

RECORD TYPE: FEDERAL (TRP NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: opcenter (opcenter@usia.gov@INET@LNGTWY [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME:30-JAN-1997 03:13:00.00

SUBJECT: January 30 Morning Press Summary

TO: susan e. walitsky (susan e. walitsky@EOP [UNKNOWN])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====

ATT CREATION TIME/DATE: 0 00:00:00.00

TEXT:

RFC-822-headers:

Received: from gatekeeper.eop.gov by PMDF.EOP.GOV (PMDf V5.0-4 #6879)

id <01IET14VUX9S00EUSZ@PMDf.EOP.GOV> for susan_e._walitsky@oa.eop.gov; Thu,
30 Jan 1997 01:23:07 -0400 (EDT)

Received: from XGATE.USIA.GOV by gatekeeper.eop.gov;

(5.65v3.2/1.1.8.2/17Oct95-0424PM) id AA26333; Thu, 30 Jan 1997 01:23:00 -0500

Received: from Connect2 Message Router by usia.gov via Connect2-SMTP 4.20B.6;

Thu, 30 Jan 1997 01:22:10 -0500

Organization: USIA

X-Mailer: Connect2-SMTP 4.20B.6 MHS/SMF to SMTP Gateway

===== END ATTACHMENT 1 =====

===== ATTACHMENT 2 =====

ATT CREATION TIME/DATE: 0 00:00:00.00

TEXT:

WPC&

2&ZB

0&XXN\ PXPXN\ PXP(hH

Z6Times New Roman RegularXc4 pQ4 2Times New Roman Bol

d (TT)4 pQ4 2Times New Roman Bold (TT)&N4 pQ&4 2Times New Roman Bold (TT)&X

U4 pQX4 2Times New Roman Bold (TT)X&Q2PQ&P%2A`Arial (TT)&I2PQP%2A`Arial (TT)K

2PP,

AZ"Arial RegularK2PP,

AZ"Arial RegularK2P P,

AZ"Arial RegularK2P

P,

AZ"Arial RegularK2PP,

AZ"Arial RegularK2P P,

AZ"Arial RegularK2P

P,

AZ"Arial RegularK2PP,

AZ"Arial RegularK2PP,

AZ"Arial RegularK2PP,

AZ"Arial RegularK2PP,

AZ"Arial RegularK2PP,

AZ"Arial RegularK2PP,
AZ"Arial RegularK2PP,
AZ"Arial RegularK2PP,
AZ"Arial RegularK2PP,
AZ"Arial RegularK2PP,
AZ"Arial RegularK2PP,
AZ"Arial RegularK2PP,
AZ"Arial RegularK2PP,
AZ"Arial RegularK2PP,
AZ"Arial RegularK2PP,
AZ"Arial RegularK2PP,
AZ"Arial RegularK2PP,
AZ"Arial RegularK2PP,
AZ"Arial RegularK2P P,
AZ"Arial RegularK2P!P,
AZ"Arial RegularK2P"P,
AZ"Arial RegularK2P#P,
AZ"Arial RegularK2P\$P,
AZ"Arial RegularK2P%P,
AZ"Arial RegularK2P&P,
AZ"Arial RegularK2P'P,
AZ"Arial RegularK2P(P,
AZ"Arial RegularK2P)P,
AZ"Arial RegularK2P*P,
AZ"Arial RegularK2P+P,
AZ"Arial RegularK2P,P,
AZ"Arial RegularK2P-P,
AZ"Arial RegularK2P.P,
AZ"Arial RegularK2P/P,
AZ"Arial RegularK2P0P,
AZ"Arial RegularK2P1P,
AZ"Arial RegularK2P2P,
AZ"Arial RegularK2P3P,
AZ"Arial RegularK2P4P,
AZ"Arial RegularK2P5P,
AZ"Arial RegularK2P6P,
AZ"Arial RegularK2P7P,
AZ"Arial RegularI2P8QP%2A`Arial (TT)2&&#|P XX XX #c4 pQ#United States Inform
ation Agency
#4 pQ#Morning Press Summary#&N4 pQ&#
#XU4 pQX# January 30, 1997 `` Compiled by the Operations Center, D/O
` ` Phone: 6194792 Fax: 6194510 #&Q2PQ&P#

#I2PQP#GENERAL
CSM World News Briefs
WSJ The Case For Confirming Anthony Lake
NYT Senate Greet's Congressman as U.N. Envoy
NYT Hush Money?
LAT A Thousand Words
WP Gulf War Ills Puzzling to Schwarzkopf
WP Clinton Renews Call for Standing War Crimes Tribunal

WP Editorial: Is the FBI Going Downhill?

NYT U.S. Report on Human Rights Faults China, Nigeria and Cuba

EUROPE

WP Belgrade Feels Tremors From New Violence in Serbia's Albanian Enclave

NYT Aslan Maskhadov: Chechnya's Mild but Steely New Chief

NYT Gulag Cellmates Reminisce (Now They Can Laugh)

LAT Russian Spin on Yeltsin Ills Recalls Soviets

CSM Chechnya's Victor to Face Russian Grip on Oil Riches

BG Recognize Chechnya, Victor Tells Russians

WSJ German Project Tries to Uncover Dark past of East's Stasi Spies

CSM West 'Betrayed Fighters'

CSM Romania's Revolution Part 2: Serving Up Justice

WP Tiptoeing Toward the Euro

NYT With Talks at a Low Point, Book Inflames Irish Feelings

NYT Former French Official Says Jews Collaborated With Nazis

NYT For British Health System, Bleak Prognosis

NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA

WP Palestinian Militant Drops Extradition Fight

NYT Hamas May 'Punish America' for Extradition, Spokesman Says

CT U.S. Fine Tunes its Role in Mideast

WP Court Upholds Dismissal of Benazir Bhutto

WP Former Pakistani Leader Stresses Business Plan in Bid to Rule Again

EAST ASIA

WSJ Widespread Reining in Seen By Analysts as Part of Cycle

WP Striving to Be 'Spiritual'

NYT Editorial: The Berlin Wall and China

LAT From Clinton, a Caution on Hong Kong, but No Threat

LAT There's Risk in Crying Wolf on Hong Kong

LAT Indications Point to Clinton Toughening Indonesia Policy

AFRICA

LAT U.N. Envoy Urges Aid for Central Africa

CT Peace in Angola May Hinge on How Diamonds Are Split up

LAT Editorial: End of the Line for Lies

CSM In S. Africa, To Forgive Is To Find Out

LATIN AMERICA

WSJ Carlos Salinas Is Questioned In Probe Involving His Brother

WP Mexico's Salinas, in Exile, Accentuates the Positive--About Himself

LAT COLUMN ONE: Standoff at the Hotel Serenidad

WP Cuba Releases Two Fishermen Detained Since Boat Broke Down in November

WP Latin Drugs Flow North Via Pacific

NYT Backlash From Nafta Batters Economies of Caribbean

MH Editorial: When Friends Fall out

MH Editorial: A Promise of Help

LAT Clinton Pledges Aid for Post-Castro Cuba

CSM Setting the Stage for Transition in Cuba

WP Peru, Japan Set Summit Meeting On Hostage Crisis

NYT Hashimoto to Discuss Hostage Crisis With Fujimori

USIS Press Summaries are prepared by USIA D/O to alert officers to issues of concern related to their official responsibilities. Further reproduction for private use or gain is subject to original copyright restrictions#K2PP#

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
World News Briefs
Thursday January 30, 1997

New Chechen President-elect Aslan Maskhadov said he would negotiate with Russia over the republic's political status "within reasonable limits." But he proclaimed that Chechnya already had won its freedom. Maskhadov said Chechnya would demand compensation for its losses in 20 months of fighting for independence, but acknowledged the need for strong economic ties with Russia.

Prime Minister Hashimoto of Japan and President Fujimori of Peru agreed to coordinate strategy on the hostage crisis in Lima, and a Japanese news agency said they would meet in Toronto tomorrow. Japan has asked Peru to exercise restraint in its handling of the crisis. Many of the remaining 72 hostages held by leftist rebels are Japanese diplomats or businessmen, and police actions outside Japan's embassy in Lima drew gunfire earlier this week. F

Stung by reports of generous US aid offers to Cuba once he's out of power, President Fidel Castro angrily proclaimed that his country remained committed to communism. Castro said the US was trying "to buy us the day we start wavering."

Reports from Washington said the Clinton administration was considering \$4 billion to \$8 billion in financial assistance to Cuba once a transition government was in place in Havana. -

China reacted mildly to President Clinton's latest remarks on its human rights policies. The Beijing government said it was "natural for different views on human rights to exist" and that Clinton shouldn't worry about the issue or about the future of freedom for the people of Hong Kong. Clinton had warned that Hong Kong's value to China would fall if the colony's civil-liberties laws were overturned. hh#

The Supreme Court of Pakistan ended ex-Prime Minister Bhutto's bid to return to power. It ruled that her dismissal on grounds of corruption was constitution

nal. The ruling means that elections for a new prime minister will be held as
s
cheduled on Monday. Bhutto was fired Nov. 5 by President Farooq Leghari. She q
uickly mounted a legal challenge to
regain the office. ` ` `

Accused Nazi collaborator Maurice Papon drew angry denunciations from Jewish
leaders for suggesting that some
French Jews had selected others for Holocaust
death camps. Papon made the remark in a television interview that Jewish
spoke
smen called "scandalous" and a "travesty of justice." Last week, the French Sup
reme Court ordered Papon to stand
trial for alleged war crimes.

Unionized workers across Bulgaria walked off the job to support calls for ea
rly national elections. The strike began after
the ruling Socialist Party annou
nced it would form a new government without honoring President Stoyanov's reque
st to
agree to a new vote this spring. The Socialists are widely blamed for wre
cking the economy. xxA

A week after resigning as Latvia's prime minister , Andris Shkele was invited
by the country's president to form a new
government. Shkele quit because of a
controversy over his nominee for finance minister. xxA

A cache of sophisticated weapons and ammunition was found at Kuwait's oil-ex
port terminal, a newspaper in the gulf
state reported. It said evidence indicat
ed that the arms - among them rocket-propelled grenades - had been hidden
caref
ully "for later use" and were not left over from the 1990-91 Gulf crisis. Gover
nment officials had no immediate
comment on the report.

The government of Laos defended a proposed \$1.5 billion hydroelectric dam th
at has been the target of
environmentalists. It said the Nam Theun II project w
ould be good for business and would help to improve the lives of area
residents
, many of whom are impoverished. At a three-day conference in Vientiane, the ca
pital, critics argued that the dam
would destroy the habitats of 38 endangered
wildlife species.

It is not my business to guarantee the viability of a private company." -
Albanian President Sali Berisha, defending his
handling of an investment-scheme
crisis that has plunged thousands of Albanians into financial ruin.#K2PP#

By Robert M. Gates
January 29, 1997

I am barely acquainted with Tony Lake, the president's national security adviser and nominee to become CIA director. But I have read about his views on foreign policy for years and disagree with him on a number of important issues. I think that the administration's foreign policy, which he has helped shape, has been erratically interventionist, excessively tactical, insufficiently supportive of resources for defense and intelligence, and lacking in strategic priorities, coherence and consistency. Even so, I believe Mr. Lake should be confirmed.

An ideal nominee for CIA director would have universally recognized integrity, expertise in foreign affairs (but with no controversies), experience managing large enterprises, savvy in intelligence operations (with no failures), analytical insight (with no mistakes), political skill, the confidence of and ready access to the president, and a winning personality. None of the 17 men who have been CIA director have had that combination of credentials. Mr. Lake has three of the most important, however.

First, he is broadly recognized as a man of integrity and principle--and as a man with the courage to stand up for what he believes is right. This offers reassurance that he will be independent of the White House in which he served and will be directed by a moral grounding most Americans would find admirable. Second, whether or not one agrees with him on the issues, he is thoroughly knowledgeable about foreign affairs. Moreover, as national security adviser, he is clearly familiar with current intelligence operations and analysis, and will be able to improve both. Third, he has the confidence of the president and knows as well the rest of the president's national security team, two assets without which a CIA director is deeply, if not fatally, weakened.

Mr. Lake does have deficiencies. He has no relevant intelligence background, but then neither did 13 of his 17 predecessors. He has not managed a large (and difficult) organization, but his power of appointment (and the incumbent deputy) can compensate for that. As for a winning personality, I am in no position to judge.

There are contentious issues surrounding Mr. Lake that will doubtless be impor

tant in his confirmation hearings before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. Most significantly, the administration's failure to tell Congress about its actions in at least tacitly encouraging Iran to arm Bosnia was, at minimum, a serious mistake. Mr. Lake should say so, and the committee should extract appropriate pledges from him about keeping Congress informed--and his willingness to resign if ordered by the president to keep lawmakers in the dark, a pledge I made prior to my confirmation in 1991. At the same time, primary responsibility for this mistake in Bosnia rests more heavily with the president and the then-secretary of state, and Mr. Lake should not be disqualified as CIA director simply because others senior to him are beyond the reach of the Senate.

Other issues that have been raised in connection with his nomination are not, in my view, disqualifying. He obviously must satisfactorily explain his tardy disposal of stock after entering public office. But the charge that Mr. Lake was as once equivocal as to the guilt of Alger Hiss and allegations of other manifestations of "left-leaning" views years ago struck me--someone who was attacked in my own confirmation hearings as too much of a Cold War hawk--as wholly irrelevant and silly in 1997, even if true.

The committee must satisfy itself on Iran-Bosnia and Mr. Lake's commitment to congressional oversight, as well as other issues, such as the stock sale. But these should be resolvable. Then perhaps the hearings can serve a positive function XX by eliciting Mr. Lake's thinking on continued reform and restructuring of U.S. intelligence, his views of its strengths and weaknesses and the adequacy of resources in light of the tasks assigned by the president and Congress.

The answers to these tough questions could prove illuminating, not to mention highly relevant to his confirmation.

The bipartisan nature of the Senate intelligence committee since its early days under the leadership of Daniel Inouye and Barry Goldwater has been one of its greatest assets, and a source of its credibility. As Congress becomes more polarized and partisan, it would be a tragedy if the Republican and Democratic leadership of this very sensitive committee were to allow its special nonpartisan character to be weakened. I was nominated to be CIA director by President Reagan in 1987 and again by President Bush in 1991, and despite the struggles

I went through in a Democratic-controlled Senate,
I never felt the disputes were partisan.

Mr. Lake's confirmation ought not become a matter of partisan conflict, an opportunity to attack the administration's foreign policy. There are other, more appropriate forums for that, even in Congress--the Senate's Foreign Relations and Armed Services committees, and the House's equivalent committees. Republicans should not use hearings for CIA director--a position that should be outside of politics--to make Mr. Lake the designated partisan target.

Tony Lake isn't perfect for CIA director, but he is a capable senior official of integrity who is the choice of the president to head the U.S. intelligence community. As the last CIA director nominated by a Republican president and confirmed by a Democratic-controlled Senate, I strongly believe that hard questions should be asked of Mr. Lake, and then he should be confirmed expeditiously with broad bipartisan support. This would be in the best interests of the country and of the intelligence community.

Mr. Gates was CIA director under President Bush. #K2P P#

NEW YORK TIMES
Senate Greets Congressman as U.N. Envoy
By Steven Lee Myers
January 30, 1997

WASHINGTON--Rep. Bill Richardson, D-N.M., cruised Wednesday through the Senate's committee hearing on his nomination as the next American delegate to the United Nations, but his appearance exposed sharp differences over President Clinton's forthcoming proposal to repay outstanding U.S. dues to the world organization.

In an otherwise congenial hearing, Sen. Jesse Helms, R-N.C., the chairman of the Senate committee on foreign relations, warned the administration not to move ahead with a repayment of the debt without working directly with his committee.

Helms, echoing concerns raised by Sen. Rod Grams, R-Minn., was angered by reports swirling around the capitol that the president's new budget, scheduled to be released next week, would include a plan to pay roughly \$1 billion in back dues as part of a separate appropriation bill, rather than as part of the over

all package. Such a maneuver, while largely procedural, could mean Helms' committee would not first authorize the repayment--something that Helms declared would be "breach of good faith."

"I want to have a bipartisan arrangement, but this committee is not going to be shoved around as long as I'm chairman of it," Helms said.

The White House declined to discuss its budget proposals Wednesday, but administration officials, speaking on condition of anonymity, said the president's budget would ask Congress to approve a plan as early as this spring to repay the debt in two payments over the next two years--\$100 million in the coming fiscal year and \$921 million the year after.

The officials said they hoped to receive quick approval of the repayment -- even though the United Nations would not receive most of the money until 1999--as a way to maintain American influence as the new secretary general, Kofi Annan, moved to impose changes. They insisted they would not try to sidestep Helms' committee.

Richardson, on the defensive for one of the few times during Wednesday's hearing, pledged that the administration wanted to work with the Republicans in Congress to repay the dues while prodding the United Nations to restructure its budget and bureaucracy.

The flare-up over the dues to the United Nations did not appear to threaten Richardson's chances for confirmation. Most senators praised it profusely. Helms even opened the hearing by calling him "Mr. Ambassador." Several Democratic senators spoke of the need to repay the debt or risk losing the ability to influence change at the United Nations, a sentiment echoed by Richardson.

"Our efforts are increasingly hampered by international resentment over our arrears," Richardson said. "As the U.N. cleans its house, we must do our part."

The Republicans, however, have demanded that reforms come first. During Annan's visit to Washington last week, Helms said he would seek legislation to set "benchmarks" of reform before Congress would approve repayment. #K2P P#

Hush Money?

Essay / by William Safire

January 30, 1997

WASHINGTON-- In his "errors were made" press conference, President Clinton became flustered when asked by The Washington Post's John Harris if he had found anything "unusual or suspicious" in large payments by the Lippo Group to Clinton's friend Webster Hubbell just after he was forced out of the Justice Department and before he went to jail.

"I didn't know about it," he insisted. "And I can't imagine who could have ever arranged to do something improper like that and no one around here knows about it. It's just not--we--we did not know anything about it." Later in his answer he added "before it happened," because his blanket denial was untrue. His closest confidential aide, Bruce Lindsey, had already told the Senate he was aware of the payments to the disgraced Hubbell by Clinton's Asian friends. But the President now claims that the "improper" arrangement was kept secret from him "till I read about it in the press."

Consider: The financially desperate Hubbell, who could have sunk the Clintons if he turned against them, received a bundle from the same Asian crew bankrolling Clinton campaigns; he then loyally zipped his lip and spurned leniency from the Independent Counsel. And even though Lindsey--who sees Clinton every day--admits knowing at that time about Lippo's pre-jail payments, it was supposedly news to Bill Clinton "till I read about it in the press."

Because logic led me to consider that sequence suspicious, the question of hush money was first raised in this space.

Clinton now condemns Hubbell's arrangement with Lippo as "improper," an ethical conclusion I did not have the evidence to reach.

But after charging his felonious friend with impropriety, Clinton whirled around to say that "when somebody makes a charge like that there ought to be some burden on them to come forward with some evidence. ..."

No. Gathering evidence for presentation in court is neither my burden nor his.

Journalists recount sequences that reek with fishiness, cite relevant laws and embarrass officials into producing evidence.

Try another: The question was raised here of a potential breach of security in

the top-secret clearance of Lippo's John Huang. He was placed by the Riady family in a sensitive Commerce Department trade-policy job for a year, then assigned to a top fund-raising post at the D.N.C.--at Clinton's personal direction--in the infamous Clinton-Riady-Giroir-Huang-Lindsey meeting in the Oval Office on Sept. 13, 1995.

A few days ago, chairman Gerald Solomon of the House Rules Committee asked the F.B.I. to investigate possible economic espionage by China.

He noted that (1) Huang was given top-secret clearance five months before becoming the Riadys' man at Commerce; (2) Huang wrote "not applicable" to "relatives or friends in China, if any" on his clearance form; (3) Huang, at Commerce, with unprecedented access to the White House and in frequent telephone contact with Lippo operatives, wrote his comments on 15 classified field reports and attended up to 37 C.I.A.-documented intelligence briefings.

Now this: After Clinton sent Huang to the D.N.C. to cash in on favors done at Commerce, Huang kept top-secret clearance for a year even though he was no longer working for the U.S. Why does a Democratic Party fund-raiser need top-secret clearance? Who did Huang talk to in 1996 from his D.N.C. phone, from the booth in the lobby and from his home? What was Huang's connection with the Arkansas-Beijing traveler Charlie Trie and with Wang Jun, the notorious Chinese arms dealer who got an easy visa and made direct contact with Bill Clinton? What has China been learning about our secret trade positions, and how has its Government influenced the Clinton Administration?

F.B.I. Director Louis Freeh informs Representative Solomon that 25 agents were assigned to this last month. They are presumably working with Laura Ingersoll, a Criminal Division line attorney.

Maybe they'll turn up evidence about espionage or policy penetration. That's their job. This is mine.

Maryland's Governor was misdescribed here on Monday as a "gutsy Republican"; Parris N. Glendening is a rock-ribbed Democrat. #K2PP#

LOS ANGELES TIMES
A Thousand Words
Times Washington Bureau
January 29, 1997

* On Secretary of State Madeleine Albright's first day in office, she found three portraits her predecessor, Warren Christopher, had left on the wall: Thomas Jefferson, Dean Acheson and Cyrus Vance, former secretaries of State, all. Albright kept Jefferson but replaced the others with George Marshall and Edmund Muskie. The Muskie for Vance shift is easy to understand--Christopher was as Vance's deputy and Albright worked on Muskie's Capitol Hill staff. But what about Acheson and Marshall, probably the two most distinguished secretaries since World War II? Well, Acheson was a career diplomat who liked to manipulate events from behind the scenes, while Marshall was a scholar-soldier-diplomat known for articulating U.S. policy.

* ALL CLEAR: In Albright's first speech to State Department employees, she took aim at the cherished obfuscation of diplomats. Albright wants the department to try harder to tell its story to Americans and, as it does so, abandon its customary "acronyms, jargon, generalities and banalities." But that may be an uphill fight, she conceded, noting that the inspection certificates in the department's elevators refer to "vertical transportation units."

* GOOD COP/BAD COP: No less than five top administration officials spoke out last week about Saudi Arabia's cooperation--or lack thereof--with FBI investigators trying to find the terrorists responsible for the June bombing in Dahrhan that killed 19 U.S. airmen. But the statements were hardly uniform. First, FBI Director Louis J. Freeh and Atty. Gen. Janet Reno accused the Saudis of withholding crucial information. Although Freeh has made three trips to talk with the Saudis, the public complaints were the first any U.S. officials have issued. Next was White House Press Secretary Mike McCurry, who sanded off the rough edges, saying: "The important thing here is to continue working with the Saudi government." Then Albright shifted the line, insisting "the Saudis have been cooperative." Tuesday, President Clinton said: "I'm confident that in the end they will do what I have been assured personally by the highest levels of the Saudi government they should do." Confused? But senior U.S. officials are betting the Saudis understood the carefully choreographed message.

* ENTICING POST: The most sought-after job in Washington? Not the Clinton White House but president of the

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

. The finalists: Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott; former Democratic

S

en. Sam Nunn of Georgia; U.S. Ambassador to Russia Thomas R. Pickering; Immigr

ation and Naturalization Service

Commissioner Doris Meissner; Michael McFaul,

a political analyst in Moscow for the Carnegie Endowment; and Richard

Haass, d

irector of foreign policy studies at the Brookings Institution here.

* ENGLISH POLICE: The Ebonics debate is generating sparks on Capitol Hi

ll. Rep. Peter T. King (R-N.Y.) has

introduced a resolution to deny federal ed

ucation funds for "any program that is based upon the premise that 'Ebonics' i

s

a legitimate language." He even circulated a letter among colleagues saying:

"When Is a Language Not a Language?

When It's Ebonics!" Rep. John Conyers Jr.

(D-Mich.) was not amused. An aide has distributed a dueling letter that point

s

out more than 20 errors of grammar and form in King's missive. Said Rodney W

alker, Conyers' press secretary: "As

Congress continues the Ebonics debate, who

will decide what constitutes standard English, Mr. King?" #K2P P#

WASHINGTON POST

Gulf War Ills Puzzling to Schwarzkopf

By Bill Mcallister

Thursday, January 30 1997; Page A08

Persian Gulf War commander H. Norman Schwarzkopf emotionally defended his offi

cers from suggestions they knowingly allowed U.S. forces to be exposed to chemi

cal weapons but acknowledged that he, too, was mystified by the illnesses

that

have struck veterans of the conflict.

"There is obviously something there," the retired Army general told the Senate

Veterans Affairs Committee yesterday,

appealing to the government to care for

the people who served under him during the 1991 conflict. "And something is

m

aking them sick and, by golly, we need to treat them and return them to normal

lives."

But Schwarzkopf conceded he could add little to the debate over what may have

made the veterans ill. He doubted it was

"exclusively" the result of exposure

to chemical weapons and suggested that stress, oil fires, bombing Iraqi weapon

s

aches and even pet collars used by some troops to ward off "creepy, crawly

things" found in the desert might have

played a role in causing the illnesses.

In the same gruff, blunt style that he demonstrated during war briefings, Schwarzkopf acknowledged he was "scared to death" of the possibility Iraq would kill thousands of U.S. troops with chemical weapons. He spoke of "a very difficult moral dilemma" his commanders faced when they decided to destroy Iraq's "very large stockpile of chemical weapons." They needed to demolish the weapons without endangering the lives of thousands of Iraqi civilians or allied troops, he said.

Schwarzkopf strongly defended his field commanders from allegations they were careless about chemical and biological weapons. Such allegations are "at worst a blatant lie, which strikes at the heart of our armed forces since it undermines the confidence of the mothers and fathers of America who place the well-being of their sons and daughters in our hands," he said.

Not one of the 541,000 military personnel who served in the Gulf theater showed "any symptom" of chemical exposure during the war, Schwarzkopf said. The general said, however, that he was stunned when he learned for the first time last year that U.S. troops may have been exposed to chemicals as they were retreating from Iraq and destroyed a large cache of Iraqi bombs discovered at a remote desert depot.

The general quickly rejected suggestions from Sen. John D. "Jay" Rockefeller IV (D-W.Va.) that U.S. commanders knew where the Iraqis had hidden large stocks of chemical weapons. "You know, if we had known they were there, senator, we would have hit them long before we did," he said.

Finding where the Iraqi chemical weapons were and destroying them was one of Schwarzkopf's top priorities. "I would have loved to be able to bring out a bunch of chemical rounds and say to the American people and the rest of the world, 'Look what these folks have and look what they were prepared to use against us,' " he told Rockefeller.

The general said his personal logs from the war, which the Pentagon is turning over to the committee, supported his conclusions. The panel, which has been highly critical of the way the Defense Department has handled the issue, did not dispute Schwarzkopf but several senators said they were eagerly awaiting the opportunity to examine all his logs and

attachments.

Bernard Rostker, the assistant Navy secretary who has been placed in charge of the Pentagon's response to Gulf War illnesses, attempted to assure the committee that defense officials were moving to resolve questions about what made the veterans ill. He noted he had removed an article from the Pentagon's "Gulflink" Internet Web site that discounted low levels of chemical exposure as a possible cause of the ailments. Rostker said he removed the article because the Pentagon has ordered additional research into the issue.

Virtually every senator who spoke at the session promised to be sympathetic toward expanding the eligibility of Gulf War veterans for compensation and medical care. Sen. Frank H. Murkowski (R-Alaska), a former chairman of the panel, offered the only note of caution, urging colleagues to balance the emotion of the subject against scientific research into what may have caused the illnesses.

.#K2P
P#

WASHINGTON POST
Clinton Renews Call for Standing War Crimes Tribunal
By Peter Baker
Thursday, January 30 1997; Page A08

President Clinton yesterday renewed his call for the creation of a permanent international tribunal to hunt down war criminals from conflicts around the world, not just in Bosnia, where the United States and NATO have failed to make a naggressive effort to bring such criminals to justice.

Clinton revived the concept during a meeting with senior military officers at the Pentagon, where he rejected the use of U.S. peacekeeping troops already in place to track down Bosnian Serb leaders accused of orchestrating a genocidal campaign of "ethnic cleansing" against the country's Muslim population.

The question of what to do about Bosnian war criminals has bedeviled the administration for months and appears no closer to resolution. The Defense Department has resisted the assignment of pursuing and arresting accused criminals in Bosnia on the grounds that its soldiers are not trained for what amounts to police work. But the European allies were cool to a U.S. plan last month to organize a specially trained police force for the task.

The president's remarks yesterday made clear that he agrees with Pentagon reluctance

ctance to get involved and yet saw no benefit in publicly pushing for a separate unit without support from other NATO countries.

"We ought to consider whether there should be a permanent international war crimes tribunal, which, of course, would require some sort of way of carrying out its mandate," Clinton said in response to questions from reporters. "If we do that, we need to look at it not just in terms of Bosnia, but over the long run."

The main purpose of the U.S. troops stationed in Bosnia, he added, is to help preserve a fragile peace, stabilize borders and provide security. "It would be impossible to do that and spend your time taking affirmative action over [war crimes] as a police force," Clinton said.

The notion of setting up a permanent body to prosecute war crimes, instead of establishing them on a case-by-case basis, as is now done, has floated around the United Nations for years. Clinton endorsed the concept in an October 1995 speech, although at the time his administration opposed a U.N. draft for such an agency because it wanted a narrow mandate requiring approval from the U.N. Security Council to pursue cases.

Senior administration officials said the president yesterday was not launching a new U.S. push to enact a permanent tribunal as much as signaling his openness to the idea. Aides said pressure on the White House to use troops in Bosnia

stemmed more from the outside, such as newspaper editorial pages and human rights groups, than from any serious internal debate.

Despite vows to prosecute war crimes, indicted Bosnian Serb leaders such as Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic remain free in Serb-held territory, all but ignored by NATO troops in the area.

"We're looking at a lot of ways to try to address this," said White House spokesman David Johnson. "We're not excluding anything, and we're going to keep working it hard."#K2PP#

WASHINGTON POST
Editorial: Is the FBI Going Downhill?
Thursday, January 30 1997; Page A18

IN RETROSPECT, the protracted, tortuous and final public parting of the ways between the Federal Bureau of

Investigation and its director, former U.S. district judge William Sessions, might have been a harbinger of what was to come. In the four years since Mr. Sessions was sent packing by President Clinton for what administration and bureau officials thought were abuses of perks, the FBI has shown signs of slipping away from the premier law enforcement agency it once was reputed to be. To be sure, the Hoover years hardly were a model for protection of the constitutional rights of Americans. But today's bureau has compiled a record of stature-destroying missteps and mishaps. A few glaring examples come to mind.

The bureau's world-renowned crime laboratory is less than the reliable operation it was once thought to be. Indications of evidence mishandling have turned up in dozens of cases, according to the Justice Department's inspector general. That may not seem like many for a laboratory that conducts more than a million evidence examinations a year. But hundreds of state and federal courts annually rely on the testimony of FBI experts. The possibility of contaminated evidence caused by the FBI crime lab's work is the kind of information that shakes the public trust. Two years ago, a federal audit also found discrepancies in test results and tracking cases that the FBI lab handled for state, local and federal prosecutors. To argue, as FBI officials now do, that no prosecutions have been compromised as a result of crime-lab problems is not enough. The bureau's performance is the source of public confidence. Sloppy work or lax procedures can't be acceptable. Unfortunately, some other confidence-shaking episodes have taken place. The FBI allowed itself to become politicized when it saluted the Clinton White House and issued a requested press release justifying the incoming administration's unjust firing of travel-office workers. It also later let down its guard when it willy-nilly turned over more than 900 sensitive FBI files--including those of former Bush White House officials--to staff in the Clinton White House.

Document shredding? Obstruction of justice? Who would have expected to see a senior bureau official plead guilty to destroying key evidence in the Ruby Ridge case. It happened. And the FBI's investigation in the Atlanta bombing case? The bureau's treatment of Olympic Park security guard Richard Jewell was a source of embarrassment to both FBI Director Louis Freeh and the agency. And despite the fact that 13-year FBI veteran Earl Edwin Pitts was caught and

arrested
, the bureau has seen one of its own charged with conspiring to commit espionage for Moscow.

None of this is to suggest that the FBI has reached an end-stage as an investigative agency. It hasn't. But the bureau has sustained some truly serious damage that must be repaired if the loss in confidence is not to become permanent.
#K2PP#

NEW YORK TIMES
U.S. Report on Human Rights Faults China, Nigeria and Cuba
By Steven Erlanger
January 30, 1997

WASHINGTON--Despite U.S. efforts, from jawboning to sanctions, human rights performance worsened last year in China, Nigeria, Cuba and Myanmar, according to the administration's annual report on human rights in 193 countries, which is to be released Thursday.

According to the document's "overview" and some of the reports, Russia's record is "mixed." Relatively free presidential elections and the withdrawal of Russian troops from Chechnya were offset by discrimination against minorities, harassment of military recruits, uneven legal reforms, little investigation of pressure on journalists and a worsening of already harsh prison conditions.

In some other former Soviet states where Washington has pushed democratization, progress has been uneven. In Belarus, the report says, there was "serious backsliding" toward dictatorship, while in Armenia, "progress toward democracy was set back" by "flawed elections."

In Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, the report notes a sharp increase of presidential power to the detriment of other branches of government, while Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Tajikistan "lag even further behind in the development of democracy and respect for human rights."

These reports, noted for their objectivity even by critics of Clinton's human rights policies, take aim at both friends and foes--criticizing Germany, for instance, for increased discrimination against the Church of Scientology.

Officials argue that the reports are gaining importance in U.S. policy decisions and that human rights is a formal criterion for imposing trade sanctions, particularly

providing aid and selling arms.

For example, Washington bans the sale of arms that can be used for crowd-control to Indonesia, which the report calls "strongly authoritarian," for its restrictions on opposition and its stifling of dissent. Congressional critics of Indonesia's record are blocking Clinton's wish to sell F-16 fighters to that country.

But officials admit that with complex, powerful or resource-rich countries like China, Russia or Saudi Arabia, U.S. interests require that human-rights concerns do not "dominate or distort" a "multi-faceted relationship."

For China, the report measures the failure of Clinton's policy of "constructive engagement" to improve human rights, as Clinton admitted at a news conference Tuesday.

China's "economic pragmatism and increasingly robust ties of trade and commerce with the United States and many other countries" have not prevented or ameliorated "widespread and well-documented human rights abuses," the report states.

No dissidents were active at year's end, the report says. "All public dissent against party and government was effectively silenced by intimidation, exile or the imposition of prison terms, administrative detention or house arrest."

During 1996, the report says, "Hong Kong's civil liberties and political institutions were threatened by restrictive measures taken by the Chinese government in anticipation of Hong Kong's reversion to Chinese sovereignty" in July.

Charlene Barshefsky, the administration's top trade official, said Wednesday that the United States would block China from entering the World Trade Organization, a key goal for the Chinese leadership this year, if Beijing continues to block the import of U.S. agricultural goods.

Ms. Barshefsky, the country's acting trade representative since last May, made the remark during a Senate confirmation hearing on her nomination to the position.

Although Myanmar formally ended the house arrest of the pro-democracy leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, the military regime "stepped up its 'rolling repression' and systematic violation of human rights," the report says.

A law signed by Clinton mandates a ban on U.S. investment in Myanmar, formerly Burma, if Mrs. Aung San Suu Kyi is

harm, significantly harassed or re-arrested. Officials say the White House is close to activating that law, which is sharply opposed by United States companies with interests in Myanmar, like the oil company Unocal.

Washington has imposed a ban on visas for leaders of repressive regimes, as well as suspending economic aid and blocking arms sales or loans to the countries from international institutions.

In Nigeria, the human rights performance of the military council headed by General Sani Abacha "remains dismal," the report says. The regime nullified March elections and security forces arrested or killed opponents, including legislators, and tortured suspects.

Cuba, a regular target, is called "a totalitarian anachronism, where human rights deteriorated in 1996. #K2PP#

WASHINGTON POST

Belgrade Feels Tremors From New Violence in Serbia's Albanian Enclave

By Jonathan C. Randal

Thursday, January 30 1997; Page A14

PRISTINA, Yugoslavia--An unsolved car bombing that seriously injured the Serb rector of Pristina University has heightened tensions in Serbia's troubled province of Kosovo, sending political shock waves through the rest of the country.

The bombing generated a particularly strong show of concern outside Kosovo, as often has been the case in the decade since Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic encouraged Serb nationalist sentiment against the province's growing Albanian majority to speed his rise to power.

Citing the Jan. 16 assassination attempt against the rector, Radivoje Papovic, Serbian officials loyal to Milosevic wrapped themselves in the fading Serb nationalist colors to complain of collusion among ethnic Albanians in Kosovo, those in neighboring Albania and the burgeoning Serbian political opposition.

Albanian, Serb and foreign observers expressed fear that Milosevic may seize on the Kosovo problem to distract attention from his government's widely criticized handling of municipal elections Nov. 17 that the opposition coalition called Together claims it won in 14 Serbian cities, only to be denied victories by

y government-controlled courts and electoral commissions.

According to these observers, Milosevic appears weaker than in the past, but they recalled that he twice has bested domestic political opponents by plunging parts of the former Yugoslavia into war--first in Croatia in 1991, then in Bosnia the following year. Albanians in Kosovo, Serbs and foreign powers long have predicted that any outbreak of fighting in Kosovo risks spreading rapidly to Albania, Macedonia, Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey.

Fueling such concern was the Milosevic propaganda machine's prompt recourse to the same kind of political rhetoric used in the Croatian and Bosnian conflicts. Dusan Simic, the Serb mayor of Pristina, Kosovo's capital, used nationwide television to accuse "Albanian extremists" of "organized political terrorism" to "destabilize Serbia" in collusion with Together's daily election protests in Belgrade.

Nonetheless, political analysts here also suggested that the mercurial Milosevic might upstage his Serbian opposition by striking a deal with Kosovo's increasingly estranged 2 million Albanians and the self-proclaimed Republic of Kosovo they set up after Milosevic abolished local autonomy in 1989. These Albanians, who constitute at least 90 percent of Kosovo's population, live under a local administration largely run by Serbs taking orders from Belgrade but have established their own, parallel institutions such as schools.

Milosevic once promised to colonize Kosovo with 100,000 Serbs. But that is now a distant memory. In fact, about 25,000 disconsolate Serb refugees from Croatia are now parked in the nearby countryside as a reminder of the ruins of his plans for a Greater Serbia. As a result, many local Serbs have become embittered.

Kosovo's Serbs confide that the Albanians, as one put it, "have only to wait 10 years and we will all have fled," because so many Serbs are selling their property and leaving the region. "Everyone should take responsibility for their illusions," a Serb official told a visitor. "We, the state and the people, paid for those illusions and we like to believe we will not be sacrificed."

Momcilo Trajkovic, president of the Serb Resistance Movement, said he and other hard-liners here feel abandoned by Milosevic. "Kosovo is always used by some one who wants to get or conserve power," he said. "We are in the jaws of

Albanian extremists and a regime unable to solve the Kosovo problem."

Mirroring the disarray among local Serbs, there is a growing split in Albanian nationalist ranks. Ibrahim Rugova, the leader of the unofficial Kosovo state, who sometimes is called the "Balkan Gandhi" for eschewing violence, has come under increasing attack from Adem Demaci, a human rights campaigner who spent 28 years in Yugoslav jails before his release in 1990.

Both men want independence for Kosovo. But Demaci appears more willing to accept a confederation with Montenegro and Serbia, the two remaining republics of Yugoslavia, because of Western opposition to changing international borders in Europe by force or allowing Kosovo to unite with Albania.

With Kosovo's Albanian majority disarmed and cowed by overwhelming Serbian police and military forces, Rugova argued that "we prevented a possible terrible conflict here for the past five years" and that "Kosovo is now on the map, " thanks to international support.

Sensing Kosovo Albanians' growing frustration with Rugova, however, Demaci has attacked him for counting too much on the international community and failing to extract any meaningful concessions from Belgrade in the past five years.

His campaign for more active forms of peaceful resistance has forced Rugova in to new elections in May. Demaci's spokesman, Bajram Kosumi, acknowledged that his Parliamentary Party's dilemma was "how to wake up the Albanian people without provoking war."

"We cannot expect Americans to come and die for us," Kosumi said.

Whatever their differences, Kosovo's Albanians and Serbs share fears that the recent violence bodes ill for their future. For the first time here in recent years, a car bomb was used against a civilian official. Adding to the general unease was the reemergence of the shadowy Kosovo Liberation Army, which periodically has claimed responsibility for a series of violent attacks in the past two years.

But skepticism greeted a communique issued in the Liberation Army's name assuming responsibility for the attack against the rector. Indeed, both Serbian government officials and Albanians have questioned the very existence of the

orga
nization, jokingly nicknamed the "fax liberation army."

They noted a series of sometimes inaccurate communiques--faxed in the group's name to local media without an identifying originating address--claiming responsibility for everything from killing pro-Serb Albanian "collaborators" to armed attacks on police stations and Serbian policemen. #K2PP#

NEW YORK TIMES

Aslan Maskhadov: Chechnya's Mild but Steely New Chief

By Alessandra Stanley

January 30, 1997

GROZNY, Russia--The newly elected president of Chechnya served most of his life in the Soviet army to reach the rank of colonel, but he never saw combat until Russian tanks rolled into the secessionist republic in December 1994 and he began plotting strategy against his former fellow officers.

Aslan Maskhadov, 45, won overwhelmingly on Monday in elections in Chechnya that foreign and Russian observers alike deemed fair and democratic. He is deeply popular with voters. He is grudgingly respected by at least some in the Russian government. But his mandate is not open-ended: He promised to deliver independence, and Chechen voters are as wedded to the idea as Russia is adamantly opposed to it.

As a military leader, Maskhadov displayed both steel and finesse during the long, brutal war. The question now is whether he will be able to sustain that balance in the murkier atmosphere of peace.

For 21 months of relentless aerial bombing and artillery assaults that left many tens of thousands of people dead, most of them civilians, Maskhadov was chief of staff of the Chechen forces, leading a small army of rebel fighters in a desperately uneven battle against the once mighty Russian army.

Mild in manner and reserved in speech, he came off as low-keyed and moderate during the campaign in contrast to his closest rival, Shamil Basayev, the brash rebel commander who led the violent hostage-taking raid on Budyonnovsk in June 1995. According to preliminary results announced Wednesday by the Electoral Commission, Maskhadov won 64.8 percent of the vote, to Basayev's 22.7 percent.

Basayev conceded defeat Wednesday, but said he would not accept a job in the new administration without major conditions. And in a theme likely to return once election euphoria wears off, he warned that Maskhadov must rid himself of "criminals" and "Soviet bureaucrats" within his entourage.

However easy-going he can sometimes seem, Maskhadov never gave an inch in wartime. And when negotiations with Moscow began and a fragile peace was finally signed, he was just as quietly stubborn.

Even Basayev, when asked if Maskhadov might be too soft to hold out against the Kremlin, replied, "You don't know. He could be even tougher than me. Time will tell."

His years serving under the Soviet hammer and sickle, however, have left their mark. Unlike Basayev he has always insisted that Chechnya needs strong economic and political ties to Moscow. He has likened the relationship to "two apartment-dwellers in the same building complex."

He was born in Kazakhstan--to which Stalin had deported Chechens. His family returned to Chechnya when he was 6, and he joined the Soviet army at 18. Former Soviet army comrades describe him as a by-the-book officer who had great rapport with his men. He never served in Afghanistan, but commanded a regiment in Soviet-occupied Hungary. Looking back, he said that when he served in Hungary, he did not consider himself an occupier, explaining, "you must remember those times."

But his consciousness was raised later while he was serving in the Baltics. He was a regiment commander in Vilnius when army units stormed an independence rally in 1991 and left 14 dead and 230 wounded. He had no role in that incident, but has since spoken of his shame at not having understood Lithuania's struggle for freedom.

After Dzhokhar Dudayev, a former Soviet general, declared Chechnya independent in 1991 and became its president, Maskhadov resigned from the military and returned to Chechnya to become commander in chief of the armed forces. He was close to Dudayev, who was killed in April 1996. But their temperaments differed.

"He (Dudayev) was rigid and loved emotion, while I always said we shouldn't rush to war," Maskhadov recently told a

Reuters reporter. "But on the question of Chechen independence, I don't differ one iota from him."

Perhaps his most critical decision came last August, when the Russians were in control of the Chechen capital, Grozny, and were scouring the countryside to root out rebel forces.

With the rebels seemingly facing defeat, Maskhadov launched a major offensive to retake Grozny, catching the ill-trained, poorly equipped and demoralized Russians off-guard. It took his men a week to regain control of the capital.

Maskhadov re-opened negotiations with Russia when other Chechen leaders like Basayev were pressing to continue the war. Russian troops have since left Chechnya, but though both sides agreed at the time to delay any final decision on the status of the rebel republic, Moscow now says that Chechnya must remain a part of Russia, while Maskhadov says that Moscow must recognize that Chechnya is already independent. That impasse is only one hurdle awaiting Maskhadov. Rage and defiance kept Chechen fighters and civilians united during the war, but that harmony is likely to dissipate as Russia recedes as an enemy and poverty, crime, and corruption take their toll.

"I went through two years of war at Maskhadov's side," said Khamzat Batayev, 40, the fierce-looking commander of Bamut, a village where rebels held out against Russian occupation for more than a year. "There was not one minute, not one moment, when he let me down."

Batayev said he did not believe Maskhadov would settle for anything less than full independence from Russia. "If I had any doubts," he said gravely. "I would not have voted for him, I would have told my men not to vote for him."#K2PP#

NEW YORK TIMES
Gulag Cellmates Reminisce (Now They Can Laugh)
By Serge Schmemmann
January 30, 1997

MOSCOW--It was a reunion like most Russian reunions, with anecdotes about the old days, sentimental toasts and a table loaded with sausage, potatoes and herring.

The only difference was that the apartment holds the Andrei Sakharov archive, and the people gathered there were old dissidents come to see an old colleague,

Natan Sharansky.

To these people, some of whom had sat in labor camps or prison with Sharansky, he was not the Israeli minister of industry and trade, and not even Natan (the Hebrew name he took in Israel). He was Tolya (the Russian diminutive of his Russian name, Anatoly), and the fact that he was a real government minister was, for this evening, just another object of merriment.

Sharansky was describing how he was driven away from the Perm labor camp in 1986 on the way to freedom: "There was a police car in front, a police car in back and policemen at every intersection saluted."

"Just like today," interjected Vyacheslav Bakhmin, a veteran of the same camp, prompting a round of laughter.

"I always said, 10 years of labor camp was the best preparation for 10 years of Israel," Sharansky declared, breaking into his trademark smile.

"In fact, one of the campaign slogans of my party in Israel was, 'We go to prison first, then the Knesset.'" The allusion to the legal problems facing several Israeli ministers drew another round of laughter.

Then Sharansky turned serious. He pointed to a portrait of Sakharov, the creator of the Soviet nuclear bomb who became the Soviet Union's best-known dissident, and a man Sharansky, 48, has described as the most important influence on his generation and his own dissident activity. The same portrait, he said, hangs in his office with the mandatory Israeli portraits of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and President Ezer Weizman.

"People come in and ask, is that a former president?" Sharansky said. "What they should ask is, who are those men across from Sakharov?" said Aleksandr Danil, another veteran of the dissident movement. "Well, I hope he has a good influence on them," came Sharansky's rejoinder.

To these people, Sakharov had been a champion and a protector, and the neighboring apartment had been a center for many strands of dissidence--the political dissidents demanding human rights, the Jews seeking emigration, the Tatars and others seeking their national rights, the Christians seeking freedom of religion. In fact, Sharansky had gained prominence first as a spokesman and interpreter at Sakharov's news conferences for Western journalists.

Many of the old dissidents were now scattered--Yelena Bonner, Sakharov's wife, was in Boston with her children; many of Sharansky's fellow "refuseniks" were in Israel or in the United States; the most prominent dissident still in Russian, Sergei Kovalyov, was in Chechnya monitoring its elections.

But the names around the table invoked now distant images of demonstrations smashed by KGB agents, of closed trials, of declarations smuggled from prison cells, of news conferences in musty apartments--Vladimir Porush, who was in prison with Sharansky, Malva Landa, Larisa Bogoraz, Aleksandr Ginsburg, Aleksandr Pograbin, Aleksandr Lavut, Mikhail Kazakov, Natalya Kravchenko and Lyudmila Alekseyeva, a lawyer who had defended many of them. Sharansky's mother, Ida Milgrom, 89, and his brother Leonid, now a businessman in Des Moines, were also there, all joined by the sense that they had overcome and triumphed, and so now could laugh at what once was a constant hell.

A question from Miss Bogoraz prompted Sharansky to describe the details of his release from Perm and the process that ended with his release in East Berlin in an East-West prisoner exchange. He recalled how he was put in a special cell and fattened up for six weeks: "They gave me eggs. I hadn't seen an egg in 10 years."

Then he described his drive to Moscow, and the formal announcement read to him by some official: "By a special order of the Council of Ministers, you are deprived of your Soviet citizenship."

This drew a solid round of laughter around the table, followed by an even louder one when Sharansky continued, "I told them I was to make an announcement of my own."

In Berlin, Sharansky recalled, his most vivid impression of the villa where he was kept on his last night was the smell of coffee --"strong, rich coffee, something I hadn't smelled in a decade."

These were details many of those present could appreciate, and they joined in with their own anecdotes. "The last time I saw you was in 1984," Porush told Sharansky. "It was Aug. 1. I remember because I was supposed to be set free that day, and they gave me three more years instead."

Kazakov began describing a visit to a prison in Massachusetts, which prompted a new round of talk about different

prisons. When he first arrived in Israel, Sharansky said, he asked to visit a prison: "I knew that was the one place where they couldn't hide anything from me, where I would understand everything immediately."

Many nodded in understanding. The years they had spent in interrogation, in prisons, in punishment cells and labor camps had required special skills and survival strategies, and they all graduated with honors.

But this was no time for somber thoughts, and Sharansky quickly picked up the strand of his story. "We got in a plane to fly from West Berlin to Frankfurt, and it wouldn't start," he said. "They told us to change planes. And here I had thought I had left Russia . . ." #K2PP#

LOS ANGELES TIMES
Russian Spin on Yeltsin Ills Recalls Soviets
By Carol J. Williams, Times Staff Writer
Wednesday, January 29, 1997

MOSCOW--As far as the Kremlin's openness about the health of Russia's leader is concerned, it can be said that "We're back in the U.S.S.R."

It is back to the days when analysts examined television footage for hours to detect if a purported public place was really a hospital room subjected to a little stagecraft.

The time is back when official statements are not exactly untruthful but are more telling in what they leave out than for the few words that are carefully chosen.

Once again, forced to speculate in an information vacuum, scholars, diplomats and journalists here are engaged in endless debates about who is being groomed as heir apparent when the current leader's days seem so distressingly numbered.

Russian President Boris N. Yeltsin reportedly returned to the Kremlin for three hours Tuesday. But accounts of his health and appearance were mostly secondhand, and the scurrying to show him in action seemed to prove little more than that he is still breathing.

A Kremlin cameraman was authorized to provide a few seconds of television footage showing a bright-eyed Yeltsin toddling

toward Prime Minister Viktor S. Chernomyrdin, then seated at an office table for discussions.

But no sound accompanied the footage, and no one outside the Kremlin inner circle was privy to the rare office visit.

"This situation reminds one of the last days of Konstantin Chernenko," Sergei Markov, a political analyst with the Moscow Carnegie Center, said in comparing Yeltsin's staged appearances with the heavily edited glimpses Russians got of their last leader to die in office.

After a 13-month stint, the wheezing and frail Chernenko died in March 1985 at age 73.

Recalling one highly choreographed shot of Chernenko congratulating visitors to his "office" on International Women's Day--two days before his death--Markov said the film was taken at an awkward angle to obscure the fact that the hospitalized leader had no pants on.

Concern about Yeltsin's health, despite repeated assurances from his aides that his condition is improving, has soared since Friday's announcement that a Moscow meeting of former Soviet republic leaders had been canceled.

It took on new urgency Monday when the Kremlin acknowledged that the president is still not well enough to make a one-day trip to the Netherlands next week.

On Tuesday, President Clinton sought to downplay the issue--saying at a news conference that he had no private information to contradict Kremlin accounts of Yeltsin's health and praising the Russian leadership for breaking with Soviet and Russian tradition and publicly discussing the leader's condition.

Clinton said he expected a summit with Yeltsin to be held in March in Washington, as planned.

"We have a huge, full agenda. And we have been given no impression by the Russians that we aren't still going to have the . . . meeting in the March timeframe," he said.

But on Monday, White House Press Secretary Mike McCurry had appeared to be trying to ease the pressure on Yeltsin when he suggested at a briefing that the U.S.-Russian meeting might slip to April and be held elsewhere.

Yeltsin's spokesman, Sergei V. Yastrzhembsky curtly told journalists at a Kremlin briefing Tuesday that he had "no new information" about any change in plans

.

Saying that he is no medical expert and therefore unfit to assess the president's health, Yastrzhembsky insisted that Yeltsin continues to get better after a bout of double pneumonia this month, quintuple bypass surgery in November and several heart attacks over the last two years.

"Progress is evident. There is an essential difference" between Yeltsin's appearance Tuesday and the way he looked a week earlier, when Yastrzhembsky last saw him, the spokesman said.

Yeltsin has been to the Kremlin only a handful of times since he won a new four-year term in July. Despite the tape given to television networks on Tuesday--the first pictures of Yeltsin in more than three weeks--concern about his ability to rebound remained high.

Internal political pressures have been mounting on Yeltsin to show that he is still in charge, including a parliamentary attempt to impeach him a week ago and the scheduled departure from the country today of the politician constitutionally designated to replace him: Chernomyrdin.

The prime minister will be spending almost two weeks abroad, first on an official visit to Switzerland, then at the World Economic Forum in the Swiss city of Davos, then in Washington for talks with Vice President Al Gore.

Chernomyrdin's imminent departure probably compelled Yeltsin and his advisors to demonstrate that the leader is back in the saddle--at least to the extent that he can make a rare visit to his office.

Yeltsin, who will turn 66 on Saturday, is also scheduled to meet with French President Jacques Chirac on Sunday at a country guest house.

French reporters in Moscow have said their Paris headquarters told them that Chirac's office was asked by the Russians to refrain from inviting journalists along for the trip.

Asked if foreign press could observe the opening minutes of the Yeltsin-Chirac meetings--as was once common practice--Yastrzhembsky told journalists to "send an application." German Chancellor Helmut Kohl was the last person outside Yeltsin's entourage to see the president--in a two-hour meeting Jan. 4. A few German photographers were allowed to watch their handshake from a distance. No significant exposure of the

current Kremlin chief has occurred since before his re-election. #K2PP#

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Chechnya's Victor to Face Russian Grip on Oil Riches

Marshall Ingwerson, Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Thursday January 30, 1997 Edition

MOSCOW--The next battle Moscow will fight to keep the tiny republic of Chechnya within its borders will not be fought with rocket-propelled grenade launchers.

The next battle will be fought over rebuilding the Chechen economy, and it will be fought with oil.

Well over two-thirds of Chechen voters, who swarmed to the polls Monday, elected Aslan Maskhadov as Chechnya's president. The vote was a further step in Chechnya's political independence from Moscow.

Mr. Maskhadov says his primary goal now is to win recognition of Chechnya's independence from other nations, including Russia. But it was also a vote for stability and moderation, since Maskhadov was the most moderate candidate in the race and the one Russia is most comfortable negotiating with.

The political independence of Chechnya is a practical fact, in that the last Russian troops have been withdrawn, and Russian police, prosecutors, and tax collectors are not operating on Chechen territory - as they are in every other Russian territory and republic.

But economic independence is another matter. The key to building a legitimate economy in the separatist republic is through a revival of its once-thriving oil industry. For that, says Sergei Markov, an analyst at the Carnegie Center in Moscow, "it is almost impossible to be independent. They need Russia to develop it."

Chechnya still uses the Russian ruble as its currency, is part of the Russian grid of gas and electricity, and its businessmen are still deal primarily with Russia, Mr. Markov says. "From an economic point of view, Chechnya doesn't want to be independent," he adds.

Most of all, Chechnya wants to be part of the coming oil bonanza in the Caspian Sea region. The first oil will begin to flow from wells in the southern Caspi

an in about three years. How that oil will be carried to market means tens of millions of dollars to the countries the pipelines cross.

Last week, in one of Zelimkhan Yandarbiyev's last moves as acting president of Chechnya, he proposed a \$3 billion network of pipelines that would cross Chechen territory. He has been putting together private financing for the project.

A major existing pipeline from the Caspian port of Baku, Azerbaijan, to the Black Sea port of Novorossisk, Russia, goes through Chechnya. This pipeline was shut down during Chechnya's war against Russia and is now used only for small-time pirate operations.

Any oil that crosses Chechnya is going to cross other parts of Russia as well and would require mutual cooperation. On the other hand, it is possible for Russia to cut Chechnya out of the oil-transport picture.

One Russian official privately confirmed that a Russian oil-transport company, Transneft, has drafted contingency plans for rerouting pipelines around Chechnya, although Transneft officials deny it.

Chechnya was once one of the most important centers of oil production and refining in the Soviet Union. At their peak in the late 1960s, Chechen wells produced 5 million tons of oil per year, and Chechen refineries had over 20 million tons of capacity - most of which refined oil from Siberia.

By the time the late Chechen President Dzhokhar Dudayev declared independence from Russia in 1991, Chechen wells were running down, producing only 1 or 2 million tons per year. And the Chechen economy was becoming increasingly criminalized.

"An essential part of the oil just disappeared during the Dudayev years," says Alexander Arbatov, chairman of the committee for natural resources of the Russian Academy of Sciences. "In the early '90s, 15 million tons of crude came from western Siberia and only 10 million tons went back. Obviously, there was an illegal deal between suppliers and the Chechens for export of the missing oil."

After the war started at the end of 1994, the Chechen oil industry came to a halt altogether. Some wells illegally pump oil into the pipeline, and the oil equivalent of moonshiners tapped the pipe and set up backyard refining operations.

ns. Since the fighting stopped last August, the Chechen authorities have been trying to stop these pirate operations so they can restore credibility to their oil infrastructure with outside investors and governments.

The hard-headed practicality of Chechnya's economic future was probably brought home to Chechen leaders by Boris Berezovsky, appointed to the Russian Security Council this fall and put in charge of the restoration of Chechnya's economy. Mr. Berezovsky is a major shareholder in Sibneft, an oil company that was a significant player in Chechnya's old oil economy.

Chechnya has another economic choice, Markov notes. "Chechnya can become some sort of pirate republic," he says, "which means that its major profit is coming from criminal activities." If so, he adds, "then Chechnya has no need for relations with Russia."

Russian railway engineers have already begun work on a 50-mile detour that will skirt Chechnya on the north-south rail route through the Caucasus. The new route will be a little more direct, but mainly it will be more secure. Two trains were robbed this month alone as they crossed Chechnya, and several people were killed in one holdup.#K2PP#

BOSTON GLOBE
Recognize Chechnya, Victor Tells Russians
By David Filipov, Globe Staff, 01/29/97

MOSCOW - Hours after claiming a landslide victory in Chechnya's presidential elections, the rebel military chief Aslan Maskhadov set a course for new confrontation with Moscow yesterday, by demanding that Russia recognize the region's independence.

Taking a tough stand that conflicted with his image as the Chechen separatist leader Moscow could best deal with, Maskhadov also demanded reparations for the damage inflicted by 21 months of heavy fighting that ended when Russia halted the conflict last August.

Adding to the challenge, Maskhadov's camp said the region would press the United Nations immediately for recognition of sovereignty. "We declared Chechnya an independent, sovereign state in 1991," after the collapse of the Soviet Union,

Maskhadov told reporters in Grozny. ``Now, the only thing that remains is to have it recognized by the whole world."

Maskhadov, who negotiated the agreement that led to the full withdrawal of Russian troops from Chechnya this month and that cleared the way for the election on Monday, won 65 percent of the vote in the region, according to unofficial results released yesterday. That was double the amount won by his nearest opponent, the rebel firebrand Shamil Basayev, and enough to secure victory without a runoff.

Maskhadov, a silver-haired former Soviet artillery colonel, said he was ready to hold talks with the Kremlin on independence for the region of 1 million mostly Muslim residents.

``I will try to compromise, but only within reasonable limits," Russian NTV television showed Maskhadov saying.

If Maskhadov left little room for compromise, the Kremlin, which has made it clear that it will not tolerate secession, left none. In Moscow yesterday, Boris N. Yeltsin's spokesman said the Russian president would consider negotiations only ``in determining the status of the Chechen Republic within the Russian Federation."

Unable to force its will militarily on Chechnya, the Kremlin has other ways to influence the separatists. Moscow has threatened to break off relations with any country that recognizes Chechnya; no one in the international community is rushing to make the move.

Russia also has powerful economic incentives.. The region has an oil pipeline that runs from the rich reserves of Central Asia and the Caspian Sea. To tap this potential source of wealth, Chechnya will need Russian expertise, capital and, mostly, permission. The region is landlocked and almost surrounded by Russia. Officials in Moscow suggested privately that the president-elect was trying to appease the pro-independence mood of 30 percent of Chechens who voted for the more hard-line Basayev in order to prevent internecine squabbling. Eventually, they said, Maskhadov will come around to what they are offering - broad autonomy within Russia.

This story ran on page A2 of the Boston Globe on 01/29/97. #K2PP#

WALL STREET JOURNAL

German Project Tries to Uncover Dark past of East's Stasi Spies

By Cacilie Rohwedder, Staff Reporter of the Wall Street Journal

January 29, 1997

ZIRNDORF, Germany--Heinz Lay's desk is a mess.

Hundreds of paper scraps, some as small as a fingernail, cover the large wooden surface. They bear bits of awkward handwriting, faded photocopied images and the smeared letters of low-quality typewriters.

The giant puzzle is a leftover from the heady days when communism collapsed in East Germany and the Stasi, or state security police, tried to destroy its darkest secrets. In the process, shredding machines overheated and broke down. Frustrated Stasi officers took to tearing up the evidence by hand.

Along with 50 other puzzlers in a building in this suburb of Nuremberg, Mr. Lay is now piecing the torn papers back together. It's a publicly funded project designed to expose the workings of totalitarianism and fill in the gaps in the biographies of millions of eastern Germans.

AIRING THE PAST

Like a 1992 law giving Stasi victims access to their files, the project has sparked controversy within Germany and outside, where none of the former socialist states has gone as far to unearth the records of dictatorship. Yet even as secrets emerge to shake lives and shatter careers, German officials say this is as a can of worms that must be opened: to face up to an ugly chapter in the nation's history and avoid repeating the postwar silencing of Nazi misdeeds.

"After the war, everything was swept under the rug," says Joachim Gauck, a former Protestant minister who is administering the vast Stasi archive. "Nobody had seen anything, nobody knew anything. People thought it was good to suppress what happened and allowed Nazi elites in power positions. This time around, we're doing it differently."

Closely linked to the Stasi--which stands for Staatssicherheit, or state security--is a current debate over another relic of the old regime: the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS), the renamed Communist Party of the former East Germany. Made up largely of old Communist Party members, the PDS is a regional force, polling merely 4% of Germany's total vote in recent surveys. But with the s

lim majority held by Chancellor Helmut Kohl in the German parliament, the PDS is a force that could help bring down the Kohl government in next year's election--if the opposition closes ranks with former communists tied to the ills of East Germany.

That's the question facing members of the opposition Green and Social Democratic parties. Just before Christmas, seven Green and SPD politicians defected to Mr. Kohl's camp, protesting their old parties' ambiguous stance toward teaming up with the PDS. "Throughout my whole political life, I will work to ensure that the PDS won't get government responsibility," says Vera Lengsfeld, a former eastern dissident who led the switch to Mr. Kohl's conservative Christian Democrats.

HUSBAND AND WIFE

A soft-spoken woman with large blue-green eyes and thin blond hair, Ms. Lengsfeld felt the grim legacy of the Stasi files when they revealed that her husband had for years been spying on her for the security police. Despite the discovery, Ms. Lengsfeld says eastern Germans have a right to such former state secrets. The open files, she says, can clarify unexplained events and unmask unexpected enemies, but they also show true friends.

"You have to face your own past," says Ms. Lengsfeld. "For the people concerned, it is right and important that the torn-up files are being reconstructed."

The patchwork takes place in a bleak brick low-rise here in Zirndorf that used to process asylum seekers, until Germany toughened its laws. Now the building and some of its civil servants work on the Stasi's scraps. At his cluttered desk, Mr. Lay has found that the fragments reveal not only personal tragedies but powerful moments of political history: notes on West German terrorists with new names and plastic surgery sponsored by the Stasi; detailed briefings on Middle East terrorism by friendly Arab visitors to East Berlin; and on-site reports from the killing of 11 Israeli athletes during the 1972 Olympic Games in Munich. Most of all, there are endless details on the lives of East German writers, priests and dissidents.

"I didn't know the reach of Stasi activities," says Mr. Lay, a 45-year-old Bavarian whose puzzle work has given him his first encounter with the other Germany. "For me, East Germany was a foreign country. I never went there. Public se

rvants
would get in trouble going there. I had no idea what they did to people
."

On the floor beside Mr. Lay's desk is a large brown paper sack, one of 5, 650 bags deemed to contain information worth trying to recover. In total, Stasi spies filled over 17,000 bags with their ripped-up records. Even the best puzzlers need at least three months for a single one. Some pages consist of four or five scraps, but more meticulous Stasi staffers tore pages into minuscule parts--the current record being 98 pieces of paper for a single page.

"The most important thing is to keep the window shut," says Horst Friedrich, who shares an office with Mr. Lay. In the Zirndorf building, a gust of wind can ruin a week's work.

'THIS IS STASI-LAND'

In eastern Berlin, 3,000 more people are toiling at the former Stasi headquarters, a dreary complex of 38 brownish office buildings, surrounded by socialist-style high-rises built for 15,000 Stasi bureaucrats. One of the bigger buildings, once East Germany's center for radio intelligence, now houses an unemployment office where onetime spies can be found among those lining up for jobless benefits. Dirty snow is melting in front of a former Stasi prison across the street. "This is Stasi-land," says a guide.

Inside, Stasi-land is a Kafkaesque labyrinth of hallways, dark stairwells and dimly lit storage rooms with low ceilings and linoleum floors. Rows of metal shelves hold an estimated 180 kilometers of files. Drawers contain some 39 million index cards on objects of Stasi suspicion--among them, six million East Germans, or more than half the country's adult population.

A stuffy basement--called "the copper kettle" for the metal walls once meant to make it a hacker-proof computer room--now stores "smell samples": pieces of yellow cloth in jam jars that preserve the body scent of regime critics so that

tracking dogs could hunt them down if the need arose. It was here that angry mobs who stormed the building when the Berlin Wall collapsed found piles of the bags full of scraps.

In a vault nearby, low shelves are packed with other leftovers, such as tangled audiotapes, diaries of high-ranking Stasi

officials, and photos of the protesters graffiti that proliferated on East German walls in the late 1980s. More exotic findings include manuals on NATO operations and flight routes of Britain's Royal Air Force. There is a city map of Zurich, a phone directory of the West German Criminal Police Office and reports on secret burials of refugees shot at the Berlin Wall.

CODE NAME: 'FESSLER'

Amid this mess, officials say, there are some sensitive surprises for Western intelligence services. "It's amazing what a disproportionate effort these basically small, economically weak East European states made in espionage," says Mr. Gauck, the former priest who heads the federal agency in charge of the files.

One such surprise is "Fessler," the Stasi code name of a double agent-- still unknown to U.S. intelligence--who tricked the Central Intelligence Agency for over a decade. Using an East German export company as a cover, Fessler worked as a businessman in Paris. There, the CIA recruited him in the late 1970s and continued to use him after he returned to East Berlin. Fessler told his Western bosses about East Germany's economic situation, including price stability, transportation routes and production quotas. He dutifully reported the security measures the regime was taking following the imposition of martial law in Poland in 1981. Above all, however, he told the Stasi what the West was interested in and got supplied with disinformation.

Like a spy novel, Fessler's file describes secret meetings in apartments and on park benches, in Paris restaurants and West Berlin department stores. The file even mentions a suntan lotion that makes invisible ink readable once spread on a piece of prepared paper. And, as he might in a novel, the master spy eventually retires, still uncompromised--in this case, with a Rosenthal porcelain plate and 248,000 German marks (\$150,300), stuffed into three plastic bags, courtesy of the CIA. 'IT MAKES SENSE'

Back in Zirndorf, Lothar Flessner says he has always liked detective stories. He never much cared for puzzles. But the 42-year-old believes in his job. "It makes sense what we're doing," says Mr. Flessner, who himself lived in East Germany until his family moved to Bavaria in the late 1950s.

Mr. Flessner recalls depressing trips to relatives left behind. His cousin was n't allowed to become a doctor and had to study engineering instead. "One has to sweep beyond one's own front door," Mr. Flessner says. "Everyone should know what happened in East Germany. It helps to prevent such things in the future."

For now, he is dealing with a somber piece of the past. Together with his wife Anita, who also works for the puzzle project, he is reconstructing the file of Silke Maier-Witt, a West German terrorist involved in several high-profile assassinations during the 1970s. Piece by piece, the scraps trace how she arrived in East Germany from Czechoslovakia in 1980 and received shelter, a new face and a new name, "Anja Weber." The terrorist also received job training, both as a nurse and as a Stasi informer.

A few doors down from the Flessners, another piece of repair work underlines East Germany's role as a support center for international terrorism. The file relates how "Guest," a high ranking official from the Palestine Liberation Organization, used East Berlin as a hub to switch planes with full cooperation from the Stasi. During one of his stopovers, Guest told the Stasi what, in the eyes of the PLO, had gone wrong during the 1985 hijacking of the Achille Lauro, an Italian cruise ship, which ended with the terrorists' capture in Italy. He also shared PLO plans for a retaliatory attack on a U.S. embassy or airline, should Italy--"pressured by the U.S."--pass a tough verdict on the hijackers. His Stasi file meticulously notes Guest's travel itineraries and the outfits he wore on each visit.

Occasionally, the puzzlers come across more entertaining issues: an order signed by Adolf Hitler; a memo to Erich Honecker, the former East German leader, instructing him how to phrase an invitation to the pope; a report from the day when Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev died and the radio played a joyful marching tune. But such days are rare. The Zirndorf puzzle isn't much of a game. #K2PP

#

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

West 'Betrayed Fighters'

Colin Woodard, Special to The Christian Science Monitor
Thursday January 30, 1997 Edition

BUCHAREST, ROMANIA--The new Romanian President Emil Constantinescu has expressed disappointment with Western governments' lack of support for those fighting for democratic change in other parts of the world.

In an exclusive interview with the Monitor, Mr. Constantinescu says he was surprised by the post-cold war policies of Western nations toward Eastern Europe.

He says they have provided support to authoritarian governments in the interest of stability.

"After 200 years of successful democracy, I'm afraid even the United States seems most unconfident in the strength of popular democracy," he says. "The West is always inclined to support stability abroad, and the most convenient form of stability is often authoritarian or dictatorial."

The president's remarks come while popular demonstrations challenge less than democratic regimes in Bulgaria, Serbia, and Albania, and follow his recent defeat of former Communists in November elections.

The neo-Communist regimes that emerged after 1989 provided the West with "protection against organized crime and unwanted immigration and even gave them a basis for feeling superior. But by supporting them, the West betrayed those fighting for democratic change," he adds.

Constantinescu credits ordinary Romanians with having the courage to vote for change, even as they knew that needed economic reforms would cause them great difficulty in the short term.

Asked if his government faces challenges from remnants of Ceausescu's security police, he acknowledges that such forces exist, but says "the extent of popular support during the elections has them afraid to take actions." Most Romanians believe that covert intelligence and security elements still exercise considerable power behind the scenes, a paranoia given credence by the previous government's obstruction of investigations into the Ceausescu period, the 1989 revolution, the Tigris Mures riots, and other events.

Constantinescu says that he has spoken with "certain officials" of the various security agencies. "We have the support of the people and we cannot be blackmailed or bought," he said. "They have nowhere to go."#K2PP#

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Romania's Revolution Part 2: Serving Up Justice

Colin Woodard, Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Thursday January 30, 1997 Edition

BUCHAREST, ROMANIA--When one thinks of Romania's capital, "upbeat" rarely comes to mind. It is a sprawl of bleak, concrete high-rises, decaying 19th-century palaces, and prefabricated street kiosks, where stray dogs and street children compete for the sympathy of pedestrians.

But anticipation is in the air in Bucharest and other cities and towns across Romania.

Since taking office two months ago, the new center-right government has been cleaning house: Seemingly omnipotent state officials have been turned out of office, untouchable criminals arrested, and once-reviled dissident and ethnic minority leaders have been appointed to high government positions.

President Emil Constantinescu promises more: tough economic reforms, an end to endemic corruption, and an investigation to reveal the truth about Romania's mysterious 1989 revolution.

"It's not just a change of governments, it's a change of regimes," says political analyst Gabriel Andreescu of the independent Group for Social Dialogue. "Romania has been ruled by a mafia, which has used its control of the economy to enrich themselves. What the new government undertakes is not simply a struggle against corruption, but rather one to establish the rule of law."

CONTINUED OPPRESSION

Since the December 1989 revolt against Communist dictator Nicolae Ceausescu, Romania had been ruled by a group of former Communists. Until being voted out of office in November, they used control over state television, secret service, and local administrations to maintain their control of the country's political and economic life.

Opposition politicians, pro-democracy demonstrators, and leaders of the Hungarian minority were targeted for attacks by armed mobs of coal miners and migrant peasant workers, who are reported to have received instructions, transportation, and supervision from police and state officials. Such state-directed mob violence in 1990 - including violent interethnic clashes in Tigu Mures and a rampage by miners in Bucharest - left several dead and hundreds wounded. It also

o hurt
Romania's image abroad.

Since sweeping the elections in November, the new government has made an accounting of these events - and fighting state corruption - top priorities. The leader of the miners has been detained by police investigating his role in mob violence and mafia activities. President Constantinescu pardoned an ethnic Hungarian man imprisoned after the Tigris-Mures events, and relieved several country officials in Transylvania of their posts.

The old heads of state television, the national archives, and other institutions have been replaced by individuals more committed to the free flow of information.

"People are even more interested in justice being made than they are about the standard of living or day-to-day economic problems," Constantinescu told the Monitor in an exclusive interview. "The popular mentality has changed a great deal in the past seven years. People are ready for real change and reform, and are prepared to bear the costs."

HIGHER PRICES ON HORIZON

While the president's anticorruption campaign clearly has widespread support, necessary economic reforms may not. Ongoing negotiations between the new government and the International Monetary Fund are expected to result in a harsh stabilization program in exchange for new credits. Economists predict energy and food prices to jump three or four times relative to salaries - a daunting prospect for ordinary Romanian families.

"The government must accept an austerity program if we are to avoid total economic collapse like they face in Bulgaria," says Ilie Serbanescu, an economist based in Bucharest.

"The government has the determination to take the necessary steps; they're afraid that some of these corrections will be too painful for the population to withstand." He says IMF and World Bank support for social support is vital if austerity measures - price liberalization, closure of loss-making factories, and streamlining of social-welfare programs - are to succeed.

"Communism is dead in political and economic terms, but it still has support in social terms across Eastern Europe," says prominent political analyst Silviu

Brucan who held high offices during Romania's Stalinist period in the 1950s and early '60s.

"Principles of job security and social justice still run strong across the region. But the transition process cannot be stopped once it has started. We have to go the whole way, and we need to do it quickly while the external support is there," says Mr. Brucan. #K2PP#

WASHINGTON POST
Tiptoeing Toward the Euro
By Jim Hoagland
Thursday, January 30 1997; Page A19

Two centuries of bitter conflict and proud diversity have produced a modern Europe in which the Germans control the money and the French have the bomb. Imagine the world's dilemma if it were the other way round. Yet Europe's fundamental postwar equilibrium is being tinkered with, in talks between Paris and Bonn. With increasing frequency, bubbles float to the surface suggesting strong currents colliding as the proposed creation of new European institutions and a Euro currency draws near.

No need to run to your currency broker's office yet. No one in power is proposing a complete reversal of the effective balance of power these two old adversaries established after 1945 and after fighting three wars in 70 years. No one is proposing a German finger on the nuclear trigger or a French hand on the crank of the Bundesbank's D-mark printing press.

But lesser changes crowd in as the millennium-ending deadlines for European integration mandated by the 1991 Maastricht treaty approach. America, which has watched with indifference or disdain, has an enormous stake in how the European experiment turns out.

"Maastricht"--as the integration process has come to be known--is a French-inspired effort to restrain the enormous power a reunified Germany exerts in Europe. Sensitive to the past and to European support for acceptance of unification in 1990, Chancellor Helmut Kohl works hard to show support for these French ideas.

That amiability seems to lie behind Kohl's joining French President Jacques Chirac on Dec. 9 in signing a confidential

"common strategic concept" paper that commits both nations to "a dialogue on the role of nuclear deterrence in the context of a European defense policy." The document was leaked to the French press last week and debated in the National Assembly yesterday.

The French obviously would favor giving more political and military content to new institutions proposed by Maastricht.

Those are the areas of French strength vis-a-vis Germany. More than any other nation, France believes in and depends

on the transformation of Germany into a democratic country done without war. Still,

possessing the world's third-most

powerful nuclear arsenal and a will to

use force in the national interest keep the French secure in dealing with the

larger,

more economically powerful neighbor.

The joint strategic document restates an old French idea that surfaces periodically. Paris likes holding out the possibility

to the Germans of some involvement

in French nuclear policy--in a European context that would also give the

French

influence on German monetary policy.

Usually the Germans run full tilt away from the notion of nuclear involvement, citing the commitments their nation has given

in several treaties never to engage

in "the manufacture or possession of or control over nuclear, biological or chemical weapons."

This time Kohl moved an inch forward toward the French instead of shying away.

He did the same thing recently in

ordering his military to join France in developing

a costly European military reconnaissance satellite instead of buying

a

much cheaper, more powerful U.S. satellite off the shelf.

At the same time that the French are pushing him on military and political matters, Kohl is coming under increasing

pressure from German politicians and bankers

for ironclad guarantees not to sacrifice the economic stability brought by

the D-mark, their proudest creation of the century.

For a decade the French have rigidly pegged the franc's value and their interest rates to German fiscal decisions. While

allowing French unemployment to soar

to record levels, Paris has become a leader in the low-inflation club the

Bundesbank

sees as the key to Europe's stability.

But old suspicions die hard in the economic arena, too.

Some French political leaders have fed German suspicions by arguing that adopting the Euro as a new currency will allow France and its partners to pursue looser monetary policies. The Bundesbank has dug in its heels and insists on rigid adherence to tight money and Maastricht's economic performance standards, both before and after the 1999 creation of the Euro.

The tension that accompanies French-German cooperation on building a new Europe pits politics vs. economics: The French see creation of the Euro, and of a new integrated Europe, as a political decision that will rise or fall on political will. Most Germans still see economic criteria and forces as decisive.

It will be months before we know which view will prevail. But we already know this: Keeping Germany and France involved in a process that reconciles and conciliates their differences is vital to European peace. The world has to hope Bonn and Paris get the new equilibrium right.#K2PP#

NEW YORK TIMES

With Talks at a Low Point, Book Inflames Irish Feelings

By James F. Clarity

January 30, 1997

BELFAST, Northern Ireland--Twenty-five years ago on Thursday, 14 Irish Catholics were shot dead by British paratroopers in Londonderry, in the western part of Northern Ireland.

Exactly what happened that day in the Catholic neighborhood called Bogside has remained a source of bitter contention, but the episode, vividly remembered as "Bloody Sunday," became a rallying point for Irish Catholic nationalists.

As Catholics in Northern Ireland prepare to commemorate the anniversary with a potentially provocative march through predominantly Catholic Londonderry on Thursday, a new book has inflamed Irish feelings with extensive witness accounts that the British fired into the backs of fleeing, unarmed protesters.

The book, "Eyewitness: Bloody Sunday" by Don Mullan, coincides with a growing sense of despair about prospects for peace in Northern Ireland. The despondency has been aggravated by bitter debate on other sectarian issues in this predominantly Protestant British province, by the virtual standstill of the peace talks begun last June and by the continued attacks on security forces by the Irish

sh Republican Army.

The other debates involve a government plan for short televised spots comparing sectarian intolerance by all sides in Ulster with Nazism, and a proposed new panel to control the religious-patriotic parades that have led to widespread violence in recent years.

"People's attitudes have hardened, they have polarized," Sir Patrick Mayhew, the Northern Ireland secretary, said in unusually frank remarks on BBC television last Saturday. "I'm afraid that we are on a sharp downturn at the moment. Because a harder attitude of a sectarian kind is the material, the climate, for the kind of violence that we saw last year."

Normally, Sir Patrick, who is not running for re-election in the coming British parliamentary election and is in his last months as secretary, tries to put an optimistic twist on his views. But his remarks Saturday seemed a downbeat swansong, reflecting the dour state of affairs here.

Seven months ago a new round of peace talks began in Belfast, involving all the political parties in the north except Sinn Féin, the IRA political wing. There was widespread hope that the IRA would restore the 17-month cease-fire it broke Feb. 9 with a series of attacks in England and later in Northern Ireland.

Such a cease-fire would have opened the way for Sinn Féin to be included in the talks, which are unlikely to produce significant agreement without the IRA representatives at the table. Now, the talks are stalled in anticipation of the British parliamentary elections to be held before the end of May, as Northern Ireland's 13 Protestant and four Catholic members of the British Parliament and potential challengers seek political advantage.

This makes compromise at the talks risky. The chairman of the talks, former Sen. George J. Mitchell of Maine, presided over two days of talks Monday and Tuesday, then adjourned them for a week when it became clear that the parties were taking even harder lines on basic issues, like how to deal with the disarmament of the overwhelmingly Catholic IRA and the Protestant paramilitary groups that have held to the cease-fire they announced in October 1994.

The atmosphere has been roiled in recent days by the province-wide debate on the new book. Mullan, a former international aid worker who returned from Africa to Londonderry, gathered 700 witness affidavits on Bloody Sunday that

had been largely ignored by the British inquiry, headed by Lord Chief Justice of England, Lord Widgery, that investigated the killings 25 years ago.

The statements support the familiar assertions of Catholic politicians, and ordinary people, that the troops fired at the backs of nonviolent demonstrators in a civil rights march.

"I saw an old man lying in Glenfaddagh Park," says the testimony of one witness, Bridget O'Reilly, in the new book. "He raised himself from the ground. I saw a soldier run up and shoot him again."

The official British version is that the troops used force responding to attacks by Catholic snipers. But five years ago, British Prime Minister John Major said that those killed in the shooting should be officially considered innocent victims.

The Catholics, led by John Hume, the mainstream Catholic political leader, want an official British apology and a new investigation, saying that the evidence in the book reinforces their view that the official report was a whitewash and that a new inquiry should be held. The Irish government of Prime Minister John Bruton has said it will ask Britain for a new investigation.

But neither Dublin nor London is likely to press hard for a new full-fledged commission of inquiry, although Irish politicians, who also face a parliamentary election this year, must express support for northern Catholic demands. But the Northern Ireland Office, which administers the province, said Wednesday that no new inquiry was planned.

Some Irish and British officials say a new large-scale public inquiry would reopen old wounds and provide the IRA with more of the propaganda it has used for 25 years to enlist recruits. Britain says that if anyone has new evidence, it should be given to the Royal Ulster Constabulary, the police force, which is 93 percent Protestant and despised by many Catholics.

These officials note that the South African Truth Commission, now operating, was convened only after there was a political settlement, while Northern Ireland seems far from agreement on its political future.

Sir Patrick summed up the perennial conflict: "Most people agree that there has been a hardening of attitudes on each

side and one has to ask, 'Why?' And the end of that process of investigation will always come back to the same thing and it is one very short word of four letters and it is 'fear.'

"Fear in the minority community that they are going to be submerged, that their interests are going to be subordinated to the majority, fear in the majority side of the community that they are going to be abandoned and they are going to be forced ever back, that there is going to be a united Ireland and that their identity is going to be lost."#K2PP#

NEW YORK TIMES

Former French Official Says Jews Collaborated With Nazis

By Roger Cohen

January 30, 1997 PARIS--Maurice Papon, the former French official facing trial on charges of crimes against humanity in World War II, has broken a long silence and accused French Jews of helping to organize deportations to Nazi death camps.

Vigorously denying any guilt and blaming foreign forces in New York for orchestrating a campaign against France and him, Papon said that any "objective" trial of the collaborationist Vichy government would show that Jews "took part -- under threat, of course--in these operations."

Speaking in a television interview, his first public appearance in several years, Papon, 86, said he knew a prominent Jew living in France whose role was "to select those Jews who stayed in Drancy and those who were deported to Germany."

Drancy was a large French transit camp where Jews were held before being sent to Auschwitz and other camps.

Papon, who served as secretary general of the Bordeaux prefect's office under the Vichy government and rose after the war to become budget minister of France, did not identify the man and would not give details about the foreign forces supposedly "maneuvering to align France with Germany." When pressed, he said, "Ask New York."

Last week the French Supreme Court ordered Papon to stand trial on charges of crimes against humanity for deporting 1,560 Jews, including many children, to Nazi camps between 1942 and 1944. His trial in a Bordeaux court is expected to begin later this year, ending Papon's 15-year battle to keep his case out of the courtroom.

Papon identified members of the General Union of French Jews, a body created by the Nazis as a copy of the Jewish Councils formed in occupied central Europe in countries, as "auxiliaries" to the deportations. "They did the selecting," he declared. "I didn't."

The Union was headed by Jewish community leaders, many of whom were eventually deported and killed, including its first two presidents. It appears that the organization of Drancy did involve some Jews--under threat of immediate execution or deportation --taking part in the administration of the camp, including the drawing up of lists.

Arno Klarsfeld, a prominent Nazi-hunter, said after the interview that any Jews who drew up lists of deportees "had a knife to their throats, whereas the only knife Mr. Papon had was the one with which he sliced cake when serving tea to German officers in his office."

A French Jewish umbrella organization responded furiously to Papon's interview, calling his remarks "scandalous" and "gravely deploring" the decision by the main TF1 television station to broadcast the interview on Tuesday night.

A statement from the Representative Council of Jewish Institutions in France said Papon had behaved shamefully in "calling into question the Jewish victims" of the Vichy leader, Philippe Petain.

If he is tried, Papon will be only the second French national to face charges of complicity in Nazi war crimes against humanity. Paul Touvier was convicted in 1994 of ordering the execution of seven Jews near Lyons; he died in prison last July. Rene Bousquet, a former policeman accused of deporting 194 Jewish children, was killed in 1993 before he could be tried.

France long obscured its role in the deportation of Jews, seeking to draw a distinction between Vichy and the French state, but it has changed its approach and this week announced the formation of a committee to locate property stolen from Jewish families during World War II.#K2PP#

NEW YORK TIMES
For British Health System, Bleak Prognosis
By Sarah Lyall
January 30, 1997

LONDON--This has been the worst winter in memory for Dr. Don Wijetunge, who runs the emergency room at St. George's Hospital in South London. At times as many as 30 patients have been sprawled on gurneys outside his emergency room, waiting for treatment for things like pneumonia, heart attacks, stabbings and injuries from car accidents.

Because government financing cuts have forced St. George's to do away with many acute-care beds, Wijetunge said, these patients have had to wait -- often for 48 hours or more--even as their conditions worsen. "Our emergency room has become not only the emergency room, but also the intensive care unit, the ward for the care of the elderly, and, at times, almost a place for patients to die," he said. "This is totally unacceptable. In 1990, if I had one patient overnight in the department, it was of major concern and I would move heaven and hell to find a bed, but now it is almost routine."

The problems at St. George's are mirrored across Britain, where a cold snap and a budget crisis have forced the cancellation of non-emergency treatment, sent some of the sickest patients on long odysseys in search of beds and wreaked havoc on a system that has run on a shoestring even at the best of times.

Over several years, the situation has so deteriorated, say doctors, patients, hospital officials, opposition politicians and economists, that even some of the system's staunchest supporters are beginning to wonder if Britain's beloved system of socialized medicine is in danger of collapse.

"My fear is that the system has been trimmed down so much that it can't cope with any new pressure," said Dr. Margaret Blott, a consultant in obstetrics and gynecology at King's College Hospital in South London. "There is no slack at all."

British health care has long been bedeviled by problems like worsening hospital conditions; waiting lists for major surgery that can stretch out beyond a year; differing standards of care in different regions, and deepening dissatisfaction among health-care workers. There has been a slow migration toward private health care among people who can afford it. But people who work with and are served by the public system say things are now getting worse.

"I think the system is unraveling," said Dr. Caroline Marriott, a consultant psychiatrist in Belfast and the deputy chairman

of the British Medical Association's consultants' and specialists' committee. "And unless there is a really honest appraisal of what we are prepared to pay and the sort of service we can get from that, it will only get worse."

Health care has become a major issue in the general election, which must be held by May. Both political parties are being pressed by doctors and advocacy groups to commit themselves to spending more money on the National Health Service, which now costs Britain's taxpayers more than \$73 billion a year. But with neither party willing to raise taxes, it looks as though no more money is forthcoming.

Nor, the parties say, can they accept a system like the one in the United States, where publicly financed care is provided only to groups of the poor and elderly, and everyone else has to pay privately or through insurance.

"Politicians of all parties are stating that people are entitled to expect very high-quality service where and when they want it and without having to pay for it," Marriott said. "But at the same time, they're not willing to raise taxes to the level that would be required to maintain the system."

It was in 1948 that Aneurin Bevan, the minister of health, ushered in Britain's National Health Service, a brave new program that promised free health care to everyone. "No society can legitimately call itself civilized if a sick person is denied medical aid because of lack of means," he declared.

For nearly 50 years, the system has held together, in large part because of the nation's pride in its lofty goals and because of a general acceptance among Britons that inconvenience, bare-bone amenities, long waiting times, lack of consumer choice, and indignities like mixed-sex hospital wards are the legitimate price of free and comprehensive care.

"For many years the health system has been the envy of the world," said Dr. John Thurston, the director of the accident and emergency department at Queen Mary's Hospital in Roehampton, London. "In the United States, if you fall over, they frisk you for your Blue Cross card before they take you to hospital, but here, everybody gets treated, even the scruffiest drunk."

Britain has been known, among other things, for the excellence of its emergency care and its care for pregnant women

and young children--and, as Thurston points out, it is available to everyone.

In the United States, the type and extent of treatment often depends on medical insurance. For those who are insured, more preventive health care services and diagnostic tests are usually available than under the British system.

In Britain, an aging population, more expensive and sophisticated treatment, and the Conservative government's systematic cost-cutting have stretched the health service's budget to the breaking point. Last year, Dr. Sandy Macara, the medical association's president, compared the health service to the Titanic, and said it would need billions more pounds in government financing to keep it from sinking. At the same time, rising patient expectations--fueled in part by the Patient's Charter, a statement of patients' rights drawn up by the government several years ago and used as a sort of consumer guide to the service -- have made Britons less willing than before to accept the system's failings.

"Patients effectively are still subject to a state monopoly and have to take what they can get," said Dr. John Spiers, chairman of the Patients Association, an advocacy group. "It is an oddity of English culture that people are supposed to say 'thank you' for poor service."

Britain has many reasons to be proud of its health system, and indeed, the government contends that there is no crisis. Every year since 1979, Prime Minister John Major said recently, the health service has had a "significant, real-terms increase in resources --more people treated, more doctors, more nurses, better treatments, wider treatments."

With just 7.1 percent of Britain's gross national product spent on health care each year--the figure is 13.6 percent in the United States--the National Health Service is, the government says, one of the most tightly run systems in the world. But many people say the government's efficiency drive, which requires annual cuts of 3 percent at every level in the health service, has destroyed muscle and bone along with fat.

At the Riverside Mental Health Trust in London, one-third of the 65 beds for the mentally ill have been cut in recent years, said Dr. Massimo Riccio, a psychiatrist, forcing doctors to discharge even dangerously ill patients when sicker ones arrive to take their beds.

With less money to go around, many regions are limiting treatment for various procedures. The system delivers health care through 129 health authorities, which are given money by the government and, in turn, buy a preset amount of treatment each year from hospitals. Last year, a survey found, 47 of the authorities said they were cutting back, or canceling altogether, payment for services like infertility treatment, some cancer screenings, routine urine tests for pregnant women, and treatment for osteoporosis.

While some authorities said the treatments could no longer be clinically justified, said Shelley Masters, a partner in the consulting firm Blackwell, Masters and Alexander, which conducted the survey, "others were quite explicit about the fact that they were withdrawing services because they couldn't afford them."

The crunch has also left the health authorities with a \$320 million deficit for the fiscal year that ends in April. This means that many authorities have no money to pay for any non-emergency treatment between now and April 1.

In turn, hospitals--facing deficits of their own--are forced to turn away patients waiting for treatment.

"We have the specialists and the operating theaters, but we just don't have the money," said Val Martin, chief executive of Lewisham Hospital in London, which has canceled about 800 operations, including hysterectomies and hip replacements, because two of the health authorities that provide financing ran out of money in December.

In the first nine months of the 1995-96 fiscal year, more than 52,000 operations were canceled at the last minute, either for budget reasons or because of a lack of beds in the overloaded system. Currently, more than one million patients are waiting for hospital treatment in Britain, for everything from tonsilllectomies to heart bypasses to exploratory surgery for cancer.

Although the government points out that since 1990, average waiting times have decreased to four months, from nine, many doctors and hospital administrators say the figure has been brought down, at least in part, through a policy of treating easier cases first and leaving many of the sickest patients waiting the longest.

The wait for services other than surgery seems to be rising, too.

Last fall doctors at the University Hospital of Wales reported a two-year wait for the non-emergency use of magnetic resonance imagery scans to check for conditions like multiple sclerosis. Dr. George Hopkinson, a general practitioner in Suffolk, said that when he tried to refer a patient suffering from a painful hip disease to an orthopedic specialist at a Cambridge hospital, he was told there was a four-year waiting list for a consultation.

And the Bristol Oncology Center put cancer patients--some with as little as two months to live--on a monthlong waiting list for acute pain relief last fall, because a \$800,000 deficit had forced it to cut services, including eliminating 23 beds and one of its six radiotherapy machines. Of course, patients can sidestep the wait by seeking private treatment. About 12 percent of the population of 58 million now have private health insurance, and an untold number of others pay out of pocket for private care when they need surgery or other specialist treatment. According to Labor Party figures, 20 percent of all non-emergency operations are now paid for privately.

Last year, a report by a group called Healthcare 2000, whose authors included Sir Duncan Nichol, the former chairman of the National Health Service board, sent shock waves through medical and government circles when it concluded that without a significant increase in financing--or an acknowledgment that some people would have to pay for medical care--the service would be unable to continue fulfilling Aneurin Bevan's lofty promise.

"The NHS cannot carry on," Rodney Walker, the former chairman of the health service's Trust Federation, which represents its hospitals, said at the time. "It has got to become a safety-net service looking after the old and the weak. Our responsibility, above all else, is to protect the NHS for those people who need it most." #K2PP#

WASHINGTON POST
Palestinian Militant Drops Extradition Fight
By John M. Goshko
Thursday, January 30 1997; Page A12

NEW YORK, Jan. 29--Detained Palestinian militant leader Mousa Abu Marzook announced today that he is ending his 19-month fight to avoid extradition to Israel.

l and wants to return there to confront charges of terrorism and inciting murder.

"I am ready to go to Israel and suffer martyrdom," Marzook said in a message that he taped from the cell where he is in solitary confinement. It was played for reporters by Marzook's lawyers in the presence of his wife, Nadia Ashi, and five of his six small children.

In the message, Marzook, who lived for several years in Falls Church, Va., said he expects to be "tortured and humiliated" by Israeli authorities. But, he added, because the U.S. justice system had denied him the right to speak out for the Palestinian cause, he had ordered his attorneys to demand that the State Department deport him within 60 days.

Marzook admits that he heads the political wing of the Islamic group Hamas, whose adherents have killed many Israelis in terrorist bombings. However, Marzook contends that he has no control over Hamas's military units and says he is opposed to violence.

He was identified from an Immigration and Naturalization Service "watch list" of suspected terrorists and arrested at New York's John F. Kennedy Airport in July 1995 when he sought to reenter the country from the United Arab Emirates. Last year, two U.S. district judges here ruled separately that he can be extradited, and until today his case had been marking time while his lawyers pursued an appeal. At Marzook's instructions, the appeal was withdrawn Tuesday night.

Earlier, the district court had rejected Marzook's efforts to introduce testimony and depositions that his lawyers said would be offered by Palestine Liberation Organization Chairman Yasser Arafat and other Palestinian leaders. Marzook said this rebuff had denied him the right to present himself as a political prisoner.

"It is clear that a Palestinian and a Muslim cannot expect the same American quality of justice as others when Israeli interests are involved," he said. "I am ready to go to Israel where at least I will be afforded a hearing on these absurd charges. . . . Ultimately I may stand a better chance to be heard before Israeli judges than before New York judges."

His attorneys, Michael Kennedy and M. Cherif Bassiouni, presented a detailed statement arguing that there is no evidence

tying Marzook to acts of violence.

They said U.S. officials had been aware for years of Marzook's political fund-raising activities in this country, and they asserted that he had served as a liaison between Hamas's political wing and the State Department and CIA.

However, when asked for specifics of these alleged contacts with U.S. officials, the lawyers were unable to give names, dates or places. State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns said he could not respond to the allegations because the case is still before U.S. criminal courts.

The lawyers also asserted that if Marzook is extradited, "it is almost certain that he will be tortured in Israeli jails," and they called on the U.S. government to seek assurances from Israel that he will not be harmed. Burns called the request "premature," noting that Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright has not yet decided whether he should be returned to Israel.

Marzook's wife, speaking in halting English, called on President Clinton and the first lady "to examine the humanitarian nature of my husband's case" and "correct a grievous wrong" by blocking extradition. As she made her appeal, she was flanked by her children wearing T-shirts emblazoned with the Palestinian flag and the message: "Free Dr. Mousa Abu Marzook." The two oldest children are permanent resident aliens like their parents; the other four were born in this country and are U.S. citizens.

Hamas and the PLO have been engaged in a fierce competition for leadership of the Palestinian cause. Israeli and Palestinian intelligence sources say that Marzook controls almost all of Hamas's political, financial and military functions. However, he and his defenders contend that the Hamas political wing exercises little control over dozens of loosely allied militias and cells comprising the Hamas organization in the West Bank and Gaza. #K2PP#

NEW YORK TIMES

Hamas May 'Punish America' for Extradition, Spokesman Says

By Douglas Jehl
January 30, 1997

GAZA CITY, Gaza Strip--A spokesman for the militant Islamic group Hamas warned Wednesday that the extradition of one of its top leaders to Israel by the United States could provoke efforts to "try to punish America."

"We are not threatening, but we are advising," Dr. Mahmoud Zahar, the top Hamas official in Gaza City, said after Mousa Mohammed Abu Marzook was reported to have withdrawn his appeal of a U.S. court decision to allow his extradition to face charges of terrorism in Israel.

At a news conference Wednesday in New York, lawyers for Abu Marzook said he had lost hope in the U.S. judicial system after being held in the Manhattan Correction Center since July 1995. And in an interview in Gaza City, Zahar said it was time for the Hamas leader's legal battle against extradition to be replaced with a political fight.

Zahar said Hamas would try to enlist the Palestinian Authority and its leader, Yasser Arafat, in urging the United States to dispatch Abu Marzook to a third country rather than return him to stand trial in Israel, a step he said would be seen as evidence that the Clinton administration was doing Israel's bidding.

"Israel will gain nothing from more prisoners, and America will gain nothing by gaining a new enemy--Hamas," Zahar said as he drove to the funeral in Gaza City of two Hamas members who were killed by Israeli security forces in 1994 but whose remains were handed over by Israeli authorities only Wednesday.

Abu Marzook has acknowledged having headed the political wing of Hamas but has denied any role in its military actions.

In a tape-recorded statement that his lawyers played at the news conference Wednesday, he continued to maintain his innocence and described himself as a political prisoner.

The lawyers, Michael Kennedy and Cherif Bassiouni, said they had advised Abu Marzook not to give up his fight against extradition. But they described Abu Marzook, 46, as worn down and dispirited after more than 18 months in custody and said he had become convinced that he would never get a fair hearing in the United States.

In the past, officials of Hamas have voiced powerful criticisms of the United States for its support of Israel and its efforts to rein in what they have described as the organization's legitimate fund-raising activities abroad.

Abu Marzook lived in Virginia for 15 years before he was detained by U.S. authorities in July 1995 as he returned from a

trip abroad. U.S. officials said at the time that his name had been added to a list of terrorism suspects.

Unlike some other militant Islamic groups, Hamas is not known to have carried out violent attacks against U.S. citizens or property, but the organization's spokesman suggested in the interview Wednesday that this might change.

"Up to this minute, we do not consider America the enemy," Zahar said. "But if they are going to send Mr. Abu Marzook to Israel, this will be seen as if they are serving the Israeli aims directly, and that will result in a more dangerous situation."

Zahar, who is a physician, said that if the United States hoped to preserve an image of neutrality between the Israelis and the Palestinians, it should allow Abu Marzook to take refuge in Jordan or Syria.

Israel has accused Abu Marzook of financing and planning terror attacks against Israelis, and a U.S. District Court judge in New York who upheld its request to extradite him found probable cause that he had taken part in attacks by Hamas militants in Israel between 1990 and 1994. But Abu Marzook has contended that his role in the organization was limited to political activities.

Hamas is a bitter opponent of the current peace between Israel and the Palestinians and has been responsible for many attacks against Israelis, but in the last year its military capability has been severely undermined by sweeping security crackdowns by the Israeli and Palestinian authorities.

Hamas maintains considerable popular support in the Gaza Strip and in Hebron and other West Bank towns, and the nationalistic, anti-Israeli passion of its members was plainly evident during the funeral Wednesday.

One of the dead was Salah Jadallah, who was killed when Israeli troops stormed a West Bank hideout to free an Israeli soldier whom Hamas had kidnapped and was holding hostage. The other, Hassan Abbas, was killed during an attack on Israelis on a promenade of outdoor cafes in Jerusalem.

The two men were hailed as martyrs by hundreds of Palestinians who piled into buses and cattle trucks to shout out tributes as Palestinian police kept careful watch.

Zahar said Hamas would send a letter urging the U.S. authorities not to surrender Abu Marzook to the Israelis.

"We are afraid that somebody will try to punish America by sending a lesson that if you are going to serve Israel's interests, you have to expect attacks on your interests in the area," he said. He said the return of Abu Marzook to Israel would bring about "an end to quietness in the region." #K2PP#

CHICAGO TRIBUNE
U.S. Fine Tunes its Role in Mideast
By Storer H. Rowley, Tribune Staff Writer
Wednesday, January 29, 1997

Dateline: JERUSALEM

For Americans, the marathon talks on dividing control of the West Bank town of Hebron brought an unexpected lesson: U.S. mediators have learned that they must avoid getting bogged down in every detail of Israeli-Palestinian talks still to come.

U.S. officials are deeply concerned that, as shown by the on-again, off-again Hebron talks, prolonged American mediation without a final accord could erode U.S. credibility and the viability of President Clinton's policies to facilitate a Mideast peace.

Senior diplomats say U.S. policymakers are concerned that the Israelis and Palestinians have come to depend far too much on U.S. mediation as a crutch to hobble toward progress.

In the Hebron negotiations, "We were not an intermediary," said Dennis Ross, who serves as Clinton's special Middle East envoy. "We were, in fact, a broker. We were, in fact, a mediator.

"In the long run, it's not the kind of role that we want to be playing," Ross added. "It will always be more important for the parties themselves to be able to identify the problems and solve them themselves."

The record of the Hebron talks also shows both sides used delaying tactics, holding out for more concessions while blaming the other side for delays. This trick could work only because they realize that a Mideast peace is too important to the U.S. for the Americans to walk away from the talks.

Just before the Jan. 15 Hebron agreement between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization, the Clinton administration had become so frustrated with

the stalling and tactical feints that Ross was under orders to leave the region immediately if talks deadlocked once again. "The longer Dennis stayed there, the more he appeared to become part of the process and not part of the solution," one informed source said.

Finally, after nearly four months of intense, U.S.-brokered talks, Ross and other American mediators succeeded in cajoling the parties into approving an agreement.

The pact led to the turnover of most of Hebron to Arab self-rule, rekindled Israeli-PLO progress toward a permanent settlement and re-energized efforts at a comprehensive regional peace that would include Syria.

The U.S. remains the indispensable nation to a Middle East peace. Without a doubt, U.S. mediation made the difference in persuading hard-line Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Palestinian Authority President Yasser Arafat to agree on a formula for Israeli troop pullbacks in Hebron and the West Bank, a new timetable and a blueprint for further talks.

In an interview with the Tribune on Sunday, Netanyahu underscored the importance of the U.S. role in reviving the stalled peace talks between Israel and Syria, the next item after the Palestinian agenda.

But U.S., Israeli and Palestinian analysts and officials acknowledged last week that such hands-on U.S. involvement was a step backward from the beginning of the Oslo process.

The original Declaration of Principles that was signed on the White House lawn in September 1993 was negotiated secretly in Oslo by Israel and the Palestinians without American involvement, or even knowledge.

As the Clinton administration begins a second term, U.S. officials will look for ways to remain engaged in the high-priority Mideast peace process without getting mired in brokering every detail. The so-called final-status talks on the toughest disputes of all-- Jerusalem, Jewish settlers, Palestinian refugees and final borders-- are set to resume in March, according to the Hebron agreements.

"The thrust of our diplomacy since 1973 has been to get direct negotiations without a third party in the middle acting as a filter," said U.S. Consul General

l in Jerusalem Edward Abington, a key mediator with Arafat in the Hebron talks

.

"We have acted as a go-between when Israel and an Arab partner--whether Egypt or Jordan or Syria--weren't talking to each other and would negotiate through us. But our preference was direct negotiations," he said.

In the dynamics of the negotiations, Israel held the most cards and ended up making many of the concessions, while Arafat's strongest card often was to refuse to sign, all the while holding out for more and calling on the U.S., Europe and Arab states to pressure Israel to expedite the deal.

At times, this led to frustration and anger in Washington as Arafat would pocket a concession, then make a new demand leaving U.S. mediators feeling the Palestinians were moving talks backward, not forward.

Still, U.S. officials are hopeful that the Hebron accords have laid a foundation for Israelis and Palestinians to wean themselves from American mediation in some of the day-to-day negotiations that lie ahead.

"The issue is trust and confidence," said Aaron Miller, the U.S. deputy Middle East coordinator. "I believe now you have an emerging basis on which Arafat and Netanyahu can begin to trust one another. You now have an agreement that demonstrates Israeli and Palestinian reciprocal needs can be met. That shows they can do it."#K2P P#

WASHINGTON POST
Court Upholds Dismissal of Benazir Bhutto
Washington Post Foreign Service
Thursday, January 30 1997; Page A15

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan, Jan. 29--Pakistan's Supreme Court upheld today the dismissal of Benazir Bhutto's government last November, assuring that parliamentary elections will proceed on schedule on Monday.

The court's decision came a day after lawyers concluded two weeks of arguments on Bhutto's challenge to her dismissal by President Farooq Leghari under a 1985 amendment to Pakistan's constitution. The Nov. 5 order marked the second time that Bhutto had been removed as prime minister since she led a successful movement to restore democracy to Pakistan in 1988.

"There is enough material to establish corruption, nepotism and misrule," Chief Justice Sajjad Ali Shah said, referring to

three of the reasons Leghari cited
for ousting Bhutto.

In Karachi, Bhutto said she had anticipated the court would reject her petition
, although some supporters had predicted this
week that the court would reinsta
te her. "I knew they were going to give a decision against us. Every time the
Bhutto
family goes to court . . . the decision for the Bhuttos is unfavorable,
" she said.

In 1990, the Supreme Court rejected her challenge to her first dismissal; more
than a decade earlier, it turned down an
appeal to overturn a death sentence i
mposed on her father, former prime minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who was execut
ed in
1979 on a murder charge.#K2P!P#

WASHINGTON POST
Former Pakistani Leader Stresses Business Plan in Bid to Rule Again
By Kenneth J. Cooper
Thursday, January 30 1997; Page A15

CHAK JHUMRA, Pakistan--At an outdoor rally in this farming town this week, thou
sands of jubilant supporters of Nawaz
Sharif tossed firecrackers and chanted h
is name, thrusting their fists into the air. Then they chanted: "Prime ministe
r!
Prime minister!"

That is what Sharif was from 1990 until his dismissal in 1993, and that is wha
t he is likely to become again after Monday's
parliamentary elections. Analyst
s estimate that Sharif's Pakistan Muslim League will be the leading vote-gette
r but will fall
short of a majority in the 217-member parliament, forcing it to
form a coalition government with regional parties and
independents.

A return to power by Sharif and his pro-business party would restore business
confidence in a struggling economy, but
conflicting campaign promises could co
mplicate Pakistan's relations with the International Monetary Fund (IMF). A
Mu
slim League government also might revise Pakistan's relations with the Taliban
, the Islamic militia that controls
three-fourths of neighboring Afghanistan a
nd that Sharif suggested is a group of "religious fanatics."

Outside Pakistan, Sharif, 47, has been known primarily as Benazir Bhutto's nem
esis and the man who became prime
minister after the nation's political and mi
litary establishment forced her out of office in 1990. Bhutto had been hailed

in much of the world as a crusader for democracy, and Sharif, a former protégé of Pakistan's last military dictator, Gen. Mohammed Zia ul-Haq, seemed a throwback to authoritarian times.

Sharif and Bhutto, opponents throughout their political careers, differ in other ways. Sharif has urban roots in a family of industrialists from Lahore, capital of Punjab Province, while Bhutto comes from a family of rural landlords in coastal Sindh. Sharif was educated at a college and law school in his hometown; Bhutto earned degrees at Harvard and Oxford.

As prime minister, Sharif's fortunes rolled up and down. His coalition government, which included Pakistan's largest party of Islamic fundamentalists, pursued economic policies with a free-market orientation and gave a nod toward extending the influence of Islam. But the fundamentalist Jamaat-i-Islami left the coalition after Sharif supported the United States in the Persian Gulf War and backed a U.N. plan to install an interim government in Afghanistan.

Scandals also undermined Sharif's government. His family's steel company borrowed heavily from the failed Bank of Credit and Commerce International, a Luxembourg-based bank that had branches in Pakistan. Sharif's relatives owned two financial cooperatives that went bust amid allegations of embezzlement, but investigators cleared him and family members.

Pakistan's active rumor mill also connected military officials to drug trafficking, a charge Sharif denied. He said in a 1994 interview that as prime minister he rejected a military plan to sell heroin to finance covert operations. Military leaders denied there was any such plan.

In 1993, Sharif was dismissed by the president, reinstated by the Supreme Court and then forced to resign two months later to avert a military takeover.

Since the dismissal last November of Bhutto's second government, Sharif has emerged as the likeliest alternative to his political rival, whose popularity fell amid economic troubles and persistent allegations of corruption by her husband, Asif Ali Zardari.

Sharif has built support as a chummy politician from the country's most populous province, a favorite of the business community and a persistent Bhutto critic. His campaign has focused on her government's management of the economy

and
alleged involvement in corruption.

"She looted the country like a conqueror treats a defeated country," Sharif told a roaring crowd beside the railroad station here in Chak Jhumra, a Punjabi town 60 miles west of Lahore.

On a campaign swing this week through rural Punjab in a Russian-made helicopter, Sharif repeatedly charged that Bhutto "ruined the country economically." He cited increases in the prices of cooking oil, sugar, gasoline, electricity and tractors during her three years in office.

Sharif's plans if elected are not clear. In keeping with the IMF's demand that Pakistan lower its budget deficit, Sharif said he would cut spending "drastically" by reducing the number of government employees, embassies abroad and non development programs. He also vowed to "lessen corruption."

At the same time, he has promised free health care and education, subsidies for taxicabs and new major highways.

Sharif has rejected a cut in defense spending, which swallows about 35 percent of the budget. "It is not possible unless we have a friendly India. India must resolve the Kashmir issue," he said in an interview, referring to the Himalayan territory of Jammu and Kashmir, which straddles a section of the Indian-Pakistani border that is in dispute.

On Afghanistan, Sharif urged the warring factions to work out an accommodation, but he criticized the Taliban's ban on women attending school and working outside the home.

"Islam doesn't say no work, no school. . . . Islam provides respect for women, a respectable place in the society. Some of [the] religious fanatics try to misinterpret Islam," he said. #K2P" #P#

WALL STREET JOURNAL
Widespread Reining in Seen By Analysts as Part of Cycle
By Kathy Chen, Staff Reporter of the Wall Street Journal
January 29, 1997

BEIJING--Rules controlling everything from the use of foreign aid money to employment of Chinese lawyers are being tightened as China's top leaders prepare for two vital tests of their political power later this year.

The clampdown affects the media, private foundations and a range of foreign companies operating in areas the government deems sensitive to social stability.

President Jiang Zemin has led the effort, part of his two-year campaign to build a new "spiritual civilization" to offset the side effects of rapid economic change. Mr. Jiang is seeking to put his own, more conservative stamp on governance ahead of Hong Kong's return to Chinese rule in July and a key Communist Party congress in the fall, analysts say.

"Chinese leaders have been talking about hoisting high Deng Xiaoping's banner of [economic] reform," says a Chinese political analyst. "In fact, Jiang is seeking to implement his own vision--of reform with greater central control, and opening to the outside with restrictions to prevent bad influences from entering."

CYCLICAL DEVELOPMENTS

In some ways, the sweep represents yet another round of shou, or tightening, after several years of fang, or loosening, in the "fang-shou" cycle that has characterized economic and political developments in China since Mr. Deng introduced economic reforms in 1979. Each period of shou in the past has ended with an easing of controls. Indeed, amid the current crackdown, China has continued to push ahead with market reforms, introducing currency convertibility for the current account and partially opening the renminbi business to a handful of foreign banks.

But with stability the watchword for 1997, Mr. Jiang and other top leaders are taking steps to ensure that nothing threatens China's stability, especially any unwelcome foreign influences. In one example of that, the Communist Party's propaganda chiefs have imposed a stringent new policy on the use of funds from overseas foundations, such as the Ford Foundation. The Ford Foundation helps sponsor a wide range of social and academic projects in China, including a program to introduce popular election of leaders at the village level.

The rules, which were quietly implemented two weeks ago, require potential donors to get approval for any foreign financing from the Ministry of Public Security and the Bank of China. In the past, they required permission only from their own organizations. Although the regulation won't stop China from utilizing foreign funds, academics believe it could sharply slow down the approval process.

ess, with one academic labeling it "one of the most leftist policies to come out in the last few years." Admits a government official familiar with the new regulation: "Some people in the government fear that the outside world is trying to change China through peaceful evolution."

CONTROLS ON FOREIGN FIRMS

Officials also are seeking to tighten controls on foreign companies, especially media and law firms. In many of these cases, however, domestic interest groups appear to be waving the banner of political correctness to advance their own protectionist agendas. Take China's decision last year requiring overseas financial news services--such as Dow Jones & Co., the publisher of this newspaper--to distribute real-time financial information through the official Xinhua news agency. Xinhua, which operates its own financial news service, was thought to have worked with the Ministry of State Security to win Beijing's approval for the policy change, arguing that it was necessary both to bring order to the market and for its own financial health.

More recently, Chinese law firms helped to persuade the Ministry of Justice to introduce tough restrictions on hiring by foreign law firms based in China. The ministry says the rules--which have yet to be implemented pending a comment

period--seek to clear up gray areas in the law, but many Western lawyers argue that they are meant mostly to weaken the competition posed by foreign firms.

Piper Lounsbury, deputy director of China operations at the U.S.-China Business Council, says that "given the sensitive nature of events this year, Chinese leaders are likely to take a more conservative view of foreign investment." CHINA

GROUPS INCLUDED IN SWEEP

Chinese organizations haven't been exempt from Beijing's crackdown, either. With the explosion of new newspapers and publications in the two decades of reform, authorities have lost their traditionally tight control over the media. Many smaller newspapers have taken to tabloid-style reporting. Now the government is trying to change that by putting them under the management of larger, more obedient newspapers. Several papers already have been taken over by party or

government organs in Shanghai.

Huang Hu, a professor at Shanghai's Fudan University, says newspapers can benefit from achieving economies of scale, but adds that the policy "will keep them on the socialist road." The government also has sought to rein in Chinese reporters. On Sunday, authorities issued a six-part directive exhorting journalists not to advocate sex, violence or superstition, or to spread propaganda that differs from the party view.

Nongovernmental organizations, which have proliferated under reforms and tackle issues ranging from environmental protection to women's rights, are also set to face tougher scrutiny.

The government plans to set up within the next six months a bureau under the State Council, or cabinet, specifically to manage NGOs, says an official at the Ministry of Civil Affairs. But he adds that "with thousands of NGOs around the country, it's questionable whether it will be able to control them" as efficiently as the government might want.

A cleanup is certainly necessary in some areas following the chaotic growth sparked by Mr. Deng's famed tour of China's fast-growth south in 1992 to promote economic reforms. This month's closure of the China Agribusiness Development Trust & Investment Corp., part of a nationwide mop-up of the nonbanking financial sector, shows the extent of the mess: The company is believed to have piled up more than 15 billion yuan (\$1.8 billion) in losses and liabilities because of alleged mismanagement and corruption by its former top management. #K2P#P#

WASHINGTON POST
Striving to Be 'Spiritual'
By Edward Cody
Thursday, January 30 1997; Page A13

DALIAN, China--Spitting in the train station here will cost you a 25-cent fine, and some city employees have started giving up one Saturday a month to visit the elderly. At a Dalian soccer game, watch your language; calling the visiting team "numbskulls," a favorite local slur, has been ruled out of bounds. As for gourmet poachers who think the doves fluttering

around new city parks would look better on the dinner table, they can tell it to the judge.

China's "spiritual civilization" campaign has really taken root in Dalian, a Manchurian port that used to be notorious for rough language and now is heralded for civic pride. Mayor Bo Xilai, a rising political star and the son of a Communist Party elder, has pushed his city into the forefront of a national effort to revive traditional Asian values and civic spirit among a people who for the last 12 years mostly have been caught up in a race to get rich.

The campaign arose partly from a desire among Beijing's top leadership to prevent Western values from invading China along with Western capital and flooding the country with hamburger joints and all-night discos. This concern, voiced especially by President Jiang Zemin, echoes similar sentiments elsewhere in Asia, particularly Singapore and Malaysia, where leaders seek to benefit from Western-style economics, but without seeing their own culture eclipsed in the process.

"For me, I think China is an Asian country, influenced by its older generations," explained Zhang Wen, Communist Party secretary for the government-owned Dalian General Taxi Corp. "Influenced by the spiritual civilization campaign, the people have come closer together. They help their neighbors and friends. They take care of one another."

The Chinese campaign also reaches back into the country's revolutionary past, when the egalitarian Communist society formed by Mao Zedong fostered a spirit of self-sacrifice and concern for others. That society, largely abandoned under the economic and social liberalization started by Deng Xiaoping, also included heavy-handed repression, which kept people in line even if the Little Red Book's civic-mindedness did not.

For that reason, many Chinese have interpreted the spiritual civilization campaign--and particularly Jiang's recent emphasis on it--as an attempt by the Beijing leadership to solidify controls at a time when exploding capitalism has turned much of the population away from the authoritarian government and its proclaimed ideology of "socialism with Chinese characteristics."

"What it really means is to obey the government," remarked a successful Chinese businessman here who wanted to be

known as "Steve" and says he pays little attention to declarations from Beijing.

Chinese officials frequently have cited fear of chaos as a reason for continuing their authoritarian style of government even though its Communist underpinnings have gone by the wayside since Deng became paramount leader. And judging by largely feckless attempts to control culture or rein in the pirate recording industry, they seem to have a point.

At another level, China's rapid economic growth--and the potential to grow even more--have given rise to a newly assertive nationalism in which traditional values and Chinese history also have a place. A recent hit in Beijing was a book titled "China Can Say No," in which the authors argued that China, with its new place in the world, is entitled to pay less attention to what Western nations have to say about human rights, trade practices or regional diplomacy.

The idea of a spiritual civilization for China has been around since the mid-1980s, shortly after Deng's liberalization moved beyond Mao's vision and began to produce the corollaries of official corruption, ruthless business practices and materialism. It was to include the Five Talks--politeness, civility, morality, social relations, hygiene--and the Four Beauties: language, behavior, heart and environment.

But Jiang has revived the campaign recently with particular emphasis, leading to predictions he wants to use it to help distinguish his leadership after the 92-year-old Deng dies. It was one of the main themes to emerge from last year's Communist Party Central Committee plenum. Against that background, some analysts saw Jiang's accent on the spiritual civilization campaign as a way to meet criticisms from those in the Communist Party hierarchy who feel China under Deng has moved too far away from Mao's egalitarian ideals.

Whatever Jiang's motivation, Mayor Bo has thrown Dalian into the campaign with the kind of vigor that seems to characterize this city of 5.2 million people, a port rich in history on the tip of the Liaoning Peninsula at the north end of the Yellow Sea.

Lying 450 miles east of Beijing and only 350 miles west of Pyongyang, Dalian is a close neighbor of the port of Lushun, also known as Port Arthur. It was Dalian that was turned over to the Russians when they occupied it until the Russo-Japanese war in 1904-05 and Dalian to the Japanese, who ran things here from 1905 until the end of World War II. In more recent times, it has

been known as the home of China's
championship soccer team--and the city that, through the spiritual civilizatio
n
campaign, overcame a reputation for foul language and over-ardent fans who t
hrew insults at visiting teams.

"As Asian citizens of China, we pay attention to our ethics," said Zhan Jia Sh
u, secretary and deputy chairman of the
Dalian City Soccer Fans Association, a
city hall-sponsored group. "So as President Jiang Zemin said, the campaign has

new meanings and old meanings. We don't want our soccer fans to be hooligans
like in England. We want them to be
warm, but civilized."

To make sure of this, Zhan said, the association broadcasts warnings against r
ude behavior over stadium loudspeakers
during matches and seeks to channel ent
husiasm with a People's Liberation Army band and blue-suited cheerleaders
who
kick their bare legs and sway their bodies like their National Football League
counterparts.

Zhu Fenxiang, deputy director of the Dalian City Spiritual Campaign Office, sai
d city officials in pursuit of ways to improve
Dalian also have traveled to Si
ngapore. Under former prime minister Lee Kwang Yew, the city-state acquired a
reputation
for no-nonsense civic behavior enforced by fines and even jail.

In addition, a businessman said, Bo frequently has consulted a Singapore inves
tor here for ideas on what to do next.
Local journalists were sent to Singapor
e and came back with a 60-part series that was broadcast on Dalian television
as
part of the campaign to encourage respect for the environment and civic pri
de.

Zhu said Bo's administration has doubled the amount of green space in the city
to 7.8 million square yards planted with
grass or trees and has started a slu
m eradication program to get rid of substandard housing. Because of the parks-
-along
with a street layout and architecture inherited from its Russian and Ja
panese occupiers--Dalian seems remarkably
ordered, clean and spacious compared
to other, more crowded and run-down Chinese cities. #K2P\$P#

NEW YORK TIMES
Editorial: The Berlin Wall and China
January 30, 1997

Bill Clinton offered a revealing glimpse into his thinking about China when he

predicted this week that liberty would eventually triumph there, much as freedom brought down the Berlin wall. The demise of Communism may come someday in China, but it would be a mistake to adopt a passive American policy based on that optimistic prospect, as Mr. Clinton seems to be doing. There is abundant evidence suggesting that Communism in China is not dying but is instead mutating into a new form that tolerates economic liberties while still suffocating political freedom.

Mr. Clinton's press conference remarks, read closely, were an argument against pushing China hard on human rights and internal political reform. The problem with this analysis is that it indulges Chinese repression and may be taken by Beijing as a sign of American weakness. Likening China to Europe, when it comes to the course of Communism, is a risky approach.

America does not face a new cold war with China, and does not need a containment policy to deal with Beijing. But Washington does need to be more assertive about its interests, more demanding in seeking an end to China's human rights abuses and less willing to sacrifice American principles for American commerce in China.

There is a good chance that Mr. Clinton's stewardship of American foreign policy will be judged in substantial measure by his handling of China as it takes its place among the great powers. So too will the leadership of Vice President Al Gore, who plans to play a larger role on China in the months ahead, and that of Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, whose commitment to human rights and democracy faces its severest test in China.

Mr. Clinton's faith in the power of trade and information to liberate China is stirring but unrealistic and his analogy to the Berlin wall oversimplified. The increasing flow of information and the allure of free markets helped undermine authoritarian governments in Eastern Europe, but these regimes did not voluntarily surrender power. Communism in Eastern European states collapsed abruptly because the Soviet Union declined to sustain it any longer with force and economic aid, and most of East Europe's corrupt regimes lacked the means and killer instinct to terrorize their citizens. In the case of the Soviet Union itself, economic stagnation, an explosion of nationalism and political reforms initiated by Mikhail Gorbachev played a decisive role in the demise of Communism.

Chinese conditions are quite different. The country, unlike those behind the Berlin wall, is gaining economic strength, not losing it. Communism is not maintained by an outside power but by the Chinese Government itself, with the assistance of the military. Suppressed ethnic nationalism is not an explosive force. With China's leaders maneuvering for power in anticipation of the death of Deng Xiaoping, there is little likelihood of political liberalization anytime soon.

The economic reforms initiated by Mr. Deng in 1979 have indisputably introduced free markets in China, and prosperity has spread to its major cities, producing the beginnings of a middle class. But even China's economic experimentation has been controlled by a Government determined to maintain its political authority.

There is little sign that China's booming economy has produced concrete political change, or even the intangible spirit of liberty that Mr. Clinton considers inevitable. China has done its best to restrict the flow of information to citizens, even limiting access to financial data and the Internet.

In recent months the Government has rounded up political dissidents and consigned them to long prison terms after carefully managed trials. The State Department reports that by the end of last year, all active dissidents in China had been jailed or exiled, a disheartening record that even the Soviet Union could not match once Stalin was gone.

On the clearest current question of Chinese intentions, the return of Hong Kong to China this summer, Beijing has left little doubt it will strip Hong Kong of its liberties, even if that diminishes the economic benefits of the transfer to China.

It is welcome to hear Mr. Clinton acknowledge that "constructive engagement" with China has yielded disappointing progress on human rights issues. Unhappily, he seems to be under the illusion that future results will be different. #K2 P%P#

LOS ANGELES TIMES

From Clinton, a Caution on Hong Kong, but No Threat

By Norman Kempster, Times Staff Writer
Wednesday, January 29, 1997

WASHINGTON--President Clinton on Tuesday urged China to respect human rights in Hong Kong after the British colony

reverts to Chinese sovereignty in July, but he ruled out retaliation by the United States if Beijing rejects his advice.

At a White House news conference, Clinton acknowledged that his policy of "engagement" with Chinese leaders--his decision to maintain regular economic ties--has not had the desired effect of improving Beijing's dismal human rights record. But he said he has no plans to change that policy, because a U.S. attempt to isolate China would work no better.

"That does not mean that, if we had followed a policy of isolating ourselves from China when no one else in the world was prepared to do that, that we would have gotten better results," he said.

His comments reflected his concern that China will crack down on civil liberties when it assumes control of Hong Kong despite its pledge to leave the territory's open political systems unchanged for 50 years.

A group of legal experts on the China-backed Preparatory Committee, charged with overseeing Hong Kong's transition to Chinese rule, recently recommended gutting the colony's Bill of Rights and rolling back political freedoms.

But Clinton, echoing the case he made in 1994 for granting most-favored-nation trading status to China without regard to China's human rights record, said that U.S. sanctions "wouldn't help anything." Rather, he said, China must be shown that any attempt to strangle civil rights in Hong Kong would backfire by sappling the economic vibrancy that China is counting on.

Some Chinese leaders, he said, believe that they can impose the mainland's authoritarian political system on Hong Kong without damaging its economy. But he said it is doubtful that Hong Kong's economic system "can exist with all of its

potential to help China modernize its own economy and open opportunities for its own people if the civil liberties of the [Hong Kong] people are crushed."

So, he said, an attempt to rein in civil rights "would be wrong on its own merits [and] might wind up being less useful to China. So I would hope very much that they would look for ways to maximize the continuation not only of the economic system but of the personal freedoms that the people of Hong Kong have enjoyed in making it such an economic engine." The proposals recommended by the Preparatory Committee would end almost a decade of democratic reforms and replace new laws with old British regulations intended to control political protest.

sts and
restrict the creation of political parties. The measures would also re
peal new laws expanding Hong Kong's voter rolls.

Hong Kong has signed the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights,
but China has not.

Concerning the human rights situation on the mainland, Clinton suggested that i
t is "inevitable" that China ultimately will
make its own political system mor
e liberal even if the United States and the rest of the world does nothing to
force the
issue.

"The impulses of the society and the nature of the economic change will work to
gether, along with the availability of
information from the outside world, to
increase the spirit of liberty over time," Clinton said. He said that there is
no way the
Chinese government could stop that process, "just as eventually th
e Berlin Wall fell." Meanwhile, the United States must
continue to do busine
ss with China, he said, arguing that the country is too big to be isolated. #K
2P&P#

LOS ANGELES TIMES
There's Risk in Crying Wolf on Hong Kong
By Jonathan Clarke
Wednesday, January 29, 1997

At her confirmation hearing and in her first press conference, Secretary of Sta
te Madeleine Albright used the same striking
phrase to describe her proposed a
pproach to controversial issues like China. She would "tell it like it is," sh
e said.
Albright's use of this homely yet immediately appealing expression pro
vides further evidence that she will be a formidable
exponent of American fore
ign policy.

The main reason for the phrase's appeal is that it creates an expectation of re
freshing clarity. Unfortunately, this beguiling
prospect may turn out to be an
other grand illusion. In the ambiguous world of international politics, clear-
cut choices
between competing interests and values are rare. One person's cert
itude is another's smoke and mirrors.

Take Algeria, for example, where in the just-
concluded month of Ramadan, more than 200 people have died in violence instigat
ed by the Islamist opposition. At first
sight, fundamentalist terrorists suppo
rted by the likes of Iran are the obvious guilty party. But wait. .J.J. The pr

esent
government came to power by canceling the 1992 election to prevent a probable opposition victory. Isn't this just the sort of democracy-trampling behavior for which Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic has earned such massive U.S. condemnation? No one will care if the administration cuts logical corners over so-called rogue states or fading dictators. But with regard to Albright's chosen example of China and Hong Kong, her brisk no-nonsense approach risks backfiring. If tough rhetoric takes precedence over clear thinking, it could inflict real damage on some extremely vulnerable people, namely those who continue to live in Hong Kong after the territory reverts to China in July.

The superficial facts appear straightforward. Last week's announcement that China proposes to limit certain aspects of Hong Kong's Bill of Rights Ordinance, such as the right to public assembly, intensified doubts about China's commitment to preserving Hong Kong's democratic and capitalist way of life. That Tung Chee-hwa, Hong Kong's chief executive-designate, accepted the curbs without protest confirmed the gloomy assessment that Hong Kong's future administration will slavishly follow Beijing's bidding.

The romantic picture of the plucky David girding himself against the brutish Goliath is dangerously misleading. In fact, serious lovers of freedom (among them Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan) have labored zealously to protect Hong Kong's interests. Some 20 years of hard negotiating obtained a series of highly specific agreements committing China to safeguard Hong Kong's unique way of life. China can be an awkward actor on the international stage but, in relation to Hong Kong, it has kept its word.

The most important of China's commitments is the 1984 joint declaration with the British government. This document (and its three annexes and notes) sets out the transition process in great detail, including the appointment procedures for the chief executive and first legislature.

The joint declaration was amplified in 1990 by China's promulgation of the Basic Law guaranteeing Hong Kong's special status as a special administrative region of China. Even in the more skeptical post-Tiananmen circumstances, the U.S. government raised no objections.

Since 1984, a Chinese-British joint liaison group has met regularly, discreetly

fleshing out additional guarantees for children's, women's and workers' rights , establishing investment and intellectual property guarantees, and securing Hong Kong membership in international economic bodies such as the World Trade Organization. The group has also produced major infrastructure agreements with China, for example over the financing of Hong Kong's new international airport and the expansion of its container port.

In the recent stampede to condemn Chinese actions this positive background has been overlooked. Instead, critics have concentrated narrowly on China's rejection of certain unilateral British initiatives, such as the 1995 expansion of the electoral franchise, to which China was never a contractual party.

This highly complex web of claims and counterclaims illustrates the pitfalls of the "tell it like it is" approach. The "it" is very elusive. Whether the Chinese have abided by their commitments to Hong Kong or are preparing to violate them depends crucially on the observer's viewpoint. It is possible to make the argument either way.

In the U.S., China policy is regularly presented as a mutually exclusive choice between pure democracy and filthy lucre. This is a false dichotomy. With sensible management, both can be advanced. Pugnacious, oversimplified rhetoric is the opposite of what Hong Kong needs.

Jonathan Clarke, a Hong Kong-born former member of the British Diplomatic Service, is with the Cato Institute#K2P#

LOS ANGELES TIMES
Indications Point to Clinton Toughening Indonesia Policy
By Jim Mann
Wednesday, January 29, 1997

WASHINGTON--Is the Clinton administration serious this time? Or is this yet another Washington version of an Indonesian shadow play?

Those are the questions that come to mind about President Clinton's Asia policy in the early days of his second term. For strange as it may sound, given the role Indonesian-linked money has played in the furor over Democratic Party funds-raising, Clinton is quietly laying the groundwork for what could be a new, tougher policy to combat Indonesia's repressive labor practices.

There is talk within the administration once again of clamping down on Indonesia's trade privileges in this country because of its persistent efforts to prevent free labor unions. High-level administration officials are being quietly dispatched to Indonesia to see how workers there are being treated. A delegation sent out by U.S. Trade Representative Charlene Barshefsky is to land in Jakarta over the weekend, and John Shattuck, assistant secretary of State for human rights, will follow a couple of weeks later.

In a sense, this is where Clinton came in four years ago. Yogi Berra was no expert on Asia, but his immortal words describe well the president's policies toward the world's largest continent: It's déjà vu all over again.

In 1993, the new Clinton administration was weighing the possibility of doing something about Indonesia's labor practices. It launched an investigation of whether Indonesia's trade benefits should be cut off because of its failure to abide by "international labor standards," as required by U.S. trade law.

That prospect was so unsettling to President Suharto and his government that they began making use of the web of the financial connections between Indonesian and Arkansas business interests to gain entry to the Clinton White House. In

early 1994, the trade investigation was suspended, with administration officials maintaining Suharto's government was making enough progress to be freed from the threat of sanctions.

Now, as Congress prepares to investigate the administration's avid pursuit of Asian money in the 1996 campaign, the White House is looking once again at the Indonesian policies that helped get the whole affair started.

The crux of the issue is that the millions of Indonesian workers making shoes, clothes and other products sold in this country have no right to form independent unions. Indonesia recognizes only one official labor organization, which is government controlled.

The event that seems to have galvanized Clinton to take a new look at Indonesia is the ongoing trial in Jakarta of Muchtar Pakpahan, a young lawyer who founded the country's largest independent labor union, one that the government doesn't recognize.

Pakpahan, who has been arrested repeatedly over the past four years, is being t

ried for subversion, which carries the death penalty. The charges against him don't directly involve union activity but rather statements he is supposed to have made. He is accused, for instance, of questioning the role of the military in Indonesian politics. In Indonesia, you can be put on trial for saying such things.

The AFL-CIO and human rights groups also have been pressing the administration to reopen the investigation of Indonesia's labor practices. While Indonesian wages are somewhat better than they were, says Sidney Jones, an Indonesia expert for Human Rights Watch/Asia, "there is no progress whatsoever on freedom of association" for the nation's workers.

If you know the recent history in Indonesia it is easy to be cynical about the administration's sudden flirtation with reopening an issue from which it backed away in the past. On their next sojourns across the Pacific, administration officials might carry along a thoughtful new book by William Greider, "One World Or Not," and read Chapter 17, which happens to be about labor in Indonesia.

"U.S. leaders periodically expressed their concern and threatened trade sanctions; the Indonesian generals responded with appeasing gestures," Greider writes. "American officials investigated the notorious restrictions on workers and set deadlines for reform; Suharto announced reforms and the deadlines passed. The pattern of evasion was so blatant, it was impossible to believe in the sincerity of either party." It may well be that in the end, nothing will come of Clinton's current endeavors either. Maybe, after appeals from the United States, Suharto's government will release Pakpahan and make promises to change in the future, and the administration will back away again from doing anything serious.

Yet it's also possible Clinton may act differently toward Indonesia this time.

One reason is foreign policy. In Indonesia, Suharto's authoritarian regime now looks less stable than it did a couple of years ago. Remember that under similar circumstances even President Reagan, who took office proclaiming the virtues of Philippine President Ferdinand E. Marcos and South Korean President Chun Doo Hwan, eventually pressed these leaders to step aside and to open up their political systems.

The other factor is politics. With congressional investigations looming, Clinton and Vice President Al Gore may well be eager to demonstrate that their fundraising in the last campaign won't affect policies in Asia.

It would indeed be ironic if, with the election behind him, the president forsakes his corporate and Indonesian supporters and takes the stand for workers' rights that his administration was thinking about when he first came to the White House.

Jim Mann's column appears here every other Wednesday. #K2P(P#

LOS ANGELES TIMES

U.N. Envoy Urges Aid for Central Africa

By Craig Turner, Times Staff Writer

January 29, 1997

UNITED NATIONS--The Algerian diplomat appointed as the U.N.'s special envoy to Zaire, Burundi and Rwanda said Tuesday that it may take a huge injection of Western aid--a "mini-Marshall Plan"--to halt the spiral of violence in the war-ravaged Central African nations.

Mohamed Sahnoun will go to Africa next week to try to halt the bloodshed, which includes a civil war in Zaire and a cycle of attacks and reprisals by ethnic Hutus and Tutsis in Rwanda and Burundi. He said his first step will be to contact "all groups" in the area, including Tutsi rebels seeking to overthrow the government of Zairian President Mobutu Sese Seko.

But he added that the solution to the strife lies in stronger ties of culture and commerce among the three countries and that economic development might need to be kick-started with Western aid.

He did not mention any figures or specify which countries might contribute. His reference to a "mini-Marshall Plan" hearkens to the American post-World War I assistance program that helped rebuild Europe and was named for George Marshall. Sahnoun spoke to reporters after meeting with the Security Council, which approved his appointment by new

Secretary-General Kofi Annan. Sahnoun also will represent the Organization of African Unity. He said he got a positive reaction from council members to his remarks about Western aid. The American mission to the U.N. would not comment on Sahnoun's remarks.

The U.S. provides no direct aid to Zaire but spent \$4.8 million on development in Rwanda in fiscal 1995-96, according to the Agency for International Development.

For the current fiscal year, which began Oct. 1, 1996, the U.S. has funded \$4.85 million in projects in Rwanda and \$2.59 million in Burundi. In humanitarian assistance, the U.S. has spent \$121.75 million in the region so far in this fiscal year, compared with \$158.73 million last year and \$320.68 million the year before.

Sahnoun also said there was no discussion among council members of reviving a proposal to send a multinational military force to impose stability on the region.

Late last year, the United States hesitantly agreed to participate in such a force, which was to be led by Canada, when it was reported that more than 1 million refugees displaced by the warfare were threatened with starvation.

Most of the refugees, however, unexpectedly returned to their homeland of Rwanda, and the military intervention was called off.

In recent weeks, reports from the area suggest that the situation has worsened.

The U.N. refugee agency repeated warnings Tuesday that an estimated 200,000 Rwandan refugees trapped by fighting in eastern Zaire are edging toward what an official called "a humanitarian disaster." The refugees are ethnic Hutus who did not return to Rwanda with the others last year. They include Hutu extremists who participated in the genocide of more than 800,000 Rwandan Tutsis and moderate Hutus in 1994 before being forced out of the country when the Tutsi-dominated military assumed power.

Hutu extremists have also been blamed for a recent series of attacks on foreigners in Rwanda, including the killing of three Spanish aid workers Jan. 18.

Meanwhile, there have been reports of reprisals against Hutus who did return to Rwanda.

The Rwandan government, which blames the international community for failing to intervene and stop the 1994 genocide, viewed the Sahnoun appointment warily.

"My own perception is that this won't bring any dramatic change to what's wrong in the region," Theogene Rudasingwa,

Rwanda's ambassador to the United States, said in a telephone interview from Washington. "For the last three years, from Rwanda's perception, the international community has failed to understand the situation, or has understood it and failed to act, or has acted and been too late." In Zaire, Sahnoun's arrival coincides with the launch of a government counteroffensive against the rebels, who control much of the eastern section of the country. There are persistent, but unconfirmed, reports that the Zairian military has enlisted the help of mercenaries in their push. #K2P)P#

CHICAGO TRIBUNE

Peace in Angola May Hinge on How Diamonds Are Split up

By Hugh Dellios, Tribune Staff Writer

Wednesday, January 29, 1997

Dateline: MUSHINDA, Angola

In the remote, riverside camp where they turned in their weapons, more than 4,800 rebels from Africa's longest-running war are idle and anxious.

Day after day, they wait as a UN peacekeeping force tries to prevent a resumption of war, the occupation the rebels know best. They're also waiting for the swollen Cuango River to recede so they can return to the only other work most of them know, scraping for diamonds along the river's banks.

While there is talk of lasting peace, it is coming slowly to this region, where a diamonds-for-weapons economy means a chicken can cost \$100, and UN commanders can only wag a finger at rebel punks searching for guns and gems at roadblocks. This is Africa's forgotten war, one that has been going on for 25 years, outlasting countless cease-fires and the concerted diplomacy of the outside world.

Now, four years after rebel leader Jonas Savimbi restarted Angola's civil war after refusing to accept defeat in national elections, UN officials finally believe they are making progress toward ending the country's struggle.

Ambitious plans to inaugurate a government of national unity were postponed last week. But peacemakers are optimistic the government and rebels realize that the fighting is no longer in anyone's interest, now that the U.S., Russia, Cuba and South Africa no longer are fighting their ideological battles here.

Convincing the two sides that they have nothing left to fight about is another story. What role Savimbi will play in the new government is an issue, as is how to demobilize tens of thousands of rebels, teach them to live peacefully and assure them of a livelihood.

But the most contentious issue is here in rebel territory, where the government and Savimbi's UNITA rebels are negotiating how to divvy up the world's fourth - largest and least exploited stash of diamonds. Most cease-fire violations occur here, and many fear UNITA has hidden its best troops and weapons until they get a bigger share.

"According to the peace protocol, talk of diamonds is putting the carriage before the horse," said Alberto Kanhanga, commander of UNITA's army in the diamond-rich provinces of Lunda Norte and Lunda Sol. "But in my opinion, these political questions should be resolved before the military questions."

In the 1980s, Angola was the epicenter of the Cold War battle for Africa. With the U.S. and South Africa arming Savimbi, and the Soviet Union and Cuba supplying President Eduardo dos Santos' Marxist government, half a million people were killed.

After the Cold War's end, the government and rebels stopped fighting long enough to hold elections in 1992. But after receiving 40 percent of the vote, Savimbi and his troops took up arms again.

The renewed war was less about ideology than about power and wealth. The government financed itself from oil reserves off the coast, while UNITA rebels enriched themselves and bought weapons by selling off more than \$300 million a year in diamonds, much of it smuggled out to Zaire.

The peace talks began two years ago, after the government regained the upper hand and in the war and began to win back the 70 percent of Angola in rebel hands, including many of the diamond fields.

A cease-fire was declared in late 1994. Soon after, the two sides agreed to a peace plan, and the UN dispatched 7,000 troops to monitor the two sides' compliance. The operation has cost more than \$900,000 a day.

The continuing negotiations feature many of the same players as a decade ago, only in different roles. A "troika" of American, Russian and Portuguese diplomats

ats is assisting UN mediators, and representatives of South African President Nelson Mandela are shuttling between Pretoria and Luanda, Angola's capital.

The continued attention signals how important officials consider peace in Angola: It is the last nation at war in steadily developing southern Africa. It also speaks to the value of Angola's assets: The U.S. imports 7 percent of its petroleum from the country, and a recent offshore oil discovery has whetted appetites for development.

"People think this is the same as 1992, but the context is completely different," said David Wimhurst, spokesman for the UN mission. "The Cold War is over, apartheid is gone and democracy has taken hold across the region. The rest of the region wants to see it end, and Angolans do, too."

Under agreements reached in the peace talks, 70,000 rebel soldiers reported to 15 UN-monitored quartering camps, but officials suspect the number includes peasants pressed to show up in place of the rebels' best soldiers.

The rebels surrendered more than 800 tons of weapons, but peacekeepers complained that 40 percent were old and useless, raising the question of whether UNITA is hiding its best weapons.

Nine UNITA generals and a number of troops have been incorporated into the Angolan army. But last week's plans to inaugurate a unity government fell apart when UNITA's contribution--two vice presidents, four ministers and 70 parliament members--failed to show up in Luanda as scheduled. UNITA officials say their representatives need to know the government's program before they participate. But the real issues are the status of Savimbi and Angola's estimated annual revenue of \$1.5 billion from diamonds.

The rebel leader, 62, desperately wants to rule Angola and would prefer a role as an opposition leader operating from his rural headquarters. But many diplomats insist that peace will come only if he takes a responsible role in the government.

Savimbi rejected the post of vice president. He has asked for a role as a senior government adviser free to criticize official policies as he prepares for elections after the unity government's 2-to-4-year term.

As for the diamonds, the rebels have begun forming companies and bargaining with the government over the more lucrative concessions in the territory they still dominate.

Holding back from joining the government gives them more leverage in those talks.
ks.#K2P*P#

LOS ANGELES TIMES
Editorial: End of the Line for Lies
January 29, 1997

South Africa has many martyrs but none more important than Steven Biko, the charismatic student leader who paid with his life 20 years ago when he and his Black Consciousness Movement encouraged young blacks to stand up against white oppression. Now, in the light of the new democracy, Biko's killers are expected to come forward seeking amnesty. Whether they are pardoned or punished may point the way the nation will follow in its efforts to close its wounds and get past the evil suffered under apartheid.

The five former police officers are expected to take their case to the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which is headed by Desmond Tutu, the retired Anglican archbishop and Nobel Peace Prize winner. Government officials say the men will outline their roles in the 1977 beating of Biko, who died of head injuries in police custody, and forever put an end to lies of the apartheid regime that he died after a hunger strike or after going berserk and attacking officers. Confessions under amnesty may be the only source of the truth being sought by Tutu's commission, which is investigating political crimes committed by both forces of the white government and anti-apartheid groups.

But truth, while cathartic, will not in itself satisfy those South Africans who want the government to track down all officials who committed crimes under the shadow of apartheid and hold them accountable. Understandably they want justice.

Biko's widow has challenged the commission's right to forgive certain crimes, particularly the murder of her husband, who was 30 when he was killed. Nine years earlier he had co-founded the all-black South African Students Organization and appealed to the country's majority in the name of black nationalism, an approach the nonracial African National Congress never articulated. As Biko's following grew, the apartheid government banned him, arrested him and held him without trial. Then its police officers killed him.

The death shook many foreign nations into action. Washington, for instance, im-

osed both an arms and oil embargo on the South African regime and later imposed economic sanctions.

Can disclosure of the details of Biko's death help achieve closure for the nation? That is a question for Tutu's commission.

We think the commission should make distinctions among those who gave the orders, those who carried them out, those who now confess and those who remain unrepentant. Truth can cleanse, but there are limits to forgiveness.

#K2P+P#

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
In S. Africa, To Forgive Is To Find Out
Judith Matloff, Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor
Thursday January 30, 1997 Edition

JOHANNESBURG--In a triumph for those who say the lure of amnesty is necessary to properly excavate a country's brutal past, four former South African police officers have confessed to killing famed black activist Steve Biko 20 years ago.

XX Ever since the Truth and Reconciliation Commission began operating a year ago to heal the wounds of the fractured nation, the country has tottered in a debate between the merits of prosecuting former human rights abusers or forgiving them if they come clean.

Wringing confessions from the killers of Mr. Biko - the most famous apartheid-era martyr, whose death was surrounded by murky coverups - was for commission members a prize in their mission to get a full picture of past dirty secrets.

"Our investigative work, combined with the prospect of amnesty, has persuaded those who say they were involved in perpetrating the acts to come forward for the first time," said a highly pleased Alex Boraine, the Truth Commission's deputy chairman, on Tuesday.

South Africa's former white minority rulers waged virtual war against anti-apartheid activists, among them President Nelson Mandela, who was jailed for nearly three decades.

Providing amnesty for apartheid-era crimes was part of the negotiated settlement that led to black majority rule in April 1994 elections. Reconciliation is a fundamental philosophy of Mr. Mandela and Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu, w

ho
heads the Truth Commission.

Their reasoning is that if the truth finally emerges, the nation can close the violent chapter. Amnesty helps to avoid witchhunts, they say.

Their logic is that if one person will confess, that will lead to further confessions, and so on until the top decisionmakers are exposed.

But for the anguished families of many victims, forgiveness is impossible if the killers go free.

Biko's family, for one, has repeatedly called for prosecution rather than pardons. Last year, his widow and the families of two other apartheid victims went to the highest court in the land to challenge the amnesty procedure. They lost the case.

For the commission, the Biko confessions were a breakthrough and the highest-profile case so far. The Black Consciousness Movement leader died on Sept. 12, 1977, from head injuries received while in police detention in the city of Port Elizabeth. The circumstances were never made clear, and no one was held responsible for his death. Police claimed the injuries were self-inflicted.

Biko was the most prominent anti-apartheid activist to die in police hands. His death made him an icon of the struggle, second only to Mandela, and helped galvanize world opinion against the apartheid regime. His life inspired several books and the 1987 movie "Cry Freedom."

Other amnesty applications announced on Tuesday involved the notorious killings in the 1980s of nine activists, including prominent activist Matthew Goniwe, who was murdered in 1985 along with three others. They became known as the Crampton Four.

Commission officials expect further amnesty applications to pour in.

Until recently, former security force members were reluctant to come forward. The amnesty process was believed to have suffered a setback when former Defense Minister Magnus Malan was acquitted by a court last year of murder charges. He urged other former security officers to risk prosecution rather than take the amnesty route, and it looked as if many would follow his example.

But then in December, the commission pardoned a white ex-police officer convict

ed of 11 political murders and sentenced to 30 years in prison.

That, coupled with the decision by the former head of police, Gen. Johann van der Merwe, to seek amnesty seems to have prompted a flood of amnesty applications.

The commission's amnesty committee has doubled its staff to cope with the increased workload. As of the middle of January, it had received about 4,500 amnesty applications.

Those who confess and can prove their actions were politically motivated will be given amnesty. Motive, context, the gravity and objective of the crime, and especially whether it had the approval of a political organization are all weighed. The line taken by many seeking amnesty is that they were merely following orders in what was a virtual state of war. So far, about 1,500 applicants have been rejected, and 15 approved.

What may also have encouraged more people to seek pardons was Mandela's controversial decision last month to extend the amnesty date to cover crimes up to May 10, 1994. The cutoff was previously December 1993. This new date covers right-wing bombers who tried to sabotage the 1994 elections, and critics of the decision say it emboldened right-wing bombers who struck on Christmas Eve and Jan. 5.

Still elusive are applications from senior cabinet members of the ex-regime. So far only former Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok has applied for amnesty.

But revelations of a report by Lt. Gen. Pierre Steyn, former defense force chief of staff, could put some members of former President F.W. de Klerk's Cabinet at risk for dirty-tricks coverups.

The commission claims that Mr. De Klerk ignored General Steyn's recommendations that some 60 officers, including top generals, be investigated. De Klerk has denied being part of a coverup. #K2P, P#

WALL STREET JOURNAL

Carlos Salinas Is Questioned In Probe Involving His Brother

By Dianne Solis and Laurie Hays, Staff Reporters of the Wall Street Journal
January 29, 1997

MEXICO CITY--Mexican investigators interviewed former President Carlos Salinas

de Gortari on Monday as part of their investigation into corruption charges against his brother and the 1994 murder of deputy ruling-party leader Jose Fran cisco Ruiz Massieu, the Mexican attorney general's office said.

The former president hasn't been charged with any crimes and has denied wrongdoing. The 16-hour interview, including 216 questions, took place in Dublin, where Mr. Salinas now lives, with representatives of the attorney general and was voluntary, the attorney general's office said in a statement.

Late last year, investigators had questioned Mr. Salinas about the March 1994 assassination of presidential candidate Luis Donaldo Colosio.

SISTER'S EX-HUSBAND KILLED

Mr. Salinas's older brother, Raul, has been jailed since 1995 on charges that he was involved in the murder of Mr. Ruiz Massieu, the ex-husband of the Salinas' sister, Adriana. Raul Salinas also faces corruption charges. He has denied all charges.

While the substance of Mr. Salinas's interview with investigators isn't known, in an interview to be published beginning Wednesday in the Mexican newspaper Reforma, Mr. Salinas talked at length about Mr. Colosio's assassination and its

aftermath. He said he had no legal proof of a conspiracy to kill Mr. Colosio, but said there was an effort by some in Mexico's ruling party to take advantage of the vacancy Mr. Colosio's death created.

Mr. Salinas named in particular former President Luis Echeverria, who served in the 1970s. Mr. Echeverria pushed the candidacy of Emilio Gamboa Patron, a former cabinet member, to succeed Mr. Colosio, said Mr. Salinas. Mr. Echeverria is known as a leader in the party's hardline wing and his candidate lost to Ernesto Zedillo, the current president of Mexico, who has attempted to carry on Mr. Salinas's economic program.

Mr. Salinas characterized as vicious the infighting after Mr. Colosio's death within the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party, or PRI. "It was the biggest crisis of my government. The most dangerous and the most sad," Mr. Salinas said in the Reforma interview.

MARKETS SHUT DOWN

The day after the assassination Mexico shut down its financial markets, but that week the country experienced its largest outflow of capital ever, Mr. Salinas said.

In the interview, Mr. Salinas expressed regrets for not having taken broader political reforms earlier in his administration. Mr. Salinas, who left Mexico 23 months ago, didn't indicate in the interview when he might return. He said his reasons for leaving were "the result of a decision I took so that the distance outside the country would permit me a more objective evaluation of what occurred--all that I did as well as my failings."

Carlos Salinas is a director of Dow Jones & Co., publisher of this newspaper. Mr. Salinas confirmed in an interview with The Wall Street Journal reports that he doesn't plan to stand for re-election to the board in April. #K2P-P#

WASHINGTON POST

Mexico's Salinas, in Exile, Accentuates the Positive--About Himself
By John Ward Anderson
Thursday, January 30 1997; Page A13

MEXICO CITY, Jan. 29--Former president Carlos Salinas de Gortari portrayed himself as a courageous reformer in a lengthy interview published today and claimed anti-reformers in a "conspiracy" tried to name their own presidential candidate after Salinas's handpicked successor was assassinated.

In the first in-depth, on-the-record interview since he fled Mexico and went into self-imposed exile almost two years ago, Salinas apparently sought to rehabilitate his damaged reputation, depicting himself and Mexico as being locked in a power struggle between forces favoring and opposing change. That was highlighted, he said, after the March 1994 assassination of presidential candidate Luis Donaldo Colosio, a liberal-minded reformer whom Salinas had chosen to be the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party's 1994 nominee to succeed him as president.

Since the PRI, as the ruling party is known, has been in power without interruption for more than six decades, being chosen as its nominee has been considered tantamount to being named president. But after Colosio was shot and killed at a campaign rally in the border city of Tijuana, Salinas said, anti-reform figures within the party immediately began lobbying to replace him with candidate

es more to their liking.

"Although until now the investigation has not uncovered evidence to confirm that there was a conspiracy to kill Luis Donaldo, I believe there was a conspiracy to try to impose a replacement [candidate]," Salinas said.

He said, for instance, that former president Luis Echeverria came to the presidential compound in Mexico City the night of Colosio's slaying to promote Emilio Gamboa, Salinas's former transportation and communications minister. Others, Salinas said, tried to persuade him to "veto" the candidacy of Ernesto Zedillo, who became the PRI nominee and ultimately was elected president.

Salinas previously has accused Echeverria, who was president from 1970 to 1976, of being an anti-reformer--or a "dinosaur," as right-wing members of the PRI are commonly known--and of being behind a campaign to tarnish his reputation after he left office.

Since Colosio's assassination, there have been numerous media reports that after Salinas picked him as his successor, the two had a serious falling out. According to public opinion polls, as many as 90 percent of Mexican citizens canvassed believe Salinas may have played a role in Colosio's killing.

Although the gunman in the slaying has been convicted and is serving a 40-year sentence--the maximum allowed under Mexican law--the investigation into the killing continues. Top law enforcement officials have tried but failed to prove that Colosio was the victim of a conspiracy, not necessarily involving Salinas, and have been forced to release numerous people originally locked up as suspects.

In the interview, Salinas, as he has in the past, denied that there was any bad blood between him and Colosio, saying he was an "exceptional human being" and "my candidate." The interview, which was published today in the Reforma and El Norte newspapers, was conducted in Boston.

Salinas has written a few public letters defending himself and granted a few off-the-record interviews with select journalists since fleeing Mexico in March 1995. His departure came a few months after his successor, Zedillo, devalued the peso and thrust the nation into its worst economic crisis in 60 years, and shortly after Mexican police arrested Raul

Salinas, the ex-president's older brother, and charged him with being the mastermind behind the extraordinary assassination of the PRI's second-in-command, Jose Francisco Ruiz Massieu.

Raul Salinas, who has denied the charge, is standing trial in the Ruiz Massieu case. On Monday, Carlos Salinas was questioned for 16 hours about the Massieu killing by members of the Mexican attorney general's office at the Mexican Embassy in Ireland, where the former president now lives. No details about the interrogation were available. Carlos Salinas has not been charged with any wrongdoing in any of the investigations.

In a clear attempt to remind people of the positive aspects of his presidency and perhaps redeem his fallen legacy, Salinas in the interview published today cited almost a dozen reforms enacted during his six-year term that he said had helped the development of the country and had been good for democracy and justice in Mexico.

But while many people want to blame the reforms themselves for creating the problems that the country currently confronts, Salinas said, "Nothing that has happened in Mexico is independent of the tremendous fight for power." #K2P.P#

LOS ANGELES TIMES
COLUMN ONE: Standoff at the Hotel Serenidad
By Mark Fineman, Times Staff Writer
Wednesday, January 29, 1997

MULEGE, Mexico--The Hotel Serenidad opened to an elite international clientele on the shores of the Gulf of California nearly 30 years ago. Almost overnight, it transformed this sleepy village on the eastern shores of Baja California Sur.

Complete with a new, 4,000-foot landing strip the hotel drew such regulars as John Wayne, Olivia Newton-John and other stars and became an engine of progress and relative prosperity for Mulege and its 3,000 residents.

It brought jobs, money and a class of tourism that spawned restaurants, dive shops, sport fishing and kayak tours. Its tasteful, palm-shrouded grounds were an oasis of elegance along a desert coastline dotted with low-rent trailer parks. The Hotel Serenidad was, in short, the kind of development that Mexican President Ernesto Zedillo has said the nation needs now to help its economy recover from crisis.

Then, just after noon last July 14, three decades of serenity at the Hotel Serenidad came to an abrupt end--and much of Mulege's tourist trade along with it.

It was a Sunday, and the hotel was packed with such regulars as Superior Court Judge Robert C. Baxley of San Diego, when 94 local peasants invaded and occupied the hotel. These ejidatarios, or peasants who own land communally, evicted the owners and guests and seized the rooms, dining room, pool bar and airstrip.

Peasants in cowboy hats have replaced well-heeled tourists beside a pool now filled only with two inches of green scum. The hotel's operators, Nancy Ugalde and Don Johnson, a fifth-generation Mulege native, and her California-born husband, Don Johnson, have spent six months in court trying to prove that Nancy is the legal owner. Last month, the Johnsons said, a federal judge in Mexico City ruled that they had legal title to the land.

But the hotel is still shuttered, and the fight over who owns the land stands as a model of apparent contradictions in Mexico's management of land, tourism and foreign investment through the decades.

The land issue is a highly charged and emotional one in Mexico, where communal ownership is a source of pride and identity for the nation's peasants.

Business people such as Nancy and Don Johnson however, say the government must find a balance between its commitment to democracy and land reform and its policy of courting foreign investment.

The ejidatarios, who were granted vast tracts of public and private property by the Mexican government earlier this century, insist that they have documents showing they own the five acres that include the Hotel Serenidad. They are demanding that the Johnsons pay them tens of thousands of dollars in rent before they will end their siege.

Local and state officials in Baja California Sur, facing elections this year in which they need peasant votes, have taken no action to drive the peasants from the hotel grounds.

Similar peasant takeovers have occurred throughout Mexico.

Ejidatarios last year occupied the site of a planned championship golf course and corporate retreat just outside the nation's

capital in Tepoztlan, for example, and seized the town hall, which they continue to hold, running municipal affairs through a people's council.

Elsewhere in the same state of Morelos, peasants forcibly occupied a sprawling hacienda owned by a prominent family. And there are occasional reports of smaller-scale seizures in other states.

Federal officials and independent analysts acknowledge that such land conflicts are not uncommon, the result of decades of helter-skelter land-management policies.

The Agrarian Reform Ministry is now attempting to determine the real ownership of thousands of land tracts nationwide, all of them collective lands.

"If the Mexican president is in Washington trying to promote investments in Mexico, then what the hell are they doing to the people here, to people like us who already have invested so heavily in Mexico?" Don Johnson asked during a recent interview in Mulege, where he and his wife continue to live. "This hotel is the heart of this town, and now they've cut out the heart." The Johnsons say they have put as much as \$1 million into the hotel since Nancy bought it from the previous owners in 1968--including the more than \$100,000 she said she paid the federal government for the land in 1982. The Johnsons had rented the land and for years from the peasant collective, until the government told them that it had been expropriated.

And the couple's stake is far more than financial. In the 33 years since Don Johnson traded his previous life as a custom tailor in San Jose for Mulege's sleepy tranquillity, married Nancy and eventually took over the hotel, they have invested their future in this town. Their three daughters grew up here and helped run the hotel. And now that he is 70, Johnson said, his only roots are here.

Johnson co-founded Mulege's Rotary Club chapter 25 years ago. About the same time, he convinced Sam Yorty, then mayor of Los Angeles and a Hotel Serenidad regular, to donate Mulege's first fire engine, which Johnson drove across the border into Baja, sirens blaring. Johnson was the U.S. consul in Baja Sur for 13 years, using his Mulege home as his base, and he gave up the post only when the consulate was moved farther south to Cabo San Lucas.

The Johnsons have stacks of old travel magazines with their hotel on the covers, attesting to the wide appeal of the resort and of the Johnsons themselves. The June 1981 issue of Desert Magazine headlined a story on Johnson and the Hotel Serenidad this way: "A Dream with a Purpose. The story of Don Johnson, a man of two nations." After the hotel and its airstrip were seized the local Roman Catholic priest spoke on the Johnsons' behalf in his Sunday sermons. And the Johnsons have collected a thick volume of testimonials from the family's loyal clientele, many of them sent to Mexican consulates and urging the government to liberate the hotel.

In a July 29 letter to the Mexican Consulate in San Diego protesting the hotel seizure, for example, California Superior Court Judge Baxley praised the Johnsons and their hotel as "the principal employer of citizens in the region" and condemned the seizure as an "unlawful action." The Aircraft Owners & Pilots Assn., or AOPA which is based in Frederick, Md., and represents 340,000 U.S. pilots, wrote to the Mexico Government Tourism Office in Washington: "Don and Nancy Johnson have established a unique and trusted reputation in the general aviation community.

"The takeover of this valuable tourism facility is particularly disturbing since AOPA has participated in Operation Amistad [Friendship] meetings in both Mexico and the United States for several years, working diligently to foster and promote a 'transparent' border." Local business people in Mulege have been even more vociferous in their support for the Johnsons--and in their anger over the hotel's seizure.

"They have done incredible things for the community " California native Roy Mahoff, who has run a kayak-tour business in town for the last six years, said of the Johnsons. "Emotionally, this has taken an incredible hit on this community." As for business, Mahoff said sales of his Baja Tropicales kayak tours have been down as much as 50% in the months since the seizure--a trend matching those described by Mexican business people in town, who agree that tourism has been all but dead here since the Hotel Serenidad was shut down.

That, said the ejidatarios' elected leader, Rafael Garcia Espinoza, was never the peasants' intention. They were merely asserting their basic rights, he said

.

"The reason the ejidatarios are inside the hotel is because the hotel is the property of the ejido [collective]," said Garcia- -a toothless, articulate peasant t--in an interview outside his one-room plywood shack in an unpaved part of town.

The ejidatarios' claim dates to 1924, when the federal government gave the local peasants title to more than 45 square miles of land that included the town of Mulege. The gift was part of a massive land redistribution nationwide after the Mexican Revolution.

Then, in the 1970s, the government expropriated thousands of acres of ejido land nationwide to promote tourism and other development. Among those parcels were about 150 acres of the ejido land in Mulege. The government subsequently "regularized" ownership of the land it expropriated, selling titles to people who wanted to invest in Mexico and to those who had already been renting the land from the ejidatarios for years.

The government promised to reimburse the ejidatarios for the expropriated land. But through neglect or mismanagement or lack of funds, it did not begin to do so in Mulege and many other places until last fall--20 years after taking it.

Compounding the problem in Mulege was the question of whether the expropriated land included the Hotel Serenidad's five-acre plot. The Johnsons say it did.

But Garcia insisted that the Johnsons' property title is illegal, that the expropriated lands stopped short of the hotel and that therefore the hotel remains on the property of the ejido.

He acknowledged that the Johnsons paid the ejidatarios a fair rent for it throughout more than a decade--until 1980, when Nancy Johnson began the two-year bureaucratic process of purchasing the land. But he insisted that they must pay rent for the last 16 years and for years to come if they want to stay there.

When asked if his group will honor the court ruling, Garcia said flatly: "No. I'm just a judge. Only one person." Garcia conceded the severe damage his group's seizure has done to Mulege's economy, but he added: "What would you do if

you had a shop with large profits and you received nothing, and the store is yours because you can prove it? Would you let these people get richer while you go without eating?" Most Mulegeans are poor farmers, like Garcia but are not

ot
starving. However, there is a great disparity here between rich and poor. The wealthier Mexicans and the Americans live in the paved part of town, while Garcia and the other ejidatarios live in shacks on its muddy outskirts.

"We have fought a lot for this land," Garcia said. "We can't let them take some thing that we can prove is ours, whether they be Mexicans or foreigners." The ejido leader said he sees the conflict as a clash neither between rich and poor nor between Mexicans and Americans.

Still, when asked about his own background, Garcia--who was born in the far-off state of Guanajuato and moved onto the ejido lands in Mulege in 1954--said, "We are much more Mulegean than those criollos [descendants of Europeans].

"The rich don't want to mix with us because we don't have money. That's a problem," he said. "But we aren't pointing the finger at anyone because they have money. The rich live off the poor, and the poor live off the rich. We both need each other." Garcia and the Johnsons alike characterized the Hotel Serenidad situation as "a standoff." But both sides also said they are willing to open face-to-face negotiations.

Local business people like Mahoff said their futures and that of their town remain uncertain.

"I wish I had a crystal ball so I could plan my own future," he said. "I love this place. I love the people. I love so much about it. But I hate this undercurrent. I just cry inside when I think about how it's affecting the Johnsons and so many here in town.

"And personally, I don't know if Mulege will ever really, truly be the same again. It just seems like so much of the trust is gone." #K2P/P#

WASHINGTON POST
Cuba Releases Two Fishermen Detained Since Boat Broke Down in November
By Nick Madigan
Thursday, January 30 1997; Page A20

MIAMI, Jan. 29--After almost two months in captivity in their native Cuba, two fishermen, both legal residents of the United States, were deported Tuesday and returned to their families here.

Jose Antonio Ramos, 42, who has lived in Miami for five years, and his brother,

Jose Emilio Ramos, 40, a resident since the Mariel boatlift of 1980, were detained without charges and interrogated after their fishing boat broke down in late November near Cuban territorial waters. The two had been on their way to Miami after a seven-week fishing expedition off the coast of Haiti.

Their families had repeatedly sought information on their whereabouts and condition. The elder brother's wife, Magaly Silva Rodriguez, said she made more than 50 calls to Cuba since learning that her husband and brother-in-law were being held. She learned almost nothing.

"I fell on the floor when he called me from the airport, asking to be picked up," Silva said. The two men were dirty and disheveled, she said, but ecstatic.

"I thought I would never get out of there," said Jose Antonio Ramos, referring to the small detention center in Havana, operated by Cuban immigration officials, where the two were held for 16 days. Before that, they were forced to remain aboard their boat.

The Ramos brothers' release came a day after two Florida Republicans, Reps. Lincoln Diaz-Balart and Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, responding to calls from The Washington Post, made inquiries on their behalf with the U.S. Interests Section of the Swiss Embassy in Havana. It is not known whether any contacts were made directly with the government of Fidel Castro.

"You never know when you're dealing with the Castro regime," said the Cuban-born Ros-Lehtinen. "One day he'll detain you and the next day he'll decide to free you. It's unpredictable. It's the whim of the dictator."

The Castro government "considers anyone who has left Cuba to be a traitor to the revolution and an enemy of the state," she said.

Today in her Miami office, Ros-Lehtinen held a short welcoming ceremony for the Ramos brothers.

Jose Antonio Ramos remarked on the irony of finding himself jailed in Cuba, the very land whose oppression he had fled by sea with his wife and two children five years ago.

"It was just an accident," Ramos said, describing the broken fuel pump that caused him to drift into Cuban waters on the

night of Nov. 27. He set off three distress flares.

Officers aboard the Cuban gunboat that approached them seemed to suspect the Ramos brothers of planning to pick up relatives who remain in Cuba, the older brother said. He said he explained to the officers that he had no intention of returning to Cuba and was in the area only because he and his brother had been hired to work for a Haitian company, Caribbean Seafood. The company confirmed his employment.

Nevertheless, Cuban officers confiscated the Ramos brothers' U.S. flag and towed their 39-foot boat, the Adrian, to port. Several days later, the interrogations began, two or three hours a day for a week.

"They told me to speak to them very nicely and very clearly because my situation was very complicated," Ramos recalled. "They asked why we would go to such an impoverished country like Haiti when there was so much wealth in the United States."

They were later towed to Nuevitas, where again they were forced to remain aboard the docked vessel, with little food, while two armed guards watched from the pier.

On Jan. 5, a senior military official told the brothers that their boat was being impounded to pay for their towing and dockage fees and food. About a week later, they were flown to Havana and jailed.

"It was a place fit for rats," Ramos said. There was no soap, shampoo, toothpaste or hot water. The cold shower was on only 15 minutes a day. Their cell held about 15 men. They were charged about \$14 a day for their stay but the brothers had no money left.

Told that they could not leave the country until they paid \$1,000 for plane tickets, passports and food, the elder Ramos managed to borrow the money from a fellow Cuban in the jail. "I've lost my boat, my business, but at least I'm home," Ramos said as the celebration went on around him. #K2P0P#

WASHINGTON POST
Latin Drugs Flow North Via Pacific
by Molly Moore
Thursday, January 30 1997; Page A01

MEXICO CITY--The crew of the Ecuadoran ship Don Celso claimed to be fishermen,

but hundreds of miles off Ecuador, the 150-foot vessel's fishing gear looked as if it hadn't been used in months. And when a U.S. Coast Guard law enforcement team yanked open the fish hatches, it found 50,000 gallons of diesel fuel instead of tuna and ice.

If there was fuel where there should have been fish, Coast Guard Petty Officer 2nd Class Keith Thompson wondered what he would find in the fuel tanks. It took his team six days of hard searching to find out: nearly seven tons of cocaine crammed in secret tanks inside the regular fuel tanks--the second largest maritime cocaine bust in history.

The massive cocaine discovery last October, along with three other record-breaking seizures in just the last 18 months, illustrate how quickly sophisticated Colombian and Mexican drug cartels are adjusting to anti-drug efforts and finding new trafficking routes to the United States despite the billions of dollars the U.S. government is spending on its war against drugs.

Even as the United States has increased interdiction in the Caribbean and as Mexico has curtailed incoming flights by huge cargo planes stuffed with cocaine, traffickers have made the eastern Pacific Ocean--with its vast open seas and virtually unpatrolled shipping lanes and coastlines--the primary trafficking route for cocaine entering the United States, according to Mexican and U.S. law enforcement officials.

"When you press the balloon in one area, it pops up in another," said Vice Admiral Roger T. Rufe Jr., U.S. Coast Guard commander for the Pacific area. "We've been putting a lot of stumbling blocks in their way in the Caribbean. It's a market economy. With demand as it is in the U.S., they have plenty of incentive to try other routes."

Most of the cocaine travels by ship from South America to Mexico's Pacific coast, where it is unloaded onto trucks and vans and transported across Mexican land borders into the U.S. Southwest. U.S. officials estimate that as much as two-thirds of all the cocaine destined for the United States, or at least 275 tons a year, now travels by ship via the eastern Pacific Ocean in what law enforcement authorities describe as the most formidable interdiction battle they have faced in recent years.

Only 23 tons of cocaine was intercepted by U.S. maritime operations in the region.

ion in the past 2 1/2 years--most of it in just three seizures, according to the U.S. Coast Guard.

"The eastern Pacific has been one of the most difficult places for us to interdict drug shipments," said Adm. Robert E. Kramek, commandant of the U.S. Coast Guard and interdiction coordinator for President Clinton's anti-drug efforts. "It's a vast ocean, there are no choke points, no places to hide and lots of places to search--including 2,000 miles of coast."

The cocaine traffickers of Colombia and Mexico are not the only drug organizations that have discovered the eastern Pacific trafficking lanes. Illicit drug shipments are pouring into Mexico's Pacific ports by the tons, hidden in secret compartments of commercial vessels or mixed with legitimate cargo in huge metal containers: hashish from Pakistan; precursor chemicals for methamphetamine, or speed, from Asia; and huge hauls of marijuana from South America.

The drug cartels believe they have such a small risk of getting caught that they are loading shipments of up to 12 tons of cocaine onto fishing vessels and commercial container ships, which can slip largely undetected from South America and up the western coast of Mexico. But the cartels also use sophisticated radar and surveillance to attempt to counter the efforts of drug enforcement agencies.

Even the most rustic-looking fishing boat is often equipped with radar and electronic equipment to help smugglers determine if they are being followed, as well as scanners that can eavesdrop on military frequencies, according to U.S. law enforcement officers involved in maritime interdiction. In addition, the cartels also frequently send aircraft to overfly the maritime trafficking routes to be used by their ships in an effort to identify anti-drug operations.

The discovery of 11 tons of cocaine on the Panamanian ship Nataly I off the coast of Peru in July 1995--the largest maritime cocaine haul ever--was the first tip-off that traffickers were shifting operations to the eastern Pacific, according to the Coast Guard's Adm. Kramek.

Last August, a Honduran ship was nabbed 50 miles off the coast of Colombia with two tons of cocaine, followed by the seizure of the Don Celso's seven tons in October. And last Thursday, U.S. Coast Guard and Mexican authorities detained a fishing vessel 250 miles off the Pacific coast of Mexico carrying almost 3

1/2 tons of cocaine hidden in its fuel tanks.

Late last year the U.S. Coast Guard, which works with the U.S. Navy, Drug Enforcement Administration, Customs and other agencies, launched Operation Caper Focus off northern South America and up the Pacific coastline northward to Mexico in an effort to identify and intercept drug trafficking shipments closer to their departure ports.

"Once they've loaded and are proceeding into the ocean, it's very easy to hide," said Capt. Robert Wicklund, chief of the Coast Guard's law enforcement section for the Pacific area. "There are no natural choke points that a vessel has to pass through where we can sit and wait for them to come to us."

And often even large-scale deployments don't result in a seizure.

In November 1995, after a two-year intelligence-gathering operation by anti-drug agents, a U.S. Coast Guard cutter was dispatched to the eastern Pacific to monitor a fishing vessel believed to be carrying, or preparing, to load 20 tons of cocaine.

The ship left Panama and headed for fishing grounds west of the Galapagos Islands. The Coast Guard cutter tailed the vessel for 2 1/2 months, but was never able to determine whether it was carrying cocaine and never stopped it.

"We had the ability to know when he was fishing, when he was doing his laundry, but we didn't know whether he had drugs on board," a Coast Guard official said.

The most difficult drug shipments to detect are those secreted in the container boxes of commercial ships. Without informants at the ports of departure or arrival, it is virtually impossible to detect such drug cargos, according to law enforcement officials.

"At our two main ports of Veracruz and Manzanillo, 200 containers arrive daily," said Francisco Molina Ruiz, until recently the chief of Mexico's Institute to Combat Drugs, the Mexican equivalent to the U.S. DEA. "To check one container we need anywhere from 10 hours to three days. Some containers are frozen, others contain toxic substances and often the dogs can't sniff for drugs."

Mexican law enforcement agencies recently have discovered several major drug hauls in container shipments, usually

after receiving tips or noticing irregularities in shipping manifests.

Problems of drug interdiction in the eastern Pacific are exacerbated because the United States has few bilateral agreements with Pacific Coast nations for law enforcement cooperation such as it has developed over the years throughout the Caribbean.

As a result, until a few recent diplomatic breakthroughs with some nations, U.S. law enforcement officials frequently spent days in bureaucratic tangles attempting to get permission to stop or pursue suspicious vessels.

And despite the large increase in drug shipments off the Mexican Pacific coast, the United States and Mexico have not conducted scheduled joint operational exercises in a year. Mexico halted the operations after former defense secretary William J. Perry embarrassed Mexican officials by discussing new joint operations before they had been announced to the Mexican public.#K2P1P#

NEW YORK TIMES
Backlash From Nafta Batters Economies of Caribbean
By Larry Rohter
January 30, 1997

KINGSTON, Jamaica--Three years after the United States, Canada and Mexico agreed to become a single market as part of the North American Free Trade Agreement, their exports to each other are booming. But here in the Caribbean, the economies of the United States' much smaller neighbors are reeling from the impact of that success and finding it nearly impossible to compete.

From the apparel plants of Jamaica to the sugar-cane fields of Trinidad, NAFTA has already resulted in the loss of jobs, markets and income for the vulnerable island nations of the region. The capital and investment projects that are vitally needed for future growth, officials say, are increasingly flowing out of the Caribbean Basin and into Mexico.

"The stark reality is that Mexico can now export its products to the United States free of duty, which makes it more profitable for producers to operate from there," Seymour Mullings, Jamaica's minister of foreign affairs and foreign trade, said in an interview here. "Putting it very simply, if that is not stemmed, it could do untold damage to our manufacturing sector and economy as a whole."

ole."

NAFTA's devastating effect on the Caribbean was widely forecast before the treaty's passage in 1993 and Washington suggested it would cushion the blow by extending similar trade preferences to the island nations.

However, the Clinton administration's proposals to give the Caribbean "NAFTA parity" have twice foundered in Congress in election years and now face uncertain future in a new Congress that has decidedly mixed feelings about the benefits of free-trade agreements.

The Caribbean now exports more than \$12.5 billion worth of goods to the United States annually, and a recent study by the World Bank estimates that more than one-third of that total could be shifted to Mexico if the existing trade rules remain in effect.

The region's once-flourishing apparel sector has been hard hit, officials say. In the last two years, more than 150 apparel plants closed in the Caribbean and 123,000 jobs have been lost "as a direct result of trade and investment diversion to Mexico," according to the Caribbean Textile and Apparel Institute, which is located here.

Textile manufacturing had been one of the Caribbean's few economic bright spots. Between 1980 and 1995, Jamaica's garment exports, primarily underwear and hosiery, rose from less than \$10 million a year to nearly \$600 million annually, an average annual growth rate of 28 percent.

Since NAFTA took effect in 1994, Mexican textile exports have grown at a rate three times those of the Caribbean as a whole. In 1996, the Caribbean Textile and Apparel Institute estimates, Jamaica's garment exports fell by 7 percent, with 7,000 jobs eliminated.

Similar or even larger decreases were recorded in Guyana, Belize and tiny St. Lucia.

More than 600 people, about 95 percent of them women, felt the effects of NAFTA when the Youngone Garment factory on Marcus Garvey Drive here closed just before Christmas. The plant had been making T-shirts for export to the United States. But a Mexican factory took the business away with a lower bid, prompting the Korean company to shut down operations in Jamaica and send its employees

home. The company then shipped its equipment off to Bangladesh.

"I lost my job back in '95 and haven't been able to find another one since," said Beryl Davidson, 26, a former textile worker and single mother of three small children. "I couldn't pay my rent, and I couldn't feed my kids, so I've had to move back in with my parents to survive."

"But my cousin in Brooklyn tells me there's plenty of work there, so maybe I will join her," she said.

Since NAFTA went into effect, the creation of new jobs in this nation of 230 million people has stopped altogether and overall unemployment has risen to 16 percent from 9.5 percent, according to the Statistical Institute of Jamaica. Among women working in the apparel sector, the unemployment rate is now more than 33 percent.

Worse yet, the loss of jobs and U.S. support occurs as the pro-U.S. government here, with an election due sometime in the next year, is completing an economic retrenchment that had been strongly urged by Washington. Over the past decade, Jamaica has sold off state companies, reduced the budget deficit and increased foreign reserves, but at a high social cost.

"We have no safety net here, no welfare, no Medicare," said Anthony Gomes, director of a large trading company. "So when people go to the street, it has a serious ripple effect. The way things are going, jobs are very difficult to get, and that is not helping our crime rate."

U.S. officials, however, argue that Jamaica and other Caribbean nations are blaming NAFTA for deeper-rooted economic difficulties that will remain even if trade rules are eventually eased. In the case of Jamaica, they maintain, those include a revaluation of the currency that increased its value by 12.5 percent last year, making the country's products more expensive, and a host of regulatory obstacles. "The main problem here is government bureaucracy," one official said. "It is darn near impossible to collect the licenses and approvals you need to get a business off the ground."

Ironically, Jamaica's initial export surge was the result of another U.S. program, the Caribbean Basin Initiative, which the Reagan administration put in place 15 years ago. A package of aid, trade and investment incentives aimed at the private

sector, the program was intended to introduce the Caribbean to what President Ronald Reagan called "the magic of the marketplace," and had Jamaica as its centerpiece.

But that arrangement has also benefited the United States. U.S. exports to the region rose 160 percent in the decade ending in 1995, to more than \$15 billion a year. The Caribbean is the only part of the world where Washington recorded a favorable balance of trade every year during that time.

The Caribbean Basin Initiative still exists, but places either duties or quotas on those products in which Caribbean nations enjoy a competitive advantage, such as sugar, textiles and footwear.

"All we are asking is to be put on a level playing field with Mexico," said Paul Robertson, Jamaica's minister of industry, investment and commerce. "We are not seeking a handout, but only the opportunity not to be prevented from taking full advantage of the North American market." #K2P2P#

Miami Herald
Editorial: When Friends Fall out
Wednesday, January 29, 1997

Friends can agree on the ends. They don't always see eye-to-eye on the means. So it is with the opposing U.S. and Canadian views of how to deal with Cuba.

The ends are a democratic Cuba free of human-rights abuse. Canada's U.S. friends therefore must raise questions of Canada's increasingly sugar-coated relationship with dictator Fidel Castro.

The recent high-profile Cuban trip of Lloyd Axworthy, the first Canadian foreign minister to visit Cuba since 1959, ended with the nations agreeing to work cooperatively on areas from human rights to foreign-investment protection to economic reforms.

Understanding Canada's approach isn't difficult. Cuba's largest trade partner and investor, Canada has economic interests to protect. It also has axes to grind against the U.S. embargo and the Helms-Burton Act, which Mr. Axworthy's trip well highlighted.

"We think that engagement has a much better prospect of success," says Canada

a's Miami-based consul and trade commissioner for Florida, Douglas Campbell. U.S. policies, he argues, have failed to bring about change in 38 years.

But what concrete changes has Canada

dian ``engagement" accomplished?

Canada has become Cuba's strongest business partner. This after Cuba lost its Soviet subsidies and the unquestioning support of the former socialist government in Spain, and after the European Union last month tied its 15 members' trade with and aid to Cuba to human-rights and democratic reforms there.

To its credit, Canada long has expressed concern over human rights in Cuba, co-sponsoring United Nations resolutions critical of Cuba in 1994, 1995, and 1996 and condemning Cuba's downing of two Brothers to the Rescue planes last February.

Yet this concern is little evident in Canada-Cuba commerce. Like its other foreign business partners, Canadians pay the Cuban government to lease land and labor. Big Brother, in turn, controls who works, working conditions, and what the worker is paid.

The problem with Canada's agreement is that it is too much engagement and too little teeth. It benefits Canadian businesses operating in Cuba, and it benefits Castro's government. Not benefited are the Cuban people and their human rights.

#K2P3P#
MIAMI HERALD
Editorial: A Promise of Help
Wednesday, January 29, 1997

So far in its 10-month life, the Helms-Burton Act has drawn mostly criticism for the sour part of its sweet-and-sour content. That part is of course the act's extraterritorial reach, which has outraged U.S. allies far and wide.

Yesterday President Clinton uncapped Helms-Burton's other vessel, the honey jar. From it poured a stream of promised sweetening that should allay many fears about U.S. intentions toward a post-Castro Cuba.

The 24-page statement of intent, titled ``Support for a Democratic Transition in Cuba," pledges, first of all, \$4 billion to \$8 billion in U.S. funds to aid that transition. It says that the United States will be, as it absolutely must be, in the forefront of

an international effort to restore what Fidel Castro has denied Cubans for nearly 40 years--personal and political freedom of all kinds, and a free-market economy.

The Cuban American National Foundation said yesterday that the report ``once a gain sends a clear and unmistakable signal to the Cuban people that the only obstacle to normal diplomatic and economic relations between the [United States] and Cuba is Fidel Castro and that the American people are prepared to extend a hand of friendship to help promote a genuine transition to democracy." The Herald shares that view.

Naturally Castro can be expected to twist, malign, and distort the U.S. statement every way he can. In words plain and simple, however, the document lays a foundation upon which to build a democratic post-Castro Cuba. It says reassuringly that ``the timing, nature, and course of the Cuban transition must be determined by the Cuban people themselves." That's as it should be.

There are preconditions for this unprecedented U.S. aid, but they are eminently reasonable. First, Castro and his brother, Raul, must go. Second, the hated Cuban Interior Ministry--Castro's principal agent for repressing and persecuting the Cuban people--must be dismantled. All political prisoners must be released. And there must be a firm commitment to hold open, free, and fair elections in Cuba.

Once those conditions are met, the United States pledges itself to help Cuba unilaterally and through the World Bank and other international institutions. Other help will come, of course, from Cuban exiles' investments there once their native land is free again.

``Cuba has the human and natural resources to become a free and prosperous nation," President Clinton said in releasing the document yesterday. After Cuba's transition to democracy, he added, Cubans ``can count on the United States and the international community to help them forge a peaceful future, free from repression and economic misery."

Hasten that long-sought day. #K2P4P#

LOS ANGELES TIMES
Clinton Pledges Aid for Post-Castro Cuba

By Stanley Meisler, Times Staff Writer
Wednesday, January 29, 1997

WASHINGTON--President Clinton pledged Tuesday to lead a team of international donors in providing \$4 billion to \$8 billion to revive the devastated economy of Cuba once it is rid of dictator Fidel Castro and on the road to democracy.

In a report for Congress endorsed by Clinton the White House said the United States would even be willing to give up its Guantanamo naval base on Cuban soil to show that it wants normal relations with a new Cuba.

The report was required by controversial legislation passed by Congress and signed by the president last year after Cuban fighter planes shot down two small planes flown by Cuban American pilots.

"The United States is committed to help the Cuban people in a transition to democracy," Clinton told Congress in his preface to the report. "We will continue working with others in the international community who share our desire to welcome Cuba into the ranks of prosperous democratic nations." The report, drafted for the White House mainly by the Agency for International Development, offered no hint of how Castro, 70, might disappear from the helm of Cuba. But it was generally optimistic about the chances of Cuba making a smooth transition from communism to democracy afterward.

That recovery would be expensive, however. The report estimated that \$4 billion to \$8 billion--from \$360 to \$720 for each of the 11 million people on the island--would be needed in the first six years. Even adjusted for inflation, that kind of cost would put the program on a scale greater than the Marshall Plan that helped Europe to recover from the ravages of World War II.

The cost, the report said, would not fall on the United States alone. The World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the United Nations, the European Union and several governments would contribute too. But, the report went on, "due to

proximity and national interest, the United States can be expected to be the predominant bilateral provider of such assistance." Rep. Robert Menendez (D-N.J.), author of the provision in the legislation that required the report, said the White House had been hesitant about setting down an estimated cost out of fear that it would seem as if the administration was trying to bind Congress to a figure. But Menendez said he persuaded the White House to include the

es
timate. "A report without a figure would be hollow," he said.

After six years of transition to a free market economy, Cuba, the report said, would no longer need foreign assistance; private funds would be sufficient to power a healthy economy. Cuban Americans probably would send more than \$1 billion a year to relatives in Cuba, and "dramatic increases in foreign investment can be expected to provide much of the capital needed for Cuba's economic recovery." Cuba would also have advantages over other countries in the former Soviet Bloc in making the transition from communism, the White House said. Cuba already has suffered the shock of the post-Soviet trade collapse; because it has no heavy industry, Cuba would not have to go through the industrial shutdowns and job cuts that Eastern Europe experienced.

The administration promised to begin conducting normal relations with Cuba as soon as it has a government "committed to the establishment of a fully democratic, pluralistic society." The first step would be lifting the economic embargo on Cuba, the report said, adding: "The United States is also prepared to enter into negotiations to either return the naval base at Guantanamo or to renegotiate the present agreement under mutually agreeable terms." The United States has leased the land for the naval base on the southeastern tip of Cuba since 1903 for a minuscule sum. The annual rent, set at \$2,000 in the original treaty, was increased to \$3,300 in 1934 and has not been renegotiated since.

The congressional demand for a report on U.S. support for a Cuban transition to democracy was one of the least controversial provisions in last year's law, the Helms-Burton Act, named for its sponsors, Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) and Rep. Dan Burton (R-Ind.). The act has infuriated Canada, Mexico and Western Europe with its provisions that try to punish foreign companies for operating in Cuba on property confiscated from U.S. citizens by the Castro government. #K2P5P#

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
Setting the Stage for Transition in Cuba
By Peter Hakim
Thursday January 30, 1997 Edition

The Canadians have it right on Cuba. During his visit last week to Havana, Canada's Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy

announced a 14-point accord with the Cuban government that calls for stepped-up cooperation and engagement between the two countries.

Though it appears fundamentally at odds with American policy, this Canadian initiative could well advance United States interests in Cuba. The Clinton administration should try to find ways to take advantage of it.

NOT A PANACEA

Canada's efforts, no matter how successful, probably won't bring democracy to Cuba or even significantly ease repression in that country. President Clinton and his advisers are right to be skeptical on this score. But short of military action, which is currently inconceivable, there is nothing the US or any other government can do to depose President Fidel Castro Ruz or induce him to make Cuban politics more democratic or humane. Neither the US policy of isolation nor the Canadian strategy of engagement will achieve these goals.

What the international community can and should do is help set the stage for a quick and peaceful transition to a democratic government and a market-based economy in a post-Fidel Cuba - and, to the extent possible, reduce the hardships of the Cuban people until that transition takes place. As the experience of the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe made clear, political and economic transitions are always traumatic and often violent, as old institutions, relationships, and ways of doing business are destroyed and new ones constructed from scratch.

There is another lesson to be gained from the former Soviet bloc: Change in those countries that had developed strong prior relations with the US and Western Europe - Hungary and Czechoslovakia, for example - was less painful and turbulent than in those that had remained closed and isolated, such as Albania and Bulgaria.

That is what the Canadian initiative is designed to do - to begin to engage Cuba and the Cuban people in a web of relationships with Canada. To be sure, Canada's motives are not totally selfless. Canada has an important stake in promoting trade with Cuba, its second largest trading partner in Latin America, and in defending the rights of Canadian companies to invest in Cuba, regardless of the extraterritorial provisions of the US's Helms-Burton legislation.

But even here, there are long-term benefits for the Cuban people, as foreign investment forces changes in the Cuban economy and points the way toward Cuba's future integration into the global economy.

Parts of the Canadian-Cuban accord - the proposed people-to-people exchanges and support for nongovernmental organizations - are consistent with, indeed virtually mirror, US policy. US efforts in this regard, the so-called "track two"

strategy, are moribund. The deep, mutual suspicion between the two countries has effectively precluded any sustained program of exchange or engagement. There are officials in both governments who consider such programs US subversion of Cuba.

Actually, a minimum of civility between governments is essential for people-to-people diplomacy to work. It is impossible to establish a program of exchanges with a country's citizens without dealing with that nation's government and leaders.

Little can be done to help the Cuban people and prepare them for a different future without helping the Cuban government. There is no way out of this dilemma. A hard choice has to be made.

The United States and Canada are unlikely ever to agree on a common policy toward Castro's Cuba. But instead of emphasizing its differences with Canada, Washington should seek to identify areas of agreement, where joint efforts may be possible.

The two countries concur that the overall aim must be a peaceful democratic change, and both are concerned about the protection of human rights.

More important operationally, Canada and the US appear to share an interest in strengthening independent organizations in Cuba and encouraging people-to-people exchanges of different kinds. It should be possible for the two to work together in designing and carrying out such programs.

CANADA'S INFLUENCE

Canada has achieved a greater influence for itself in Cuban affairs. That influence isn't enough to change the Cuban regime's behavior in any significant way. But Canada will be able to help shape Cuba's inevitable transition in ways that the US, unless it changes its approach, will not.

With a little imagination, the US - while continuing to oppose the current Cuban regime - should find it possible to cooperate with Canada in helping build a bridge to the 21st century for Cuba.

* Peter Hakim is president of the Inter-American Dialogue in Washington. #K2P6P
#

WASHINGTON POST
Peru, Japan Set Summit Meeting On Hostage Crisis
By Gabriel Escobar
Thursday, January 30 1997; Page A13

LIMA, Peru, Jan. 29--The leaders of Japan and Peru agreed today to meet in Canada to discuss how best to handle the prolonged hostage crisis at the Japanese ambassador's residence in Lima.

The meeting between Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori and Japanese Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto, set for Saturday in Toronto, follows expressions of concern by Japanese officials here and in Tokyo about recent large-scale Peruvian police activity around the residence, where scores of hostages have been held captive by leftist guerrillas for 43 days.

The residence has been the chief focus of Peruvian security forces since the night of Dec. 17, when members of the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement stormed the building and began their occupation. But police activity at the site has

increased sharply in the last week; it now includes regular and very visible patrols by heavily armed convoys, generating fears for the safety of the 72 hostages still inside the residence.

This new aggressiveness has clearly perturbed the Japanese government and resulted in two separate but very direct calls for Peru to cease activities that may provoke a hostile response. Instead of yielding, Peru answered one such plea from Japan Monday by sending forth its largest display of force to date and provoking a volley of gunfire from within the residence.

In addition to increasing tensions around the residence and alarming the government of Japan, the police tactics have forced Red Cross officials to reduce substantially the amount of time the agency spends monitoring the condition of the hostages.

A Red Cross spokesman emphasized that the hostages are still receiving the care and attention they need, particularly from physicians who visit twice a day. But the fact that Red Cross workers no longer remain at the site continuously from 10 a.m. to 7 p.m., as they had from almost the beginning of the crisis, has reduced the hostages' contact with the outside world and could adversely affect their well-being, aid workers say.

Asked what psychological repercussions the reduced schedule may have had on the hostages, Red Cross spokesman Steven Anderson said: "It has some effects. To what degree, it is difficult to establish completely. . . . We continue to do the job but maybe not as well as we would like. It is satisfactory, but it is not ideal."

The degree to which the Peruvian government's new displays of power around the residence may have complicated relations between Japan and Peru is not clear, but the fact that Hashimoto and Fujimori are scheduled to meet-- the announcement was made in Tokyo and confirmed later in the day in Lima -- prompted wide-ranging speculation here on what it portends.

Domingo Palermo, the Peruvian government envoy in the crisis, said during a brief talk with reporters that the aim of the meeting is to evaluate a strategy to deal with the crisis. A Japanese official here, part of the sizable task force formed by Tokyo, played down differences between the two governments and said that the two sides sometimes discuss the crisis on an hourly basis.

The official noted, however, that Japan has complained about some aspects of police behavior, in particular about one incident in which officers were seen throwing rocks into the compound. "We thought there was a lack of discipline on the part of the police force and that this could possibly lead to an incident that could jeopardize the whole process," said the official, who asked not to be identified.

While the heightened police activity was being dealt with by the two countries on a diplomatic level, it has presented a new set of challenges for the Red Cross in establishing a protocol on access to the diplomatic compound. Last week, the aid agency proposed creating a special area around the entrance to the compound that would not be crossed by police while the Red Cross workers were

inside.

White lines marking off the area were painted Thursday, but police crossed the area on Friday, and the Red Cross withdrew from the residence for nearly six hours. Meanwhile, the demarcation triggered a political furor here and made the Red Cross a target for accusations that it was protecting the rebels and was no longer a neutral party.

The tension led directly to a sharp shrinkage in the amount of time the Red Cross spends daily at the residence, which means in practice that police can mobilize around the site during most of the day.#K2P7P#

NEW YORK TIMES
Hashimoto to Discuss Hostage Crisis With Fujimori
By Calvin Sims
January 30, 1997

LIMA, Peru--In response to Japan's increasing frustration with Peru's handling of the siege of its embassy residence here, the Japanese prime minister and the Peruvian president agreed to hold talks in Toronto on Saturday.

The Canadian Embassy in Lima said Wednesday in a statement that Ryutaro Hashimoto of Japan and President Alberto K. Fujimori had agreed to meet in Toronto on Feb. 1 to discuss ways to end the hostage crisis, which entered its sixth week Wednesday with no sign of a resolution.

In recent days, Hashimoto has repeatedly called Fujimori to express his concern that the crisis was dragging on too long and that aggressive maneuvers by Peruvian security forces outside the Japanese residence were jeopardizing the lives of the 72 hostages being held by Marxist guerrillas inside.

"We recognize the need to tighten the guard around the residence, but we want you to take sufficient care that nothing unexpected occurs," Hashimoto told the Peruvian president in a telephone call on Tuesday, local news reports here said.

Western diplomats who are closely following the hostage crisis here said that the Japanese government was particularly angry over a military parade that security forces staged on Monday, in which hundreds of police marched around the residence accompanied by armored cars, as police helicopters armed with machine guns flew overhead.

In response, the guerrillas, who are members of the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement, fired shots from inside the

residence that struck an armored vehicle,
causing police officers to run for cover, according to Peru's national police.

"The Japanese are worried that despite Mr. Fujimori's promises to find a peaceful solution, Peru is planning to invade the residence and blood will be shed," said a high-ranking Western diplomat who spoke on condition of anonymity.

"But even more troubling to the Japanese is the sense that Fujimori is no longer in the driver's seat and that Peru's military and intelligence services are gaining the upper hand and pushing for the use of force," the diplomat said.

Human rights groups have long criticized Fujimori for catering to the military, which backed the 1992 crackdown in which the president disbanded Congress and the courts to seize near-dictatorial powers he said were necessary to end corruption and stop terrorism.

Fujimori's critics say he is still beholden to the generals who backed his actions in 1992 and that he has failed to bring the military under full civilian control, even though he held free elections and was overwhelmingly elected to a second term last year.

Peru's security forces were greatly embarrassed by the takeover of the Japanese residence by a group of terrorists whom they had often boasted of having defeated. Police and military leaders have been pressuring Fujimori to use force to retake the residence.

But Fujimori has come under heavy international pressure, particularly from the Japanese and the United States, to find a peaceful end to the crisis, which began on Dec. 17 when the guerrillas took hundreds of dignitaries captive at a celebration at the residence.

The Japanese, who have a reputation for giving into terrorists' demand, have said that while they do not favor making any concessions to the Tupac Amaru rebels, they also do not want any bloodshed.

Unless the rebels strike first, Fujimori is limited in his use of force because diplomatic privilege prevents Peruvian forces from entering the Japanese ambassador's house without Japanese permission.

MIAMI HERALD

Second Term Now Likely for Brazilian President

By Katherine Ellison, Herald Staff Writer

Wednesday, January 29, 1997

RIO DE JANEIRO--He wheedled; he bargained; he threatened; he fumed, until finally, Tuesday evening, President Fernando Henrique Cardoso succeeded in getting Brazil's lawmakers to clear his way to a second consecutive term in office.

The Chamber of Deputies voted 336-17 for a constitutional change allowing presidents, governors and mayors to run for consecutive terms. The margin was 28 votes above the 308 needed for a two-thirds majority of Congress.

The deputies will have to vote once more--probably early next month-- to confirm the decision,

as will the Senate, but many analysts believe the popular president has his toughest work behind him.

Cardoso, 65, who took office Jan. 1, 1995, gambled some of his prestige and delayed work on key economic reforms to reach his goal of a chance for eight years as president instead of four.

For several weeks, the press had reported alleged deal-making, including negotiations for Cabinet posts and government support for a new president of the Chamber of Deputies. Cardoso apparently came close to calling for a plebiscite if it looked like the vote in Congress wouldn't go his way -- a tactic that would have stalled government progress for at least several months more. Yet none of his efforts on his own behalf seemed to dent his popularity.

"He is the best president we've ever had-- perhaps the best president in the world," said sociologist Helio Jaguaribe.

Though the idea of consecutive terms for presidents remains controversial in Brazil, which only emerged from 21 years of military dictatorship in 1985, Cardoso won a special place in voters' hearts in 1994, when as finance minister he created the real, a currency and plan that has brought the country its lowest levels of inflation in 40 years. Stock markets have risen over the last few days on expectations that he'll be able to stick around.

"Investors can now see that the real is guaranteed and the rules of the game will stay the same," former Planning Minister Jose Serra said.

Before the vote began Tuesday night, thousands of demonstrators--those for re-

election greatly outnumbering those
against--gathered outside the Chamber of D
eputies in Brasilia.

#I2P8QP#===== END ATTACHMENT 2 =====

RECORD TYPE: FEDERAL (TRP NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: swalitsk (swalitsk@usia.gov@INET@LNGTWY [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME:19-FEB-1997 09:18:00.00

SUBJECT: Early Report 2/20: DENG XIAOPING

TO: susan e. walitsky (susan e. walitsky@EOP [UNKNOWN])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Yesterday's announcement of the death of Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping

received

extensive coverage in the foreign media, with editorialists noting the

passing

of China's "last emperor," a "pragmatist" and an "autocrat" and assessing

the

impact of his political career and his role in shaping modern China.

Commentators also praised President Clinton's remarks, his "calm"

reaction to

the Chinese leader's death and his appeal for "continuity" in U.S.-China

relations. Tokyo's commercially run TV Asahi said, "The Chinese...are

fully

aware of the importance of strengthening economic ties with the U.S. The

Clinton administration is also well aware of the strategic importance of

forging stronger ties with China into the next century." Mr. Deng's

death was

announced on early morning radio and television broadcasts in Beijing,

with the

official Communist Party People's Daily and most other papers noting that

China

would not be inviting foreign dignitaries to attend the funeral ceremony.

In

Taiwan, the moderate United Daily News predicted that China's policy toward the

U.S. will not change unless Mr. Deng's death leads to a "serious split" in

Beijing's political establishment. The establishment China Times added that "a

stable mainland China is what is really favorable for Taiwan." Mr.

Deng's

pragmatism and his "brute force" in crushing political opposition were examined

by a number of broadcasters, including Germany's ARD-TV, which suggested that

"what remains is the weak hope that his successors will realize that a society

is lost that marginalizes its critical intelligentsia, and that, in the end,

progress is not possible without democracy." London's conservative

Daily

Telegraph concluded: "Deng will go down in history as a great man but we hope

never to see his like again."

ALBRIGHT IN MOSCOW: 'SWEET-TALKING' RUSSIANS ON ENLARGEMENT

The media overseas judged that Secretary of State Albright now faces the most difficult part of her European tour: persuading the Russians to accept NATO's moving in closer to their borders. Moscow's centrist Nezavisimaya Gazeta agreed that the Albright visit "probably will become the most significant event in the current stage of Russia-West relations." Analysts, however, were uncertain as to how Russia would react to the Alliance's latest offers, including weapons reductions and the suggestion for a NATO-Russian peacekeeping brigade. Russian dailies noted that the Kremlin is "toughening its demands," and a piece by Deputy Secretary of Russia's National Security Council Boris Berezovsky in Nezavisimaya Gazeta insisted that NATO enlargement is a "totally aggressive" decision by the West "not to integrate with Russia." German dailies voiced their chagrin at the lack of coordination shown by Washington in floating the brigade offer without informing Foreign Minister Kinkel, who was visiting in Moscow."

BRIEFS

-- Embarrassing Arrest Of Mexican Anti-Drug Official

-- Jerusalem: Construction Projects, U.S. Reaction

-- Hwang Defection: Destination U.S.?

EDITORS: Mildred Sola Neely and Pat McArdle

DENG XIAOPING: THE DEATH OF A REVOLUTIONARY AND AN AUTOCRAT

CHINA: "Eternal Glory To Respected, Beloved Comrade Deng Xiaoping"

Deng Xiaoping's death was announced on early morning radio and television

broadcasts in Beijing. The official Communist Party People's Daily (2/20)

and

most other papers announced his death in a two-page article under a

banner

headline. The announcement, which included a statement that, as per

custom,

China would not be inviting foreign dignitaries to attend the funeral

ceremony,

said, "Deng Xiaoping is an outstanding leader with high public prestige

as

recognized by our Party, our Army and the people of various ethnic groups

of

our nation. He was a great Marxist, as well as a great proletarian

revolutionary, statesman, military expert and diplomat, a long-tested

Communist

fighter, the architect of China's socialist reform and opening-up policy

and
modern construction, and a creator of the theory of building socialism
with
Chinese characteristics."

TAIWAN: "Deng's Death And The Future Of U.S.-China Relations"

The moderate United Daily News (2/20) commented, "To judge from the
history of
Beijing-Washington ties, Communist China's policy toward the United
States will
not change unless Deng Xiaoping's death leads to a serious split in
Beijing's
political situation or a great setback in its policy. Beijing will
continue its
focus on using U.S. technology, investment and market to fulfill its goal
of
becoming a 'strong country.' Bilateral ties will return toward a more
stable
and normal situation following last year's tensions.... Because Clinton
also
believes that no one in the struggle for power following Deng's death
would
dare to show weakness to the United States, Washington will naturally not
use
any high-handed measures in public to force Beijing to make major
concessions

or to improve its human rights.... Communist China recognizes that it has enough force to destroy Taiwan...but that it cannot use force to 'resolve' the Taiwan issue and make Taiwan 'unify' with China. It can only count on means that are peaceful and contribute to resolution of the Taiwan issue."

"At A Turning Point In History--Deng Xiaoping's Death And China's Future"

The establishment China Times (2/20) remarked, "Deng has not really ruled the country for a long time and the arrangements for his successor are relatively smooth. There should not be any riots on the mainland in the short term, and there cannot be any internal wars. From Taiwan's point of view, mainland

China's economy will affect Asia, not to mention Taiwan, which relies heavily on trade with China. Therefore, a stable mainland China is what is really favorable for Taiwan. This is an economic and international political reality."

JAPAN: "Washington Sees No Change In U.S.-China Relations"

Quasi-governmental NHK-TV's Washington correspondent Kono observed (2/20), "The

Clinton administration reacted calmly to the death of Chinese leader Deng

Xiaoping. Administration officials believe the Chinese leadership, led by

President Jiang Zemin, has been in place since Deng's retirement several years

ago, and there will be no major strife in Beijing over who will succeed Deng.

President Clinton issued a brief statement, praising Deng's role in promoting

U.S.-China relations but did not go into detail about the implication of his

death in future Sino-US relations. Although President Clinton is already

engaged in high-level diplomacy with President Jiang, he found it necessary to

issue a message at home and abroad that there will be no change in the U.S

.-China relationship after Deng's death. Despite friction with China over

human rights, trade and other issues, the USG made it clear that it gives high

priority to improving ties with China."

"U.S. And China To Opt For More Realistic Relations"

In the TV Asahi's hour-long special on Deng's death, former chief Asahi correspondent in Beijing Tadokoro said (2/20), "The Chinese may continue to clash with the U.S. over Taiwan, human rights and Tibet in the future, but they are fully aware of the importance of strengthening economic ties with the U.S.

The Clinton administration is also well aware of the strategic importance of forging stronger ties with China into the next century. The Clinton administration is likely to take a 'Japan-passing' diplomatic approach toward China."

RUSSIA: "Who Has Emperor's Note?"

Alexander Chudodeyev wrote in reformist Segodnya (2/20): "Whoever succeeds Deng will have to take into account his indisputably outstanding role in building a new great power, as well as his involvement in crushing a student action in

Tienanmen Square in 1989.... It happened more than once in Chinese history

that an 'heir at law' quickly passed into oblivion, and an obscure figure

suddenly showed up from behind the wings with a note written in the late emperor's hand, 'With you in charge, I may rest in peace.'"

GERMANY: "With The Clear View Of A Pragmatist"

National ARD-TV's late evening newscast "Tagesthemen" (2/19) featured the

following commentary: "With the clear view of a pragmatist, Deng realized that

people and Chinese in particular, are basically entrepreneurs. And by removing the fetters of the collective from the farmers of his country, Deng

saw to it at the beginning of the '80s that China was freed from hunger....

But it was also part of Deng's life that he used brute force to crush every

kind of democratic movement.... He was a full-blooded politician, a strategist, a tactician but no intellectual. What remains is the weak hope

that his successors will realize that a society is lost that marginalizes its

critical intelligentsia, and that, in the end, progress is not possible without democracy."

"Death Of An Old Man"

Centrist General-Anzeiger of Bonn (2/20) opined, "If the Chinese leadership is able to stay the course and the economy keeps expanding, counter-currents--from the camp of liberal and progressive forces, the neo-conservatives, Communists and nationalists--have little chances to develop. Then the world must continue to live with China's rise to superpower status, which Deng--irrespective of all contradictions has initiated with his unbending policy."

BRITAIN: "The End Of An Era For China"

BBC-TV (2/19) said: "Deng's death represents the end of an era for China.

His legacy is freedom of choice for consumers but not for voters--capitalism without democracy.... There is likely to be no succession crisis. His death had been so long in coming that its effect has long been discounted. Still, China is at a historical crossroads. The world will be holding its breath to see how the end of the leader of the largest nation affects the world.

The
United States is looking for a peaceful transition and Madeleine
Albright's
visit is still on unless the Chinese cancel it."

"A Profound Step In China's Transition"

Channel 4 News (2/19) said: "The death of the paramount leader who
opened
China to the outside world marks a profound step in the transition of
China
from feudalism through Communism to a market-oriented reformist regime.
It is
a huge moment on that side of the world. Challenges face the new
leadership.
With runaway economic growth has come rampant corruption and many areas
now pay
only lip service to the ruling party's authority in Beijing."

"A Long March"

The conservative Daily Telegraph (2/20) remarked: "Deng's death deprives
the
world of the last of the great 20th century great revolutionaries, and
China of
a leader who gave rein to its entrepreneurial flair after the madness of
Mao.... Deng will go down in history as a great man but we hope never to

see

his like again."

"The Tyrant The World Can Never Forgive"

The conservative tabloid Express (2/20) held: "Let there be no tears for Deng

Xiaoping. His hands are covered in too much blood for that. As a leading

figure in the Communist revolution and subsequent rule, he was fully engaged in

the barbarism that caused such misery and death for millions of his countrymen. All the words of praise for the democratization he promoted in his

later years should cause no one to forget, much less forgive, the earlier

crimes against humanity... As the massacre at Tiananmen Square should always

remind us, he was a tyrant first. And tyrants can never be forgiven."

ITALY: "An Autocrat With A Totalitarian Mentality"

A commentary in centrist, top-circulation Corriere della Sera (2/20) opined:

"Notwithstanding his huge popularity in China and abroad...Deng has remained

until the end an autocrat with a totalitarian mentality and with a

pragmatic,
far from idealistic vision of China. The mistake we often make in the
West is
to believe that Deng, once he had realized the failure of Communism, put
the
country on the road to capitalism and democracy. This is only an
illusion.

Deng accepted the Western model and the capitalistic mechanism of a
market
economy only to speed up economic development in his country and, with
that,
his personal power on the international scene.... With Deng dies the
last
emperor. With him one of the shortest dynasties which have ruled China
ends:
the Communist dynasty. After spending his entire life founding it and
trying
to make it work, in the end it was he himself who destroyed it piece by
piece. He did so in the hope of saving China. Only history will tell
us
whether he succeeded."

BELGIUM: "What Will The Armed Forces Do?"

Independent Catholic De Standaard (2/20) observed, "An important factor
is what
the armed forces will do. Inside the 'People's Liberation Army'

discipline is

no longer what it used to be. There are many 'warlords' who live in accordance

with the motto 'Enrich Yourself' -- which they often do in an illegal manner.

There are already more than 7,000 companies which are controlled by the military. This group, of course, has total interest in the continuation of a policy according to which it can go on making money -- which implies a weaker central leadership."

"Corruption And Nepotism"

A commentator wrote in both conservative Catholic Gazet van Antwerpen (2/20)

and financial daily Financieel- Economische Tijd (2/20): "The founder of the

new China has allowed corruption and nepotism to evolve into a large-scale

problem which can no longer be controlled. One-hundred and fifty million poor

peasants have flooded into the cities hoping to find jobs there and, for the

first time, impoverished slums are developing on the edges of major cities.

Crime, prostitution and drug abuse are increasing considerably.

Consequently,

it cannot be ruled out that Deng Xiaoping will be in disgrace a fourth time.

Some analysts even fear that China will follow the Soviet and Yugoslav example

and disintegrate in the near future. The architect of modern China will then

be doomed to eternity as the destroyer of a thousands-of-years- old empire."

ALBRIGHT IN MOSCOW: 'SWEET-TALKING' RUSSIANS ON ENLARGEMENT

RUSSIA: "NATO Still Military Bloc"

Alexander Krasulin commented in official government Rossiyskaya Gazeta (2/20):

"Madeleine Albright says that NATO's moving 600 kilometers closer to our borders is not directed against Russia. Unfortunately, she has produced no convincing proof to that effect. NATO remains a largely military organization."

"Visits Whet Moscow's Appetite"

The visits by Foreign Ministers Kinkel and Dini sparked this assessment

by

Leonid Velekhov in reformist Segodnya (2/20): "It is as if Moscow's

appetite

sharpens as it plays host to a stream of NATO envoys coming over in the

hope of

making it see things their way. Obviously flattered, Moscow seems to

have

decided to quit seeking a compromise and toughen its demands, instead."

"Most Important Event"

Centrist Nezavisimaya Gazeta (2/20) stated in a comment by Vladimir Katin

on

page one: "The Albright visit to Moscow, probably, will become the most

significant event in the current stage of Russia-West relations."

"Aggressive, Dangerous Decision"

Deputy secretary of Russia's National Security Council Boris Berezovsky

said on

page one of centrist Nezavisimaya Gazeta (2/20): "Hypocrisy aside, NATO

enlargement is the West's principal decision not to integrate with

Russia, and,

as proven by history, this decision is totally aggressive, as far as

Russia is

concerned, and extremely dangerous for the West itself."

GERMANY: "Iron Albright On The Offensive"

Josef Joffe noted in an editorial in centrist Sueddeutsche Zeitung of Munich

(2/20), "If great politics is at issue, the United States continues to set the

tone. While our Foreign Minister Kinkel was in Moscow to offer pleasantries to

break Russian resistance, his colleague Madeleine Albright increased the pace

in Brussels--as if it came from the best book of classical diplomacy.

On the

one hand, she signaled the stubborn Moscovites determination, and second, she

offered a piece of candy to increase the appetite for this offer.... It is too

bad that the Bonn government apparently did not know of this initiative....

Even for iron Madeleine Albright, one rule remains valid: The enlargement

only can be accomplished by Bonn and Washington, together."

"The West Has No (Common) Policy"

Under the headline above, right-of-center Maerkische Oderzeitung of Frankfurt

on the Oder (2/20) stressed, "It is strange: Immediately after her

visit to

Germany...Albright made a proposal in Brussels to form a NATO-Russian brigade.

At the same time, the German foreign minister is in Moscow and obviously knew

nothing of this. The leadership in the Kremlin will laugh up its sleeve at

these dilettantish moves.... The more the West is at odds with each other,

the greater are Moscow's chances to counteract.... In order to lure Russia,

it must present more than an uncoordinated U.S. offers to form a joint brigade."

BRITAIN: "Will Albright Be Able To Sweet-Talk Russians On NATO?"

BBC Radio's World Service wondered (2/20): "Will she be able to sweet-talk the Russians on

NATO expansion? Madeleine Albright says she has some new proposals for the

Kremlin, and no doubt Boris Yeltsin will be interested to hear them. But she

will not visit the Duma, which is understandable in view of the widespread opposition to enlargement."

"U.S. Steers Perilous Russian Course"

The Moscow correspondent for the centrist Independent filed (2/20)

regarding

"the perils bound up in the policy that Madeleine Albright will try to

sell to

the Kremlin when she arrives in Moscow today. Her mission to persuade

Russia

to accept the eastward expansion of NATO marks the lowest point in the

West's

handling of their former adversaries since the end of the Cold War, and

carries

monumental political implications.... Russia's political elite, united

in

their opposition to NATO's growth, warn that anti-NATO sentiments could

easily

spawn disruptive policies, both at home and abroad....

"Yet, for all their fury, Moscow's protests also reflect political

realities.

Nothing that Mrs. Albright can offer Russia today is likely to lessen the

impression that--despite the experience of the last 80 years--the West

has

learned little about the dangers of mishandling defeated superpowers."

FRANCE: "NATO-Russia: Building Confidence"

In the view of Yves Pitette in Catholic La Croix (2/20): "It is of course too early to debate the future of the brigade's missions proposed by Madeleine Albright. The Russians would prefer a 'binding treaty.' But Russians and Americans have learned to cooperate in Bosnia, where Russian soldiers operate within U.S. divisions.... The proposal made Tuesday by Madeleine Albright is clearly a way of integrating Russia into a European security system which cannot be imagined without Russia's participation.... The 'NATO-Russia' brigade, symbol of a European security system for the 21st century, may never see the light of day. What is essential is that confidence continues to build."

"A Gesture Towards Russia, Disagreement With Paris"

Daniel Vernet observed in left-of-center Le Monde (2/20): "The NATO meeting should have been a simple courtesy meeting. In fact, it became an opportunity

to clarify each side's position.... On NATO's expansion, Mrs. Albright was

very clear and eloquent: This is a U.S. priority and it will happen no matter

what stage the other negotiations might be at.... Herve de Charette asked

that 'Russia's requests be answered' before the Madrid summit. The Helsinki

meeting between Clinton and Yeltsin in March will address these issues....

But the Russian proposal, accepted by France and Germany, of a five-nation

summit was rejected by Mrs. Albright.... On the southern command, de

Charette's proposal has already been rejected by the United States, which has

made undisclosed counter-proposals.... The outcome remains uncertain.

Paris

says that when the time comes, Jacques Chirac will decide whether the

Alliance's Europeanization has advanced sufficiently for France to

reintegrate

NATO. That could be sometime in May."

ITALY: "A Decisive Card?"

A report by London correspondent Fabio Galvano in centrist La Stampa held

(2/20): "From this important leg on Secretary Albright's diplomatic tour,

on

the eve of a very delicate visit to Moscow, emerged a project--already discussed last Tuesday at NATO and now refined in the talks with British

officials--to offer Russia new limits for NATO weapons. This initiative,

aimed at reducing the Kremlin's concerns about NATO expansion, may be a decisive card in overcoming what the U.S. secretary of state termed 'old

thinking' on the part of the former Soviet bear."

SPAIN: "Moscow Does Not Swallow Albright's Bait"

According to Juan Cierco for conservative ABC (2/20): "The open diplomatic

offensive launched by the international community against Moscow is not having

much success. The welcome stored for Albright by Russian authorities will be

just cordial.... The Kremlin has not swallowed the bait and insists that the

hypothetical creation of the brigade would not solve the current problems."

BRIEFS

'EMBARRASING' ARREST OF MEXICAN ANTI-DRUG OFFICIAL

MEXICO: "Armed Forces Keep To Constitutional Responsibility"

Left-of-center La Jornada editorialized (2/19): "The arrest of General Jesus

Gutierrez Rebollo, former head of Mexico's anti-drug institute, illustrates the

enormous corrupting capacity of drug traffickers and the vulnerability law

enforcement agencies face in fighting them.... It also highlights the need for

Mexico's armed forces to be kept to their constitutional responsibility of

preserving the nation's sovereignty and not engaging in law enforcement activities--this would expose them to infiltration and cooptation by drug ma

fias.... This embarrassing case should also prompt a revision of the anti-drug

strategies adopted up to now, without questioning the nation's determination to

fight drug trafficking."

JERUSALEM: CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS, U.S. REACTION

ISRAEL: "Ill-Advised American Intervention"

Nationalist Hatzofe asserted (2/20): "The State Department spokesman's swift reaction to the Ministerial Committee's decision to promote the building of key roads in the Jerusalem area was both out of place and improper.... Israel's construction projects in the city stem from the very status of Jerusalem as the nation's capital.... Jerusalem is Israel's, just as Washington is America's and London is England's.... It is regrettable that our prime minister is managing Jerusalem with an eye on Washington's reaction."

"Netanyahu's Pragmatic Line"

Mass-appeal, pluralist Maariv editorialized (2/20): "Assaulted from all directions, Prime Minister Netanyahu may yet come to believe that something is wrong with his Palestinian policy. The truth of the matter is that the phenomenon indicates that he is doing just about the right thing. Netanyahu does not want to do anything impulsive that would kill the Har Homa construction project. Similarly, he is trying to resist American pressure on East Jerusalem road construction without hurting Israeli-American

relations.... Netanyahu cannot help but follow a pragmatic line, upholding vital national interests without jeopardizing the peace process."

EGYPT: "Netanyahu Made Arrogant By U.S. Support"

Ahmed Taha El Naqr, columnist for pro-government Al Akhbar, concluded (2/20):

"Each time Netanyahu visits Washington, he returns more stubborn and arrogant.

He confirmed that Israel will not stop the expansion of settlements in the

occupied Arab territories.... This implies that, on each visit,

Netanyahu

obtains more American confirmation of blind support for Israel. He even

accused Syria of impeding 'Israel's honest wish' to withdraw from south

Lebanon. This is a mean maneuver aimed at silencing the voices in

Israel that

call for withdrawal from Lebanon."

SAUDI ARABIA: "Zionists And Jerusalem"

Conservative Al-Nadwa had this to say (2/20): "The U.S. spokesman's comment on

Tel Aviv's decision to construct roads and to build new Jewish homes (Har

Homa)

in the Jabal Abu Ghneim area was not decisive and remains unclear. He said

that it is 'an inappropriate time' to construct these roads.... It seems that

Netanyahu has actually obtained the 'green light' he sought during his recent

visit to Washington. There is no other explanation for the new Israeli measures and this indifference to the United States' public criticism of the

construction of roads in East Jerusalem."

HWANG DEFECTION: DESTINATION, U.S.?

SOUTH KOREA: "Seoul Faces Diplomatic Isolation If Hwang En Route To U.S."

Anti-establishment Hankyoreh Shinmun outlined this scenario (2/20):

"With

North Korea's public acknowledgment of Hwang's defection, the prime issue has

now become whether Hwang will come to Seoul. Dropping its previous hesitant

posture and looking for ways to avoid possible confrontation, China has taken

the role of an enthusiastic mediator between the two Koreas. Washington also

supports that effort, which increases the likelihood of an early resolution.

Negative observations have emerged about whether Hwang will be en route to Seoul. Many believe that the North desires him to go to the United States, and Washington may have to support that stance. South Korea has been put in the awkward position of insisting that Hwang come to Seoul. That would mean diplomatic isolation for Seoul if he goes to the United States. Chances are that the United States will be Hwang's final destination."

##

===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====
ATT CREATION TIME/DATE: 0 00:00:00.00

TEXT:
RFC-822-headers:
Received: from gatekeeper.eop.gov by PMDF.EOP.GOV (PMDf V5.0-4 #6879)
id <01IFMRSSCD3400I89Z@PMDf.EOP.GOV> for susan_e._walitsky@oa.eop.gov; Thu,
20 Feb 1997 08:19:48 -0500 (EST)
Received: from XGATE.USIA.GOV by gatekeeper.eop.gov;
(5.65v3.2/1.1.8.2/17Oct95-0424PM) id AA32121; Thu, 20 Feb 1997 08:19:44 -0500

Received: from Connect2 Message Router by usia.gov via Connect2-SMTP 4.20B.6;
Thu, 20 Feb 1997 08:18:37 -0500
Organization: USIA
X-Mailer: Connect2-SMTP 4.20B.6 MHS/SMF to SMTP Gateway
===== END ATTACHMENT 1 =====

===== ATTACHMENT 2 =====
ATT CREATION TIME/DATE: 0 00:00:00.00

TEXT:
Unable to convert ARMS_EXT:[ATTACH.D40]ARMSZZ0006133.001 to ASCII,
The following is a HEX DUMP:

FOREIGN MEDIA REACTION EARLY REPORT

U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY, WASHINGTON DC 20547

USIA

OFFICE OF RESEARCH AND MEDIA REACTION

Patricia McArdle, Branch Chief Media Reaction (R/MR), mcardle@usia.gov, (202) 619-6511

Ann Pincus, Director, (202) 619-6511

Thursday, February 20, 1997

DENG XIAOPING: THE DEATH OF A REVOLUTIONARY AND AN AUTOCRAT

Yesterday's announcement of the death of Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping received extensive coverage in the foreign media, with editorialists noting the passing of China's "last emperor," a "pragmatist" and an "autocrat" and assessing the impact of his political career and his role in shaping modern China. Commentators also praised President Clinton's remarks, his "calm" reaction to the Chinese leader's death and his appeal for "continuity" in U.S.-China relations. Tokyo's commercially run TV Asahi said, "The Chinese...are fully aware of the importance of strengthening economic ties with the U.S. The Clinton administration is also well aware of the strategic importance of forging stronger ties with China into the next century." Mr. Deng's death was announced on early morning radio and television broadcasts in Beijing, with the official Communist Party People's Daily and most other papers noting that China would not be inviting foreign dignitaries to attend the funeral ceremony. In Taiwan, the moderate United Daily News predicted that China's policy toward the U.S. will not change unless Mr. Deng's death leads to a "serious split" in Beijing's political establishment. The establishment China Times added that "a stable mainland China is what is really favorable for Taiwan." Mr. Deng's pragmatism and his "brute force" in crushing political opposition were examined by a number of broadcasters, including Germany's ARD-TV, which suggested that "what remains is the weak hope that his successors will realize that a society is lost that marginalizes its critical intelligentsia, and that, in the end, progress is not possible without democracy." London's conservative Daily Telegraph concluded: "Deng will go down in history as a great man but we hope never to see his like again."

ALBRIGHT IN MOSCOW: 'SWEET-TALKING' RUSSIANS ON ENLARGEMENT

The media overseas judged that Secretary of State Albright now faces the most difficult part of her European tour: persuading the Russians to accept NATO's moving in closer to their borders. Moscow's centrist Nezavisimaya Gazeta agreed that the Albright visit "probably will become the most significant event in the current stage of Russia-West relations." Analysts, however, were uncertain as to how Russia would react to the Alliance's latest offers, including weapons reductions and the suggestion for a NATO-Russian peacekeeping brigade. Russian dailies noted that the Kremlin is "toughening its demands," and a piece by Deputy Secretary of Russia's National Security Council Boris Berezhovsky in Nezavisimaya Gazeta insisted that NATO enlargement is a "totally aggressive" decision by the West "not to integrate with Russia." German dailies voiced their chagrin at the lack of coordination shown by Washington in floating the brigade offer without informing Foreign Minister Kinkel, who was visiting in Moscow."

BRIEFS

- Embarrassing Arrest Of Mexican Anti-Drug Official
- Jerusalem: Construction Projects, U.S. Reaction
- Hwang Defection: Destination U.S.?

EDITORS: Mildred Sola Neely and Pat McArdle

DENG XIAOPING: THE DEATH OF A REVOLUTIONARY AND AN AUTOCRAT

CHINA: "Eternal Glory To Respected, Beloved Comrade Deng Xiaoping"

Deng Xiaoping's death was announced on early morning radio and television broadcasts in Beijing. The official Communist Party People's Daily (2/20) and most other papers announced his death in a two-page article under a banner headline. The announcement, which included a statement that, as per custom, China would not be inviting foreign dignitaries to attend the funeral ceremony, said, "Deng Xiaoping is an outstanding leader with high public prestige as recognized by our Party, our Army and the people of various ethnic groups of our nation. He was a great Marxist, as well as a great proletarian revolutionary, statesman, military expert and diplomat, a long-tested Communist fighter, the architect of China's socialist reform and opening-up policy and modern construction, and a creator of the theory of building socialism with Chinese characteristics."

TAIWAN: "Deng's Death And The Future Of U.S.-China Relations"

The moderate United Daily News (2/20) commented, "To judge from the history of Beijing-Washington ties, Communist China's policy toward the United States will not change unless Deng Xiaoping's death leads to a serious split in Beijing's political situation or a great setback in its policy. Beijing will continue its focus on using U.S. technology, investment and market to fulfill its goal of becoming a 'strong country.' Bilateral ties will return toward a more stable and normal situation following last year's tensions.... Because Clinton also believes that no one in the struggle for power following Deng's death would dare to show weakness to the United States, Washington will naturally not use any high-handed measures in public to force Beijing to make major concessions or to improve its human rights.... Communist China recognizes that it has enough force to destroy Taiwan...but that it cannot use force to 'resolve' the Taiwan issue and make Taiwan 'unify' with China. It can only count on means that are peaceful and contribute to resolution of the Taiwan issue."

"At A Turning Point In History--Deng Xiaoping's Death And China's Future"

The establishment China Times (2/20) remarked, "Deng has not really ruled the country for a long time and the arrangements for his successor are relatively smooth. There should not be any riots on the mainland in the short term, and there cannot be any internal wars. From Taiwan's point of view, mainland China's economy will affect Asia, not to mention Taiwan, which relies heavily on trade with China. Therefore, a stable mainland China is what is really favorable for Taiwan. This is an economic and international political reality."

JAPAN: "Washington Sees No Change In U.S.-China Relations"

Quasi-governmental NHK-TV's Washington correspondent Kono observed (2/20), "The Clinton administration reacted calmly to the death of Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping. Administration officials believe the Chinese leadership, led by President Jiang Zemin, has been in place since Deng's retirement several years ago, and there will be no major strife in Beijing over who will succeed Deng. President Clinton issued a brief statement, praising Deng's role in promoting U.S.-China relations but did not go into detail about the implication of his death in future Sino-US relations. Although President Clinton is already engaged in high-level diplomacy with President Jiang, he found it necessary to issue a message at home and abroad that there will be no change in the U.S.-China relationship after Deng's death. Despite friction with China over human rights, trade and other issues, the USG made it clear that it gives high priority to improving ties with China."

"U.S. And China To Opt For More Realistic Relations"

In the TV Asahi's hour-long special on Deng's death, former chief Asahi correspondent in Beijing Tadokoro said (2/20), "The Chinese may continue to clash with the U.S. over Taiwan, human rights and Tibet in the future, but they are fully aware of the importance of strengthening economic ties with the U.S. The Clinton administration is also well aware of the strategic importance of forging stronger ties with China into the next century. The Clinton administration is likely to take a 'Japan-passing' diplomatic approach toward China."

RUSSIA: "Who Has Emperor's Note?"

Alexander Chudodeyev wrote in reformist Segodnya (2/20): "Whoever succeeds Deng will have to take into account his indisputably outstanding role in building a new great power, as well as his involvement in crushing a student action in Tienanmen Square in 1989.... It happened more than once in Chinese history that an 'heir at law' quickly passed into oblivion, and an obscure figure suddenly showed up from behind the wings with a note written in the late emperor's hand, 'With you in charge, I may rest in peace.'"

GERMANY: "With The Clear View Of A Pragmatist"

National ARD-TV's late evening newscast "Tagesthemen" (2/19) featured the following commentary: "With the clear view of a pragmatist, Deng realized that people and Chinese in particular, are basically entrepreneurs. And by removing the fetters of the collective from the farmers of his country, Deng saw to it at the beginning of the '80s that China was freed from hunger.... But it was also part of Deng's life that he used brute force to crush every kind of democratic movement.... He was a full-blooded politician, a strategist, a tactician but no intellectual. What remains is the weak hope that his successors will realize that a society is lost that marginalizes its critical intelligentsia, and that, in the end, progress is not possible without democracy."

"Death Of An Old Man"

Centrist General-Anzeiger of Bonn (2/20) opined, "If the Chinese leadership is able to stay the course and the economy keeps expanding, counter-currents--from the camp of liberal and progressive forces, the neo-conservatives, Communists and nationalists--have little chances to develop. Then the world must continue to live with China's rise to superpower status, which Deng--irrespective of all contradictions has initiated with his unbending policy."

BRITAIN: "The End Of An Era For China"

BBC-TV (2/19) said: "Deng's death represents the end of an era for China. His legacy is freedom of choice for consumers but not for voters--capitalism without democracy.... There is likely to be no succession crisis. His death had been so long in coming that its effect has long been discounted. Still, China is at a historical crossroads. The world will be holding its breath to see how the end of the leader of the largest nation affects the world. The United States is looking for a peaceful transition and Madeleine Albright's visit is still on unless the Chinese cancel it."

"A Profound Step In China's Transition"

Channel 4 News (2/19) said: "The death of the paramount leader who opened China to the outside world marks a profound step in the transition of China from feudalism through Communism to a market-oriented reformist regime. It is a huge moment on that side of the world. Challenges face the new leadership. With runaway economic growth has come rampant corruption and many areas now pay only lip service to the ruling party's authority in Beijing."

"A Long March"

The conservative Daily Telegraph (2/20) remarked: "Deng's death deprives the world of the last of the great 20th century great revolutionaries, and China of a leader who gave rein to its entrepreneurial flair after the madness of Mao.... Deng will go down in history as a great man but we hope never to see his like again."

"The Tyrant The World Can Never Forgive"

The conservative tabloid Express (2/20) held: "Let there be no tears for Deng Xiaoping. His hands are covered in too much blood for that. As a leading figure in the Communist revolution and subsequent rule, he was fully engaged in the barbarism that caused such misery and death for millions of his countrymen. All the words of praise for the democratization he promoted in his later years should cause no one to forget, much less forgive, the earlier crimes against humanity... As the massacre at Tiananmen Square should always remind us, he was a tyrant first. And tyrants can never be forgiven."

ITALY: "An Autocrat With A Totalitarian Mentality"

A commentary in centrist, top-circulation Corriere della Sera (2/20) opined: "Notwithstanding his huge popularity in China and abroad...Deng has remained until the end an autocrat with a totalitarian mentality and with a pragmatic, far from idealistic vision of China. The mistake we often make in the West is to believe that Deng, once he had realized the failure of Communism, put the country on the road to capitalism and democracy. This is only an illusion. Deng accepted the Western model and the capitalistic mechanism of a market economy only to speed up economic development in his country and, with that, his personal power on the international scene.... With Deng dies the last emperor. With him one of the shortest dynasties which have ruled China ends: the Communist dynasty. After spending his entire life founding it and trying to make it work, in the end it was he himself who destroyed it piece by piece. He did so in the hope of saving China. Only history will tell us whether he succeeded."

BELGIUM: "What Will The Armed Forces Do?"

Independent Catholic De Standaard (2/20) observed, "An important factor is what the armed forces will do. Inside the 'People's Liberation Army' discipline is no longer what it used to be. There are many 'warlords' who live in accordance with the motto 'Enrich Yourself' -- which they often do in an illegal manner. There are already more than 7,000 companies which are controlled by the military. This group, of course, has total interest in the continuation of a policy according to which it can go on making money --which implies a weaker central leadership."

"Corruption And Nepotism"

A commentator wrote in both conservative Catholic Gazet van Antwerpen (2/20) and financial daily Financieel-Economische Tijd (2/20): "The founder of the new China has allowed corruption and nepotism to evolve into a large-scale problem which can no longer be controlled. One-hundred and fifty million poor peasants have flooded into the cities hoping to find jobs there and, for the first time, impoverished slums are developing on the edges of major cities. Crime, prostitution and drug abuse are increasing considerably. Consequently, it cannot be ruled out that Deng Xiaoping will be in disgrace a fourth time. Some analysts even fear that China will follow the Soviet and Yugoslav example and disintegrate in the near future. The architect of modern China will then be doomed to eternity as the destroyer of a thousands-of-years- old empire."

ALBRIGHT IN MOSCOW: 'SWEET-TALKING' RUSSIANS ON ENLARGEMENT

RUSSIA: "NATO Still Military Bloc"

Alexander Krasulin commented in official government Rossiyskaya Gazeta (2/20): "Madeleine Albright says that NATO's moving 600 kilometers closer to our borders is not directed against Russia. Unfortunately, she has produced no convincing proof to that effect. NATO remains a largely military organization."

"Visits Whet Moscow's Appetite"

The visits by Foreign Ministers Kinkel and Dini sparked this assessment by Leonid Velekhov in reformist Segodnya (2/20): "It is as if Moscow's appetite sharpens as it plays host to a stream of NATO envoys coming over in the hope of making it see things their way. Obviously flattered, Moscow seems to have decided to quit seeking a compromise and toughen its demands, instead."

"Most Important Event"

Centrist Nezavisimaya Gazeta (2/20) stated in a comment by Vladimir Katin on page one: "The Albright visit to Moscow, probably, will become the most significant event in the current stage of Russia-West relations."

"Aggressive, Dangerous Decision"

Deputy secretary of Russia's National Security Council Boris Berezovsky said on page one of centrist Nezavisimaya Gazeta (2/20): "Hypocrisy aside, NATO enlargement is the West's principal decision not to integrate with Russia, and, as proven by history, this decision is totally aggressive, as far as Russia is concerned, and extremely dangerous for the West itself."

GERMANY: "Iron Albright On The Offensive"

Josef Joffe noted in an editorial in centrist Sueddeutsche Zeitung of Munich (2/20), "If great politics is at issue, the United States continues to set the tone. While our Foreign Minister Kinkel was in Moscow to offer pleasantries to break Russian resistance, his colleague Madeleine Albright increased the pace in Brussels--as if it came from the best book of classical diplomacy. On the one hand, she signaled the stubborn Moscovites determination, and second, she offered a piece of candy to increase the appetite for this offer.... It is too bad that the Bonn government apparently did not know of this initiative.... Even for iron Madeleine Albright, one rule remains valid: The enlargement only can be accomplished by Bonn and Washington, together."

"The West Has No (Common) Policy"

Under the headline above, right-of-center Maerkische Oderzeitung of Frankfurt on the Oder (2/20) stressed, "It is strange: Immediately after her visit to Germany...Albright made a proposal in Brussels to form a NATO-Russian brigade. At the same time, the German foreign minister is in Moscow and obviously knew nothing of this. The leadership in the Kremlin will laugh up its sleeve at these dilettantish moves.... The more the West is at odds with each other, the greater are Moscow's chances to counteract.... In order to lure Russia, it must present more than an uncoordinated U.S. offers to form a joint brigade."

BRITAIN: "Will Albright Be Able To Sweet-Talk Russians On NATO?"

BBC Radio's World Service wondered (2/20): "Will she be able to sweet-talk the Russians on

NATO expansion? Madeleine Albright says she has some new proposals for the Kremlin, and no doubt Boris Yeltsin will be interested to hear them. But she will not visit the Duma, which is understandable in view of the widespread opposition to enlargement."

"U.S. Steers Perilous Russian Course"

The Moscow correspondent for the centrist Independent filed (2/20) regarding "the perils bound up in the policy that Madeleine Albright will try to sell to the Kremlin when she arrives in Moscow today. Her mission to persuade Russia to accept the eastward expansion of NATO marks the lowest point in the West's handling of their former adversaries since the end of the Cold War, and carries monumental political implications.... Russia's political elite, united in their opposition to NATO's growth, warn that anti-NATO sentiments could easily spawn disruptive policies, both at home and abroad....

"Yet, for all their fury, Moscow's protests also reflect political realities. Nothing that Mrs. Albright can offer Russia today is likely to lessen the impression that--despite the experience of the last 80 years--the West has learned little about the dangers of mishandling defeated superpowers."

FRANCE: "NATO-Russia: Building Confidence"

In the view of Yves Pitette in Catholic La Croix (2/20): "It is of course too early to debate the future of the brigade's missions proposed by Madeleine Albright. The Russians would prefer a 'binding treaty.' But Russians and Americans have learned to cooperate in Bosnia, where Russian soldiers operate within U.S. divisions.... The proposal made Tuesday by Madeleine Albright is clearly a way of integrating Russia into a European security system which cannot be imagined without Russia's participation.... The 'NATO-Russia' brigade, symbol of a European security system for the 21st century, may never see the light of day. What is essential is that confidence continues to build."

"A Gesture Towards Russia, Disagreement With Paris"

Daniel Vernet observed in left-of-center Le Monde (2/20): "The NATO meeting should have been a simple courtesy meeting. In fact, it became an opportunity to clarify each side's position.... On NATO's expansion, Mrs. Albright was very clear and eloquent: This is a U.S. priority and it will happen no matter what stage the other negotiations might be at.... Herve de Charette asked that 'Russia's requests be answered' before the Madrid summit. The Helsinki meeting between Clinton and Yeltsin in March will address these issues.... But the Russian proposal, accepted by France and Germany, of a five-nation summit was rejected by Mrs. Albright.... On the southern command, de Charette's proposal has already been rejected by the United States, which has made undisclosed counter-proposals.... The outcome remains uncertain. Paris says that when the time comes, Jacques Chirac will decide whether the Alliance's Europeanization has advanced sufficiently for France to reintegrate NATO. That could be sometime in May."

ITALY: "A Decisive Card?"

A report by London correspondent Fabio Galvano in centrist La Stampa held (2/20): "From this important leg on Secretary Albright's diplomatic tour, on the eve of a very delicate visit to Moscow, emerged a project--already discussed last Tuesday at NATO and now refined in the talks with British officials--to offer Russia new limits for NATO weapons. This initiative, aimed at reducing the Kremlin's concerns about NATO expansion, may be a decisive card in overcoming what the U.S. secretary of state termed 'old thinking' on the part of the former Soviet bear."

SPAIN: "Moscow Does Not Swallow Albright's Bait"

According to Juan Cierco for conservative ABC (2/20): "The open diplomatic offensive launched by the international community against Moscow is not having much success. The welcome stored for Albright by Russian authorities will be just cordial.... The Kremlin has not swallowed the bait and insists that the hypothetical creation of the brigade would not solve the current problems."

BRIEFS

'EMBARRASING' ARREST OF MEXICAN ANTI-DRUG OFFICIAL

MEXICO: "Armed Forces Keep To Constitutional Responsibility"

Left-of-center La Jornada editorialized (2/19): "The arrest of General Jesus Gutierrez Rebollo, former head of Mexico's anti-drug institute, illustrates the enormous corrupting capacity of drug traffickers and the vulnerability law enforcement agencies face in fighting them.... It also highlights the need for Mexico's armed forces to be kept to their constitutional responsibility of preserving the nation's sovereignty and not engaging in law enforcement activities--this would expose them to infiltration and cooptation by drug mafias.... This embarrassing case should also prompt a revision of the anti-drug strategies adopted up to now, without questioning the nation's determination to fight drug trafficking."

JERUSALEM: CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS, U.S. REACTION

ISRAEL: "Ill-Advised American Intervention"

Nationalist Hatzofe asserted (2/20): "The State Department spokesman's swift reaction to the Ministerial Committee's decision to promote the building of key roads in the Jerusalem area was both out of place and improper.... Israel's construction projects in the city stem from the very status of Jerusalem as the nation's capital.... Jerusalem is Israel's, just as Washington is America's and London is England's.... It is regrettable that our prime minister is managing Jerusalem with an eye on Washington's reaction."

"Netanyahu's Pragmatic Line"

Mass-appeal, pluralist Maariv editorialized (2/20): "Assaulted from all directions, Prime Minister Netanyahu may yet come to believe that something is wrong with his Palestinian policy. The truth of the matter is that the phenomenon indicates that he is doing just about the right thing. Netanyahu does not want to do anything impulsive that would kill the Har Homa construction project. Similarly, he is trying to resist American pressure on East Jerusalem road construction without hurting Israeli-American relations.... Netanyahu cannot help but follow a pragmatic line, upholding vital national interests without jeopardizing the peace process."

EGYPT: "Netanyahu Made Arrogant By U.S. Support"

Ahmed Taha El Naqr, columnist for pro-government Al Akhbar, concluded (2/20): "Each time Netanyahu visits Washington, he returns more stubborn and arrogant. He confirmed that Israel will not stop the expansion of settlements in the occupied Arab territories.... This implies that, on each visit, Netanyahu obtains more American confirmation of blind support for Israel. He even accused Syria of impeding 'Israel's honest wish' to withdraw from south Lebanon. This is a mean maneuver aimed at silencing the voices in Israel that call for withdrawal from Lebanon."

SAUDI ARABIA: "Zionists And Jerusalem"

Conservative Al-Nadwa had this to say (2/20): "The U.S. spokesman's comment on Tel Aviv's decision to construct roads and to build new Jewish homes (Har Homa) in the Jabal Abu Ghneim area was not decisive and remains unclear. He said that it is 'an inappropriate time' to construct these roads.... It seems that Netanyahu has actually obtained the 'green light' he sought during his recent visit to Washington. There is no other explanation for the new Israeli measures and this indifference to the United States' public criticism of the construction of roads in East Jerusalem."

HWANG DEFECTION: DESTINATION, U.S.?

SOUTH KOREA: "Seoul Faces Diplomatic Isolation If Hwang En Route To U.S."

Anti-establishment Hankyoreh Shinmun outlined this scenario (2/20): "With North Korea's public acknowledgment of Hwang's defection, the prime issue has now become whether Hwang will come to Seoul. Dropping its previous hesitant posture and looking for ways to avoid possible confrontation, China has taken the role of an enthusiastic mediator between the two Koreas. Washington also supports that effort, which increases the likelihood of an early resolution. Negative observations have emerged about whether Hwang will be en route to Seoul. Many believe that the North desires him to go to the United States, and Washington may have to support that stance. South Korea has been put in the awkward position of insisting that Hwang come to Seoul. That would mean diplomatic isolation for Seoul if he goes to the United States. Chances are that the United States will be Hwang's final destination."

##