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Washington Post articles:

Influential Tycoon Breaks Ranks With Russian President

By David Hoffman
Washington Post Foreign Service
Wednesday, May 31, 2000

MOSCOW, May 30 – Boris Berezovsky, the influential tycoon who helped bring President Vladimir Putin to power, broke ranks with him today, sharply criticizing Putin's attempt to rein in the regional governors as an erosion of Russia's fragile democracy.

Putin "is demolishing some democratic institutions," would "cheat" Russia's voters and is "destroying" the new political elite, Berezovsky said in an interview on the eve of a scheduled first vote on the Putin proposal in

the State
Duma, the lower house of parliament, of which Berezovsky is a member.

Putin recently proposed the most far-reaching restructuring of Russia's political system since adoption of the 1993 constitution. He created by decree seven super-administrative districts to oversee the 89 Russian regions, and proposed legislation that would permit the Kremlin to fire governors and remove them from their seats in the Federation Council, the upper chamber of parliament.

Berezovsky's criticism is important as a signal that rough waters may lie ahead for Putin's proposals, his first major initiatives since taking office May 7.cq
Some governors have kept silent on Putin's plan, but may now follow Berezovsky in speaking out. Berezovsky has also pointedly raised the issue of Putin's

commitment to democracy, an issue that has been gaining increasing attention.

Berezovsky was a central player in the small group of Kremlin aides and financiers who helped bring Putin to power, and his decision to speak out against Putin's plan may indicate a deeper power struggle going on around the president.
Putin recently denounced critics of his plan as "provocateurs."

In less than a month in office, Putin appears to be at the center of three separate groups vying for influence in the Kremlin. First are the security services and the military, who spearheaded the war in Chechnya and favor the crackdown on the regions. Second are a group of liberal economists installed by Putin who are promoting landmark reforms such as an overhaul of the tax system. And finally, there is the Kremlin "family," the aides and financiers close to former president Boris Yeltsin who helped elect Putin. Berezovsky has been included in that group, which virtually never issues any criticism of Putin.

Berezovsky said he did not question Putin's intention to bolster the Kremlin's authority, which he said "is really weak, and really needs strengthening." But he said that "what Putin is proposing . . . is producing completely opposite results."

Wednesday's scheduled Duma vote is a preliminary ballot, and the legislation is expected to pass. It faces greater opposition in the upper house, which is composed of regional governors and speakers of regional legislatures.

Girding for a fight, Putin tried today to reassure governors that he is not attempting to take away their power. At a Kremlin meeting with governors from the North Caucasus, Putin said the point of the new system was to produce "uniform understanding of the laws" across the Russian federation.

"The activity of the presidential representatives is not aimed at replacing the powers of the local authorities," he said, adding that the seven new chiefs would serve on the Security Council and could be a conduit for taking the governors' problems "to the very highest political level."

Putin proposed that governors who get out of line – or who insist on writing their own local laws in violation of federal law and the constitution – could be dismissed by the Kremlin. If a governor is removed, "this means that as a voter I have been simply cheated, simply cheated," Berezovsky said, adding that the rules should not be changed for the current incumbent governors.

Berezovsky added, however, that he agreed with Putin that the governors should no longer serve in the upper house of parliament. Berezovsky suggested either abolishing the chamber or electing senators directly.

Putin has also proposed that governors be able to fire locally elected officials. But Berezovsky said local balloting had created a progressive new

generation of
elected officials, and entrepreneurs are part of this new wave. "Putin is
destroying this elite," he said. "He is telling dozens of thousands of
politicians of the upper echelon, 'I will be able to dismiss you.' This is
utterly unacceptable."

Asked about governors such as Yevgeny Nazdratenkocq of the
Primorsky region in
far eastern Russia who have brazenly taken control of their local laws
and
economies, Berezovsky said, "You know, even in this case I don't
think its bad...
Our democracy is still in the process of growing. That is why there are
many
mistakes and many problems."

Berezovsky also objected to the seven new super-districts Putin
created. Five of
seven are to be headed by veterans of the military and security
agencies.
Berezovsky said the plan was a "time bomb against Russia's territorial
integrity," which would usurp the existing 89 regions and create seven
new states
with ambiguous legal foundation.

In a letter he sent to Putin today, and in the interview, Berezovsky
called for a
referendum on the president's proposals. "You cannot make such
hasty decisions in
a large country like Russia, a country which is seriously ill."

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Trade Initiative No Bonanza for Iran

By Howard Schneider
Washington Post Foreign Service
Wednesday, May 31, 2000

TEHRAN – Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright may have
thought she was
doing Iranians a big favor when she recently announced relaxed trade
rules
governing some of their embargoed products, including caviar,
pistachios and

Persian rugs, but the news has landed with a thud here in the capital of the Islamic republic.

The intricacies of the market in each of those products mean there probably will be little, if any, immediate benefit for Iranian exporters, according to the local chamber of commerce. The competition in caviar is stiff; former Soviet republics are already sending tons to the United States. Pistachios are expensive to ship, Iranian packaging isn't snappy enough for picky American shoppers, and any nuts that do get to the Great Satan's shores will still be greeted by a nearly 300 percent customs duty to protect California growers.

Persian rugs? Plenty of those are smuggled through Canada anyway.

Still, American consumers might reap some gain in the form of lower prices for rugs that can now be sent to the United States directly, instead of through expensive circuitous routes used to mask their origin. "Of course, Iranian merchants know the market is good, but there are obstacles," said Amir Amini, an adviser to the Iran Chamber of Commerce. Most notable among these, he said, is the continuing U.S. embargo on other trade sectors, including financial services, which means that exporters who sell to the United States cannot easily get their money home.

Albright's amendments to the embargo "aren't complete," Amini added. "They didn't do anything about the banking system. . . . Iranian businesses . . . can't return their dollars to Iran," even if they do develop markets for the newly tradable items.

Announced on March 18 as an overture to Iran that could begin easing the troubled relations between the two countries, Albright's trade initiative in fact illustrates how complicated it will be for the longtime rivals to renew any sort of meaningful public ties. A growing reform movement in Iran

supports a policy of
detente with the United States, and Washington says it is encouraged
by Iran's
growing moderation, but each side is hesitant to move first, except in
very small
ways.

And judging from the reaction here, Albright's initiative is considered
a small
step at best. U.S. imports of the three items will not add much hard
currency to
the Iranian economy, while goods that now can be imported from the
United States,
such as medicine and wheat, do not include the types of high-tech
equipment
Iranians say they need.

The initiative also failed to address issues of symbolic importance
– such
as the tens of millions of dollars in Iranian assets frozen by
Washington when
Islamic radicals seized the U.S. Embassy in Tehran in 1979. That
event led the
United States to sever diplomatic relations with Iran, and a trade
embargo
followed in 1986.

"We take this more as the Ping-Pong match of Mr. Nixon in China,"
said Ahmad
Akhavan, a local heavy-equipment dealer, referring to a goodwill
table tennis
competition staged as part of President Richard Nixon's opening of
diplomatic
relations with China. "The value is not great, but we hope it will .,.,
in the
future expand the relationship."

The trade items included in Albright's announcement are seen here as
quintessentially Iranian. The country arguably produces the best of all
three; at
least that is what Iranians will argue – with particular verve
when it comes
to their rugs and pistachios, while caviar is considered more of a
regional
product.

"The American pistachio is almost tasteless," said Ali Tavazo, whose
family-owned
chain of fruit and nut stores is a favorite among Iranians. He said,
however,

that he knows of no one in the industry who is planning a U.S. marketing blitz.

The United States is actually the world's second-largest pistachio producer, and

American growers, concentrated in California, benefit from a huge tariff on the

Iranian product. The tax on Iranian nuts was imposed before the 1986 trade

embargo as way to compensate American growers for Iranian subsidies to its

pistachio industry, according to the California Pistachio Commission.

Iranian pistachios have had other troubles – including a loss of European

markets to American nuts after it was discovered that they may have been

contaminated by aflatoxin, a potentially harmful fungus.

The Iranian caviar trade has its own problems, including poaching, overfishing of

sturgeon stocks and competition from nearby countries, especially Russia, which

already fill U.S. import demand for beluga and other high quality Caspian Sea

caviar.

Rug dealers, meanwhile, say that direct exports to the United States will cut the

shipping and other costs associated with sending their wares "around the world"

before they reach U.S. stores.

Nosratollah Mahmoudzadeh, head of the Iranian carpet weavers union, was quoted by

the Iranian state news agency as saying that the trade embargo did not eliminate

the export of rugs to the United States – although it did reduce it

substantially. Rather, he said, it seemed to shift business to Canada.

Before the

embargo, he noted, about 1,300 tons of carpets were shipped to the United States

annually, and about 85 tons to Canada; since the embargo, the numbers have been

reversed. He said that with direct shipments the value of the carpet trade with

the United States could be as much as \$100 million annually.

Carpet merchants in Tehran say they hope the new trade rules will help them

compete more equitably with factory-made Pakistani and Chinese products that Iranians deride as second-rate and lacking in artistry compared to what their weavers produce in their homes and shops.

"The prices will be down," said Mohammad Ahmadi, a manager of the Nikookar Co., a Tehran carpet firm. But don't expect any wild bargains, he said. Even at his company's affiliate in Dallas, prices are not set until "we look at the pocket of the customer," he said. "It's not like a supermarket."

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Moderate Cleric Chosen to Lead Iran's Parliament

By Howard Schneider
Washington Post Foreign Service
Wednesday, May 31, 2000

BEIRUT, May 30 – A moderate cleric who has taken strong stands in favor of issues such as personal freedom, expansion of political rights and the protection of privacy was chosen today as speaker of Iran's new reform-dominated parliament.

The vote made Ayatollah Mehdi Karrubicq the head of the Iranian legislature and the third-ranking member of Iran's government, and indicated that the new lawmakers plan to steer Iranian society in support of the programs of reformist President Mohammed Khatemi.

A mid-level member of Iran's clerical class, Karrubi said in an interview this month in Tehran that he felt the essence of the reform movement, and the reason for its success, is as simple as making people "feel comfortable" – respecting the privacy of their homes and not confronting people harshly for perceived violations of Iran's strict Islamic code.

"People should feel comfortable," Karrubi said. "There are some

borders and red
lines. For example, we should not have shops that sell alcohol, but
we
should not go into homes or cars to see if a person has alcohol or not.
.... If
a woman is without hejab [the required head covering], people should
not confront
[her] in a radical way.

"From our point of view, reform means freedom of thought,
participation the
rule of law, and no monopolization of economics or politics."

Karrubi was elected interim speaker by 186 of the 252 members
present in the new
parliament, the sixth since the 1979 Islamic revolution. He is expected
to have
no trouble winning the post permanently after each new member is
accredited over
the next few weeks.

The new parliament, which took over Saturday, comes to power at a
time when
Iran's reform movement seems to have not only withstood a recent
backlash from
conservatives, who control key institutions including the army and the
state
broadcasting service, but emerged even stronger. Khatemi's reformist
allies won
about three-fourths of the parliament seats in nationwide elections.

After closing several reformist newspapers and jailing several
prominent reform
supporters, conservatives affiliated with the Guardian Council, a body
that
oversees Iran's political life, appeared poised to invalidate results from
February's parliamentary elections.

After an extended vote recount that the council contended was
necessitated by
fraud in important districts in Tehran, supreme religious leader
Ayatollah Ali
Khamenei ordered the council to validate the election results from
mideast –
a sign of Khamenei's willingness to back the reformers.

In addition to leaving reformist legislators in clear command, the
incident also
embarrassed former Iranian president Ali Akbar Hashemi

Rafsanjanicq, whose poor showing in the election – among the 30 winners, he was at the bottom – the Guardian Council was thought to be trying to improve through the recount.

Faced with public protests, Rafsanjani pulled out of parliament altogether, removing from the legislature a man many considered to be a likely candidate for speaker.

Rafsanjani will still play a potentially powerful role in Iranian politics as part of the Expediency Council, which acts as a sort of arbiter between the parliament and other institutions. However, Karrubi will manage the legislature's business.

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Eritrea Disputes Ethiopian Withdrawal Claim

By Karl Vick
Washington Post Foreign Service
Wednesday, May 31, 2000 ; A28

EGALI, Eritrea, May 30 – Ethiopia announced today a partial withdrawal of its troops from western Eritrea, which they have occupied for the past two weeks. But the Eritrean government disputed that claim, declaring that Ethiopian forces have not pulled back and, in fact, had seized another town in the region.

An Ethiopian government spokesman said his country's troops were leaving the town of Barentu and the rest of western Eritrea because Ethiopia's "military objectives" had been satisfied.

An Eritrean spokesman said, however, that the opposite was true. "They are still in Barentu, and now they've taken Teseney," said senior Eritrean official Yemane Ghebremeskel, naming an Eritrean town near the Sudanese border. "It's a strange kind of withdrawal."

Under an Organization of African Unity peace plan that the warring nations have agreed to in principle, both sides are obliged to pull back to positions held before May 6, 1998, the date Eritrea sent tanks into disputed border territory and sparked the war. Private talks to finalize the OAU accord began today in Algiers.

In Washington, the State Department confirmed that Eritrea had pulled back along the 600-mile border and urged Ethiopia to do the same. Yemane said that the only Ethiopian pullback Eritrea could confirm was on the central front, where he said Eritrean units have challenged an Ethiopian force that launched a surprise attack on the western front on May 12 and then moved eastward.

Opposing forces on the central front appear poised to renew the fight. In sheltered outcroppings of a ridge not far from the captured Eritrean town of Senafe, 20 miles north of the frontier, Eritrean troops passed the afternoon listening to the thud of artillery shells landing a quarter-mile away.

One soldier boasted that they were preparing to retake Senafe in just two days unless Ethiopian forces withdraw voluntarily.

"It's their choice," said the local commander, Col. Habtu Gebrendras. "If they withdraw from our country, good. If they don't, we are going to continue to defend and return our territories to us."

In Addis Ababa, the Ethiopian capital, government spokesman Selome Tadesse insisted the announced withdrawal from western Eritrea should not be mistaken for a peace overture. "It's what we've been saying all along," he said. "The only reason we were in Eritrea ... is to regain our territory. We believe there is no reason to stay in Eritrean territory."

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In New S. Africa, A New Apartheid

By Jon Jeter
Washington Post Foreign Service
Wednesday, May 31, 2000 ; A01

SOWETO, South Africa – The Doorknop Italians' official team colors are red and white, but 12-year-old Simphiwe Ndlovu takes to the soccer field in a pink jersey that is at least two sizes too big. He shares his faded uniform with players nearly twice his size, and he chases down balls in mismatched socks and basketball shoes instead of cleats.

Soweto has always been poor, but back when South Africa's apartheid government enforced racial separation, this all-black township usually managed to scrape together enough money for new jerseys, socks and cleats. A physician who lived here donated the Italians' last batch of uniforms seven years ago. When the white-minority government collapsed with the first all-races election in 1994, blacks were free to live wherever they could afford. The doctor moved away; the team hasn't been able to buy new uniforms since.

"Our best and brightest are all running away from Soweto now," said Cornish Dikgale, who owns a bar here. "And the very people who are leaving are the people with the money and the know-how that Soweto needs. They are cowards, driving their BMWs home to the suburbs while their people suffer."

Six years into its transformation to black-majority rule, the distribution of wealth in South Africa remains the most unequal in the world, with the white minority continuing to reap the bounty generated by sub-Saharan Africa's most prosperous economy. But the '94 election resurrected virtually overnight the black middle class that was wiped out by five decades of apartheid. Today, the soaring incomes and ambitions of the country's emergent black elite

rival those
of whites even as their friends and family from the old neighborhood
grow poorer
and more resentful.

"The problem," said Sipho Mthimkhulu, 22, a musician and youth
counselor, "is
that people have... sold out. You don't just move out of Soweto and
forget about
it. We fought for them, and now they think they're better than the
people they
left behind. South Africa is a colder place today."

Inadvertently – perhaps inevitably – the liberation
movement has
generated unprecedented class tensions among blacks, who make up
75 percent of
the population and who only a few years ago were unified in their
struggle to
topple a government that made few distinctions among them,
regardless of their
education or skills.

In their increasing polarization, blacks here are no different from those
of
Washington, Chicago's South Side, or many other predominantly
black U.S.
communities after the 1960s civil rights movement, which enabled the
best
educated to move up and out of their segregated milieu, while the
neighborhoods
they left behind deteriorated.

"During apartheid, you could count the number of black businessmen
on one hand,"
said Steven Friedmanok, director of the Center for Policy Studiesok in

Johannesburg. "So you have a situation now where every time a black
attorney is
hired by a law firm, inequality widens. Ten years ago, every black
person who
worked in my office lived in Soweto; now the only black person in
our office who
lives in Soweto is the maid."

In less than a decade, the number of black households earning as
much or more
than the average white household income of \$20,708 has risen from
fewer than
1,000 to 1.2 million. Their share of all income has increased from 30

percent in
1991 to nearly 36 percent.

But those gains have been concentrated among a black upper class that has benefited from the broad affirmative action policies of the new governing party, the African National Congress. Since 1991, the average annual income of the poorest 40 percent of black South Africans has declined from \$601 to \$510 as the government's free-market restructuring of the economy failed to create new jobs for unskilled workers. With blacks accounting for 99 percent of South Africa's poor, the yawning economic chasm separating 31 million blacks from 8 million whites – particularly the descendants of Dutch and French settlers known as Afrikaners – remains the nation's deepest cleavage.

James Manorok, a professor at Britain's University of Sussexok who interviewed 110 South Africans of all colors on middle-class perceptions of the poor, discovered that whites often exaggerated what they saw as black professionals' indifference to the poor to bolster their contention that the liberation movement was more about avarice than idealism. Still, few dispute that the introduction of wealth-based class differences has changed black relationships.

"I hear it all the time from blacks who I work with, or sitting at the bar with my circle of friends," said Oupa Salemane, a marketing manager who moved from Soweto four years ago but returns every week to visit relatives and friends. "They look down on the place now and don't want to go back, partly because of the crime, but also because they feel that spending time there won't advance their careers like having the boss over for dinner or playing golf with [the boss]. It's sad, really."

Soweto's narrow, dusty streets stretch for miles into the countryside just beyond Johannesburg's gleaming midsection and leafy northern suburbs. With

its clapboard
shacks, tidy brick ramblers and dimly lit taverns, the township bustles
from dawn
to dusk with honking minivans that shuttle exhausted men and women
to and from
their jobs in the city. About 1.2 million people live in this crowded,
edgy
township, which was the hub of the anti-apartheid movement.

When Mthimkhulu, the musician and youth counselor, invited a black
provincial
premier to a youth fundraiser last year at the Ipelegeng Community
Center, a
spokesman telephoned his regrets. The premier had concerns about his
safety.

"This man grew up here," Mthimkhulu said. "These are the people
who were in the
struggle alongside us throwing stones in the streets, but now they can't
step
foot in Soweto."

"And when they do come back, they can't eat goat with you," said
Mthimkhulu's
friend, Vusi Mthemu, referring to Africans' traditional sacrifice to
their
ancestors. "They only eat grilled chicken now. . . . We call them 'lost
monkeys.'
They're afraid to greet you when they're out with their white co-
workers and they
see you, and if they do, they greet you in English." Mthemu, 29,
speaks primarily
Zulu, like most people here.

"I ask them: 'Do you think that God doesn't hear you when you pray in
Zulu?',"

Despite abandoning its Marxist roots for free-market capitalism, the
economic
policies of the ruling African National Congress are widely regarded
as an
attempt to balance the needs of the poor with those of investors. But
by refusing
to increase pension payments, Friedman said, the ANC's black elite
demonstrates a
lack of awareness of how poor families often rely on those payments
for food,
rent or college tuition payments.

Ironically, Manor, the British professor, said, it was the Afrikaners'
parochial

notions of social consciousness that led them to create apartheid 52 years ago, tipping the scales in favor of poor Afrikaners who were jostling with blacks for low-paying jobs and housing.

The biggest wedge dividing blacks is the government's Black Empowerment Initiative, which uses lucrative government contracts as leverage to encourage the expansion of black corporate ownership. Blacks and whites have criticized the program for making instant millionaires of a handful of blacks who presumably agree to work as front men for white-owned corporations without having a financial stake in the companies, which then fail to broaden hiring and contracting opportunities for other blacks.

Resentment is heightened by studies indicating that black companies spend less on health insurance and other benefits than do white firms. "There is a feeling that black empowerment is really black enrichment," said Cyril Ramaphosaok, a wealthy black businessman who, as a former labor leader and the ANC's secretary general, was widely considered the political heir of South Africa's first democratically elected president, Nelson Mandela. Ramaphosa left politics after losing an internal political struggle with Thabo Mbeki, who succeeded Mandela.

Ramaphosa's own transformation into a tycoon has disappointed some blacks, who accuse him of desertion. Ramaphosa "used to fight for the people," said Daniel Makgale, a schoolteacherok and youth soccer coach, "but I guess his main interest now is money. We don't see him around here anymore."

Ramaphosa said his sponsorship of two Soweto elementary schools goes largely unnoticed. But more important, he said, he and other black entrepreneurs are under intense pressure to turn a profit, or else their failure may undermine the confidence of white bankers. Lacking the capital made available to

many white entrepreneurs, blacks may cut corners on wages and benefits in the short term to ensure profit margins that assuage doubts about their ability.

"This really is what the struggle was all about – giving our people options and creating as many opportunities for as many people as possible," Ramaphosa said. "That's still the goal."

In contrast to Ramaphosa, Mandela's ex-wife, Winnie Madikizela-Mandelaok, remains popular with poor blacks largely because she lives in Soweto even though her position as a member of Parliament affords her enough income to move. "She's still here, calling people and asking them how she can help when they have a death in the family," Mthemu said.

Soccer coach Makgale said the problem in rounding up money for his team's uniforms is fundamentally one of distance rather than callousness. "Instead of just walking down the street and knocking on [Ramaphosa's] door, now I've got to make an appointment with his secretary, and when I do finally get in to see him, I'm going to be describing a situation which he can't see with his own eyes, like he once could.

"We don't want to clip anyone's wings," he added. "We want our brothers and sisters to fly. We just ask if they have to fly so far away."

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For Deep Cover, CIA Seeks Deep Diversity

By Vernon Loeb
Washington Post Staff Writer
Wednesday, May 31, 2000 ; A1

Her family immigrated to the United States when she was a teenager, searching for the kind of opportunity they never had in Latin America. Her parents

preached
hard work, education, patriotism.

Now she is preparing to put her Latino heritage and her education at a top U.S. university to use in a globe-trotting career – as a spy in countries where, she believes, her language skills and appearance will allow her to operate in ways "a white, blond-haired, blue-eyed American" never could.

"My parents are very proud," she said.

While CIA officials refused to disclose the woman's name, age or country of birth, they made her available for an interview at the agency's headquarters in Langley to illustrate the CIA's new push for diversity in its clandestine branch, the Directorate of Operations.

Like other government agencies, the CIA has long viewed affirmative action as a desirable social goal, and its clandestine service has long made use of immigrants capable of blending into foreign locales. But with an increasing focus on terrorists, narcotics traffickers, weapons sellers and other "hard targets" who don't show up at embassy cocktail parties, the agency's need to hire nonwhite spies fluent in many languages has never been greater, top officials say.

"When you're trying to recruit an agent, you're establishing a bond with that person," said David W. Carey, the CIA's executive director, its No. 3 post. "If you're a blond-haired guy from Oklahoma, there are some parts of the world where that's an uphill battle."

In its biggest hiring push in more than a decade, the CIA has run a series of advertisements in newspapers and highbrow magazines, such as the Economist, that depict the Directorate of Operations as a rainbow coalition of good-looking twentysomethings.

The truth, at the moment, is somewhat different. Of the CIA's corps of

case
officers; believed to number more than 1,000; just 11 percent are minorities and 18 percent are women. And although CIA Director George J. Tenet six months ago appointed an African American, Donald R. Cryer, as his special assistant for diversity programs, the agency's top managers are still predominantly white men.

But CIA officials say that a third of the new operations officers hired in the past year have been women. While just 11 percent have been minorities as traditionally defined (blacks, Asians or Hispanics), 20 percent of all new operations officers are native speakers of a foreign language and 75 percent have advanced proficiency in foreign languages, many because they have lived abroad. Almost half have advanced degrees.

"We are currently hiring officers in the Directorate of Operations with specialized skills directly applicable to combating terrorism worldwide," such as fluency in Russian, Arabic, Farsi and Chinese, said James L. Pavitt, the agency's deputy director for operations.

"Fluency in these languages, almost by definition, suggests that they may be native born and learned the language at their mother's knee," Pavitt added. "If you're looking [at diversity] from a purely social perspective, can we do better? You bet. But I'm looking at it now not only from that perspective, but from the business perspective as well: How do I operate in parts of the world where I need a different breed of cat, not somebody who necessarily looks like me or talks like me?"

CIA officials acknowledge that they face some image problems in recruiting minorities, given the agency's past support for coups in Latin America and the Middle East and a belief among some African Americans that CIA operatives helped

bring crack cocaine to urban America.

"Are we going to be effective going in and setting up our recruitment booth in Watts? No, clearly not," Carey said.

But the Latino emigre" in training to be a CIA spy expressed no such reservations. On the contrary, she said a keen sense of patriotism attracted her to the agency. CIA officials insisted that they are able to find many minority candidates who harbor no negative views about the agency.

The value of diversity in a spy service that operates in almost every country would seem to be obvious. "You can't have white guys doing operational things in most of the world and expect them to get away with it," said Brian P. Fairchild, a retired operations officer.

Yet Fairchild and a dozen other current and former spies say it is possible to overstate the value of diversity for clandestine operations, since much street-level espionage activity is performed by foreigners.

In CIA parlance, a U.S. citizen working as a professional spy overseas is a "case officer," while a foreigner on the CIA payroll is an "agent." Many agents are not handled directly by a CIA case officer but by a "principal agent" of the same nationality. There are also "access agents," who help CIA officers get closer to their targets, and "support agents," who provide transportation, safe houses and other services.

The need for diversity is also diminished, some former agency officers maintain, by the CIA's frequent use of embassy cover, the practice of having CIA officers work out of U.S. embassies under the guise of State Department employees, which quickly brings them to the attention of foreign intelligence agencies.

One former operations officer scoffed at Tenet's promotion of diversity as an "operational imperative," contending that a skilled case officer of any ethnic

background; whether male or female, black, white, Asian or Latino;
can operate anywhere in the world, using his or her own skills and those of
foreign agents, where necessary.

"Diversity of experience is a necessity," the former officer said.

"Ethnic
diversity may be a laudable social goal, but it is not by any means an
operational imperative."

But most current and former operatives interviewed disagreed,
arguing that it is
often essential to be able to put, say, an officer of Arabic descent on
the
ground in Amman or a native speaker of Farsi in Tehran.

Garrett Jones, who served as CIA station chief in Somalia during
peacekeeping
operations in 1993, cited the example of an African American officer
who was able
to work undercover for weeks in north Mogadishu, which he said
would have been
all but impossible for Jones or any of the station's other white officers.

"They've got a new world to operate in," added Milt Bearden, a
former station
chief in Khartoum, Islamabad and Bonn. "It's not a bunch of second
secretaries
chasing second secretaries at embassies in Bern."

Jack Downing, the only person in CIA history to serve as station chief
in both
Moscow and Beijing, said it was not until the 1970s that the CIA first
posted
officers in countries from which they, or their parents, had recently
emigrated.
Until then, the agency feared that such officers would be seriously
hampered by
the host countries' intense mistrust; and surveillance; of
them.

While such first- and second-generation "migres" have indeed faced
heavy
surveillance, he said, experience has shown that they also have
enormous
potential once they are able to evade their watchers and function on
the streets
as a native.

"It's one of our real strengths as a nation, being a nation of nations, to have all these different kinds of people," said Downing, who – like John le Carre's fictional spy master, George Smiley – was brought out of retirement for a few years to rebuild a badly demoralized clandestine service.

"We have a competitive advantage," said Downing, who retired for a second time last year. "Whether it's the Near East or Africa, Latin America or Asia, to have people who have the language and look the part and have that cultural feel, even if it's second generation, is a terrific operational advantage. We have used it on many occasions. We just need more."

One former employee said the CIA now has an officer of Arabic descent who joined the agency in midcareer and has been a "phenomenal" undercover operative in the Middle East. "His Arabic is so native he can do accents," the former employee said. "He's been responsible for some of the agency's best operations."

Similarly, the CIA's best recruiter in one Asian country, a former operative said, is a woman who lived the first 20 or so years of her life there. Men in the country, though unaccustomed to dealing with women as professional equals, "are obviously enthralled with her because she speaks their language and knows their culture," the former operative said.

The young spy in training at CIA headquarters recalls that during a recent vacation at a luxury hotel in Latin America, a tourist saw her in the hallway and asked her for extra towels, assuming she was a chambermaid.

Far from being offended, she said, she was secretly pleased, knowing that her ability to pass for a local may soon be invaluable.

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Old Gauchos Ask: 'Where's The Beef?'

By Anthony Faiola
Washington Post Foreign Service
Wednesday, May 31, 2000 ; A21

SAN ANTONIO DE ARECO, Argentina -- Oscar Pereyra, a gaucho of the pampas like his father and grandfather before him, teathed on a beef rib. Since then, not a day has passed without his eating red meat--he even cuts day-old beef from a cold spit for breakfast.

But Pereyra, a 58-year-old who still wears the traditional tapered pants of South American cowboys, now fears for the future of the storied Argentine steak. Argentines, it seems, are eating less and less of the fine red beef that is one of their country's most glorious trademarks.

"My kids just don't eat beef like I used to," complained Pereyra, casting his weather-beaten face over a ranch 70 miles west of Buenos Aires where the free-range cattle roam fields of green grass. "I hear people are even eating fish back in Buenos Aires By the heavens, what is happening to us Argentines. Fish!? I never thought I'd live to see the day."

Argentine beef, which in the 1920s became romanticized for its tangy taste and the lore of the brooding gaucho, is undergoing a powerful export boom that has made it the choice of many gourmets from New York to Paris. The United States lifted a 70-year ban on Argentine beef in 1997 after farmers here rid herds of bovine hoof-and-mouth disease. Since then, the pungent taste of the pampas has become de rigueur at fine North American steak houses and upscale supermarkets.

But back home, the fabled beef business that has been as much a part of Argentine history and culture as Eva Peron, soccer and the tango is facing a serious upheaval. Even as exports rose 17 percent last year, the 1990s saw the number of

cattle and the amount of beef production drop sharply. A debate is even raging over whether the industry should shift away from the free-range cattle that Argentines and gourmets love and move toward the blander-tasting, grain-fed beef common in the United States, which fetches higher prices on world markets.

Argentina has long held the world record in consumption of red meat--132 pounds per person per year, compared with 99 in the United States--and Argentines remain by far the beef industry's largest customers. But globalization has done what hard times during dictatorships and economic depressions never could: wean Argentines from a diet of beef, beef and more beef. They eat 16 percent less than in 1990 and 34 percent less than in 1980.

"The international message is loud and clear--that beef, at least the quantities we are used to eating it in, isn't great for your health," said Mario Pieniazek, who manages a Buenos Aires steakhouse. In the past two years, he has added more chicken dishes and has even done the once-unthinkable--put fish on the menu. "Hey, we can't fight the modern world, especially now that we've joined it."

Democracy was restored here in the 1980s and a free market put in place in 1991, ushering Argentina more closely into the world economy and its influences. Since then, the revelation that beef is not always beautiful has come from cable television, American-style health magazines and a fitness craze that has washed over this nation of 34 million.

Unlike their fattier U.S. cousins, Argentina's free-range beef is about as low in cholesterol as chicken, according to scientific studies here. Nevertheless, globalization has taken the traditional mountainous helping of beef and filled it with a plateful of guilt.

In the fashionable Recoleta district of Buenos Aires, the latest craze is, of all things, sushi. Standing out like a geisha in a gaucho camp amid rows of steakhouses, the three-month-old Dei Senu sushi bar has become an instant hit. There were eight sushi restaurants in Buenos Aires in 1995; there are more than 50 today.

On one recent evening, young Buenos Aires residents were dipping California rolls in soy troughs with chopsticks.

"My parents fed us beef all the time, sometimes twice a day for lunch and dinner," said Emiliano Polcaro, 21, a psychology student enjoying salmon sashimi. He recently tried Japanese food for the first time after seeing it featured on American television shows. "I think [my parents] were silly to think red meat would make their kids healthy. I read in magazines now that chicken, fish and vegetables are much better."

Polcaro's parents were not alone. In Argentina, beef has long been more than mere food. In a society populated mostly by descendants of Europeans, many carried the Old World mentality that a meal is not a meal without meat. They came to the right place--British-bred Aberdeen Angus and Hereford cattle developed a startlingly flavorful taste when fed on the ripe grass of the fertile pampas.

The cult of the cow inspired great works of Argentine literature, such as "Martin Fierro," the epic poem about gaucho life. Hanging in the Buenos Aires Museum of Fine Arts is "El Asado"--"The Barbecue"--a masterpiece by Italian Ignacio Manzoni of children being served meat roasting over an open fire.

Conscious of that heritage, the government and the cattle industry have organized a multimillion-dollar beef promotion campaign. They are betting that images of Argentine tennis great Gabriela Sabatini and ballet star Julio Bocca

chowing down
on steaks will once again whet the country's appetite.

But as Argentines continue to discover the other food groups, some ranchers are looking overseas. Despite a recent rise in exports, Argentina is still expected to ship only about 400,000 tons of beef abroad this year--roughly 15 percent of local production. That leaves a lot of room for growth.

Eager to tap new markets such as Japan, where the stronger taste of free-range beef is not to local preference, some cattle ranchers are switching to the U.S.-style feedlot system, using hormones and stables filled with grains to bulk up cattle and line their beef with tenderizing fat.

This system still represents less than 10 percent of total production. But proponents expect it to grow. Cactus Feeders Inc., the largest U.S. feedlot business, joined an Argentine company last year to open a 25,000-pen feedlot in central Argentina.

"Look, you can sell that grass [-fed] beef in a few high end restaurants in New York and Europe, but most of America and the rest of the world won't eat it. It's just too strong," said Paul Engler, Cactus Feeders' chairman. "No, the future of Argentine exports has got to be in grain-fed animals."

But feedlots are anathema to Eva Boelcke, who owns the farm near this old pampas town of San Antonio de Areco where Pereyra, the gaucho, has worked for the past 30 years. For three generations, her family has been raising free-range cattle at the El Ombu de Areco ranch.

The beef business has been tough lately. She, like so many other cattle ranchers here, has had to open her rustic ranch to tourists to keep the business alive.

But to her, taking her cattle off the gentle plains of the pampas and into

grain-filled stalls would be almost as sacrilegious as eating a good Argentine steak without a nice bottle of red Argentine wine.

"Our beef is the best in the world, and by changing the way cattle is raised, we risk ruining the reputation we've built for free-range beef," she said. "I don't care what the world thinks anyway. I mean, Argentines will always, I repeat, always eat beef. These other foods are just a fad right now. It's beef that's in our blood."

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Clinton Lauds Portugal on First Stop of Europe Trip

By Charles Babington
Washington Post Staff Writer
Wednesday, May 31, 2000 ; A22

LISBON, May 30 -- President Clinton, calling for closer U.S.-European ties, began a week-long trip to Europe today at the spot where Vasco da Gama and other Portuguese explorers set sail for legendary exploits 500 years ago.

Clinton, making his 48th foreign trip as president but his first to Portugal, praised the country for contributing troops to the NATO peacekeeping force in Kosovo and for providing flood relief to Mozambique, a former Portuguese colony.

Today's events, which included a visit to a science research center and a state dinner, were heavier on symbolism than substance. The president will get into meatier parts of the trip on Wednesday at a European Union economic summit here in the Portuguese capital, on Thursday during a meeting in Berlin with Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak on how to advance Israeli-Palestinian peace talks, and again on Sunday, when he meets with Russian President Vladimir Putin in Moscow.

Political sources in Israel said the talks, suspended by Barak last week

in
response to violence in the West Bank and Gaza, would resume
Wednesday and move
from Sweden to the Middle East. They declined to be specific.

In Portugal today, Clinton basked in warm sunshine and the praise of
Portuguese
President Jorge Sampaio. Welcoming Clinton at the waterside Tower
of Belem,
Sampaio said Portugal will do all it can "to take responsibility for the
future
of our planet."

In brief remarks, Clinton cited global problems including AIDS in
Africa and Asia
and "the economic gulfs separating the wealthiest from the rest of the
world.
These problems require innovation, imagination and courage.
Portugal's history is
filled with those qualities, and I believe Portugal again will lead the
way."

The White House announced several new agreements with Portugal,
including a pact
intended to help Americans obtain alimony and child support owed by
former
spouses living in Portugal. Portugal also became the 10th EU member
to sign an
"Open Skies" agreement with the United States, designed to increase
tourist and
business travel.

The agreement will remove restrictions on flight frequency,
destinations, seat
capacity and pricing.

Today's ceremonies were full of smiles, but Wednesday may bring a
bit more
tension, at least in closed meetings. The Clinton administration is
unhappy with
the EU's refusal to embrace a U.S. program granting tax breaks to
many American
exporters.

The EU-backed World Trade Organization has ruled that the program
grants illegal
subsidies. U.S. officials have said they may retaliate by challenging
European
export subsidies.

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A Commencement Exercise in Prevention

By Nora Boustany

Wednesday, May 31, 2000 ; A24

U.N. troops are still deployed in southern Lebanon as governments in Beirut and Damascus decide whether the Lebanese army or police forces will take control of border areas vacated by Israel after 22 years of occupation. In Sierra Leone, U.N. peacekeepers held hostage by rebels have finally been liberated. And U.N. agencies are managing the affairs of newly independent East Timor as the nascent state prepares to hold elections after winning independence from Indonesia. These examples demonstrate how important, but also how vulnerable, the task of peacekeeping and the pursuit of security are as long as the scourge of war looms. U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan told graduating students at Johns Hopkins University's Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies last Thursday that regardless of what career they embark on, the prevention of conflict is a responsibility they all must assume. He talked about the "new diplomacy" of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) that are determined to avert war in societies beyond the dynamic of governments. Preventing conflict is preferable to curing it, he said, and the world needs "your commitment and your creativity."

"In a world of many actors and many parties, prevention is the responsibility of us all," he said at the ceremony, at which he gave the commencement address and accepted an honorary degree. "Regardless of which path you choose, you can become agents of prevention. Should you choose the private sector, you can join the many firms that are embracing a wider definition of corporate citizenship and helping

to prevent conflict by strengthening economic development around the world.

Should you choose to serve in NGOs, you will join a new diplomacy of groups and actors determined to prevent conflict through peaceful means outside the traditional channels of power."

By opting for foreign service or the United Nations, he told the graduates that they could "help transform traditional means of peacemaking and peacekeeping by helping us summon the will to act with foresight and imagination in order to prevent the new century from repeating the tragedies of the last one."

Since 1990, the world's wars have been mainly internal, he said, "between rebel groups, militias and warlords, and not between states. They have also been brutal, claiming more than 5 million lives." Increasingly, he said, wars are directed not at states or standing armies, but against civilians, and global leaders have to adapt the structure of international relations to a "new era defined by the dignity of the individual."

He described the school, half of whose graduates came from abroad, as one with a global mission. "You are the global citizens of tomorrow, and you have a chance to affect the world in ways that would have been unthinkable to your parents' generation," Annan said. Where once only diplomats could act as global citizens, the sky is the limit now for opportunities for global action, he explained.

Romanian Reforms

Romanian Prime Minister Mugur Isarescu said his country's economy is finally on the mend and structural reforms are in place. An extension of Romania's standby agreement with the International Monetary Fund, which would pave the way for loans from other international institutions, goes to the IMF board today.

Isarescu said exports have increased by 26 percent, the gross domestic product is up 1.5 percent for the first quarter, and the deficit in the balance of payments has shrunk, all indications that the economy is recovering after three years of deep recession. Government approval ratings have not been very high, he explained, "because it is not easy to talk with empty stomachs."

Romania has transformed its economic production from energy and heavy industry to more labor-intensive industries such as clothing, footwear and glassware. Romanian universities are turning out 5,000 graduates annually in computer engineering and programming, and American companies are discovering it is better to employ locals in their high-tech companies.

Blockage of the Danube River, by debris from bridges that were blown up during the war in Kosovo, has punished Romanians more than their Serbian neighbors and Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic.

Isarescu called for the separation of sanctions from the need to unblock navigation on the Danube. He explained that Romania was running up additional transportation costs to deliver its goods to other European countries because it had to use a longer and more circuitous route.

Slovenia Assigns Envoys

Davorin Kracun, Slovenia's foreign minister from 1996 to '97, is now its ambassador to Washington. With a background in economics, Kracun has lectured at the University of Maribor in Slovenia, but he has also served as his country's minister of planning and as minister of economic relations and development.

Ernest Petric, Slovenia's first ambassador here, who arrived before his country was formally recognized in 1992, has become the country's permanent representative to the United Nations.

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Chinese Tycoon Gets Life For Fraud

By John Pomfret
Washington Post Foreign Service
Wednesday, May 31, 2000 ; A21

BEIJING, May 30 -- A flamboyant Chinese entrepreneur who played a role in the country's economic transformation over the past two decades was sentenced today to life in prison for foreign-exchange fraud, reflecting a call to account for the criminality involved in many first-generation capitalist ventures. A court in the heart of China's rust belt in Wuhan sentenced Mou Qizhong for defrauding a state-run bank of \$75 million, a spokesman at Wuhan Intermediate People's Court said, seven months after he pleaded not guilty in a highly publicized one-day trial on Nov. 1.

Mou was the most showy of the entrepreneurs who amassed huge fortunes in the early 1980s and 1990s, when China first opened to the outside world.

Using techniques of questionable legality, these men and women, many of whom had been political prisoners during the Cultural Revolution, wrote an important chapter in China's economic and political history following the decision in 1978 to loosen the state's reins on the economy. For the most part, businessmen such as Mou "exploited holes in the Communist system to turn huge profits," said Nicholas Driver, a partner at Clear Thinking, a Beijing-based economic consulting group.

In 1992, for example, Mou swapped 500 railroad cars of Chinese goods for four Russian Tu-154 airplanes to be used by a Chinese airline, walking away with \$11 million in profit.

"He was an entrepreneur, but he also was a scam artist," Driver said.

"He used his connections in the Communist Party and the army to cut deals. He is being replaced by people who are more business-oriented, better educated, who are actually producing things. Mou never produced anything; he just tried to do deals."

But regardless of Mou's machinations, thanks to the labor and hustle--and sometimes sleaze--of people like him, almost half of China's economy is now in private hands.

"They started a process that has proved to be unstoppable," Driver said. "In that sense, they played an important role."

Born in 1940, Mou was the son of a capitalist financier from Sichuan. His bad "class background" meant that he was denied the right to complete college. During the ultra-leftist Cultural Revolution, Mou became disillusioned with China's direction and wrote an essay titled "Where Is China Heading?" Mou, at least, headed straight to jail.

In 1975, Mou was sentenced to death for the essay, but the following year a political shift led to his being spared. He was freed in 1979.

Like many rehabilitated political prisoners, Mou had nowhere to go. He did not belong to a "work unit" so he had no possible source of income. Mou went into business. Jiang Rong, a prominent Beijing entrepreneur and expert on China's private businessmen, said hundreds of political prisoners and common criminals took the same path in the early 1980s, forming China's first post-revolutionary capitalist class.

Mou founded a company with a \$55 loan. His first deal was to sell ornate brass alarm clocks produced by a factory in Sichuan to stores in Shanghai, turning a huge profit. By 1983, his business was thriving. But local authorities

jailed him
for a year because, basically, he was making too much money.

Mou emerged from jail and founded the Land Economic Group in Beijing. His piece de resistance occurred in 1992, and is illustrative of the type of deal for which he was famed: profiting from gaps in China's economic system, where there was a huge amount of pent-up demand but an inefficient allocation of capital.

At the time, China had allowed provinces to begin their own airlines. Sichuan Airlines needed planes but had no cash. The Soviet Union needed China's light industrial products. Mou arranged a barter deal--500 goods-filled railroad cars for four planes--that garnered him worldwide fame.

In 1995, the Chinese government recognized him as one of China's "10 Best Private Entrepreneurs" and China's "Reform Hero." At its height, the Land Group had assets worth \$240 million.

That year, Mou hatched a plan to launch a series of satellites from Kazakhstan. But his brainstorm came just as China's government pulled the brakes on its overheating economy.

Mou arranged for a \$75 million letter of credit from the Bank of China to import computers and then turned around and used it to finance the satellite launches. Two satellites were launched, but Land Group officials say Mou may actually have done little more than pay millions to put the company's name on them; the launches generated no significant revenue and Mou's company fell more than \$40 million in debt, according to court documents. It was his last deal.

Jiang Rong, the entrepreneur, said that after Mou, the next generation of private businessmen came from government ministries--using their connections to obtain government contracts or access to market information to make steady profits. They

rose to prominence in the early 1990s, many of them amassing and then losing fortunes in China's capricious real estate market.

Now a third generation of businessmen is emerging, constituting the first real group of "capitalists," he said. "They are using capital for production and service industry."

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WORLD IN BRIEF

Wednesday, May 31, 2000 ; A22

ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

Fiji Military Scraps Charter, Begins Talks

SUVA, Fiji--The country's new military leaders threw out Fiji's constitution yesterday and began negotiating with armed rebels whose seizure of the prime minister and other hostages has sparked ethnic and political turmoil in this South Pacific country.

Rebel supporters threw rocks at cars as military officials met with the rebels in Suva, the capital.

Prime Minister Mahendra Chaudhry and the more than 30 other hostages--many of them members of Chaudhry's government--have been held captive in Fiji's parliament complex since May 19 by businessman George Speight and his band of rebels. The rebels are members of the ethnic Fijian majority who want Chaudhry, Fiji's first prime minister from the ethnic Indian minority, removed from power and Fijians of Indian ancestry barred from leading the country.

In his first full day in power, army leader Commodore Frank Bainimarama revoked Fiji's constitution but said other laws still apply subject to further decrees by

his "interim military government." Bainimarama--who took power Monday when President Kamisese Mara stepped down amid unrest in Fiji's streets--told the BBC he intends to grant Speight amnesty when the crisis ends.

"That was a promise made by [Mara] and we intend to carry that forward," Bainimarama told the BBC.

But Speight rejected Bainimarama's authority and said only half the military supports the army leader.

(Associated Press)

EUROPE

Belfast's Government Begins Anew

BELFAST--As Northern Ireland's resurrected Roman Catholic-Protestant government got back to business, both sides expressed hope that the unlikely coalition will survive on the second try.

But nobody involved predicted smooth sailing for the four-party cabinet--the central provision of the province's 1998 peace accord, and one that has been repeatedly hamstrung by arguments over Irish Republican Army disarmament.

Sitting beside his party's two cabinet ministers, Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams said they were prepared to wage "a battle a day" with Protestant colleagues and the British government to make the system work.

Sinn Fein and the IRA "know themselves how much rides on this," said David Trimble, the leader of the largest Protestant party and the chief cabinet

minister. Trimble last weekend received only a bare majority of support from a party council to re-enter government with Sinn Fein after the IRA agreed to put its weapons "beyond use" if the power-sharing government were resumed.

(Associated Press)

France Adopts News Photo Curbs

PARIS--France's parliament adopted some of the West's toughest restrictions on news photographers in a move aimed at protecting the dignity of people photographed in incriminating or humiliating poses.

Under the law, photographers will not be allowed to take pictures of suspects wearing handcuffs or of crime scenes where a victim's dignity is jeopardized.

Photographers, newspapers and magazines said the measures, which were included in a broader bill boosting the rights of criminal suspects and crime victims, amount to censorship.

Ignoring months of protests, the Senate gave the proposal virtually unanimous backing.

"This is a very bad thing," said the photo editor at the daily newspaper

Liberation, Laurent Abadjian. "Photographs of many important events will lose all their force."

It will be up to various editors to decide whether a photograph infringes the new regulations. Violators could be fined nearly \$15,000.

(Reuters)

AFRICA

Sankoh's Wife Ordered Out of S. Africa

JOHANNESBURG--South Africa declared the wife of Sierra Leonean rebel leader Foday Sankoh persona non grata and asked her to leave the country within 24 hours.

Foreign Ministry spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said Fatou Mbaye Sankoh, who entered South Africa on a U.S. passport under her maiden name, had done so despite his

department's advice to her host that Sankoh's presence would not be permitted.

"She has . . . engaged in activities intended to promote the aims and objectives of her husband's [Revolutionary United Front] movement," Mamoepa said.

Sankoh said she was surprised by the government's decision, but would leave.

Sankoh, who was born in Senegal, told a news conference she had lived in the United States for 12 years and became a citizen last year. She married her husband a couple of months ago and had not yet changed her passport, she said.

(Reuters)

FOR THE RECORD

Belarussian President Alexander Lukashenko said the government would treat political opponents just returned from meetings with top U.S. lawmakers and politicians, including Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), as a possible security threat.

. . . Rome's leftist city chiefs drew widespread indignation for canceling support for a World Gay Pride festival from July 1-9, with the president of Italy's Jewish communities saying respect for minorities was a mark of civilized society.

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After 40 Years of Exclusion, Israel Allowed to Join U.N. Regional Bloc

By Colum Lynch
Special to The Washington Post
Wednesday, May 31, 2000 ; A24

UNITED NATIONS, May 30 -- After decades of exclusion, Israel will be allowed to join one of the five U.N. regional blocs that decide which countries serve on key

committees, including the Security Council, U.S. and Israeli diplomats announced today.

For more than 40 years, Israel has been prevented from participating in its own geographic bloc--the Asian Group--because of opposition from Arab countries, making Israel a second-class U.N. member with little hope of winning key diplomatic appointments.

Yehuda Lancry, the Israeli ambassador to the United Nations, and Richard C. Holbrooke, the U.S. ambassador, told reporters that Israel temporarily will join the Western European and Others Group, which is made up of the United States, Western European countries, New Zealand, Australia, Canada and Turkey.

"This is a new chapter we are opening with the United Nations," Lancry exulted.

"We have been excluded for 40 years. . . . We were considered a sort of pariah of the international community."

The invitation, however, comes with considerable restrictions.

"The arrangement is for four years, and then we will reconsider," said Netherlands Ambassador Peter van Walsum, the European group's chairman. Under the terms of the agreement, Israel will not be able to run for a Security Council seat for three years. It cannot compete for posts at the U.N.'s regional offices in Geneva, Vienna and Nairobi. And it must continue to seek admission to the Asian group, which includes all Asian and Middle Eastern countries.

Holbrooke said that despite the conditions, Israel's entry into the group marks a major diplomatic achievement for the Jewish state, the only one of the U.N.'s 189 members that has not been allowed to participate in a regional group.

Holbrooke added that it would have been unreasonable for Israel to "go to the head of the line" for committee posts. He noted that Israel's exclusion from posts at U.N. regional offices would not bar Israeli diplomats from

competing for
the most important positions at the New York headquarters. "New
York is the
mothership," he said.

Obtaining a slot for Israel in one of the U.N.'s regional groups has
been one of
Holbrooke's top priorities since he took up his post last year. He said
President
Clinton, Vice President Gore and Secretary of State Madeleine K.
Albright all had
worked to persuade European countries to admit Israel. "This is no
small thing,"
Holbrooke said. "I was told flatly by my colleagues . . . it wouldn't
happen."

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Official With INS Convicted Of Spying

By Sue Anne Pressley
Washington Post Staff Writer
Wednesday, May 31, 2000 ; A1

MIAMI, May 30 – A senior U.S. immigration official with a
34-year career
that included access to classified information about Cuban defectors
and law
enforcement sources was found guilty today by a federal court jury of
disclosing
government secrets.

Mariano Faget, 54, who came to the United States from Cuba as a
teenager and
later became a naturalized U.S. citizen, was an acting deputy director
of the
U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service in Miami when he was
arrested in
February on charges that he revealed secrets to a lifelong friend and
business
partner with connections to Cuba.

Faget was the first immigration official ever charged under federal
espionage
laws. Although he had a high-level security clearance and occasional
access to
sensitive information, officials said, he is not considered to have done
significant harm to U.S. national security. But the case is viewed by

some
counterintelligence officials as evidence that Cuba has built an
extensive
intelligence network, particularly in the Miami area.

The jury in U.S. District Court here also convicted Faget of
converting
government property, or information, to his own use; lying on a
security form
when he said he had no foreign business ties; and lying about contacts
with a
Cuban official. The jury deliberated for several hours Thursday and
again for
three hours today before reaching a verdict.

Faget, who faces a maximum punishment of 10 years in prison, will
be sentenced in
August.

"We're pleased," said Hector M. Pesquera, FBI special agent in charge
of Miami,
after the verdict. "What was presented to the jury was unequivocal in
support of
the violations he was charged with. There was no doubt on the
government's side
that that was the only decision the jury could come up with."

As part of an FBI sting called "Operation False Blue," Faget, who was
nearing
retirement, was told a phony story about the upcoming defection of a
top Cuban
intelligence officer.

On Feb. 11, he attended a meeting with Pesquera and other senior
U.S. officials
who sought his advice about the bogus defection of Luis Molina,
described in
court as one of two known Cuban intelligence officers who had been
seen meeting
alone with Faget over the past year.

Twelve minutes after the meeting, FBI agents listened in as Faget
dialed his
personal cell phone and relayed the information to friend Pedro Font,
a New York
City businessman with Cuban ties who was to meet shortly with Jose
Imperator, an
official in the Cuban diplomatic mission in Washington.

The FBI also had gathered surveillance of Faget making unauthorized

contact with
Imperatori.

Imperatori was expelled from the United States earlier this year. Both he and Molina have denied they were spies.

During closing arguments Thursday, Faget's attorneys called the FBI case "outrageous and slanderous," and described Faget as "an honest government servant who made a mistake."

"They thought this man . . . was a Castro agent. They know, they have to know now, that's not true," Faget's attorney Ed O'Donnell told the 12-person jury, which included six jurors of Cuban descent. "Now they say he did it for money, influence and access."

But federal prosecutors countered that Faget was trying to "deceive" the jury just as he had deceived the U.S. government.

"Mariano Faget was a government employee willing to betray the trust of the people he was sworn to serve," Assistant U.S. Attorney Curtis Miner told the jurors. "He disclosed classified information for no better purpose than his own personal reasons, his own personal gain."

Faget and Font had formed America-Cuba Inc. in 1993 to pursue business ventures in Cuba should the U.S. trade embargo against the communist nation be lifted.

Last week, Faget took the stand in his own defense, testifying he had tipped off Font only because Font was meeting with Imperatori, and Faget feared for Font's safety should the Cuban officials think Font was involved in the alleged defection. He said he was afraid Font might fall into a "trap."

But prosecutors argued that Faget really told the secret to ingratiate himself with Font and the Cuban officials.

Faget described his earlier meetings with Cuban officials as attempts to gauge the business climate in his former homeland in order to "help Cuba" in the future.

"As one gets older, I guess one's roots start tugging at him," Faget said on the stand last week.

But FBI agent James Patrick Laflin testified that Faget was "manipulative and deceitful" when the FBI questioned him for six hours on Feb. 17 about his contacts with the Cuban government.

Faget countered that he was reluctant to cooperate with agents because they kept insisting his friend Font was a spy.

INS officials had little comment on the verdict.

"The system has rendered its decision, and we will consider Mr. Faget's status with INS based upon this decision and federal personnel guidelines," said INS spokesman Russ Bergeron. Faget technically remains an INS employee, on leave without pay since his arrest.

Earlier this year, the Miami Herald described Faget's father, Mariano Faget Sr., as someone who hunted down and tortured suspected communists for the government of Fulgencio Batista, who was overthrown by Fidel Castro. A book on the Cuban revolution also stated that Faget Sr. had worked with the FBI.

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Women at the Western Wall

Wednesday, May 31, 2000 ; A26

WITH PEACE TALKS in high tension, Israeli politics didn't need an outbreak of turmoil in the running domestic battle between secular and religious

Jews. But that's the likely outcome of a ruling by Israel's highest court that women may pray collectively and read aloud from Torah, or scripture, at the Western Wall. The wall, Judaism's holiest site, has until now been under the exclusive control of Orthodox religious authorities who separate the sexes and allow religious services only on the men's side; they consider women's holding of such services an abomination. The court ruled that a petitioning women's group has, essentially, a separate civic right to pray at the wall despite "the possibility . . . that [it] could lead to violent reactions from intolerant parties." Orthodox politicians promised immediate legislation to reverse the decision; others offered barely veiled threats of trouble "on the ground." The decision may increase pressure on Prime Minister Ehud Barak's already precarious religious-secular coalition.

Some of the hottest battles within Judaism, as within other religions, involve the role of women. The petitioning group claims its practices are acceptable under strict Jewish law, as even some Orthodox rabbis--though not in Israel--agree. Its initial attempts to read Torah at the wall 11 years ago brought thrown bottles and thrown chairs from the men's side. The case was repeatedly shunted off to government committees that failed to find compromises. The court's admirable realization was that this matter would never yield to compromise. Any ensuing political battle will force Israelis to confront the existence of religious rights not just of the Orthodox community but of the broader Israeli public.

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Africa's Hidden Hope

Wednesday, May 31, 2000 ; A26

THE HEADLINES from Africa could hardly be more terrible: war in Sierra Leone, war and famine in Ethiopia and Eritrea, violent disorder in Zimbabwe, an AIDS pandemic in much of the continent that threatens to reduce life expectancy by 20 years. What's more, the trends behind the headlines are often equally depressing. Africa's average income per head is lower than it was at the end of the 1960s, while many other developing regions have moved forward. And whereas the rest of the world has all but vanquished diseases such as malaria, Africa's malaria infection rate has increased by around 60 percent in the past 30 years. Africa's apparent hopelessness is now so widely accepted that it is in danger of becoming a self-fulfilling prophecy. It is deterring investors--both African and foreign--from creating the new businesses that might rescue the continent. It is driving about 20,000 African professionals to desert the continent annually. And it is encouraging the view that aid to the continent is futile.

For moral reasons, America's instinct must be to resist this defeatism. No super-prosperous nation can be indifferent to the fact that about 250 million Africans live on less than \$1 a day and lack access to safe drinking water, or that more than 2 million of the continent's children die before their first birthday each year. Moreover, the United States has a strategic interest in resisting defeatism. The chaos of failed states creates havens for terrorists and international criminals.

How can pessimism about Africa be resisted? There is no point pretending that there is a silver bullet for the continent's interlocking problems: Poor health, weak education, wars, bad government and sheer poverty all cause and are simultaneously caused by each other, so not even the most heroic initiative in any of these areas can succeed on its own. Yet this does not mean that progress

is impossible. In the 1960s and 1970s, East Asia shared many of these weaknesses;
but the pessimists who dismissed the region as caught in a poverty trap have been
proved spectacularly wrong.

Moreover, the past decade has brought some real advances. A new World Bank report
notes that, since the early 1990s, 42 of 48 sub-Saharan states have held
multiparty presidential or parliamentary elections. Many of these countries have
also liberalized their economies, abandoning unrealistic exchange rates,
privatizing state businesses and reducing obstacles to trade. Growth has averaged
about 4 percent in the second half of the 1990s, compared with slightly higher
than 2 percent for 1981-94. Individual countries have shown that remarkable
success is possible; Botswana's economy is among the fastest-growing in the
world.

Where African leaders spend their limited resources on wars, aid can relieve
suffering but can never bring development: This is the case in Sudan and
Ethiopia. But where there are signs of commitment to sound policies, the West
needs to respond generously. President Clinton may have been rash to hail an
African Renaissance on his trip to Africa two years ago. But his instinct to
highlight the hopeful side of Africa and support it was absolutely right.

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At Home on the Front Lines

By Doug Struck

Wednesday, May 31, 2000 ; A27

He may have been the last one killed in southern Lebanon. The photo in Saturday's
International Herald Tribune showed his mangled car. The caption was succinct:

"UN peacekeepers on patrol passing by the burned car of Abed Takkoush, a driver for the BBC television who was killed by a round from an Israeli tank during the troop withdrawal."
When death has a name, it freezes in your chest. I knew this name well. I looked closely at the picture of the twisted wreck and recognized the grill from Abed's car. I had spent many hours in his succession of aged Mercedes when I covered Lebanon for the Baltimore Sun.

Abed Takkoush was one of those people without whom foreign correspondents would not have much to say. Call him a driver, sure, but he was journalist--he didn't craft the words, but he knew news. And he got reporters to the news so they could use their words or take their pictures.

In the same issue, the Tribune carried a tribute from my colleagues John Pomfret and Steven Pearlstein to Kurt Schork, the Reuters reporter who was killed with Associated Press cameraman Miguel Gil Moreno in an ambush in Sierra Leone a week ago. It was a deserved tribute; any hack who spent as much time courting danger as did Schork should expect at least a toast from his pals.

But of the 34 journalists killed in 1999, 26 of them were "local" journalists--people covering the story of their own homes, who don't have the protection of a foreign press card or the reward of an eventual plane ride out. They face the same dangers, day in and out, with little of the glory.

For them, the story is not a matter of distant interest, nor are the risks. After the deadline is met, they return to their families and live the hardships that the correspondents only visit.

The local staff and local reporters do not have the immunity of a foreigner; they are often pulled between sides. Palestinian Taher Shriteh in the Gaza Strip was jailed by the Israelis so many times he became a regular in Amnesty International

reports, but when the Palestinian Authority returned to Gaza, it had its own list of local reporters to detain.

The toll in the 1999 report by the Committee for the Protection of Journalists shows the dangers faced by local journalists. Their deaths ranged from the planned--four "enemy reporters" hunted down and killed on a single day in Sierra Leone--to the unlucky--a Nigerian journalist, Sam Nimfa-Jan, caught in an ethnic clash and killed by arrows in his back. The common denominator: All were killed on the job.

Abed was doing his job Tuesday. He had taken BBC reporter Jeremy Bowen and a cameraman down to the Israel-Lebanon border to film in an area evacuated by the retreating Israelis. It was quiet; there was no fighting there. In plain view of an Israeli observation post 500 yards away on a hilltop, Bowen's pink shirt blazed in the barren terrain as he and the cameraman moved away from the car to take pictures.

Abed stayed behind to use a mobile phone to call his son.

A shell slammed into the car, burning Abed--instantly, one hopes. It was a simple assassination, a last-minute potshot by a gunner in defeat.

The Israeli Defense Forces initially blamed its ally, the South Lebanon Army. No surprise here. The SLA was the usual scapegoat for Israel when something went wrong in south Lebanon, and truth rarely mattered. But the BBC crew says the shot came from the Israeli side of the border; besides, the SLA was too busy running from its post by that time.

It's irrelevant to Hanna, Abed's wife, and his three boys, on whom he doted. "It has happened. We cannot change it," she said by telephone. It only adds to the cruel irony that Abed lived through so much only to die on the final full day of

Israel's bloody 22-year occupation.

Abed worked through it all to get reporters to the action, wheeling his sedan at breakneck speed on dusty back roads, or creeping cautiously down an alley in a contested village. He had some close calls. His stories from the Lebanese civil war were harrowing and told with a license to boast that is won through surviving real danger. But he was not foolhardy: We had arguments when Abed pronounced a trip too risky, and I, in my smug American confidence, demanded we go. His judgment was usually better.

The only recklessness I saw in Abed was on his home streets of Beirut, when he raced with a Lebanese fatalism into dangerous intersections, and I cowered in the passenger seat.

Abed's funeral in Beirut was huge. That morning, the shooting stopped and the last Israeli troops left South Lebanon. Abed Takkoush should have been there to cover it.

The writer is The Post's northeast Asia bureau chief, based in Tokyo.

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Rooting Out Dirty Money

By David Ignatius

Wednesday, May 31, 2000 ; A27

Imagine for a moment that you are the corrupt defense minister of some faraway country and that I am your designated "commission agent," money launderer and all-around partner in crime. What a jolly time we could have in the borderless, lawless world that has emerged over the past decade of "globalization." For one of the dirty little secrets of the global economy is that it has been a money launderer's paradise--allowing

everyone from Russian gangsters to Chinese arms dealers to Middle Eastern bagmen
to hide their ill-gotten loot with near impunity.

Let's say you wanted to launder that \$100 million commission you just received on
a big weapons deal. Not a problem, sir! I'd start by creating my own bank--dozens
of Web sites explain in amazing detail how to do this--in one of a dozen or so
havens, mostly in the Caribbean and South Pacific.

I'd call our bank First Ignatius Trust Co. --not exactly anonymous, but it has a
nice ring to it. I'd register the bank in, let's see . . . the South Pacific island nation of Nauru. That desolate atoll (known otherwise mainly for its
phosphate deposits) is where Russian operatives moved an amazing \$70 billion in
1998, according to the Russian Central Bank.

Our little concern would be what's known as a "suitcase bank," or "brass plate
bank," which means it wouldn't have any employees or records in Nauru, only a
post office box. Indeed, the bank wouldn't exist except in my laptop computer,
which can go anywhere.

Next I'd open a correspondent account for First Ignatius with a big money center
bank in New York or London. And then, esteemed sir, I would arrange to wire that
delicious \$100 million commission to our little suitcase bank, via the correspondent account at the giant bank. And if I did it right, nobody would be
the wiser--no taxes, no cops, no records.

That's an imaginary (and extreme) example of the kind of money laundering that
goes on every day. Some real-life details could surface soon in hearings Sen.
Carl Levin wants to hold before the Senate permanent subcommittee on
investigations.

But things may get nasty soon for First Ignatius and its hundreds of real-world
counterparts. That's because the United States and other financial powers are

finally deciding to get serious about money laundering. The new counterattack is converging from two flanks.

First, a group known as the Financial Action Task Force, which was created by the world's 26 leading financial nations, plans to issue a report in June identifying the top money-laundering havens around the world. There has been a lively debate about who should be on that list--should it include Russia, for example?--but the initial version is likely to name just a few notorious spots in the Caribbean and in the South Pacific.

"Naming and shaming" is the term given to this blacklist approach. The resulting publicity will push major financial institutions around the world to restrict transactions with local banks in the listed countries--effectively shutting down their operations. What's the point of having money in First Ignatius, after all, if you can't move it anywhere?

The task force is also pressing its 26 members to make internal reforms. It has warned Austria, for example, that if it doesn't agree to eliminate its existing system of anonymous "passbook" accounts, it will get kicked out of the group, effective next month.

The second push is coming from Congress, which is considering legislation that would expand the U.S. government's ability to attack money launderers. One bill that will be marked up by the House Banking Committee next month would give the Treasury Department new tools--such as requiring U.S. banks to investigate who really controls secret accounts at offshore banks, mandating elaborate new record-keeping for banks that do business with money-laundering havens, and authorizing Treasury to ban such transactions outright. These new powers, if actively used, would raise the cost of money laundering so much that no

legitimate bank would knowingly touch it.

The House Judiciary Committee is considering another bill that would expand the list of crimes that trigger money-laundering investigations to include such global scourges as foreign corruption or arms trafficking. Now, the feds tend to focus on the cash deposits made by drug traffickers and other low-lives--rather than on the hundreds of millions stashed away by corrupt dictators.

By creating a seamless financial world, globalization has made life easier for the new pirates of the 21st century. But that could change in a hurry. If the world's leading financial nations decide to get serious about the menace of corruption, they could quickly create a world in which dirty money, quite literally, would have no place to hide.

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Bullpen Implodes Again, But O's Hold On

By Fred Goodall
Associated Press
Tuesday , May 30, 2000

ST. PETERSBURG, Fla. - Albert Belle and Cal Ripken Jr. homered and drove in two runs apiece Tuesday night as the Baltimore Orioles beat the Tampa Bay Devil Rays 8-7 for their sixth win in seven games.

Belle hit his sixth homer, a two-run shot off Esteban Yan (2-3), in the first inning. Ripken's 10th of the season, and 412th of his career, also came in the first as the Orioles built a 4-0 lead.

Ripken added a RBI double off Yan in the fifth, while B.J. Surhoff and Charles Johnson hit solo homers in the eighth for the Orioles. Surhoff also scored in the sixth when he doubled off Yan and raced home on a throwing error by shortstop Felix Martinez.

Sidney Ponson (3-2) allowed five runs - three earned - and 12 hits in 8 1-3 innings. He struck out six and walked one. Ponson left with two on and one out in the ninth.

B.J. Ryan allowed a two-run single to Vinny Castilla and a two-run homer to Steve Cox with two outs. Mike Timlin struck out pinch-hitter Greg Vaughn for his fourth save.

The loss was the 13th in 16 games for the Devil Rays (16-34), who have the worst record in the major leagues.

The Devil Rays had 13 hits, but were 1-for-11 with men in scoring position during a 5-1 loss to the Orioles on Monday. Tuesday night's game followed a similar script.

Just as they did the day before, the Orioles built an early 4-0 lead and Tampa Bay couldn't recover because of a lack of timely hitting. Ponson worked out of jams with runners at second or third in four of the first five innings, with the Devil Rays going 0-for-8 in those situations.

With help from the Orioles, Tampa Bay finally broke through in the sixth after Jose Guillen and Fred McGriff began the inning with singles. Vinny Castilla broke up Ponson's shutout with a grounder to third that Ripken fielded and threw to second for an attempted force.

But second baseman Delino DeShields dropped the relay for an error, leaving runners at first and second. Steve Cox singled to load the bases before Tampa Bay scored two more runs on sloppy Baltimore fielding.

John Flaherty hit a grounder up the middle that shortstop Mike Bordick fielded in front of the bag. Bordick flipped the ball to DeShields for a force out, but two runs crossed the plate as DeShields' relay to first got by Will Clark for

an
error on the Orioles first baseman.

Seven of Baltimore's 10 hits off Yan were for extra bases. DeShields had a double and a triple in addition to his first-inning sacrifice fly. Ripken's double was the 579th of his career, moving him ahead of Wade Boggs into 13th on the career list.

The loss assured the Devil Rays of finishing May with the fewest wins in a month in franchise history. They have are 7-19 this month, and with an overall mark of 16-34 have the fewest wins through Memorial Day by an AL team since the 1996 Detroit Tigers (12-39).

Notes
The Devil Rays have been outscored 49-25 in the first inning ... Belle's homer was his second off Yan in six career at bats ... Ripken has hit safely in eight of 11 games since returning to the lineup May 17 after missing four games with scar tissue inflammation in his back. His 10 homers are his highest total through May since he hit 12 before June 1 in 1991 ... Tampa Bay has been outhomered 45-23 at home.

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Mitchell May Be Out

By Mark Maske
Washington Post Staff Writer
Wednesday, May 31, 2000 ; D1

Washington Redskins officials are leaning strongly toward releasing veteran running back and kick returner Brian Mitchell within the next few weeks, sources close to the situation said yesterday.

As 40-year-old cornerback Darrell Green celebrated the announcement of his new contract with the Redskins by reclaiming his title as the team's fastest

man
yesterday, another of the club's most prominent veterans apparently
was on the
verge of having his long tenure with the franchise ended. Team
officials are
leaving open a slim possibility of retaining Mitchell if a prospective
deal with
cornerback Deion Sanders falls through, sources said, but the decision
to release
Mitchell apparently is all but made.

It was unclear yesterday, however, when the Redskins intend to make
the move. The
Redskins probably will not cut Mitchell this week but want to do it
soon to give
him an opportunity to find a job with another NFL team, sources said.

The Redskins likely will release fullback Larry Bowie this week,
sources said.
NFL teams generally delay releasing veteran players until June 1
because that
defers the salary cap hits of such maneuvers until the following
season.

Mitchell was on the field yesterday at Redskin Park as the Redskins
opened a
two-week quarterback school with an afternoon practice. Players also
were timed
in the 40-yard dash, and Green followed the official announcement of
his new
five-year, \$10 million contract with the club by running his 40 in an
astounding
4.24 seconds.

Mitchell, who will turn 32 in August, has spent his entire 10-year NFL
career
with the Redskins. He declined to discuss his future with the team
yesterday,
saying, "I'm not saying anything more until I have a press conference
about
whether I'm staying or I'm going."

Redskins officials declined to comment.

Mitchell previously has said he wants to stay with the team, but wants
to be
released as soon as possible if he is not in the club's plans for next
season. He
has said he intends to play with another NFL team next season if he is

not wanted
in Washington. He also has indicated he believes he deserved to be
kept better
informed by club officials about his status.

Last season, he had his lowest averages on punt returns (8.3 yards)
and kickoff
returns (20.8 yards) since 1993, but provided a 100-yard kickoff
return for a
touchdown in the Redskins' playoff loss at Tampa Bay. He is the
NFL's career
leader in combined punt and kickoff return yards, and he and Jim
Brown are the
only players ever to lead the league in combined net yards (rushing,
receiving
and return yards) in four seasons. His contract runs through the 2002
season, and
he is to count about \$1.6 million against the salary cap next season.

The Redskins hope to sign Sanders within the next two weeks,
provided he is
released by the Dallas Cowboys. Sanders could return punts next
season, and
Mitchell already surrendered some of his kickoff return duties to
reserve wide
receiver James Thrash last season. The Redskins' running back mix
got more
crowded during the offseason with the signing of free agent Adrian
Murrell.

Green regained supremacy in the Redskins' 40-yard dash times after
being bested
by wide receiver Albert Connell a year ago, in part because Green
didn't wear
track shoes. Yesterday Green borrowed track shoes from teammate
Curtis Buckley
and ran only once, topping Connell's times of 4.28 and 4.31 seconds
in his two
runs.

"Last year, there was some misunderstanding," Green said. "I felt I
had to come
out and clear that up. And I think I did that."

Earlier, the Redskins announced Green's new contract, which the team
negotiated
to replace the remaining three years on Green's previous deal and
reward him for
his 17 seasons with the team. Green's new deal contains a \$2 million
signing

bonus and increases his income next season from the \$1.1 million he was to earn under his previous contract.

During a news conference, owner Daniel M. Snyder said that Green has had "probably the greatest Redskin career in history," and indicated he regards Green's new deal as a "lifetime contract." Green said he would accept a diminished role if the Redskins sign Sanders, and indicated he hopes to remain with the organization in a front office job; but not coaching job after he retires as a player.

Later, Green said: "To have the favor of the team, the favor of the owner and the favor of the community, it's amazing. It's humbling."

Redskins Notes

The team waived rookie tackle Kareem Ellis, an undrafted free agent from North Carolina. Ellis was arrested last week in Chapel Hill, N.C., for driving while impaired, and Redskins spokesman Karl Swanson said "that was clearly a factor" in the club's decision to release him. . . .

Rookie linebacker LaVar Arrington and veteran defensive end Bruce Smith missed yesterday's practice. Arrington's girlfriend had a baby yesterday morning, and Coach Norv Turner said he expects Arrington to be on hand for today's practice. Smith's father just died. The memorial service is scheduled for late this week, and Turner said he doesn't expect Smith to resume practicing until next week. . . .

Turner said he's not concerned that the team's decision to move training camp to Redskin Park and charge admission to workouts could enable scouts from other NFL teams to watch practices from the stands. The Redskins will have practices closed to the public later in training camp, and Turner said, "We won't get into serious preparations for the season until we close practice." . . .

Rookie left tackle Chris Samuels participated in yesterday's practice and moved well after being limited during last month's minicamp by a strained hamstring muscle. Two other Redskins draft picks, safety Quincy Sanders and wide receiver Ethan Howell, are hindered by hamstring injuries.

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New York Times:

May 30, 2000

Clinton Visits Europe With Same Baggage, Trade and Missiles, That Reagan Carried

By ELAINE SCIOLINO

ISBON, May 30 -- President Clinton today became the first president to visit Portugal since Ronald Reagan in 1985, and as Mr. Clinton opened his last scheduled trip to Europe as president, he found himself confronting the same major issues that Mr. Reagan faced -- trade disputes and missile defense.

While Mr. Reagan supported a space-based missile defense system known as Star Wars, Mr. Clinton will be pushing his own plan to deploy a limited missile defense system, if he can reach agreement on modifying the 28-year-old Antiballistic Missile Treaty.

As they had done for days leading up to the trip, aides to Mr. Clinton stressed again today that they did not expect him to reach any concrete agreements, as Mr. Reagan also failed to do 15 years ago. But in contrast to the significant anti-American demonstrations that Mr. Reagan received, only one "Clinton Go Home" slogan was seen today on a wall in Lisbon.

An article today in the left-of-center daily Público underscored the difficulty Mr. Clinton faces in selling his missile defense initiative -- not only to Russia but also to the rest of the world. The newspaper compared Mr. Clinton's dilemma to that of Mr. Reagan on "Star Wars," saying Mr. Clinton will "have to persuade his European partners that the new American antimissile defense system that the U.S. wants to develop can bring advantages to European security and world peace."

"But this is a difficult task," the article continued, "especially for a president at the end of his career, in the face of negative reaction already expressed in most European capitals. Europe is afraid that this initiative, a 'soft' version of Ronald Reagan 'Star Wars' in the 80's, will end up triggering a new arms race, alienating Russia and feeding Beijing's nuclear ambitions."

Few people turned out to see Mr. Clinton today. But the president still found that the opening day of his weeklong trip to Europe was full of mutual praise and old-fashioned sightseeing, and his day of meetings with a close ally was relatively free of contentious issues.

Mr. Clinton reinforced just how enjoyable a day it had been, saying in a toast to Portugal's president, Jorge Sampaio, at a state dinner tonight: "It has been a pleasure for me to spend time with another president who likes to read detective novels, listen to good music and play golf. We could have had a two-day summit on those three topics alone."

From here Mr. Clinton will travel to Berlin, to Moscow -- where he will have his first meeting with President Vladimir V. Putin -- and finally to Kiev, Ukraine. While in Berlin, he will also meet privately with Prime Minister Ehud Barak of Israel, who will be attending a political conference along with Mr.

Clinton and other leaders. The two leaders are expected to discuss Israel's withdrawal from southern Lebanon last week and the status of Israeli-Palestinian peace talks.

Welcoming Mr. Clinton to Portugal today, President Sampaio said: "It was from here five centuries ago that the Portuguese navigators -- who explored the Atlantic coast of Africa, discovered the maritime route to India, found Brazil and circumnavigated the earth -- set sail. Our increasingly globalized world owes a lot to their deeds."

Mr. Clinton echoed Mr. Sampaio's words, saying, "Here at this historic point of embarkation, from which Portuguese explorers led an entire continent to see beyond the horizon, we find ourselves again, as you said, Mr. President, on a new voyage of discovery."

The two men stood together at the sun-bleached limestone 16th-century Belém Tower at the entrance to Lisbon's harbor, where Portuguese frigates honored Mr. Clinton with a 21-gun salute. The two presidents reviewed an honor guard of paratroopers in fatigues, white gloves and purple ascots who are headed to East Timor as part of a United Nations peacekeeping force. Portugal asserted residual rights over East Timor, which is now moving toward independence, for more than two decades after the territory was seized by Indonesia in 1975.

"I know that this nation is proud of those troops and their mission, and on behalf of the American people, I thank you for it," Mr. Clinton told Mr. Sampaio.

From there, a cavalry regiment of musicians on horseback led Mr. Clinton's motorcade to the Jerónimos Monastery in the town of Belém. There, he laid a wreath at the carved tomb of the poet Luís Camões and spent half an hour touring

the 16th-century structure.

Then, after a tour of the interactive Knowledge Science Center, Mr. Clinton told scientists and researchers, "I have just had a lot of fun." He also praised what he called cutting-edge research across national boundaries on diseases like AIDS, malaria and tuberculosis. "These diseases can ruin economies and threaten the very survival of societies," said Mr. Clinton, whose administration has elevated issues like disease to the top of the national security agenda.

On Wednesday, at the 17th-century Queluz Palace outside Lisbon, Mr. Clinton will meet with the European Commission's president, Romano Prodi, and Portugal's prime minister, António Guterres. Portugal currently holds the six-month rotating presidency of the European Union.

The United States and the 15-nation European Union are locked in complicated disputes over European restrictions on the importation of bananas, American beef and genetically modified foods.

On the other side, the European Union objects to a sales tax break that the United States grants to major corporations that set up operations in offshore tax havens like the Virgin Islands and Barbados. Those companies are not required to pay American sales tax and duties on their exports, which the European Union argues is a form of subsidy that will amount to about \$25 billion to American companies over the next five years.

In Berlin, Mr. Clinton will attend a meeting with leaders of more than a dozen other countries on "third way" politics, with Chancellor Gerhard Schröder as host. The approach, also described as "progressive governance," explores a middle ground between traditional forms of socialism and capitalism.

In Aachen, Germany, on Friday, Mr. Clinton will be awarded the International

Charlemagne Prize, presented annually to a person who has worked toward European unity. Other recipients of the award have been Churchill and François Mitterrand, the late French president.

The only Americans to have received the award have been George C. Marshall, author of America's plan to rebuild Europe after World War II, and former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger.

During the weekend, Mr. Clinton will be in Moscow for his first summit meeting with Mr. Putin. Samuel R. Berger, the national security adviser, told reporters last week that the visit would produce no breakthroughs in arms control or Russia's objections to an American missile defense plan.

On Monday, Mr. Clinton will address the Russian Parliament, becoming the first American president to do so. Later that day, he will travel to Ukraine for a meeting with President Leonid Kuchma before heading home to Washington that night.

Mr. Clinton has eight months left as president, but in some quarters he is already being talked about in the past tense.

The article in Público, the Portuguese daily, said of his visit: "On the other side of the Atlantic, he is looked as if he already belonged to the past. In Europe, he is being given the prize to those who have aided the European cause. Bill Clinton was a good president to Europe." The article was titled, "Clinton Says Goodbye to Europe."

And Portugal's leading tabloid newspaper, Correio da Manhã, focused on Mr. Clinton's enormous \$4,000-a-night suite at the Dom Pedro Hotel. Situated on the top floor, it has, the newspaper said, a panoramic view of the capital, "a private elevator for security, luxury furniture, original works of art, a spacious hall, tropical plants, a bar, a winter garden and a private

terrace of
160 square meters."

"It also has a private dining room for 12 people, with a terrace of 60 square meters, connected to a fully equipped kitchen," it continued. "The suite has two more rooms, the bigger of which looks out to a natural solarium. There is a dressing room and a marble bathroom connected to this room, as well as panoramic vistas over Lisbon, a sauna, a Jacuzzi with hydro massage."

At the state dinner tonight, Mr. Clinton was serenaded by Mafalda Arnauth, Portugal's hottest young fado singer. Fado is melancholic Portuguese music played with string instruments and built around the concept of saudades, the yearning for a past that was better and may never return.

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May 31, 2000

The Story Behind a Soldier's Story

By MICHAEL MOSS

LARKSVILLE, Tenn., May 29 -- Edward Daily had all the trappings of an American war hero: comrades who remembered his courage on the frontlines, combat records attesting to his swift rise in rank, orders awarding him medals for valor.

His exploits, including a rescue of a soldier under fire and his capture by the North Koreans, were amply supported by Army documents and the testimony of men who said they recalled fighting alongside him.

When The Associated Press began investigating whether the Army

unit he was
assigned to -- the Seventh Cavalry Regiment -- killed hundreds of
South Koreans
nearly 50 years ago, Mr. Daily, who is 69, seemed an ideal authority
on difficult
terrain.

He had written three books on the unit -- a proud, historic division
once led by
George Armstrong Custer -- organized its veterans group and swapped
stories at
its reunions.

Mr. Daily gave Associated Press reporters a list of ex-soldiers'
telephone
numbers. And he admitted his own role in the atrocity at the South
Korean hamlet
of No Gun Ri, saying he slaughtered civilians on orders from his
commanders and
was still haunted by the sound of "little kids screaming."

But the confession, his presence at No Gun Ri -- in fact, most of Mr.
Daily's
military record -- appears to be invented or imagined. And fellow
veterans now
say that Mr. Daily, in telephone calls, chats at soldiers' reunions and
barroom
reminiscences, managed to airbrush himself into their own fragile
memories of the
Korean War.

As Associated Press reporters tried to track down the story of what
happened at
No Gun Ri, Mr. Daily made his own calls to fellow veterans, several
of them said.
"He tried to inform me how things happened," said Norman Tinkler,
who is 69, a
Seventh Cavalry veteran who told the news service he had emptied a
machine-gun
clip on defenseless people.

Mr. Tinkler stands by his account but says he cannot recall if The
Associated
Press or Mr. Daily called him first.

The Associated Press stands by its story, and the Army's look at the
No Gun Ri
incident suggests that civilians were attacked, people familiar with the
inquiry
say.

A look at Mr. Daily's life reveals a man who loved to hear other men's war stories and who went to extraordinary lengths to create his own legend in the past 15 years.

So embedded is Mr. Daily in the memories of some veterans that they still find it difficult to believe he was not with them at No Gun Ri.

"I know that Daily was there," insisted Eugene Hesselman, another key witness in the original Associated Press account. "I know that. I know that."

Millard Gray, 75, of Fort Cobb, Okla., said he believed for years that Mr. Daily rescued him on the battlefield -- until a buddy pointed out that he would not have been able to recall anything immediately after being pummeled by a concussion grenade.

Mr. Gray, who was not quoted in the Associated Press account, said he now realizes that his memory of Mr. Daily pulling him out of a foxhole to safety came from Mr. Daily. "I didn't know the difference," Mr. Gray said.

For his part, Mr. Daily said he did not dispute Army documents that show he was not at No Gun Ri, but rather spent most of the war as a mechanic and clerk behind the front lines.

"I still remember it vividly," Mr. Daily said in an interview at his home here today -- Memorial Day, which he spent in seclusion. "But they are saying I was with a different company. I've seen their documents. How do you deny that?"

"I feel," he said, "like I'm in a dream world."

Mr. Daily denied fabricating or altering any records. "No, no, no," he said.

Asked to explain how he came to show friends citations for some of the Army's highest medals, including the Distinguished Service Cross, he said, "I can't

explain it."

He declined to comment further on the records, citing the Army's continuing No Gun Ri investigation.

The Associated Press won the Pulitzer Prize this spring for its article on No Gun Ri. Follow-up articles in other publications, including The New York Times, quoted Mr. Dailey and he was featured in a 30-minute special program by NBC News and a cover story in The Washington Post Magazine.

In the days since questions emerged about Mr. Daily's war record, The Associated Press has noted that a host of other witnesses, including South Koreans, confirmed that an atrocity took place. In addition, The Associated Press has cited a July 24, 1950, order to the division headquarters of the unit said to be involved in the shootings that read "no refugees to cross the front line."

Charles J. Hanley, a reporter who worked on the Associated Press project and staunchly defends it, said that as many as 20 veterans confirmed some or all of Mr. Daily's account, and that the reporting team found sources outside Mr. Daily's sphere of contacts. Mr. Hanley acknowledged that Mr. Daily was a valuable source for the Associated Press, supplying ex-soldiers' telephone numbers early in the inquiry.

"They all talked to each other in this investigation," Mr. Hanley said of the veterans. "This is why it was important that we try to not get a grapevine going."

Still, it may have been an impossible task to determine whether Mr. Daily was harvesting memories or creating them.

The citation he showed friends for the Silver Star, which praised Mr. Daily for "bravely" commanding his platoon under fire and rescuing another

soldier appears to have been fabricated; Army records show he did not receive the medal or the promotion to which it refers.

According to people familiar with the Army's inquiry of the alleged massacre, investigators have obtained a falsified letter claiming Mr. Daily had been taken prisoner of war. There are fabricated letters awarding him medals that he actually did not win, including the Silver Star, they said.

There are two versions of the regiment's Christmas-dinner roster, one with Mr. Daily's name typed at the bottom of the list -- slightly crooked at that. A group photo of the regiment he showed to friends is also suspect: Mr. Daily's head, marked with an arrow and the word "me," appears to be superimposed on another man.

The Army is close to concluding that its troops fired on civilians at No Gun Ri, but that the number killed remains unproven. And the people familiar with the inquiry said the Army had thus far found only one man who made the crucial contention that there were orders to slaughter the civilians as they huddled in a railroad-trestle culvert at No Gun Ri: Edward Daily.

Mr. Daily's assertions about his record were not universally accepted by his peers.

He joined an association for winners of the Distinguished Service Cross, a medal military records show he never received. In 1991, Morris G. Worley, the administrator of the association, concluded that Mr. Daily had falsified his supporting documents and kicked him out. After discovering other false claimants as well, Mr. Worley now sends for the military records of anyone seeking to join the group.

Why would Ed Daily, a Kentucky native who worked in steel mills,

sold used cars
and had a fondness for war antiques, falsely confess to an atrocity?
Some
observers believe there is a rise in the number of people exaggerating
their
military histories. Most want to remake themselves into heroes.

But others are moved to claim a dishonor, psychologists say, like
people who
confess to crimes they did not commit.

"It is not uncommon when a serious murder occurs for a couple of
folks to drop by
and say, 'I did it,' " said Jonas Rappeport, a forensic psychiatrist now
retired
in Baltimore. "The purpose of this seems to be self-importance."

Donald Down, a 68-year-old former steelworker and veteran of the
Seventh Cavalry,
is one of Mr. Daily's staunchest supporters. He helped Mr. Daily
organize their
veterans' group, and he thinks its members should back him no matter
what the
reality of his war experience.

Some veterans who have come to doubt the massacre story regard Mr.
Daily in terms
they cannot explain.

"I have the feeling now that Daily was a con man, although I don't
know why he
was," said William Hoffmann, 74, of Fairfax Station, Va., a former
Seventh
Cavalry platoon leader who retired from the Army and then worked as
an executive
with Amtrak.

"How else could a nice guy who has been so strong in promoting the
Seventh
Cavalry and organizing the reunions and coming to them and giving
speeches do
this? I'm still puzzled."

orn in Covington, Ken., in 1931, Edward Lee Daily was 17 when he
met an Army
recruiting sergeant with "medals plastered all over his chest," Mr.
Daily wrote
in a short memoir he would give to his friends.

His mother, who divorced when he was 10, signed the teenager's

papers, Mr. Daily said. When given a choice of assignments, he picked the cavalry, describing it as seemingly preordained. "Strangely, my eyes kept focusing on that big yellow and black patch with the horse head on it."

Mr. Daily also wrote about becoming an expert marksman with the Seventh Cavalry Regiment, then jumping into the opening days of the Korean War in July 1950.

In fact, military records show, Mr. Daily served as a clerk and mechanic in the lusterless 27th Ordnance Maintenance Company, only joining the Seventh Cavalry for a few weeks the following year -- eight months after the No Gun Ri massacre allegedly occurred.

After the war, Mr. Daily worked in a steel mill, ran a truck-stop cafe, and in 1978 became a salesman with Heuring Chevrolet in Valparaiso, Ind. "He was the top salesman out of 25," said Craig Heuring, now general manager. "Every customer loved him."

Married with a son, Mr. Daily seemed to have erased Korea from his mind, his former wife, Hilda Daily, said. "It was a shock to me," she said of the Associated Press report. "He never talked about the war."

But after his life took a hard turn starting in the mid-1980's -- his marriage broke apart, his work suffered, and, Mr. Daily said, he stepped up his mental-health therapy -- the war became a cornerstone in his life.

The war was nearly all Mr. Daily talked about with Fred and Lois Carlen, who handled the photographs for his books in their Valparaiso photography shop. "He liked war relics, and it was so funny to see Ed come in with this big sword," Mrs. Carlen said, recalling an antique sabre Mr. Daily would occasionally brandish.

Mr. Daily began focusing on Korea after a 1986 reunion of cavalry veterans. "If

you guys will get me stories, I'll put them together and we'll put them in a book," Mr. Daily told attendees, Mr. Down said.

At this and other reunions, the best stories emerged in the bar, and Mr. Daily had a knack for injecting himself into the conversation, veterans said.

Robert Gray, 74, a former second lieutenant who spent five years with the Seventh Cavalry, recalled a reunion at Fort Meade, Md., in 1996. "Daily asked me, 'Who is that?' I said, 'That's Johnny De Borde, my mortar observer.' "

A few minutes later, Mr. Gray said, Mr. Daily walked up to Mr. De Borde and said:

"How in the hell are you? It's been a long, long time, buddy."

Mr. De Borde recalled today, "And he hugged me.

I had not seen Daily before in my life."

Speaking of Mr. Daily's account of No Gun Ri, Mr. Gray said: "Everyone assumed he was there.

No one questioned it. He wove such a damn web."

Mr. Daily's own recollections of his invented combat experiences became grippingly real. In 1993, William McKown, the regiment's food service technician who spent 24 years in the Army and now lives in Englewood, Fla., returned to South Korea with a small group of veterans that included Mr. Daily. They were riding in a minibus, Mr. McKown said, "alongside this river we were defending and this ravine went by, and Ed called out, 'That's where I was captured.' " No evidence has surfaced that Mr. Daily was indeed taken prisoner.

Part of the confusion over Mr. Daily's record stems from a 1973 fire which destroyed many files at the National Personnel Records Center in St. Louis.

Veterans were invited to help reconstruct their records and Mr. Daily appears to have enhanced his own history with material provided by others in the

Seventh

Cavalry for use in his books. Mr. Daily said he did not recall any details about submitting documentation to the archives.

Not everyone could be persuaded they had fought side-by-side with Mr. Daily, Mr. Tinkler, the machine-gunner, among them. Mr. Tinkler did not attend the unit's reunions and was startled to receive a phone call from Mr. Daily one day asking if he remembered how he bandaged Mr. Tinkler when he was shot in the shoulder.

"I said 'hell no, I don't remember,' " Mr. Tinkler recalled.

"I wasn't remembering too much at the time."

Mr. Daily was, without question, a linchpin in efforts to preserve and honor the memory of the Seventh Cavalry and served as its president in the early 1990's. In 1993, he attended a peace ceremony in South Dakota with members of the Lakota Sioux tribe to help make amends for the 1890 massacre at Wounded Knee by the Seventh Cavalry.

"Daily has this thing about apologizing," says David Hughes, 72, of Colorado Springs, a former Seventh Cavalry officer who believes The Associated Press exaggerated what might have occurred at No Gun Ri.

Mr. Daily passed up at least one opportunity to confess his role in No Gun Ri before the Associated Press interviewed him.

For more than a decade, he spent two hours in group therapy every two weeks at the Veterans Administration hospital in Nashville, according to David Shepard, a clinical pharmacist who helped run the sessions. Mr. Daily continues to receive disability payments from the V.A. for neurosis.

"He was a good member -- very supportive, very verbal. He talks, which is good," Mr. Shepard said.

Not once did Mr. Daily mention a massacre. Still, Mr. Shepard said he was "shocked" when allegations surfaced this month that Mr. Daily's war record had been embellished.

"He's the rock of the earth, in my opinion," Mr. Shepard said. "I never saw him to be someone who would stretch the truth."

Mr. Daily went on the road to help other veterans who suffer from post traumatic stress syndrome. In the fall of 1998, James Kerns, 70, a former sergeant in Piedmont, S.C., said Mr. Daily invited him to a workshop in Columbia, where Mr. Daily opened the session by talking about the affliction.

At the time, Mr. Kerns said, he had not yet been contacted by the Associated Press, but its reporters had begun asking others, including Mr. Daily, about No Gun Ri. While at the workshop, Mr. Kerns said, Mr. Daily asked him about the massacre.

"He told me he had orders, but it wasn't the same order I had," Mr. Kerns said. Mr. Kerns then told The Associated Press that he was instructed to hold the civilians in place to protect the regiment's position, and that any firing was aimed over their heads.

Also in 1998, Mr. Tinkler, the machine-gunner, said, Mr. Daily brought up No Gun Ri in their conversations as well. "He asked if I remembered who did the shooting, and I said yes, I was the one. And he said, who gave the orders, and I said there was no one gave the orders," Mr. Tinkler said.

Mr. Tinkler confirmed his quotes in the Associated Press article -- that he shot at the civilians on his own accord, fearful that they were shielding enemy soldiers. Mr. Tinkler now says he could not be sure who called him first, Mr. Daily or the Associated Press. Mr. Hanley of the A.P. said he was convinced that

reporters at the news group contacted Mr. Tinkler first.

Mr. Daily confirmed speaking with fellow veterans about No Gun Ri but said that, for the most part, they called him to ask about the Associated Press's investigation.

Today, eyewitness accounts are all the Army has in its attempt to verify the Associated Press account. As many as 12 investigators at the National Archives and Records Administration in College Park, Md., have been sifting through thousands of paper-filled gray file boxes since last fall; a new batch arrives in their room, 24 boxes to the cart, several times a day. Thus far, people familiar with the Army investigation said, no paper trail has surfaced.

That leaves the veterans. The officer who is said to have given the orders is dead.

Some veterans who might have carried them out cannot be found. Others are reluctant to talk.

Mr. Tinkler recently received a letter from the Army asking him to meet with its investigators. "What will I tell them? Not damn much."

r. Daily declined to address the question of why he would confess to a massacre he did not commit.

Richard Burns, a Vietnam veteran, was a consultant on "Stolen Valor: How the Vietnam Generation Was Robbed of Its Heroes and Its History," (Verity Press, 1998) an exposé of soldiers who exaggerated their war records. He said it has become more common in recent years for ex-soldiers to falsely claim dishonor.

"They do that because there is a movement in this country, the victim-hero thing. 'People will feel sorry for me that I killed children and women, and they will understand me,' " Mr. Burns said.

In the end, Mr. Daily may have been undone by a one-time admirer. Robert Bateman, a teacher at West Point, commanded the modern-day Seventh Cavalry Regiment in Texas in the mid-1990's when Mr. Daily came to visit. Mr. Bateman had him sign his regiment flag, called a guidon. Mr. Daily sent him Christmas cards.

But within days of the Associated Press article, Mr. Bateman, his suspicions aroused, filed the first Freedom of Information Act request for Mr. Daily's personnel records, according to archive records. Within weeks, The Associated Press and other news groups were filing their own.

They received a one-page synopsis showing Mr. Daily was not with the Seventh Regiment at No Gun Ri. It took several more months for this information to emerge this spring in news accounts.

For a time, Mr. Daily called on his veteran friends to try to convince them he was for real. Mr. Hesselman met him in November at the Skyline Chili restaurant in Erlanger, Ken., where, he said, Mr. Daily opened a folder.

"He had some proof he was promoted to first lieutenant, with a battlefield commission," Mr. Hesselman said. "He showed me a copy of the order. I'm going by what he showed me.

"Maybe I put too much faith in what he's telling me," Mr. Hesselman added. "I don't know."

Some Seventh Cavalry veterans remain bitter about Mr. Daily's efforts. "He deflowered our moment in time with a horrible story," Mr. De Borde said.

Other friends think Mr. Daily should simply move on.

"Ed likes the limelight, he always did," said his friend Mr. Down. "But I'd say to him now, 'Ed, you've had your run. It's time for you to get an old hound dog

or two and sit on the porch and relax like everyone else.' "

Outside his home, standing beneath a 200-year-old maple tree, Mr. Daily said he was inclined to take that advice. He said he was sleeping very little. His phone rang so much he disconnected it. He turned down an invitation to speak to veterans at a Memorial Day ceremony.

"I'm done. I'll never write again," he said. "I've lost my dedication. It's dog-eat-dog out there, and I'm mentally drained."
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May 30, 2000

Helping Hand of Hezbollah Emerging in South Lebanon By SUSAN SACHS

int Jbeil, Lebanon, May 30 -- After winning control of southern Lebanon with rockets and bombs, the Hezbollah militia is back here in force -- this time with an army of doctors, nurses, veterinarians, bulldozers, agronomists and engineers.

One week after the last Israeli soldiers retreated from the rocky hillside villages that they controlled for nearly 18 years, the business of keeping the water pumping and the hospitals running for an estimated 75,000 Lebanese civilians has been taken on by Hezbollah.

In this ragged town of 13,000, which served as a military headquarters for Israel and its Lebanese allies during their occupation of southern Lebanon, Hezbollah workers have set up metal dispensers filled with drinking water in the streets because a pipeline that used to bring drinking water from Israel has been closed.

Here and throughout the south, Hezbollah workers have also bulldozed debris from the streets and widened the narrow roads. They have sent in insecticide-spraying trucks to kill mosquitoes. They are surveying the damaged and destroyed buildings to decide how much material to provide for reconstruction. They drive from village to village in nine modern mobile clinics and have sent in doctors and nurses to run an additional nine stationary clinics.

In Beit Jbail, the Hezbollah health organization has also taken over the regional hospital, which was abandoned during the withdrawal by the local Lebanese doctors who used to be paid by Israel to run it. The new management quickly renamed the place, which used to be called simply Beit Jbail Hospital, in honor of a comrade who died in a guerrilla attack on the town's Israeli military guard post.

"We're not trying to take over," said Fouad Taher, who manages another Hezbollah-owned hospital in Lebanon and was dispatched to help run the one here. "The government should take its normal place. The only reason we took this hospital is that we knew the people really needed these services."

In the power vacuum left by the sudden withdrawal of Israeli troops and the flight of many of their allies in the South Lebanon Army, Hezbollah has started to operate in the south much as it does in the rest of Lebanon, as a kind of parallel government offering social services, development loans and reconstruction aid.

Although it is still considered by the United States and other nations to be a terrorist group that bombed embassies and kidnapped Westerners in the 1980's with the help of radical patrons in Iran and Syria, Hezbollah has developed a different image in Lebanon.

Its network of services and institutions has helped it become one of the country's strongest political parties in recent years, with nine representatives now in Parliament.

When other Lebanese militias were forced to disarm in the past decade, Hezbollah maintained its weapons, turning them on Israelis and members of the South Lebanon Army. Hezbollah operations in the south, first as a guerrilla movement attacking Israeli positions in the occupied buffer zone and now as a rapid-reaction force to maintain public order, are likely to further its political ambitions.

For the moment, no one in the Lebanese power structure appears willing or able to challenge Hezbollah, or the Party of God, which is lauded by every faction and religious grouping here as the liberator of national territory. The government, which is still haggling with the United Nations over whether the Israeli withdrawal is complete, has refused to send its army to the south.

Syria, which is the major power in Lebanon and has 30,000 troops stationed elsewhere in the country, has done little but congratulate Hezbollah, although Syria has acted to try to limit the group's political power in Lebanon.

Over the past two days, thousands of Lebanese, including mayors and federal government officials, have crammed into the Beirut sitting room of Hassan Nasrallah, Hezbollah's general secretary, to offer congratulations and to kiss his hands and cheeks.

Sheik Nasrallah, who does not hold a government or parliamentary post, has acted deferential toward the official government, saying his organization has no intention of setting up a parallel or competing structure in the south.

The Hezbollah directors of the Bint Jbail hospital, for instance, courteously showed the Lebanese minister of health, Karam S. Karam, around the facility

today.

Dr. Karam, who was accompanied by a French delegation that had arranged a training program for Lebanese doctors who were scheduled to operate the hospital after the Israeli retreat, said he is grateful that Hezbollah moved quickly.

"When the Israelis withdrew, it was chaotic," Dr. Karam said. "So those working in the hospital fled. Then thugs came in and started taking things. The ones who came immediately to establish order were Hezbollah. They are organized and they are fast."

Still, Dr. Karam said, he is ready to take on the hospital. So when he returned to Beirut, he paid a call on Sheik Nasrallah, who offered reassuring words: "He told me, 'The minute you decide to take it over, we will give you the keys,' "

Dr. Karam recalled.

Hezbollah banners, meanwhile, are draped across countless electric poles, buildings and even junk piles throughout the south now. So are the banners of the Jihad-al-Binaa Association, Hezbollah's reconstruction arm. Its engineers and architects are making a survey of every building in the area, its insecticide trucks are spraying, its veterinarians have examined livestock and its water trucks have provided water.

None of those services have been provided by the Lebanese government, which began only three days ago to work on a new water pipeline to villages once served by Israeli water.

For 12 years, the Jihad-al-Binaa has been rebuilding houses in Lebanon that were destroyed by Israeli bombs, as well as running two agricultural extension centers and advancing money to farmers. Like its parent organization, the reconstruction agency saw its work as part of the battle with Israel.

"At the time of the war against Israel, it was a weapon in the struggle," said Ibrahim A. Ismail, the general manager of Jihad-al-Binaa. "We fought Israel through development of Lebanon."

Mr. Ismail said the group's preliminary estimates show that 1,600 houses in the former buffer zone have been destroyed since 1978, when Christian militias allied with Israel began attacking many Muslim areas. Another 1,200, he said, may have been partially destroyed.

"After our survey of the houses, we will see if we can give help," he added, "although that is not our job. It's the government's job."

Hezbollah's energetic efforts may have already paid off in terms of reducing tensions among Lebanese in the south and particularly among Christians, who had feared they would be the target of the Muslim militiamen.

In the first days after the withdrawal, Hezbollah clerics visited many of the remaining priests and Christian leaders and Hezbollah fighters helped stop some of the looting that took place after Israel's allies fled their homes.

"They came and talked to us and told us not to worry," said Ibrahim Yunis, a schoolteacher in the small Christian village of Dibel, near Beit Jbail, where two-thirds of the residents fled to Israel during the withdrawal.

"It's not at all what we were led to expect. The whole picture has changed from black to white, from what we used to hear about what Hezbollah would do to us to what we now are feeling."

May 31, 2000

First Results From Haitian Election Show Aristide Gaining Senate

By DAVID GONZALEZ

IAMI, May 30 -- The party of former President Jean-Bertrand Aristide gained firm control of the Haitian Senate in the May 21 election, preliminary results have shown.

The results, released late Monday by the Provisional Electoral Council, gave Mr. Aristide's Family Lavalas party 14 of the 19 Senate seats at stake in Haiti's first parliamentary elections since 1997. In what may be a preview of the party's strength in the presidential election, the vote gives Lavalas a majority in Haiti's 27-member Senate.

Of the other five seats up for election, an independent candidate won one race, while the results for the two seats from the capital, Port-au-Prince, have yet to be announced. The two remaining Senate seats for Grande Anse Province will be determined in an election June 11 after electoral officials postponed the original date because of disorganization and technical difficulties in the weeks before the vote.

The elections represent Haiti's first step at resolving a crisis that has left its government paralyzed and without access to \$500 million in international aid since 1997. Bitter arguments between President René Préval, of Lavalas, and an opposition-led Parliament over the results of the 1997 legislative elections prevented the appointment of a prime minister for nearly two years. Last year, Mr. Préval appointed a new prime minister, but only after Parliament

was dissolved, and the nation has been without a lawmaking body since then.

The apparent sweep by Lavalas did not extend to Parliament's lower house; there, its candidates won outright only 16 of the 83 seats. A runoff will be held on June 25.

Nonetheless, Lavalas's strong showing places it in the lead for the presidential election in November, when Mr. Aristide is expected to seek a return to office.

Opposition candidates have accused Lavalas of manipulating the recent election through a campaign of violence and intimidation that resulted in 15 politically motivated killings since late March. They also said that Mr. Préval forced postponement of elections three times to wear down opposition and secure a compliant Parliament for Mr. Aristide's return.

A Lavalas spokesman dismissed those accusations. "We have no totalitarian intentions," Yvon Neptune told The Associated Press. "We want peace and security, so we can concentrate on the big problems."

But peace has been elusive. Today, poll workers in the Delmas section of Port-au-Prince set fire to the local election office when they were not paid. Last week, Lavalas supporters ransacked offices of a minor political party and killed a person, according to diplomats and election observers. About 30 opposition candidates have been arrested on charges that many of the observers said were trumped up. Most have been released.

"The overall take is that Lavalas did do very well in the elections," said a State Department official who spoke on condition of anonymity. "But its heavy-handed tactics like with the arrests are marring what could have been a decent victory."

Disorganization has delayed the final tally, which could come later this week. In some cases, ballot boxes were dumped at collection stations, damaging records and making recounts impossible. But election observers said there was no indication of systematic fraud.

"We're not saying there was absolutely no fraud," said Mary Durran, of the Organization of American States. "It's just the nature of the fraud. It's not organized on a national and systematic level that would have an impact on the elections."

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May 31, 2000

U.S. Retreats on Peru Vote; Assessment Is Not 'Final'

By CHRISTOPHER MARQUIS

WASHINGTON, May 30 -- The Clinton administration backed away today from its own harsh assessment that the presidential runoff election on Sunday in Peru was invalid. American officials privately voiced misgivings over competing American priorities there.

The State Department reiterated the administration's concern and "regret" that President Alberto K. Fujimori had decided to proceed with the election despite allegations from international monitors that its fairness could not be guaranteed.

Prodded by reporters at the daily news briefing of the department, a spokesman, Philip Reeker, refused several times to endorse remarks by an unidentified department official who told some of the same reporters on Monday that Mr.

Fujimori's victory over the opposition candidate, Alejandro Toledo, was a result of a "flawed process" and, therefore, illegitimate.

"The correct thing is to say that we haven't taken any steps or made any final determinations," Mr. Reeker said.

The backpedaling occurred as the Organization of American States prepared to receive a report on Wednesday from the envoy it sent to observe the election, Eduardo Stein, and to consider steps it might take against Peru.

A senior administration official said the move away from confrontational language was merely a tactical retreat. Many O.A.S. members resent United States influence over the 34-nation organization and fear perceived efforts by Washington to run their internal affairs.

The official said the administration remained convinced that Mr. Fujimori's re-election, for his third five-year term, was not legitimate. But he said the remarks by the official on Monday had not been adequately examined by her superiors because of the holiday weekend.

"Many of the countries in the region recoiled from that marker," the senior official said today.

The administration is prepared to acknowledge an interruption of democratic government in Peru and will support a call by the Organization of American States for an emergency meeting of its foreign ministers, the official said.

Still, officials in various United States agencies said today that they were largely torn over how to respond to the events in Peru. For all his autocratic tendencies, the officials conceded, Mr. Fujimori has managed to bring a measure of peace and prosperity to the country, enjoys considerable popular support and has been a stalwart in Washington's largely futile battle against drug producers.

Branding him an undemocratic usurper could force action that would undermine hard-won American progress in an increasingly troubled region, the officials said.

An American official who follows the United States drug strategy in Peru said some administration policy makers awoke today with misgivings. "It's kind of like a jilted lover," the official said. "You wake up the next morning and say, 'Oh no, I'm going to have to give away this and that.' Peru is such a pivotal country for us."

Elsewhere in the Andes, the official noted, the administration faces crises. Colombia, the chief drug exporter, has ceded ground to guerrilla bandits, and an American aid package for Bogotá is bogged down in Congress. Ecuador is emerging from its own constitutional crisis, and Venezuela is increasingly under the personal control of Hugo Chávez, a military leader who was elected to the presidency after having led a failed coup attempt.

"Kissing off Fujimori in any time frame is bad," the official said. "At this moment, it's particularly acute. We have ulcers over what's happening in Colombia."

The agenda for Peru appears to leave administration officials at odds over priorities, said Cynthia McClintock, a professor of political science at George Washington University who is writing a book on United States relations with Peru in the 1990's.

In its advocacy for democratic integrity, Professor McClintock said, "the State Department is left competing against three important agencies," the Central Intelligence Agency, the Pentagon and the office of the White House

adviser on
drugs, Gen. Barry R. McCaffrey.

The senior administration official insisted that "there is no trade off" and that the United States would insist on fair elections because they were good for Peru and because they would "strengthen the hemispheric commitment to democratic principles."

Officials close to the O.A.S. said Mr. Fujimori was largely unimpressed by international criticism and would most likely not respond to words not backed by deeds. "He's going to try to tough this one out," a longtime official said.

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May 31, 2000

Paris Mayor's Troubles Grow as Fraud Investigation Widens

By SUZANNE DALEY

PARIS, May 30 -- The web of scandal surrounding the mayor's office here got a little more complicated today.

Judicial sources said that 15 city officials, including Mayor Jean Tiberi's top aide, had been put under formal investigation for election fraud.

It was yet another blow to President Jacques Chirac's Gaullist party, which is maneuvering frantically to hold onto the mayor's office, one of the most prestigious posts in France. Apart from its wedding-cake ceilings and crystal chandeliers, Paris's city hall has a huge budget and provides a national platform for whoever runs it.

With elections just 10 months away, Mr. Chirac's party, Rally for the Republic,

has just dumped Mr. Tibéri as its candidate for re-election after five years of scandals and judicial investigations into his conduct.

But the new investigations reach far beyond Mr. Tibéri and threaten even to taint Mr. Chirac because they involve fixing Paris elections while he was its mayor.

Focusing on computer records in one district of Paris, investigators have apparently found 859 names fraudulently added to electoral rolls in 1995 by officials associated with the mayor's party. The race for mayor has proved so far to be one of the more entertaining political stories in France. Partly, this has to do with Mr. Tibéri, who has behaved like gum stuck to the party's shoe. Despite polls indicating that only 5 percent of Parisians consider him honest, Mr. Tibéri has pressed on, holding news conferences to deplore his treatment and to tout his accomplishments.

At one point, Mr. Tibéri tried to force his party to put his candidacy to a vote of local members. But the party's national headquarters unveiled a little problem: the list of local members Mr. Tibéri had supplied contained 1,500 ghost members. Some had moved away, stopped paying dues or died. One party employee found seven strangers listed as living in her house.

Mr. Tibéri is still threatening to run without the party's backing.

But Mr. Tibéri has not provided the only theatrics. Half a dozen heavy-hitting politicians have thrown their hats in the ring and then retrieved them again.

They include the party's former prime minister, Édouard Balladur, and Jack Lang, a Socialist who was former President François Mitterrand's culture and education minister and is still one of the best known faces on the French cultural-intellectual scene. Mr. Lang was recently drafted into Prime Minister Lionel Jospin's

government, presumably to clear the way for Bertrand Delanoë, Mr. Jospin's choice to become mayoral candidate of his Socialist Party.

The Rally for the Republic has chosen Philippe Séguin as its candidate. Mr. Séguin is often described as large in stature and personality, and the party no doubt hopes that his presence will eclipse Mr. Tibéri's sordid reputation.

The scandals attached to Mr. Tibéri have been unrelenting. His wife, Xavière, before her conviction was set aside on a technicality, was found guilty of accepting \$36,000 from the government for a 36-page report on a subject in which she had no expertise. At trial, a witness testified that Mr. Tibéri had suggested that she be given the job. Other scandals have involved awarding public housing contracts to party supporters. Allegations that some of the mayor's political cronies hold city jobs but do no work are still being investigated.

The 15 officials now under formal investigation include Mr. Tibéri's deputy mayor, Jacques Dominati, who belongs to the Rally for the Republic's sister party, Liberal Democracy. The newspaper Le Parisien quoted him today as admitting to limited fraud in the 1989 election, but nothing "very serious."

"It's just some activists who were a bit too enthusiastic and signed up extra names in my arrondissement," he told the newspaper. "But there was no large-scale organization."
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May 31, 2000

Serbia's Detroit That Was: In Distress and Angry

By STEVEN ERLANGER

RAGUJEVAC, Serbia, May 24 -- Velimir Pajevic, a pediatric surgeon, says that the

average size of the craniums of newborns here is one centimeter smaller than in 1991, a result of declining nutrition.

Kragujevac, the capital of Serbia in the early 1800's, is a city of nearly 200,000 people, built around the Zastava car and munitions factory, said to be the first factory built in the Balkans.

But after a decade of war, sanctions and decline, about 60 percent of those of working age are not working, said Branislav Kovacevic, president of the Sumadija Coalition, a regional opposition group in this traditional heartland of Serbia.

Zastava, which employed 40,000 people 10 years ago, now employs 4,000, officials here say. Some 20,000 people are officially unemployed, while 35,000 others are on "paid leave" from Zastava and its associated companies.

Branko Vuckovic, a reporter and editor with Radio Kragujevac, said the city used to be the Serbian Detroit. "Now it's the Serbian Gdansk," he said, referring to the Polish shipbuilding city, where Solidarity was born, that no longer makes many ships.

He gestured to the remains of a few espressos and mineral waters on a cafe table. "That's about 100 dinars," he said, or about \$2.50 at the unofficial rate of exchange. "Those on paid leave from Zastava are paid 350 dinars a month -- just three times what's on this table."

The government is repairing part of Zastava bombed by NATO during the war, and says it has plans for greatly expanded car production. But few here believe such assertions, saying the only future for the factory is an assembly arrangement with a more modern car company, currently impossible because of international sanctions.

Life is so hard here, for so many, that this is known as "the valley of

the
starving." Of course, that is an exaggeration, since many city dwellers
get by
because of their connections to the land, said Borivoje Radic, head of
the city's
Executive Council and a member of the Democratic Party.

Yet life has rarely been harder here, he says. The city is also home to
at least
20,000 refugees, 15,000 of them from Kosovo and the rest of them
Serbs who fled
from Bosnia and Croatia. But the city's annual budget, given the
decline of the
country's currency and economy, is now only a fourth of what it was
in 1997, Mr.
Radic says -- the equivalent of \$4 million, down from \$16 million.

So there is plenty of anger here, in one of the most important towns
for Serbia's
democratic opposition, some 90 miles south of Belgrade. Here the
opposition
coalition built in 1996 and called Zajedno, or Together, remains
together, unlike
that in Belgrade, where the Democratic Party of Zoran Djindjic and
the Serbian
Renewal Movement of Vuk Draskovic are usually at daggers drawn.

"If it weren't for the opposition leaders in Belgrade, Milosevic would
not be in
power," Mr. Kovacevic said. "People no longer believe in the people
on the stage
of those rallies."

Here, about 2,000 people a night gathered to protest the seizure of
Studio B in
Belgrade, the main opposition television station, while the crowd of
protesters
in Belgrade itself, 10 times larger in population, had shrunk to fewer
than 700.

Part of the problem is that Studio B was perceived as a propaganda
organ for Mr.
Draskovic, much as state television serves the interests of Slobodan
Milosevic,
the Yugoslav president, and did not serve as a true public-interest
station.

Here, there is a full complement of news, with Radio B2-92, which
lost its
frequency in Belgrade, available, as well as opposition television

news and documentaries. A local FM station broadcasts the Serbian-language programs of Radio Free Europe, Voice of America, the BBC and Deutsche Welle all day long. "People here are well informed," Mr. Vuckovic said.

A local opposition weekly, The Independent Light, said Serbia was "on the razor's edge," but described Belgrade as "deaf, blind and anemic," a pun on the association of independent broadcasters, or ANEM, whose broadcasts can no longer be heard in the capital. But it is also a commentary on the general view of Belgrade from here, which is of well-off, cynical, corrupt politicians and citizens who are largely indifferent to the fate of the nation.

"Belgrade is a great disappointment," Mr. Radic said. "You can't expect to defend Studio B from here. If they dared to take TV Kragujevac, we couldn't avoid a serious conflict." Like Studio B, TV and Radio Kragujevac are owned by the city, which is run by the opposition.

In fact, four years ago, the Serbian authorities tried to seize control of the television here. Up to 50,000 people gathered around the station, which had been occupied by the police. People cut off electrical power to the building and threatened to invade it; a deal was done and the station was left alone.

It would be the same now, Mr. Vuckovic said. "In Serbia, we say that when you show your teeth, the government retreats. But when people are undecided, then they just go faster."

But as everywhere in Serbia there is more talk of revolution than signs of it.

"Here, the situation is highly explosive," Mr. Radic said. "It would only take a spark." Mr. Vuckovic agrees, saying, "It's like a small room full of gas fumes."

But the phlegmatic Dr. Pajevic thinks that the reality is far different.

There is less of a sense of revolution here than of passivity, anxiety and alienation. People are still afraid to lose what little they have left, and they mistrust the desires and capacities of the Belgrade leaders of the opposition.

Dr. Pajevic, the surgeon, says the right analogy is surgical, not military. "We're far from an explosion," he said. "What you have here is anesthesia, anesthesia and hopelessness. There is so much disappointment in the opposition, many people won't even vote."

People live day to day, he said, scraping by on friends and gray market trading. Few pay their electricity bills, but the government does not insist, a form of social pacification. "Our boss plays nice like that," Dr. Pajevic said, laughing. And while the independent newspaper Blic is available here, for eight dinars, "for the same money, people will buy bread and milk for their kids."

Vesna Pajevic, the doctor's wife, is a city official in charge of social welfare issues. A former member of Mr. Draskovic's party, she became disgusted with its hierarchy and joined the Democratic Party instead, which has also disappointed her.

"The credibility of the opposition is dropping even here, where the coalition continues," she said. "There is too much corruption and not enough clear goals and strategies. People need to see that we are working for them."

The biggest mistake of the opposition, Dr. Pajevic said, was to win local elections four years ago and take power. "These guys were practically jobless, and now they've got cars and salaries and cell phones and things to lose," he said. "They've become fat and happy. People wonder if they really do want change. People think that both the regime and the opposition want to keep the status

quo."

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May 31, 2000

Beijing Steps Up Effort to Expel Illegal North Korean Immigrants
By ELISABETH ROSENTHAL

ANJI, China -- As the police truck bumped past frosty pine trees toward the North Korean border in January, Mr. Yoon and the six other prisoners locked in back knew they had only an hour to act.

Like hundreds of thousands of hungry North Koreans who have sneaked into China illegally, Mr. Yoon and his wife first came to find food, escaping a deadly famine in their homeland. But now, two years later, Chinese police officers had burst into their tiny rented room here, 20 miles from the border, arrested the couple and were sending them back separately -- to certain persecution.

Mr. Yoon, 29, vividly recalls a terror-filled ride, as he sat crying and clawing at the cable lock that sealed the truck's back gate. Just miles from the border, it snapped.

"Five of us ran away, but a woman and her 15-year-old couldn't run fast enough," said Mr. Yoon, a baby-faced former professional athlete who is now a fugitive in China again. "We pulled and pulled. We were totally desperate. If I'm sent home I'll be sentenced to life in prison -- or death. I will do anything not to go back."

The Chinese police in recent months have sharply increased their efforts to expel

North Koreans living undercover in China, creating a climate of fear along the border and fueling a potentially explosive international refugee crisis.

Against that backdrop, migrants are extremely nervous about interviews, refusing to divulge full names and hometowns, or to have pictures taken, for fear of helping the Chinese or North Korean authorities to locate and then send them back, or persecute relatives still at home.

The number of "food migrants" sent back has at least doubled this year, to as many as 2,000 a month, aid groups on the border say. The problem, the office of the United Nations high commissioner for refugees says, is that a number of the people whom the Chinese call "food migrants" probably meet the criteria for protected political refugee status, which would make their return illegal under international law.

But the Chinese government is not allowing United Nations workers to travel to the border to make that determination, even though China has signed related treaties.

While most North Korean refugees are driven to China by hunger, their government often regards them as traitors once they flee. Many face not just renewed hunger, but also persecution if they are returned.

It is unclear exactly why China is now making greater efforts to enforce its longstanding policy that the Koreans are economic migrants who must go home. But experts point out that the Chinese are hoping for a visit this year from North Korea's reclusive Communist leader, Kim Jong Il, and are also fearful that their own resources will be overwhelmed by the growing stream of gaunt North Korean arrivals.

And so the government has recently stepped up raids on the hundreds of tiny

shelters and factories where the illegal migrants live and work, generally run by local churches, South Korean aid groups or Chinese of Korean descent.

In the past, the local authorities generally turned a blind eye to the 100,000 to 200,000 North Koreans estimated to be staying illegally in this border region, where the language of small talk is Korean and the favored dish is spicy kimchi because many of the citizens are ethnic Koreans. North Koreans were generally deported only if they became too visible or committed crimes.

The United Nations refugee agency has quietly expressed concern to the Chinese about its poor access. Most Western nations, though disturbed, have remained mum. All worry that criticism would prompt the Chinese to seal the border altogether, closing what remains an important safety valve for a five-year famine that experts say has caused as many as two million deaths.

"If these people were from Cuba, or Vietnamese boat people, they would absolutely be considered political refugees," said a Western scholar who studies Korea. "But this is very delicate."

It is unclear exactly how many North Koreans have recently been handed over to North Korean border guards on the bridges that span the narrow Tumen River. Relief workers with contacts at the local public security bureau say the number was about 7,200 in 1999 -- about 10 percent of new arrivals -- and is likely to be at least twice as high this year.

While refugees say first-time offenders who are sent back to North Korea are sometimes released after questioning, repeat offenders are punished harshly. Mr. Yoon said his older brother had been imprisoned after being forced back to North Korea and later died in jail.

In April, 80 prisoners on the verge of repatriation at a Chinese border

jail took
two guards hostage, demanding not to be sent back, North Koreans
and aid workers
here said. It was a predictably futile move: Chinese soldiers easily
regained
control, sending back 60 right away.

But Mr. Yoon's wife, Ms. Lee, who was jailed at one of the five
Chinese border
prisons here earlier this year, understands.

"It was freezing, there were not enough mattresses and meals were
just a bit of
rice or porridge," recalled Ms. Lee, a lively former singer. "But what
was on our
minds, all the time, was that we needed to escape."

North Hamgyong Province, across the border from China, is a
mountainous mining
region of North Korea, poorly suited to farming. So when the state
grain
distribution system there stopped providing regular food deliveries in
1996,
after years of weather disasters and mismanagement, people had little
to fall
back on.

Ms. Kim, 40, a former interpreter and Communist Party member from
the province,
who is now being hidden by a church group in China, made her first
trip across
the border in June 1998, because she "couldn't stand the hunger
anymore." She has
since been sent back to North Korea twice, with increasingly severe
punishments
each time.

In a former life, she remembers, there was an apartment stocked with
food, a good
job, a television and two happy children. Now, with hollow cheeks
and perpetually
downcast eyes, she and her husband survive on handouts, spending
their days
hiding in a low, dark room with other North Koreans. She had never
met a
Westerner before, and in the back room of a cheap Korean restaurant,
she talked
nervously.

Almost two years ago, she said, she and her husband left their children

with
relatives and simply waded across the Tumen River when the North
Korean guards
changed. The Chinese do not aggressively police the long border,
although
migrants say patrols have recently increased. The couple were sent
back just two
months later, by police officers investigating a murder, but were
treated
benignly in North Korea.

The police questioned them but in the end sent them home, saying,
"We understand
that you don't have anything to eat, so go home and don't do it again,"
Ms. Kim
recalled. But having long since sold their possessions to buy food,
they said,
they had no way to eat. Soon they waded back.

Like many North Koreans who subsist in China, they rarely ventured
out and were
ultracautious, moving from safe house to safe job and back again. But
when Ms.
Kim's sister fell ill in a distant Chinese city, they went to help her and
were
quickly detained.

This time, Ms. Kim said, her forced return to Korea was marked by
beatings and,
finally, jail.

The North Korean police immediately took her to a security office for
a violent
interrogation, she said. Officers punched her, demanding to know why
she had left
and where she had lived. North Korean agents work extensively in the
Chinese
border region, trying to identify Koreans who have strayed and the
Chinese who
help them, aid groups say.

The process was repeated at a second security office, where the
delicate woman
said she was tied to a grate by her hair. Then, exhausted, she was sent
to a
prison, where the inmates slept on the floor without sheets, and where
there were
no showers. Although the prisoners worked long days in the field, she
said,
rations were meager and families were expected to bring in food.

Many had none to give.

Conditions got so bad that the wardens started releasing prisoners, including Ms.

Kim. "They were worried someone would die and didn't want to be held responsible," she said.

But elation turned to terror when a policeman, a childhood friend, told her she would be rearrested. She said goodbye to her two children, now 11 and 15, and fled -- this time in need of political protection. "I miss them terribly, but if I go back now I'll be executed," she said.

Mr. Yoon is terrified by the crackdown because he has similar fears. When he sneaked across the border the last time, in 1998, he was already running from Korean police officers who had come to arrest him for two previous trips to China.

In 1996, when the food shortages started, "we stole coal from a railroad yard by our home -- which we sold or traded for food -- and in the summer we stole from state farms," Mr. Yoon said. But in 1997 he had to make the two brief trips in search of additional food.

When he fled this last time, sympathetic Chinese helped him and his wife find work on a farm in Heilongjiang Province, 100 miles from Yanji. There, the urban couple planted rice, for a total of \$70 a year, before the farmer kicked them out, saying the police might raid his property.

They then moved to Yanji, a small industrial city, where Mr. Yoon found work in a candle factory and Ms. Lee knitted for a living. Last Dec. 12, the police beat down the door of the tiny apartment where they lived with two other migrants and took the couple to the station.

There, interrogators accused them of one crime: being North Koreans

in China
illegally.

"They beat us over and over, asking, 'You are North Koreans, aren't you?' " Mr.

Yoon recalled. Using the broken Mandarin he had picked up during almost two years in China, he hotly denied the accusation. But despite hours of wailing and pleading, they were ultimately separated and slated for deportation.

Miraculously, both managed to elude return, he by jumping from the truck, and she when a policeman plucked her from a vanful of prisoners about to be handed over into North Korea. She suspects that a man who had previously given her shelter bribed the police.

Since that experience, the couple said, they have become even more careful.

"The situation is getting worse in this area," said Mr. Yoon, noting that the candle factory where he had long worked was afraid to employ him any longer.

Yet there is little he can do, a man who cannot go back to his home -- or his 6-year-old daughter -- and cannot move forward either. Asked about the future, the small, clean-cut man dressed in donated clothes laughed, a mixture of sadness and cynicism.

"Generally speaking for North Koreans like me, there are no plans," he said. "I live day by day. Each night I just think, 'Good, I survived today.'"

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May 31, 2000

Demanding New Elections in Peru

The national howl of protest against President Alberto Fujimori's illegitimate re-election victory in Peru is a welcome sign of the country's political health, but it also poses a danger. Mr. Fujimori or his backers in military intelligence may feel cornered and strike back with violence. To prevent bloodshed, the international community must strongly support the protesters' goal of a legitimate election to choose a democratic government in Peru, and prepare to isolate Mr. Fujimori if he refuses or uses violence.

At this moment the most important outside voice belongs to the Organization of American States, which holds a meeting on Peru today and will doubtless discuss Peru in its annual general assembly meeting on Sunday. The O.A.S. should demand new and fair elections, and offer its services to help Mr. Fujimori and his principal opponent, Alejandro Toledo, agree on the terms.

Historically when the O.A.S. faced this situation, it would execute a graceful diplomatic punt. In many ways the organization is more timid and disorganized than a few years ago, when democracy seemed to be ascendant in Latin America and leaders paid more attention to the O.A.S. But there is still some hope that it will stand firm.

The most positive indication is the resolve of the group's election observer mission, the first to be very critical of an important O.A.S. member. The mission, led by the respected former Guatemalan foreign minister Eduardo Stein, declined even to monitor last Sunday's runoff election, saying that an inadequate vote tabulation method and a biased campaign environment meant the election could not possibly be a fair one.

Mr. Stein will present his report to the O.A.S. today. The members at the meeting -- every country in the hemisphere save Cuba -- can then vote to invoke Resolution 1080, which enables the region's foreign ministers to take political action against a member whose democracy is interrupted. The other members could withdraw their ambassadors from Peru, for example, though this has never been done.

The chances that the O.A.S. will back democracy in Peru are helped by an unusually direct warning from State Department officials that the United States does not see the election as valid and that Mr. Fujimori will suffer internationally as a result. But Brazil's vote is also crucial, and the last statement from that country was tepid. The democratic credentials of Brazil's president, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, will suffer if Brazil maintains this attitude.

Mr. Fujimori is gambling that Washington will quickly resume its cooperation with Lima, which has been an ally in fighting cocaine and terrorism. He is also hoping the O.A.S. will undercut Mr. Stein's observer mission and go back to its blander ways. But if the hemisphere returns to diplomacy-as-usual, Mr. Fujimori will have a license to intensify repression in Peru.

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May 31, 2000

Indulging Russia Is Risky Business

By ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI

ASHINGTON -- With Air Force One scheduled to land in Moscow

later this week,
President Clinton still has not faced the fact that his policy of
"engagement"
with Russia has become a colossal disappointment. But in his visit to
Moscow, he
will encounter that reality face to face, when he is greeted by
President
Vladimir Putin, a former colonel in the K.G.B., the son of a party
apparatchik as
well of the grandson of a trusted member of Lenin's and then Stalin's
personal
detail.

Let it be said that in the area of relations with Russia, Mr. Clinton
deserves
some credit. The denuclearization of Ukraine and Belarus and the
reductions of
strategic forces by both the United States and Russia were negotiated
with
persistence and success. Ukraine's independence has been strongly
supported. The
United States expanded its relations with independent states in the
southern
Caucasus and Central Asia. Most important, under Mr. Clinton's
leadership, NATO
was enlarged eastward, and the administration has pledged to continue
that
expansion, including the Baltic states.

Unfortunately, however, the policy of "engagement" with Russia has
deteriorated
into a one-sided courtship. No longer is the Clinton administration
striking a
balance between positive inducements and negative pressures. The
administration
not only endorsed Boris Yeltsin's bombardment of the Russian
parliament in 1993,
but persisted in hailing Mr. Yeltsin as a tested democrat, even though
his
erratic presidency was a mixture of anarchy and authoritarianism.
Sadly, doing so
discredited the very meaning of the word democracy in the eyes of
many Russians.

The policy of engagement hit a low with Mr. Putin. Though his
election in March
was precipitated by an arrangement whereby Mr. Yeltsin resigned the
presidency
and Mr. Putin became acting president, and no real alternative
candidate was

available to the Russian people, the White House praised the election, hailing it as the country's first democratic transfer of power in Russia's nearly 1,000-year existence. It even hailed Mr. Putin himself as a "reformer," despite some justifiable concern about his background. Mr. Putin's prompt appointment of five secret police and military officials -- one is widely known as a specialist in suppressing dissent -- as supergovernors was quietly ignored.

In the years leading up to this "election," the Clinton administration financially supported and promoted economic reforms in Russia that enriched only a few, including some top Russian leaders. The resulting pervasive corruption was simply ignored until Western and Russian news media exposed it -- and even then, the administration did not alter its policy.

The Clinton administration excused and even justified two Russian wars against the Chechen people. President Clinton compared the Russian campaign to Lincoln's efforts to preserve American unity and proclaimed, to widespread criticism, that the war's objective was "to liberate Grozny."

The summit this weekend, if not handled properly, poses new risks. First, President Clinton, in his eagerness to embrace a "democratic" Russia, could reach a hastily contrived agreement regarding missile defense that may undermine stable strategic deterrence while prompting allied disunity. Such a quick deal -- designed as a defense against North Korea -- could precipitate China's efforts to upgrade its nuclear forces and ignite allied fears that the United States is seeking security for itself alone.

Second, Mr. Putin could seek to enlist the United States in his effort to assume the role of protector of the Central Asian regimes against fundamentalist pressures emanating from Afghanistan. He would like support for a Russian-sponsored anti-Islamic coalition that would regain a dominant role for

Russia in that region.

Mr. Clinton must not once again be so hasty in extolling the new Russian president as a democratic reformer. A dose of dignified restraint, based on a realistic assessment of where Russia is headed, could help redeem a policy of "engagement" that has gradually lost its way. It is not too late.

Zbigniew Brzezinski was national security adviser in the Carter administration.

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