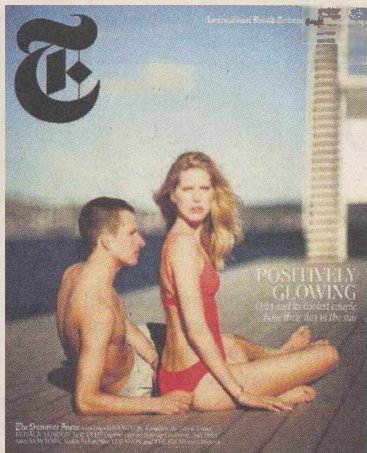


IN COLOMBIA,
A REVIVAL THAT
BEGAN WITH
ARCHITECTURE
PAGE 17 | WEEKEND ARTS

PAUL KRUGMAN
ON THE EURO'S
APOCALYPSE
PAGE 7 | VIEWS

International Herald Tribune
WEEKEND

KATHIMERINI
INSIDE: Greece's leading newspaper | English Edition



THE COOLEST
COUPLE IN OSLO
HERALD A CITY'S
DAY IN THE SUN
T MAGAZINE | INSIDE

PAUL THEROUX
AND ILLUSIONS
LOST IN AFRICA
PAGE 22 | BOOKS

International Herald Tribune

SATURDAY-SUNDAY, MAY 19-20, 2012

THE GLOBAL EDITION OF THE NEW YORK TIMES

GLOBAL.NYTIMES.COM

China's elite share spoils to cash in on boom times

SHANGHAI

Relatives of top leaders are amassing vast wealth by exploiting family ties

BY DAVID BARBOZA
AND SHARON LAFRANIERE

The Hollywood studio DreamWorks Animation recently announced a bold move to crack China's tightly protected film industry: a \$330 million deal to create a Shanghai animation studio that might one day rival the California shops that turn out hits like "Kung Fu Panda" and "The Incredibles."

What DreamWorks did not showcase, however, was one of its newest — and most important — Chinese partners: Jiang Mianheng, the 61-year-old son of Jiang Zemin, the former Communist Party leader and the most powerful political kingmaker of China's last two decades.

The younger Mr. Jiang's coups have included ventures with Microsoft and Nokia and oversight of a clutch of state-backed investment vehicles that have major interests in telecommunications, semiconductors and construction projects.

That a deal maker like Mr. Jiang would be included in an undertaking like that of DreamWorks is almost a given in China today. Analysts say this is how the Communist Party shares the spoils, allowing the relatives of senior leaders to cash in on one of the biggest economic booms in history.

As the scandal over Bo Xilai continues to reverberate, the authorities here are eager to paint Mr. Bo, a fallen leader in the western city of Chongqing who was one of 25 members of the ruling Politburo, as a rogue operator who abused his power, even as his family members accumulated a substantial fortune.

But evidence is mounting that the relatives of other current and former senior officials have also amassed vast wealth, often playing central roles in businesses closely entwined with the state, including those involved in finance, energy, domestic security, telecommunications and entertainment. Many of these so-called princelings also serve as middlemen to a host of global companies and wealthy tycoons eager to do business in China.

"Whenever there is something profitable that emerges in the economy, they'll be at the front of the queue," said Minxin Pei, an expert on China's leadership and professor of government at Claremont McKenna College in California. "They've gotten into private equity, state-owned enterprises, natural resources, you name it."

For example, Wen Yunsong, the son of Prime Minister Wen Jiabao, heads a

CHINA, PAGE 8



Welcome President Barack Obama with President François Hollande of France in the White House on Friday before they joined other leaders of the Group of Eight for a meeting. Mr. Hollande announced that he was committed to providing a new kind of assistance to Afghanistan and that he and Mr. Obama had "shared views" on Iran. PAGE 5

OBAMA PRESSES EUROPE ON GROWTH

Washington aims at the annual meeting of the Group of 8 to encourage Europe's leaders to cut unemployment. PAGE 12

POSSIBLE GREEK EURO EXIT LOSING STING

The brinkmanship of the past few years has given other E.U. members and the world valuable time to adjust. PAGE 12

A TREACHEROUS FINANCIAL METAPHOR

America seems caught up in a "family belt-tightening" metaphor at a time it may need other images. PAGE 12

GREECE SAYS GERMANY WANTS EURO VOTE

Germany denied Greece's claim that Angela Merkel suggested the country hold a referendum on the euro. PAGE 14

Greek politician confronts E.U.

ATHENS

Pushing his country out of euro would bring others down, leftist says

BY RACHEL DONADIO
AND LIZ ALDERMAN

As the leaders of the world's richest economies gathered Friday near Washington to discuss solutions to Europe's long-running debt crisis, Alexis Tsipras, the 37-year-old rising star of Greek politics, had a message for them from his small office in the Greek Parliament: Letting Greece go would mean the end of the single currency.

Amid a growing view that the 17-member euro currency union might be



Alexis Tsipras, the new rising star of Greek politics, says his goal is to persuade creditors to change policies in Europe.

better off without Greece, Mr. Tsipras, the leader of the Coalition of the Radical Left, known as Syriza, put the ball back in Europe's court. In an interview on Friday, he said that Greece's problem was a European one and that allowing Greece to default or leave the euro zone would bring other countries, including Spain and Italy, down with it.

"Our goal isn't to blackmail or to terrorize, our goal is to shake them," Mr. Tsipras said of the foreign lenders that Greece relies on to survive. "We want to convince them," he added. "They need to change the policies in Greece and change the policies in Europe, otherwise Europe will be at very large risk."

Syriza surged to power in Greece's May 6 elections with a tough stance of rejecting Greece's loan agreement with its foreign creditors — the European Commission, European Central Bank and In-

ternational Monetary Fund — which calls for harsh austerity measures in exchange for emergency loans that the bankrupt country needs to stay afloat.

While other Greek politicians also call for renegotiation, Mr. Tsipras has signaled a willingness to stop paying Greece's debts should its creditors cut off funding, a stance that has shaken global financial markets and raised concerns that Greece might exit the euro.

On Friday, Mr. Tsipras insisted that he wants Greece to stay in the euro — although not under the onerous terms of its current bailout. He said he would not veer from pledges to repudiate terms that forced average Greeks to pay for the follies of "immoral" financial markets, a position that would continue to put him in a showdown with Greece's lenders should he consolidate power in upcoming

GREECE, PAGE 4

ONLINE



Front-line aid After being treated at two hospitals, Abdul Nafeh, a police officer, arrived at the Emergency Surgical Center for War Victims in Kabul with fatally infected wounds. The hospital, run by an Italian nonprofit group, treats soldiers from both sides of the conflict, but the majority of its patients are civilians. nytimes.com/magazine

WORLD NEWS

Comedian alters Italy's politics

Beppe Grillo is firing up Italian voters exhausted by their nation's status quo. His Five Star Movement — and its environmentally friendly, anti-consumerist, pro-education platform — has become a vessel for their impatience and a force to be reckoned with in a fractious political arena. PAGE 4

Top Mexican generals detained

The Mexican government detained three high-ranking army generals this week, suggesting the depths drug cartels have gone to in trying to infiltrate one of the primary forces President Felipe Calderón has counted on to combat them. PAGE 4

Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau dies

Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau, the German baritone, was one of the top singers from the 1940s to his official retirement in 1992, and he was an influential teacher and orchestra conductor. He won two Grammy Awards and was often the star of European opera houses. PAGE 3

VIEWS

The Corsican connection

Corsica is thought by many to be the most beautiful island in the Mediterranean. It is also the deadliest region in Western Europe, Charles Lambroschini writes. PAGE 6

David Brooks

People used to think human depravity was self-evident and democratic self-government was fragile. Now they think depravity is nonexistent, and they take self-government for granted. PAGE 7

SPORTS

A Brazilian makes his mark

In a soccer career spanning decades, Romário de Souza Faria, Brazil's beloved rascal of the beautiful game, reveled in provocation. He partied until dawn as teammates adhered to curfews, brawled with fans and routinely scoffed at having to practice. Now, though, Romário, as he is simply known, is stirring up Brazilians yet again in a new realm: politics. PAGE 9



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IN THIS ISSUE
No. 40,182
Art 17
Books 22
Business 12
Crossword 23
Sports 9
Views 6

CURRENCIES NEW YORK, FRIDAY 1:30PM
▲ Euro €1= \$1.2730 \$1.2690
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Full currency rates Page 16

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WORLD NEWS EUROPE AMERICAS

Italian comedian alters political map

GARBAGNATE MILANESE, ITALY

Beppe Grillo fires up voters exhausted by a bankrupt status quo

BY ELISABETTA POVOLEDO

A rapt crowd gathered in this drab town in the Milanese hinterland one evening this week to hear the Italian comedian Beppe Grillo serve up his characteristically caustic take on Italian politics. And he did not disappoint them.

"Take away money from politics," he barked, as the crowd tittered. "Take away the careers. If someone wants to make money or steal, well, they should choose another job." With no financial gain, he said, "politics becomes about passion."

Mr. Grillo pointed to the row of fresh-faced Italians — candidates with his Five Star Movement competing in runoff elections here this weekend — on the makeshift stage behind him. "These kids, they may be inexperienced, they still haven't learned how to rig a budget, or give contracts to their friends," he paused, his gravelly voice drowned out by laughter and applause.

What they were, he said, was the product of the "hyper-democracy" that he has been promoting through his blog and the plethora of Internet sites that have aggregated like-minded Italians bent on proselytizing political activism in a new form.

And it's through a deft mixture of mordant humor, righteous anger and grass-roots organization that Mr. Grillo's movement is proving that it is no joke.

Although it was founded only in October 2009, the Five Star Movement has quickly become a force to be contended with in Italy's fractious political arena. In the first round of local elections on May 6

"The Web is sweeping everything away, toward a world most people don't even know exists."

and 7, candidates from his movement ran in 101 of the 941 cities, and they captured nearly 200,000 votes — a national average of 9 percent — becoming the second- or third-ranked political force in various municipalities across Italy.

The party won one mayoral race outright, in a small, but strategic, stronghold of the Northern League, the populist party whose leader, Umberto Bossi, was formally notified this week that he is under investigation for fraud.

"We're at the beginning of something new that will change everything. The Web is sweeping everything away, toward a world most people don't even know exists," said Mr. Grillo, a popular comic for more than four decades, who has more than 550,000 followers on Twitter, and nearly 850,000 on Facebook. "It's difficult to understand. Maybe we will in five or 10 years."

In person, the Genoese comic, 63, is far more subdued than his impassioned on-stage persona. There he is a corporeal whirlwind of jokes and jibes, sharply aimed at Italy's "moribund political parties" and its leaders, including Prime Minister Mario Monti, whom Mr. Grillo cheerfully refers to as "rigor Montis" because of the government's tough measures to decrease Italy's debt.

Spawned from Mr. Grillo's popular blog, which he started in 2005, and molded through various Internet incarnations, the Five Star Movement is rapidly becoming a vessel for Italians' impatience with traditional political parties, which are seen as having lost touch with the needs of the people. Italians commonly refer to the political elite as "the caste." Polls show that confidence in the nation's political parties has plunged below 5 percent, and Mr. Grillo's anti-politics message has found fertile ground. (Politicians do little to help themselves. A debate this week in the lower house of Parliament to discuss cutting public funds to political parties mustered the interest of just 20 of 630 lawmakers, newspapers reported.)

Angelo Pellegrino, a plumber who had come to hear Mr. Grillo, said: "Politicians are thieves, clowns, buffoons, they live like kings. Although we are also to blame. We did after all vote for them."

Political commentators have been tempted to dismiss Mr. Grillo's movement as a national protest vote against entrenched interests, not unlike dissident movements elsewhere in Europe, from Germany's Pirates to the far-right Golden Dawn in Greece.

But the movement's members reject the characterization and enthusiastically hawk their agenda — an environ-

mentally friendly, anti-consumerist, pro-education platform, articulated with plenty of local variations. Community chapters decide which issues to emphasize for themselves and then elect a "spokesperson" to represent the ideas in electoral races.

"The novelty is the use of the Web as a constituency, the idea of new democracy, with a direct relationship between the elected and the electors," said Federico Fornaro, a historian who has written about the Five Star Movement, "a model of party in franchising," he added.

The focus on local issues accounts in large part for its success so far. Of the three cities where Five Star Movement candidates made it to runoff elections, the most closely watched is Parma, a wealthy city in the agricultural heartland hobbled by a decade of scandals.

Mr. Grillo describes the vote in Parma as "our Stalingrad," a reference to the 1942-43 World War II battle between Soviet and German forces that marked a turning point in the war.

"When people say we don't have experience or competence to govern, I point out that the facts show that the traditional politicians aren't exactly brain surgeons," said Federico Pizzarotti, who is representing the Five Star Movement this week in Parma. "It's important to have open ears and listen to what people say."

Mr. Grillo and his followers are also setting their sights on national elections next year, which will pose new challenges to the movement's ability to organize and mobilize its leaderless membership.

"The moment there's a hierarchy, it all falls apart," warned Gianluca Perilli, a Five Star member in Rome. "Political parties are the cancer of politics."

Finding a common message to deliver to the electorate will also test the glue of this hyper-democratic movement that refuses to define itself through labels and elaborates its political positions through online sites "where everyone counts as one."

"So far, they've only won in small cities," said Paolo Natale, a professor of political sociology at the University of Milan. "It will be interesting to see whether the utopian vision they now propose can be incarnated for the national elections." The reliance of the movement's followers on the Web as a point of contact is "both their strength, and their strong weakness," he said. "They can be a bit naive."

Mr. Fornaro described the movement's shift to the national level as a "triple backward somersault with no net below," he said.

He added: "It's one thing to raise a ruckus, another to govern."

None of that bothers Mr. Grillo, who is happy to admit that the movement is a work in progress and insists that he is not first among equals, and even less the "guru" that his critics have labeled



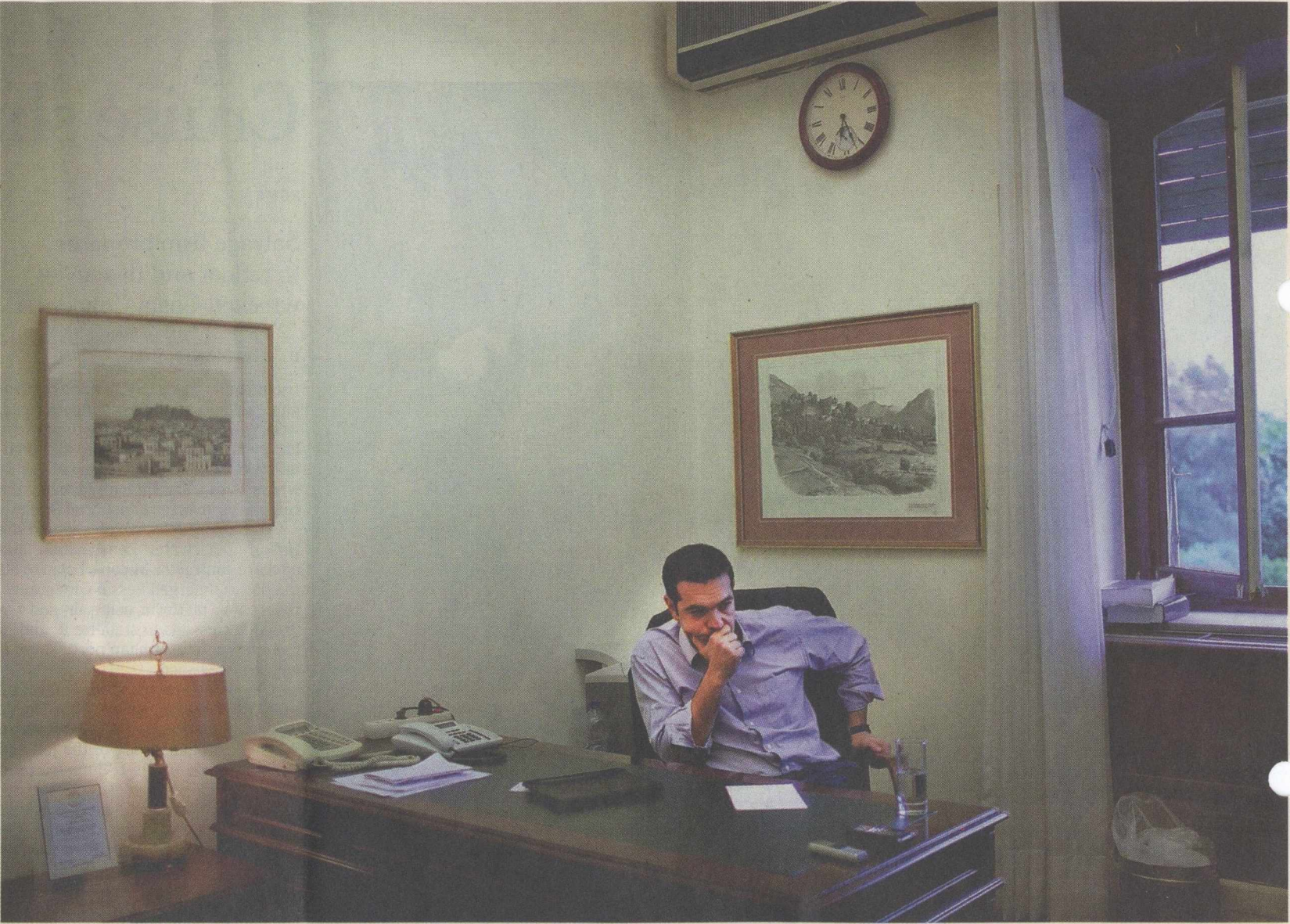
Beppe Grillo, leader of the "hyper-democracy" party, the Five Star Movement.

him. (His organization merely vets candidates to ensure that they do not have a criminal record, he said.)

Yet it is undeniable that the comic's pronouncements — he is open, for example, to Italy leaving the euro — send regular shockwaves through the movement. He advocates, moreover, forcing Italian politicians to stand trial before a popular jury. "There is no forgiveness in a popular movement," he said.

The Internet is also unforgiving, and has an inherent system of checks and balances, said Gianroberto Casaleggio, the Web consultant responsible for developing Mr. Grillo's online presence. "If you're credible and popular like Grillo then your message has wide diffusion on the Web," he said. "It's a Calvinist movement. If you lose your credibility, then your message has no future."

Here in Garbagnate Milanese, Mr. Grillo wound down his speech. "Who knows where we'll end up? I don't know, this is direct democracy," he said, his voice growing hoarse. "We're not a political movement; this is a cultural revolution that's going to change society."



Alexis Tsipras, leader of Greece's radical Syriza party, in his office in Parliament in Athens on Friday, says a Greek exit from the euro would mean the end of the single currency.

Greece's rising star issues E.U. ultimatum

GREECE, FROM PAGE 1

national elections due to be held June 17.

But while Mr. Tsipras seems to delight in being portrayed as a wild-eyed radical, in reality, he is a cool strategist playing a game of brinksmanship with the Europeans. In the past, Germany and other European leaders have made last-minute maneuvers to keep Greece in the euro, precisely because of fears that an exit would carry too high a cost, from bank collapses across Europe to destabilizing the global financial system.

Mr. Tsipras seems to be betting that they will blink again, but whether they will is far from clear.

These days, more European leaders are arguing that the cost of a Greek exit may not be as high as it would have been in the past: Banks have shed billions of euros in toxic Greek debt. European leaders are moving slowly but steadily toward building up a more federalist framework for the euro. And Chancellor Angela Merkel of Germany seems to have convinced investors that Greece is a special case of a country that cannot get its act together, in contrast to Ireland and Portugal, which have adhered to the terms of their bailouts despite the pain it has inflicted on their economies.

Asked if such thinkers were calling his bluff, Mr. Tsipras laughed. "It's true that I like to play poker," he said. But the reality, he said, is that financial markets are driving much of the crisis. "They don't have any morals and if they push Greece out, they'll just move onto the next country." He added that the markets would then move on to bigger, much more important countries like Italy and Spain, which would truly be the undoing of the euro zone.

Still, that may not be enough to convince Greece's creditors this time around.

"The Europeans may blink — but this time they might not blink enough," said Simon Tilford, chief economist at the Center for European Reform in London.

He said that European leaders may propose a "mini-Marshall plan" to stoke growth in Greece, after Ms. Merkel acknowledged that Greece needed stimulus to help its economy. "People are fed up," Mr. Tilford added. "They would prefer that Greece stay within the euro zone, but they won't take the political steps to make Greek membership sustainable."

Indeed, on Friday, Ms. Merkel upped the ante even further — suggesting to the Greek president, Karolos Papoulias, the possibility of a referendum being held, in parallel with general elections scheduled for June 17, to gauge the extent to which Greeks want to remain in the euro zone, the Greek government spokesman said.

And a high-ranking European official publicly acknowledged that contingency plans were being made to deal with the potential fallout of a Greek pullout.

In some ways, Mr. Tsipras's arguments are not so different from those of some of the leaders gathered at the Group of 8 Summit at Camp David on Friday. An anti-austerity backlash has been sweeping over Europe already, forcing Ms. Merkel, who had been leading the charge, to soften her stance. Leaders, especially President François Hollande of France, were expected to press Ms. Merkel at the summit meeting to give Europe more breathing room for growth.

Mr. Tsipras agreed. "The message we're giving to the G-8 is that we have to press Mrs. Merkel to follow the example of America, where the debt crisis wasn't tackled with austerity measures but with an expansionist approach."

Mr. Tsipras's strategy of calling Europe's possible bluff has won him points at home. Some polls place his party first and others second in Greece's new elections, which were called after he and other political leaders failed to form a government after May 6 elections, ushering in a period of intense political instability.

Yet the mood may already be shifting

back to the right. On Thursday, a poll by the Marc polling company for the Alpha television channel showed Syriza placing second with 24 percent of the vote after center-right New Democracy with 26 percent. The Socialists were third at 15 percent.

An engineer by training, Mr. Tsipras said he had studied economics and learned in the trenches with his "comrades" on the economic committee of Synaspismos, a proto-communist strain within Syriza in which he came of age.

His strategy of calling Europe's possible bluff has made him popular with voters and irrevocably changed the debate in Greece to the point that no party — including the Socialists and center-right New Democracy party, which signed Greece's second loan agreement with creditors in February — can govern

"The healthy businesses here have nothing to fear from a government that's going to try to stop this poison."

with the current loan agreement. It calls for steep wage cuts and tax hikes, as well as including improving tax collection and privatizing some state entities.

Lean, affable yet somewhat inscrutable, Mr. Tsipras says he doesn't like wearing ties because they remind him of his days in the Navy, where he did his mandatory military service. In recent speeches, he has said that the "terrorists" in suits and ties who are deciding Greece's fate are worse than the anarchists in hoods. Some compare him to Andreas Papandreou, the founder of the Socialist party and a gifted populist.

Mr. Tsipras may be riding the tide of anti-austerity, but it remains to be seen if he has what it takes to steer the ship. Pressed to present an alternative to the current loan agreement — or his plans for restoring Greece to growth while

keeping it in the euro — he offered few, if any, specifics. He deflected the question back to Europe's need to see Greece as a European problem. But transforming Europe might take decades, in the mean time the clock for Greece is ticking.

His party seeks a three-year suspension of loan payments until the Greek economy can recover, a reversal of the terms of the loan agreement that call for slashing wages, scaling back public employees and undoing collective bargaining agreements. It has also called for nationalizing banks in order to control their lending policies as part of a recapitalization now underway as part of the debt deal.

Critics say that under the guise of change, Syriza may offer little more than status quo — or worse: more state control in a country with a dysfunctional state. Indeed, business owners are particularly worried that Syriza's plans for more state control would stifle growth further, transforming transform Greece into a kind of Bulgaria.

For his part, Mr. Tsipras said that "the healthy businesses here have nothing to fear from a government that's going to try to stop this poison," Mr. Tsipras said. "Healthy businesses understand that austerity curbs consumption."

Although he conceded that the Greek state had "significant dysfunctions" and a need for deep structural changes, he did not offer specifics for change, beyond faulting the Socialists and center-right New Democracy for building up a state jobs-for-votes system that helped Greece's public debt balloon.

Instead, he kept repeating the mantra that he hoped would help him consolidate power in just over a month, in the form of a stark warning to Greece's European partners: Pushing Greece out would be "cutting the branch that we're all sitting on."

Niki Kitsantonis contributed reporting

Top generals are detained in Mexican drug investigation

MEXICO CITY

BY RANDAL C. ARCHIBOLD

The Mexican government detained three high-ranking army generals this week, including a former second in command at the Defense Ministry, suggesting the depths drug cartels have gone in trying to infiltrate one of the primary forces President Felipe Calderón has counted on to combat them.

The arrests of a group of generals were without precedent in recent memory, and local news reports suggested that the corruption investigation was continuing and could net other key figures in the drug war.

The three generals, Mexican officials said, played a role in facilitating drug trafficking, and the accusations against the third general, arrested Thursday night, include that he ignored a tip by American drug agents about an imminent airplane delivery of a drug cartel's cocaine in December 2007.

One of the men arrested, Tomás Ángeles Dauhare, a general who retired in 2008, was the second-highest-ranking official in the Defense Ministry during the first two years of Mr. Calderón's offensive against drug violence and had been mentioned as a possible choice for the top job. In the early 1990s, he served as the defense attaché at the Mexican Embassy in Washington.

The other generals under investiga-

tion are Brig. Gen. Roberto Dawe González, assigned to a base in Colima State, and Gen. Ricardo Escorcía Vargas, who is retired.

"There have been cases with military officials before, but I don't think this many at once," said Alejandro Hope, a private security analyst and a former Mexican government intelligence official. "There has been worry that the more you use the military the more corruption there will be, so one purpose of this could be to send a message."

The case arose from the joint effort by the United States and Mexico to cripple a major cartel funneling cocaine to the United States, the Beltrán Leyva organization, which culminated in a December 2009 raid in which a primary leader, Arturo Beltrán Leyva, was shot and killed.

Perhaps the most spectacular corruption case in the past was the arrest in 1997 and subsequent conviction of Mexico's drug enforcement chief, Gen. Jesús Gutiérrez Rebollo, for ties to organized crime.

More recently, a retired general, Juan Manuel Barragán Espinosa, was detained in February, and another general, Manuel Moreno Avina, and several soldiers he commanded are standing trial on charges of murder, torture and drug trafficking in a border town in northern Mexico.

It remained unclear why the men were detained this past week for acts

that transpired a few years ago, and whether there were more recent allegations of wrongdoing.

General Ángeles had recently appeared at a security forum put on by a nonprofit group with ties to the Institutional Revolutionary Party, whose candidate for president, Enrique Peña Nieto, is leading by a wide margin in polls ahead of the July 1 election.

Mr. Peña Nieto said the generals had played no role in his campaign, though General Ángeles served in Washington

"There have been cases with military officials before, but I don't think this many at once."

in the early 1990s under a former ambassador, Jorge Montañón, who is the party's foreign affairs adviser and has met with policy makers and analysts in recent weeks in Washington.

American law enforcement officials tend to work more closely with the Mexican Navy, perceived as a cleaner institution, and in a diplomatic cable in 2010 the U.S. ambassador at the time specifically complained about the army's reluctance to act on intelligence that drug agents had obtained on the Beltrán Leyva cartel.

The Mexican marines instead carried out the raid, and the ambassador, Carlos

Pascual, resigned in a furor after the cable was publicly revealed through WikiLeaks in 2011.

Analysts were struck as much by Mexico's effort to round up the men as the possibility that officers of such high stature could be on the take. The government has been criticized in the past for tolerating abuses in the military and moving slowly to weed out bad apples.

"Other people will say, 'Oh my, isn't this terrible; there's corruption,'" said Robert C. Bonner, a former U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration chief, who did not recall meeting the men. "But the cartels have been attempting to corrupt and have corrupted officials before. This is what Mexico needs to do. It needs to identify the corrupt officials and put them behind bars. I am encouraged because they are not trying to sweep this under the rug."

Mr. Calderón has dispatched army soldiers to violent regions to supplement and sometimes replace corrupt local and state police forces. The move has drawn criticism that they are ill prepared for police work, and human rights groups and the U.S. State Department have raised concerns about the use of lethal force and the disappearances of young men last seen in their custody.

But analysts said it would be more troubling if the officers belonged to the navy, which has been critical in the arrest and killing of some of the most-wanted kingpins.

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