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SUBJECT: Daily Digest: ALBRIGHT TO ASIA--CHINA, THE KOREAS, JAPAN

TO: Margaret A. Williams (Margaret A. Williams@eop [UNKNOWN])
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TEXT:

As Secretary Albright concludes the European portion of her global tour

and

heads toward Asia for meetings in Seoul, Tokyo and Beijing, the foreign

media

continued to weigh in with views on a number of issues that have dominated

the

news in recent days. The death of China's "paramount leader," Deng

Xiaoping,

took center stage, with numerous editorialists debating whether the

transition

of power to President Jiang Zemin--widely believed to be Mr. Deng's

"anointed

successor"--would take place smoothly or whether China and the rest of the

world should brace itself for a period of "uncertainty," if not

"instability."

Also causing considerable editorial ink to flow was last week's defection

in

Beijing of the architect of North Korea's Juche ideology, Hwang Jang-yop,

the

highest-level official ever to defect from North Korea, with a number of

analysts wondering whether his request for asylum was a signal that Pyongyang's "tottering regime" was on the verge of collapse. For commentators focusing on Japan, the issue of primary concern was the continuation of a "stable" and strong U.S.-Japan relationship, widely seen as a positive and important counterbalance to any instability that might take place in China. "As the U.S.-Japan relationship of interdependence deepens," Tokyo's top-circulation, moderate Yomiuri held, "the possibility of China becoming a threat to the rest of the world will diminish." Following are further highlights of available commentary:

CHINA: Assessments of the legacy of Deng Xiaoping were mixed, with editors in most geographic regions crediting him for "opening" China to the West and setting in motion economic reforms that improved the standard of living for many Chinese. Critics--most notably in Europe, but also in Thailand--spoke of Mr. Deng's record as being "stained in (the) blood" of Tiananmen and hoped that the new generation of leaders would continue on the path of economic reform without the "harsh" repression of the past. Most analysts concluded that

it

was still "too early to tell" what the future might hold for China, but

they

viewed Hong Kong and Taiwan as "weather vanes" indicating the directions

the

"sleeping giant" will take. Paris' right-of-center Le Figaro offered this

advice: "For Secretary (Albright)...Deng's death may be a good

opportunity to

bury the Tiananmen issue."

NORTH-SOUTH KOREA: With defector Hwang remaining sequestered in the South

Korean Embassy in Beijing, editorialists expressed concern about

"instability"

in North Korea and a possible "implosion" of Kim Jong-Il's "hermit

Kingdom."

Most editors urged continued food aid to North Korea as a demonstration of

goodwill and to "prevent a collapse" that could, as London's independent

Economist pointed out, cause a massive influx of refugees into South

Korea.

U.S.-JAPAN: Editorial comment on U.S.-Japan relations was relatively

light,

with analysts in Japan, Indonesia and India assessing the relationship as

"vital" to the stability of the region, The independent Indonesian

Observer

joined Japan's Prime Minister Hashimoto in declaring, "Japan has stated

that

the prosperity of the Asia-Pacific...is unattainable without U.S.

involvement."

This survey is based on 53 reports from 26 countries, January 9 - February 21.

EDITOR: Kathleen J. Brahney

EAST ASIA AND PACIFIC

CHINA: "Trip To Asia By New Secretary Of State"

The announcement by Premier Li Peng that the vice-president's and secretary of state's visits to China will be beneficial to the bilateral relationship prompted Washington correspondent Weng Xiang, official Communist youth league

China Youth Daily (Zhongguo Qingnian Bao) to write this (2/19): "On February

15, Albright embarked on her first overseas trip...since becoming secretary of

state. This made everyone sit up and take notice. The visit to Russia and China has commanded the most interest. This visit may signify that ...the United States is attaching increasing importance to its relations with countries in the Asia-Pacific region. The fact that Albright included Russia

and China on her agenda shows what the focus of U.S. foreign policy may be in

the future.... While visiting Asia, Albright's goals are to become better informed about Asian affairs in general.... In addition to discussing

developments on the Korean peninsula, Asia-Pacific security and the U.S.-Japan trade dispute, Albright hopes that her visit to China will allow her to rapidly establish good working relationships with Chinese leaders and to promote the stable development of Sino-U.S. relations."

JAPAN: "Facing A China Without Deng"

Top-circulation, moderate Yomiuri (2/21) held, "A strong U.S.-Japan alliance and a stable U.S.-China relationship are also essential for the stabilization of Japan-China relations. The United States and China hope to improve relations through reciprocal visits by their presidents over this year and next. The possibility of China becoming a threat to the rest of the world will diminish as the U.S.-Japan relationship of interdependence deepens."

"Engagement With China To Be Focus Of Albright-Ikeda Meeting"

Liberal Asahi's senior foreign news writer Sugimoto observed (2/18): "Secretary of State Albright and Foreign Minister Ikeda are likely to take up engagement with China and the Okinawa issue as major points of discussion during their talks in Tokyo on February 23.... Washington, with human

rights,

and Tokyo, with its historical involvement in China, each have ideological problems with China. At the same time, both countries give priority to improving ties with Beijing. Because U.S.-China and Japan-China relations also affect U.S.-Japan relations, Secretary Albright and Foreign Minister Ikeda are expected to stress cooperation and coordination in improving ties with China....

"In advance of the secretary's visit to Japan, a senior Ministry of Foreign

Affairs official said it was important to project the image of the United States and Japan acting in concert to improve relations with China. The official also said Tokyo should not project to the United States the image of

Japan moving ahead of Washington to deepen relations with Beijing....

Washington and Tokyo need to have a more delicate and multilateral sense of

diplomacy if they are to stabilize relations between Washington, Tokyo and Beijing."

"Don't Damage Trust In U.S.-Japan Alliance"

Top-circulation, moderate Yomiuri (2/12) commented, "A system of national security, designed to protect the peace and security of a nation, can only be

effective when people have trust in it. In that sense, the inadvertent firing of depleted-uranium bullets by U.S. Marine aircraft during training on the Torishima gunnery range near Okinawa (from late 1995 to early 1996) and the year-long delay by the U.S. government in notifying the Japanese government was very regrettable. The government of Japan's handling of the case since the notification also merits criticism. The U.S. and Japanese governments should take strong steps to ensure that this latest case does not sow distrust of the U.S. military and the security relationship among the Japanese people."

"Efforts Needed To Construct A Stable Asia"

Top-circulation, moderate Yomiuri editorialized (1/6): "Worsening food shortages in North Korea have made it impossible to forecast events on the Korean peninsula, but it is essential for regional security that drastic change be avoided. Seoul, Washington and Tokyo must work together to alleviate the crisis in North Korea."

SOUTH KOREA: "Diplomatic Isolation For Seoul 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."

"A New Phase"

The conservative Segye Ilbo (2/20) commented that "North Korea has told Washington that it wants to come to the briefing session on the four-party talks. This change of attitude indicates how critical the North's food situation is. As long as the United States remains the North's only

conduit to

escape its current predicament, no other option exists for it but to cave

in to

the United States even if it results in hurt pride."

"'Cowards, Go If You Want To': The Real Meaning"

Pro-business Joong-Ang Ilbo (2/19) put forth this view: "North Korea has

made

the announcement that it would accept Hwang Jang-yop's defection. By

making

that decision, the North has chosen to pursue practical benefits rather

than

further inflate mistrust. Nevertheless, the South Korean government has

yet to

figure out what the North really meant: whether the announcement meant

that the

North would not insist on bringing Hwang back to the North, or that it

would

be all right for (South Korea) to bring Hwang to Seoul. Instability in

the

North is another factor we cannot ignore. In order not to further provoke

the

North, we should not rush Hwang's coming to Seoul. The Korean press

should

also be more careful in covering this case."

HONG KONG: "History Will Judge Deng Kindly"

In an editorial, the English-language Hong Kong Standard (2/20)

maintained, "It

must be left to history to judge Deng Xiaoping. But history will,

undoubtedly,

judge him kindly, the 4 June 1989 crackdown on student demonstrators in

Tiananmen Square notwithstanding.... He transformed his huge country,

totally

devastated by the Cultural Revolution, into one of the world's economic

powerhouses in less than two decades. Before long it will very likely be

the

world's economic power.... This was his achievement. And his alone.

History

cannot and will not deny him this."

"A Son Of The Chinese People, Deng Xiaoping, Is Immortal"

Under the headline above, pro-PRC Ta Kung Pao's editorial (2/20) said,

"Deng's

most prominent contribution is that he led the people out from the

suffering

caused by the 'Cultural Revolution.' He also led China to match its pace

to

the trend of the times and led the Chinese nation to stand powerfully on

our

own feet in the forest of world nations. He drew an innovative blueprint

which

was geared to actual circumstances. He showed great foresight in thinking of and designing a development strategy which fitted into Chinese socialism."

"Who Does Not Make A Mistake?"

According to the independent Hong Kong Economic Journal (2/20): "It is difficult to comment on Deng Xiaoping's achievements and mistakes. He was the leader of the Communist Party; thus, we may need to comment on the Communist Party before commenting on his early life. However, what he did for China during the time of reform already transcends any one party or one group, so it is easier to comment. We believe he made a great contribution to China's 20-year reform. Who does not make a mistake? If a person who did a great job makes a mistake, the mistake must be a great one. However, today is not the time for discussing mistakes."

"Law Without Politics"

Readers of the independent, English-language South China Morning Post saw this commentary (2/12): "Of all the issues surrounding the handover (of Hong

Kong

to China on July 1 of this year), few are more crucial than the

independence of

the judiciary.... The less the disruption of the judiciary and its

independence, the greater the chances of stability, a smooth transition

and

continued international confidence in the territory as a place in which to

do

business.... During these times, when everything is coming under the

microscope, Hong Kong needs to have the fullest assurance that the rule of

law

is being maintained by a free and unfettered judiciary."

AUSTRALIA: "China's New Long March"

An editorial in Sidney's national, business-oriented Australian Financial

Review

(2/21) said, "(A)s China's rapid economic growth continues, the emergence

of a

mass middle class with access to global information is likely to foment

pressure for political liberalization. If not immediately, the post-Deng

era

will soon give way to a younger generation of more politically liberal

party

leaders, who will have to relieve these popular pressures and who are

unlikely

to allow power to be so concentrated in one man as in the past."

"The Last Frontier"

The liberal Melbourne Age (2/19) opined, "Last week's defection of a

senior

adviser to North Korea's government should be greeted with delight

because it

brings hope that this evil regime might soon be consigned to history.

The

tyrannical rule of North Korea's leaders has long been morally

indefensible and

economically disastrous; it has left many of its people in famine. Could

it

be that this defection is the clearest sign yet that the unity of its

political leadership is breaking down?... The end of the last remnant of

the

great closed communist tyrannies, most of which broke down in the 1980s,

would

be humanitarian."

"Vigilance On Hong Kong Imperative"

An editorial in the liberal Sydney Morning Herald (2/11) criticized

former

Australian Prime Minister Mr. Hawke for his attack on Western media over

the

transition in Hong Kong, saying Mr. Hawke is "on shaky ground, even

though his position appears to be shared by, for example, President Clinton, who recently suggested that China's economic liberalization gives hope for its political liberalization.... That is dangerous nonsense, especially if it is intended to mean that the West will improve the chances of democracy and freedom in Hong Kong by refraining from criticizing Chinese actions there.... The Basic Law, which China has promised to preserve, guarantees Hong Kong's separate way of life for 50 years.... Those who rule in Beijing are more likely to keep their word if the world maintains a vigilant concern for Hong Kong than if it simply hopes for the best."

BURMA: "Disinformation And Radio Free Asia"

Government-owned Burmese-language dailies, Myanmar Alin and Kyemon (2/18) carried this commentary entitled by an anonymous writer under the pen name Maung Po Hmat. This piece did not appear in the English-language New

Light of

Myanmar: ""Despite its being vehemently opposed recently by Asian countries,

Radio Free Asia is the newest weapon of American neo-colonialism to invade the

Asian region. It is a colonialist weapon that violates the internal affairs

and national cultural boundaries of Asian countries.... Radio Free Asia

repeatedly says that its broadcasts are not the views of the American

government. That denial is like protecting (oneself) against the fall of

Myinmo Mountain (a legendary high mountain) with the palm of one's hand.

If

it's not the American government's views, then it must surely be the views

of

the CIA. But the problem is that the CIA is an official institution of

the

American government."

INDONESIA: "Tension Between Two Koreas Like A 'Cold War'"

Independent afternoon daily Suara Pembaruan, commenting on the shooting of

North Korean defector near Seoul, concluded (2/19): "If it is true that

Lee

Han-young's shooting was a retaliatory action by North Korea against South

Korea, the case demonstrates that a cold war still exists between the two

Koreas.... While the world struggles with globalization and free trade,

the

situation in the Korean peninsula has not changed. To the Koreans, security is a matter of life and death. Although the United States is the sole superpower, military forces from the United States, Russia, Japan, and China linger in the region. Russia and China continue to conduct military exercises to demonstrate their power, while the United States and Japan have reliable naval forces. The Korean Peninsula is still critical in the aftermath of the Cold War."

"Secretary Albright, Foreign Policy With Style"

Leading, independent Kompas noted (2/19): "U.S. Secretary of State Albright's way of introducing herself is impressive: Less than one month after being appointed she will travel to nine countries... that are strategic to U.S. interests.... In Europe, Albright is expected to consolidate NATO's position on enlargement and persuade Russia to sign an agreement with NATO. While in Asia, Albright is expected to discuss recent developments on the Korean Peninsula.... It is still too early to define the new U.S. secretary of state."

"The Hashimoto Doctrine"

The independent, English-language Indonesian Observer opined (1/15):

"Through

long association, Indonesia looks upon Japan as a force that supports

democratic development in the Asia-Pacific region, and, at the same time,

seeks to be an indispensable partner for regional stability.... It has

(also)

contributed to the stability of the Asia-Pacific in the post-Cold War era

by

firmly supporting the U.S. presence in the region, a presence

indispensable to

regional stability. As to the question of whether Japan will choose to

identify with Asia or with the United States, Japan has stated that the

prosperity and stability of the Asia-Pacific region is not only based on

cooperation among Asian countries, but is unattainable without U.S.

involvement."

"Japan Enhances Relations With ASEAN"

This analysis appeared in independent, Suara Pembaruan (1/9): "Some Asian

countries like Korea, Taiwan, and even China, continue to raise concerns

about

the ruthlessness of Japanese troops during WW II...that ultimately forced

Japan

to seek forgiveness from and pay compensation to the victims. While this

issue

is important, it should not jeopardize bilateral trade or economic and cultural relations....

"With regard to security, having a U.S. military base in Okinawa is a serious question, especially in light of China's increasing military capacity. Indeed, although Japan has not yet dealt forthrightly with China's (claims to) the Spratly Islands, that matter could very well surface during talks on problems other than trade and economy."

MALAYSIA: "A Successful Economist"

Government-influenced, Chinese-language Kwong Wah Yit Poh (2/21) observed:

"Deng Xiaoping was an excellent military strategist and politician, and a successful economist. He left his glorious mark on Chinese history by achieving the economic miracle. The world recognized the great success of his economic reforms. Now the standard of living of the people has improved and China's status in the world has been greatly enhanced. We believe that the PRC will not make any substantial change in its internal and foreign policies

after the demise of their paramount leader."

"Clinton's 'Economic Diplomacy'"

Government-influenced, Chinese-language Sin Chew Jit Poh observed (1/13):

"President Clinton's second-term priorities of reviving the American economy

and practicing 'economic diplomacy' are certain to be successful. The shift

from previous emphasis on Europe to East Asian countries, especially China, has

created ample business opportunities for Americans. If the U.S. government

were to adopt economic sanctions against China...the Clinton administration

face serious setbacks (and) would also have to pay the political price in the

years to come."

"Important To Note Asian Values, Cultures Not Static"

The government-influenced, financial Business Times determined (12/30):

"In

recent years, as the challenge from booming Asia becomes more intense and widespread, Europe and America are fighting back by adopting many of the

Asian

practices.... While our values and cultures are being eroded by wealth

and success, the West is beginning...to accept once again the virtue of hard work and courtesy which were once embedded in their culture....

Ironically...As European and American workers are humbled by the dismal performance of their economies and are realizing the virtue of being hardworking and courteous, Asian workers are becoming choosy, disloyal and rude. Unless this trend is checked, the so-called Asian economic miracle may not last very long.

Lazy and rude Asians are worse than lazy and rude Europeans or Americans because Asians are supposed to be hardworking and courteous."

PHILIPPINES: "Hope For Reform Without Harshness Of Martial Rule"

Readers of the independent Manila Standard (2/21) saw this editorial: "The death of China's paramount leader...closes a remarkable life and career that have had a profound impact on the most populous nation on the world and the rest of the world.... It is our hope that his probable successor, president Jiang Zemin, would continue his economic reform while moderating the harshness

of martial rule."

"China's Economic Architect"

The editorial in the third-leading, national Philippine Star (2/21) noted,

"China's economic architect is dead, but he managed to leave his house in relative order. The economic reforms Deng instituted in the world's

biggest

single market can't easily be reversed. Part of Deng's legacy is that he

left

Beijing's hardliners with little choice but to sustain his reforms."

"Static At Radio Free Asia"

Veteran China affairs observer and columnist Floro Mercene wrote this in the

government-owned Philippine Journal (2/14): "Barely six months after it started broadcasting to so-called repressive regimes in Asia, with mainland

China as its main target, America's Radio Free Asia has run afoul of serious

problems. Not the least of which is the vigorous and predictable objection of

the target countries to the radio service's provocative content....

Because of

its obvious political content, Radio Free Asia has been attacked often and vigorously by the governments not only of China but also of Vietnam, Myanmar, Cambodia, Laos and North Korea.... Many American diplomats regard the fledgling radio service with open disdain, describing it as unnecessary, expensive and overly provocative at a time when the Clinton administration is pursuing a policy of 'engagement' in the region."

"ASEAN And North Korea"

The independent Manila Chronicle pointed out (2/12): "ASEAN...needs to determine...how to prevent violent change in North Korea. Those who lead the North have their backs to the wall. In all likelihood they will be responsive to external offers of assistance that will avert their country's downfall. As a humanitarian gesture, ASEAN should continue providing material aid to the people of a country that is painfully caught in the twin hammerlock of political instability and natural calamities."

SINGAPORE: "Pyongyang's Tottering Regime"

The pro-government Business Times (2/19) opined, "Washington has proposed

peace

talks involving the two Koreas, China and the United States. The new U.S.

secretary of state Madeleine Albright, who arrives in Seoul on Saturday,

may

find President Kim Young Sam not particularly enthusiastic at the

prospect.

Who can blame him? Of course, South Korea has the greater stake in a

peaceful

reunification of the Korean peninsula. But that should not be reason

enough for

the United States to behave as if Seoul must acquiesce to all its

initiatives

without question. A little more consultation and negotiations on common

positions before grand proposals are made would not be out of order."

"America Helped Rid Asia Of Communism, But Our Values Differ"

Pro-government, Malay-language Berita Harian expressed this opinion

(2/13):

"There is no doubt that America needs Asia. South Korea and Japan, for

example, look to it as the backbone of their defense. When communism was

on

the march in Asia...it was America that held it back so that Southeast

Asia was

able to develop and prosper.... However, now it is time that America, as

the

head of the Western pact, be clearer in its appraisal of the position of

each
of the Asian countries. It cannot force its beliefs on them because
Asia's
culture is totally different from American culture.... With the new world
order being formed gradually after the end of the Cold War, the
international
community needs to work together in resolving human rights issues,
especially
in ending wars, starvation and poverty."

"New Spirit In Sino-U.S. Ties"

The pro-government Business Times commented (2/12) on the recently
concluded
textile agreement between the United States and China: "The textile
pact...marks a good start for Sino-American trade relations...and should
help
sustain efforts to bring China into the World Trade Organization (WTO).
It
also removes one more problem from the agenda of newly-appointed U.S.
Secretary
of State Albright during her visit to Beijing... And it smooths the way
for
the exchange of visits by the Chinese and American presidents.... The new
textile agreement...reflects the willingness by both the Chinese and the
Americans to bridge their trade differences...(and) projects the new
spirit of

friendship and understanding between Beijing and Washington."

"Sino-Russian Axis Unwelcome"

In the view of the pro-government Straits Times (1/10): "Russian Defense Minister Andrei Grachev's comment, 'if NATO goes East, we will go East too!,'

sums up Moscow's response to the Atlantic Alliance's efforts to admit several

former Communist states in Central and Eastern Europe. The most dramatic result of Russia's 'Look East' policy has been a breakthrough in its ties with

China.... Though India and Japan, too, are included in its diplomatic offensive, it is Beijing upon which Moscow is depending the most to counter the

expansion of the Western Alliance's influence to the borders of the former Soviet Union.... China and Russia should come together; indeed, it is not

inconceivable that they will draw closer to each other than the United States

is to either. But an axis between the two would merely drive a wedge between

them and the rest of the Asia-Pacific."

TAIWAN: "Cross-Strait Relations Should Not Worsen In Post-Deng Period"

National University Professor Chang Lin-jeng in the establishment China

Times

wrote (2/21): "Jiang Zemin adopts a moderate and pragmatic approach in dealing with cross-strait relations. If Jiang continues to be in power, China's central thought of 'one country, two systems and peaceful reunification of China' will remain unchanged."

"Post-Deng Era Holds Promise For Taiwan"

The conservative China News commented (2/21): "But without the hardline shadow of Deng Xiaoping in Beijing, there is the opportunity for more flexibility in dealing with Taiwan. Practicality, something of a Jiang Zemin trademark, may actually become part of the negotiating process."

"Taiwan Should Recognize Deng"

According to the pro-opposition Commons Daily (2/21), "President Lee Teng-hui

should evaluate Deng from a historical point of view and send his condolences

on behalf of the more than 20 million people in Taiwan. Of course, Taiwan's

government should be prepared for any post-Deng changes in China.

However,

there also should be an official message of condolence on the death of

Deng

Xiaoping, reaffirming his contributions to promoting economic reform in

China."

THAILAND: "The Long March Comes To An End"

The largest circulation, English-language Bangkok Post (2/21) remarked,

"Despite all his achievements on the economic front, Deng's legacy is stained

with blood by his decision to brutally stamp out pro-democracy demonstrations

in Tiananmen Square in 1989 and the subsequent crackdown on dissidents since

then.... Deng's death comes at the time when economic and social changes are

unprecedented. And Jiang (Zemin) is seen by analysts to be susceptible to

challenges from his rivals, a process which could take place over the next

year or so. In any scenario where political instability is allowed to hold

sway, the process of reform could be stalled... Today, China and the rest of

the region are partners in progress and, like the rest of the globe, they are

hopeful that stability is maintained on the mainland. The challenge for China

and its leaders is to stay the course set by Deng which has brought prosperity,

productivity, progress and hope for its people. A stable and economically strong China means the rest of the region will continue to prosper as well."

"Hot War"

Trairat Soontornprapat speculated in the mass-circulation Daily News (2/20):

"The two Koreas are never short of news to excite the world....

"The Korean peninsula, and in particular Kim Jong-Il, who is known for his bizarre behavior, are still a cause for concern. If and when he actually accedes to the throne, Kim Jong-il might order the unexpected. A violent conflict between the two Koreas might flare up and degenerate into a full-scale war."

"Politics In The New Century"

Sensational Khao Sod's Kiaticchai Pongpanit commented (2/20), "Secretary Madeleine Albright's scheduled foreign tour of Europe and Asia, six days and four days respectively, can be equated to the 60-40 percent level of interest the United States has attached to Europe and Asia.... The three Asian destinations on her itinerary, namely South Korea, Japan and China, are

considered of striking importance to the United States. Other Asian countries have been brushed aside as of secondary importance... One of Secretary Albright's major agendas in Europe is the expansion of Nato to also include Russia.... World politics in the new century is increasingly bloc- rather than bilaterally oriented."

"Albright Gives Reason To Hope"

The lead editorial of top-circulation, English-language Bangkok Post maintained (1/15): "Albright...raised some eyebrows here when she said that, in U.S. eyes, Asia is 'practically equal' in importance to Europe. As (Thailand's) foreign ministry spokesman said, one must expect such thinking from America.

Although more U.S. trade comes through Asia than Europe, and despite wars in

Korea and Vietnam, most Americans are descendants of Europeans. The new secretary might have been better off not even making such comparison, although

her bluntness also is admirable. She spent much of her confirmation speech discussing U.S. policy on Asia. Most of what she said was welcome....

The hope is that Ms. Albright can set U.S. foreign policy on an imaginative and

brave course, one which will help her country and have her own stamp and style."

VIETNAM: "Radio Free Asia And Peaceful Evolution"

Official, Communist Party Nhan Dan ran this commentary (1/31): "Despite public

protest, the United States is going ahead with its plan to broadcast Radio Free

Asia (RFA) into a number of Asian countries. (RFA) is preparing to launch its

Vietnamese-language programs in the near future. This is a new step in the

escalation of the U.S. strategy of 'peaceful evolution' against Vietnam and a

number of other Asian nations.... Obviously, like Radio Free Europe, RFA is a

product of the Cold-War period, and a means of ideological-cultural aggression

and interference in the internal affairs of Asian countries."

EUROPE

BRITAIN: "Albright: Building A Working U.S.-China Relationship"

On Secretary Albright's travel to China, BBC-TV (2/21) said: "Madeleine Albright is still going to China on Monday and her task will be to build a

working relationship between the world's most powerful democracy and the world's most powerful one-party state."

"Jiang Faces The World"

The independent Financial Times editorialized (2/21): "It would be simplistic

to think that President Jiang Zemin will prove to be a stop-gap leader.

He is

no visionary, but he has used his time in office to consolidate support,

and

there is no obvious rival.... Maintaining business as usual will be a

real

test of Jiang's leadership in the coming months.... The transition would

be

smoother if China were more amenable on civil rights and democracy, but

Jiang's

domestic constituency will push him in the opposite direction."

"After Deng"

The independent weekly Economist had this lead editorial (2/21): "History can

be a fickle and merciless judge. The view it will take of Deng... will

depend

on just when that view is taken. In five years' time it could well be

harsh,

and justly so. But in 15 years he may be seen as one of the greatest political leaders of the 20th century, a man who set under way the biggest improvement in the living standards and personal freedoms of the largest number of people in all of human history, as well as launching the most important shift in economic and political power the world has seen for a century or more. For the verdict on Mr. Deng will depend at least as much on what happens in China now as on what happened while this peppery old man was in charge."

"Storm Warning In Korea"

The independent weekly Economist editorialized (2/21): "With millions of malnourished citizens and hundreds of thousands of political prisoners, the North Korean government is arguably the worst in the world. Any sign of its possible collapse, such as the recent defection of one of its leaders, sounds like unambiguously good news. In principle, it is. In practice, all the big powers in the region have reason to be anxious about the possible crumbling of

the dictatorship in Pyongyang. Much of the anxiety about the final failure of North Korea concerns the practical problems it will pose.... And whether the denouement is peaceful or violent, there remains the huge problem of integrating 22 million impoverished northerners, long kept in isolation and ignorance of the ways of the developed world, with 46 million richer and more sophisticated southerners. By comparison, the unification of Germany will seem as simple as setting a fracture."

GERMANY: "Hypocritical And Dangerous"

Centrist Bonner Express observed (2/21): "The world is bowing its head to a hangman. Deng Xiaoping, the father of the Chinese economic miracle, is also the one who is mainly responsible for the massacre at Tienanmen Square in 1989. This fact was not too much recalled when state and government leaders praised the 'great statesman' and 'colossus' yesterday. It is not only hypocritical but dangerous to forget human rights by being blinded by the economic growth rate of this vast state. Looking instead to profitable business deals, the West tends to turn away when people are tortured and killed,

when
blood and tears flow. But this can come back to haunt (the West). The
Beijing regime is becoming increasingly brazen regarding Taiwan, and there
is
not even an idea of releasing Tibet. And the seedling of democracy is
being
crushed in Hong Kong. Why should China be satisfied with less--if the
West
does not stop it?"

"Call For Freedom"

Commenting on recent unrest in China's Xinjiang Autonomous Region,
Godehard
Uhlemann had this to say in an editorial in right-of-center Rheinische
Post of
Duesseldorf (2/12): "So far, radical forces are provoking the Beijing
regime
(in Xinjiang). They are supported by forces that live beyond the Chinese
borders, from forces who partly come from Islamic fundamentalist
countries.
And this could be dangerous for Beijing. The league of old men in Beijing
is
threatened with a guerrilla fight which could easily result in the
interference
of the Uygurs' brothers-in-faith. The Beijing regime will certainly
strike

back as it did on Tienanmen Square in 1989. Since then, the seeds of freedom and democracy are not finding fertile ground, but this will only increase the forces of resistance. Fear is now spreading in northwestern China."

FRANCE: "Washington Watchful Over Hong Kong"

Jean-Jacques Mevel observed in right-of-center Le Figaro (2/21): "For a secretary of state who started her tenure stating that relations with China 'would not become hostage to any problem,' Deng's death may be a good opportunity to bury the Tienanmen issue.... For the United States, the reintegration of Hong Kong will be a delicate matter.... It will give an indication of future relations between Beijing and Taiwan, where the United States is clearly implicated."

"Washington's Concerned Wait"

Left-of-center Liberation (2/21) remarked: "Deng Xiaoping turned China into a superpower. With Russia's disintegration, it becomes the only real

potential

rival of the United States on the international scene.... China's

emergence

will become the number-one problem for the United States and its

allies...but

it is too early to predict what direction Deng's successors will take: an

accelerated integration into the international system--including a

'strategic

dialogue with Washington'--or confrontation with the West, suspected of

wanting to do away with the communist regime and of containing China as

it did

with Russia in the past.... American officials recognize that Deng's

death

represents two risks: The first is the possibility of a period of

political

and chronic instability...the second is that China's foreign policy could

turn

to a nationalism founded on military power with views on becoming Asia's

major power."

ITALY: "A Stream Of Praises, The West Has Removed Tienanmen Square"

A commentary by Stefano Cingolani in centrist, top-circulation Corriere

della

Sera (2/21): "Considerable praise of Deng Xiaoping has come from several

international leaders.... What about Tienanmen Square? Only Madeleine

Albright, who loves 'non-diplomatic diplomacy,' dared pronounce that

woeful

name. All the others preferred to avoid it, be it against bad luck, an

excess

of reserve, or forced realpolitik. China is a huge market on which the

West

has launched itself for the second time in a century. That is good for

the

Chinese, because it raises their living standards.... However, hamburgers

do

not necessarily mean freedom. This is the obscure element we try to hide

by

failing to recall that it was Deng 'the reformer' who decided the massacre

of

the students, thus preserving gerontocratic despotism. Canceling the

memory of

Tiananmen is not only a sign of mercantilistic eagerness, but the evidence

of

our bad conscience. Capitalism equals democracy is not a mathematic

equation,

it is a political project. Mao created a totalitarian utopia; Deng

created an

equally despotic trade-off between richness and freedom."

"The Traps Of The Future"

Prominent foreign affairs commentator (and former ambassador to Moscow)

Sergio

Romano commented in centrist La Stampa (2/21): "The political judgment on Deng

Xiaoping is positive. The historical judgment will instead depend on the consequences and the results of his reforms.... In the museum of history,

Deng's China is a bastard entity, half communist and half capitalist....

We need to ask ourselves for how long these two phenomena--a market economy and a totalitarian regime--can coexist without trying to destroy each other....

Any forecast about the post-Deng era is literally impossible. Yet, in a few months, we will have a weather vane that will enable us to understand in which direction the wind is blowing. That weather vane is Hong Kong, which Beijing would like to see economically free and politically servile. From the way the Chinese treat their new subjects, we will receive some indications about the feelings of the People's Republic, and we will be able to make forecasts about the fate of the world."

RUSSIA: "Deng Leaves Indelible Imprint"

Yury Savenkov and Vladimir Skosyrev said in reformist Izvestia (2/21):

"Deng's

personality left an indelible imprint on the life of every Chinese. For

government employees, party functionaries and intellectuals, his name is

associated with an end to political purges. For peasants and factory

workers,

the Deng era symbolizes a rise in the standard of living.... While

Chinese

economic reform is irreversible, things may be more difficult with

political

reform. While Western-type pluralistic society in China may take a while

to

build, the growing middle class will demand liberalization."

"Deng Lucky To See His Ideas Work"

Reformist, business weekly VEK (# 6, 2/21) ran this comment by Alexander

Nastasyin: "Deng succeeded where everyone else failed. He found a

way--well

suited to Chinese reality--to marry a one-party political system to a

market

economy. Deng finally saw what every politician strives for--his own

ideas

implemented."

BELGIUM: "Euro-Asian Shrinking, Must Human Rights Be Downgraded?"

According to an editorial (2/13) by conservative, Catholic La Libre

Belgique's

Philippe Paquet: "The foreign ministers of the European Union and the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) are holding their twelfth annual meeting...in Singapore. The encounter will be followed for the first time by a ministerial meeting extended to...the Asian-European Forum created last March in Bangkok. In addition to the EU and ASEAN, that forum includes China, Japan and South Korea....

"One must admit, however, that in the Euro-Asian dialogue, enlargement regrettably equates with narrowing. The purpose is, actually, to refer as little as possible to anything that could cast a shadow over a relationship which interested ministers claim to bring to 'maturity.' There will be very few references in Singapore to human rights violations in Burma or in China, to Indonesian repression in Timor, to union rights in Korea or to mafia-like practices in Cambodia.... One must admit that the Europeans are under additional pressure from the United States, which made a warming (of relations) with Beijing a foreign policy priority. Whatever the United States may say, it is doing so at the obvious expense of the defense of human rights. Does that

justify the European Union's surrender on that issue?"

SPAIN: "China And The World"

Enrique Fanjul wrote for conservative ABC (2/21): "The evolution of China will be greatly influenced by the policy which the international community will have toward this country."

"China's Future"

Javier Valenzuela wrote for liberal El Pais (2/21): "The uncertainty (about the future of China) lies in the ignorance about how the possible fight for Deng's succession will affect Washington's main obstacles in its dealing with Beijing: violation of human rights, curtailment of trade freedom and its reticence to integrate into a Western system of foreign relations, the sale to nuclear technology to third countries, its threats to Taiwan and the obscure future of freedoms in Hong Kong."

"Tribulation In Korea"

Liberal El Pais opined (2/21), "Defector Hwang Jang-yop carries with him privileged information which will interest South Korea highly. The defection...may be, in any case, a sign of the decomposition of the Pyongyang regime...which can present grave problems. Although implicitly it (the situation) is compared with the implosion of Eastern Germany and the subsequent German unification, the case of Korea is very different.... It is still to be seen whether North Korea can peacefully transform or violence will unfold. In fact, the United States--afraid of being involved in a new war--is the principal advocate of financial aid to the North against the thought of its main South Korean ally. Hwang's defection will jeopardize or halt the U.S. policy leading to peace talks--among the two Koreas, the United States and China--massive food aid and the delivery of nuclear reactors to avoid the development of nuclear weapons in a North which is totally lacking in credibility."

"Risks On The Korean Peninsula"

Conservative ABC warned (2/19): "The defection (of Hwang Jang-yop) has left China in a sensitive position.... Any new element may add to the crisis in

North Korea, the world's most impenetrable country, and could have serious consequences for world peace. The risks are accumulating again in the peninsula because of the brutality and desperation of a failed regime with considerable nuclear power."

SOUTH ASIA

INDIA: "Uncertain Period For U.S. After Deng"

The nationalist Hindustan Times (2/21) held, "Deng Xiaoping's...death...marks the beginning of an uncertain period for the United States, with much speculation and little certitude about which pace Beijing will now display to the West--confrontation or greater cooperation. The potential for confrontation is present in the aftermath of China's takeover of Hong Kong and Beijing's possible attempts to shape the territory in the image of the mainland; booming economy and oppressive political control. Other potential points of contention are the issue of Chinese entry into the World Trade Organization, and Beijing's predilection to sell nuclear technology to all sundry, including Iran, America's bete noire.... It is possible that major decisions in China will be postponed until the major party Congress in autumn,

in which Jiang will stand alone for the first time with out Deng's protective umbrella, as he tries to consolidate his power by shifting around the other national leaders. If he succeeds, he could have the freedom to act more boldly, perhaps even strengthening the opening to the U.S. that President Clinton is trying to bring about through high level visits."

"Transition In Beijing Critical To Washington"

An analysis in the centrist Hindu by Washington correspondent Sridhar Krishnaswami (2/21) said, "The political transformation in China in the aftermath of the passing of Deng is critical to the United States for, if there is one big challenge to the Clinton administration in the Asia Pacific it is China; and a problem that President Clinton and his advisors have not adequately addressed in the first four years.... The bottom line...is that...the Clinton administration's China policy boiled down to an extreme unwillingness to pay the cost of pursuing a foreign policy with China--that is being held hostage to the emerging markets in that East Asian country.

"Today, one of the things the Clinton administration has to bear in mind is the implications of the Russia-China rapprochement to the Asia-Pacific and what

this means to U.S.-China and U.S.-Russia relations. From an economic point of view, the consensus would be that...China will continue with its economic reforms and pace of modernization. Given what has transpired in the last decade it would indeed be disastrous for the country and to many others who have hedged their bets on China if the leadership there decides to even slow down what has been taking place on the economic front."

"Defector From The North"

An editorial in the right- of-center Indian Express (2/19) remarked, "If you still miss the thriller part of the Cold War, welcome to the Korean peninsula.... Pyongyang is in a mortal crisis, and there are people over there who believe that redemption is out of reach.... Hwang's head is full of explosive information.... This mega-defection reinforces the artificiality of a clandestine, blackmailing state like North Korea where the latest source of foreign capital is the nuclear waste from Taiwan, and where the ruling junta believes that a famine can be counter-balanced by enriched uranium.... True, North Korea may one day just implode; and the South, despite its wealth,

may
not be able to cope with the exodus and social dislocation. Isn't it
better
not to abandon the North to its own desperate whims?... The United States
is
still trying to feed the North Koreans with the hope that enough food may
make
Pyongyang non-nuclear. What is actually needed is a repudiation of the
39th
Parallel.... Its realization depends on political vision. But the
paranoid
Kims are only good at comic war games."

PAKISTAN: "Transition From Long March Generation"

The center-right Nation of Lahore commented (2/21): "The death of Deng
Xiaoping marks the final transition from China's Long March leadership
generation to its successors. Deng will be remembered as much for his
ability
to bounce back from adversity and political obscurity (three times in his
long
career) as the architect of the reforms he unleashed which have
transformed the
face of China almost beyond recognition.... The fears being expressed in
some
quarters of political instability which may grip China after Deng's death
may

be misplaced, or at least premature. The leadership team controlling China's destiny, led by President Jiang Zemin, has been in place for a number of years and has been running things for a long time in the presence of Deng's virtual retirement from public office and life, though not necessarily from ultimate political control. Whether the blind forces of the 'socialist market economy' will lead in the future to internal turmoil based on social conflict and regional separatism, is too far to predict with certainty. However, China has definitely entered the long predicted period of relative uncertainty after the death of the architect of today's China."

"Gracefully Exiting Himself From Power"

The centrist News of Karachi observed (2/21): "His departure will make China the poorer for the loss of an experienced guiding hand, but it is unlikely that it will create a void in leadership. Much in the manner that he had meticulously charted out the economic course of the country, so he had planned the transition of power, gracefully exiting himself from power, allowing a

new

generation of leaders to replace the aging stalwarts."

SRI LANKA: "The Man Who Transformed Economy Without Kow-Towing To West"

The independent, English-language Island (2/21) commented editorially,

"China

under Deng did not permit the United States and the West impose their

ideologies, despite strong criticism of violation of human rights in

China.

Even threatened trade sanctions by the United States have not worked.

Unlike

the Third World countries, China has been able to stand up to the West and

strongly resist what they call interference with the internal affairs of

China."

"His French comrades called him 'little canon' and former U.S. Secretary

of

State Henry Kissinger, 'a nasty little man.' History, however is likely

to

recognize him as a supreme pragmatist who transformed a poor, sluggish and

dormant Chinese economy into one of the fastest growing economies while

not

permitting China's arms to be twisted by Western powers after the end of

the

Cold War, like what happened to practically every Third World country."

LATIN AMERICA

ARGENTINA: "View from the U.S.: Two Different Reactions"

Javier Valenzuela, writing from Washington for left-of-center Pagina 12

observed (2/21): "U.S. analysts drifted yesterday between two different reactions to the Chinese leader's death. One, expressed in a New York Times

headline, 'U.S. Sees Few Changes in its Relations with China, and the other

one from the Washington Post read 'U.S. Faces Period of Uncertainty in its

Relations with Beijing'. Both visions are correct and complementary....

"Continuity is based in the fact that Washington had been expecting Deng's

death for a long time.... Uncertainty comes from not knowing in what measure

possible fights for Deng's succession may affect the huge obstacles Washington

visualizes in its conversations with Beijing.... Pessimists in Washington

fear that the death of Deng, who always avoided breaking ties with the United

States completely, will accelerate the rebirth of nationalism, which has characterized China in recent years. In that case, China would adopt what the

White House and the State Department call a '19th century vision of international relations', according to which great powers are, above all, rivals. On the other hand, optimists expect Deng's successors to walk the narrow path of moderation and opening he implemented and wind up sharing Clinton's proposal for the 21st century, according to which the big (power) work together to solve issues such as...crime and terrorism, protection of the environment and free trade."

"China After Deng"

An editorial in daily-of-record La Nacion held (02/21): "Old Deng Xiaoping's expected and nevertheless feared death opens for China undoubtedly important but highly imprecise expectations in the eyes of the Western world--Deng's enigma.... The deceased leader headed a stage in which the Chinese Communist regime--without resigning its ideas or totalitarian control of the population--admitted intense economic collaboration with capitalist countries, and accepted and promoted, in certain sectors and regions, the installation of diverse forms of open economy in its territory.... Deng's heirs now have (the)

immediate challenge...of supporting, perfecting and extending those economic

achievements, and overcoming...the great limitations China still suffers from.

But, at the same time, they must decide if they will continue embracing the

authoritarian mindset that has presided over (Deng's) regime. In Western eyes,

changing this last aspect of reality is not only desirable but inevitable as a

prerequisite for economic freedom."

BRAZIL: "Signals Ahead: Hong Kong"

Center-right O Estado de Sao Paulo's editorial (2/21) concluded: "The death of

Deng Xiaoping occurs at a moment when China's destiny seems to be exceptionally uncertain. With its mysteries and unique logic...the nation seeks an answer to an historical question: To what extent will it be possible

to reconcile economic freedom...with a totalitarian regime?... The 1989 massacre in Tiananmen Square has shown how far the Chinese are willing to go

to maintain their political regime. Another indication is Beijing's preparations to take control of Hong Kong in July.... China sees Hong Kong

exactly as a special zone: a place to assure the regime's economic

Only time will be able to tell whether this is sustainable or not."

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WP Ethnic Turmoil Roils Western China

WP Chinese President Vows to Press On With Late Leader's Reforms

WP China's Musical Leader Sings in Many Keys

NYT The Communist Dynasty Had Its Run. Now What?
NYT Control of Army Is Crucial Issue for China Rulers
LAT Shift on Tibet Seen--but for Better or for Worse?
LAT As China's New Top Gun, Jiang Faces Test With Army
LAT Taiwan Worries About the Unknown in New Era
LAT Without Deng, Jiang Faces 'Curse' of China Succession
LAT Beijing Holds Door Open for Secretary of State
LAT Perspectives on China: Watch for Signs of Fragmentation
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CT Dengs Decline: From Master to Marionette
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WASHINGTON POST
Ethnic Turmoil Roils Western China
BY STEVEN MUFSON
Sunday, February 23 1997; Page A25

BEIJING--There are at least two views of the violence that shook the western frontier town of Yining during the closing days of the Muslim holy month of Ramadan.

Exiles in touch with the ethnic Uighurs who live in Yining say Chinese police sparked the violence of Feb. 4-5 by yanking Uighur Muslims out of prayer sessions and arresting them. They say that 300 people died, including nearly 100 members of Chinese security forces, and that as many as 2,000 people were arrested. Many were flogged publicly as a warning, exiles said.

Chinese officials and newspapers have called the violence the work of drug addicts, looters and other "social garbage" who went on a binge of beating, looting and smashing cars. They say that 10 people died and 144 were injured.

Either way, the recent eruption in China's Xinjiang Province is evidence that

age-old animosities are still bubbling between Han Chinese, who make up 92 per cent of China's population and want to rule the region and tap its resources, and Uighurs, a Turkic Muslim people who regard the Han as conquerors. The Uighurs yearn for reestablishment of the once independent Central Asian republic that was called Eastern Turkestan and had its capital in Yining 50 years ago.

"This area has been contested between China and the local people for 400 years," said Linda Benson, professor of history at Oakland University in Michigan and one of the few experts on the region. And throughout that time of changing rulers, she said, "there have been the same bitter feelings between Muslims and Chinese."

At stake for both sides is a huge territory and national pride.

From Beijing's point of view, Xinjiang is a sparsely populated but potentially oil-rich region that has been an integral part of China at least since 1884, when an expeditionary force of the Emperor Qianlong made it a province. In recent years, the government has been resettling Han Chinese into Xinjiang, leasing out tracts of the Taklimakan desert to foreign oil companies and constructing roads across the vast, forbidding terrain.

Beijing sees Xinjiang as vital to Chinese security because it borders Afghanistan, Russia, Pakistan, Kazakhstan and other former Soviet republics. Anxious to prevent Xinjiang from becoming the next battleground for Central Asian Islamic

republics seeking to wrest fellow Muslims from communism, China has kept a substantial number of troops in the region.

By contrast, Uighur exile groups say their people are in a fight for survival, battling against the Han influx, repressive security forces and a Chinese campaign to assimilate Uighurs into mainstream Chinese culture by suppressing Islamic traditions and Uighur language and history. They blame Chinese repression for the spate of violence over the last few months that has included a bombing and assassinations of Muslim collaborators.

"All this is an act of desperation," Erkin Alp Tekin, spokesman for the Eastern Turkestan Union of Europe, said in reference to recent violence. "We are a small group standing up against 1.2 billion people. It reminds me of people in the Warsaw Ghetto who were willing to die with their dignity."

Alptekin said the Chinese are carrying out a 10-point plan approved last March by President Jiang Zemin for pacifying Xinjiang. Alptekin said he has a copy of the plan, which calls for diplomatic pressure on countries harboring exile groups, a purge of "all suspicious persons" in party and government organs, and the installation of people who are "not afraid to die for the party." The plan, he added, also calls for a "rapid deployment force" of police and army units to combat "splittist activities."

The plan allegedly grants preferential economic treatment for the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps, a government conglomerate that runs state farms and factories. In 1992, it employed 18 percent of the province's workforce and represented 25 percent of agricultural and industrial output. Human rights activist Harry Wu has alleged that the firm also runs Xinjiang's multitude of labor camps.

The Chinese government has waged a campaign against Islam, banning independent Islamic publishing houses. A September article by Liu Zongkang, director of the religion institute of the Xinjiang Academy of Social Sciences, said that good Communists must differentiate between "folk customs" with religious roots and purely religious activities.

China restricts access to Xinjiang for foreign reporters, making it difficult to say for certain what conditions there are like. Some travelers have reported increased security checks and curfews.

Carrying word to the rest of the world from the remote region are a number of Uighur exile groups. One, the Eastern Turkestan National Freedom Center, is located in Washington and is led by 34-year-old exile Anwar Yusuf. Yusuf's organization, established in July 1995, is funded mostly by contributions from some of the roughly 10,000 Uighurs who have been living in Saudi Arabia.

Alptekin, 58, is perhaps the exile movement's main spokesman. Based in Bonn, he said his group is funded by private contributions from Uighurs living in Turkey and Europe.

Alptekin is trying to tear a page from the Dalai Lama's book in an effort to elicit sympathy and get greater publicity for the Uighur cause. "We are working very closely with the Dalai Lama," said Alptekin. "He is a very good example for us."

Alptekin said he is ready to compromise with the Chinese government, although he would rather see an independent state. He listed autonomy as a possibility, yet theoretically that is what Xinjiang has already.

"They talk about autonomy," Alptekin said, "but this autonomy is a fake autonomy."

WASHINGTON POST

Chinese President Vows to Press On With Late Leader's Reforms

BY STEVEN MUFSON

Saturday, February 22 1997; Page A16

BEIJING, Feb. 22 (Saturday)--President Jiang Zemin, in his first statement since the death of his political patron Deng Xiaoping, vowed Friday to press forward "unswervingly and confidently" with Deng's economic reform and open-door policies and called on his countrymen to "turn grief into strength." Jiang, handpicked by Deng nearly eight years ago to lead the Communist Party following the bloody crackdown on democracy demonstrators in 1989, said that the Chinese Communist Party, army and people "are determined . . . to raise high the great banner of Deng Xiaoping's building of socialism with Chinese characteristics," a phrase used to describe the introduction of free markets to China and the gradual dismantling of the central planning system.

Jiang and other Chinese leaders have long pledged to carry on the policies of Deng, who survived war, three Communist Party purges and years of heavy smoking to bring an end to the chaos of the Cultural Revolution and catapult a backward country into the modern age. But Friday's statement was Jiang's first public comment since the 92-year-old paramount leader died Wednesday night of respiratory failure. It, and other official actions, sent a clear signal of continuity and the stability to which China's rulers attach great importance.

Meanwhile, police kept watch over Beijing's Tiananmen Square, site of massive demonstrations after the deaths of Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai in 1976 and former Communist Party chief Hu Yaobang in 1989.

Police on Friday detained a man in Tiananmen Square as he carried a wreath apparently dedicated to Deng, witnesses said. Between 20 and 30 plainclothes police rushed to the unidentified man as he walked from a subway exit toward the M

artyrs' Monument.

He was bundled into a car along with the wreath, on which the words "Deng Xiaoping" were written on a ribbon, a witness told the Reuter news service.

It was the second such incident in 24 hours. On Thursday, police picked up a man as he walked past the imperial palace of China's emperors and into the square, carrying a placard with the words "Grandpa Deng, we cherish you," a witness said. Further underscoring security concerns, the Supreme People's Court, the nation's top judicial body, ordered all courts to enforce laws strictly and to safeguard social stability during the sensitive mourning period.

Jiang's comments, reported by the state-run New China News Agency, came in a meeting with Kazakhstan's President Nursultan Nazarbayev, who the agency said is vacationing in China.

Kazakhstan borders on a predominantly Uighur Muslim section of western China recently rocked by bloody riots against Chinese police.

"Comrade Deng Xiaoping's passing is an inestimable loss for our party, our army and the people of all ethnic groups in our country," Jiang reportedly said. The country's leaders will try to "run China's undertakings still better and make greater contributions to the cause of peace, development and progress of mankind," he added.

Deng's funeral is scheduled for Tuesday at the Great Hall of the People and will be limited to 10,000 invited guests. Foreign dignitaries are excluded, there will be no public commemorations, and Chinese have been urged to watch the memorial meeting on television.

Chinese television this morning carried the first glimpses of Jiang and other state leaders since Deng's death. Premier Li Peng met Friday with Venezuelan Foreign Minister Miguel A. Burelli Rivas.

Using the standard formulation for acknowledging Jiang's primacy, Li said that the Chinese people would "carry forward Deng's unfulfilled wishes under the leadership of the party's Central Committee with Comrade Jiang Zemin at the core."

State-run television also showed clips of meetings hosted by Qiao Shi, chairman of the National People's Congress, and Li Ruihuan, chairman of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

people's Political Consultative Congress.

China's official news agency continued to report worldwide messages of condolence and tribute to Deng.

The news agency also ran a 24-page tract hailing "Deng Xiaoping's great, brilliant life." Friday night, instead of the usual news broadcast, national television ran an 80-minute documentary on Deng.

"Comrade Deng Xiaoping . . . became a great son of the people, a giant who will never be matched," the People's Daily said in a commentary.

Singapore's senior leader Lee Kuan Yew, whose brand of authoritarian government and economic modernization is much admired here, wrote to Jiang that Deng had "saved China."

Lee wrote that "without him, China could have been like the Soviet Union. Instead, China will become a huge heavyweight nation in 30 years."

Aside from the incidents in Tiananmen Square, there were few visible signs of changes in people's routine, and factories and offices were open as usual.

Street vendors, which did not exist before Deng's economic reforms, continued to do a brisk business. It was, in a sense, a fitting tribute to Deng, under whom the slogan "to get rich is glorious" was coined, that most people seemed absorbed in the pursuit of making a living.

Tiananmen Square is a place of special concern to authorities because the laying of wreaths at the heroes' monument there has been a catalyst and vehicle for protest in the past.

To reduce the number of people in the square and as a sign of mourning, the government removed the lanterns that ordinarily would have adorned the square. Friday night, the first night of the traditional lantern festival.

Another site that probably will be carefully watched is the Babaoshan Cemetery, in the western part of the capital, where Deng was expected to be cremated. His family has requested that his ashes be cast into the sea.

WASHINGTON POST China's Musical Leader Sings in Many Keys
BY STEVEN MUFSON

BEIJING, Feb. 22--During his days as Shanghai's mayor, Jiang Zemin danced with San Francisco's then-Mayor Dianne Feinstein and sang "When We Were Young." He performed Beijing-style opera at get-togethers of Shanghai residents. And on a trip to a computer company developing a digital piano, he sat down and banged out a well-known graduation tune.

The musical Jiang is still at it. During a break from a recent meeting of the Asia-Pacific Economic Conference, he teamed up with Philippine President Fidel Ramos for a rendition of Elvis Presley's "Love Me Tender."

Now, as China's leader, Jiang will have to prove himself as versatile politically as he is musically. Without his political patron, the late Deng Xiaoping, Jiang will need to play a tune that will inspire the confidence of the Chinese people while he dances his way among rival factions of the Communist Party and tries to lead a fast-growing China to a place as a world power.

It remains to be seen whether he is up to the job. Jiang, 70, already has outlived the forecasts of many of his detractors who thought he would share the fate of Deng's two earlier designated successors who were shunted aside. "Jiang's Tenure Seen as Temporary," said a Washington Post headline in 1989. With nearly eight years as general secretary of the Communist Party, Jiang has held that post longer than all but one Chinese official--the Great Helmsman himself, revolutionary leader Mao Zedong.

But the death of Deng on Wednesday night and his funeral this Tuesday will create an opportunity for any rivals who might want to nudge Jiang aside. And tough challenges lie ahead for Jiang. Over the next year he faces a potentially messy transition in Hong Kong, delicate summit meetings with President Clinton and a crucial Communist Party Congress this fall that could turn into a major political battleground.

"The question for Jiang is whether he has the adroitness to navigate the difficult waters ahead," said Michel Oksenberg, a China scholar and a professor at Stanford University. His ability over the last two years to install many of his old Shanghai allies in key posts and oust the corrupt but powerful Beijing party secretary Chen Xitong from the Politburo,

while leaving the lead in economic policy to the able Zhu Rongji, has demonstrated greater shrewdness than expected.

Even so, few see him as following the tradition of strong Chinese leaders. The affable Jiang, a lifelong apparatchik, lacks the authority of Deng, who risked his life for the revolution and made the Long March with Mao in 1934-35 that enabled Communists to regroup and defeat the rival Nationalists in 1949. While Deng was one of the top half-dozen leaders of China in the 1950s and 1960s, Jiang was plodding through the Communist Party bureaucracy.

"The death of Deng marked the end of an era in modern Chinese history-- that is, the era of the strongman," said Wang Shaoguang, associate professor of political science at Yale University. "In the foreseeable future, unless China were to undergo great chaos, another strongman is unlikely to emerge, which is good for China and the world."

Confusing Signals

Now that Deng has left the stage, who is the real Jiang? It remains unclear where Jiang's true convictions lie--or whether he has any.

Over the past eight years, he has tried to be all things to all people, singing from different sheets for different audiences. At times he has sounded like a Maoist-era leftist, at times like a thoroughly modern follower of the pragmatic Deng. He has wooed the powerful military and nodded toward some Communist Party liberals. His government has condemned the U.S. government and lamented the invasion of American culture, products and cartoons, yet Jiang has sent two sons to college in the United States.

In January of last year, Jiang donned a gray, two-piece suit of the style popularized by Mao and delivered a speech to provincial Communist Party propaganda department heads. In the speech, Jiang seemed to borrow pages from Mao's text as well as clothes from his closet. He declared that "we cannot sacrifice culture and ideology merely for a short period of economic development." The message seemed to be the exact opposite of Deng's strategy and suggested that Jiang was swerving from Deng's economic pragmatism. But on many other occasions, including his first official meeting after Deng's death this week, Jiang has worn a Western-style business suit and vowed to pu

resume the open-door and economic modernization programs of Deng. As president, he has hosted a steady stream of foreign business executives while playing down ideology and promising stable and increasingly open markets.

Jiang also has sent confusing signals when it comes to political issues. He made a subtle gesture to China's liberals by visiting the grave of the reformist leader Hu Yaobang during the traditional Chinese tomb-sweeping holiday in April 1994 and by visiting Hu's widow last year. It was Hu's funeral that became the catalyst for the 1989 student rebellions that Deng crushed. And under Jiang's watch, some liberal magazines from earlier years have been allowed to reemerge.

But Jiang also has crushed China's dissident community. There is hardly a dissident left free in the country. Wei Jingsheng, a Democracy Wall movement leader who had already spent a decade and a half in prison, was arrested shortly after meeting an American official in early 1994 and sentenced to 14 more years in jail. Wang Dan, who already had done a stint in prison for his role in the 1989 student-led demonstrations that rocked the government, was sentenced to 11 more years in jail for writing a handful of articles for an overseas journal and signing a petition.

Political Weather Vane

Jiang's personal history is varied enough to provide few definitive clues to his underlying beliefs.

The son of intellectuals who lived in Yangzhou, north of Shanghai, Jiang went to an American missionary school, where he learned to speak English. He can quote parts of the Gettysburg Address and spoke to Queen Elizabeth without an interpreter when she visited Shanghai in 1986. He acquired a taste for foreign music and foreign movies of the 1940s.

He joined the Communist Party in 1946 during the civil war; once when Nationalist soldiers came to his college looking for Communists, Jiang escaped in the trunk of the principal's car.

Trained as an electrical engineer in the late '40s, he graduated from Jiaotong University in Shanghai. He worked in several Shanghai light industrial factories after the Communists seized power in 1949. He trained in Eastern Europe and also worked in the Stalin Automobile Plant in Moscow in 1955-56, where he learned

arned to speak Russian. He returned to various posts in state-owned enterprises in Shanghai and Wuhan.

It is unclear what happened to him during the 1966-76 Cultural Revolution, when Deng was stripped of his party posts and humiliated in public. But in 1982, Jiang was appointed a member of the party's Central Committee. He headed the Ministry of Electronics Industry for a short time. There, some people say, Jiang showed deference to the party's senior leaders and a knack for currying favor. According to one anecdote, when Jiang was minister of electronics he took the first color television set produced in China to the house of senior leader Chen Yun, plugged it in for him, got down on his knees and adjusted the picture.

In 1985, he was appointed mayor of Shanghai. Many Shanghai residents became unhappy that he didn't do more to ease pressing problems of traffic, pollution and housing. He acquired the nickname "the Flower Pot," because some people thought he managed to look good without doing anything. But as mayor and later as Shanghai party chief, Jiang sought foreign investment for the city and buttressed its reputation for looking outward for economic development.

Some people derisively call Jiang a political weather vane, in part because of his actions during the tumultuous student demonstrations of 1989. In the late 1980s, for example, Jiang defended the editors of the outspoken World Economic Herald against conservative attacks while the relatively liberal Zhao Ziyang was in power. A few months later, with Zhao under political siege, Jiang switched sides. On April 26, 1989, the day after Deng denounced pro-democracy demonstrators, Jiang dismissed the editor in chief of the paper and shut it down the next month. Although Jiang did not use troops in Shanghai in June 1989, when the government cracked down on the students, three protest leaders were executed afterward.

The student-led demonstrations in 1989 catapulted Jiang to national leadership. Because he and Zhu had dispersed demonstrators without having troops open fire, Jiang's reputation was not tarnished like Premier Li Peng, who had signed the martial law order in Beijing that resulted in the Tiananmen Square massacre and was dubbed the "butcher of Beijing." Nor was Jiang associated with Zhao. Deng saw Jiang's very lack of political identity as an asset for leading a de

reply
divided party.

As Communist Party boss, Jiang began to lean toward party leftists in 1991, but in 1992, he veered back toward economic reformers after Deng made a historic trip to southern China to jump-start his stalled reform program. Later, when Jiang held the first of several meetings with editors of U.S. News & World Report, he read prepared answers from a briefing book after receiving questions ahead of time. News conferences worked the same way.

Nonetheless, by 1992, the imperial Deng, working behind the scenes, had bestowed upon Jiang the country's three most important titles: Communist Party general secretary, president and chairman of the Central Military Commission.

The military is perhaps trickiest for Jiang to win over. Mao taught that "power comes from the barrel of a gun," but he also said the military should be subservient to the party. Jiang's ascendance marked the first time that a person without military experience had overseen the army.

But Jiang isn't simply relying on Deng's mandate. He has attempted to curry favor with the military by giving it large budget increases to keep pace with inflation and by letting it shop abroad for sophisticated military equipment. He has rotated or replaced every regional commander and installed two of his own choices as vice chairmen of the central military commission.

David Shambaugh, a professor of Chinese politics at George Washington University, suggests Jiang might be more like an American politician than a traditional Chinese one. He borrows ideas, builds coalitions for different issues and shows ideological flexibility and, at times, a seeming lack of principle.

Coalition Builder

In courting the military, for example, Jiang has sounded virtually every theme, even when they contradict one another: the need for loyalty to the party, the need to professionalize the armed forces, equipment modernization, research and development, and protection of state sovereignty. Meanwhile, he has criticized corruption and laxity.

Shambaugh said: "Jiang has been all things to all quarters."

Perhaps, other analysts say, even if Jiang proves weak and is forced to rule with others, that would be in the best interest

of China. Then, posits Yale's Wang, "institution-building becomes imperative. Everyone at the very top would have interest in establishing some sort of rules of the game governing interactions between themselves. The new rules may not be democratic according to Western standards, but having some sort of rules in China's high politics in itself is great progress."

NEW YORK TIMES

The Communist Dynasty Had Its Run. Now What?

February 22, 1997

By NICHOLAS D. KRISTOF

When Deng Xiaoping visited the United States in 1979, actress Shirley MacLaine told him how impressed she had been on a visit to China during the Cultural Revolution, when Deng and countless others had been forced to toil in remote areas and "learn from the peasants." She said she had been particularly moved by a scholar working in a field, who had described how much more fulfilling it was to grow tomatoes than to work in a university.

Deng looked at her and said: "He lied."

It was Deng's genius to cut through the propaganda and chimera of Maoism, and thereby save communism in China. His 18-year reign as Chinese emperor was one of the greatest since the legendary Yellow Emperor who supposedly helped found the nation thousands of years ago, and he rescued the Communist Dynasty when it was tottering after Mao's death. But his own departure again leaves the dynasty in fragile shape.

The Communist Dynasty, founded by Mao in 1949, has today largely lost the "mandate of heaven"--the moral authority and popular support or acquiescence -- that gives it legitimacy and enables it to rule. So China may now be approaching a transition not only of emperors but also of dynasties.

This does not mean that anything much will happen immediately or even in the next few years.

Still, Deng's death has created a tremendous range of possibilities, from a military coup at one extreme to evolution toward quasi-democracy on the other. So long as his heart beat, China was vaguely predictable, but now all kinds of things become conceivable.

One measure of the frailty of the Communist Dynasty is that the name already is a bit of a misnomer, for China is not a communist country in any meaningful sense. It is run by a Communist Party, but the principles governing China are not Marxist-Leninist but Market-Leninist. In other words, China is a marriage of a market economy and Leninist dictatorial principles.

China's Communists today care not about communism but about power. The bottom line is: We'll stay in power, and everything else is negotiable. There may be more Marxists in New York than in Beijing.

"By the end of his life, he saw clearly that it wasn't working" the widow of one of China's top leaders once confided. "But what could he do? Of course he couldn't admit it to anyone but me."

Deng's own youngest son, Deng Zhifang, demonstrates the path that the best and brightest are taking. An American-trained engineer, he worked for a state-owned company in the 1980s, answering his own telephone and riding a bicycle to work each day. Now he is a property magnate and international businessman based in China worth tens of millions of dollars. He makes decisions in the same way as any Hong Kong tycoon.

Deng Xiaoping effectively transformed China from an ultra-leftist country to an ultra-rightist country, and today the Communist Dynasty governs not by socialism but by something close to a dictionary definition of fascism. China's underlying dynamic, with its combination of vibrant free enterprise, state-owned companies and authoritarian political system, has little in common with Maoism but has great parallels with Franco's Spain or Park Chung-hee's South Korea or Pinochet's Chile.

This arrangement has given China tremendous vitality, but it has not done much for the longevity of the political system, and Deng's China may someday be remembered the way the world now looks back on Franco's Spain. The problem is that Market-Leninism seems to be an inherently unstable concept, for the market eats away at the Leninism.

It may seem odd to speak of China's leaders today as emperors, but that historical lens is probably the most useful in explaining their behavior. China's Communists initially rebelled against history, but they soon fell into tradition.

l patterns,
and Deng's role could not possibly be explained by his formal positions.

At their peak he was deputy prime minister, and for the last seven years he held no title loftier than honorary chairman of the China Bridge Association. In fact, of course, he was emperor, and it was a title he could not have given up had he wanted to.

Throughout history, Chinese have noted a "dynastic cycle." The first emperor is a strong-willed general or peasant rebel who seizes power and imposes far-reaching changes, but he is followed by rulers who are steadily weaker. The dynasty's moral authority sags under the burden of taxes, corruption and ineptitude, and a new leader emerges to found a new dynasty.

Mao was a classic dynastic founder, and Deng was a strong ruler too. But Jiang Zemin, the stocky, bespectacled and totally uncharismatic "weather vane" whom Deng picked in 1989 to be the next emperor, is almost immediately recognizable as the kind of emperor who belongs at the tail end of a dynastic cycle--if he becomes any kind of emperor at all.

Prime Minister Li Peng is even less the type to inspire the Mandate of Heaven. Intensely unpopular and widely ridiculed for his authoritarian and awkward style, denounced even by his mother, he is a lightning-rod for jokes about the regime.

In one, a worker is arrested for shouting "Li Peng is a melon-head" and is sentenced to 20 years in prison--5 for counter-revolutionary crimes and 15 for revealing state secrets.

Mao was an avid reader of history and was acutely aware of the problem of the dynastic cycle. In July 1946, when he was still a gaunt guerrilla leader, he was visited by Huang Yanpei, a prominent scholar, who noted: "Dynasties begin with a surge of vigor, and then decay and disintegrate. Has the Communist Party found a way to break this vicious cycle?" Mao beamed: "We've found a way. It's called democracy."

Perhaps that would have worked, but Mao and Deng both refused to try real democracy (and, of course, Mao meant proletarian democracy rather than any kind of Western approach).

It is a great pity, because in China the Communist Party was unusually compatible with democracy, for the simple reason that the party was much more popular with ordinary people than in most communist countries. In Poland, the party would have lost a plebiscite. But in China, the Communist Party could have counted on the peasantry and perhaps won a free multi-party election. Even today, it perhaps could.

Deng had broad legitimacy, especially in the early 1980s, because of his decades organizing the communist revolution and his later years freeing the economy. But Jiang lacks that kind of legitimacy, and there is no legitimating institution or mechanism, such as elections, to grant him that authority.

Among the greatest burdens for the Communist Dynasty in sustaining its legitimacy is the still-reverberating memory of the Tiananmen killings of 1989. It is a bit odd that the Communists should have caused the deaths of some 30 million

peasants in the late 1950s and early 1960s, in a great Mao-made famine, and yet the killing of several hundred students should be a greater blot on the party's legitimacy. Yet one of the lessons of Chinese history is that a ruler can kill peasants to his heart's content, but tangles with students at his peril.

Even Deng's family members had their regrets about the Tiananmen killings, for his children told their friends that their father had nothing to do with the massacre. Few people believe that, and almost everyone expects China at some point to face the killings anew.

When Deng became emperor, his approach was to try to evade his responsibility for the Cultural Revolution by pinning the blame on the "Gang of Four" and sending them to prison. In one sense it was ludicrous to say that those four hard-liners did everything. But as a political gesture it helped distance him and the Communist Party from the Cultural Revolution. Remembering that example, so the new aspiring emperor might try making Li the scapegoat for Tiananmen.

So what will the next dynasty be like? The bleakest possibility is national fragmentation, even civil war, for that has occurred periodically in Chinese history. But that also seems an extremely remote possibility.

In Tibet and Xinjiang, local people may mount insurrections against Chinese rule, but that is difficult to imagine in the main.

parts of China. The Cantonese in the south, who prospered in the Deng era, may complain all the time about the incompetent and corrupt weasels in the north, but it is almost unimaginable that they would shed their blood to prove the point.

Another possibility is a military coup, for with Deng's passing it is now the People's Liberation Army that holds ultimate power. Often in developing countries the passing of a powerful leader has been followed by a coup, and Jiang seems very aware of the risks.

Yet another possibility, perhaps the most likely, is the kind of gradual evolution that occurred in Spain, South Korea and Chile. It may be slower yet, and there may even be new massacres ahead, but the "second revolution" that Deng instigated is creating the middle class and rising income and education levels that in other countries have been associated eventually with growing pluralism, tolerance and even democracy. China already has economic and cultural pluralism, and political pluralism may gradually emerge as well.

The dynasty most like the Communist one in Chinese history was the Qin, founded in 221 B.C. by a ruthless emperor much like Mao. The first Qin emperor unified China, created the Great Wall, and modernized the country in hundreds of ways, yet he also burned books and buried scholars alive. His dynasty was very short, expiring soon after his death, but it laid the basis for its successor, the Han Dynasty, a golden era of Chinese history.

In the same way, the Communist Dynasty may be short-lived, for it has been unable to respond to the yearnings for political participation that its economic revolution engendered. Yet the Communist Dynasty has laid a framework -- by unifying the country, distributing land to the peasants, emancipating women, and educating the labor force--for what could be an extraordinary dynasty in the years ahead.

NEW YORK TIMES
Control of Army Is Crucial Issue for China Rulers
February 23, 1997

By PATRICK E. TYLER BEIJING--On the seventh day after he took up the title of Co

Commander in Chief of China's armed forces in November 1989, President Jiang Zemin went to the far western province of Xinjiang to inspect a frigid frontier post. There he demanded to know why the soldiers were sleeping with only one blanket. "Aren't they cold at night?" he said.

There in the barracks, like George Washington looking after the men of Valley Forge, he admonished the officers, "Our cadres must care for each and every soldier and be concerned with their welfare."

Every few months over the last five years, China's state-run propaganda apparatus has added a new page to the legend of Jiang's "paternal care" for China's soldiers. Once, when 1,000 sailors lined up for review on the deck of a ship in the scorching sun, Jiang was reported to have seen the sweat running down their faces and "quickened his steps" so they could stand down. And in 1995, he climbed 77 stairs--someone actually counted them--to meet sentries on the Russian border, even though it was raining and his clothes were soaked through.

For more than 47 years after the Communists came to power in 1949, China had been governed by men who had been military and political commanders. But unlike Mao and Deng Xiaoping before him, Jiang has no military background, he did not fight in the Communist revolution and he has never worn the uniform of the People's Liberation Army, which remains the country's most powerful and enduring institution.

Of all the issues facing China's younger leaders after the death of Deng last Wednesday, none is more critical than political control over China's vast military, whose scientists gave China the atomic bomb and whose soldiers defeated Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalists and fought the United States to a standstill on the Korean Peninsula. Today, the military has its own representative at the inner sanctum of the ruling Politburo and takes part in all important political and foreign-policy decisions. Thus, Jiang's success in becoming China's pre-eminent leader in the coming years hinges on his ability to dominate this all-important institution. It is not yet clear that he can.

Despite the extensive image-building that Jiang's publicists have salted through the Chinese press organizations in recent years, there remain fundamental concerns among Chinese and Western officials about whether Jiang will be able to withstand rising pressure to finance ever-larger military budgets even while

the civilian economy is straining for budget resources and whether he can walk China back from the aggressive posture it took toward Taiwan in 1995-96 in advance of the island's first direct presidential election.

And most important, if Jiang proves unable to match Deng's success in charting a course of growth and prosperity for the Chinese people, he risks internal deadlock and civil strife that could prompt a military intervention into China's internal politics and threaten his political survival.

MILITARY'S STATUS AS FINAL ARBITER

It would not be the first time the military stepped in.

In 1971, Mao's most favored military leader, Lin Biao, drew the armed forces into a failed plot to overthrow Mao's rule. In 1976, after Mao's death, the military conspired with Mao's palace guards to arrest the so-called Gang of Four, including Mao's wife, to end an era of radical politics. Deng was rescued from house arrest by Marshal Ye Jianying in early 1977 and, in 1989, he summoned the military to crush the pro-democracy revolt centered at Tiananmen Square, thus saving civilian leaders from an incipient rebellion.

"In the end, you have to say that the Chinese military is the final arbiter of Chinese politics," said David M. Lampton, a China scholar who frequently accompanies American military and civilian leaders to China as director of the National Council of U.S.-China Relations.

When Deng died last week, he bequeathed to Jiang unrivaled control of the world's largest standing army, whose antiquated weapons and equipment are in the midst of a costly modernization and whose nuclear arsenal is the size of France's.

Former Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger, who held extensive discussions with Chinese military leaders last fall, said Jiang "can never satisfy the demand" in the military for "more rapid modernization" and will have to struggle to balance the pressure from his uniformed chiefs with countervailing pressures from provincial leaders to concentrate on developing the civilian economy, which was Deng's priority.

Some of the more nationalistic military leaders he must control would like to

disrupt the structure of security alliances that the United States erected in the Pacific, particularly with Japan and South Korea, during the cold war. Among many of these officers, "There is a certain sense that he is not a national leader, or that he has no presence as a national leader," as one longtime military observer here put it.

But intervention is not a role that the Chinese military relishes, Lampton said.

Jonathan Pollack, a China specialist at the Rand Corp. in California, said, "If you look back at history, every time the military leaders let themselves get sucked in, they got burned, whether it was with Lin Biao or at Tiananmen."

"I think that most of their senior officers would rather be pliant servants of the state or exercising authority in their own domain," he said, "instead of being the fundamental broker" of power and policy.

Pollack's remarks reflect a broad assessment today of China's military leaders, and their relationship to the new generation of post-Deng leaders. "Jiang Zemin will not be subject to a major challenge provided there is no major screw up," said Pollack, "but if something goes awry, that's where he will be subject to political challenge and the situation will become more complex. The tradition of the PLA is that they get involved when things go awry, and that means they play a role that others can't and so their intervention can only severely diminish Jiang's authority."

PLANS TO EASE OUT TWO OLD WARRIORS

For this reason, perhaps, Jiang has seemed anxious to make over the top of the military.

He has spent more time inspecting troops in the field and pinning medals on generals than any of his predecessors, and he has purged or retired all of the top officers who were appointed by his rivals, the former President Yang Shangkun and his half-brother Yang Baibing, who were forced out of their military leadership posts by Deng in 1992.

Jiang's officer corps is characterized by younger, more professional military technocrats. But to more fully consolidate his power, Jiang must secure the retirement of the two most senior military men Deng put in place five years ago, Adm. Liu Huaqing, 80, and Gen. Zhang Zhen, 82, who serve as the principal vice chairmen of the Central Military Commission that

Jiang chairs.

In Chinese culture and that of the Communist Party, they are elders to Jiang and their seniority of service to the Communist cause puts them in a position to criticize his actions in a way that military leaders contemporary to Jiang might not.

"Jiang does not want strong military leaders who would be inclined to step in quickly if he is having trouble," said Michael D. Swaine, director of the Center for Asia-Pacific policy at the Rand Corporation.

By all accounts, Jiang, 70, would like to replace the older pair with Gen. Zhang Wannian, 68, and Defense Minister Chi Haotian, 68. One test of Jiang's influence over the military will be whether he can force the retirement of the two older men this fall at the 15th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party.

"He has made good progress with the military," a military analyst here said of Jiang. "But I would not say they are loyal to him to the point that they would stand in front of him and take a bullet."

"He does not have the kind of close personal relationship with a large number of military officers to the point where they have confidence that he will make the right decision in each instance as they had with Deng," Swaine of Rand said.

June Teufel Dreyer, an expert on Chinese military affairs at the University of Miami, was more blunt. "He's just not Deng," she said, "he does not command the same kind of respect and he is not a hero of the revolution."

For now, there seems no question that Jiang is firmly in command of the country and has the support of the Chinese military leadership. But any number of challenges could test his ability to hang on to the military's loyalty.

Hong Kong returns to Chinese sovereignty in July and pro-democracy forces there are determined to test the boundaries of their freedom and the meaning of "one country, two systems"--a formula for some local autonomy -- promised by Deng.

Any civil disturbance that grows beyond the capacity of the Hong Kong Police to manage could force Jiang to invoke martial-law powers and risk the kind of bloodshed that devastated China's image at Tiananmen Square.

A BELLICOSE STANCE ON FATE OF TAIWAN

And after Hong Kong's return, another crisis over Taiwan looms. Beijing has war

ned that sometime after the Portuguese colony of Macao is returned to China in 1999, reunification with Taiwan is a "programmatic" priority, a word that many analysts have interpreted as a threat to set a deadline for reunification if President Lee Teng-hui of Taiwan does not begin a serious political dialogue to reunite what Beijing views as a renegade province with the mainland under a "one country, two systems" formula.

Though Jiang and Foreign Minister Qian Qichen appear to have calmed the waters over Taiwan after supporting a campaign of military intimidation, some military leaders are still taking a bellicose line.

"We told our American friends that we are not Saddam Hussein," a senior Chinese military officer said in a recent interview. "But if Taiwan became independent, we simply would have no room to back off and would resort to military force

regardless of whether the United States interfered. If the Americans did not come, we would do it; if the Americans came, we would do it."

Lampton said the actions of Taiwan's leader also represent a wild card. "If Lee Teng-hui begins to take steps that are very disturbing" to the Chinese military, "those actions will strengthen the military more rapidly" and add to the pressure on Jiang to take decisive action that could risk another military crisis--and his rule.

In the meantime, Schlesinger said: "China's military leaders are going to be interested in anything that affects the strength and status of China and on that they are going to have considerable voice, and the Taiwan question in particular has got to be handled with great delicacy. The name of the game for policy-makers on both sides is to continue to defer that question."

Lampton said he was certain that Jiang would like to.

"I see him as more reactive," he said, in trying to explain how he might handle a showdown with the military.

"Like Deng, he is basically committed to an open economic and reform policy. He prefers better relations with the United States rather than worse; he prefers Taiwan on the back burner rather than on the front burner. But in the end, he is going to pursue a course that will lead to his survival."

LOS ANGELES TIMES

Shift on Tibet Seen--but for Better or for Worse?

Saturday, February 22, 1997

By NORMAN KEMPSTER, Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON--For Tibet, the rugged mountainous territory that has borne China's political yoke for nearly half a century, the death of Chinese senior leader Deng Xiaoping produced a surge of optimism, albeit tinged with some apprehension.

Tibetan exiles in the United States, India and elsewhere say that Deng was the principal author of China's repression of Tibet. As long as he lived, these exiles say, change was unlikely.

Now, they believe, change is possible, although they admit that they do not yet know if things will get better or worse.

In the short term, the prospects for improvement are not bright.

As Jiang Zemin, the Chinese president and Communist Party general secretary, and his allies try to consolidate their hold on power, they may decide that a crackdown in Tibet would do them more good than a relaxation of Beijing's control.

But exiles say that, in a few years, Chinese leaders may decide that it is too difficult and expensive to maintain the central government's grip on Tibet.

Already, Chinese intellectuals have begun to say that Beijing could give Tibetans the high degree of autonomy they are seeking without losing anything that is important to the regime.

"In recent months there has been increased repression in Tibet," said Bhu-Chung Tsering, an official of International Campaign for Tibet in Washington. "Our analysis was that this was part of the power struggle in China. Tibet was a sacrificial goat in that process. That is likely to continue for some time."

Tsering said Tibetan nationalists do not expect much from Jiang, "but maybe a second line of leadership will emerge which may be more in tune with the situation. They might come away with a different sort of attitude."

He said Chinese public opinion seems to be shifting toward supporting greater freedom for Tibet.

In China's autocratic political system, the views of the public are less significant than in a democracy. But if ordinary Chinese support Tibetan autonomy, the government probably would find it easier to ease its grip.

None of the current Chinese leaders is as closely tied to China's Tibet policy as was Deng, who died Wednesday at 92.

As a commander in Mao Tse-tung's victorious Communist army, Deng led Chinese military forces into Tibet in 1949, eventually imposing Beijing's rule on the territory by 1951.

He was also a leader of the Chinese forces that crushed a Tibetan uprising in 1959 and drove the Dalai Lama into exile in India. He had been closely identified with Chinese policy on the region ever since.

"Any admission of China's failures in Tibet would have amounted to a personal loss of face and reputation for Deng," Tibet's India-based government-in-exile said in a statement. "Deng's much-heralded economic reforms have benefited China. But in the case of Tibet, the reforms have been used as an impetus for the transfer of Chinese population [to Tibet] which is now threatening to reduce Tibetans into an insignificant minority in their own country."

The Dalai Lama, considered the god-king of Tibet, said he is ready to negotiate the future of the territory with Chinese authorities "any time and anywhere without preconditions."

"I very much regret that serious negotiations on the issue of Tibet could not take place during Mr. Deng's lifetime," the Dalai Lama said. "The absence of Mr. Deng provides new opportunities and challenges for both the Tibetans and the Chinese."

"I hope the Chinese leadership will realize the wisdom of resolving the issue of Tibet through negotiations in a spirit of reconciliation and compromise," he said.

The Clinton administration has made it clear that it will press Beijing to ease its grip on Tibet.

The U.S. government does not challenge China's assertion that Tibet is part of China, but Washington regularly urges Beijing to keep promises that it made in the early 1950s to respect the autonomy of the people and culture of Tibet.

At the same time, the administration has rejected the demand from some Republicans on Capitol Hill to recognize the government-in-exile and appoint a diplomatic mission to the Dalai Lama.

Tsering of the International Campaign for Tibet called on President Clinton and Secretary of State Madeleine Albright to search out advocates of democracy in China "and give them every sort of support."

LOS ANGELES TIMES

As China's New Top Gun, Jiang Faces Test With Army
Saturday, February 22, 1997

By RONE TEMPEST, MAGGIE FARLEY, Times Staff Writers

BEIJING--People remember Chairman Mao Tse-tung for this famous dictum: "Power comes from the barrel of a gun."

Mostly forgotten, however, is the second part of the quotation: "The party commands the guns. It is unacceptable that the guns command the party."

It is an axiom of modern Chinese history that controlling the nearly 3-million-strong People's Liberation Army is key to holding power in the Communist state. As the first top Chinese leader with no military experience, President Jiang Zemin's biggest challenge is keeping the respect of the military leadership after the death Wednesday of "paramount leader" Deng Xiaoping, who was revered by the top brass.

But today's army is not the same one commanded by Deng and Mao during the country's revolutionary era. These soldiers are no longer fish amid the sea of people, as Mao once had urged them to be.

U.S. officials and scholars who met a delegation of Chinese army colonels at a recent two-week seminar hosted by Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government were impressed by the officers' drive to turn the "peasants' army" into a professional army.

"They exhibited tremendous confidence," one participant said. "But what they wanted most was an army that they could be proud of. They showed disdain for the Russian military but great admiration for the Americans."

But the Chinese military is also an army greatly distracted by its extensive business interests across China--from hair tonic to motorcycles.

One of the country's largest and most successful pharmaceutical firms, which produces the popular "999" stomachache remedy, is owned by the Guangzhou military region. So are thousands of smaller enterprises, including hotels, toy factories, toilet-seat manufacturers, refrigerator plants and corrugated-paper production lines.

Experts estimate that more than 70% of the army's considerable manufacturing base--once used exclusively to supply its own ranks--is now devoted to civilian production. The number of military businesses has increased from 10,000 or so in 1987 to more than 20,000 today.

The International Institute for Strategic Affairs in London contends that revenue from military business ventures makes up the bulk of the difference between the official \$7-billion military budget and the estimated \$32 billion the army actually spends.

The General Staff Headquarters itself has a 50% stake in some of Beijing's plushest lodgings, such as the Palace Hotel in the city's Wangfujing area; a general sits on the hotel's board of directors.

And the night after Deng's death, 600 young people--entertained by a caged male dancer in a caveman outfit--danced the night away at the Top Spot disco on the grounds of the army's 3501 Military Uniform Factory in Beijing. The disco management leases the space, once a military movie theater, from the army.

The army's participation in the business world has a corrupting influence that concerns many of the country's top politicians.

"The PLA's involvement in money-making activities," said a 1995 report by Singapore's Kim Eng Securities firm, "has led to growing corruption in the ranks. Thousands of military units have rushed into business in the past decade to make up shortfalls in the defense budget."

In his effort to build ties with the military establishment, Jiang, chairman of the powerful Central Military Commission, has had to turn a blind eye to the army's sometimes tawdry business dealings.

Military analysts contend that the businesses undermine the operational readiness of China's forces at the same time that many officers, such as those who a

attended the seminar at Harvard, are striving to build a more professional military.

Jiang has worked for the past seven years to install his own people in key military posts. His biggest success came in September 1995, when he won approval from the Communist Party Central Committee to name two allies as vice chairs of the military commission.

One of the two, Defense Minister Gen. Chi Haotian, 68, is a devoted crony from the days when Jiang was mayor of Shanghai. The other, Zhang Wannian, 69, is a respected military commander who is one of the army's strongest advocates for increased professionalism.

"After this move in 1995," Hong Kong-based military expert Tai Ming Cheung said, "it has been clear that Jiang is more in control."

Tai said Jiang's influence over the military will increase even more when two old-timers who sit as vice chairmen on the commission, Adm. Liu Huaqing, 81, and Gen. Zhang Zhen, 83, are retired this fall at the 15th Party Congress. Both Liu and Zhang were devoted to Deng and could be counted on to support Jiang only as long as Deng was alive.

Jiang also won points with the military when he took a tough stance against Taiwan when the island, which China considers to be part of its territory, staged its first presidential election last spring.

Jiang, whose initial instincts were reportedly less aggressive, let the military stage amphibious military exercises off the coast of Taiwan and launch unarmed ballistic missiles in the Taiwan Strait to try to intimidate voters who were in favor of Taiwan independence.

The incident terrified China's neighbors and caused the Clinton administration to dispatch two aircraft carrier groups to the area.

As a result of these efforts, most military experts believe that Jiang has been able to establish a reasonable, if tenuous, accommodation with the military.

"Jiang Zemin is not in a position where he can dictate, direct or demand anything from the PLA," a knowledgeable source said. "And they don't have power over him. It's a situation of mutual accommodation."

"Jiang has to negotiate and compromise. But there's also no indication that the PLA is encroaching on his turf. Standing committee members don't seem to be developing individual relationships with the military."

Jiang will never have the military experience and revolutionary aura that won the army's heart for Deng and Mao.

Increasingly, however, officers express their allegiance to the position of leadership rather than the personality of the leader.

In this respect, China's revolutionary age, built on the charismatic, forceful personalities of leaders like Deng and Mao, is over.

But without personal allegiances, a dissatisfied military can also turn against its master.

In a recent essay in The Times, Rand Corp. military expert Michael D. Swaine presented a scenario in which a leadership battle developed in the wake of Deng's death.

"The result could be an open and destabilizing struggle, especially if policy issues also exacerbate leadership contention," wrote Swaine, an expert on the Chinese military. "Under such conditions, the military would probably intervene in leadership politics, precipitating a period of military rule."

Jiang's tough stand on Taiwan last spring was not enough to win him the status of a battle-toughened veteran.

Still, Jiang appears to move with more confidence in military circles.

In a November 1995 address at the National Defense University in Beijing, Jiang--speaking in his capacity as general secretary of the Chinese Communist Party--delivered a reworked version of Mao's famous quotation, saying, "The army must forever obey the party; [it must] make sure it is under the party's absolute leadership and make sure the gun is forever in the hands of those loyal to the party."

Tempest reported from Beijing and Farley from Shanghai.

L.A. TIMES

TAIWAN WORRIES ABOUT THE UNKNOWN IN NEW ERA

Asia: There is concern that power vacuum in Beijing could prompt a display of force against Taipei.

By PETER Y. HONG, Times Staff Writer

TAIPEI--Deng Xiaoping has gone to meet Karl Marx, and with the death of the Chinese "paramount leader" goes a measure of stability in China's 48-year standoff with Taiwan, according to politicians and analysts here.

On this democratic island 90 miles from China's coast, many worry that the post-Deng power vacuum in Beijing could prompt a jingoistic display of force against Taipei. Aware that China's problem could become Taiwan's, leaders here are as interested as Communist Party cadres on the mainland in the outcome of looming challenges to Chinese President Jiang Zemin.

And, as was shown last year when President Clinton sent U.S. aircraft carriers to the area during Chinese military exercises, trouble for Taiwan can also mean problems for the United States. A possible flash point could come in October

at China's 15th Communist Party Congress, where many analysts see Jiang facing a potentially bumpy road to reelection as party chief. In the worst scenario, some here believe that Chinese Communist leaders could escalate tension with Taiwan via a troop movement or missile test--a move by Beijing leaders that would divert attention from intraparty squabbling and assert their authority in a way that could not be opposed by rivals.

"No faction [in China] wants to be seen as soft on Taiwan," noted political scientist Parris Chang, who is also chairman of the foreign affairs committee in Taiwan's parliament. Hostility toward the island is considered a safe stance to take in China, where capitalist Taiwan is officially seen as a runaway province.

Taiwan's current identity was established by the retreat of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and his Kuomintang, or Nationalist, forces here in 1949. Since then, the ruling Kuomintang has held to an official goal of reunification with China.

But in Taiwan, a significant number of the island's 21 million residents argue that they should be considered an independent nation, not a part of China.

Although Taiwan President Lee Teng-hui officially favors reunification, China views him as secretly being for independence. Lee's actions in recent years, as well as Taiwan's democratic evolution, have provoked military responses from China.

Lee has sought membership for Taiwan in the United Nations, a status it lost to

China in 1971. After Lee visited the United States to attend a reunion at Cornell University in 1995, China began test-firing missiles near Taiwan. Those hostile actions resumed weeks before Taiwan held its first presidential election in March 1996 and prompted the United States to respond by sending two aircraft carrier groups to the area.

Taiwan leaders believe that, besides possible power struggles in China, events in Taiwan could trigger further military moves. The Dalai Lama, a crusader against China's rule over Tibet, will visit Taiwan next month. In July, Taiwan's

National Assembly is expected to pass constitutional amendments eliminating its provincial government structure; that proposed reform is viewed by many in Taiwan and China as an assertion of independence.

But just as the Taiwanese are split between independence-backers and those who favor reunification, opinion here is divided over how a harder-line regime in Beijing might affect the independence movement in Taiwan.

Shaw Yu-ming, director of the Institute for International Relations at National Cheng-chi University, believes that independence sentiments will dwindle if Beijing grows more belligerent. Shaw, a former government spokesman, cited opinion polls showing that support for independence fell after last year's missile tests. That crisis, Shaw said, made Taiwanese "realize that [China] means business." The Taiwanese saw that pushing independence "could invite an armed attack."

But Chang, an independence backer, said a harsher regime in Beijing would make Taiwanese want to distance themselves even more from China. Chang said China's conduct in Hong Kong--where it resumes control in July--will also be scrutinized by the Taiwanese. "If basic freedoms and liberties are abolished, there certainly will be more support for independence" in Taiwan, Chang said.

Despite all the concern about who will lead China after Deng--who opened the mainland to trade with Taiwan in the 1980s--few here see any possible military posturing by Beijing escalating into actual conflict.

That is because Taiwan and China have seen boom times--with each finding the other an increasingly important economic partner.

Taiwan companies, for example, now have more than \$20 billion invested in China

. And few believe that China will be willing to poison the prosperous well that has sprung up from its greater commercial ties to Taiwan.

China, Shaw said, "knows the importance of good economic relations with Taiwan. They've tasted the sweetness of success."

For their part, Taiwanese leaders responded politely Thursday to Deng's death.

The government's official statement credited Deng with raising the Chinese standard of living and opening China to the West; some legislators here said they hoped that President Lee would attend Deng's funeral.

As Taiwanese leaders mulled the possible effects of Deng's death, public reaction was minimal.

There were no signs of fear that the Taiwanese way of life may be endangered by the passing of China's senior leader.

Instead, it was business as usual on the prosperous island, where even small cities have Mercedes dealerships, and billboards in Taipei advertise Pasadena houses for sale as investments.

Taipei streets were jammed as usual with morning commuters. Taiwan's stock market closed higher than the previous day.

And street vendors hawked hot noodle soup and cold duck feet just like any other day. In fact, one vendor at Nan Men

market here expressed surprise when asked her opinion of Deng's death. "I didn't know he died," she replied coolly, then went back to preparing her day's supply of fermented tofu. ***

L.A. TIMES

WITHOUT DENG, JIANG FACES 'CURSE' OF CHINA SUCCESSION

Asia: Chosen by late 'paramount leader,' president has consolidated position. Still, history is against him.

By RONE TEMPEST, Times Staff Writer

YANGZHOU, China--When Jiang Zemin was mayor of Shanghai, he was popularly nicknamed "flowerpot" because of his tireless capacity to pose decoratively at ceremonial ribbon cuttings and grand openings.

Even today, Jiang's corny, glad-handing style is more evocative of a big-city mayor than the leader of the world's most populous nation and an emerging economic power. His baggy, double-breasted suits and slicked-back black hair speak more of Tammany Hall than Great Hall of the People.

But in terms of formal rank and position, the affable Jiang, 70, a man fond of entertaining American visitors by singing movie tunes or reciting passages from Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, is the indisputable heir to "paramount leader" Deng Xiaoping, who died Wednesday in Beijing.

Jiang's main claim to power--other than Deng's lukewarm endorsement of him as being the "core" of the third generation of Communist leadership--is that he holds all three top positions in the party, state and military.

As president, he is China's head of state. As general secretary of the Chinese Communist Party, he holds the highest party post. As chairman of the powerful Central Military Commission, Jiang is commander in chief of the country's armed forces.

But Jiang lacks the direct military command experience that was a crucial part of Deng's power base. To survive, Jiang must also escape the "curse of Hua Guo feng." Hapless Hua was Chairman Mao Tse-tung's handpicked successor. But he lasted only a little more than two years in power before being unceremoniously ousted in 1979 by Deng. In general, China is not kind to designated successors.

Referring to the Hua precedent, Deng told an Italian journalist in 1980: "For a leader to pick his own successor is a feudal practice. It is an illustration of the imperfections in our institutions."

Still, when Deng "retired" in 1989 from all his official posts, he named the then-obscure Jiang as his successor. When he was first thrust onto center stage in 1989, few gave the former Shanghai mayor much chance to survive as China's new leader once Deng left the scene.

Despite his failing health, Deng survived seven years after giving Jiang the nod. And Jiang used this time to build support in the political establishment, including the all-important military. As a result, many observers now give him a better than even chance to maintain his position at the head of China's leadership. "I think Jiang has consolidated his position in recent years," commented a Western diplomat in Beijing.

But political succession in China is a tricky business, fraught with hidden dangers, and Jiang faces several challenges leading up to the important 15th Communist Party Congress in October. For one thing, he must carefully manage the

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eturn of Hong Kong to Chinese rule July 1.

An engineer-factory manager for 25 years before serving as Shanghai mayor and party chief, Jiang was relatively unknown in 1989 when Deng plucked him from the crowd of potential political heirs. Until then, he was known mainly as an ob

sequious host for senior party officials visiting Shanghai. One story recounts how he showed up at a visiting leader's hotel room door in the middle of the night to personally deliver a birthday cake.

But what apparently caught the eye of Deng and other senior leaders was Jiang's tough stand during the 1989 pro-democracy protests in Shanghai. In a rare decisive act, Jiang shut the offices of the World Economic Herald, a pro-democracy Shanghai newspaper, in spring 1989. That move sent a chilling signal to pro-democracy forces that anti-establishment acts would not be tolerated in China's leading industrial city. And while Shanghai avoided bloodshed, in Beijing, army troops were called out and killed hundreds of demonstrators in a June 3-4 military action to clear Tiananmen Square.

Only one month later, Jiang surprised nearly everyone when he was named general secretary of the Communist Party Central Committee, replacing popular, reform-minded Zhao Ziyang.

In November of that year he was offered the important position of chairman of the Central Military Commission. Since his sudden elevation, Jiang has spent seven years preparing for his destiny as China's ruler.

He courted the military by increasing budgets and promoting generals, including raising 19 officers to the army's highest rank of full general in 1994. In his most successful move, Jiang managed in 1995 to appoint his close political ally, Defense Minister Chi Haotian, to the important post of vice chairman of the Central Military Commission. In 1996, Chi rotated several key regional military commanders. Jiang also won support in the military when, after an initial hesitation, he ordered military exercises and missile firings off the coast of Taiwan last spring to try to intimidate voters in Taiwan's first-ever presidential elections. "He will never have the cachet of a combat commander made good," a Western diplomat said of Jiang. "But at least there is nobody out there in the military spearheading opposition against him."

Meanwhile, on the civilian front, Jiang sought public recognition and approval by appearing almost every night in newscasts. To ensure that he gets top billing in the broadcasts seen by as many as 400 million Chinese, Jiang appointed his own man, Gong Xinhan, a former propaganda official in Shanghai, to a senior position in the propaganda department. In one three-month period monitored by researchers in The Times' Beijing Bureau, Jiang had more appearances (67) and more air time (163 minutes) than any other top leader. The next closest was National People's Congress Chairman Qiao Shi (50 appearances; 122 minutes). Finally, Qiao, a former intelligence chief, is considered Jiang's main challenger in the quest to succeed Deng.

In recent years, Jiang added to his political base by stocking top positions in the party and government with cronies, many from Shanghai. His penchant for appointing Shanghai friends to top posts has caused resentment, particularly in Beijing, where it is said that Jiang has installed a "Shanghai gang" at the center of power.

Recently, he used the cover of an anti-corruption campaign to weed out powerful enemies. One of his most outspoken opponents, Beijing party chief Chen Xitong, was forced to resign in April 1995. Last year, Jiang launched a national "spiritual civilization" campaign aimed at instilling civic virtues in the Chinese masses.

Despite his impressive titles and years of careful preparation, it is by no means certain that Jiang will emerge on top in the long succession struggle that is expected to follow Deng's death. "With Deng's death," said Geremie Barme, an Australian and a China expert, "the political ring of confidence that so protected Jiang Zemin has been torn asunder and he must now face an uncertain political future and political ills by himself."

Titles mean relatively little in the Chinese power equation. Although officially retired in 1989, Deng continued to rule China as the country's "paramount leader" until his death. For most of that time, his only position was honorary chairman of the China Bridge Assn. As recent history also shows, it has never been good to be designated as successor to a Chinese leader: Three of Mao's choices flamed out. So did the two Deng picks who preceded Jiang. It says something about Jiang's tenuous grip on power that not even the people here in his hometown have much confidence that he will last very

long at China's helm.

"Yangzhou is no different than anywhere else in China," said one resident, a former military officer. "Most people have doubts that Jiang will be able to stay in power now that Deng is no longer there to protect him." Jiang was born and raised in this pretty, prosperous Jiangsu province river town, famed as a resting spot for emperors of the Qing Dynasty, China's last, traveling south to Hangzhou on the Grand Canal. Jiang attended an American missionary school here where he learned smatterings of English and even memorized parts of the Gettysburg Address, among other democratic texts. In interviews, Jiang has often boasted of his knowledge and understanding of American institutions. "My understanding of the U.S.," he said in one interview, "is better than many Americans' understanding of China." Jiang's childhood home--a large, traditional courtyard residence where he lived with the family of his stepfather-uncle--still stands in relatively good repair.

According to his nephew, Tai Zhan, 34, one of a handful of relatives still living in Yangzhou, several families now share space where Jiang's clan once dwelt. But not a sign, plaque or historical marker identifies the courtyard residence as the former home of China's most powerful leader. When visitors ask neighbors to point out Jiang's house, they are usually greeted with a blank stare or sent off with complicated misdirections to another side of this 2,300-year-old city.

"President Jiang is a modest man who does not wish to draw attention to himself," explained Ding Zhanguo, a Yangzhou tourism official. "Our city does not wish to give the impression that it is taking special advantage of his position. Things are different from the time of Chairman Mao, when there was as a lot of propaganda to develop a cult of personality." In his seeming modesty, Jiang may be hoping to avoid mistakes and the fate of China's greatest failure in the complicated succession business--Hua, whom Mao anointed his successor with the famous words: "With you in charge, I rest at ease."

Hua alienated powerful people with self-promoting publicity stunts aimed at affirming his right as political heir. For example, he posed with victims of the disastrous 1976 Tangshan earthquake. It is his gold-plated calligraphy that adorns Mao's tomb in the center of Tiananmen Square.

But Hua, who took power after Mao's death in September 1976, lost the power struggle to Deng in a little more than two

years. Significantly, by cashing in on his broad support in the military, Deng managed a palace coup, though he then held only the relatively minor official position of deputy premier.

Jiang's official biography says he joined the Communist student movement in 1943 at age 17.

He joined the Communist Party in 1946 when he was studying electrical engineering at Shanghai's Jiaotong University, from which he graduated in 1947. Although he lacks the battle experience that has marked many in China's leadership,

his stepfather was a martyred victim of the war against the Japanese, giving young Jiang a revolutionary lineage. After graduation, Jiang married Wang Yeping, a distant relative from Yangzhou. Wang surfaced in public at Jiang's side after 1993, when the Chinese president began making overseas trips as head of state. Beijing Youth News lists her as a graduate of Shanghai's Foreign Languages Institute. They have two sons, one of whom, Jiang Mianheng, studied engineering at Drexel University in Philadelphia.

For most of the 25 years after graduation from Jiaotong University, Jiang held management posts in factories, including an early stint at the Shanghai soap factory from 1949 to 1952. When relations with the Soviet Union were at their height, he traveled as a trainee to Moscow's Stalin Automobile Plant from 1955 to 1956.

He emerged unscathed from the 10-year Cultural Revolution that ended in 1976. It was during the Cultural Revolution that Jiang showed some political courage that ultimately launched him into the upper tier of Chinese leadership. His boss at the First Ministry of Machine Building in Beijing, fellow Jiaotong alumnus Wang Daohan, was sent to the country for hard labor. At some risk to himself, Jiang agreed to take his friend's daughter into his own home. Wang was later rehabilitated and became mayor of Shanghai.

When he left office in 1985, Jiang was named to replace him.

As mayor and party secretary of Shanghai between 1985 and 1989, Jiang's style of city hall boosterism reached full flower.

On a Shanghai promotional tour of the United States, he showed up for a dinner in Honolulu wearing a Hawaiian shirt.

His musical penchant surfaced as recently as November 1993, after his first meeting with President Clinton in Seattle.

In a buoyant mood on his return jet flight, Jiang led official passengers in a

squeaky, off-key rendition of the Chinese Muslim folk song "The Rose Flower." The next day, that performance was broadcast on the national evening news--to mixed reviews.

Whether Jiang can keep singing his tune as China's top leader is another matter.

The way he sees himself, he has the weight to survive. "I always talk about China as a very big mass," Jiang said in a 1990 interview. "Myself, I am also a very big mass, at 95 kilograms [209 pounds]. It is difficult for you to push away such a big mass. You might sometimes have to retreat or even fall down yourself as a result."

Tempest, The Times' Beijing Bureau chief, was recently on assignment in Yangzhou.

LOS ANGELES TIMES

Beijing Holds Door Open for Secretary of State

By RONE TEMPEST, Times Staff Writer

Sunday, February 23, 1997

BEIJING--After an era of frenzied Maoist xenophobia, Deng Xiaoping opened the door to closer U.S.-China relations when he came to power in 1979.

Now that China's senior leader has died, his successors are making an extra effort to ensure that the door does not shut.

Despite a critical period of national mourning and political transition, the Beijing leadership has decided to go ahead with a visit Monday by new Secretary of State Madeleine Albright that falls on the eve of a massive memorial service for Deng.

In the last stop of her inaugural world tour as the United States' chief envoy, Albright is expected to meet Monday afternoon and night with China's top leaders, including President Jiang Zemin.

She is scheduled to leave Tuesday morning only an hour before Jiang presides over the memorial service for Deng at the Great Hall of the People here in Beijing. No foreign dignitaries have been invited to the nationally televised memorial that will be attended by 10,000 senior Communist Party officials.

Diplomats in Beijing see the Albright visit as an important opportunity to gauge the direction in which the world's most populous country is heading in the post-Deng era. Albright will be the first senior official from a major country

to meet with
the Chinese leadership after Deng's death.

"The hope is that Secretary Albright appreciates the importance of the moment,
" one diplomatic source said. "It is
something that [former Secretary of State
] Henry Kissinger, with his strong sense of history, would have relished."

In Washington, China's ambassador to the U.S., Li Daoyu, underlined the importance of the Albright talks, the first of
several high-level Sino-U.S. meetings
that will culminate in an exchange of summits between the two countries'
presidents.

"It is time both countries meet the challenge of history and work to bring a stable, healthy Sino-U.S. relationship into the
21st century," Li said.

Vice President Al Gore is scheduled to visit Beijing at the end of March.

On Friday, Gore visited the Chinese Embassy in Washington, delivering condolences on behalf of the U.S. government
and standing in silence for one minute before a photograph of Deng, who died Wednesday.

In a summit long sought by Chinese authorities, Jiang is tentatively scheduled to make his first state visit to Washington to
meet with President Clinton in
November. Clinton has said he wants to visit Beijing early next year.

In addition to helping Jiang establish himself as Deng's rightful replacement at the helm of Chinese power, the summits
will be the first since relations became strained after the Chinese army crackdown on pro-democracy protesters in Beijing's Tiananmen Square in 1989. They represent an important element of the Clinton administration's policy of
"constructive engagement" with the Chinese regime.

Signaling that relations between the nations' militaries are also on the mend in the post-Deng era, military attaches at the
U.S. Embassy in Beijing participated last week in a send-off ceremony for three Chinese navy destroyers and an auxiliary
ship as they set sail from the navy base at Xiamen on their way to port calls in the United States.

The ships will arrive in Hawaii on March 9 and in San Diego on March 21.

Meanwhile, in Beijing on Saturday, uniformed pallbearers went through a dress rehearsal for Deng's funeral at
Babaoshan, the Beijing cemetery reserved for revolutionary heroes. Deng's body will be cremated at the cemetery. At the

request of his family, the leader's ashes will then be scattered in the sea.

Hong Kong television stations showed footage of seven soldiers carrying a glass casket with a soldier lying inside, an apparent simulation of rites for Deng. Public displays of mourning were strictly limited in the capital, where officials fear they might turn into the same kind of mass demonstrations that followed the death of Premier Chou En-lai in 1976 and former Communist Party General Secretary Hu Yaobang in April 1989. Hu's death precipitated the massive student demonstrations in Tiananmen Square that year.

Outside Beijing, however, there were fewer restraints.

In Shanghai's Jade Buddha Temple, monks prayed for the late Chinese leader.

"The monks are praying for world peace and Deng Xiaoping," a temple attendant told Reuters.

L.A. TIMES PERSPECTIVES ON CHINA WATCH FOR THE SIGNS OF FRAGMENTATION

From ethnic turmoil to wage disparities to party factionalism, the warnings are clear. Are we ready?

By VICTOR H. FRANK Jr.

Conventional wisdom says China will not fragment; that it will not split into independent multiple governing groups, whether based on province-city, north-south, ethnic, military or other divisions; and that the party and military would not tolerate separatism. This thinking lulls U.S. and world policymakers away from considering whether fragmentation would be good for China, Asia and the world.

Still, there are factors that point toward fragmentation.

Factionalism within the Communist Party is one. This may surface now that Deng Xiaoping is dead. Wang Shaoguang and Liu Angang, Chinese social scientists, in 1993 writing in the New China News Agency to encourage recentralization, nevertheless stated: "If a strongman dies . . . in a few years . . . the country will move from economic collapse to political breakup, ending with disintegration." The use of corruption charges to "retire" Chen Xitong, the former mayor of Beijing, from the Politburo in 1995 barely masked a problem of party f

actionalism.

Apolitical breakup could be fueled by a fight between Jiang Zemin, the general secretary of the party, head of state and chairman of the central military commission, allied with Zhu Rongji, a vice premier, and Premier Li Peng, or Qiao Shi, the political head of the secret service and chairman of the National People's Congress.

Factionalism in the military is another factor.

Deng himself referred to "powerful centrifugal forces in the army." The seven military regions into which China is divided, each with its own command, or factions built on military educational institutions, field or group affiliations suggest frameworks in which military leaders could emerge.

Ethnic minorities are a definite factor even though they constitute only 2% to 7% of China. Witness the Muslims in the Xinjiang region: 200 Turkic Muslims have been arrested since mid-July. A Uighur exile government in Kazakhstan calls for independence of Xinjiang's 10 million Muslim Uighur. The Dalai Lama and others speak for Buddhist Tibetan autonomy. In Inner Mongolia, 12 people were arrested in late 1995 for demanding more autonomy. Liu Minzu, the Communist Party leader of Inner Mongolia said, "Underground religious activities and terrorism by splittists is the most severe threat."

Regional income disparities could also lead to fragmentation. Low per capita income of Sichuan (2,515 yuan) and Gansu (1,925 yuan) contrast sharply with high figures for urban areas like Shanghai (15,204), Beijing (10,265) and Tianjin

(8,164). Low-income inland provinces could well react against the center, demanding more money and preferential tax treatment like that granted to coastal economic zones. Thriving coastal regions, including Hainan, Fujian and Hong Kong (after the July reversion to China), as well as Shanghai, reluctantly pass monies to Beijing, whether in the form of budget sharing, forced loans or the value-added tax. Their disproportionate burden coupled with their increasing global interdependence and cosmopolitanism could nourish fragmentation.

Powerful industries disregard Beijing and are another force for fragmentation. Despite Beijing's agreements to the contrary, a state-owned enterprise sold ring magnets (for making nuclear reactors) to Pakistan. Norinco, the large military

business conglomerate, sold small arms to the United States.

Intellectual piracy continues rampant. Modern communications undermine Beijing's control and encourage an alternative form of government. International television, radio and e-mail, which Beijing finds difficult to control, inform the Chinese of governments with more representation, freedoms and the good material life.

Fragmentation is a possibility. It's frightening that world leaders seem little ready to deal with it.

L.A. TIMES
PERSPECTIVES ON CHINA
DON'T LET TAIWAN FORCE A CONFRONTATION

Washington and Beijing must satisfy domestic forces and maintain peace or Taipei will force their hands.

By CHALMERS JOHNSON

The death of Deng Xiaoping may have lit the fuse of a Chinese-American military confrontation that neither side wants but that both appear unable to prevent.

As a result of domestic considerations, both China and America have locked themselves into positions over Taiwan.

Less than a year ago, the United States was showing off its macho power in the region by dispatching two carrier task forces to the waters around Taiwan while China was trying to intimidate the Taiwanese with a monthlong rocket barrage into these same seas.

All it would take right now for the situation to explode would be for the Taiwanese to declare their independence. If that should happen, China would see no alternative but to try to seize the island by force, and the United States would see no alternative but to act on its self-proclaimed mission as the guarantor of "stability" in East Asia.

The real issue is the Chinese civil war. In 1949, the Chinese Communists under Mao Tse-tung defeated the Chinese Nationalists under Chiang Kai-shek, driving them into exile on Taiwan. Nonetheless, both the Communists and Nationalists agreed that there was only one China and that Taiwan was a part of it. They disagreed on who should rule that one China.

In their great strategic initiative to recognize these historical developments in Asia, Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger

acknowledged this situation. A few years later, Jimmy Carter recognized Beijing and broke relations with Taipei. From China's point of view, Taiwan today is sort of like a Chinese Texas: a place that would like to go its own way but knows that to do so would involve a n unavoidable challenge to the sovereignty of the mother country.

Over the years, the Taiwanese have become the second-richest people in Asia after the Japanese. With the death of the original Nationalist exiles and the assimilation of their children, a popular democratization movement has swept Taiwan. Many Taiwanese want to break free from the mainland and declare their independence.

Unfortunately, any mainland Chinese regime that acquiesced in the independence of Taiwan would be overthrown. With the collapse of European and Russian communism, China has turned to Chinese nationalism for its legitimacy. "Remember Taiwan" could be as powerful a rallying cry in contemporary China as "Remember the Alamo" was in the U.S. at a comparable stage of its development.

With the reversion of Hong Kong and the first congress of the Chinese Communist Party in five years all scheduled for later this year, now complicated by the need to succeed Deng, China's leader Jiang Zemin has no room for maneuver. Moreover, many Chinese believe that President Clinton's diplomacy is aimed at a military alliance with Japan (Taiwan's former colonial overlord) to contain them. The United States keeps 100,000 troops deployed in East Asia even though the threat of the former Soviet Union has collapsed.

Meanwhile, American domestic politics have offered Taiwan an opportunity to use its wealth to influence American public opinion. In 1995, the Taiwan lobby spent \$4.5 million to engineer virtually unanimous votes in both the Senate and the House to invite Taiwan's president, Lee Teng-hui, to visit the U.S. under the pretext of attending an alumni meeting at Cornell University. The Chinese were infuriated that the White House permitted this, and everything that has happened since then--the Pentagon's dominant role in making American policy in East Asia, the mounting evidence of influence-peddling by rich Asians--has only deepened Chinese suspicions.

Thus the stage is set for a confrontation. The Chinese are willing to give the Taiwanese a great deal of autonomy so long as they do not cause China to lose face by declaring their independence. The United States has a huge stake in

su

pporting China's present course of economic development and cooperation with t
he rest of Asia. But both China and
the U.S. are so constrained by their domes
tic political situations that if the Taiwanese took this opportunity to declar
e their
independence, China and the U.S. would conclude that they had no choic
e but to go to war.

What is desperately needed is quiet diplomacy between Chinese and American lea
ders. They must ensure that each side
understands how the Taiwanese could forc
e their hands, and they must find formulas that would both satisfy their
domes
tic ideologues and maintain the peace that is indispensable to the long-term p
rosperity of the region.

CHICAGO TRIBUNE

DENG'S DECLINE:

FROM MASTER TO MARIONETTE FOLLOWERS USED CHINA'S AILING LEADER FOR THEIR OWN G
AINS

BY ULI SCHMETZER, TRIBUNE STAFF WRITER. ULI SCHMETZER, THE TRIBUNE'S ASIA COR
RESPONDENT

BASED IN MANILA, WAS BEIJING BUREAU CHIEF FROM 1988 TO 1996

FEBRUARY 23, 1997

Like all Chinese rulers, Deng Xiaoping officially died with a successor at his
bedside, the disconsolate family at the door
and loyal mandarins in the anter
oom at Zhongnanhai inside the Forbidden City.

Emperors always died that way. The choreography reassures the masses. It symbo
lizes the smooth transition of power,
and Communist stage managers kept the sc
enario when Mao Tse-tung died.

Yet to someone who followed the patriarch's gradual eclipse from paramount lea
der to party puppet, Beijing's Forbidden
City seemed a strange place for Deng
to die. A loyal Marxist who detested ostentatious trappings, he despised Mao's

cynical choice to move his Communist court to Zhongnanhai, inside the imperia
l palace grounds.

Deng, the 5-foot-tall farmer's son from Sichuan, preferred to live in an old-s
tyle Chinese courtyard house at the end of a
hutang (alley) a few blocks from
Ti'an Gate.

No one I know ever found out the name of the alley, though an old woman once t
old me it was called Half Moon Alley in
pre-Communist days but now was simply

known as Deng's Alley.

I kept away from Deng's Alley because the ubiquitous plainclothes police in white shirts and gray trousers, with shirttails flapping, always pounced from doorways to demand credentials accompanied by terse orders to "move on." One could do a little snooping here and there in China, but not around Deng's house. Deng's family lived behind iron gates of the size and kind that bar access to state-owned ammunition factories.

Officially retired from all public functions, Deng lived out the last of his 92 years as an infallible patriarch whose name was invoked each time conservative forces fiddled with his free-market policies. In the process, the old puppet master became a party puppet himself.

His mumblings were conveyed like edicts by his daughters, Deng Nan, 47, and Deng Rong, 46, the only people apparently able to interpret the slurred words of a man debilitated by uncontrolled trembling, finally diagnosed in the medical report as Parkinson's disease. The two daughters became the voice and ears of their father. (In Mao's final years his wife settled scores with her enemies in the name of the Great Helmsman.)

Over the last years, Deng's exhortations to the party and the people always supported the continuation of his economic reforms, which have benefited mostly a privileged class that includes his two sons, three daughters and 11 grandchildren. All held prominent positions or were connected to lucrative enterprises.

Keeping an eye on the man and his state of health became a vital part of China-watchers. Had he died years ago, the power struggle for succession would have plunged China into chaos. When he died last week, his influence evaporated. The power clique around Jiang Zemin had become sufficiently confident to silence the filial oracles from the house in the hutang.

Deng no longer had a voice. In fact, the Deng clan's fortunes plummeted recently after his son-in-law, He Ping, was forced to resign as director of the powerful armament department of the People's Liberation Army and as president of the Poly Group, the army enterprise running the arms export industry. He Ping is married to Deng Rong, who refurbished the patriarch's fading image some years ago with her doting and

much-publicized book "Deng Xiaoping, my father." Her verbal reports starting "my father says . . ." could make or unmake people and companies.

Periodic rumors of Deng's death proved premature but always managed to sow havoc on the Hong Kong and Shanghai stock exchanges. Many of these rumors were manipulated by strange personalities with devious motives.

I once was introduced in a bar to the chauffeur of a friend of Deng's daughter. After many beers he volunteered that he had driven the great man to the Military Hospital 301 where the patriarch had regular medical checkups.

"He was vomiting," the chauffeur revealed. "He was (pale). I think he is already dead," he concluded before draining another beer.

There were other similar characters, but the chauffeur became famous because he had peddled the same story to diplomats and journalists for a week--before he fell ill with acute alcohol poisoning and was never heard from again.

On another occasion a minor party official offered to supply me with medical evidence that Deng was suffering from terminal prostate cancer and had less than a year to live. The young man asked me for my visiting card and promised to call a few days later.

He never did. A week later, the American consul called and asked if I could verify that a certain Mr. Wang, who had applied for a visa to the U.S., was in my employment.

Though retired and visibly ill, Deng as patriarch remained a key player in the power struggle between party factions. Reformers, or Dengists, used pronouncements issued in his name to keep the economy on its freewheeling track and to undermine hard-liners advocating more central control, more socialism and less capitalism.

In 1992, with conservatives gaining the upper hand, the hard-pressed Dengists whisked the ailing old man off in secret to the southern boom town of Shenzhen, opposite Hong Kong, where he was displayed nationwide on state television in prime time.

We all watched a visibly feeble patriarch stumble through a city park supported by his daughter, Nan. His hand trembled and his gaze was fixed at a point in the distance. He wore that mystified and fixed smile of an old man no longer certain

what is happening around him. His daughter leaned closer to catch his mumble. Later we discovered it was the historic moment when the patriarch muttered those fateful words: "To be rich is glorious."

That phrase relaunched China's stalled economic program, silenced the hard-liners and encouraged an entire nation to forsake its last socialist vestiges and embark on the greatest entrepreneurial crusade the world has ever known.

A few days later a Chinese friend who had watched the same newscast and claimed he could read lips told me the old man actually had asked his daughter: "Where are we?"

Imperial edicts in China often kindled collective madness.

Mao's fatal command to his Red Guards, "Destroy the old to build the new," was meant metaphorically. Yet it resulted in one of history's most destructive rampages as the Guards systematically reduced to rubble temples, ancient manuscripts and China's most precious artistic treasures.

Perhaps Deng's last utterance of national importance was during a visit to Shanghai three years ago. The old man loved Shanghai in winter; it gave him a chance to escape the bitter cold of Beijing.

During a much-publicized tour of Shanghai's new economic zone, he apparently whispered two slurred words: "Faster! Faster!"

The exclamation was hailed by city fathers as imperial encouragement to request --and receive-- further development funds for Shanghai. The city became China's fastest-growing metropolis.

A few months later some junior Shanghai bureaucrats who were present at the historic tour told me the old man had simply wanted to end the tedious visit so he could have his lunch and his nap. Hong Kong, the mecca of Asian speculators, was the usual origin of nearly every report about Deng's imminent meeting with Karl Marx in some socialist paradise--a euphemism Deng himself coined in his sunset years.

There was no way to verify such rumors until the weekly Tuesday or Thursday briefings that the Foreign Ministry offered to the media.

"Sir," a young eager beaver would ask, "are you aware that the Ulan Bator Workers Monthly reported that Mr. Deng is dead? What is your reaction?"

The spokespeople always had three possible replies: "I have no comment to make."
Or: "This is just further rumor-mongering by forces hostile to the People's Republic of China."
Or: "Mr. Deng enjoys a state of health consistent with his age."

This left Deng-watchers in a quandary when the rumors were fierce. One remedy was to drive past Deng's Alley for a quick glance in case any changes had occurred near that forbidding iron gate.

One could also get lucky.

An elderly neighbor sitting in the April sun one afternoon became talkative. She said sometimes late in the evening she heard what she called "modern music" coming from the Great Leader's house. Then there had been a night when she heard a scream. A flatbed tricycle had once delivered a bundle of straw at the gate.

Oh yes, she said, she had seen the little man. "He goes for a stroll in the alley when the hibiscus blooms. If you want to wait I can get you another chair. We can wait together."

Deng never did come out that afternoon to smell the hibiscus, but the old woman did add something to my Dengist knowledge. She said the Dengs must be rich because she had found no evidence the family kept either pigs or hens in the house.

BOSTON GLOBE
China's persecuted Christians
02/23/97

Christians are now observing the season of Lent, a time of voluntary sacrifice and self-denial. Millions of Christians in China are suffering against their will because of the persecution of a government desperate to maintain a monopoly on spiritual power.

Believers in several Muslim countries are also persecuted. But China and the West are engaged in a dialogue that ought to prompt discussion of human rights. The US government and Christians around the world need to make the plight of the

persecuted in China a major issue.

The Chinese constitution mandates that every citizen be guaranteed freedom of religion, but this right is circumscribed by other provisions against foreign (i.e. missionary) interference in Chinese affairs. In practice this means that all Christians are supposed to belong to a Catholic or Protestant "patriotic association" controlled by the government. Even members of these associations were marginalized citizens in Mao Zedong's China. When Deng Xiaoping took over in the 1970s, persecutions lessened, causing the numbers of Christians to increase from 4 million to perhaps 20 million or 30 million today. In the last two years, however, as President Jiang Zemin prepares for the post-Deng transition, repression has resumed. Catholic priests loyal to the Vatican have been imprisoned and beaten. Unofficial Protestant house churches - named for the places where services are held - have been closed. Several church members have been killed. Nothing, says Jiang, can disrupt "the socialized spiritual civilization" of Chinese communism.

There is very little spiritual in China today; the zealotry of Mao's times has given way to a corrupt materialism. No wonder Christians are eager to practice their faith. Two years ago, 10,000 Catholics flocked to a shrine 100 miles south of Beijing. The police have since cordoned it off. Far to the south, the government last year began a campaign to crush Catholic proselytizing. "Catholics are not allowed to engage in illegal propagation activities," a party official declares.

Buddhists are persecuted in Tibet, as are Muslims in northwest China, but in each case the party can claim that religion and separatist movements are intermingled. Not so with Christians scattered throughout the Chinese heartland.

The Chinese government is too big, too powerful, and too convinced of its superiority to be overtly swayed by outside pressure, but perhaps it can be nudged to modify its behavior.

The Vatican has been trying to succor the underground church while providing an opening for clergy and laity in the Catholic patriotic association to resume communion with Rome eventually. The increasing persecution prompted Pope John Paul II to warn Beijing that its treatment of the quarter-million Catholics in Hong Kong would be closely watched when the colony reverts to China.

While the Vatican is constrained from vigorous condemnations of the persecution , it would not be amiss for bishops to ask their parishes to include special prayers for Chinese Catholics in Sunday Masses. The United States Catholic Conference has spoken against the Chinese actions, but repetition is essential to ensure that the message gets through.

Protestant denominations have also spoken out, but without the persistence needed to attract attention. The Clinton administration has done little to express its concerns. Just before he left for Beijing, James Sasser, the new US ambassador, acknowledged that he did not know the significance of the phrase "house church." Ignorance abets indifference.

The National Association of Evangelicals, an alliance of 42,000 churches, approved a statement of conscience last year that offers a sensible guide to future US policy. Its main proposals:

A major address by the president condemning persecution of Christians in China and wherever else it occurs.

Appointment of a special presidential adviser on the subject.

Instructions to embassy staff to meet with persecuted Christians.

Instructions to consular staff to help persecuted Christians seeking refugee status.

The burden of Lenten sacrifice for Christians is made easier by the promise of Easter. That celebration will be difficult for Chinese Christians this year.

With the help of people in the West, they can be reassured that their plight is remembered and their suffering will come to an end.

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P#===== END ATTACHMENT 2 =====

RECORD TYPE: FEDERAL (TRP NOTES MAIL)

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

CREATION DATE/TIME:25-FEB-1997 10:11:00.00

SUBJECT: Feb 25 Morning Press Summary

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

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id <01IFTT9QC7NK00C9CN@PMDf.EOP.GOV> for susan_e._walitsky@oa.eop.gov; Tue,
25 Feb 1997 09:17:22 -0500 (EST)

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

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Phone: 6194792 Fax: 6194510 #&R2P&P#

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USNWR Washington's Own Walter Winchell?
NYT Editorial: Madeleine Albright's Visit to China
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WP Family, Officials Pay Homage to Deng
NYT Little Progress in Talks, Yet Albright Hopeful on China Ties
NYT Thousands Join Leaders in Bidding Deng Farewell
NYT But He Was a Killer
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CSM An Opposing View: UN Report Is Likely to Praise Colombia
CSM Bid to Show US That Colombia Fights Drug Trade Looks Too Little, Too Late

NYT As Peru Talks Begin, Fujimori Casts Some Blame

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CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

World News Briefs

Tuesday February 25, 1997

US Secretary of State Madeline Albright met with Chinese officials, including President Jiang Zemin, on her nine-country whirlwind tour. Albright called China a key to world stability but chided it on human rights and trade issues. But she said, "we understand this is a long process." Albright cut her visit to China short by a day, out of respect for today's memorial service for Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping. (

Scottish scientists cloned a sheep - the first-ever cloning of an adult mammal. Scientists at the Roslin Institute in Edinburgh used DNA from a ewe to create an exact genetic replica. Scientists heralded the feat as a breakthrough with huge potential for animal and health research. But others find the development disturbing, saying it raises the unsettling possibility of cloning humans.

Peru's government began a fourth round of talks with Marxist rebels aimed at ending the more than two-month-old hostage crisis in Lima. President Fujimori said yesterday that police knew the rebels were bringing weapons to the capital

and failed to do anything about it. Members of the Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement have held 72 people hostage at the Japanese ambassador's home since Dec. 17 - the longest such siege in Latin American history. (#K

Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu may have been manipulated by the justice minister in an influence-peddling scandal that threatens to bring down his government, his lawyer said. Netanyahu may face criminal charges for allegedly appointing a crony attorney general in exchange for key votes on Israeli troop withdrawal from the West Bank town of Hebron. Netanyahu's lawyer said he only agreed to appoint Roni Bar-On after Justice Minister Tsahi Hanegbi led him to believe the appointment had the blessing of the Supreme Court chief justice. Hanegbi refused to comment. (#K

Zaire won't negotiate with rebels, despite the rebels' continued military successes in the five-month-old rebellion, a presidential spokesman said. The rebellion erupted in October, when ethnic Tutsis were ordered to leave Zaire. The mainly Tutsi rebels, with the apparent backing of neighboring Rwanda and Uganda, have carved a more than 900-mile-long swath out of eastern Zaire. h#

Turkey's Islamist-led government faces, and will likely overcome its fifth challenge in as many months today. Prime Minister Erbakan faces a censure motion, but the opposition doesn't appear to have the 276 votes needed. Also, Turkey is trying to force about 200,000 ethnic Turks back to Bulgaria - a move that has outraged the main opposition party and human rights groups. The move asks authorities to deny immigrants residence permits or new visas. F

One of Albania's collapsed pyramid schemes gave the ruling Democratic Party \$50,000, a state controller's report said. The government has denied taking money from schemes that have cost tens of thousands of Albanians their lives. People took to the streets in the southern town of Vlore for the 20th day to protest the failed schemes. (#K

Russia can't keep up with the schedule for the international space station, space chief Yuri Koptev said. Moscow is more than a year behind in budget payments, forcing the agency to delay the launch of a cargo module until June 1998. Koptev said the 12 other countries involved - including the US - are "inclined" to accept the new timetable. (#K

Nairobi University closed Kenya's largest campus after hundreds of students rioted to protest the apparent murder of a student leader who accused police of

kidnapping and torturing him. pp2 China's one-child policy is not grounds for refugee status, Australia's highest court of appeals ruled in a move that could affect hundreds of Chinese seeking asylum in Australia.

WASHINGTON POST
Albright Takes Balancing Act to Beijing
By Michael Dobbs
Tuesday, February 25 1997; Page A12

BEIJING, Feb. 24--Winding up her first around-the-world tour as Secretary of State, Madeleine K. Albright today attempted one of the most challenging feats in American diplomacy: reaching out to China's post-Deng Xiaoping leadership while simultaneously critiquing Beijing for widespread repression of human rights.

"Before I left, I said that I would tell it like it is, and I have told it like it is," Albright told reporters after five hours of meetings with Deng's successors. "I made very clear our position. They made clear their position."

Albright said at a news conference that she was surprised and gratified by the willingness of Chinese leaders to receive her on the eve of the state funeral for Deng, whom she described as "a major figure" in Chinese and world history. U.S. officials hailed the gesture as a sign that China is eager for improved ties with the United States after years of bitter polemics.

The final stop on an exhausting 11-day trip spanning both Europe and Asia, Beijing presented perhaps the most sensitive political problem for Albright. She was faced with the challenge of constructing a stable relationship with an emerging regional superpower that severely represses its own people, while living up to her reputation as a forthright champion of human rights.

It can be a perilous balancing act, as former secretaries of state have discovered. Relations between the United States and China have veered dangerously back and forth in the wake of the massacre of hundreds of democratic activists in Beijing's Tiananmen Square in June 1989 in a crackdown ordered by Deng himself. Western human rights organizations have been quick to react to any suggestion that the Clinton administration is soft-pedaling its criticism of Beijing.

During her public comments today, Albright seemed anxious to strike a balance

between speaking out on human rights and making sure her words would not offend her Chinese hosts. She spoke repeatedly of the need to build a "multifaceted relationship" with China and emphasized the shared political goals of creating a stable security environment in Asia, promoting trade and combating the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Aides said Albright raised a series of human rights issues at her meetings with Chinese Prime Minister Li Peng and Foreign Minister Qian Qichen. Unlike her predecessor Warren Christopher, however, she did not raise specific cases of individual repression with her Chinese hosts.

U.S. officials said they have been talking to Beijing for months about symbolic gestures to improve the human rights situation here, including the release of political prisoners and improved access to prisons for the International Committee of the Red Cross. But they said it appears unlikely that Albright's visit will result in any concrete breakthrough, an impression heightened by the political uncertainty surrounding Deng's death.

"The emphasis in China in the coming weeks and months is likely to be on continuity, on stability within the leadership, on building consensus," said one official accompanying Albright.

Albright told reporters that, in the absence of further Chinese concessions, the United States will co-sponsor a resolution condemning China's human rights record next month in Geneva at the annual U.N. human rights conference. She added, however, that there is "still time" to avert such a step.

During the past three years, human rights has slipped gradually on the Clinton administration's list of priorities in dealings with China. President Clinton came to office in 1993 promising "not to coddle Chinese dictators" and to use America's economic leverage to force Beijing to improve its treatment of dissidents. But this policy effectively was abandoned in 1994 following protests from the U.S. business community, which feared it could be left out in the scramble for investment opportunities in China.

Albright said that plans for an exchange of visits between Clinton and Chinese President Jiang Zemin remain on schedule, but that dates have not been chosen.

She added that Vice President Gore will make a previously planned visit to B

ei jing next month.

The Chinese decision to go ahead with Albright's visit despite the period of mourning for Deng appeared to be designed to send a message of stability and continuity. U.S. officials said their impression was of a leadership consciously rallying around Jiang. The president received Albright while adding the finishing touches to the funeral oration he is due to deliver Tuesday for Deng, the leader who opened China to the outside world after decades of isolation.

"Jiang was statesman-like and serious," said a U.S. official who attended the meeting with Albright. "He spoke with authority."

In the past, U.S. officials have not always known what to make of Jiang, who has displayed a penchant for veering off a subject and telling irrelevant stories. American China experts seem divided on whether Deng's designated successor is a good-natured mediocrity or a cunning politician adept at hiding his talents beneath a veil of buffoonery.

U.S. officials said the often acerbic prime minister, Li Peng, who is widely regarded as the leading hard-liner in the Chinese leadership, appeared to be going out of his way to be charming in his meeting with Albright. "This was the nice Li Peng," said one Albright aide, noting that the prime minister restricted his sharp exchanges to the subject of human rights.

Albright announced an agreement to begin expert-level talks on disputed nuclear nonproliferation issues. While acknowledging some progress in the last few months, the United States remains critical of Beijing for transferring missile technology to Iran and Pakistan and for exporting equipment that could be used to produce chemical weapons.

WASHINGTON POST
Back to the Albright Fray
By Richard Cohen
Tuesday, February 25 1997; Page A17

Last week, New York Times columnist Frank Rich wrote about Madeleine Albright and the revelation that she is of Jewish ancestry. In doing so, he joined many of us in the op-ed biz who told you precisely what to think about this matter or, in my case, that more than enough thinking had already been done and it was time to move on.

Rich, though, brings me back to the fray. He said something I thought was impos-

rtant, although wrong, and in his own way
(which I usually admire) expressed t
he increasingly popular view that all lies--whether on private or public matte
rs--are
equal.

He wrote that Albright "seems to be shading the truth," and linked this alleged
fib with "the classic Clinton administration
manner" of never quite coming o
ut with the whole story. By way of example, Rich cited "Bill Clinton's shifting
accounts of
his draft history or Al Gore's varying recollections of his misad
ventures in a Buddhist temple. . . ." I find it hard to connect
those dots.

But others, especially in Washington, do not. Here, the Albright saga was elev
ated from the purely personal to something
that was certain to affect her tenu
re as Uncle Sam's chief diplomat. Over and over again, I heard it said--and al
ways in
the most somber and portentous tones--that she had lied. Well, I for o
ne don't agree. But even if she did lie, I ask a rather
basic question: So wha
t?

Many of my colleagues and plenty of people outside the journalism community wo
uld answer, "So plenty." A lie is a lie is a
lie, and if a person lies about o
ne thing, he or she will lie about another. Not so.

I, for one, would expect a politician to lie if asked whether he or she ever d
oubted the existence of God or--God forbid--still
does. An answer in the affir
mative--the truth, that is--would be a likely career-ender, as damaging as the
acknowledgment
of adultery. In that regard, I always wondered what, exactly,
Gary Hart was supposed to answer to that famous question.
FDR had an extramari
tal affair. If he had lied about it--and how could he not?--would that have so
me how made him a
less-great president?

Journalists in particular abhor lies. You cannot blame us. We lack subpoena po
wer and cannot indict for perjury. If
someone chooses to lie, we can do nothin
g about it. So we have elevated truth-telling to the very essence of morality
and
suggest that it and character are one and the same. Of course, lying is a f
law in a public figure, but not all lies are of equal
consequence. If Clarence
Thomas lied about petty matters rather than face public mortification, I do no
t blame him. How
would you like to account for every silly thing you ever said
?Ever since Richard Nixon's lies about Watergate and Lyndon Johnson's lies abo

ut Vietnam, the question of character has preoccupied Washington. But character is no easy thing to discern. As the recent PBS series on Thomas Jefferson makes clear, we still can't make up our minds about this supposedly great president.

Was he a great man or a lech--or, as I would argue, both? How could this great democrat own slaves--and, mind you, order the flogging of one, James Hubbard, who had escaped and been recaptured: "I had him severely flogged in the presence of his old companions." Those are not the words you'll find on the Jefferson Memorial.

In less dramatic ways, I can make a similar argument about almost any public figure. Lincoln practiced some dirty politics in his time, and we know more than we want about all our recent presidents. But this knowledge ought to chasten us a bit. If we no longer have the glorious heroes of a more naive age, we cannot also persist in naive character judgments.

As for Madeleine Albright, how can we say that a response given to a purely personal question is in the same league as a question posed to a presidential candidate about his draft record? We cannot even know whether--if in fact she lied--she did so to protect the parents she so worshiped or that zone of privacy she wanted for herself. Either way, it has no consequence and says less about her than the people who have judged her so harshly. They insist that all lies are the same and that, as they must know from their own lives, is a lie in itself.

U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT
Washington's Own Walter Winchell?
By Timothy Noah
03/03/97

The most powerful journalist in Washington may not be Bob Woodward of Watergate fame, the New York Times's William Safire, ABC's Sam Donaldson, or Tim Russert of Meet the Press. It might just be Al Kamen.

Al Who? Unlike better known media figures in the capital, Kamen exerts an influence that's largely invisible outside Washington. His thrice-weekly gossip column in the Washington Post, "In the Loop," charts with a wicked wit and an anthropological eye the comings, goings, assorted mishaps, and petty score-settling of officials in the federal

government. Day in and day out, Kamen's impact on official Washington arguably exceeds that of any other journalist. His influence in the capital as a human bulletin board invites comparison with that of Walter Winchell on the national stage in the 1930s and '40s.

The source of Kamen's power is the routine inability of different branches of the Clinton administration and Congress to get one another's attention. Kamen's column is a way for these officials to communicate, while Washington's sizable kibitzer community--lobbyists, reporters, and other assorted hangers-on--peers over their shoulders.

POST-IT. "It's the place you deposit your Post-it note whenever you've got some score you're evening up," says White House spokesman Michael McCurry. Former White House aide George Stephanopoulos says he found it self-defeating to admonish colleagues not to leak a particular nugget to Kamen. "If you wanted to keep it out," he says, "you just hoped nobody heard."

Kamen has an ardent following among those angling to get into the government, as well as those working the periphery. In mid-January, Kamen reported that Assistant Secretary of State John Shattuck might get transferred to a United Nations post in Geneva. By 7:30 the morning that column appeared, a real-estate agent phoned Shattuck to get dibs on selling his house in Washington. (Shattuck wasn't interested, since he plans to stay put.) One nominee to a high-ranking post at the United States Information Agency got up at 5 o'clock every morning prior to his Senate confirmation to see if his name had made it into Kamen's column; each day that it hadn't, he heaved a sigh of relief on the theory that no news was good news and trundled back to bed. (No opposition emerged, and he got the post.)

Ed Amorosi, a former Republican staff aide for the House Government Reform Committee, says that when he discovered in late 1995 that the Labor Department had set up an 800 number inviting the public to ask for a rise in the minimum wage, he knew "it was perfect for Al's column." The department hastily closed the number down. When Marc Thiessen, a spokesman for Sen. Jesse Helms, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, received documents from the Agency for International Development about how to resist the North Carolina Republican's efforts to shut down the

agency, "the first person I thought of was Al Kamen." Says Thiessen: "He's the guy who handles the radioactive material. He's the guy in the lead suit."

Even when Kamen doesn't print an item, he can be an important communications link for Washington officials. Jamie Gorelick, the departing deputy attorney general, recalls a phone call from Kamen shortly after Jack Quinn said he would be stepping down as White House counsel. "'You're gonna get a call offering you White House counsel,' he said. 'I don't want to be White House counsel,'" Gorelick replied. Because she'd overseen Justice Department investigations into matters like Indagate, she explained, "I'd have to recuse myself from many of the things the White House counsel would be doing right now." Kamen passed this on to his source; Gorelick was spared having to say no to the White House; and the White House was spared rejection.

One reason so many people read Kamen's column is its irreverent humor. He is the funniest writer on the Post's national staff--admittedly, with light competition. A recent item about the jostling to become U.S. ambassador to Italy began, "One of the best jobs on Earth, ambassador to Italy, has had a number of bidders. ..." Another item scrutinized a Q and A for the public displayed on the Central Intelligence Agency's Web site. Question: Does the CIA engage in assassinations? Answer: An executive order "explicitly prohibits" this. Kamen: "So is that a yes or a no?"

ANONYMOUS SOURCES. Maybe it is gossip's diminished glamour, but, unlike Winchell, Kamen is no boulevardier. He's rarely seen at whatever eatery strives to be Washington's lunchtime equivalent of the Stork Club. Kamen says he takes most lunches in the Post cafeteria. Except for items given to him by Post colleagues, he gets almost all his information by E-mail or over the phone. "Some of my best sources--I don't even know who they are," Kamen says. Many of those he does "know" he probably couldn't pick out of a police lineup. Thiessen, who says, "I've gotten to know Al pretty well," admits he's never met Kamen face to face. Kamen did consent to lunch with U.S. News at Washington's Madison Hotel, where he demonstrated efforts by Ray Flynn, the departing Vatican ambassador, to hang on to that post by dragging his fingernails across the starched white tablecloth.

Raised in Brooklyn, N.Y., and Canton, Ohio, Kamen graduated from Harvard in 19

67 and served in the Dominican Republic with the Peace Corps before becoming a journalist. A stint as a researcher for Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein (he helped with *The Final Days* and *The Brethren*, which Woodward co-authored with Scott Armstrong) led to a job covering city courts and then federal courts for the Post. During this time, he penned a gossip column on lawyers that was a precursor to "In the Loop." Kamen moved up to cover the Supreme Court and then over to the State Department.

After the 1992 election, he joined the army of reporters parked in Little Rock, where he came up with the idea for the column. What started out as a temporary assignment to track Democratic job scrambling during the Clinton transition quickly gathered momentum. When the POST management noticed that indecision was turning out to be a permanent feature of the Clinton administration, it decided to keep the column.

This is a sore point for Clinton loyalists, who maintain the president engenders no more chaos than his recent predecessors. "Go back to [Post White House reporter] Ann Devroy's coverage of the Bush White House," says Stephanopoulos, "and watch how many people were getting quotes about their bosses into the Washington Post. The level of that kind of dialogue has actually decreased under Clinton." Post Managing Editor Robert Kaiser, paraphrasing Tolstoy, avers diplomatically that "chaotic administrations are always chaotic in their own way." So why did the Post wait until 1992 to come up with a government-oriented gossip column (which Kaiser says he'd been advocating for years)? Post media critic Howard Kurtz admits, "Given that this is a company town, the Post probably should have started doing this a long time ago."

Still, nobody titled a book about the Bush administration *Madhouse*, as Fortune magazine's Jeffrey Birnbaum named his profile of the first-term Clinton White House. Clinton's governing style, whether defined as FDR-style cultivation of warring opinions or mere squishiness, seems a lot less linear than that of Reagan or Bush. Clinton's own description of Washington in his first inaugural address is more apt today than when he uttered it in 1993: "Powerful people maneuver for position and worry endlessly about who is in and who is out, who is up and who is down, forgetting those people whose toil and sweat sends us here

and pays our way."

Some argue that Kamen's column helps fuel the petty jealousies and pompous ambitions of Washington life. But if Al Kamen didn't exist, Washington might have to invent him. "Serendipitously, I just fell into this thing," says Kamen. "And now I can't get out."

NEW YORK TIMES
Editorial: Madeleine Albright's Visit to China
February 25, 1997

The coincidence of Deng Xiaoping's death and the beginning of Bill Clinton's second term offers the hope that relations between the United States and China can be put on a more stable, productive track. Madeleine Albright made a good start in her brief visit to Beijing yesterday by talking candidly to the Chinese leadership about its continued abuse of human rights.

Ms. Albright left Beijing without any commitments from the Chinese, but she did not flinch from reviewing China's dismal human rights record.

Her hosts, for a change, did not rudely dismiss the American concerns. That does not mean Washington has restored human rights issues to the center of its agenda with China, much less gained agreement from the Chinese to tolerate democracy and dissent. But at least Ms. Albright did not neglect the issue, too often the practice of American officials during the last four years.

Chinese leaders are clearly not ready to take the specific human rights steps Washington requires as a condition for ending its co-sponsorship of a resolution condemning Chinese practices at a United Nations panel next month. Yet they seemed to go out of their way to tell Ms. Albright they were eager to improve relations. Beijing's caution is not surprising after the death of Mr. Deng.

Members of the leadership will be maneuvering for position in the months leading up to the next Communist Party Congress in October. While domestic issues will be crucial to this contest, leaders like President Jiang Zemin and Prime Minister Li Peng will also be judged on their ability to manage relations with the United States.

Since the Clinton Administration backed away from linking trade to human rights three years ago it has been sending

Beijing a series of mixed and generally ineffective messages. While rightly affirming America's own preference for "engagement," Washington has failed to convey what China must do to assure closer ties.

Ms. Albright offered clearer guidelines, discussing the progress Washington would like to see in the human rights, weapons sales and trade areas. She also stressed America's concern that China refrain from further military intimidation of Taiwan and respect the international agreement guaranteeing substantial autonomy to Hong Kong after it reverts to Chinese control this July 1.

These same issues need to be taken up again by Vice President Gore when he visits Beijing next month. With China entering a time of political uncertainty, consistency and clarity from Washington are more important than ever. #I2PQP#

LOS ANGELES TIMES
Albright's 9Nation Tour Puts Smiley Face on U.S. Foreign Policy Agenda
By Tyler Marshall, Times Staff Writer
Monday, February 24, 1997

BEIJING If part of successful diplomacy is creating the right atmospherics, Madeleine Albright is off to a great start.

One month into her job as secretary of State, she has capitalized on her star quality, plain talk (in several languages), savvy and a slight seasoning of what the British would call cheek to charm her counterparts from Rome to Tokyo on her first foreign trip a foray that is laying the groundwork for the United States' global agenda under her stewardship.

Today she completes the 11-day, nine-nation tour in Beijing, where she will meet Chinese leaders on the eve of "paramount leader" Deng Xiaoping's funeral.

The Chinese signaled they want the visit to go ahead but also want it completed in one day rather than two so she can leave before the ceremony from which foreigners are excluded.

Albright said Sunday that she will complain to the Chinese leaders about the country's record of violating human rights, but she added that the United States must continue to do business with Beijing despite its repressive policies. Appearing on ABC TV's "This Week," she said the Chinese "expect me to raise human rights and I will."

So far, Albright's profile could hardly have been higher, the pace of her journey quicker. At one point, she quipped that she was moving so quickly from country to country that her soul and body were in different places. Along the way, her countenance has graced the front pages of major newspapers at virtually every stop.

"Welcome to Brussels, Madeleine!" shouted Belgium's leading French-language daily, *Le Soir*, as she arrived there, while the conservative *Le Figaro* in Paris commented simply, "Red Carpet in Paris for Madeleine Albright." ** * On the street, reaction has also been positive. She caused a stir walking through the Piazza del Campidoglio in Rome, pausing at one point to pose for a photo with a family out for a Sunday stroll. As she walked through the Kremlin grounds a few days later in Moscow on her way to meet Russian President Boris N. Yeltsin, an elderly woman shouted excitedly: "I know her! I know her! What is her name? Albright? That's right!"

There are also the hats: a black Stetson in Rome, Bonn, Moscow and Seoul, plus a snappy military cap with "Albright" embroidered in gold across the front that she donned at the Korean Demilitarized Zone. There, in Panmunjom, she joked with U.S. soldiers about the first time she fell in love with Americans in uniform and then peered through binoculars into the Communist North.

For Europeans especially, the contrast between Albright and her predecessor, Warren Christopher, couldn't be greater. For them, Christopher was a colorless man with poor communication skills, a man most closely associated with the Clinton administration's early policies which seemed to change as often as a movie marquee.

"There's a feeling of relief that Warren Christopher has gone," said Francois Heisbourg, a former senior official in the French Defense Ministry. "There's also relief that Albright went to Europe first." (Most Europeans appear to overlook the fact that Christopher's later diplomatic successes allowed Albright to begin her job free of immediate crisis.)

Albright's penchant for plain speaking led the media in several countries to dub her "the Iron Lady" a sobriquet once associated with former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. But Albright's style is not so much iron as an amalgam of several components, both soft and hard.

"It's a friendly style," she says of herself. "It's a very people-to-people style."

After more than four hours of meetings with Albright in Moscow, Russia's normally sardonic foreign minister, Yevgeny M. Primakov, smiled briefly as he referred to Albright as "an iron lady, but a constructive lady."

Whatever its components, Albright's way of doing business, her language skills she has spoken four on this trip: French, Russian, Czech and English and the sparkle she brings to the normally staid bluesuit world of diplomacy have all helped warm the atmosphere.

The same chemistry that softened the cantankerous Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) during Albright's confirmation hearings last month was visible on the beaming face of French Foreign Minister Herve de Charette in Paris as he greeted her with

several kisses and later as he listened to her begin a news conference with remarks in French. *** Aides claim that substantive results have come with the atmospherics. In Brussels, for example, her pep talk gave North Atlantic Treaty Organization representatives a visible boost and, at least temporarily, dampened doubts about the American-driven policy of enlarging NATO eastward.

And although she failed to persuade Russia to lower its resistance to NATO enlargement, she did manage to engage Primakov in a long discussion of details of a proposed NATO-Russian charter.

But the trip also has had its lesser moments.

After the meeting with Yeltsin talks that began with reporters seeing her being received by a gaunt Russian leader Albright pronounced him "at the top of his game." It was a comment that led one observer to suggest the "game" would have to be shuffleboard.

Times staff writer Norman Kempster in Washington contributed to this report.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
Albright Visit to China Ushers In New Ties
Kevin Platt, Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor
Tuesday February 25, 1997 Edition

BEIJING Today's funeral for the man who opened China to the world, Deng Xiaoping, may be remembered for more than

just a commemoration of his historic achievements.

The fact that his successors halted their funeral preparations to hold talks with the new US secretary of state, Madeleine Albright, may well mark the start of a new US-China effort to work out their differences rather than agitate them. Ms. Albright ended her nine-day world tour in China, a sign that she sees the world's most populous nation as a centerpiece to US foreign relations. And Chinese President Jiang Zemin, eager to show he can manage ties with Washington, made time to hold substantial talks with her yesterday.

"What we heard from Jiang Zemin is that they really want to go forward in the relationship with the US," said a US administration official. "It is a sea change from mid-1995, which saw the bottoming out of US-China relations."

Albright failed to make any breakthrough on US requests for release of political prisoners. "I told it like it is" on human rights, she said.

But said the administration official who briefed reporters: "There was less ideological posturing and more down-to-earth pragmatic talks."

Albright stressed the other benefits of warmer ties with Beijing. "There's a potential for cooperation between the US and China in responding to global threats, including terrorism and environment."

She also set out a "roadmap" for important bilateral visits, including a visit to China next month for Vice President Al Gore and a visit to the US later this year by Jiang.

Washington's new policy of "engagement" with China is designed to bring China onto the global stage while also working quietly to bring more human rights in to the Communist nation.

Albright said that although her discussions with Chinese President Jiang and Foreign Minister Qian Qichen covered disagreements over trade and human rights, "my main mission is to talk to China about the complicated relationship we have."

A senior US official attempted to downplay reports that Beijing and Washington are close to an agreement on the freeing of a number of imprisoned Chinese dissidents.

The US and Europe are in the process of deciding whether to sponsor a resolution condemning China's denial of basic rights to its 1.2 billion citizens at an annual United Nations meeting next month, and have asked Beijing for a positive signal before then.

But the senior American official said that no deal has been finalized on forgoing the UN action in exchange for China's pledge to release political activists and sign two human rights conventions.

The Clinton administration has adopted a lowkey approach to sensitive human rights issues, and in the past publicity on planned Chinese prisoner releases has sometimes led to Beijing's backing out of the deal.

The secretary of state arrived in Beijing just hours after a memorial cortege transported the body of Deng to be cremated at Babaoshan, or EightTreasure Mountain, a cemetery reserved for leading figures in the Chinese revolution.

The simple but solemn procession passed through the Avenue of Eternal Peace, the main boulevard bisecting Beijing, as thousands of carefully selected mourners waved flowers, banners, and portraits of the leader.

By day an army of plainclothed police and by night uniformed guards stood sentinel over Tiananmen Square, the symbolic heart of Beijing, to ensure that no wreaths were placed at the center of the plaza.

The authorities are apparently afraid that families or friends of the victims of the Army's assault on the square in mid1989 might take the opportunity to place their own memorials among tributes to Deng.

Deng's order to use tanks and troops to retake Tiananmen from student protesters still looms over not only the people of Beijing, but also SinoUS ties.

"USChina ties have never recovered following the Tiananmen Square incident," says a Chinese official. "America's perceptions of China since 1989 have turned from white into black despite significant improvements in human rights since then."

Many American scholars agree with that assessment. But the new US policy is trying to reverse that. "Our relations with China," Albright added, "are key to stability and prosperity in the 21st century." #K2P
P#

WALL STREET JOURNAL
Clinton's Favoritism Imperils Free Trade
By Thomas J. Duesterberg
February 25, 1997

President Clinton has promised to reinvigorate American leadership in achieving trade liberalization world-wide. This is unquestionably a good idea, but Mr. Clinton's assertion masks a larger, underlying question: What are the ground rules for the next phase of liberalization, especially in Asia, where the U.S. has a chronic trade deficit? Given the many new revelations about the conduct of U.S. trade policy in the last six months, one can legitimately ask whether international commerce is to be governed by a system of explicit, enforceable rules or a system of guanxi--Chinese for "connections"--Little Rock-style. Underlying the debate is the crucial problem of absorbing China, the looming economic superpower, into the world trading system.

Out of the ashes of World War II, the U.S. and its allies erected a new economic order that has produced the broadest and most sustained period of prosperity in world history. Its basis is a system of rules to govern, facilitate and promote commerce. The U.S. and its allies assisted many nations, starting with Japan and Germany, in building domestic commercial and legal codes that assure property rights, promote the free exchange of goods and services and facilitate enforcement of contracts. International trade was fostered by a parallel system of rules covering the exchange of goods and (later) services embodied first in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and its successor, the World Trade Organization.

LIKE-MINDED NATIONS

Starting with a core group of like-minded nations, the WTO has grown, in terms both of the commerce covered by its agreements and of the proportion of the world's population voluntarily abiding by its rules. The U.S. has remained an acknowledged champion of that system, despite domestic political pressures to stray. Frequently it has been a lonely champion, patiently lobbying both its allies and potential members of the GATT-WTO system to be more rigorous in abiding by the agreed rules. Thus the U.S. has for years sought to reduce the prevalence of bribery, high-handed government influence and unfair commercial practices.

ices as means to win international business. Trade liberalization, in the traditional U.S. view, has meant reducing formal barriers to trade and insisting on transparent rules and enforceable contracts as the framework for international business.

U.S. policy makers have gone to great lengths to avoid slipping into favoritism or insider influence to win sales. Official U.S. financing of exports and foreign direct investment pales in comparison with that of France, Germany and Japan. The Bush administration was so concerned by the potential for favoritism that it initiated a laborious effort to create rules for determining when the U.S. trade promotion apparatus could assist American companies abroad. One ironclad rule was that the U.S. government could never, directly or in effect, side with one American company if another were competing for the same business.

Careful criteria for determining when the U.S. affiliate of a foreign concern could receive official help were also elaborated. In short, a transparent system of rules governed U.S. trade promotion as well as international trade. This allowed U.S. negotiators to maintain the moral high ground in international forums when they called for ending bribery or trade-distorting financing mechanisms.

The Clinton administration, as we have gradually come to understand over the past six months, has taken a radically different approach, especially in Asia. From John Huang and Mark Middleton to Ron Brown and Hazel O'Leary and ultimately to Bill Clinton himself, the new team relied on personal relationships--often strengthened by financial exchanges--to promote U.S. economic interests abroad. Extravagant trade missions were dispatched, U.S. envoys were assigned to build ties to friendly foreign businessmen, and the Clinton cabinet team became personally engaged in promoting specific American companies. The promotional activities would have been welcome, if they had been conducted on the basis of a level playing field. But it appears that personal connections and money made some of those seeking trade-promotion assistance more equal than others.

More disturbing is the influence of the personal relationships and money on trade policy. The preponderant interest of the Chinese diaspora business community--from the Riady family in Indonesia to others in Taiwan and California--is the

opportunity presented by the emergence of China as an economic colossus. The interest is chiefly in direct investments in China to produce goods for sale abroad, primarily in the U.S., which buys more than \$50 billion in Chinese goods each year. Thus maintaining China's most-favored-nation trade status is one of the key objectives of the Asian business community so eagerly courted by the Clinton team. Obviously, China wants to preserve its economic prosperity, which has become so dependent on sales to the U.S. market. But the Beijing authorities, tied increasingly closely to the Asian business community through joint ventures and its own shell companies in Hong Kong and elsewhere, has the additional objective of acquiring sophisticated technology from the West, to modernize its economy and finance its military. Thus it should come as no surprise that James Riady lobbied the president to renew MFN for China, or that Chinese arms merchant Wang Jun made his way into a White House coffee. Sometime after the Riady meeting there was a radical about-face in the Clinton MFN policy toward China, and export controls on high technology sales to China were eased.

The longer-term problem for U.S. trade policy is that the Little Rock version of guanxi inevitably undermines the rules-based system so patiently built over the past 50 years. China is already one of the largest economies in the world. If the U.S. grants permanent MFN, or WTO entry, to China, as Mr. Clinton's Asian connections desire, China is big enough to weaken tangibly the rules-based system embodied in the WTO and in U.S. trade law.

For China is by no means a nation ruled by a system of transparent, uniform and enforceable law. At the level of international trade, this is evident in its failure to abide by agreements on both intellectual property rights and textiles, its failure to enforce contracts, and its failure even to publish many laws governing imports. One telling example is the blatant breach of a contract requiring China to use advanced U.S. machine tools only for the production of McDonnell Douglas aircraft. Soon after the tools entered China, they were diverted for fighter-aircraft production. The Clinton administration's response? It eased export controls on computer and telecommunications equipment that has similar dual-use potential.

ROGUE NATION

If a large rogue nation like China becomes a part of the WTO before it is ready or willing to abide by its rules, the ability of all its members to impose the politically difficult disciplines in their own countries will be seriously compromised. The new WTO has trouble enough mustering the will to enforce standards like those covering intellectual property and government procurement, and has yet to adopt strong rules on bribery. Brazen disregard of the agreements from a new member like China would serve as a tempting example for other wavering nations to follow--especially if the U.S. doesn't insist on strict adherence by the Chinese.

The emergence under the Clinton administration of guanxi as a basis for trade policy undermines the moral leadership the U.S. has so painstakingly built over the years by consistent application of equitable rules in the international trading arena. If the Clinton administration expects to get fast-track approval from Congress and lead the world in another round of trade liberalization, it must return to the traditional system of enforceable rules governing a transparent and level playing field.

American producers are so competitive now that they will thrive better in a world with a level playing field than one influenced by the worst manifestations of the guanxi system. A good start toward regaining the moral high ground would be to block the entry of China into the WTO and withhold permanent MFN treatment until it proves that it is ready to play by the established rules of free trade, and at the same time to revive the use of internal controls separating politics from trade promotion and punish those who contravene them. Mr. Duesenberg is a senior fellow of the Hudson Institute. He served as assistant secretary of commerce for international economic policy from 1989 to 1993.

#K2PP#

WASHINGTON POST
China Adviser's Gift to DNC Under Review
By Lena H. Sun and John Pomfret
Tuesday, February 25 1997; Page A01

The Democratic National Committee is prepared this week to return dozens of additional political contributions that were questioned in a still-confidential internal audit of party fund-raising. At least one of the donations now under review came from a foreign developer who holds an advisory post with China's

ommunist government, documents show.

The \$15,000 contribution in 1994 from Ng Lap Seng, a Macao property developer, is among the growing number of DNC donations that have been called into question because of uncertainty about their origins and possible links to foreign interests. But Ng's DNC contribution--made in the name of his company's Little Rock subsidiary--is the first to be linked to anyone with an official tie to the Chinese government.

Ng serves on the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in the southern Chinese city of Guangzhou, according to a directory of government officials and press reports. The CPPCC is a national advisory board to the government and the ruling Communist Party. Ng's firm, San Kin Yip Inc. of Little Rock, donated \$15,000 to the DNC in October 1994, 10 days after the firm was incorporated. In interviews last month, Ng acknowledged that the \$15,000 did not come from U.S.-generated funds as required by law, and that other contributions by his business partner, Charles Yah Lin Trie, a Little Rock restaurateur and close friend of President Clinton's, also might have come originally from Ng's business interests in China, Hong Kong and the neighboring Portuguese enclave of Macao.

Trie is under investigation by the Justice Department as part of a probe of possible illegal fund-raising that has focused in part on whether donations were funneled to the DNC from foreign governments, including China. Federal election law requires that donors give their own funds, that individual donors be U.S. citizens or permanent residents, and that corporate gifts do not come from foreign sources.

Trie, who is believed to be in Asia, also generated nearly \$640,000 in donations for Clinton's legal defense fund that had to be refunded. Trie was the DNC contact who brought Wang Jun, a Chinese businessman and the head of a military-owned arms company, to a coffee klatch for political donors hosted by Clinton at the White House in February 1996. Clinton has said it was "clearly inappropriate" for him to have met with Wang.

Trie and his relatives have given \$141,500 to Democratic candidates since May 1994. Trie's company, Daihatsu International Trading Co., has contributed \$70,000 since July 1994.

DNC spokeswoman Amy Weiss Tobe declined yesterday to state the total amount to be refunded as a result of the audit. She said the DNC hopes to complete its work "in the next day or two" and release the audit Friday. Party fund-raising has continued during the controversy. Last night, Clinton addressed the Democratic Business Council, a group of contributors, at an event that DNC officials expected would raise \$500,000.

The Democrats already have returned about \$1.5 million, including nearly \$1.2 million raised by John Huang, the former Commerce Department official who while at the DNC raised nearly \$3.4 million for the 1996 campaign.

Last week, a Fairfax businessman said Huang approached him last summer with an illegal scheme to funnel more than \$250,000 in donations to the DNC. The businessman rejected the offer; Huang, through his attorney, denied it took place.

Among the contributions the DNC is now reviewing are those from Jessica Elnitarta, an Indonesian American businesswoman from Los Angeles, who gave at least \$250,000 last year. FBI agents sought to question her last fall, according to a source close to the family. Elnitarta owns part of a Los Angeles hotel and a real estate company, Panda Estates Investment Inc.

Her father, Ted Sioeng, is a wealthy Indonesian businessman who has extensive interests in China and owns the International Daily News, a Los Angeles-based pro-Beijing newspaper. He has attended DNC fund-raising events, including a luncheon last spring at a Los Angeles-area Buddhist temple also attended by Vice President Gore.

Questions also have been raised about Keshi Zhan, an Arlington County records clerk who has worked part time for Trie and Ng as a hostess. Zhan, who earns \$22,408 a year in the county job, gave \$12,500 to attend a fund-raiser last year at the Hay-Adams Hotel.

At least one 1992 group of contributions has come under scrutiny. About \$92,000 was given to the DNC by Jorge Castro Barredo, a member of a Venezuelan banking family who was convicted in a New York City bank fraud case, and Charles Intriago, a Miami lawyer who once represented the bankers. The New York Times reported Saturday that federal prosecutors had evidence that companies controlled

d by the Castro banking family in Venezuela had reimbursed Castro Barredo and Intriago for their donations, which would be illegal.

Yesterday, Intriago told The Washington Post he received no offshore money from the Castros and gave \$47,500 to the DNC from his own funds. Intriago said he sought and received a refund from the party in January 1994 when he learned he had exceeded the annual cap on individual giving.

Separately, White House officials say they will turn over documents to Rep. Dan Burton (R-Ind.), who questioned the propriety of a briefing given to Clinton aides who were concerned about the Justice Department's DNC fund-raising investigation.

Officials said Justice Department lawyers initially agreed to brief the White House, but FBI Director Louis J. Freeh objected. In a conference call he placed Freeh, who was traveling on FBI business, Freeh voiced concerns about the briefing "in the strongest possible terms," a knowledgeable official said. Attorney General Janet Reno allowed the briefing to proceed, but lawyers "provided nothing new . . . nothing about the investigation," the official said.

Sun reported from Washington, Pomfret from Hong Kong. Staff writers Brian Duffy and Ira Chinoy and research assistant Jeff Glasser contributed to this report.

NEW YORK TIMES
What Did Asian Donors Want?
By Robert E. Lighthizer
February 25, 1997

WASHINGTON--The question that recurs in much of the discussion of the unprecedented contributions to the Democratic National Committee from Asian sources is, "What did these people expect in return?"

The related question, of course, is "Did they get what they expected?" -- for few individuals or companies part with such large sums of money without a strong sense of what they want in return, and an equally strong sense that they will get it.

These questions may seem to have no easy or obvious answers. After all, the money seems to have poured in from a bewildering array of sources, like the Lipp

o Group, which is based in Indonesia, and the Charoen Pokaphand Group, which is based in Thailand. The money seems to have been funneled through channels arranged by John Huang, who raised funds for the D.N.C. On the surface, there is no common theme.

But anyone familiar with the "shadow puppet" plays that are so popular in Indonesia can offer a way to find the answer: Keep in mind that there is a puppet master behind the screen. Who is the "puppet master" who may have orchestrated the inflow of Asian money?

The best candidate is not in Thailand or in Indonesia or in Taiwan or in Chinese restaurants in Little Rock, Ark., or in Buddhist temples in California.

The best candidate lies elsewhere, in Asian business interests with a compelling need to insure that the United States continues to "constructively engage" China. After almost 20 years of being involved with trade and related economic

issues, including serving as an economics adviser to the last Republican Presidential campaign, I would say that it may ultimately lie in the Chinese Government itself.

The Washington Post reported on Feb. 13 that the Federal Bureau of Investigation is looking into whether the Chinese Embassy in Washington may have played a role in orchestrating the inflow of cash to the D.N.C. If the embassy is found to have had a role, this would tie together odd facts that seem loosely connected.

Consider for a moment: What do the Lippo Group and Charoen Pokaphand Group have in common?

Both are prominent Southeast Asian companies controlled by ethnic Chinese families operating in countries whose economies are thoroughly dominated by the Chinese minority.

Both have made huge investments in China, driven by their view, which is undoubtedly correct, that their Chinese ethnicity and language skills give them a huge competitive advantage. Both recognize that they will benefit enormously if they can help insure that the United States does not place obstacles in the way of China's export-driven economic expansion.

In addition, the Chinese Government would no doubt be grateful for any help that the companies can provide in relieving

American pressure on a variety of issues, including Taiwan, open markets and copyright infringement.

It is clear that both companies have lobbied the Clinton Administration to do what it takes to keep China happy. Mochtar Riady, patriarch of the Lippo conglomerate and John Huang's former benefactor, wrote a personal letter to the President in March 1993 urging the Administration to pursue economic engagement with China.

Dhanin Chearavanont, chairman of Charoen Pokaphand, and several colleagues met over coffee with Mr. Clinton in June 1996 to convey a similar message.

In commenting on the purpose of the Charoen Pokaphand meeting, the Far Eastern Economic Review noted that, "Although it's not clear whether C.P. lobbies directly on China's behalf, Dhanin is clearly eager to please the Chinese Government."

Mr. Dhanin, who was reared in China, has been advising the Beijing Government on how to handle the takeover of Hong Kong, according to The New York Times.

Hence, the Lippo and Charoen Pokaphand connections alone imply that, to a large extent, the inflow of Asian money was part of an effort to influence American policy toward China.

The smaller, less significant, parts of this puzzle also fit the pattern. Charlie Yah Lin Trie, a former Little Rock restaurateur and now a businessman with offices in Beijing and Washington, introduced Mr. Clinton to Wang Jun, who runs the Chinese Government's weapons manufacturing and procuring agency.

Mr. Trie also tried unsuccessfully to contribute \$639,000 to the Clintons' legal defense fund (in the form of consecutively numbered money orders, in the names of donors in different cities).

What particular aspects of American policy toward China was all of this money intended to influence? Here, too, the answer is not as elusive as it might first appear. Certainly the money was not directed at insuring that most-favored-nation trade status continues to be extended to China. Mr. Clinton tossed in the towel on that issue a long time ago.

Much more likely, the money was meant to influence the decision on whether China should be permitted to join the World

Trade Organization and, if so, on what terms.

This is far and away the most important trade issue between the two countries.

From China's standpoint, accession to the W.T.O. is critically important not only to enhance its prestige but also because membership would offer assurance to investors that China is part of the trading community and give it protection from countries taking unilateral action against it.

Moreover, it became apparent some time ago that the United States alone stands between China and this objective. The European Union, which used to be tough on China in the W.T.O. talks, has evidently now decided that it can have the best of both worlds through a more nuanced approach--one that lets the United States fight that battle, while the Europeans curry favor with the Chinese by urging that China be admitted to the trade organization.

To say the least, this leaves the United States in a very difficult position. The economic stakes are huge. Even now, with China out of the W.T.O., it is running up staggering trade surpluses with the United States. In 1996, our merchandise trade deficit with China was \$40 billion, and growing rapidly. This is more than double the level when President Clinton took office.

This deficit is likely to rise as China's exports become increasingly sophisticated. Imports from China had been largely cheap toys, shoes and textiles; now Chinese consumer electronics, electrical machinery, office equipment and computers are showing up in enormous quantities.

The Clinton Administration has rightly demanded that China open up important enterprises in order to gain entry to the W.T.O. But for its part, China wants to join the W.T.O. to achieve a dominant position in world trade. Indeed its industrial strategy is based on its "right" to become an export powerhouse. Viewed in that light, it is not an exaggeration to say that if China is allowed to join the W.T.O. on the lenient terms that it has long been demanding, virtually no manufacturing job in this country will be safe.

For example, China seeks concessions on its treatment under American dumping laws, which prohibit countries from selling products below their fair value. Be

cause China is not a true market economy, the Commerce Department currently determines the cost of making a product there not by the purported internal costs (which could be manipulated) but by the cost of making similar products in a country like India.

But if the Administration acquiesces and allows China to be treated as if it were truly a market economy as a member of the W.T.O., China would likely win any dumping case brought against it.

American dumping laws would essentially be nullified. There would be little that any American industry could do to defend itself if China decided to take over its market.

Can the Clinton Administration be trusted to do what is necessary to prevent all this from happening? Perhaps.

But one thing is certain: The campaign contributions that may have come from Asian businessmen taint the Clinton Administration's motives. The simple fact is that if the Administration agrees to let China into the W.T.O. it probably will not earn--and, indeed, is not entitled to earn--public confidence that it has formed its position on this issue strictly on the basis of United States interests.

The Administration therefore owes it to the American people not only to handle this matter correctly, but also to be seen as having handled it correctly. Moreover, it is surely not in the President's own interest to be left in a position where he is subject to speculation that the D.N.C. contributions in some way compromised his judgment.

These unusual circumstances call for the President to agree to certain constraints on his own authority that might be objectionable to him in another context. Specifically, the Administration should agree that the ultimate responsibility for deciding whether China should become part of W.T.O., and on what terms, will be shared with Congress.

Congress should designate a panel of experts to work with the Administration in formulating our bargaining position and to report formally to Congress whether the resulting agreement, if any, is acceptable. Given all that has transpired, there is simply no measure short of this that will give Americans the assurance they deserve: That their vital economic interests will not suffer because certain politicians in Washington accepted money from foreign interests w

ith a very foreign
agenda.

Robert E. Lighthizer, a trade lawyer in Washington, was a deputy U.S. Trade Representative in the Reagan administration and a Presidential campaign adviser on economic issues to Senator Bob Dole. #I2PQP#
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#I2PQP#BOSTON GLOBE
Editorial: The Disoriented Drug War
By Globe Staff, 02/24/97

As waged abroad, America's war on drugs often looks like a very strange trip through the looking glass. It is a war without borders. Those waging it long ago ceased imagining an exit strategy. Worst of all, the replaceable drug lords who are the ultimate enemy have so much money that they routinely buy the services of local forces of law and order the folks who are supposed to be America's allies in this repetitious war.

The latest and most flamboyant example of Washington's quixotic tilting comes with the arrest in Mexico of an army general who had been chief of the National Institute for Drug Combat for two months. General Jesus Gutierrez Rebollo is accused of taking payoffs from a lieutenant of Mexico's number one drug lord, Amado Carrillo Fuentes, known as "the lord of the skies."

Gutierrez says he knew whom he was dealing with and where the money came from but was acting with the authorization of his superiors in order to obtain crucial information leading to the arrest of the cocaine baron. Two of the general's aides say they were tortured for four days on an army base in an effort to make them testify against their general.

Whatever the legal truth of the matter, the affair of Mexico's allegedly corrupted antinarcotics chief illustrates the underlying problem of trying to interdict the supply of lucrative drugs from abroad. The cartel bosses have billions in operating capital, the latest technology for communication, counterespionage, and money laundering, and the best lawyers money can buy. Unlike enemy soldiers, the cartels' money is everywhere and nowhere at the same time. If drug money did indeed purchase Mexico's top antinarcotics officer, it may have also bought what he learned from intelligence briefings with US officials.

It would be pointless for President Clinton to pretend to punish Mexico by decertifying the country as an ally in the war on drugs, thereby making Mexico ineligible to receive US aid. Decertification would also be hypocritical, since Mexicans are corrupted by Americans' demand for drugs.

This story ran on page A14 of the Boston Globe on 02/24/97.

BOSTON GLOBE

Arias Calls On US To Take Lead In Curbing Global Arms Trade

By Tatiana With Ribadeneira, Globe Staff, 02/24/97 It was something between an appeal and a challenge: Already an economic and military superpower, the United States could also become "a moral superpower."

That was the advice of Oscar Arias Sanchez, former Costa Rican president and 1987 Nobel Peace laureate, at an arms control conference yesterday at the John F. Kennedy Library.

"It seems to me, the world expects from this great nation leadership," Arias the nearly 700 people who gathered to discuss strategies to limit the global weapons trade. "As long as you put profit before people you will not be a moral superpower. To govern is to choose: Are you putting people first?"

The keynote speaker at the event, called "From Arms Race to Human Race," Arias lambasted the Clinton administration for pushing to lift a 20-year ban on the sale of advanced weapons including US-made fighter jets and missiles to Latin America. Arias and some of his fellow panelists argued that such sales would create the possibility of a new arms race in the region.

Those opposed to the current ban, instituted in 1978 by President Jimmy Carter, say Latin American countries are adding to their arsenals anyway and US firms should not be cut out of a highly lucrative market. They say many American jobs are at stake.

"If we accept such reasoning, it would not be surprising if some Colombian or Bolivian were to argue that exporting mind-altering drugs to the United States is justified because the production of cocaine and marijuana creates jobs in the agricultural, industrial, and commercial sectors of those countries," responded Arias, chairman of the Arias Foundation for Peace and Human Progress. While selling arms is legal, he added, it is not "morally defensible."

Nor is it economically sound, said panelist Robert Schwartz, trustee and founder of Economists Allied for Arms Reduction.

"The idea that military production is necessary to support the economy and maintain jobs is a fallacy," Schwartz said.

The conference at the library was spurred in part by a special report in The Boston Globe a year ago on the arms trade, called "Armed for Profit." Charles M. Sennott, who wrote the special section, was the forum's moderator.

Other panelists included Thomas Cardamone Jr., director of the Conventional Arms Transfer Project, Council for a Livable World; and Sayre Sheldon, president emerita of Women's Action for New Directions.

This story ran on page A4 of the Boston Globe on 02/24/97.
#K2PP#

WASHINGTON POST
Croatian Leader Runs, Defying Doctors
By Jonathan C. Randal
Tuesday, February 25 1997; Page A12

ZAGREB, Croatia--President Franjo Tudjman, using his skills as a master politician, helped create an independent Croatia for the first time in nearly 900 years. Now, calling on some of the same skills in a run for reelection, he is trying to make Croatian voters forget the stomach cancer that U.S. officials predict will soon kill him.

Tudjman appears to be succeeding. Even intellectuals usually wary of manipulation are no longer so sure the Americans got it right in diagnosing the 74-year-old president's illness as terminal stomach cancer. That was the U.S. doctors' verdict in November, when Tudjman made what he had hoped would be a secret visit to Walter Reed Hospital--but which became widely known.

Thanks in large part to state control of television, ambiguously worded health bulletins and cagey personal utterances, Tudjman has since then sown doubt in many Croatian minds by insisting he will run this summer for another five-year term and win hands down. The ruling Croatian Democratic Union formally nominated him Sunday but no presidential election date is set.

"Just before Christmas," said Zarko Puhovski, a political scientist here, "Tudjman was considered so . . . ill that high-ranking members of his [party] were

telling opposition politicians, 'Be gentle with us when we lose power.' Now these men all believe Tudjman is strong and that they are going to stay in power for years to come."The president and his backers have referred to his illness as stomach ulcers and swollen lymph nodes. He has never mentioned cancer.

"Tudjman knows he's the glue keeping together, if not united, the HDZ," said a Western diplomat, using the initials for the ruling party, a loose-knit organization that runs the gamut from former Communists to right-wing nationalists. "He dreads the thought of becoming a lame duck."

Maintaining political clout is crucial in the period between regional and local elections on April 13 and mid-July, when the nationalist president is to extend Croatian sovereignty peacefully to the last small swath of territory still under Serb occupation as a result of the 1991 war of independence. He needs high credibility to keep on track the delicate timetable for reasserting control in Eastern Slavonia and keeping the support of most of the 80,000 Croats waiting to return to their homes near the Danube River border with Serbia.

"He always has to prove he's driving the agenda, whether it's designing uniforms for the police or the presidential guard, changing the name of a Zagreb football [soccer] team or deciding on the Croatian flag," a Western diplomat remarked. "He is the father of the nation and recovering Eastern Slavonia is the apotheosis of his entire mission in life."

Tudjman's penchant for secrecy is such that virtually no one in Croatia knew he was ill. He did not even inform Croatia's ambassador to Washington of the impending treatment there, apparently thinking he could travel incognito for what later was described as "problems with digestion." Even when his cover was blown, official confirmation of his presence in Washington was relegated to the 14th item on evening television, a half hour into the main news program.

Tudjman was reported so furious with American officials for mentioning his presence, much less revealing the nature of his ailment, that he bought European Airbus rather than Boeing planes for Croatia's national airline.

In a Nov. 23 airport interview upon returning from Washington, the president startled many Croats by fulminating against "not only black devils, but green and yellow devils out to besmirch Croatia's freedom and independence." The reference,

it turned out, was to colors favored by various opposition political parties, which later demanded that Tudjman publish a detailed health bulletin.

Instead, the president has gone to elaborate lengths to reassure fellow Croats.

Lately, he has regained some lost weight.

But his once thick hair has thinned

somewhat, according to observers, and his voice remains altered.

In staged television footage, Tudjman was shown playing tennis, with key members of his cabinet in stony-faced

attendance, on Dec. 11. He disappeared from p

ublic view for two weeks early in the year, reappearing Jan. 22 to impress

par

liament by remaining on his feet throughout a two-hour speech. He also denied

rumors that he would change the

constitution to impose a successor and step do

wn.

"Everyone knows he's ill," said Slavko Goldstein, a veteran journalist and hum

an rights campaigner, "but no one knows for

sure how long he will live."

If any doubts were left about his determination to run again, he dispelled the

m a week later in a CNN television interview.

Asked if he had irreversible sto

mach cancer, he replied that such reports were "exaggerated." Asked if they we

re wrong,

he said, "In some way, yes."

"My state of health is satisfactory and is improving very well," Tudjman said

in heavily accented English. "I can perform

not only my presidential duties wi

thout difficulties, but I also enjoy playing tennis."

A week later, Health Minister Andrija Hebrang signed a communique in the name

of Croatian, American, French and

German doctors, noting "the complete absence

of gastric complaints and the disappearance of defects in the gastric

mucosa,

as well as a significant lymph node regression in the abdomen."

If the medical message was muddy, the political message was clearer. Tudjman's

health, the communique added, would

allow "full working activity at full capa

city for a long period, with no limitations, thanks to his successful treatmen

t."

WASHINGTON POST

Russia Shows Readiness for NATO Talks

By William Drozdiak

Tuesday, February 25 1997; Page A12BERLIN, Feb. 24--Despite continuing reservat

ions, Russia has signaled a new willingness to work with NATO on a

substantive

bargain to govern relations with the U.S.-led alliance as it expands into the former Soviet Bloc nations of Eastern Europe, senior Western diplomats said today.

NATO officials said that during a meeting Sunday evening at the Brussels residence of NATO Secretary General Javier Solana, Russian Foreign Minister Yevgeni Primakov produced four draft documents that are remarkably close to NATO thinking about a new relationship between Moscow and the Western military alliance. The proposals involve creating a permanent consultative council with its own secretariat.

Although Russia is still pushing for a legally binding document and insists no sophisticated military equipment should be stationed on the territory of new members, NATO sources said the meeting demonstrated a new seriousness on Moscow's part.

"For the first time the Russians were engaged, constructive and reasonable in talking about all the issues related to enlargement," a senior NATO official said, speaking anonymously. "We now know they basically want to cut a deal."

At a news conference after he arrived today in Oslo, Primakov said Russia still opposes NATO expansion. But he added, "I think I can say that progress is emerging regarding discussions on a number of issues pertaining to the relationship between NATO and Russia."

"This progress has not taken any vivid shape, but we could be limited optimists," he said. "And we will continue our negotiations with Mr. Solana, and I expect to see him in Moscow in the first part of March."

Primakov stressed that Russia is pursuing consultations with NATO "not for the sake of demanding a price for changing our position regarding the enlargement, [because] this change will not take place." He said Russia's aim is "to minimize the depth of those dividing lines which might appear in Europe . . . and get guarantees which would alleviate our concerns."

Russian officials have sent mixed signals for the last few months about their willingness to work with NATO on the expansion controversy. But the results of Sunday's meeting were the first indication that Russia wants to ensure that the

conflict does not damage its overall relationship with the West.

NATO sources said the two sides have essentially agreed on the nature of a permanent consultative council that would govern their relations. A Russian mission headed by an ambassador would work full-time with NATO staff on matters of mutual concern; Russia is laying special emphasis on joint peacekeeping missions and wants to play a full role in key planning tasks and command structure.

Both sides now concur that Russia would have a voice in NATO decisions, but not a veto, and that meetings would take place at various levels right up to heads of state. But the format of the charter, which Russia wants to call a legal

document akin to a treaty, remains unclear because NATO says it should only be political in character and not require ratification by parliaments.

NATO sources say this point should not detract from its worth, noting that the 1971 four-power agreement on Western access to Berlin and the 1975 Helsinki Final Act were non-binding political accords that were respected by their signatories.

In any event, NATO officials say they are now confident that a final NATO-Russia agreement will be endorsed by heads of state and government at a summit meeting in Madrid in July when the alliance plans to announce which former Warsaw

Pact states will be invited to become full members.

At his first public appearance since he was sidelined by pneumonia at the New Year, Russian President Boris Yeltsin said Sunday that he hopes a compromise on the NATO enlargement dispute will be reached with President Clinton when they meet in Helsinki on March 20-21.

Despite signs of a more cooperative approach by Russia, NATO officials emphasized there are still serious differences over the military implications of NATO expansion. They said Primakov reaffirmed Moscow's demands for deeper unilateral cuts by the West to reduce a 3-to-1 superiority in conventional weapons, along with firm guarantees that nuclear weapons and modern military facilities will not be based on the territory of new members.

"They have come to realize the need to show flexibility and not make any of these issues a show-stopper," a senior NATO diplomat said. "But these are real sticking points that may go right down to the wire."

Last week, the 16 NATO allies offered to make dramatic cuts in their conventional arsenals at the East-West security conference in Vienna to compensate for the lopsided advantage they now enjoy following the collapse of the Warsaw Pact and the Soviet Union.

Since the bloc-to-bloc arrangements of the 1990 treaty limiting conventional forces in Europe are outmoded, the Western alliance agreed to adopt a Russian proposal that will establish national ceilings for tanks, helicopters, combat aircraft and artillery of the 30 countries that signed the treaty.

In addition, NATO has promised to accept territorial zone limits that would prevent any massing of allied arsenals in a way that would frighten Russia into thinking the West was preparing to attack. The exact quotas will be worked out in the course of negotiations in the months ahead.

NATO has also declared that it harbors no need, reason or intent to base nuclear weapons on the soil of new members. Both sides thus agree on a nonnuclear status for any eastern members of NATO, but Russia wants this assurance to be given a legal status.

The most difficult problem, NATO officials say, remains Russia's insistence on blocking any transfer of alliance military assets toward new members in the east. They contend that Russia's demand is incompatible with the basic protection offered under NATO's founding treaty, which calls for an attack on one member to be treated as an attack against all.

NATO officials say the number and quality of new airfields, pipelines, armor and jet aircraft to be deployed in new member states may be restricted by the absence of resources or military requirements. But they insist this remains a matter for the host country to decide, not an outside power.

NEW YORK TIMES

Russia Buys IBM Supercomputer Despite U.S. Export Controls

By Michael R. Gordon

February 25, 1997

MOSCOW--In an effort to circumvent U.S. export controls, Russia's nuclear weapons establishment says it has obtained a powerful IBM supercomputer through a European middleman.

Russian nuclear officials, who disclosed the purchase, said they planned to use the computer to simulate nuclear tests.

"If we see something we can buy on the European market, we buy it," Vladislav Petrov, the head of the public affairs department for Russia's Ministry of Atomic Energy Affairs, said in an interview.

Petrov said the computer had been purchased for \$7 million.

The purchase of the supercomputer, an IBM RS/6000 SP, underscores the vein of distrust that still colors relations between the United States and newly democratic Russia.

Even as Washington talks of partnership between NATO and Russia and supports Russia's efforts at economic reform, the two sides are still at odds over Moscow's access to sophisticated American technology.

Russian officials insist that supercomputers are needed to maintain the reliability of their nuclear stockpile now that Moscow has agreed to a ban on nuclear tests.

"Computer modeling is very important to us," Viktor Mikhailov, the minister of atomic energy affairs, said recently.

But American officials say supercomputers could help Russia design new weapons. The United States does not want to help Russia insure the effectiveness of its nuclear arsenal.

"We have made a policy decision not to assist the Russians in their stockpile stewardship program," a senior American official said. "Even though relations with the Russians are good, we are potentially a target for their nuclear forces if relations change."

The Clinton administration is also concerned about the political ramifications in Congress of aiding the Russian military establishment.

Under U.S. law, American computer manufacturers are required to consult with the Commerce Department before selling computers to Russia that are capable of performing between two billion and seven billion calculations a second. The sale of faster computers generally requires a license.

The administration turned down applications last year from IBM and Hewlett-Packard to sell supercomputers to Russia. The Russians said the computers would be used for research on pollution and nuclear safety, but suspicions were

arous
ed because they were to be shipped to nuclear weapons design centers.

Recently, the head of Silicon Graphics, a California-based company, acknowledged that his company had made a mistake by selling two small supercomputer systems to Russia. The U.S. attorney in San Jose has opened an investigation into that sale.

The IBM supercomputer is even more powerful and can perform 10 billion calculations a second, Russian officials say. They say it is 10 times more effective than the computers now on hand.

Russian officials decline to say precisely which middleman sold the IBM supercomputer. But they have not hesitated to publicize the acquisition, perhaps calculating that this may undermine the rationale for continued American export controls.

Russian nuclear officials say they want to purchase even more powerful supercomputers to maintain Russia's status as a nuclear superpower, with Washington's blessing.

Stressing the need for nuclear research, Mikhailov touted Russia's nuclear arsenal as a means of offsetting its weakness in conventional weapons. "The only protection throughout this period will be nuclear weapons," he said. #I2PQP#

LOS ANGELES TIMES
Yeltsin Sees Deal on Expansion of NATO
By Richard C. Paddock, Times Staff Writer
Monday, February 24, 1997

MOSCOW Russian President Boris N. Yeltsin said Sunday that he remains opposed to the expansion of NATO but predicted he will strike a compromise with President Clinton on the volatile issue when the two meet next month in Finland.

Declaring himself "fully recovered" from the ailments that have sidelined him since early last summer, Yeltsin chose the occasion of an important military holiday the Day of the Defender of the Fatherland to reassert his power and Russia's position in international affairs.

"We must not allow confrontation between East and West during this period," he said during a rare encounter with reporters. "It has already happened more than

an once that we failed to find a chance to make peace with each other. This opportunity should not be missed."

Walking steadily, speaking clearly and appearing more vigorous than he has in many months, Yeltsin laid a wreath at Russia's Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and answered reporters' questions for the first time this year.

While opening the door to a compromise with Clinton, Yeltsin insisted that he has no intention of yielding in his opposition to the eastward expansion of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Among the countries under consideration for membership in NATO are Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic, all Russian allies under the previous Soviet regime.

"We are against NATO's expansion to the east, in the direction of the borders of the Russian Federation," Yeltsin said.

"We are firm in our position. Our task now is to stall it as long as possible."

By delaying a NATO decision to expand, Yeltsin said he hopes to "erode" the drive to add new members to the Western military alliance.

Nevertheless, Yeltsin said he will keep the commitment he made Friday to visiting Secretary of State Madeleine Albright to strive for some sort of agreement on NATO at the meeting in Helsinki, the Finnish capital, scheduled for March 20 and 21.

"We have agreed to look for a compromise," he said, "and I think we will find this compromise at the summit we are holding with President Clinton."

Yeltsin, declaring that his period of illness is over, said he lost 57 pounds as a result of his November heart bypass surgery and a subsequent bout with double pneumonia.

"You can now say my sickness has passed," he said. "Now I just need to regain some of my strength. I am fully recovered. That's it."

Deflecting calls for his resignation, the 66 yearold president sought to demonstrate that he is back in charge and suggested he may seek revenge against those who tried to oust him during his recuperation.

"I feel that my head is thinking well and clearly," said Yeltsin, standing hatless in the freezing weather. "They should know I am a fighter and I remain a

fighter. They shouldn't attack me too hard because I can hit back." ***

Later in the day,
thousands of Communists and nationalists critical of Yeltsin marched through central Moscow in honor of the popular holiday, once known as Red Army Day. Many carried banners with such slogans as "Ban NATO" and "Yankees Go Home From Europe."

In recent weeks, Yeltsin's top defense officials have said the once-proud military is in such a state of disintegration that it could soon be unable to defend the country or maintain control of its nuclear arsenal.

Yeltsin, however, told reporters that the outlook is not so grim and that the government is beginning to pay soldiers their back wages and make other overdue payments.

"Some debts remain, but we will clear them," he said. "Military servicemen should be optimistic."

Until

Sunday, Yeltsin had gone on public view only through infrequent, carefully staged television appearances that showed him meeting with foreign dignitaries or top aides. Even then, he sometimes looked like a doddering old man not entirely aware of his surroundings.

But throughout his 20-minute appearance at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, the white-haired president appeared lively and in command of the issues confronting his presidency.

"I feel I am gaining in strength," he told reporters. "I am through with ailments."
#K2PP#

WALL STREET JOURNAL
Editorial: Visitors to France Beware
February 25, 1997

The Juppe government's response to growing voter support from Jean-Marie Le Pen's extreme right National Front is a typical example of treating the symptom rather than the underlying illness. The government has proposed change to the

1993 Pasqua laws on immigration that would oblige French hosts to inform the local mayor's office of the departure of a foreigner within eight days.

Thousands of opponents of the new legislation took to the street in Paris on S

aturday. Emmanuelle Beart and fellow leftist celebrities led the march before the cameras, each protester carrying a suitcase as a symbol of sympathy with foreigners in France.

Under the current loi d'hebergement, non-EU visitors (U.S. citizens excepted) without a residence permit or obvious means of financial support, are required to have an affidavit of support from their French host. The new legislation may be mostly ignored in enforcement (as are visitor reporting requirements in general), but it reflects the government's misguided attempt to challenge Mr. Le Pen on his own turf rather than win voters with policies that genuinely impact their standard of living. Of course, this feeble attempt to appear tough on immigration has flopped badly. France's hapless Socialist and Communist Parties jumped at the opportunity to capitalize on a policy debacle. But while the doyens of France's gauche caviar--from Catherine Deneuve to Jean-Louis Trintignant and 121 other celebrities with "hard to pronounce" names--have vowed to turn out Saturday to protest the draft legislation, the left has offered up precious few new ideas at a time when the bulk of new Front voters reportedly hail from the ranks of former Socialist voters.

Prime Minister Alain Juppe rightly observed that the intellectuals and artists' calling for a public boycott of the law were only playing into the hands of the xenophobes. "I call on the intellectuals to think what their role should be," he said in an interview on RTL radio. Problem is, the government has offered precious little vision (much less action) around which voters and those opposed to the National Front's xenophobic policies can rally.

Indeed, it is ironic that while the government seizes the National Front's bait and focuses on the immigration bogeyman, the real problems facing those unhappy with their lot go unaddressed, pushing more of France's dissatisfied voters into National Front arms. Meanwhile, the Le Pen camp has been energized by its latest victory in Vitrolles and the government's frenzied response. "We are not only against legal immigration but also for the deportation of immigrants to their country of origin," the Front's number two man, Bruno Megre declared in a televised interview Monday. "The inequality of races is self-evident."

France's political elite had better wake up. Until now, they have been content

with dismissing Mr. Le Pen himself as a skillful demagogue who gives bad answers to good questions. Mr. Le Pen's "answers" will continue to look attractive to those who see no response to their daily misery from the government in Paris.

#12PQP#

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
Wrong About NATO
By Ira L. Straus
Tuesday February 25, 1997 Edition

Secretary of State Madeleine Albright has repeated a common mistake about NATO. She evidently has accepted the belief that each member has a veto on each policy, and that Russia cannot join NATO for this reason. "Russia will have a veto, but Russia will not have a veto," she told journalists in Brussels on Feb. 18. "We will try as much as possible to act with Russia, but when we cannot, we will act as an alliance."

The right of veto is a myth. We "try as much as possible" to act with France, a NATO member, but when we cannot we sometimes "act as an alliance." The same would be true of Russia as a member of NATO. Decisions in NATO are sometimes postponed out of politeness to dissenting members, but a member of NATO has no right of veto over actions by the others.

For decades it has been a public relations habit of NATO to avoid stepping on nationalist toes and to downplay the actual strength of the alliance. One way has been to say that each member country has an equal say and a right of veto on every decision. This has a grain of truth, but legally it is false. The grain of truth is that in NATO most decisions are made by consensus and with a front of unanimity. In reality, consensus is not always unanimity. Sometimes even unanimity has been breached, with a few countries publicly disagreeing ("reserving their positions") in footnotes.

There are real costs to going on pretending everyone has a veto. It has meant ruling out any serious discussion in NATO about how to include Russia. It has led Russia to ask for veto power "like every member." The problem of relations with Russia remains insoluble as long as it is held that every member of NATO, even Luxembourg, has a veto. It would be far better to make Russia a member, while dropping the pretense that members have vetoes, than to keep Russia in

an inferior position outside of NATO and give vetoes to lots of other countries.

There is a decisionmaking problem for expanding NATO to any country, not just Russia. If it operates on a basis of unit veto, then it cannot afford to have too many members. It is irrational to think that the veto can safely be extended to numerous small countries in Central and Eastern Europe but not to one big country called Russia.

While the veto is a habit in the North Atlantic Council, the council can change its rules if it sees a need. The North Atlantic Treaty itself as its main author, Theodore Achilles, used to proudly point out left the decisionmaking process unspecified, for the very purpose of ensuring the council could make decisions without veto as needed.

UNANIMITY ONLY A HABIT

Two of NATO's early secretariesgeneral, PaulHenri Spaak and Dirk Stikker, were advocates of decisionmaking by weighted voting and no veto. In his memoirs, "Men of Responsibility," Mr. Stikker devoted several pages to refuting the idea that there is any right of veto in NATO. But, as the cold war dragged on, the habit of presenting a front of unanimity to the enemy grew ingrained. People forgot there was any alternative.

The cold war has ended. Recognizing its tasks are more diverse, NATO talks about increasing flexibility. Unfortunately, this is only on the administrative level through "combined joint task forces." It needs to be done on the political level. Then new memberships will become manageable for Russia as well as Central and Eastern Europe.

A Russia in a NATO with weighted voting would have perhaps 15 percent of the vote, while the stable democracies in the West would have more than 60 percent. (The Central/East European states would have the rest.) Russia would have no chance of blocking any legitimate decision nor of mobilizing a majority to support an aggressive move. But it would finally have the major bargaining weight it deserves, and a chance of organizing coalitions around initiatives of its own that are compatible with Western interests. In such ways, a weighted vote would give Russia the chance to defend its interests by normal means and to find constructive roles to play as a part of the West.

GIVING UP EQUAL POWER

Representatives of some small Eastern European countries have already proposed that NATO operate by the weighted vote instead of the unit veto even though this means giving up any pride of an equal veto power in favor of a relatively

small weight within NATO. They understand that this is needed so NATO can admit new members without drawing new dividing lines or losing its effectiveness.

NATO is the worse off for the failure to heed them.

Russia, unlike smaller Eastern European countries, cannot beg every day at the door of NATO and answer every petty objection raised against its entry. This is too humiliating for a great power, and too discrediting for its politicians.

It is more than humble enough for Russia to consider joining NATO at all. It should be enough of an opportunity for the West that Russians indicate that, despite everything, they want to join.

When Russians offer a compromise formula such as "political membership" that could make the relationship work in the coming period and this has been done in recent weeks by Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin and others the West should take it up and figure out the specifics. This means resolving the veto problem by establishing a procedural option of weighted voting in NATO and acknowledging the legal fact that there is no right of veto in the alliance. Once that is done, it will be possible to resolve all the other problems as matters of detail.

* Ira L. Straus is US coordinator of the Committee on Eastern Europe and Russia in NATO.

#K2PP#

WALL STREET JOURNAL

Jordan's Hussein Sees Grip Slip In Jerusalem as Arafat Moves in

By Amy Dockser Marcus, Staff Reporter of the Wall Street Journal
February 25, 1997

JERUSALEM--At the offices of this city's wakf, or Muslim religious endowment, Jordan's King Hussein still pays the bills. But it is Palestinian National Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat's picture that hangs on the walls.

The new interior decorating marks the end of an era. Back in 1916, the king's great-grandfather, Hussein I, led the Arab Revolt against the Ottomans in the hopes of founding a Hashemite family-run Arab empire spanning almost the entire Middle East. One by one over the next 40 years, Hussein I and his sons were

driven off their thrones in Iraq, Syria and Arabia. Only Jerusalem remained, and that thanks to a deal with Israel after the 1967 war allowing Jordan to retain administrative and financial control of the city's Muslim holy sites.

Still, even a foothold in Jerusalem was enough to give Jordan an importance in the region out of proportion to that normally accorded a small desert country short on reserves of oil. If history repeats itself here, "it will hurt the image of the Hashemites as being something more than the family that runs Jordan," says Robert Satloff, executive director of the Washington Institute of Near East Policy in Washington, and a Jordan scholar. It may also hurt at home, where King Hussein's claim to be a descendant of the Prophet Mohammed and his "seat at the Islamic holy-sites table," in the words of Mr. Satloff, have made it harder for radical Islamic groups to challenge him.

POLITICAL BATTLES WITH YASSER ARAFAT

But holding on won't be easy. Mr. Arafat wants eastern Jerusalem to be the capital of the Palestinian state, an issue to be addressed in final status talks with the Israelis that begin next month. So when Jordan appointed Sheikh Abd al-Qader Abdeen as the new mufti, or supreme religious authority, in Jerusalem, Mr. Arafat countered with his own candidate. When Jordan wanted to replace the director of the Al-Aqsa Mosque, Mr. Arafat ordered him to stay and offered to pay his salary. Even Hussein I, interred at Al-Aqsa, isn't off limits. Someone has painted over two Jordanian flags at the tomb entrance to look like Palestinian ones.

At the Palestinian Authority offices in Jericho, officials know all about the Hashemite claim on Jerusalem but aren't terribly moved. Yes, the king's great-grandfather is buried there, says Dr. Sami Musallam, director of Mr. Arafat's office in Jericho and author of a book about the fight over Jerusalem, "but Mr. Arafat's brother is buried in Mecca and he isn't claiming he should have a role in running Mecca."

SMALL VICTORIES FOR THE KING

In any event, Mr. Arafat appears to be winning the battle on the ground. When Sheikh Abdeen, the Jordan-appointed mufti, refused to vacate his office for his Palestinian-appointed rival, Palestinian security agents helped move him out.

Today, the Palestinian mufti, Sheikh Ekrima Sabri, occupies the office in the heart of the Old City. Sheikh Abdeen's small new quarters, located off the beaten track near Al-Aqsa, are usually empty.

Still, King Hussein has managed to chalk up small victories. He picked up the \$200,000 tab for new carpets for Al-Aqsa. He stopped an attempt by Palestinian security agents to take over the offices of the wakf in Jerusalem's Old City by calling Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, who threatened to send in the police if Mr. Arafat didn't pull his men out, according to Israelis and Palestinians familiar with the incident. And the king recently held a two-day summit in Amman between Jordanian and Palestinian officials in an effort to reach an understanding on the division of power.

Following the meeting, Jordan agreed to turn over control of wakf-owned religious sites, property and schools in the West Bank to the Palestinians. Jordan remains the official caretaker of Islamic sites inside Jerusalem until the Palestinians and Israelis reach an agreement over the city's future, says Omar Rifai, Jordan's ambassador to Israel.

POWER BUILT OF PRAGMATISM

Yet behind the scenes, neither side appears to be giving up. Palestinian security agents removed King Hussein's pictures from the wakf offices in Jerusalem despite the declared truce reached in Amman. "King Hussein is in my heart," says wakf director Adnan Hussein, shrugging off the incident.

And King Hussein, while agreeing that the Palestinians should have political sovereignty in eastern Jerusalem, has suggested that the city's holy sites be excluded from any deal and instead run by a committee representing all the major religions, an arrangement that if adopted is likely to insure continued Jordanian influence in Jerusalem.

That sort of pragmatism, say longtime Jordan watchers, helps explain why King Hussein has held on to power so long while his less fortunate relatives lost an empire. But does this mean the family has finally relinquished the dream of recapturing its glorious past?

"We live in a realistic world. We know what is possible and what is not," says Mr. Rifai, the Jordanian ambassador. "But one has to have dreams."

LOS ANGELES TIMES

Touchy Issues Follow Netanyahu to Jordan

By Rebecca Trounson, Times Staff Writer

Monday, February 24, 1997

JERUSALEM Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu flew to Jordan on Sunday for talks with King Hussein against a backdrop of tensions over Israeli government plans to build a new Jewish neighborhood on Jerusalem's eastern edge.

Although Netanyahu's half-day visit was planned last month in recognition of Israel's successful completion of an agreement with the Palestinians on an Israeli troop pullback from the West Bank city of Hebron, he found himself facing questions on less pleasant topics.

Officials said the king expressed concerns about Israel's plan to build 6,500 new homes for Jewish residents on a hill on the eastern outskirts of Jerusalem. Palestinian leaders have strongly criticized the project, known as Har Homa, and accused Israel of seeking to surround East Jerusalem with Jewish neighborhoods.

Several have warned of renewed conflict if the Israeli plan goes forward. Hussein was more circumspect, at least in his public comments. Asked about the controversial project at a news conference with Netanyahu after their meeting, the king said only that he hoped nothing will occur to "explode the emotions" on the sensitive issue of Jerusalem over which both Israel and the Palestinians have made sovereignty claims.

"We have to think with our minds and hearts," Hussein said.

Netanyahu has said he will proceed with the development, although he has thus far avoided setting a date for construction. The Israeli parliament is expected to debate the issue this week.

On Sunday, Netanyahu reiterated a recent promise that his government will build homes for Arab residents of Jerusalem as well as Jews and improve infrastructure in the eastern, traditionally Arab, neighborhoods of the city. But he also stressed that Israel reserves the right to build new Jewish settlements in the occupied West Bank, a statement that was certain to displease his Jordanian hosts.

In 1994, Israel and Jordan signed a treaty that ended their state of war, and Hussein in January played a crucial, last-minute role in helping to broker the Hebron accord. But the king, who enjoyed a close friendship with assassinated

Israeli

Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, has not shied from criticizing his successor. ** * Nonetheless, the Israeli leader might have hoped his visit to a rainsoaked Amman, the Jordanian capital, would provide a respite from at least one of the political storms brewing at home.

Under pressure from rightist members of his coalition to proceed with the Har Homa plan and from Palestinians and other Arabs to stop it, Netanyahu also is beset by speculation here about his role, if any, in a growing scandal over possible corruption in his government's appointment last month of an attorney general.

Netanyahu has denied wrongdoing. But given the troubles facing him, an editorial in the daily newspaper Maariv noted

Sunday, "One should hope that Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu won't ask King Hussein today for political asylum."

For the last month, police have been investigating allegations that senior officials in Netanyahu's office conspired to appoint an attorney general who would reduce pending criminal charges against a political ally. The attorney general, lawyer Roni BarOn, resigned less than a day after taking office. ** *

After a warning by police last week that his statements on the matter could be used against him, Netanyahu hired a lawyer over the weekend who immediately mounted a spirited media campaign to defend his new client.

"I am not representing a lonely man. I am representing a very selfconfident man," Yaakov Weinrot told Israel's Army Radio in one of several interviews. "He is certain the police will prove his innocence in this investigation."

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Dueling Peace Visionaries Vie For Chance at Israel's Helm
Ilene R. Prusher, Special to The Christian Science Monitor
Tuesday February 25, 1997 Edition

JERUSALEM Ehud Barak is a straighttalking former general with buzzcut hair and a sterling reputation something like an Israeli Colin Powell.

His opponent in the race for the leadership of Israel's opposition Labor Party is Yossi Beilin, a tweedy academic who is articulate yet sometimes bland.

The bespectacled Mr. Beilin even jokes that the contest is a choice between "a

macho and a nerd."

That choice has taken on renewed importance this week, as Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu gets more enmeshed in an emerging political scandal.

If indictments are made against Mr. Netanyahu or any Cabinet ministers, some observers think the government may fall, forcing early elections and putting the spotlight on the two men vying to head the Labor Party. The differences between Beilin and Barak are striking. As an architect of the 1993 Oslo peace accords, the idealistic Beilin was among the first Israelis to reach across the Jewish-Palestinian divide and seek compromise.

Barak sees peace as a strategic necessity. Israel, he reasons, can't defend itself against increasing military sophistication of a hostile Arab world.

But in the end, both men push for peace. And the stereotypes about them don't fully hold: Beilin has proven he has strategic prowess and is no shrinking violet, Barak has a master's degree in engineering from Stanford University and is no mere strongman.

But their approaches to peace are clearly different.

Take the issue of Israeli occupation of southern Lebanon. On Feb. 4, a helicopter crash killed 73 Israeli soldiers and airmen on their way to defend Israel's self-declared "security zone" there. In the wake of the crash, Beilin met with players across the political spectrum to discuss Israeli retreat with or without a peace settlement with Lebanon and Syria.

To Beilin and many Israelis, Lebanon has become a kind of Vietnam, taking a terrible toll in young troops' lives.

Barak, however, insists that peace must be pursued only by talks with Syria, which wants to regain the Golan Heights it lost to Israel almost 30 years ago. In exchange for giving Syria the Golan, Barak would expect Syria to rein in the Hizbullah guerrillas who fight Israeli troops in Lebanon.

"It's not the right time for raising ideas for leaving the battleground under such tragedy," says Barak, insisting Hizbullah would simply approach the Israeli border and start launching attacks on towns and villages from there.

Sometimes Barak's words could be mistaken for those of the hardline Netanyahu. Such similarities may be fortuitous.

After Netanyahu beat former Prime Minister Shimon Peres by attacking him as careless about security and terrorism, Barak is seeking a political center where he thinks he can gain swing voters from Netanyahu's rightwing Likud party.

And with Barak's heavyweight background as a former Army chief of staff, he has already received a slew of endorsements. Party politicians think he's the man most likely to beat Netanyahu.

In that equation, Mr. Beilin thinks people are forgetting to look past election day. "I don't believe what we need is a tough candidate," says Beilin, who was an Army radio operator and later a journalist. "What we need is a leader. He's seen as the obvious candidate, but not necessarily the best prime minister."

An author and political scientist, Beilin thinks Labor shouldn't pander to the "floating vote." But Beilin is so closely associated with Mr. Peres who still formally heads the party that some don't consider him electable.

In fact, the power struggle between Beilin and Barak is much like the one between Peres and the late premier Yitzhak Rabin, who was assassinated in 1995.

Barak was Rabin's protégé, while Beilin was so clearly groomed by Peres that Rabin once dismissed a young Beilin as "Peres' poodle."

Peres and Beilin represent a dovish, more intellectual wing of the Labor Party whose drive for Palestinian self-rule includes moral considerations.

Barak comes from the Rabin school that says security is the reason Israel should trade land for peace.

It was Peres' reputation for being too much a visionary and too little a guardian of national security that cost him last year's election. Beilin, too, has a vision for peace that could serve as both a strength and weakness.

One blueprint has his name on it: the so-called Abu Mazen-Yossi Beilin map for a final Israeli-Palestinian territorial settlement.

But Barak blames Beilin's mapmaking for Labor's failure last May and thinks his plans could prevent Labor from regaining control in the near future.

"It's not something useful and in a way it's even damaging," Barak says.

In the Mideast milieu, Barak thinks Israel shouldn't be showing all its cards. "I don't think it makes any sense to go into the

details. This is a different culture of negotiation. Whenever you declare what you are willing to give up, the negotiations will begin from this point on."

BOSTON GLOBE

One Man's Rights Crusade Is Test Of Palestinian Future

By Ethan Bronner, Globe Staff, 02/24/97

KHAN YUNIS, Gaza Strip Bassem Eid has come to this Palestinian refugee camp deep inside the Gaza Strip, searching for the family of Rajeh Abu Sittah, not because he fears the wrong man has been sentenced to death.

As Eid and everyone in Gaza knows, Abu Sittah is a killer. A few years back he knifed an Israeli to death, and last October he and three other Palestinians gunmen shot dead an alleged collaborator with Israel. For those who care about the fragile Middle East peace process, Abu Sittah is a menace.

Eid, a Palestinian human rights activist, cares enormously about Middle East peace. But his immediate concern today is due process, and whether Abu Sittah enjoyed its benefits at the hands of the nascent Palestinian justice system.

So as the wind tosses refuse across unpaved paths and shadows lengthen over barefoot children, Eid removes his yellow legal pad and, listening to Abu Sittah's father, jots down the circumstances under which Rajeh was arrested by the Palestinian police, beaten, hauled before a judge at midnight, and, in minutes, sentenced to die. The family knew nothing; no lawyer was involved.

"This is a classic case," Eid says afterward, finishing a typical day. "The family heard of Rajeh's arrest two days after he was sentenced. It took them two months to locate him in prison. On what basis has he been given the death sentence? No one knows. There are no documents. That is why I am doing this research."

What kind of society the Palestinian entity evolves into how free, how democratic, how fair is an open question. Bassem Eid and his fastidious pursuit of justice will help determine the answer. He is a litmus test.

As he drives around the area alone in his Subaru wagon, gathering data and taking testimony, those who admire him wonder not only whether he will thrive but whether he will survive.

It does not augur well that when, asked his view of Eid, the top Palestinian s

security official of the West Bank, Jibril Rajoub, shouts over the telephone: ``He's a creep, a cheap informer for the Israeli police. I don't want my name mentioned in the same article as his. He has no morals. Find someone respectable to write about." Then he hangs up.

It also does not help that rightwing Israelis, who used to despise Eid when his main concern was documenting Israeli abuse of Palestinians, embrace him today.

Last month, on an invitation from Oxford University, Eid said in a speech that if the Palestinian Authority does not improve its human rights practices, European governments should impose sanctions on it and deprive it of funding.

No other Palestinian has taken such a stand in public, and Palestinian officials are incensed.

``Bassem Eid speaks about human rights here as if he is a foreigner," asserted Khaled Kidra, the Palestinian attorney general.

``It is as if he didn't live here, didn't know our difficult situation or what the occupation has left us and is still doing to us," he added. ``We can not deal with human rights as if this is Denmark. When he makes it look like we can't rule ourselves he is serving Israel. It is not surprising he has many enemies."

But Eid, 39, who lives with his wife and eight children in the same refugee camp outside Jerusalem where he grew up with 10 brothers and sisters, could hardly be more Palestinian. He has never been to the United States and has spent only brief visits in Europe. A man of unflagging energy and disarming laughter, he is happiest at home among his own.

Eid does not consider human rights chic. He tosses off the attorney general's assertion. ``It is because I am not a foreigner that I know what is due to the occupation and what is not," he said. ``A foreigner might be taken in when Palestinian officials solemnly explain to him that they have no choice over something because of the occupation. But they can't fool me and they hate it."

Eid is not the only human rights activist in the Palestinian territories, but he is widely considered the most unrelenting, the hardest working and the most honest. Truth telling, a habit he can not shake, has brought him many brushes with trouble.

There was the time four years ago, after writing a scathing report on Israeli abuses of Palestinians in the West Bank, that he was invited to address the law school in Damascus, the Syrian capital.

He told those gathered that Israel was unquestionably a genuine democracy where free speech was treasured and human rights taken seriously.

"How can you say that?" a shocked audience member asked. "Syria is more democratic."

"Well, can you take me to the local human rights group?" Eid replied. "I've heard one exists but no one seems to know where it is."

The dean of the law school quietly ended the event and told Eid that he had taken a considerable risk.

Then there was the time in 1992 when he wrote an article for the Palestinian newspaper, Al Quds, charging that the hanging death of a woman who was pregnant and an accused Israeli collaborator had nothing to do with politics, that the woman was not a collaborator.

He got a phone call from one of the armed groups that carried out summary executions, demanding a retraction. He said none was warranted and volunteered to explain. He then went, alone and unarmed, to the house of the killers at a refugee camp near Nablus and made his case. There were 70 armed young men there. Eid quoted from the Koran and explained what he found, that the woman was a prostitute and her death had to do with family honor.

Eid learned about fiercely honest inquiry from the occupiers, the Israelis. His first contact with them came in his early teens, when he worked in Israeli restaurants in the summers, learning Hebrew.

After high school, Eid saw that his Hebrew skills could be useful in his refugee camp, where many of the 7,000 inhabitants needed help in dealing with the Israeli occupation authorities.

During the mid-1980s, Eid watched Israeli police humiliate camp residents and he phoned an Israeli weekly newspaper to suggest a story. A reporter came, did the story, and began relying on Eid as a tipster in the area. Later the paper hired Eid as a reporter.

After the Palestinian uprising, or intifada, began in late 1987, the Israeli

uman rights group B'Tselem was born and hired
Eid as a researcher.

But after Yasser Arafat moved here in 1994, Eid wanted also to act as watchdog
of the Palestinian Authority. He
persuaded B'Tselem to issue a report on Pale
stinian abuses, a devastating document that the Palestinian Authority tried
to
suppress.

Last fall he decided that for his credibility he would be better off not being
linked to an Israeli organization, so he formed
the Palestinian Human Rights
Monitoring Group.

His wife, Jamila, is proud but worried.

``People tell me he should learn to be more quiet," she said in her living ro
om, a baby niece on her lap. ``But he doesn't
know how. He only knows how to r
aise his voice about what is going on. And he's doing it for all of us."

This story ran on page a1 of the Boston Globe on 02/24/97.
#K2PP#

WASHINGTON POST
Afghan Lines Drawn--a Major Militia vs. Taliban Force By Kenneth J. Cooper
Tuesday, February 25 1997; Page A18

MAZAR-E-SHARIF, Afghanistan, Feb. 24--Despite recent advances by the Taliban I
slamic militia, the leader of one of
Afghanistan's strongest militia forces sa
ys he is confident that he and his allies will turn back the attack on the vir
tual
ministate that he controls here in the north.

Abdurrashid Dostum, 42, who was a general under the old Communist government, f
inds himself allied with an array of
former foes in an effort to keep the Tali
ban from seizing control of the entire country. The Taliban drove a coalition
government--Dostum's new allies--from Kabul in September and holds two- thirds
of Afghanistan.

The Taliban has launched a winter offensive from three directions on Dostum's
haven and threatens to capture the rest of
Afghanistan. It has imposed a stric
t form of Sunni Islam in captured areas and the prospect of its controlling th
e north has
raised security concerns in the neighboring former Soviet states o
f Central Asia.

This is the not the first time that Dostum has faced assaults on the six north
ern provinces he has dominated since 1992.
For four years, his troops repulsed

attacks by forces allied with former prime minister Gulbuddin Hekmatyar and former president Burhanuddin Rabbani.

"Others have had this dream to take the north. It is not an easy thing to do," Dostum told foreign reporters Sunday at his military headquarters outside the provincial capital. "I have enough troops to defend myself."

Dostum would not say exactly how many troops, but diplomatic sources estimate 40,000 to 60,000. He denied receiving military assistance from Russia and Iran, his regional allies. In recent days, some of his soldiers have been seen nearby wearing crisp wool uniforms and carrying shiny Russian-made rifles that look new.

"I don't get any military assistance from any country. I don't need any weapons and ammunition," Dostum said, adding, "We have enough" left over from stockpiles abandoned by the ousted Communist government in 1992.

The Taliban militia, composed of ethnic Pashtuns, is estimated to be about the size of Dostum's Uzbek force. The Taliban seized Kabul, the capital, last September after the northward retreat of Rabbani, government defense chief Ahmed Shah Massoud and their troops. "We will chase them to the Afghan border," a Taliban official vowed at the time. In October, Rabbani and Massoud formed a military alliance with Dostum and smaller factions.

Last month, an undetermined number of turbaned Taliban militiamen seized territory north of Kabul from Massoud's troops and advanced into the Hindu Kush mountains from two directions. Since October, a third force has been fighting Dostum's troops in the western province of Badghis, near the Taliban-controlled city of Herat.

The rugged Hindu Kush presents a formidable natural obstacle to the Taliban. To block the most direct route north, forces of the anti-Taliban alliance dynamited a bridge and a mountainside on the Soviet-built highway that runs through the Salang tunnel in the country's midsection.

One Taliban force has advanced west of the tunnel along a looping road, where it has encountered resistance from a Shiite Muslim militia allied with Dostum and Massoud. In the recent battles, the Shiite militia had held its ground, but today Taliban's official radio service reported that Taliban troops had captured the 10,000-foot Shebar Pass. The broadcast,

monitored in Islamabad, Pakistan, by the Reuter news agency, said Taliban forces seized the pass, regarded as a gateway to northern and central Afghanistan, after a day-long offensive and were moving toward the northern province of Baghlan.

WASHINGTON POST

Transition in China Shines Spotlight on Taiwan's Uncertain Future

By John Pomfret

Tuesday, February 25 1997; Page A13

TAIPEI, Taiwan--The convoluted and contradictory ties between China and Taiwan are reflected in the odd, conflicting stories of the Yuan family of Taipei.

Tzu-tung Yuan spent last Saturday morning waiting in a government office to file papers to divorce a Chinese bride he purchased last year in Henan Province for \$20,000 in cash, gold and jewelry. His younger brother joined him at the office to serve notice that he plans to marry a woman he met in China last year. Two older brothers arrived later to take the pair out for lunch. One boasted that he owns a factory just across the Taiwan Strait in China's Fujian Province. The other has his money in America and would not dream of investing in Communist China, he said.

Like the Yuan family, this island of 21 million people can't really make up its mind about mainland China.

One day it appears as if tiny, democratizing Taiwan and massive, authoritarian China are uniting after 48 years of being ruled by longtime enemies. The next day, it seems as if differences in culture, dress, economics, politics and even language leave the pair as far apart as two countries can be.

The death last Wednesday of China's senior Communist leader, Deng Xiaoping, brings their stormy relationship to a critical new juncture. Will the death of the man who opened China's economy but stifled political reform push the two sides closer together--and thus decrease tension along one of the world's most important shipping lanes and volatile strategic zones--or pull them apart--bringing a new Cold War to the South China Sea?

The clock is ticking for Taiwan, which Beijing's Communist rulers have considered a renegade Chinese province since their Nationalist foes fled here in 1949.

After July 1, when British-ruled Hong Kong reverts to Chinese control, Taiwan's

stubborn refusal to surrender to Communist rule could become the most explosive issue in this region.

The clock is ticking, too, for the United States, which broke relations with Taiwan in 1979 in favor of Beijing but still has a vague commitment to Taiwan's security. Li Daoyu, China's ambassador to Washington, put the United States on notice last week, declaring that Beijing views the U.S. attitude on Taiwan as the "most important and sensitive" point of U.S.-Chinese relations.

The future of Taiwan's ties to mainland China depends largely on two men who have never met: Taiwanese President Lee Tung-hui and his Chinese counterpart, Jiang Zemin, Deng's handpicked successor.

Analysts here predict that China will make no bold initiatives regarding Taiwan in the next year because Jiang will need to ensure first that he is firmly in control before and after the crucial Communist Party Congress scheduled for later this year.

"We're bracing for another year of political deadlock," said Su Chi, the chief Taiwanese government spokesman. "Let's face it, Jiang Zemin is entering an election year."

After that, they say, two possibilities are likely.

If Jiang's position is weak, Taiwan could easily become wrapped up in the struggle for power that will swirl around him. Analysts worry that an insecure Jiang would be tempted to play the "nationalist card" and increase pressure on Taiwan by conducting threatening military exercises along the Strait of Taiwan to bolster his support within the army, China's key power broker.

China has still not ruled out the use of force to reunite with Taiwan, especially if Taiwan pursues independence. And in a China that will face many complex problems--such as peasant unrest, massive unemployment, environmental disasters, lawlessness, ethnic unrest and increasing decentralization--focusing attention on an issue that Chinese view in simple terms might provide Jiang with a magnet to hold onto power, a flag to rally around.

However, if Jiang grows more powerful, he might adopt a more benevolent attitude toward Taiwan. In January 1995, Jiang delivered a conciliatory policy speech on relations with Taiwan, stressing that the "one country, two systems" approach

ach
that Deng applied to Hong Kong could also apply to Taiwan, guaranteeing greater autonomy and preserving the lifestyle of the self-governing island. He also held out the possibility of a formal end of hostilities between Beijing and Taipei. Such a program could be a model for future cooperation.

But all that would depend not only on Jiang, but on his counterpart across the Taiwan Strait, Lee.

Since taking control of Taiwan's ruling Nationalist Party in the late 1980s, Lee has steered the party away from its long-stated desire to "take back" mainland China and toward a recognition of Taiwan's de facto independence.

Lee has launched a series of bold diplomatic initiatives to increase Taiwan's profile around the world, using controversial methods, such as donating large sums of money and lobbying to get his case heard. Taiwan spent more than \$4.5 million, for example, in its successful effort to get Lee a visa for a personal trip to the United States in 1995, making him the first Taiwanese president since 1979 to make a U.S. visit.

Those efforts infuriated the Chinese, who massed troops on the shores of Fujian Province and conducted two sets of military exercises, test-firing missiles into the Taiwan Strait; the closest landed just 25 miles away. On June 16, 1995, six days after Lee returned from the United States, China postponed talks with Taiwan. They have not resumed.

Despite pressure from U.S. officials, Lee, too, refuses talks with China, citing his belief that China's leadership is too weak to make important decisions right now. "Many American congressmen and also President Bush have come to Taiwan to ask me why we don't talk with the mainland," Lee said Saturday. "But the point is, with whom should I talk and about what? Nobody is reliable over there right now."

Ultimately, Western analysts say, Lee must decide whether he wants to attempt to lead this island into independence and risk war or build a common future with Beijing. So far, all indications are that Lee will continue to tweak his Communist adversaries.

In March, Tibet's exiled leader, the Dalai Lama, is scheduled to visit Taiwan in a trip that is bound to infuriate China. Beijing has sought to isolate the Tibetan leader, who seeks greater autonomy for the estimated 4 million Tibetans under

Chinese rule. On Sunday, Taiwan's leading newspaper, the United Daily News, said the Dalai Lama, who fled a Chinese crackdown on Tibet in 1959, might have an audience with Lee.

Despite minimal ties between the two governments, however, the economies and even the societies of China and Taiwan are becoming increasingly intertwined. Taiwanese investors have been at the forefront of China's economic boom, which Deng kicked off in 1978. Defying official bans on direct investment in China, Taiwanese companies have poured \$30 billion into China over the last 17 years. Taiwanese money has been invested in 30,000 factories. Trade between the two sides hit \$27 billion last year.

Since the 1980s, when Taipei and Beijing began allowing travel, more than 9 million people from Taiwan, many of them old soldiers who fought against the Communists, have journeyed to the mainland. In return, 150,000 Chinese have visited Taiwan.

In the past two years, mixed Taiwanese-Chinese couples have registered 29,465 marriages--mostly of Taiwanese men to Chinese women. Because of limits on emigration from China, the waiting list for spouses to get into Taiwan is about 10 years long. But couples make do with three-month visas, and there is no shortage of people aching to leave poorer China for richer Taiwan.

"If China's light poles could move here, they would," said Lee Ching-ping, deputy secretary general of the Straits Exchange Foundation, a quasi-governmental body set up to manage Taiwanese-Chinese ties.

WASHINGTON POST
Family, Officials Pay Homage to Deng
By Robert E. Lighthizer
Tuesday, February 25 1997; Page A01

BEIJING, Feb. 25 (Tuesday)--Deng Xiaoping, who rose from rural Sichuan Province to the pinnacle of power for a quarter of the world's humanity, was cremated Monday after the country's top leaders paid him traditional homage at the military hospital where his body had lain since his death last Wednesday.

As authorities prepared for a tightly controlled memorial service today with 10,000 invited guests at the Great Hall of the People, Chinese state television showed Deng's family members and the new leadership filing by Deng's body. The

leaders then bowed as a group before it three times in the traditional manner.

The body lay on an open bier surrounded by flowers and covered with a giant Chinese flag. Members of Deng's family--who along with officials wore black armbands and white paper flowers signifying mourning--wept profusely at the hospital and later in a hall at the cemetery's crematorium, with one daughter crying out that "grandfather hasn't died," and another approaching to kiss his face in farewell.

In front of the body at the hospital was a bouquet presented by his widow, Zhuo Lin, and their five children, with a silk streamer that said: "We will love you forever." There were also bouquets with streamers from each of the seven Communist Party Standing Committee members with the words: "Profoundly grieve respected and beloved comrade Deng Xiaoping."

Deng's handpicked successor, Jiang Zemin, the president and Communist Party chief, shook hands with the family but did not offer any remarks.

Afterward, Deng's body was placed in a crystal sarcophagus and carried by high-stepping soldiers to a white van that bore him to Babaoshan cemetery in western Beijing in a 40-car procession which state-run television said was witnessed by 100,000 people. Other witnesses put the crowd at a fraction of that number.

At the cemetery, the official funeral party once again bowed before Deng's body. The bowing contravened the Deng family's expressed wishes but appeared to represent a need by Jiang and other leaders to show respect for the man who had dominated Chinese politics for a generation and who had been their political patron.

The spectators, many bused in from the nearby state-owned Capitol Iron & Steel Works, stood along the 1 1/2-mile-route from the military hospital to Babaoshan. Policemen lined the route, standing about six feet apart, to prevent disturbances.

"Scatter Hot Tears for Comrade Xiaoping," read a banner with black characters that was held up by a group of people outside the military hospital. "Go gently, Xiaoping," read another.

People along the route also wore white paper flowers, and after the body passed, most of the crowd laid the flowers along

the road and in nearby bushes.

Such outward demonstrations of mourning have, for the most part, been suppressed, especially in Tiananmen Square, where the laying of wreaths after the deaths of Premier Zhou Enlai in 1976 and Hu Yaobang in 1989 became catalysts for popular protest. The 1989 student-led protests culminated in demonstrations by hundreds of thousands of Beijing residents and then in a bloody crackdown by Chinese troops.

The government announced that martial law will be in effect for Tiananmen Square during today's memorial service, where Jiang will deliver a eulogy. No foreigners have been invited to the service.

Other cities in China have been ordered to prevent public gatherings commemorating Deng during the six-day mourning period, which ends today. Deng's death at the age of 92 was caused by complications of Parkinson's disease and a lung infection.

Although China's leaders are trying to make a show of unity and stability, there already have been some cracks in the facade. Former Communist Party general secretary Zhao Ziyang, Jiang's immediate predecessor who was ousted during the Tiananmen uprising, had asked to attend the memorial service, according to the Reuters news agency, but was turned down by Jiang.

Zhao has been under a loose form of house arrest, able to travel and play golf regularly as long as he gets permission first.

But the rejection of his request to attend the service was seen by analysts as evidence that the current leadership still regards him as a potential threat and as someone who might still rally relatively liberal people within the party.

Zhao's connections in the party still run deep. Before his term as party chief, he had been governor of Sichuan and Guangzhou provinces.

Another fissure seemed to appear when the monthly magazine Zhongliu, associated with one of the party's die-hard leftists, criticized a book of conversations with Jiang and descriptions of his ideology.

The magazine's patron is Deng Liqun, often known as "little Deng" although he is no relation to Deng Xiaoping.

Little Deng is one of the party's more conventional ideologues and he has written with horror about the decline of the Communist Party and the wholesale embrace of Western capital.

"If . . . we 'tolerate' or 'shelter' hostile ideology trying to overthrow us," the magazine warned, "it will inevitably lead to the destruction of our socialist ideology and culture."

Little Deng was also left out of the 459-member funeral committee arranging the ceremony. Reuter said publication of the magazine has been suspended.

NEW YORK TIMES

Little Progress in Talks, Yet Albright Hopeful on China Ties

By Steven Erlanger

February 25, 1997

BEIJING--After a visit filled with symbols of warmth and courtesy but little progress on contentious issues like missile sales and human rights, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright said on Monday that she was "more encouraged than when I arrived" about the possibility of a more congenial relationship with China.

U.S. officials had said they expected no dramatic concessions on a day in which the Chinese cremated Deng Xiaoping, and there were none. But Albright's first talks as secretary of state with Deng's successors were characterized as frank and detailed discussions of the long list of issues that have often confounded the relationship. She said she came away with a strong feeling that the Chinese want to pursue and improve their relationship with the United States.

When Deng died during Albright's travels, she said that she had expected her visit to China to be postponed. She saw the Chinese leadership's willingness to have her come on a working visit at this time as "a positive sign," she said. Her predecessor, Warren Christopher, did not visit China for the first 18 months of President Clinton's first term, a lapse that seemed symbolic of the president's drift on China policy at the time.

Albright tried, at an evening news conference, to walk a fine line between showing she was not cowed by the Chinese and expressing courtesy toward a country in mourning. President Jiang Zemin sought to solidify his position after the death of Deng. In eight months the issue will be decided at a Communist Party Congress.

On human rights, American officials said that there was "no meeting of the minds," and that no breakthroughs were imminent.

"Human rights is the area in which we've seen the least progress," a senior official said. The official noted that of eight political prisoners on a list given to the Chinese last July, the Chinese have released some on medical or other grounds, but not the majority.

The names of specific dissidents were not raised, American officials asserted, because the Chinese have the list and are well aware of it. Albright said the discussion of human rights was "extensive" and that the Chinese were aware of the importance of the issue to Washington.

Still, American officials said they had no indication that the Chinese intended to sign two international covenants on political and social rights and no indication that talks would begin again soon with the International Committee of the Red

Cross about visits to Chinese prisons. Consequently, they said, Washington expects to co-sponsor another resolution condemning China's human-rights practices when the U.N. Human Rights Commission meets in Geneva in March or April.

Albright said that she "told it like it is," and American officials said she led off her conversations on human rights with the line: "I've come a long way, so I must be frank." Foreign Minister Qian Qichen thanked her for her frankness, while Prime Minister Li Peng was described as taking a generally positive tone, when he has in the past been "sarcastic, acerbic and dismissive," a senior official said.

Jiang was described as "sober and statesmanlike" as he broke away from working on a speech for a memorial ceremony on Tuesday for Deng.

While a senior American official said Jiang seemed "very much, as the Chinese put it, the core of the leadership," a European diplomat here described this period as the closest analogy in China to an election campaign. Both agreed that Jiang had to stress a continuity of policy after Deng's death, and not risk significant concessions.

Touching on another sticky topic, Albright announced that the Chinese had set

a date in mid-March for a new round of expert talks with the Americans on questions involving the spread of nuclear and missile technology and the export of products that could be used for chemical weapons.

She welcomed the Chinese willingness, since last May 11, to forbid the export of nuclear technology to internationally unsafeguarded sites in Pakistan and elsewhere. However, she and other American officials said the Chinese had to do more to restrain the spread of missile parts and technologies, as well as of chemical weapon "precursors."

American officials said she specifically warned the Chinese about missile and chemical exports to Iran and Pakistan and the sale of advanced conventional weapons to Iran, and said "This could be a problem in our relations."

Albright had a detailed discussion of Hong Kong, which reverts to Chinese rule on July 1, telling the Chinese that Washington wants a smooth transition that respects Hong Kong's autonomy, freedoms and capitalism. She also discussed China's more promising recent offer to adjust its economy to make a more acceptable application to join the World Trade Organization; the growing annual American trade deficit with China, now nearly \$40 billion a year by disputed American figures, and relations with Taiwan, where Beijing has cooled its invective against President Lee Teng-hui.

Albright said she wanted to demonstrate Clinton's commitment to improved relations. "My main mission is to engage with China and make them realize we want them to be part of our international community," she said. "There is no question our relations with the Chinese are a key to stability as we go into the 21st century."

But after nearly five hours of talks with Jiang, Li and Qian, there was little hard progress to present.

She announced, as expected, that Vice President Gore will visit Beijing next month, probably after he visits Japan in the last week of March, and that Qian would then visit Washington. Jiang and Clinton have agreed to schedule state visits, with Jiang probably coming to the United States in November and Clinton coming here in 1998, but the official dates remain unfixed.

Qian, at a joint news conference, said that "recently progress has been made" in relations between China and the United States. He said he hoped Albright's

visit would "mark a good beginning for continued improvement and development" this year.

NEW YORK TIMES
Thousands Join Leaders in Bidding Deng Farewell
By Seth Faison
February 25, 1997

BEIJING--In the Hall for Paying Last Respects, a room with curtains of black silk and overflowing floral baskets, China's leaders bid a last farewell to Deng Xiaoping on Monday morning in a traditional ceremony.

Then they escorted his body, draped with the red flag of the Communist Party, across town to a crematory that turned it to ashes.

Tens of thousands lined the Avenue of Eternal Peace, Beijing's central thoroughfare, to see the slow procession of a 35-car motorcade that symbolized the final steps of Deng's long political journey, one that helped bring prosperity to millions of Chinese who had long been denied it.

Many in the crowd said they had come to witness a solemn moment in history more than to express grief.

A memorial service for Deng is scheduled for Tuesday. His successors announced last week that it would be dignified but simple, in keeping with requests that Deng often made in public and private.

Modesty was part of the image that Deng cultivated, wanting to be seen as a devoted Communist who avoided the personal flamboyance and excesses of Mao. Yet Monday's ceremony, which was broadcast nationally on television, lavished attention on Deng in a way he expressly forbade.

That seemed to reflect the new leadership's reputation for indecisiveness and a desire to have things both ways: upholding the Deng mantle, yet twisting it a bit too. It is not surprising that in his final years, Deng sometimes criticized his successors for lacking courage.

Funeral rites have a special significance, as do all high-profile ceremonies, in a country where the rule of law is weak and leaders rely on symbols to demonstrate their authority. For President Jiang Zemin, Deng's successor as the most powerful man in China, the decision to televise what might have

been a private ceremony offered him a
last chance to bask in the proximity of the leader who chose him.

But for many ordinary Beijing residents, Monday's ceremony was simply a piece
of rare and colorful political theater. More
than anything, it was a chance to
get a last look at Deng, who remained hidden from public view for three years
before he
died, a victim of Parkinson's disease.

Dressed in a black Mao suit, lying in a bed of flowers with bright red gerbera
scattered on either side of the pillow, Deng's
body looked slightly pale and
puffy after his long illness.

At 9 a.m. Jiang led about 100 leaders, almost all dressed in black suits and w
earing white carnations, into the hall at the
General Hospital of the People's
Liberation Army and faced their deceased leader and an enormous photograph of
him
on a wall beyond.

After bowing in unison three times, they circled the bier --careful to proceed
in a pecking order they always follow in public,
with Jiang first -- to shak
e hands with Zhuo Lin, Deng's widow, and the rest of the family.

Jiang looked hesitant and awkward, as though afraid to make a misstep on such
an important day. He was followed by
Prime Minister Li Peng, who appeared equa
lly ill at ease. Only Zhu Rongji, a deputy prime minister, seemed to express a

flicker of genuine warmth to the family as he greeted them.

An honor guard of eight soldiers carried Deng's coffin to a white Toyota miniv
an with tinted windows that served as a
hearse. Decorated with wide black and
gold ribbons, it was easy for the people on the street to identify it as the v
ehicle
carrying the leader they had come to see.

The Avenue of Eternal Peace, ordinarily a noisy boulevard packed with daily co
mmerce, was oddly quiet before 10 a.m.
as the motorcade passed by. Though onlo
okers crowded five and six deep on the sidewalk, they spoke in hushed tones,
s
eemingly in awe.

The motorcade pulled to a stop at Babaoshan Revolutionary Cemetery, where a ro
w of cypress trees frame a turret-like
gate and a pair of life-sized stone lio
ns on either side of the entrance, which tilt their heads inward as if in welc
ome.

Most of China's senior leaders are buried at Babaoshan, except Mao, who got his own mausoleum, and Prime Minister Chou En-lai, whose ashes were scattered in to the sea. Deng elected to follow Chou's example.

Monday, before Deng's body was taken to the crematory, his family was offered a final chance to say goodbye.

His youngest daughter, Xiao Rong, who wrote a biography of her father and served as a close personal assistant, cried out, "You're not dead!" before collapsing in sobs.

Next to her, Deng's elder son, Deng Pufang, sobbed more quietly as he sat in his wheelchair. He has been paralyzed since he jumped from a fourth-story window in a suicide attempt in 1968 at the height of the Cultural Revolution, a period when Deng Xiaoping was purged and his family members persecuted.

Another daughter, Deng Nan, tried to embrace her father's body, finally placing her cheek against his forehead as she cried.

Outside Babaoshan, most of the people who lined the Avenue of Eternal Peace remained expressionless. When asked, some said they had come because their work units had organized the trip. A large number seemed to have come from Capital Iron and Steel, one of Beijing's largest state-run industries, whose former general manager counted himself a close friend of Deng.

Yet most appeared to have come on their own, out of a mixture of curiosity and affection.

"I wanted to see it," said Wang Jinhong, 27, a factory worker who said she lived nearby. "Something this big only happens once or twice in a lifetime."

A man standing next to her piped up: "Xiaoping was a good comrade. Most of us here would be poor if it were not for him."

Chinese television broadcast several interviews with onlookers who heaved in sobs as they extolled Deng. Some shed tears, while others seemed to be partaking of a Chinese tradition of showing sorrow when it is deemed appropriate, even when the crying is entirely faked and without tears.

Once the cremation was over and the black limousines ferried the country's leaders back to their other duties--some of them to meet Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, who arrived in Beijing on Monday--many of the mourners stood in

place for several minutes, as if reluctant to return to the day's affairs.

As they gradually stepped back on the sidewalk before turning to leave, many of the mourners tied the white paper carnations they had been wearing to the lower branches of the trees that line the street. When the people were gone, the small clumps of white paper remained. They looked like snowflakes, each one a reminder of a mourner who came to say goodbye to Deng Xiaoping.

NEW YORK TIMES
But He Was a Killer
On My Mind / by A.M Rosenthal
February 25, 1997

HONG KONG--When Joseph Stalin died, Western newspapers carried stories about the sorrow that was supposed to have gripped the Soviet people and how they would miss him.

Now things are different. The Chinese people are deliciously casual about the death of the man who headed the Communist dictatorship so long.

The mourning about Deng Xiaoping comes from the West.

A cortege of chiefs of state, diplomats and journalists tell us how much he will be missed and how they hope the next resident dictator will match up to him.

Deng Xiaoping was a killer. Does it matter?

He was a leader flexible enough to remodel the economic system becoming dangerous to his party but keep intact the police-rule system on which it depends to rule, also to stay alive.

Deng's flexibility, and the West's frantic desire to cash in on it, created economic growth for some parts of China and sections of the population.

But he was also a killer.

Does it matter? It was Deng who ordered the shooting of the students in Tiananmen Square in 1989. It was he who then ordered more police terrorism to make sure everybody understood. More dissidents died under prison torture or by execution.

By then he had long experience. Throughout his regime the hideous brutalities

of the laogai, the Chinese gulag, had killed thousands of prisoners and everlastingly marked with pain the lives of millions.

He ordered and guided a massacre of a nation and people. He directed the occupation of Tibet in 1949 and the slaughter of its people and civilization, continuing today. So murderously did he hammer Tibet's society and Buddhist religion that even Mao Zedong, then his chief, asked him to go easier, for a bit. He did not.

It was a quintessential colonial ethnic cleansing: occupy, make rebellion inevitable, wipe it out, move Tibetans out of their land, move Chinese in.

Here's a letter from Wei Jingsheng published in the West. He is a hero. Sentenced to 14 years for dissident writings, he wrote a letter to Deng that got him 14 more. It was about what had befallen Tibet: "The orchestrator of this tragedy is no other than you, Deng Xiaoping."

Is there a statute of limitations for the killings? The West has decided it does not matter. Trade profits, even the hope of them, that's what counts. What the leaders, business executives and journalists who mourn Deng are saying is this:

Westerners are sophisticated enough to handle food and freedom at the same time. Chinese are not. Under Communist direction we will help China build its economy; freedom is not our product. Hong Kong? The people will accept destruction of their freedom. Chinese troops and local financiers will see to that beginning July 1. Forget Tibet. How much money can we make out of Tibetans? It's a laugh.

Thus speaks our brave new West--"freedom is important to us, but those Orientalists would rather have VCR's and stability. We can't shape their country in our political image or try to contain it."

The arguments amount to double-standard racism and are fraudulent.

Historically the great economic progress has been created in free countries, not tyrannies.

No fighter for human rights suggests that China copy any other country -- just let its people talk, write and worship without fear of torture or death.

Struggling for human rights--beyond the release of a few prisoners--does not "

contain" China but gives it the only chance
for a genuine opening to the world
's mind, not just its cash register. It is the only hope of preventing Beijing
from
drumming up a nationalism that will bring explosions with neighbors or o
ther targets.

"Foreign investors will find themselves in an ever more hazardous and unpredict
able environment as central authority
declines, corruption spreads and each lo
cality makes its own rules," writes the journalist James Miles in "The Legacy
of
Tiananmen: China in Disarray" (University of Michigan Press).

But Wei Jingsheng will live on in the mind and love of good people, long after
the money-motivated apologists for
Communist China's terrorist rule have gone
on to richly deserved obscurity.

"No other than you, Deng Xiaoping." He was a killer, and yes it matters. #I2PQ
P#

#K2PP#

WALL STREET JOURNAL
China's Leaders Indicate Interest in Ties to U.S.
By Robert S. Greenberger, Staff Reporter of the Wall Street Journal
February 25, 1997

BEIJING--As China's top leaders prepared for Tuesday's funeral of paramount le
ader Deng Xiaoping, they gave strong
indications to U.S. Secretary of State Ma
deleine Albright that they were anxious to press ahead with his policy of
ceme
nting ties with the U.S.

Following three meetings here on Monday, Ms. Albright said she was "gratified
by the warm reception" she received from
President Jiang Zemin, Premier Li Pen
g and Foreign Minister Qian Qichen. With the notable exception of human rights
,
where the two sides continue to disagree and which produced one of the few t
esty moments, the secretary of state and
several of her top aides painted a pi
cture of steady if slow progress on subjects ranging from weapons proliferatio
n to
trade to environmental issues.

Less than a year after Sino-U.S. relations plummeted over tensions in the Taiw
an Strait, Ms. Albright's one-day visit was
viewed by both sides as another st
ep toward a summit meeting between Mr. Jiang and President Clinton later this
year.

CIVIL-LIBERTIES CONCERNS

Still, there are some potential bumps in the road. Another part of Mr. Deng's legacy is that it was he who ordered Chinese troops to fire on pro-democracy demonstrators in Tiananmen Square in 1989, ending an era of goodwill between the U.S. and China and pushing human rights to the top of the agenda.

On Monday, Ms. Albright raised concerns about the future of civil liberties and freedom in Hong Kong after the British colony reverts to China on July 1. And in a news conference here Monday evening, she also underscored that she had "raised our serious concerns about Chinese practices" concerning human rights. As a result, she said it was likely that--barring last-minute progress, which isn't expected--the U.S. would again co-sponsor a resolution criticizing China's human-rights record at an international conference in Geneva next month. China bitterly resents the U.S. action.

Indeed, Ms. Albright and other top U.S. officials went out of their way to refute a published report that a breakthrough in continuing human-rights discussions was imminent.

FIRST-HAND VIEW OF LEADERS

But perhaps the most valuable part of the visit was the first-hand view it gave Ms. Albright of China's leaders as they formally ended the Deng era. "I frankly expected this trip to be postponed" by Beijing following Mr. Deng's death last week, Ms. Albright said. When Beijing indicated it wanted to go ahead, despite the official mourning period, "we took that as a very good sign," she added.

A senior U.S. official who attended Monday's sessions described Mr. Jiang as "very positive about U.S.-China relations, and his own central role in U.S.-China relations." Mr. Jiang acted "statesman-like" and clearly in charge, the official said.

The U.S. official said Premier Li also talked about the importance of the Sino-U.S. relationship, but that he became "a bit sharp" when discussing human rights.

In other areas, Ms. Albright said that the two nations will hold technical talks in mid-March in Beijing on weapons proliferation and arms control issues. She also said she had "expressed the need for greater market access" for U.S. companies to China's vast and fast-growing market. The economic discussions included talks about terms for China's

admission to the World Trade Organization,
as well as progress Beijing has made in steps to better protect intellectual
property rights for U.S. and other software makers.

GREAT POTENTIALS

China's official Xinhua news agency quoted Mr. Jiang as telling Ms. Albright that "great potentials" are yet to be tapped between China and the U.S. in the areas of trade and economic cooperation, joint maintenance of global and regional peace and promotion of global economic growth and prosperity. Despite their differences, the two countries should view bilateral ties from a "more far-sighted perspective," the report said.

Xinhua also reported that Foreign Minister Qian told Ms. Albright that China is willing to have further dialogue and cooperation with the U.S. The report said China, among other things, hopes the Taiwan question will be settled in a careful and proper way," in order to maintain the momentum of improvement and development in U.S.-China relations.

Monday's news conference completed a grueling, 11-day trip for Ms. Albright that crossed the globe in visits to nine nations in Europe and Asia. Visibly tired and coughing as she responded to some questions, Ms. Albright described the journey as "pretty crazy." But unlike her predecessor, Warren Christopher, she clearly thrives on the politicking of foreign policy, concluding that "the personal relations that one establishes on this kind of a trip are very important."

#12PQP#

LOS ANGELES TIMES
Crowds Mass Outside Private Rites for Deng
By Rone Tempest, Times Staff Writer
Monday, February 24, 1997

BEIJINGThousands of people massed outside the 301 Military Hospital on the western edge of Beijing this morning as the family of Deng Xiaoping and a small group of senior leaders and friends paid their final respects to China's "paramount leader" in a private funeral ceremony.

Shortly after 9:30 a.m., military pallbearers placed the casket containing the leader's remains into a waiting Toyota van. Then the 30-car cortege, led by a black limousine containing Deng's family, began the 1 1/2-mile journey along the Avenue

of Eternal Peace to Babaoshan, the Beijing cemetery reserved for revolutionary heroes, where Deng was cremated later in the morning.

Along the route, tens of thousands more people many wearing white paper flowers, which are a symbol of mourning, or holding up portraits of the dead leader lined the sidewalks eight and nine deep as the cortege filed past under heavy security. Several raised banners, including one that said "Let's Say One Last Time: Hello Xiaoping."

The slogan repeated the phrase that greeted Deng, at the height of his glory as China's senior leader in 1984, when he rode in an open car in a National Day parade at Beijing's Tiananmen Square before an adoring populace of several hundred thousand.

Outside the ornate gate of Babaoshan "Eight Treasures Mountain" a hushed crowd of at least 20,000 people craned to view the procession as it entered the heavily guarded grounds.

Some onlookers climbed into the crooks and branches of cottonwood trees across the street from the cemetery or stood on the seats of their bicycles. Men raised children on their shoulders to witness the milestone event, which symbolized the final transition from revolutionary to what Deng termed "market socialist" China.

One man wore a button on his coat that said, in English, "Almost Heaven." After the cremation, citizens adorned leafless fruit trees along the route with white paper rosettes. But the events lacked the emotion and fervor of the Maoist era in China.

The private funeral ceremony at the elite military hospital, to be followed by a nationally televised memorial at the Great Hall of the People on

Tuesday, was not officially announced by the government. Officials are mindful that the death of another senior leader, Hu Yaobang, sparked massive demonstrations in Tiananmen Square in 1989.

At the hospital, one wheelchairbound man, Wang Yongbin, tearfully watched the cortege depart. "I'm seriously ill," he said, "but I wanted to say goodbye to the leader who brought us so many changes."

Many of the mourners lining the route today appeared to be organized by Communist Party work units bused in early this

morning for the occasion. Plainclothes police mixed with the crowd, which swelled as commuters and workers exited a nearby subway station. Office workers leaned out of open windows along the route, and restaurant kitchen crews left their stoves to watch the procession.

"Deng Xiaoping was a great man who survived many hardships to lead our country," said Hu Ziyong, owner of Love Heart (Ai Xin) restaurant near the military hospital, where Deng died Wednesday at 92. Deng is survived by his wife and five children, including a son, Deng Pufang, who was paralyzed after he was thrown from a window at Beijing University during the turmoil of the 1966-76 Cultural Revolution.

The family had requested a "simple and frugal" national memorial for the man who led China out of the throes of the Cultural Revolution and opened its markets to world commerce, bringing China unprecedented prosperity. But President Jiang Zemin ordered that Deng's ashes be placed under a giant photograph at the Great Hall of the People for Tuesday's memorial service, which will be attended by 10,000 party officials, villagers from Deng's native Sichuan province and friends of the family.

Even so, the memorials to Deng, a tough revolutionary who was purged three times by his own party before rising to power, paled in comparison with the 1976 memorials for fellow revolutionaries Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai.

"This is nothing compared to Mao's death," said one onlooker, who asked not to be named.

Times researcher Anthony Kuhn contributed to this report from Babaoshan cemetery.

LOS ANGELES TIMES
Deng's True Heirs: the Ambitious Young
By Maggie Farley, Times Staff Writer
Monday, February 24, 1997

SHANGHAI With the graceful swirl of a brush, Gu Chunchan, 27, completes his memorial message for Deng Xiaoping on two 20-foot-long banners to hang at a makeshift shrine in the southern city of Shenzhen: "Your justice flows like the Hong Kong River; your soul will be everlasting in Shenzhen."

"I have great respect for Deng," Gu says of China's "paramount leader," who di-

ed last week. "He fell three times and rose up again. He taught us we can reinvent ourselves, and to adapt to create the best conditions."

Gu mastered his calligraphy in Henan province, but he went to Shenzhen two years ago to catch hold of the south's economic growth. Now he's getting rich selling computers, because "information is the future of China." He says he owes it all to Deng, who reversed Mao Tse tung's anticapitalist policies.

"To most people my age, Mao is only a concept, no more than a relic," Gu says of China's legendary Communist Party chairman, who died in 1976. "Deng is our reality."

Most of China's 1.3 billion people were not alive to experience the Communist movement that produced the country's historic leadership. Many barely remember the bitterness of the 1966-76 Cultural Revolution. China's new generation was shaped by Deng, who was behind both the 1989 crackdown on protesters in Beijing's Tiananmen Square and the seductive fruits of the country's economic reforms.

China's development has brought today's youth a sense of confidence and entitlement along with hints of alienation that is both envied and resented by their elders.

Li Yanping, 44, the director of a social service organization, sounds like parents everywhere when he talks about "kids these days." But it's not just a matter of the generation gap, he says. China is finally emerging as a world player, and he worries that its youth, now focused on money and themselves, will not be strong enough to lead it when their time comes.

"We have a serious problem of dealing with our younger generation," says Li, a heavy-set man with an easy laugh. "They're from one-child families, so they're spoiled, quite arrogant and unconsciously self-centered. Most of all, they're not tough."

Li, like many others his age and older even Deng was sent to the countryside "to experience real life" during the Cultural Revolution.

Li left Shanghai at 16 and spent four years in the cold northern province of Heilongjiang, and two more in Mongolia, planting sorghum and maize with peasants. He, unlike many others, had a chance to go to college after he returned and still devotes every Sunday to reading and trying to learn something new.

"We lost a lot of things," he says of his peers, "and never made it up."

Hua Zhuhao, 27, an entrepreneur who started his own media company last year, says his generation is learning skills that his parents could hardly dream of. The old "iron rice bowl" the guarantee of a lifetime job is broken, and these days so are all the rules.

Hua has had four jobs in six years and has done business in 20 cities. Last year, his startup media purchasing company, Tendency Advertising, made about \$250,000 a huge contrast to Shanghai's average annual salary of \$2,500.

"To a big company, that's a small sum," he says with a shrug. "But the company is only two people."

In China, to go into business is known as "jumping into the sea," and the virtue of people like Hua is that they have learned how to swim. Creating opportunity and navigating an uncharted frontier are talents required of any leader as quickly as the country is changing, it is the people with vision who will be able to guide it.

Hua professes to avoid politics, but he sees the Tiananmen Square protests as a conflict between two groups who didn't know how to harness change. The students at the square understood the opportunity inherent in chaos, Hua explains, "but I don't think they had a clear idea of what they wanted and how to get it."

Li Lu was a student leader during the Tiananmen Square demonstrations. Now a thirtysomething investment banker in the U.S., he calls the protests a "generational rebellion" pitting China's idealistic youth against old powerhungry Communist leaders who denied the people their deserved freedoms.

"We recognize there were changes during the Deng era," Li wrote in a recent essay in the Wall Street Journal. "But to us, liberty and the right to pursue prosperity simply are things we should be born with, neither a gift from the government nor dependent on the mercy of any dictator."

The Tiananmen generation, he says, is studying, investing and quietly preparing to take the reins of government from unsteady, aging hands.

"No Communist leadership that alienates China's present thirtysomethings can survive the inevitable generational change." Nin Chan, 24, wants to change the country not by toppling the government but by working within it.

Nin, who prefers to go by a pseudonym, looks as if he could be Hua's business partner, with his sharp dark suit and mobile phone not the model of contemporary communism. From kindergarten through weekly meetings at work, Nin has studied "from Karl Marx to Deng Xiaoping." He disagrees with the popular notion that as people turn their focus from ideology to moneymaking opportunities, the Communist Party will become irrelevant.

"The aim of the party is to improve people's lives," Nin says as he sips coffee at a cafe. "It's not contradictory. To make money you have to deliver value, be creative, be efficient and service people's needs. It can be good for everybody, so why not?"

Nin's assertion echoes the pragmatism of Deng and reveals a recognition that the party needs to update old tenets to attract new, young members who are lured by less politically correct but more profitable opportunities.

But how long can China call itself Communist?

"Everyone agrees we're in a critical time," Nin says. "The country is struggling to reshape and redefine itself."

With his smarts and his government salary of \$200 a month, has Nin ever thought of going into business? "Well," he says, smiling slightly, "we must remain open to change."

Artist Zhou Tiehai, 30, graces the cover of Newsweek, his trademark smirk threatening to break through a mock-serious mien. The blurb reads, "Too materialistic, too spiritualistic." The magazine cover is a fake, another of the media savvy painter's ironic tweaks at the commercialism bleeding through China and its nascent art world.

Zhou has lived all his life in Shanghai but finds, suddenly, that he doesn't know his hometown. "It's disorienting when you go someplace and all the buildings are torn down, or there's a new road." And worse, the replacements are what he calls "unthinking copies of a Western idea of modern." He gets the feeling that this place is not China.

With his long hair, European cigarettes and penchant for nights out, Zhou is accustomed to being viewed as arrogant, self-indulgent or soft by his elders.

Beijing's 2nd Tier Jockeys For Power
By Liz Sly, Tribune Staff Writer
Monday, February 24, 1997

Dateline: BEIJING

In the days since Deng Xiaoping's death, the Happiness and Satisfaction restaurant opposite the alley leading to his home has attracted a stream of foreign journalists who sip tea and ask waiters about the effect of their famous neighbor's death.

The answer was the same as that given by most Beijingers across the city: Not much.

"I don't think it will change anything," said waiter Liu, in a typical response to an event the world had been waiting for since Deng dropped out of public view three years ago. The international community seemed far more excited by the death of the great patriarch than his fellow citizens, most of whom shrugged off his passing as irrelevant to their own lives.

It was an apt tribute to Deng's legacy that his death, when it finally came Wednesday, caused barely a ripple on the surface of China's energetic pursuit of the market reforms he initiated.

Stock markets didn't fall. Stores didn't close. The masses did not take to the streets, either to mourn or to protest. They were too busy pursuing Deng's dictum that "to get rich is glorious." The tradeoff has been an iron fist of repression for any who dares challenge the supremacy of the Communist Party.

Even so, China's armed forces reportedly have been placed on high alert to guard against ethnic unrest and internal instability in some areas as Chinese leaders finalized preparations Sunday for Deng's funeral rites.

Deng was cremated Monday after family members and China's top leadership paid final respects in a small private ceremony at a Beijing military hospital. Official memorial rites with no foreigners in attendance will be held Tuesday at the Great Hall of the People.

Meanwhile, U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright arrived in Beijing from Japan on the last stop of her nine-nation tour.

That Deng's death has not proved to be a cataclysmic event in no way makes it a nonevent, however. In accordance with China's tradition of almighty political leadership, a new era has begun. In the impenetrable tradition of Communist

Party
politics, inevitably that means a new era of uncertainty.

Though Deng hadn't exerted day to day influence over policy for some time, as long as he remained alive, "Deng Xiaoping Thought" was the nation's official policy.

Anyone who strayed too far from that could be purged by the country's collective leadership,

With Deng gone, the door is now open to new directions and policy is up for grabs.

In many ways, analysts say, that could be a good thing for China. Deng threw out broad guidelines about the importance of free markets but was too ill in his final years to offer specific answers to specific problems unleashed by economic liberalization.

Fresh thinking is urgently needed on ways to handle rising unemployment, rampant corruption and the visibly widening gap between rich and poor, after what amounted to a policy paralysis as leaders waited for Deng to die.

No one expects a radical departure from "socialism with Chinese characteristics," Deng's broad theory, which loosely translates as "political repression with economic liberalization." President Jiang Zemin, Deng's anointed heir, has pledged "unswerving allegiance" to Deng's policies.

Jiang's claim to Deng's legacy is his strongest card, and it is a powerful one. None but the oldest and most hardline party elders, who believe market reforms have led the nation too far from the path of communism, would dare turn back the clock on the unprecedented prosperity and economic opportunity that Deng brought.

But continuity at the top does not preclude challenges to the margins of Deng Xiaoping Thought.

Liberals who would like to see less political repression may seek to use his death as an opportunity to stage a comeback from the political isolation that followed the 1989 crackdown on democracy protesters in Tiananmen Square.

Foremost among them is purged Communist Party chief Zhao Ziyang, who was blamed for being too soft in his handling of the student protests.

Reports Sunday said Jiang has rejected a request by Zhao, once regarded as Deng

g's successor, to attend the funeral.

On the left, Marxists who seek to tone down the economic liberalization aspect of his theory already are taking swipes at Dengism. A document by hardline veterans reportedly circulated in Beijing shortly before Deng's death attacks plans to privatize state industries as contradictory to Marxism and says market reforms have gone too far.

Continuity also does not preclude personality struggles that could turn specific policy issues into political footballs as various factions jostle for positions in the new hierarchy.

Deng has tossed his heirs plenty of balls to fight over. He could not have chosen a more dramatic time to depart, at the beginning of one of the most important years in recent Chinese history.

The return of Hong Kong to China on July 1, Jiang's scheduled visit to Washington in the fall, and the likely revival of the Taiwan issue after Hong Kong's return must now be handled without reference to his living guardianship.

A power struggle already was in the cards, ahead of a crucial party congress, scheduled for the fall, to vote on leadership positions for the next five years and beyond, offering hints as to who will stand in line to replace the current leadership. At the very moment when Jiang, 70, and his cohorts step out of Deng's shadow, they will need think about choosing their own successors.

Most important, Premier Li Peng is due to retire, having served two terms as Jiang's virtual equal in an uneven triumvirate of power. His successor will be in a powerful position to shape policy and build a support base. But it is far from certain that Li, seen as authoritarian, will surrender power altogether; in accordance with Communist tradition, the rules could be rewritten to accommodate him.

Tugging from the opposite direction is Qiao Shi, chairman of the National People's Congress and Li's closest rival for power after Jiang. Regarded as more liberal than Jiang, Qiao is due to retire a year from now and also will be fighting to retain influence for his plans to promote legal reforms and a one-party version of grassroots democracy.

If these rivalries translate into a vigorous policy debate that produces solutions to the many problems China confronts, then China could emerge strengthened

by the death of its patriarch, some analysts say.

If they disintegrate into infighting, then leadership could be paralyzed.

That could affect the way the government handles a whole host of issues, ranging from the handover of Hong Kong to the growing number of beggars on the streets of Beijing.

#K2PP#

NEW YORK TIMES

Seoul Dusts Off Old Law for Familiar Threat

By Andrew Pollack

February 25, 1997

SEOUL, South Korea--Park Chung-ryul, an official with a militant leftist organization here, was awakened by a knock at 2 a.m. one day in November 1995. When he opened his door, he said, more than 10 men rushed in, forced him to kneel,

flashed a warrant for his arrest and whisked him away.

He said that for 22 days the Agency for National Security Planning, South Korea's intelligence service, tried to force him to confess to espionage charges, saying that some years before he had met a North Korean spy.

"They made me stand the entire time," Park recalled. "When my legs got so tired and I couldn't stand anymore, four or five men surrounded me and kept me on my feet." They also limited him to about 30 minutes of sleep a day, he said, keeping him awake by pulling his hair, beating him and pouring cold water on him.

Park, now 37, was eventually tried and acquitted on lesser charges of possessing pro-North Korean materials. But his story is typical of what some say is the overlap in South Korea between spy-catching and political repression.

At the core of the concern is the National Security Law, which makes it a crime to praise, encourage or promote North Korea.

The South Korean government says such a law is needed to protect society from being overrun by Communist ideology. But critics say the law can be used to stifle views critical of South Korea that happen to coincide with those of North

Korea, like calling for reunification in a manner favored by Pyongyang or calling for the removal of American troops from South Korea.

When President Kim Young-sam, who had opposed the military-led governments that

It ruled South Korea for nearly 30 years, came into office in 1993, he weakened the security agency by subjecting it to parliamentary oversight and transferring enforcement of the key clause of the National Security Law to the police. Critics of the law welcomed those changes.

But arrests under the law, which dropped after Kim took office, have been rising. In 1996 there were 464 cases, compared with 305 in 1992, the year before Kim came into office. A new law passed in December restores enforcement powers of the National Security Law to the intelligence agency.

"We could see the revival of the original attitude to arrest conscientious prisoners at their will," said Park Won-soon, a lawyer who has represented people accused under the law. He said that the regular penal code includes provisions against spying, and that the National Security Law only stifles free expression and is not needed.

One student was arrested last year on charges of promoting North Korea because she produced T-shirts with the name of her university and that of a North Korean university with which students had exchanged letters. During strikes last month in protest of a new labor law, the government said unions had been infiltrated by North Korean agents and threatened a crackdown.

South Korea does live under the constant threat of the hostile and volatile Communist government in the North. Concern about North Korean spies has been heightened in the last week by the shooting of a prominent North Korean defector in a suburb of Seoul on Feb. 15, an act that the authorities here suspect was committed by North Korean agents.

To step up the battle against Communist agents and sympathizers, the governing New Korea Party passed a law in late December to strengthen the powers of the National Security Planning Agency. The revised law was steamrolled through the National Assembly, along with the new labor law, in a predawn session to which opposition lawmakers were not invited.

In a news conference last month, Kim said the law revision was needed because "there are still Communist forces in our country and we don't have any effective legal structure to fight against them."

He said that having been persecuted himself by the security agency, he had no

intention of letting it engage in political repression.

The changes followed huge and violent student demonstrations, and the incursion of a North Korean submarine last September.

South Korean officials say it is unfair to compare this country with one like the United States that has a long tradition of democracy and secure borders.

"If the United States were a divided country and constantly being threatened by your archenemy, I think you would feel differently," a government official said, speaking on the condition of anonymity.

"We found the whole society had been influenced by North Korean ideology," he said. "There is a very strong concern by many people that we need to counter the situation."

Some government officials estimate that there are 40,000 or so North Korean agents in South Korea. But this official said that most of them are sympathizers, mainly students, rather than true spies.

He said that monitored radio transmissions to and from North Korea indicate that there are several hundred active North Korean agents here.

Even among the sympathizers, only a few thousand, or less than 1 percent of all college students in South Korea, are true militants willing to resort to violence to further their cause, he said.

Other spies go to third countries, live for a while, and then enter South Korea.

Take the case of Chong Soo-il, a South Korean university professor who spied for 12 years before being unmasked last year and sentenced to 15 years in prison. A Korean born in China, Chong worked in North Korea for many years where he was trained as a spy. Then, over a period of years, he lived in Lebanon, Tunisia, Malaysia and the Philippines.

In 1984 he came to South Korea posing as a Lebanese-Filipino named Mohammed Ali Kansa. He first pretended to study Korean and then became a well-known history professor and writer. Even his South Korean wife--he left another wife and three children in North Korea--said she had no idea he was Korean.

A mysterious case was that of Kim Dong-shik, a North Korean infiltrator who was captured in October 1995. Another

infiltrator with him was shot and killed.

Four leaders of the student movement were arrested after Kim said he had met them. Under the law, it is illegal not to report contact with a North Korean agent. The four insisted that they either had not met him or did not know he was an agent. Charges against two of the students were dropped and the other two students were eventually acquitted.

In December of that year, Kim gave a televised news conference detailing his activities in trying to form an underground Communist party. It does not appear that he was ever brought to trial. Some human rights groups contended the whole affair was intended to worry people about spies to influence them to vote for the governing party in approaching elections.

Some people think the fear of North Korean agents is now being fanned to divert attention from a financial scandal that is swirling close to Kim. "I think the government is fabricating it, making up the threat," said Cho Soon-sun, whose son, Kang Yong-ju, was arrested in 1984 on spying charges.

Mrs. Cho said her son, then 24, had merely been a member of the student movement, although he does appear to have been a member of a study group with a friend who had gone to Pyongyang. Kang was sentenced to death, but the sentence was reduced on appeal to life in prison, and cut to 20 years after Kim took office. #12PQP#

MIAMI HERALD

Editorial: Time To Caution Pyongyang
Monday, February 24, 1997

Korea may be "the land of the morning calm," but tensions persist there. The latest dustup is particularly worrisome and illtimed. Pyongyang is seething over two North Korean defectors who may know too much.

One, Lee Han Young, was shot in Seoul; North Korea was an immediate suspect in the attempted assassination. The other defector Hwang Jang Yop, who was once a mentor to North Korean dictator Kim Jong Il holed up in South Korea's Embassy in Beijing.

Meanwhile, U.S. and South Korean intelligence has been keeping a wary eye on North Korea's military. Pyongyang's paranoid and insular leaders make Iraq's Saddam Hussein seem lucid and convivial in comparison.

Yet the biggest destabilizing force in the region is North Korea's shaky economy. The 38th parallel is a chasm between economic success in the south and misery in the north. Such misery is no surprise; North Korea is a hard line communist state. But things have gotten worse, even by communism's standards. Hunger is common. Energy is scarce. Things are so bad that both the United States (\$10 million) and South Korea (\$6 million) just approved emergency food aid.

In the past, tyrants bedeviled by domestic problems have often resorted to distracting the populace by engaging in military adventures. Indeed, the second half of this century began with North Korea invading South Korea. Pyongyang had come to believe that the United States would not intervene.

There must be no such costly miscalculation now. On the off chance that Pyongyang has doubts about American resolve, such doubts must be laid to rest.

That shouldn't require much more than an explicit policy statement from Madeleine Albright as she continues her "world tour." Fortunately, she's one American diplomat whose specialty isn't obfuscation but candor. This is one time when she'd do well to be blunt.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
N. Korea Needs More Food Aid
By Donald M. Krumm
Tuesday February 25, 1997 Edition

The United States government has announced that it will contribute \$10 million in food aid to mitigate the effects of severe flooding on the food supply in North Korea. The only problem is, the aid isn't nearly enough. Unfortunately, the international community still has not grasped the necessity for a major relief effort if massive famine is to be averted.

The US contribution will provide roughly onethird of the 110,000 metric tons sought by the United Nations World Food Program (WFP). But even if the WFP obtains the full amount, this would fall far short of the immediate requirement: 1 million metric tons to meet minimum survival needs over the next several months.

Refugees International is deeply concerned that famine could prompt large numbers of North Koreans to leave their homes in search of food or asylum. Indeed, past experience with refugee emergencies shows that when famine-induced

flight
occurs, death rates soar.

If North Koreans flee north into China or south toward the demilitarized zone, casualties from mines along the borders would almost certainly result. A southward flow would also raise war tensions dramatically. North Koreans who might flee by boat also would be vulnerable. Food aid aimed at reducing the need for flight would diminish all of these risks.

AID COULD DAMPEN TENSIONS

The recent defection of senior North Korean official Hwang Jangyop shows how quickly tensions between North and South Korea can escalate. Sending a significant amount of food aid immediately would help dampen these tensions, thereby creating conditions conducive to North-South peace talks.

Stability on the Korean peninsula, a principal US foreign policy goal, can no longer be maintained through military deterrence alone. An insertion of food, significantly above the amount requested in the WFP appeal, is also required to

blunt destabilizing famine conditions.

NECESSARY STEPS

The time to act is now, and Refugees International recommends that the following steps be taken:

The World Food Program should, if North Korea requests, immediately issue an international appeal for 1 million metric tons of grain.

The US should be prepared to provide 300,000 metric tons toward such an appeal; the US has traditionally given up to 30 percent.

All donor government food contributions should be provided under the aegis of the WFP to ensure that adequate needs assessments and monitoring can be performed.

North Korea should, in return for food aid, agree to permit UN and nongovernmental organizations personnel to work throughout the country.

North Korea should enter into peace talks as soon as possible to demonstrate its own commitment to regional stability. A peace agreement would pave the way for increased economic cooperation, which in turn would help resolve the structural problems that lie behind North Korea's food shortages.

Because postcoldwar US foreign policy has lurched from crisis to crisis, there is growing recognition of the need to spot and defuse emergencies before they escalate. Today the international community has plenty of early warning of an impending famine in North Korea, and only a program of massive food aid can prevent it from having disastrous humanitarian and strategic consequences.

* Donald M. Krumm is senior advocate with Refugees International in Washington.

LOS ANGELES TIMES
COLUMN ONE: Rwanda's Youngest Killers
By Bob Drogin, Times Staff Writer
Monday, February 24, 1997

GITARAMA, Rwanda Sylvert Sebazungu knows precisely why he is being held in a foul, densely packed room with no beds or lights deep inside the dungeonlike prison here.

"They say I was in a gang that was killing children," he said, averting his gaze. "With sticks and machetes and guns."

Then he looked up, his eyes hard and dark. "It is not true," he declared. "I stayed at home."

Wherever he was, Sebazungu was 15 years old at the time. But like the 47 other boys crammed on the floor in the dismal juvenile ward at the Gitarama prison, and about 2,200 youths incarcerated in other hellish jails across the country, he is being charged with committing acts of genocide.

Rwanda's agony as it grapples with the legacy of the 1994 ethnic slaughter and civil war thus has a new horror: For the first time in known history, children are being held accountable for mass murder.

"You're not talking about small infractions," said Ray Torres, a UNICEF official. "You're talking about children who killed 10 or more people." He shook his head at the thought. "You've had situations before where children participated in war crimes, in Cambodia, Angola or Nicaragua," he added. "But until now, no child has ever been charged with crimes against humanity."

The young defendants invariably deny culpability or insist they have forgotten what happened. Countless other Rwandans, the survivors of genocide, can't forget the atrocities. They are tormented day and night by searing images of pain

and loss.

"So many children saw their parents tortured, their mothers raped, their fathers hacked to death, their sisters nailed to trees," warned Evode Kazasomako, head of the National Trauma Center, which coordinates a national training and treatment program for severely affected children and their families.

Zealots in Rwanda's Hutu-dominated former regime orchestrated the ethnic genocide, enlisting priests, teachers, community leaders and civilian mobs to help massacre more than 800,000 Tutsis and moderate Hutus in a 100-day rampage.

Unlike the genocide committed by the Nazis, who hid their gas chambers in distant death camps, most of the killing here was done in public and by the public including children.

For many youths, the choice was to kill or be killed.

Some youngsters followed their parents in frenzied machete attacks on former friends and neighbors. But others led some of the savagery, hunting Tutsis in deadly packs in an all-too-real version of the novel "Lord of the Flies."

"Mostly, they were killing their fellow children," said Ibel Ziliguru, assistant director of Gitarama prison. "Even the youngest ones."

Anyone who was 14 or older during the butchery may be charged under recent Rwandan law. If convicted, those younger than 18 will face prison sentences of up to about 20 years. Unlike adults, teens are exempt from life imprisonment and

the death penalty. The first trial of an adolescent is expected to begin in April.

Special genocide courts have sentenced at least 11 adults to the firing squad and several others to life imprisonment in trials that began in December. Human rights groups complain that many of those convicted so far didn't even have lawyers.

But the crisis is far more fundamental: About 95,000 inmates, including minors, now pack prisons and jails on genocide-related charges. Trying them all in a judicial system being built from scratch would take decades. The government hopes that most, including the minors, will plead guilty in exchange for reduced prison terms.

In the meantime, UNICEF has built separate wards for juveniles in nine prisons

to protect them from rapes, beatings and other abuses.

It is a bitter first for humanitarian groups known for feeding and schooling children, not jailing them. But after fierce internal debate, UNICEF officials decided they had no legal or moral grounds to seek blanket amnesty for minors accused of crimes against humanity.

"We were aware some donors might say, 'I don't want to give money to UNICEF to build prisons for children,' " Torres said. "But we felt very strongly this was as in the best interest of the children. They are very vulnerable to abuse in prison."

UNICEF will train several dozen judges, prosecutors and investigators in juvenile justice and children's rights. It also will train and pay for defense lawyers for accused youths, as well as lawyers to represent their victims.

Children who were younger than 14 during the genocide will not be held legally responsible for their crimes, the government announced last year.

They are being held instead at the government run "reeducation center" at Gitagata, a neat, fenced compound shaded by tall eucalyptus trees and flanked by flower gardens an hour's drive south of Kigali, the capital.

The 197 boys at Gitagata appear healthy and well groomed. They go to school each morning and learn carpentry, sewing or other trades. Their bunk beds are jammed in four gloomy rooms with barred windows with broken screens. Workmen are building a dormitory for about 240 more underage children still held in prison. The government says all those at Gitagata eventually will be released to their families, assuming relatives are still alive and not in prison.

"These children are accused of participating in genocide," said Louis de Montfort, director of the reformatory. "But really, they are also victims of the genocide. They are too young."

It's difficult to know how much the boys understand of their alleged crimes. Like their elders in prison, most already have learned to deny involvement. And age may be deceptive: Children often are entrusted with adult responsibilities, such as tending cattle.

"I remember war, that's all," said sweetfaced Claude, who is 9, likes chewing gum and is accused of tossing a hand

grenade into a neighbor's home, killing the family inside.

Tusabe, 12, wears a baggy green shirt and a shy grin. "They say I had bad manners," he said timidly, digging his bare toes in the dirt. "They say I killed many people."

Emmanuel, 10 and frail, insisted he did nothing. Asked what he remembered of the carnage in his village in Butare province, he stared into the distance and his voice fell to a whisper.

"I saw people killing other children with knives and spears," he said. Where? "Everywhere. In schools, in churches, on the road."

Only a few of the children at Gitagata have shown symptoms of emotional trauma despite such gruesome memories. "We have seen some with nightmares, convulsions and hallucinations," said Eugenie Mukanoheli, a UNICEF trauma expert. "We cannot assume there are more."

"The survivors have the possibilities to talk about their problems. The [accused] must keep quiet because they are charged and don't want to admit anything. They can't speak about it."

Indeed, the pain of the past clearly tortures many of Rwanda's children, according to a UNICEF study based on interviews with 3,030 of them across the country.

Nearly 80% of those interviewed had lost immediate family members, and many witnessed the slayings. More than one-third saw other children take part in killings. Nearly all heard family or friends plead for their lives or scream in pain, and saw corpses and hacked body parts.

"There's no baseline in history to compare with what we're seeing in the children in Rwanda," said Leila Gupta, a UNICEF expert on trauma and grieving who is in charge of the research project. "Not even with Holocaust survivors."

Nearly one-third of the children interviewed witnessed sexual assault, often gang rape. The majority saw their homes burned or destroyed. And 16% hid under dead bodies to escape being killed. Many clearly are haunted by the horrors they experienced.

"We asked children what they want to be when they grow up," Gupta said, describing the survey. "Many just said, 'Alive.'"

"

Symptoms of the trauma vary. Some children suffer night terrors and scream out in their sleep. Others stop eating or talking. Some are dangerously aggressive, others totally withdrawn.

"Some children, when they see a soldier with a gun, literally pass out on the street," Gupta said. "Others run away or scream."

The National Trauma Center, which opened in September 1995 on the outskirts of Kigali, has helped train thousands of teachers, social workers, health workers and others to recognize severe trauma and help heal it. Radio, the only mass medium in Rwanda, is used to raise public awareness.

The treatment is rudimentary, and cultural barriers are high in a society where it is inappropriate to show emotion. But traumatized children are urged to express their suffering, their fear and their grief through singing, drawing and writing stories or poems.

On a recent morning, social worker Agnace Mukanyarwaya quietly counseled several children at the barrackslike hospital in the town of Nyanza, about 20 miles south of Gitarama. Her first patient, Fred, was 6.

"He doesn't sleep," Mukanyarwaya said. "He has headaches full time. He has fear always. He won't talk to anyone. He just stays alone. And he cries."

She gave him a piece of paper and several colored pencils. She later explained his jagged lines and crude stick figures.

"He draws the road," she said. "Then he draws two or three boys happy and playing football. Then the militia comes and kills all the boys with machetes and throws him down the hole [mass grave] with the bodies."

She paused, then added: "Some of these children are in a living hell. Sometimes I cannot stop crying when they start crying."

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

African Leader Plays Politics With Drought

Louise Tunbridge, Special to The Christian Science Monitor
Tuesday February 25, 1997 Edition

NAIROBI, KENYA Opposition politicians in Kenya say they have never had an easy time. Now, they add, the imposition of a "draconian" act by the government in t

he name of bringing the nation "relief," may give the president unfair advantage in the next elections.

With the successive failure of rains, this East African nation is experiencing the worst drought in years with urgent appeals for relief food being made.

By declaring a national disaster, opposition forces accuse President Daniel arap Moi of taking advantage of the nation's hardship by imposing the Preservation of National Security Act, a sweeping law dating back to Kenya's colonial British past.

Besides enabling the finance minister to waive import duties and taxes on essential food items such as corn, milk, and rice, it also gives the government sweeping emergency powers. The act allows the government to detain people, censor news reports, impose curfews, control meetings and processions, and remove diplomatic privileges.

The issue has provoked a public outcry from lawyers and church leaders, who accuse the government of using the drought disaster as a cover to gain unfair advantage in the runup to presidential and parliamentary elections, due to be held later this year.

"This is quite sinister," says constitutional lawyer Gibson Kamau Kuria. "There was no need to declare a disaster to deal with this [drought]. It's like using a sledgehammer to kill a fly. There are other ways of coping with hunger. Somebody must have wanted emergency powers for political purposes." In the past, Mr. Kamau Kuria adds, the act had been used against prodemocracy and civil rights activists. Before the advent of multiparty democracy in 1992, Kenya held a large number of political prisoners in detention under provisions of the act.

Justifying the measures, an official statement accused opposition politicians of deliberately choosing to misinterpret the situation. "They are indeed jeopardizing the ability of willing international aid and relief agencies ... to readily mobilize support to supplement the government's efforts in giving relief to the needy," it said. The draconian regulations contained in the act would not necessarily be imposed, the statement continued.

BUT among the charges and countercharges, the need for food relief is still ac

ute. The government says it has placed 36 districts under a famine relief program. In a \$12.3 million operation over six months, the UN's World Food Programme has begun providing food to nearly half a million people. Other foreign aid groups and local churches are also responding.

Observers say the charitable relief effort has had little to do with the new law. At the same time, however, they are worried by an increasingly hard line attitude being taken towards government opponents.

This month, opposition members of parliament Paul Muite and Kiraitu Murungi were beaten and whipped by police trying to stop them addressing crowds in Nyeri, north of the capital Nairobi. Another opposition MP, Charity Ngilu, was charged in court with holding an illegal meeting in her own constituency. In another incident, a demonstration in Nairobi against police brutality was broken up by anti-riot police armed with rifles and tear gas.

President Moi and his ruling Kenya African National Union (KANU) party are widely tipped to win this year's elections. But analysts say Moi, who has ruled since 1978, is determined to decimate the opposition by securing a big enough parliamentary majority to force through constitutional changes such as the clause that otherwise makes his next term in office his last.

Kenya has six official opposition parties that share 78 seats in parliament. The ruling KANU party has 110 seats.
#K2PP#

NEW YORK TIMES
South African Farmer Turns Former Workers Into Landowners
By Suzanne Daley
February 25, 1997

ISGUND, South Africa--Hendrick Kritzinger's family has farmed the valley here for generations, using hundreds of mixed-race workers to prune and weed and spray and harvest the apple and pear orchards that have produced his substantial wealth.

But apartheid laws made sure his workers had few of the opportunities his family enjoyed. Restricted in where they could live and forced to go to inferior schools, they lived a meager, precarious existence, laboring in the fields or the packing plant from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. for barely more than enough to eat. Many of them can barely read. They drink too much. They die young.

Kritzinger, who drives around his eight farms in a battered Peugeot identifying poorly pruned branches and spots of fungus from 100 feet, is an Afrikaner. Last year he decided it was time to start making up for the past.

Ignoring the snickers of his white neighbors, he arranged for 134 of his 500 employees to buy the farm next door, pushing them to take advantage of a government subsidy for the very poor. He agreed to oversee the place and linked their farm's profitability with his own.

Wrapping pears with tissue and boxing them quickly in Kritzinger's packinghouse here recently, Angeline Lindeor, 31 and the mother of three, could not help a shy smile about her new status as a landowner.

"Oh yes, it feels good," she said. "I never thought this would be. Always before we were afraid, afraid of all things. But not now. It is different now."

Almost three years after the country's first nonracial elections, government efforts to redistribute the 80 percent of South Africa's farmland that is in white hands are going slowly: less than 1 percent of it has actually been transferred to nonwhite ownership.

In fact, some government land reform efforts have met a vicious form of resistance. Thousands of black farm workers and tenant laborers have been evicted from their homes by white farmers who fear new legislation that gives blacks some rights in the buying of land they have worked on for decades.

But here and there, a handful of white farmers have taken another route, quietly stepping up to suggest creative ways to hand over land, offering the expertise blacks need to break into a \$6 billion industry. Kritzinger is one of them. Government officials say they hope more will follow his model.

He isn't much of a talker, and he refuses to get maudlin about his project. "I could say that I am doing it for them," he said gruffly, "but it is for me, too. I live among these people."

He is probably not the average South African farmer. He has a degree in agriculture from Stellenbosch University, and his walls are covered with pictures of him and his family rafting in North Carolina and skiing in Switzerland. He is a vegetarian and suggests a reading list, including books about the effects of

f slavery on self-worth, for those who want to understand what he is doing.

The chances that nonwhite workers could go it alone--even if they had the money to buy the farms--are slim. Apartheid was effective not only in keeping nonwhites from owning land, but also in keeping them from understanding the very basics of running a business--how to open a bank account, for instance, or how to assess the costs of production. Right now, in the town of Cookhouse, about 200 miles from Misgund in Eastern Cape Province, a group of 60 workers are failing miserably in their effort to run their own farm. Its alfalfa fields have not even been planted this year. There is no diesel for the tractors, and several of the workers have given up and gone looking for other jobs.

"They know when to water and to harvest," said Hink Brinsloo, a planner with the Department of Land Affairs, "but they don't know any of the administrative stuff. We are hoping that with a little help we can get them turned around, but it is tough for them."

Some of the white farmers in Cookhouse have a grimmer assessment. They say the workers were swindled by a white farmer who saw a chance to pry open the government's wallet and charged them far too much for his property.

Kritzinger's efforts were not immediately embraced by his employees, and they do not seem to have any particular warmth for him, even now. If he asks a question, they stand stock-still.

The local Dutch Reformed minister, the Rev. Johan Smuts, says that he rarely hears the project discussed among the workers and that he wonders whether they really understand it.

Jas Plaa, who has worked for Kritzinger for 19 years, says many at first disparaged the project, using the word Boer, a pejorative term for Afrikaners. And many, he adds, would sell their shares in the farm now if they could. (They cannot for five years.) "They won't care how much they get as long as it's money," he said.

Kritzinger says he understands. For too long, he adds, the Afrikaners who voted in apartheid said, "You will get, you will get," but they gave nothing. He has his doubts about the scheme, too. He worries that the workers will be so anxious to get cash that they will not want to reinvest any profits in their farm. Without reinvestment, it will fail. A freak hailstorm this

year did not make things any better. The profit is not likely to be more than \$400 a person.

"In the past," he said, "we spent so much time telling these people, 'Don't think--just work.' Now all of a sudden, we are saying, 'You've got to think, the n act.' It is very difficult."

"Sometimes," he added, cautiously admitting to a tinge of the racism that many once indulged in without embarrassment, "you wonder if they can. I battle to keep that idea out of my head every day. "

Still, when the workers have been asked to work without pay at their own farm on Saturdays, attendance has been pretty good. Kritzinger oversees the farm for them, though he owns no part of it. It was paid for by a \$3,000 subsidy that the government has offered to help the very poor buy housing or land.

He says he hopes his reward will be 134 newly motivated workers, most of them not working on the farm they own but on two of his properties. To increase their interest in his farm, he has also come up with a formula to pool the profits from their farm and two of his.

At the moment, government officials say, that is a plus for the workers, because Kritzinger's farms are in much better shape than theirs. But there may be some benefit for Kritzinger as well. Consultants have told him that motivated fruit handlers, more careful in their work, could increase his farms' profits by 30 percent.

No one in this tiny community has threatened the project. But Kritzinger's wife, Martie, says the gossip never stops.

"They just think he's stupid," she said. "They don't think that it will work. I just hope it does, because I want to prove them wrong very badly."

WASHINGTON POST
Editorial: A General on the Take
Tuesday, February 25 1997; Page A16

THE GENERAL in charge of Mexico's drug-fighting apparatus has just been arrested for being on the take from the No. 1 drug kingpin. It could not have happened at a worse time for the Zedillo government. Until now it was a given that its cooperation with the United States was Mexico's best ever. Now President Zedillo has done exactly the right thing,

plucking a bad apple out of the barrel
, and in Washington pressure is rising for President Clinton not to "certify"
Mexico as
a good partner in the campaign against drugs. "Decertification" opens
a country to major trade and loan penalties. Mexico
is not the only Latin country
on the line, but this year it is the hard case. It should be certified. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright describes the immediate problem as one of
determining whether the glass is half
full, because of the government's "strong
stands," or half empty, because of "very serious problems" in law enforcement.
The enforcement branch of the U.S. government resists the tendency, but customarily such tensions over Mexican policy
are resolved, as they should be, by
putting more factors into the equation. Not only Mexico's drug policies are considered
but also the immense American interest in doing business with Mexico
and in contributing to the stability of a country
whose instability registers
itself sharply in the immigration columns.

In fact, the whole notion of the United States certifying its ostensible partners is for the most part an anomalous and
gratuitous exercise offensive to Latin
nationalism. That would be unfortunate but bearable if decertifying Mexico,
or
certifying it conditionally, fired up the Mexican authorities to fight drug trafficking harder. But there is scant evidence this is
so. The procedure cannot
punish lax conduct, but it cannot create diligent law enforcement except at
the margins. Serious
law enforcement requires a working political and economic
order: democracy and modernization. These goals recede
when the United States
is seen to be leaning on the Latins and neglecting drug problems at home.

Certification serves the larger counter-drug strategy of interdiction. If you
believe, as have successive American
administrations, in choking off the supply,
then it is logical to enlist Latin and other producing and transit countries.
The
next step down that road is to punish countries that don't adequately contribute to interdiction. But the evidence of the
American street, where cocaine
is cheap and plentiful, is that interdiction works poorly. The focus on supply has to be
augmented by harder thinking about ways to police and diminish demand.

NEW YORK TIMES
U.S. May Drop Mexico as Ally Fighting Drugs
By Sam Dillon

February 25, 1997

U.S. officials said on Monday that Mexico could for the first time lose its status as a country that fully cooperates in the war against drugs.

Gen. Barry McCaffrey, the head of the White House anti-drug office, said he presided over an interagency meeting on Monday in which senior officials seriously considered downgrading Mexico's rating as an ally in the drug fight.

American officials said recent disclosures about ties between Mexican officials and drug traffickers had re-opened a discussion about Mexico that had been all but concluded several weeks ago.

Until now, Mexico has routinely received unconditional certification under an annual assessment resented by Mexico but required by Congress. But McCaffrey said aid officials were now weighing whether to qualify that approval with a "national interest" waiver. This step would fall short of the trade sanctions assessed against nations that do not cooperate on drug enforcement, but would be a major diplomatic embarrassment.

U.S. officials are increasingly concerned about the political consequences of appearing to go easy on Mexico. A spokeswoman for Sen. Dianne Feinstein said on Monday night that the California Democrat was drafting a letter to President Clinton urging him to apply the "national interest" waiver.

In Mexico City, officials disclosed on Monday that the corruption of its anti-drug program was more widespread than previously acknowledged. They said they had dismissed 36 employees from the federal drug agency and were scrutinizing every remaining staff member for possible ties to traffickers. The head of the agency, General Jesus Gutierrez Rebollo, was arrested this month on charges of collaborating with one Mexico's most powerful drug lords.

Mexico's attorney general, Jorge Madrazo Cuellar, said that the agents dismissed from the drug agency were all those who "were in contact" with Gutierrez and that all were under investigation for criminal and civil violations, but he did not provide specifics.

Officials in both countries said that their collaborative effort to stem the flow of narcotics was in disarray and that recent disclosures about the drug ties of high-level officials had seriously undermined the relationship between the two countries.

he two
neighbors.

"There is growing anxiety by both partners," said McCaffrey, director of the White House Office on Drug Control Policy. He said the arrest of Gutierrez was "a major blow to confidence." Madrazo said the indictment last week of Gutierrez, the former commissioner of the National Institute to Combat Drugs, had "damaged" cooperation with the United States and eroded the trust of top American officials. He said the review of anti-drug agencies would include the federal agency that leads the drug war and the 10 working groups that coordinate anti-drug efforts with the United States.

"I believe we have to rethink the whole system," Madrazo, Mexico's highest justice official, told reporters.

A larger dilemma looms for Mexican officials behind their statements about the housecleaning they intend. In the last year the federal police have undergone a purge in which more than 900 agents were dismissed. Federal officials have had to staff positions with army troops with no anti-narcotics training or young civilian recruits with no experience. It is not clear where Madrazo can turn to fill high-level posts in the narcotics agency vacated by General Gutierrez and his associates.

In an unusually forthright and emotional television interview on Sunday, President Ernesto Zedillo suggested that he was planning more measures to purge and restructure the anti-drug police.

Calling Gutierrez's downfall "a warning alert," Zedillo said, "It made me realize that narcotics crime has reached extremely serious levels, and we are going to have to take measures never seen before in our country to stop it."

Zedillo said Gutierrez's alleged ties to the cartel controlled by the cocaine baron Amado Carrillo Fuentes were "terrible and sordid" and had caused "national shame." The president offered a personal apology to the Mexican people for appointing the general to head the drug agency in December 1996.

Agents working for the attorney general are poring over the files of every employee of the drug institute including administrative personnel, Madrazo said, suggesting that the list may yet grow. Defense officials have suggested that more military officers are under investigation besides an intelligence captain

who was arrested with Gutierrez.

Mexican officials said their attempt to sweep out the drug programs was not related to Clinton's decision this week on whether to certify that Mexico is making significant progress in its war on drugs.

Madrazo dismissed Washington's certification as "a unilateral measure that does not really help to fight drug trafficking."

He said his office has no investigations pending into possible ties to drug trafficking of two state governors, Manlio Fabio Beltrones Rivera of Sonora and Jorge Carrillo Olea of Morelos. The New York Times, citing American intelligence and counternarcotics officials, reported on Sunday that the two state leaders, both elected from the governing party, had collaborated with traffickers.

Both governors strongly objected to the report. Beltrones said he would contact Madrazo to demand a Mexican investigation into the charges against him and to insist that Mexico require the United States to share its evidence.

Madrazo said he would ask the United States if it has "legally valid evidence" against the governors. But a U.S. official, who requested anonymity, said the distrust between the two nations at this time made it unlikely that American drug agents would be willing to share confidential information.

A copy of the case military investigators made against Gutierrez, which was obtained by the weekly news magazine Proceso, showed that the main witness against him was his driver, a second lieutenant named Juan Galvan Lara. The officer confessed that he had been sent by the general to many meetings with deputies of Carrillo Fuentes, one of Mexico's most aggressive cocaine traffickers, and received payoffs of at least \$50,000 from them.

Galvan's testimony alleges, with a wealth of details, that Gutierrez worked with Carrillo Fuentes to build his share of the drug trade and defeat a rival cartel run by the Arellano Felix brothers. In April 1996 a deputy to the drug baron, Enrique Gonzalez Quirarte, warned Gutierrez that the Arellano Felix gang was planning to kill him, Galvan said, and provided the general with two fully armored vehicles for his personal use. That was reportedly the beginning of a close partnership between Gutierrez and Gonzalez Quirarte.

Galvan testified that an army major in a garrison in Culiacan, Sinaloa, was re

sponsible for tipping off Carrillo Fuentes that special army anti-narcotics troops were going to raid his sister's wedding in January. The wedding raids were commanded by Gutierrez. Carrillo Fuentes slipped away from the wedding just before the troops arrived.

Searches conducted on Saturday by federal agents turned up evidence that Carrillo Fuentes, who is one of Mexico's most wanted criminals, has lived and moved about in Mexico City. In a startling new indication of the impunity Gutierrez apparently believed he has, the searches also showed that the general agreed to live in an apartment belonging to Carrillo Fuentes in the same luxury building in the capital where the drug lord resided.

In Carrillo Fuentes' sixth-floor apartment, the police found a barrel of tequila carved with the drug baron's name as well as \$10,000 in cash and a note addressed to Carrillo Fuentes from a man in prison. Gutierrez's apartment was on the second floor. #12PQP#

MIAMI HERALD
Zedillo Feels Political Heat Over Crony
The Oppenheimer Report By Andres Oppenheimer
Monday, February 24, 1997

MEXICO: New allegations touch president's ally. President Ernesto Zedillo faces a political hot potato in dealing with new allegations by U.S. anti drug officials that Sonora governor Manlio Fabio Beltrones has links to drug traffickers.

Beltrones not only has the solid backing of Mexico's ruling party "dinosaurs" he is a political protege of behind-the-scenes party chief Fernando Gutierrez Barrios but he was also instrumental in Zedillo's 1994 nomination for the presidency.

It was Beltrones who on March 29, 1994, shortly after the murder of ruling party candidate Luis Donaldo Colosio, proposed Zedillo's nomination at a meeting of 27 party governors. Participants say Beltrones swayed the meeting in Zedillo's favor, which was critical in former President Carlos Salinas' decision to pick Zedillo for the candidacy.

In an interview with The Herald over the weekend, Beltrones described the drug allegations as "politically motivated fabrications in an election year," referring to Mexico's key midyear congressional elections. Some U.S. anti narcotics

officials say the drug allegations are credible, but others say they wouldn't stand up in a U.S. court.

NAZI GOLD: From Switzerland to Argentina. A report scheduled to be released by the U.S. government next month is expected to contain startling revelations about Nazi accounts in Swiss banks that were transferred to Argentina, U.S. officials say.

The report is scheduled to contain 200 documents, some of them newly declassified. Some of them will expand on a recently released April 1945 cable from the U.S. Embassy in Buenos Aires, estimating that more than \$1 billion was funneled from Nazi accounts in Swiss banks to Argentina in the final months of World War II.

Jim Desler, a spokesman for the interagency committee chaired by Undersecretary of Commerce Stuart Eizenstat, which wrote the report, would confirm only that the document will be released "no later than the end of March."

ARGENTINA: Economic comeback? The good news for Argentine President Carlos S. Menem is that the economy grew by 4.4 percent last year, surpassing government projections and recovering from the previous year's economic slump, according to just-released economy ministry figures.

Even more encouraging is the fact that the economy grew by 9.2 percent in the last quarter of 1996. Many are beginning to credit economy minister Roque Fernandez, who not too long ago was seen as a lackluster replacement for former minister Domingo Cavallo. A new star is born?

COLOMBIAN OFFICIALS' FAVORITE U.S. VILLAIN: Changing jobs? U.S. State Department antinarcotics chief Ambassador Robert Gelbard, who has championed the Clinton administration's measures against Colombian President Ernesto Samper because of alleged drug cartel contributions to his campaign, is about to change jobs.

Well-placed State Department officials say Gelbard is likely to be promoted to a bigger job, perhaps one that will entail supervising U.S. peacekeeping efforts in Bosnia. If it happens, there may be sighs of relief in government quarters in Colombia and other countries where Gelbard has denounced high-level drug corruption. Gelbard could not be reached for comment over the weekend.

U.S. CUBA EXPERT: Back to his old boss. Also changing jobs will be Richard Nuccio, former State Department Cuba adviser who engineered the Clinton administration's two-track policy toward the island.

Nuccio, who had his security clearance stripped by the CIA on charges of leaking secret information about the agency's involvement in Guatemala, is expected to leave the State Department this week to become a senior foreign affairs adviser to Sen. Robert Torricelli, his onetime boss, congressional staffers say.

#K2PP#

WASHINGTON POST
Shoot-Down Became Diplomatic and Political Turning Point
By Thomas W. Lippman
Tuesday, February 25 1997; Page A03

In the year since Cuba shot down two small, unarmed U.S. planes over international waters, killing the four Cuban exile crew members, the incident has become the defining element in U.S.-Cuban relations.

What began as a single act of violence fueled by Cuban outrage over perceived provocations by the exiles led directly to President Clinton signing legislation for new trade sanctions he previously had opposed and became a diplomatic and political landmark that has influenced foreign policy issues far beyond Cuba and soured relations with some of Washington's closest allies.

Congress and the administration have made pressure on the government of President Fidel Castro one of their highest-profile objectives, even at the risk of undermining other goals. Because of the shoot-down and a crackdown on human rights activity within Cuba that preceded it, any inclination the administration might have had to try a new approach with him was snuffed out.

An effort to expand freedom for Cubans by increasing U.S.-Cuban contacts fell by the wayside because the administration concluded, as one senior official said yesterday, that Castro "looked down the pipe of reform and walked away from it."

"The shootdown and the Cuban government's continuing repression of human rights activists and independent journalists underscore the need to continue working for a peaceful transition to democracy in Cuba," President Clinton said yesterday.

erday in a statement marking the first anniversary of the event. "The United States continues to lead the international effort to achieve that goal, and over the past year more of our friends and allies than ever before have joined with us to help bring democracy to Cuba."

The statement omitted any mention of the continuing outrage in Europe and Canada over the trade sanctions legislation, known as the Helms-Burton Act after its congressional sponsors, Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) and Rep. Dan Burton (R-Ind.). But senior officials predicted that outrage will pass and in any case "it was worth it," as one put it.

"Not even China or Iran has shot down U.S. citizens over international waters," one senior official said. "This is an important issue for this government."

But the White House decision to take an extremely hard line in response to the shoot-down has stirred some concern in the State Department over the corrosive effect on relations with Europe.

"A lot of people are very concerned about the [Cuban] tail wagging the dog on foreign policy," one State Department official said. "We've essentially been in damage control around here since March," when Clinton signed Helms-Burton.

The law provides for executives of foreign companies that invest in Cuba and "traffic" in property seized by the Cuban government without compensation to be denied U.S. visas. It also allows U.S. citizens who owned seized property -- including naturalized Cuban exiles--to sue foreign companies whose investments in Cuba involve its use.

The European Union and Canada objected furiously to Helms-Burton, which they regard as an "extraterritorial" effort to make them adhere to a U.S. policy with which they do not agree.

Clinton has sought to assuage European feelings by twice temporarily suspending the lawsuit provision and signaling that he will keep doing so indefinitely.

The European Union responded to U.S. pressure on the Cuban human rights issue by adopting a binding policy under which all future relations with Cuba will be made conditional on liberalization there. But the Europeans have shown no flexibility on the trade issue and have infuriated the White House by insisting on pursuing a formal complaint against Washington in the World Trade Organization.

ion. The administration announced last week that it will not participate in the WTO complaint process, arguing that Helms-Burton is a political and national security issue, not a trade issue, and thus does not belong in WTO.

Senior officials yesterday rejected any suggestion that the United States was undermining the credibility of the organization it sought for years to establish by ignoring its procedure for resolving trade disputes.

"The Europeans were stupid to pick this fight," one said. "The more sophisticated Europeans know that they don't want the WTO adjudicating political issues."

WASHINGTON POST
In Airborne Salute, Fallen Cuban Exiles Are Honored
By Nick Madigan
Tuesday, February 25 1997; Page A03

OVER THE STRAITS OF FLORIDA, Feb. 24--Through the open door of a small plane at 500 feet, Jose Basulto tossed white carnations into the calm blue waters 21 miles north of Cuba.

Circling around him this afternoon were half a dozen other aircraft, all testing the limits of the Castro regime's forbearance by visiting the site of the drowning one year ago of two planes belonging to the exile group Brothers to the Rescue. Four men were killed.

Sitting next to Basulto in the cockpit of the Cessna Skymaster 337, pilot Guillermo Lares offered the Lord's Prayer in memory of the fallen fliers, whose planes were shot out of the sky in international airspace by Cuban MiG-29 fighters. Over the static of the radio connecting the exiles' planes, other pilots joined in the oration.

"Mission accomplished," Basulto, the group's founder, told another pilot, obviously relieved that the anniversary flight had not brought a repetition of last year's violence. "I'm very proud of everyone who took part today."

Cuba, meanwhile, was listening. An air-traffic controller warned three times from Havana that the fliers were using an unauthorized frequency that could jeopardize other flights in the area.

"You sound like a broken record," Basulto responded, his patience with the government of his native land worn thin.

The downing of the two unarmed planes on Feb. 24, 1996, created a diplomatic cacophony that echoed across the hemisphere. The MiG pilots' chest-beating was denounced in vehement terms by Madeleine K. Albright, then the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations. The shoot-down prompted President Clinton to sign the Helms-Burton Act, which codified the three-decades-old embargo against Cuba and enabled Americans to sue foreign companies and individuals who benefit from property and businesses seized after Fidel Castro took power in 1959.

Bowing to strong complaints from Canada and the European Union, however, Clinton has twice suspended the latter provision.

The Cuban government's initial assertion that the Brothers planes had been shot down in Cuba's airspace was contradicted by U.S. intelligence reports that put the planes well outside the island's 12-mile territorial radius.

For Cuban Americans, the anniversary is the latest among many painful reminders of an almost powerless exile, and the dead men--Armando Alejandre, Carlos Costa, Pablo Morales and Mario de la Pena--are the newest martyrs in a pantheon of liberation fighters dating to Cuba's struggles with its colonial ruler, Spain.

Some exiles still question whether U.S. military air-traffic controllers were aware that the Cuban fighter jets were closing in on the two Cessnas and did nothing to dispatch American fighters to protect them.

Basulto, who took part in the ill-fated Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961 and a year later fired a cannon toward Havana from a boat, said while aloft that the downing of the two aircraft, while tragic, had a silver lining.

"The change in policy that has resulted from this is the most positive thing that has occurred in United States policy toward Cuba," he said. "Not only do we have Helms-Burton, but we have an agreement from the U.S. government to help Cuba with billions of dollars once Castro is gone. That's a window of opportunity, and it's encouraging for the Cubans who remain there. "Before that," he said, "Cubans had no alternative but to take to the water in rafts."

Basulto, who was aboard a third plane a year ago that made its way safely back to Miami, is convinced there was a U.S. government conspiracy to let the attack on the fliers proceed, but he made no mention of that today.

Brothers to the Rescue's anniversary mission was joined by the Democracia Movement, a group that for years has taken to the seas in anti-Castro flotillas. Its small squadron today was to have included two former military training jets, but in a change of heart they were left on the airstrip. The jets, English-made Provosts that flew for the Royal Air Force in the 1950s, carry no arms but raised concerns that Cuba might interpret today's flights as an act of war.

Today's events included the renaming of a bridge in Sweetwater, a Miami suburb, in honor of the four slain fliers. Before the flights, there was a memorial ceremony at Opa-Locka Airport, where the Brothers planes are based. A memorial service was also held in Miami as a Democracia Movement flotilla sailed past.

At 3:21 p.m., a seven-minute period of mourning was observed, both over the site of the shoot-down and on the ground in Miami. Spanish-language radio stations broadcast prayers and poems in honor of the fallen fliers.

NEW YORK TIMES
Ceremonies Honor Fliers Shot Down by Cuban Jets
By Larry Rohter
February 25, 1997

MIAMI--Exactly one year after the Cuban air force shot down two airplanes belonging to a Cuban exile group based here, a memorial squadron Monday returned to the scene of the attack, honoring the victims without incident despite warnings from the Cuban government.

To commemorate the incident, leaders of exile groups dropped wreaths into the waters of the Florida Straits between 3:21 and 3:28 Monday afternoon. That was the precise moment that Cuban MiGs fired missiles at two small, unarmed Cessna airplanes belonging to Brothers to the Rescue, a group that specializes in searching for rafters fleeing Cuba.

Four Cuban-Americans died in the incident, which plunged relations between the United States and Cuba into a period of deepened hostility that has yet to lift. As a result of the incident, President Clinton signed into law the Helms-Burton bill, which strengthened the American economic embargo against Cuba and, as a result, strained ties between the United States and some of its closest trading partners.

On Monday, Cuba stepped up patrols in the waters off Havana, but the Cubans kept their distance from a Coast Guard

vessel sent to the attack area. Late last week, a spokesman for the Cuban Foreign Ministry, Marianela Ferriol, warned that her government would take "all measures necessary to prevent any violation" of Cuban airspace or waters.

Just hours after that statement, Washington warned both the Cuban government and exiles here of their obligations under international law. While cautioning exile groups that any penetration of Cuban territory would be "playing with fire," the State Department also reminded the Cuban government that such groups had a right to pay tribute to the victims in international waters.

Cuba maintains that it acted in self-defense last year after the exiles' planes deliberately violated the country's airspace. But American radar data and the eyewitness accounts of crew members and passengers on a cruise ship and a fishing boat that were in the area indicate that the attack took place in international waters, at least 8 miles beyond the 12-mile limit claimed by Cuba.

After an emotional memorial service at Opa-Locka airport here, the home base of the fliers who died, the exile air squadron took off early Monday afternoon, with reporters from local television and radio stations tagging along. Flight organizers complained that the Federal Aviation Administration warned them in a pre-flight briefing that they were prohibited from using radio frequencies to make political statements directed at Cuba.

The aerial flotilla did not include the two aging British Provost jet fighters that a Cuban exile group here bought with the announced intention of flying them in the ceremonies Monday. The purchase provoked concern in Washington and led the federal authorities to restrict the jets' flight plans to within 40 miles of Key West.

"It was intended as a symbolic flight," said Ramon Saul Sanchez, the leader of Movimiento Democracia, the group that obtained the planes. Sanchez said the group changed its plan "so as not to compromise the other civilian planes and so that Castro won't have an excuse" to attack the memorial squadron.

Other commemorations took place on land and at sea here. Several Spanish-language radio and television stations observed periods of silence Monday afternoon, and hundreds of people attended memorial Masses or highly politicized mourning ceremonies.

During at least one Mass on Monday in Havana, the names of the four victims were read out. But leaders of dissident groups said Cuban state security had squelched efforts to organize any larger commemoration, and relatives of the dead men still in Cuba have complained of a recent increase in official harassment and intimidation against them.

MIAMI HERALD
Downed Fliers' Kin Relive Deadly Day in Anger and Anguish
By Armando Correa and Fabiola Santiago, Herald Staff Writers
February 24, 1997

In Carlos Costa's bedroom, the calendar remains on the same page: February 24, 1996. At the home of Armando Alejandro's parents, a white rose marks his empty place at family gatherings.

Mario de la Pe9a's parents treasure their son's mementos of the land he loved but never knew--a small container of Cuban water, a Cuban flag. Pablo Morales' family keeps his memory alive in a corner of the living room with plaques, pictures, even a street sign with his name.

They were beloved sons. Today, on the first anniversary of the afternoon when the four Brothers to the Rescue volunteer aviators were blown out of the sky by Cuban MiGs, they're a community's martyrs.

Their names will resonate all over Dade in the somber pitch of a roll call -- Armando Alejandro, Carlos Costa, Pablo Morales, Mario de la Pe9 a. Names of ordinary young men who took to the skies in search of Cuban rafters and died when their blue Cessnas were shot down. Names now inscribed in Dade on street signs, monuments and plaques, and forever in Cuban exile history.

Exiles will mark the anniversary wearing black ribbons, spilling flowers into the sea from a squadron of planes, and praying for the dead and for Cuba's freedom. At the exact moment when the first Brothers plane was shot down--3:21 p.m.--a seven-minute silent tribute begins. Seven minutes is the time it took the MiGs to shoot down the two Brothers planes. Jose Basulto, the organization's president, his co-pilot Arnaldo Iglesias, and two passengers, Sylvia and Andres Iriondo, escaped unharmed.

A YEAR OF GRIEF

For the families of the dead, the four survivors and exiles who have mourned the losses and joined in condemnations of Cuba's brutal act, it has been a year of grief and anger, with moments--all too few--of hope and healing.

"I will never be able to become accustomed to Carlos' death," said his mother, Mirta Costa, opening the door to his bedroom. "Here is his perfume, his warmth. I lay on his bed and I travel to the past to relive our happy moments."

One morning soon after the deaths, Miriam de la Pe9a's house was filled with relatives and friends keeping her company when the telephone rang. No one picked it up on time and the answering machine took the call.

"Please leave your message," Mario de la Pe9a's voice rang through the house.

Everyone broke into tears and sobs.

"I would have left that message on the machine until today, but it was too strong for the family to bear," said Miriam.

MOTHERS ON A MISSION

Once dedicated to her family, church and work, today Miriam, like most of the other mothers, travels the world denouncing the government of Fidel Castro. "It's very difficult," said Mario de la Pe9a, the father, "to see time just move on."

Although all the families say Castro is to blame, some of the family's anger has been directed at Basulto, the man who led the three Cessnas on their ill-fated mission.

"There was negligence," Mirta Costa said. "Every time I can, I tell him and the other pilots, because it's not worth it to die just to launch papers at sea."

Costa was referring to the times Brothers planes dropped anti-Castro leaflets, once over Havana, another time over the Florida Straits, hoping the wind would carry them to Cuba.

"It's very tough to lose a son, and worse under these circumstances," she said.

BASULTO SHUNNED

Basulto, founder and president of Brothers to the Rescue, has been excluded from some public events and international forums where the families have denounced

ed the killings. Where they have shared the limelight, Basulto and the families have been awkwardly apart. Once, a mother walked off stage when Basulto was called, Basulto said.

“It has hurt me,” said Basulto. “I’m something tangible they can blame for what happened that day.”

Recently, Basulto said, he met with the families hoping to patch up the relationship. He will not reveal details of their conversation, except to say he told them how he felt. “Since then, I’ve noticed a positive change in them.”

Only the family of Pablo Morales maintains a friendly relationship with Basulto.

Eva Barba, Morales’ mother, doesn’t often attend the Wednesday night meetings of CAMP 4 Justice, the organization created by the families and named after the first letter of each of the aviators’ names. When she does, she wears the Brothers to the Rescue insignia pinned to her clothing. Her son believed Brother Nelson, who had spotted him as a rafter, saved his life.

“It hurts me what has been done to Basulto,” Barba said. “My son was an adult, and he was happy with what he was doing. I’m proud he was a member of Brothers to the Rescue.”

“Fidel is the murderer,” she said, echoing the words she shouted from her house in Havana the day she learned her son was dead. “Fidel, asesino!” she cried in film clips that went around the world.

A YEAR OF TURBULENCE, TROUBLE

The Morales family has endured a turbulent year.

Barba, her daughter Nancy Morales and her 13-year-old daughter Diancy Var were able to leave Cuba last May, after Pablo’s death, when the U.S. government granted them a humanitarian visa. Brother Nelson, a merchant mariner, defected in Panama. But other family members haven’t been so lucky. Seven were detained after they attempted to flee Cuba earlier this month.

The family has purchased a modest house in northwest Dade with some of the \$300,000 they received from the U.S. government, which took the funds out of Cuba’s frozen assets in the United States to punish the government. Each family received a check for the same amount and a letter from President Clinton.

"This was Pablito's dream," said his sister Nancy Morales. "He wanted us to have a little house, but I suffer because I cannot share it with him."

Margarita and Armando Alejandro wanted to do something to mark the resting place of their 45-year-old son, Armando Alejandro, a militant in Cuban-exile causes.

A SERVICE AT SEA

Last July, they took a cruise to the Bahamas on the Majestic Seas--the same cruise ship from which people witnessed the shoot-down. The couple brought with them 12 white roses and placed them in their cabin. "What beautiful flowers!" the cabin maid beamed. Margarita said nothing.

Then the couple told the captain of their intentions to hold a private memorial to their son at the spot where he died. The captain researched the exact location and headed there. At 3:28 p.m., the time Alejandro's plane was blown out of the sky, the Alejandres dropped the 12 roses in the sea.

"I was able to fulfill a wish I carried so deep inside," Margarita said.

The next day the maid asked what happened to the beautiful flowers.

"We dedicated them to my son," Margarita said and told her the story of his death.

"I was in the ship that day," the maid told her, breaking into tears and embracing Margarita. "It was terrible se9ora, terrible". #12PQP#

MIAMI HERALD

Haiti's Ruling Coalition Gets Fractious

By Sandra Marquez Garcia Special to The Herald

Monday, February 24, 1997

PORTAUPRINCE Haiti's ruling Lavalas coalition founded as an anti imperialist, anticapitalist movement is starting to buckle under the strain of political reality.

The coalition's main figures, former President JeanBertrand Aristide and party theoretician Gerard Pierre Charles, will run opposing candidates in Senate elections April 6.

"There is a system of [party] structure which is weak," said Haitian President Rene Preval, who has managed to maintain

his neutrality. "Each one thinks he is the best leader for the best party which is legitimate. There is a lot of clan warfare and a lot of personal warfare," he said in an interview.

Aristide who intends to make another bid for the presidency in 2000 recently founded his own party, the Lavalas Family. Observers consider the party's performance in the upcoming vote an important test of his political influence.

A year after he left office, Aristide has been unwilling to publicly support Preval's policies. Some diplomats believe he helped orchestrate a Jan. 16 general strike by fueling fear and frustration over the slow pace of change.

PROBLEMS PERSIST

More than two years after U.S.-led troops intervened to restore democracy, Haiti remains burdened by daily power outages, deficient phone service and massive unemployment.

But as the Preval government pushes ahead with reforms aimed at securing \$131 million in loans from the International Monetary Fund and the release of other foreign assistance, many Lavalas politicians fear they are being asked to betray their principles.

Lavalas which means flood in Creole emerged as a coalition of grass roots groups seeking social justice in the aftermath of the Duvalier dictatorship.

As Haiti prepared for its first democratic presidential elections in 1990, the movement's leadership tapped Aristide, then a charismatic Catholic priest who championed socialist ideals, as its candidate.

Now the movement is split between Aristide's camp, which seeks a retreat from IMF austerity measures, and the Lavalas Political Organization (OPL) headed by Pierre Charles, which has stressed its unwavering support for economic reform.

CLASHING STYLES

Respected by foreign observers for his efforts to promote a modern party system, Pierre Charles, a sociologist who spent 26 years of the Duvalier era exiled in Mexico, sees the schism as a conflict of leadership styles. "It's a contradiction between modernization and the tendency to return to personalism," he said. "Above and beyond the personality of Aristide, it is the struggle to reach a modern state."

OPL, which now holds nine of 27 Senate seats and 35 of 83 seats in the Chamber of Deputies, is eager to retain its plurality in parliament, entitling it to the post of prime minister.

One-third of the Senate seats and two lower house seats will be at stake in the April elections, and Pierre Charles suggests that Aristide may try to "play with the electoral machine."

Preval, whose Cabinet comprises a broad spectrum of Lavalas affiliation, has not been identified with any specific bloc.

SPLIT OPINIONS

Outside Lavalas, opinion is divided over the meaning of the split. Sen. Jean Robert Sabalat, an independent, sees it as a wasted chance to push through reforms in the absence of political opposition.

"I think it's sad for the country that all of these parties do not manage to come to an agreement at a very favorable moment in the Haitian political context," he said.

On the right, the conservative business elite that has long distrusted Aristide and the Lavalas movement is quietly applauding.

"They thought that once they had the power it would be happy ever after," a businessman said. "But now they are seeing that it's not easy to run this country."

It's not uncommon for coalitions that come together at a time of democratic transition to unravel once a major goal is met, U.S. Ambassador William Swing notes.

He recalled how anti-apartheid groups in South Africa separated once Nelson Mandela was released from prison. Lavalas members came together in a similar way to push for Aristide's return from exile, he said.

"That was the glue that held it together," Swing said. "Once that is decided, people tend to organize along particular lines and ideas."

MIAMI HERALD

Drug Rumors Cast Shadow Over Sun-Drenched Aruba

By Juan O. Tamayo, Herald Staff Writer

Monday, February 24, 1997

ORANJESTAD, ArubaA couple of simple numbers tell a nasty story about Aruba.

Money transfers from this tiny island of only 83,000 people to the United States have totaled more than \$1.4 billion since 1993.

Clear proof of money laundering, U.S. and Dutch officials say, evidence of just how thoroughly the cocaine Mafias have penetrated this selfruling Dutch territory, a tourism mecca of emerald waters and whitesand beaches.

President Clinton added Aruba to the U.S. list of "major illicit drug transit countries" last November alongside such notorious drug centers as Colombia and Afghanistan alleging that the past two years had seen "a major surge" in trafficking.

Especially worrisome to U.S. and Dutch officials are reports that the drug money is rapidly seeping into Aruba's economic and political life.

"There are criminals in Aruba who have gained major economic influence, and this is creating major problems for us and Aruba," said Jonathan Weiner, U.S. deputy assistant secretary of state for international drug issues.

A commission named by the Netherlands to investigate corruption charges by a prosecutor and police in Aruba noted in its final report that Aruba had achieved "a fastgrowing image" as a drugmafia haven. Stressing that it was only describing the image and not saying whether it was true, the De Ruiters Commission painted this picture in a report issued in November:

"The island has fallen prey to powerful families that not only dominate its economy but use Aruba to benefit South American drug cartels . . . and use the government as errand boys."

Prime Minister Jan Hendryk Eman's imageconscious governmentU.S. tourists are Aruba's top legal source of income denies all allegations as false charges fabricated by political foes.

Since he was elected in 1994, Eman has, in fact, tightened bank laws, endorsed an extradition pact with Washington, agreed to create a coast guard and ordered impartial probes that turned up no evidence of money laundering, government

spokesman Rene Herde said.

FACTS QUESTIONED

Clinton's decision, Herde argued, ``was based on outdated information." He added: ``I say to the Americans and the Dutch, `Show us your facts, and we'll do something about it.' "

U.S. drug officials reply:

Money transfers from Aruba to the United States soared from \$52 million in 1992 to \$335 million in 1993 and stayed at that level in 1994, 1995 and 1996. And that's legally reported transfers of \$10,000 or more.

U.S. prosecutors are still angry with Eman for writing to a federal judge in Miami in 1995 to complain that an Aruba man had been held in jail too long while awaiting trial. The man was later convicted of money laundering.

The Aruba government's recent adoption of regulations for carrying out an existing U.S.-Dutch extradition treaty was so procedurally muddled that some U.S. officials suspect that the process was willfully flawed to block extraditions.

``We smell a trap. We try it, we fail, and the guy walks because of double jeopardy," a Justice Department official said. Washington to date has filed no extradition requests for any of the five Arubans wanted on major U.S. drug-related charges.

TRAFFICKING MOVES EAST

Twenty miles off the coast of Venezuela, Aruba, a Dutch territory separate from the six islands that form the Netherlands Antilles, was long a relatively minor transshipment point for marijuana and later cocaine on the way from South America to U.S. markets.

But in the past two years, as enforcement campaigns in Mexico and the western Caribbean have pushed trafficking routes eastward, smuggling throughout the eastern Caribbean has soared.

Aruba is now being used as a transshipment point for cocaine and heroin smuggled from Colombia and Venezuela and bound for Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands, even Europe, especially the Netherlands and Italy, U.S. and Dutch officials say.

But Aruba is considered more of a moneylaundering center, a trade and tourism hub where loose banking regulations, 11 casinos and scores of hotels offer myriad options for sneaking drug profits into legal accounts. U.S. officials say

much of the money is laundered through the island's free trade zone for import export wholesalers, where entire containers can come in and out without undergoing customs inspections.

MAJOR INDUSTRY

Former Justice Minister Elio Nicolaas complained recently that money laundering had replaced tourism as Aruba's biggest source of hard currency.

With only 250 thinly trained policemen, little expertise in chasing money launderers and a tiny population where everyone knows each other, many Arubans have little hope of stemming the flow without U.S. and Dutch help.

Now drug money appears to be seeping into politics. The U.S. State Department's 1996 report on the world drug situation noted that "pervasive corruption is a serious problem that impedes efforts to control drug trafficking and money laundering."

One month after Eman took office, the government fired National Security Director Martin Ras, essentially a oneman FBI, after he hid his records at a Dutch navy base in Aruba.

COUNTERCHARGES

Ras complained that the Eman government wanted the names of his sources. The government said he passed information to U.S. drug agents without authorization. Ras now lives in the Netherlands.

Then last year, Aruba police began refusing to cooperate with Jan Zwinkels, a Dutchborn prosecutor who took part in a botched Dutch police operation that allowed a huge cocaine shipment from Aruba to reach the Netherlands and disappear. Aruba police complained that Zwinkels failed to tell local officials about the operation.

The De Ruiters commission cleared Zwinkels and recommended that Aruba's police chief and his top aide be removed and that Zwinkels be transferred out of the island to clear the air.

Carefully stating that its job was simply to investigate the Zwinkels case, the report said it had "found no reason" to believe that the Aruba government would not help Dutch authorities in future drug cases.

But many Arubans are convinced that it's not true.

MONEY IS POWER

"There's infiltration of drug money into politics," former Prime Minister Nelson Oduber said. "People with so much power and so much money are a constant threat to Aruba and its democracy."

Italian businessman Spartaco Ghini, jailed in Rome in the bankruptcy of an Aruba hotel linked to money laundering, told police last year that he gave \$50,000 to Eman's campaign. Eman denies receiving the money.

The wife of Colombian drug lord Jesus Sarria, who planned to build a hotel in Aruba, told friends she gave \$75,000 to Eman's campaign in 1994, the friends told The Herald. Eman denied he received any money from the woman, Elizabeth Montoya.

Jossy Mansur, leading member of one of Aruba's richest families, said the family gave \$50,000 to Eman's campaign. Two Mansur family members are under U.S. indictment for money laundering and live as fugitives in Aruba.

Eman was not the only one to benefit from Mansur family contributions.

NEW COALITION

Just before the 1994 elections to the 21-member parliament, Glenbert Croes, oldest son of the late Prime Minister Bettico Croes, established a new party, the Aruban Liberal Organization. The party won only two seats but forged a ruling coalition with Eman's Aruba Volks Party, which won 10 seats. The opposition Movimiento Electoral di Pueblo won nine seats.

Croes told a confidant just days before he founded the party that a Mansur family member had offered \$400,000 on behalf of the family to establish a new party rather than follow his father's footsteps and join the Movimiento.

Croes did not respond to several Herald attempts to reach him. Jossy Mansur said the main family enterprise, Mansur Trading, gave Croes only \$30,000 and that he knew nothing about other donations by individual family members.

In fact, neither donors nor politicians appear to have done anything illegal.

Aruba has no laws regulating campaign finances—no limits on campaign donations, no requirement to make campaign spending reports public.

“Anything can be done in Aruba,” said Tom Cash, retired head of the Drug Enforcement Administration office in Miami, which until last year also supervised the Caribbean islands. “For some, it is the Land of Oz.” Coming Tuesday: The Mansur family of Aruba is a fabulously wealthy clan with a Midas touch for business and unmatched political influence. But U.S. and Dutch officials and associates of Colombia's drug cartels have linked some family members to money laundering.

LOS ANGELES TIMES
Colombians Up Quality, Lower Price of Heroin
By Juanita Darling, Times Staff Writer
Monday, February 24, 1997

SAN JORGE DE LAS HERMOSAS, Colombia Every Friday afternoon, caravans of Toyota Land Cruisers and Ford Broncos raise a dust storm along the dirt road that leads to this village in the Colombian mountains.

Passengers in blue jeans and boots stop at El Porvenir, the village store, to sip soda and make discreet inquiries before continuing to the guerrilla roadblock that lies somewhere outside of town.

They are on their way to guerrilla-held territory to buy mancha, the sticky white liquid that flows from the poppies planted along the mountain ridge. Their purchases are the first link in a marketing chain that is changing U.S. heroin consumption.

Colombians are doing to the international heroin market what they did with cocaine: lowering the price and raising the quality to capture a broad customer base. They also are targeting a specific market: people who are afraid of becoming infected with the human immunodeficiency virus, which causes AIDS, from dirty needles. Colombian heroin is so pure that it can be smoked or sniffed instead of injected.

Colombians have already captured an estimated two-thirds of the East Coast heroin market, according to the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration, and the quality of their product is putting pressure on drug dealers throughout the United States.

Colombians have been reluctant to sell heroin on the West Coast because Mexican cartels control that market. Mexican traffickers have taken over much of the distribution of Colombian cocaine, and the Colombians do not want to share

he
roin profits with them or irk them by competing head on, narcotics experts said
.

Because the heroin trade is illegal, production figures are sketchy and estimates vary. Colombia's antinarcotics police estimate that the country produced 5,000 tons of heroin last year about as much as Mexico and barely 1.6% of total estimated world production. Most of the world's heroin comes from Southeast Asia, from what is known as the Golden Triangle—Myanmar, Thailand and Laos.

But the DEA says that half the heroin seized at U.S. airports last year was from Colombia. At East Coast airports, the figure was 91%.

Further, since the Colombians entered the heroin market in full force, the wholesale price of heroin in New York has dropped from \$230,000 a kilo (2.2 pounds) in 1992 to \$80,000 a kilo last year, according to one of the Colombian government's drug policy advisors, who asked not to be named.

That indicates that Colombia is producing enough heroin to drive down prices, the advisor said. "Colombian traffickers have read Adam Smith," he explained, referring to the 18th century economist who helped develop freemarket theory. "If you are able to put a product in the market at a reasonable price, the market will expand."

When the Colombians began trafficking cocaine in the early 1970s, it was the "rich man's drug" that actor Peter Fonda's character sold in the film "Easy Rider." Back then, cocaine cost \$230,000 a kilo, according to a report prepared recently for Colombian police. In 1993, the report stated, cocaine sold for one-tenth that price.

"That market has expanded horribly, and they are still making huge amounts of money," the advisor said. "I predict that the same thing will happen in the heroin trade."

While U.S. drug enforcement officials have expressed alarm at the growth in Colombia's heroin production, they have advised the Colombian government to focus its drug eradication program on cocaine, according to informed sources.

Dusting heroin poppies with defoliant is dangerous for pilots more so than flying over the bushes that produce cocaine because the poppies are in the mountains. It is also less effective, because the flowers grow back in three to six months. Coca bushes take about twice as long to produce a new crop, which makes them more expensive to replace than

poppies.

Only one Colombian airplane is designated for poppy eradication, the sources said.

But that plane is enough to wreak havoc on the peasants whose fields of poppy their main cash crop are sprayed. "Do you see that poppy field on the ridge?" asked one farmer, pointing across the valley. "Every time it starts to flower, the plane comes along and sprays. They lose everything. Those people [poppy farmers] are just stubborn."

Poppy growers reply that their decision to replant repeatedly rather than find another lucrative crop is a matter of simple economics. A one-acre poppy field requires an investment of about \$81 in fertilizer and fumigation, and at the end of six months yields about five kilos of mancha, worth about \$3,000. Planted with corn, the same field would produce a crop worth about \$30 after seven months.

"It is 100 times more profitable to plant poppies than corn," said Naum, a local farmer, who asked that his last name not be published. "People who grow poppies can have some class. Those who don't will always be poor."

Poppies yield the most heroin when grown at very high altitudes, and peasants here are cutting down mountaintop forests and clearing fields ever higher. The government can do little to stop them because guerrillas who have waged civil war against the Colombian government for three decades control the area.

The growers have no compunction about breaking the law. "People [grow poppies] to find a better life because the government has abandoned us," said Bernardo, another farmer.

The village of San Jorge de las Herosas has no electricity, running water or school. This region is also coffee country, and the dirt road was built and is maintained not by the government but by the Colombian Coffee Growers Federation.

The guerrillas of the Colombia Revolutionary Armed Forces, the oldest and largest of the country's many fighting factions, come down the mountain every Friday to provide protection from bandits for mancha buyers carrying bundles of cash.

They organize the weekly mancha market in nearby San Jose de las Herosas. They decide who enters the area and

how far up the mountain such people may go.

** * Colombia's heroin trade grew from the serendipity of the cocaine traffickers trying to diversify at a time when international coffee prices had plummeted and the guerrillas had begun a strategy of expanding the territory under their control, experts said.

When the traffickers saw the crackdown on U.S. marijuana production a decade ago, said Colombian drug and guerrilla expert Alfredo Molano, they realized that a similar crackdown on cocaine could cost them their main market.

"They already had everything they needed [to trade in heroin]: money, a U.S. distribution network and, undoubtedly, contacts with the Sicilian Mafia that runs the heroin business," Molano said.

Molano first heard about the Colombian foray into heroin in 1989, when he was conducting research in the Macarena mountains, in the most eastern of Colombia's three mountain ranges. "They [the cartels] brought technicians from Asia, from the Golden Triangle, to introduce morphine and heroin production methods."

They brought highyield seeds, he said, and chose four optimal regions: Cauca, where coca leaves were already growing in the lowlands; the Perija mountains; Huila province; and most productive this area in the mountains above coffee country and near the cartels' headquarters in Medellin and Cali.

Police estimate that 60% of Colombia's heroin production comes from here, in Tolima province.

The cocaine cartels' search for diversification coincided with the coffee crisis. International prices had plunged, and Colombia's coffee federation no longer could completely buffer the effects of the worldwide market.

Small growers such as Pompilio, a 28-year-old father of three, could not rely on the coffee crop to solve their family financial crises. "My wife got sick," he said, explaining why he began growing poppies. "I had bills to pay, and coffee was not going to pay them."

When farmers began climbing the mountains to plant poppies, they ran into the guerrillas. The rebels offered to provide them with protection from the government in exchange for a tax system similar to the one already in place in coca growing areas.

At first, the Colombians distributed heroin through Italy, Molano said, but they soon developed direct routes to the United States. Police believe that most Colombian heroin now flows through Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic to Miami or through Central America.

Central American police said the Colombian heroin they have found identifiable by DNA testing has been in airports, carried by people who swallow capsules filled with heroin or smuggle small quantities in their luggage.

Large quantities, like the ton-size cocaine shipments that are regularly confiscated, have not been found. "It is a higher value product, so they take more care with it," said one law enforcement official.

Colombians are continuing their efforts to produce higher-quality heroin in larger volumes. Poppy farmers here debate the relative yields of flowers that bloom in four or six months and a new variety that takes just three months.

They also note that farther up the mountain, growers are processing mancha into more lucrative opium and even morphine.

Asked what would persuade them to stop growing poppies, Naum had a ready answer: "Losing money. They would have to spray and spray and spray, until all we had were losses."

CHICAGO TRIBUNE
Double Standard In The Drug War
By David S. Cloud, Washington Bureau
Monday, February 24, 1997

Dateline: WASHINGTON

Vilified by the Clinton administration for not moving vigorously enough against cocaine traffickers, Colombia's President Ernesto Samper responded like any reasonably savvy politician with an image problem.

He hired a Washington lobbyist.

For the last year, while earning fees pegged at \$1.7 million, lobbyist Mark Helmke and others at Kelley Swofford Roy Helmke, Inc. have been meeting with U.S. officials, preparing reports and placing advertisements. Their message is that, contrary to White House claims, Colombia and Samper are doing all they can to impede the flow of cocaine to U.S. streets.

It hasn't worked.

As early as this week, President Clinton seems likely once again to deny Colombia a certification as a reliable ally in fighting drugs. A decision that, at a minimum, would brand Samper for the second consecutive year as a virtual outlaw and could result in tougher U.S. sanctions against Colombia.

Testifying before Congress earlier this month, Assistant Secretary of State Robert Gelbard described Samper as "a clearly corrupt president" who has "failed to confront fully the drug interests that contributed millions of dollars" to his 1994 campaign.

By law, the administration annually reviews the antidrug efforts of countries where production and smuggling of illegal narcotics are a problem.

Certification is always a politically charged process; the law enforcement shortcomings of allies or major trading partners are often overlooked, while states like Syria, Burma and Afghanistan are denounced for ignoring or encouraging the international drug trade.

This year the administration's decisions on certification could be even more controversial, given the detention of Mexico's top drug enforcement official, General Jesus Gutierrez Rebollo, on charges that he took payoffs from a top drug smuggler in return for information and protection. In addition, U.S. intelligence officials have linked the governors of two Mexican states to the drug trade. Mexico has been certified every year since the law was passed in 1986 and is expected to avoid sanctions again.

Mexico and Colombia underscore how the certification decision has become increasingly complicated by growing evidence of high-level corruption among countries on the front lines of the drug war. At stake is whether U.S.-supplied training, intelligence, and equipment for countries in Latin America could be squandered, or, worse, used to aid the smugglers, by dishonest police and military units.

Some experts regard the whole certification process as counterproductive, causing unrest and anti-U.S. sentiment in decertified countries like Colombia and a false impression that others, like Mexico, are fully committed to combating drugs.

ugs.

"It's an artificial selection of good guys and bad guys," said Marc Chernick, an expert in drug policy at Georgetown University. "The whole thing is folly if your objective is to have an impact on the flow of drugs."

The arrest of Mexico's drug czar who had access to sensitive intelligence data, including the identities of U.S. agents is a potential disaster that Clinton called "deeply troubling." At the same time, Clinton asserted that the swift action against Gutierrez was a positive sign that Mexican President Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de Leon is committed to breaking drug cartels, whatever the shortcomings of his police and military.

Critics contend that Washington has long been lenient because of the massive U.S. investment in Mexico, its partner in the North American Free Trade Agreement. Officials also fear that imposition of sanctions could trigger unrest in a country that is already the largest source of immigrants illegally entering the U.S.

Corruption in Mexico's military and police certainly is no surprise. Last year, the State Department, while praising Zedillo's help in handing over several major Mexican smugglers to U.S. authorities, said he "will have to take serious, systemwide action against endemic corruption."

In Colombia, the situation is reversed: The problem is at the top, according to U.S. officials, and the police force, the country's head prosecutor and, to a lesser degree, its military earn praise from the administration for their recent aggressiveness against drug traffickers.

Decertification has had the practical effect of delaying U.S. shipments of helicopters and other equipment that the Colombian police and military are requesting to fight guerrillas in the jungle who increasingly dominate the cocaine and heroin trade. To bypass Samper, the State Department has begun funneling aid directly to the police and military.

Decertification of Colombia is an increasingly controversial policy in Congress. Republicans, led by Rep. Ben Gilman, chairman of the House International Relations Committee, are calling for a waiver that would permit aid and equipment to flow to Bogota, even if the administration deems Samper not to be cooperating.

As Rep. Bob Barr (R-Ga.) noted, questioning the probable certification of Mexico but not Colombia, the two countries "have a great deal in common in terms of their pervasive corruption and in terms of their pervasive role in sending drugs into this society."

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

An Opposing View: UN Report Is Likely to Praise Colombia
Rodolfo Windhausen, Special to The Christian Science Monitor
Tuesday February 25, 1997 Edition

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y. At the same time the US State Department is on the verge of condemning Colombia for the second year in a row for not working hard enough to combat drug traffickers, experts at the United Nations are about to praise Colombia's efforts.

The annual report International Narcotics Control Board (INCB), due to be released March 4, is expected to give rave reviews to initiatives by President Ernesto Samper Pizano to fight drugs, among them the enacting of a law to seize illicit assets and successful raids against drug kingpins. Diplomatic sources at the UN, however, do not expect the report to change the Clinton administration's policy toward Colombia. They expect another "decertification" of Colombia by the US this Thursday.

The newly appointed Colombian ambassador to the US, Juan Carlos Esguerra, warned last week in New York that decertification may be "inevitable," despite a diplomatic and media blitz by Colombia that has included hiring some large US public relations firms to try to influence American public opinion.

UN sources have indicated that a decision to not release the INCB report until March 4, after the expected announcement from the State Department, may have been taken under US pressure.

They say the purpose of delaying publication of the UN document was probably to avoid an embarrassing situation similar to last year, when UN experts praised Colombia while Washington criticized it, almost at the same time.

A spokesman at the US mission to the UN refused to comment on the rumor.

The Vienna-based INCB consists of 13 experts appointed by the UN's Economic and Social Council. They serve in a personal capacity and not as government representatives.

sentatives.

Their conclusions are considered impartial and based on materials from the World Health Organization, the international police organization Interpol, and numerous other agencies and private organizations around the world.

Sources at the UN have indicated that this year, although it will note an increase in the production of opiates and cocaine in Colombia, the INCB report will also commend the drug eradication efforts and seizures made by Mr. Samper's government as steps in the right direction.

Washington, the sources added, will continue to emphasize Samper's alleged links to the Cali drug cartel during the president's 1992 electoral campaign. Samper was cleared of the charges last year by Colombia's Congress.

Since 52 percent of the total cocaine seized in South America is of Colombian origin, the US will probably continue to put pressure on Bogota to force Samper out of office.

Few Colombians believe he will resign or shorten his term, the UN sources say.

Colombia's foreign minister, Maria Emma Mejia, toured Europe in late January to gather support from the European Union, which is known to have discreetly advised the United States against a new decertification.

A UN source commented that if the INCB report had come out this week, "It would have made very little difference and would probably not have changed Washington's viewpoints."

A Latin American diplomat noted that letting the UN praise Colombia ahead of the State Department's report would "certainly have affected the State Department's credibility as to the objectivity of its policies in Latin America."

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Bid to Show US That Colombia Fights Drug Trade Looks Too Little, Too Late
David Aquila Lawrence, Special to The Christian Science Monitor
Tuesday February 25, 1997 Edition

BOGOTA, COLOMBIA Earlier this month President Ernesto Samper Pizano stood surrounded by coca plants in the southern province of Guaviare, the cocaine processing capital of Colombia, and congratulated his police on their latest

victory in the war on drugs.

The Colombian government was touting the seizure of a huge illegal drug lab in San Jose, Guaviare, the largest such facility ever uncovered, capable of producing 1 1/2 tons of cocaine per day. On Thursday the United States State Department will decide whether to "certify" Colombia as a country that is taking sufficient steps to fight its illegal trade in cocaine and heroin. Colombia has undertaken a slew of recent steps to convince the US that it is doing enough, including intense lobbying in the US and new crackdowns and antidrug laws at home.

But "decertification" seems to be a foregone conclusion after Robert Gelbard, the US assistant secretary of state for narcotics, said earlier this month that the US considers Mr. Samper himself to be linked to drug traffickers. Now Colombians are just hoping that the unfavorable ruling will come unaccompanied by damaging economic sanctions. Samper was cleared last year by Colombia's Congress of charges that he had accepted a \$6million campaign contribution in 1993 from the Cali cocaine cartel. But the US showed its conviction that Samper was corrupt by revoking his US visa. As long as Samper is in office, it will be difficult for Washington to consider Colombia an ally in the drug war.

"I don't think Colombia will be fully certified in 1997, nor in 1998," says Juan Tokatlian, director of the Institute of Political Studies and International relations at National University in Bogota. "It would be really surprising to fully certify a country whose leader they have 'decertified.' "

Despite the allegations of corruption hanging over Samper, his administration has won several clear victories against narcotics.

Besides the laboratories and tons of pure cocaine seized, the Samper administration oversaw the dismantling of the Cali cartel and shepherded several important antinarcotics laws through Congress, including an assetforfeiture bill that will allow the government to seize millions in drugtraffickers' land and goods.

In record time last week Colombia also approved a new agreement to cooperate with the US Coast Guard in the Caribbean, a law fighting moneylaundering, and most importantly, a higher maximum prison sentence for drug trafficking:

60 years

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"Clearly in some areas there has been considerable progress," says US ambassador to Colombia Myles Frechette.

"However, the fact is they actually seized less cocaine this year than they did last year. They passed a strong law on asset forfeiture, that's an important plus, but on corruption they didn't do very well."

Corruption in Colombian institutions, especially the judicial system, may be strong enough to unravel any gains made by the government. In the view of the US, a perfect example was the Jan. 17 sentencing of the leaders of the Cali cartel. An anonymous judge condemned Gilberto and Miguel Rodriguez Orejuela to 12 and 10 years in prison. (Colombia's judicial system hides the identity of judges to protect them against retribution. But the system also makes it difficult to tell if a judge is impartial and incorrupt.)

Almost every highranking member of Samper's government protested the short sentences. "The sentences were a huge shock in the US," Mr. Frechette says.

On Sunday, Colombian officials announced that Miguel Rodriguez Orejuela would receive a 23-year sentence for another drug-related crime, the stiffest penalty handed down in years.

The US has alleged that the Colombian prison system is so corrupt that the Cali cartel bosses continued to traffic in drugs from inside prison walls. Colombian police raided La Picota prison in December and hope they have put a stop to the operations. Meanwhile, drug bosses have set their teams of lawyers to work finding ways to shelter their wealth from the new forfeiture bill. With reductions for good behavior, the Cali kingpins will be free men in less than six years.

For the US, this perceived lack of justice is the main reason to change Colombia's Constitution to allow international extradition. Samper failed to push an extradition amendment through Congress last year. He says he will try again this spring.

But laws alone may not be enough. "Yes we have the law, but who will apply the law? You need a powerful, legitimate government. Do we have that in Colombia? I doubt it very much," Professor Tokatlian says.

Samper's speeches of late have focused on the gains his administration has made against the cocaine and heroin trade based in Colombia. (Colombia has become a major source of heroin in the US, especially on the East Coast.) A procession of high-ranking, high-credibility Colombian officials have visited Washington in the last several weeks, hoping if nothing else to persuade the US Congress not to punish Colombia with damaging economic sanctions.

The 11th-hour reforms made last week are officially too late to be considered in the Clinton administration's evaluation of 1996. But US Embassy officials have indicated that the moves will still receive some consideration, and that there is little appetite for economic sanctions in Washington.

"You can't ignore something as important as [the latest antidrug laws], even though they missed the deadline," Frechette says.

While Colombia appears to have escaped damaging sanctions, it may not win certification until it can elect a new president in 1998.

NEW YORK TIMES
As Peru Talks Begin, Fujimori Casts Some Blame
By Calvin Sims
February 25, 1997

LIMA, Peru--For the first time, President Alberto Fujimori now says Peru's intelligence service and national police were negligent in trying to prevent the capture of the Japanese ambassador's residence by leftist guerrillas two months ago.

Intelligence and police officials knew that Tupac Amaru rebels were transporting weapons from the jungle to Lima in preparation for some sort of major attack, but they failed to act on the information, Fujimori said in comments published Monday. He made the remarks Sunday as he toured flooded areas near the southern town of Abancay.

Fujimori, who has often boasted that the Peruvian intelligence service was the best part of his government, said that an investigation of both agencies was under way and that he would take action against those officials found responsible.

It was the first time that Fujimori has publicly criticized the intelligence agency, which has played a major role in combating terrorism and drug trafficking.

g in Peru but has come under attack for human rights violations.

Fujimori told local reporters that the intelligence service had information that the guerrillas were moving weapons, including automatic rifles, from the jungle to Lima.

"Clearly, no one knew where and when the arms would be used, but for sure they had this information and reported it," he said. Reports did not indicate when the president learned about the rebels' activities.

On Dec. 17, the night the rebels seized the Japanese ambassador's residence during a party, there was minimum security despite the fact that more than 600 international dignitaries, including ambassadors, businessmen, and politicians were among the guests.

Political and military analysts said that Fujimori's rebuke of the national police and intelligence services was intended to publicly embarrass intelligence and military officials who are still pressing him to use force to end the hostage crisis.

Furthermore, the analysts said that since it now appears the crisis can be resolved through negotiations, Fujimori was taking the step of laying blame for the siege at the feet of specific agencies before opposition political leaders start to hold him liable.

"As the end of the hostage crisis gets closer, Fujimori is trying to make sure that he is not blamed for what happened at the Japanese residence," said Carlos Chipoco, an opposition congressman. "He's a mathematician, so he knows very well how to play this game of chess. He's always looking two or three moves ahead."

Meanwhile, mediators said Monday that the government and the guerrillas met for several hours Monday to discuss freeing 72 hostages being held inside the Japanese residence. The talks, which will continue Tuesday, were being conducted in a "cordial atmosphere" with a number of important issues under discussion, mediators said.

Government officials said over the weekend that they were seeking to speed up the negotiations in hopes of obtaining a resolution by Easter, March 30. The main sticking point in the negotiations remains the rebels' demand for the release of hundreds of their jailed comrades.

In the last year, the government has dismissed several well-executed attacks and ignored warnings that foreshadowed the commando-style takeover of the Japanese ambassador's residence, terrorism experts said.

The experts said the warnings had come from a range of sources, including captured documents indicating plans for raids on official targets and intelligence from academics and law enforcement officials as well as informants in contact with guerrilla groups.

But government security forces, convinced by their years of success that they had won the war against terrorism, have been devoting their resources to other threats, like drug trafficking, a simmering border war with Ecuador and spying on opposition political leaders, the experts added. Peru's security forces were greatly embarrassed by the takeover of the Japanese residence by a group of guerrillas whom they had often bragged of having defeated.

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 the steps 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.

Power in Fujimori's government is said to be concentrated in three factions: the president, the intelligence service and the military.

The intelligence service is overseen by Vladimiro Montesinos, a shadowy figure who rarely appears in public, but who is one of the president's closest advisers. Montesinos is said to have performed an important service during Fujimori's 1990 campaign by resolving tax-evasion charges that could have blocked Fujimori's election.

The military is headed by Gen. Nicolas Hermoza, who despite Fujimori's desire to replace him has served as commander of the army since 1991 with the widespread support of the armed forces.

Enrique Obando, a Peruvian military analyst, said that in rebuking the intellig

ence service and the national police, Fujimori was attempting to exercise greater control over the other two centers of power in the Peruvian government.

But Alejandro Toledo, a former presidential candidate, who was a hostage in the Japanese residence, said that the president's move was purely political.

"Fujimori is politically vulnerable because of this crisis," he said. "He's trying to take the offensive because he knows the opposition will ask him to explain how, with all the information that was available, this could have happened."

#K2PP#===== END ATTACHMENT 2 =====