the last two years because of intestinal cancer. He opened the door to the stairwell on the 12th floor the other day and wrinkled his nose.

"Drug addicts," he said, pointing to discarded plastic syringes on the concrete steps and to a bloodstain on the yellow stuccoed wall. "All North Africans," he said. "The police don't even care.

He paused as his next-door neighbor, a North African woman wearing a head covering, passed on the way to the graffiti-scarred elevator. "She asked me to clear the addicts out of the stairwell this morning, but I refused," he said, "If I say anything to them they just call me a racist."

The French anti-immigration Front National forces in the ground floor of Mr. Hiestand's building have, one by one, been bought out by North African owners who cater to their clientele with signs in Arabic. One French butcher remains.

Mr. Hiestand borrows the butcher's car because he can no longer afford one of his own on a disability payment that leaves him a little more than $600 a month to support himself and his two school-age sons, Yann and Rick.

"It's not safe to ride the buses, and taxi's won't even come in here after dark," he said. "It's like being a prisoner in your own country." Mr. Hiestand blames French social-welfare and immigration policies for creating the situation, and he supports Mr. Le Pen's far-right movement. On the walls of his sparsely furnished three-room apartment he keeps a small arsenal, including a gun and knives and a collection of military memorabilia from his days as a paratrooper in Senegal.

In Aulnay, Mr. Le Pen won 20 percent of the vote, but he came in ahead of all other candidates in more than a score of cities from Marseille to Metz, Colmar and Dole on a platform promising to send three million of immigrants back where they came from to make room for three million unemployed French workers.

Such arguments may make little sense, but they appeal to racism. In fact, Islamic immigrants are among the hardest hit by France's 12.2 percent unemployment rate, with joblessness in many North African neighborhoods running at about 40 percent.

The British View
Harmony Depends On a Balanced Mix

Unemployment is just as big a problem in the Brick Lane neighborhood of the Tower Hamlets section of East London, once the center of the Cockney world. Today the street's best signs are in Bengali and English.

A total of 161,000 people live here, 37,000 of them — 23 percent — from Bangladesh, with a smattering of black African and Caribbean immigrants. The rest, the English, tend to call all the other groups "black."

"I was born in the East End — I live here because I belong here," said Eileen Whitemarsh, a 58-year-old resident who lives 10 minutes from Brick Lane in a city housing project on Ewell Street. "I can't say we're getting on — the indigenous people feel like second-class citizens," she said. "They feel as if the invaders are getting preference.

Local city government is not permitted to build subsidized housing, she said, but makes small single units available to private housing associations only if they promise to build plenty of five- and six-bedroom apartments.

"That is clearly for Asians," she said.

Mrs. Whitemarsh works with Asian children in a school for the mentally handicapped, and says she has become friends with many Bengali and Pakistanis.

"People are people," she said, "but now the English people who have lived here all their lives are being displaced by immigrants who are taking over."

Mr. Hastings, the Briton who grew up in India, came here 15 years ago and now lives in one of the buildings put up on land made available by the Tower Hamlets city council. A self-trained trainee, he works hard at getting the Asians and the English to live together.

"My eldest daughter has been going to a Church of England school with a mix of students," Mr. Hastings said. "But now she is in the next level and it's 95 percent Bengalis, and that is a problem. We've opted for a central London school that tends to be more mixed, but it means a 40-minute daily train ride each day for my daughter."

The anti-immigration British National Party has been accused of egging on clashes between skinheads and Asian gangs. Early last year, with tensions running high, newspapers predicted that local government elections in May could produce strong majorities for the party, but it was defeated, even losing the majority it had held in the Millwall Ward.

An election to fill a vacancy in the Weavers ward of Tower Hamlets at the end of February confirmed the trend with a victory by the opposition Labor Party candidate, Moham med Ali; David King, the British National Party candidate, won 16 percent.


Wary Strangers
Second of two articles.

PARIS and defaced the entrance with black tar.

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Facing Nazis, Upper Lips Were Not Always Stiff

By JOHN DARNTON

ST. HELIER, Jersey, April 29 — With their green, rolling pastures and trim, stone cottages within earshot of seagulls and the surf, the Channel Islands seem an incongruous setting for the Nazi jackboot.

Yet Jersey and the other islands — Guernsey, Alderney, and Sark — all of which are close enough to Normandy to see its beaches through binoculars, are the sole British territories to have been occupied by the Germans in World War II.

For years the behavior of the Channel Islanders during the German occupation has been a proud footnote in Britain's history. Their storied treatment of the German solders with a kind of icy contempt was regarded as emblematic of the fortitude of the British spirit.

But recently a spate of documents and studies are emerging that look at the darker side of the occupation, casting a small cloud over the story of the Channel Islands as increasingly representative of the British spirit.

The authorities carried out the letter of the law, as increasingly repressive anti-Semitic edicts were handed down. Laws required Jews to register, to wear a yellow Star of David on their clothing, and to display signs reading “Jewish Undertaking” in their businesses. By May 1941, laws prohibited Jews from entering public places and forced them to turn their businesses over to “Aryans.”

Files that were opened early last year show that civil authorities on Guernsey cooperated with the German military in identifying and tracking down for deportation five Jewish women, three of whom later died at Auschwitz.

Here on Jersey, according to documents more recently unearthed by researchers, 11 Jews were registered as Jews by the Chief Alien Officer, Clifford Orange, responding to directives he received from the Bailiff of Jersey, Alexander Coutanche, who was the highest-ranking British official on the island. Both men are now dead.

The paper trail of what happened to the 11 Jews is not complete. Members of the Jersey branch of the Islands Occupation Society, a group that collects information and preserves artifacts from the occupation, said that five or six were sent to internment camps inside Germany. Though several are known to have survived, they say, it is not known what happened to the others.

Many scholars of World War II dismiss the assumption that the Channel Islanders’ conduct can be a basis for extrapolating how an occupied Britain would have behaved.

The islands lost many potential resisters in a pre-occupation evacuation of some 10,000 islanders. They were also left to their own resources by the Government in London.

"They were told to fend for themselves and they did," said Lord Dacre, better known as Hugh Trevor-Roper, the historian and expert on Hitler. "I doubt there would have been collaborators in Britain but the circumstances are so different, I wouldn’t want to generalize."

Still, he admitted being surprised by a number of new disclosures that showed just how close the local authorities were to the Nazi occupiers. "I was surprised to see that at one point the Bailiff of Guernsey went to Germany to do some broadcasting; he said, "That goes a bit far."

The islands, which have been dependencies on the British Crown since the Norman Conquest, were seized without a struggle on June 30 and July 1, 1940, and were not given up until May 9, 1945, spending the last months of the war as an isolated but unchallenged pocket of German control.

The 62,000 islanders were ruled by an occupation army that, at its height, numbered 28,500 troops. As the war progressed, conditions deteriorated for both occupiers and occupied, with food especially scarce after the Allied landings in Normandy cut off supplies from France.

Immediately after the war there were calls for inquiries into the question of collaboration. But these calls were not followed up. Instead, the officials were praised for carrying out the difficult role of being a “buffer” between the occupiers and the populace. The top two, the Bailiffs of Jersey and Guernsey, were knighted for their wartime services.
"The people in this area have a long history of fighting racism," said Pola Manzella Uddin, an émigré from Bangladesh who has been a Labor Party councilor in Tower Hamlets for six years.

"It's always been a neighborhood full of immigrants — the Jews and the Irish came before us, but we have a different skin color, we stand out and we'll be here longer than those groups were," she said. "Our children are the ones who are going to determine whether we live in a racist society for the next 50 years, or live in a more balanced, caring community."

Unemployment in Tower Hamlets last year ran close to 27 percent, two and a half times the national average. In Bradford, a manufacturing city 200 miles north of London, the jobless rate approaches 50 percent in some Pakistani neighborhoods, said Ralph Berry, a local councilor. There are 45,000 Pakistanis in the city, a ninth of the population.

Mr. Berry's living room, high on a hill in a mostly white neighborhood in Bradford's southwest, overlooks the Grange School, where 80 percent of the 1,000 students are Asian. "One child from this area goes to that school, which was built for it," he said.

The Grange school welcomes visitors with English, Urdu and Hindi greetings on the door, and its motto is "achieving together," Richard Thompson, the principal, said he saw his primary mission as preparing young Britons of whatever race or color for the society they live in now, not the one they came from.

"Some of my female students want to wear the veil, and they can if they feel they need to," he said. "I could stamp on it, but it isn't important. The important thing is for these British Muslims to be equipped with an education that allows them to live useful lives here," he said.

The German View

Far Right Fuels Fundamentalism

Two fundamentalist mosques, both in the predominantly Catholic, Rhineland city of Cologne, have been making headway in the Turkish Islamic population in Germany. The Turks have long been among the most secularized populations of the Islamic world.

The more radical of the two, known by its Turkish initials I.C.C.B., runs an Islamic cultural and shopping center on the Niehler Kirchweg, a residential street in the Nippes section of Cologne.

A green Islamic flag flies above it, and on holidays the smell of barbecued lamb rises up to the fifth-floor apartment of Jürgen Kerstin and his wife, Regine, who live with their daughter in the building next door.

Nippes is home to about 111,000 people, 12,000 of them Turks.

"We've always had Turkish neighbors, and we've always gotten along with them," Mrs. Kerstin said. "But these people are different — the women always wear veils now, and they come on weekends to attend the Koran school."

In the Nippes city hall, Vural Emre, who came from Turkey 33 years ago to work in the Ford plant in Cologne and has since become a German citizen active in the Social Democratic Party, said he thought he knew why such movements had taken root.

Turks who had felt safe living in Germany suddenly felt dangerously exposed when right-wing German radicals, protesting a wave of foreign immigrants seeking asylum in Germany, began firebombing Turkish homes in late 1992, he said. More than 20 Turks and other foreign immigrants died in such attacks between then and the end of 1993.

The attacks declined after the German Parliament changed the Constitution in mid-1993 to make it harder to claim asylum. German far-right parties advocating the expulsion of foreigners failed at the polls in national elections last October.

But there are still problems, however petty. Bernhard Henrici, the head of the German party active in the Social Democratic Party, said he thought he knew why such movements had taken root.

Mr. Emre says the only German neighbors he has left on the Bergerstrasse are widows like Maria Karbath.

The little three-story houses that Ford helped build to house him and the German workers at its plant in Nippes have since been neglected. Mr. Emre says the only German neighbors he has left on the Königsbergerstrasse are widows like Maria Karbath.

Mrs. Karbath, 88, said she does not mind that the only grocery store in the neighborhood is run and staffed by Turks and carries Turkish staples.

"If I got sick and needed help, I know that I could call on any one of my neighbors and they'd take care of me," she said. "I'd rather depend on my Turkish friends than on the Germans."
When New York Dabbled in Privatized Water

To the Editor:

Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani's proposal to sell the reservoirs, aqueducts and pipes of New York City's water system to the semi-independent Water Board is not the first time the city has contemplated loss of control of its magnificent water system ("Pass It! Want to Buy a Reservoir?"; editorial, April 29).

In 1899, the city's Commissioner of Water Supply recommended the sale of city-owned reservoirs and aqueducts to a private corporation, the Ramapo Water Company, to which the Legislature had in 1895 granted extraordinary powers.

The Tammany-controlled Board of Public Improvements attempted to effect the Ramapo contract without any discussion, but the city's Comptroller thwarted it by forcing a delay of the vote and then alerting the newspapers to the outrageously negative aspects of the sale. Gov. Theodore Roosevelt categorized the privatization of the water system as grossly improper and bordering on criminality. The City Merchant's Association opposed the sale when it was disclosed that privatization would result in almost a tripling of water costs to the city and an annual municipal deficit. The Ramapo deal died a quick death.

New York City's water system was supplied by a private corporation during its first 42 years. In 1798, two eminent State Assemblymen, Alexander Hamilton and Aaron Burr, convinced city officials that public funds would be inadequate to develop a suitable reservoir and aqueduct. They contended that a privately owned and financed system would better serve the public.

Hamilton and Burr agreed on a bill to be presented to the Legislature in Albany; probably the only time these mortal enemies agreed on anything. The bill was to grant a charter to the Manhattan Water Company as sole supplier of water to the city, and it was to contain provisions to assure water supply and protect the public interest.

Hamilton was not able to get to Albany when the bill was considered and entrusted Burr to introduce it in both houses. Unknown to Hamilton, Burr added a fateful paragraph that enabled his cronies in the Manhattan Company "to employ all surplus capital as may belong or accrue to the said company in the purchase of public or other stock, or in any other manner transaction for the sole benefit of said company."

The water charter was granted in perpetuity, with the privilege of engaging in banking, as long as the company held the monopoly as New York's water supplier.

Banking being more profitable than water, the Manhattan Company wasted little effort on providing a safe or adequate water system.

Nothing could be done about the foul water and poor service, until 1828, when a large number of city buildings were destroyed in a fire because water mains and fire hydrants had not been extended to all parts of the city; and in 1852 a terrible cholera epidemic struck New York.

In the next 10 years, the city planned and constructed its own water system. The Manhattan Company's strongholds on the water supply was ended in 1842, when it agreed to turn over its monopoly to the city for the right to continue in banking. The company became the Chase Manhattan Bank.

JULIAN KANE
Geology Professor, Hofstra University Hempstead, L.I., May 1, 1995

Tiananmen Students Gathered in Peace

To the Editor:

Some have labeled as "extremists" those students who chose to remain in Tiananmen Square rather than give up their peaceful demonstration ("8 Years After the Tiananmen Massacre, Survivors Clash on Tactics," April 30).

No matter their rhetoric, Chai Ling, Li Lu and other student leaders were participating in a nonviolent action. They had no weapons; they were assembling peacefully; they were not even calling for overthrow of the government. They were simply exercising their fundamental rights as guaranteed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Even if some of them did claim to be seeking bloodshed for tactical reasons, it is the Chinese Government that shed the blood, and that is where responsibility lies.

William F. Schulz
Executive Director
Amnesty International U.S.A.
New York, May 2, 1995

Israel Widely Mistreats the Detainees

Further, as Mr. Sarid must know, the 1987 Landau Commission — in the words of the Israeli Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories (B'Tselem) — "ended up legitimating the use of torture with its sanction of "moderate physical force": "the use of torture and ill treatment follows logically from its recommendations."

Indeed, the one thing that is "completely clear" is that torture and ill treatment of Palestinian detainees are "virtually institutionalized" (Amnesty International), "widespread and routine" (B'Tselem), "a systematic pattern" (Human Rights Watch). Norman G. Finkelstein
Professor, General Studies
New York University
New York, May 1, 1995

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