

Saturday, October 31, 1998

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PRESERVATION

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75 CENTS

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VOL. 10

Blasting Flat

In Sudanese Bombing, 'Evidence' Depends On Who Is Viewing It

Dissident Fans Terror Links, But Factory Owner Says The U.S. Got It Wrong

Worm Medicine in the Rubble

By DANIEL PEARL

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

KHARTOUM, Sudan—Salah Idris, a Sudanese investor, has a few problems: His factory is in ruins, his account with a U.S. bank is frozen, and he has been fingered by U.S. intelligence authorities as a presumed front man for Islamic fundamentalist terrorist Osama bin Laden.

If the last is true—and Mr. Idris says emphatically that it isn't—you might think it helps explain why American cruise missiles last Aug. 20 blew up the El Shifa Pharmaceutical Industries Co. plant here, in retaliation for terrorist bombings at U.S. embassies in Africa. In fact, at the time the missiles flew from American warships, U.S. intelligence officials admit they knew little about Mr. Idris, and didn't know he

AFTER THE BOMBINGS

The Difficult Search for "Truth"

FIRST OF TWO ARTICLES

had acquired El Shifa a few months before. Yet, since the bombing, sources old and new have provided them information about Mr. Idris to bolster the case that El Shifa was linked to Osama bin Laden and his alleged chemical-weapons aspirations.

Some U.S. allies and Washington officials still doubt the U.S. hit a legitimate target, and the full truth of El Shifa, wrapped in the divisive politics of antiterrorism, may never be known. The hardest evidence is a scoop of soil, taken near the plant and judged by the U.S. to contain a chemical used to make nerve gas. But other evidence becomes murkier the closer you look.

El Shifa had a tangled past, and Mr. Idris, a fortune-charmed millionaire of the kind the Middle East often produces, was a seemingly rash investor, agreeing to buy the factory in March after only a cursory examination. He can't categorically say that El Shifa was never used to make chem-

ical-weapons ingredients, because he was still doing a thorough study of the factory when the U.S. destroyed it. Some of his Sudan deals put him in business with people who had past contact with Mr. bin Laden or his companies, though Mr. Idris says the links are inconsequential. He says he intended to recapitalize El Shifa to compete in African and Middle East pharmaceutical markets.

The U.S. had reasons to believe Sudan would want chemical weapons. It is fighting a civil war against U.S.-supported rebels, has little money to buy conventional arms and hasn't signed on to a global anti-chemical-weapons treaty. And because the country has given refuge to terrorists in the past, the U.S. says it had to take seriously reports that Mr. bin Laden and Iraq were helping Sudan make chemical weapons.

U.S. officials say the main argument for making El Shifa a target was and remains a soil sample, obtained in January, which they say was taken "a stone's throw" from El Shifa, by a CIA-trained agent as another agent looked on. The officials say three separate tests on the soil turned up strong "hits" for a substance known as EMPTA, which can easily be turned into deadly VX nerve gas.

Still, other links in the chain of evidence outlined by U.S. officials are weaker than

past reports have suggested. The U.S. has repeatedly said the plant was part of a complex run by the Sudanese government's weapons-making arm, the Military Industries Corp.

But asked how investigators knew that, a U.S. intelligence official says they assumed any chemical-weapons plant in Sudan would be run by the government.

Also, despite media reports that the U.S. intercepted conversations between the plant and Iraq, a U.S. intelligence official says that what the U.S. actually discovered were records indicating El Shifa officials started paying visits to Iraq last year.

U.S. officials assume the discussions were about chemical weapons because they took place in a pharmaceutical plant overseen by a key figure in Iraq's VX nerve-gas program, Emad Ani. But El Shifa officials say they had routine talks about a manufacturing alliance, and never met that man. And the United Nations weapons inspector who dealt most closely with the Iraqi plant says Mr. Ani actually is a high-ranking manager for the plant's state-owned parent company and has never been directly associated with the factory itself.

Asked about the U.S. strike, Mr. Idris says, "I think it's something done by mistake." But asked about some of the allegations that have dogged him since the bombing, he says, "It's Mubarak."

He means Mubarak Fadi Al Mahdi, a Sudanese opposition figure who has been feuding with Mr. Idris for more than a year over conflicting political allegiances. Mr.

Please Turn to Page A10, Column 1



Salah Idris

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effect for some time, out leader Oskar Lafontaine (Article on Page A17)

OBITUARIES

Anthony Celebrezze Dies at 88; HEW Chief, Cleveland Mayor

By MARTIN WEIL
Washington Post Staff Writer

Anthony J. Celebrezze, 88, a son of immigrant parents who was known for his personal warmth as mayor of Cleveland and then as secretary of health, education and welfare in the administrations of presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson, died Oct. 30 at a hospice in a Cleveland suburb. He had esophageal cancer.

After leaving Washington, he served 15 years as a judge on the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals for the 6th Circuit. After retirement, he heard cases for 15 more years as a senior judge.

He was nominated as HEW secretary by Kennedy on July 16, 1962, and served in that role for three years, becoming an important advocate for the education and social welfare programs that helped transform American life, particularly the Medicare program.

Writing in The Washington Post in 1965, reporter Eve Edstrom described Medicare, the program of medical and hospital insurance for older Americans, as the nation's greatest social welfare achievement since the 1930s. Although she gave much of the credit for passage of this measure to Johnson, she said it was unfair to scant the contribution made by Judge Celebrezze.

"He had the daily habit of appearing before or committees to press for their demands," she wrote.

The job that Judge Celebrezze held in Washington was vividly by his predecessor, A. Ribicoff. The latter, Ribicoff said, "wasn't hats a day, runs 10 programs and is responsible for separate budget items. It is growing all the time."

Despite all this, Judge Celebrezze's son, Anthony J. Celebrezze Jr., said in an interview last week that his father had the greatest satisfaction of mayor of Cleveland.

He was first elected in 1953. After winning four successive two-year terms, he ran again in 1961, reaping 73.8 percent of the ballots cast and carrying every ward in his city.

He promoted Cleveland as a world trade center, inaugurated a



Anthony Celebrezze championed 1960s social welfare programs.

huge urban redevelopment program and pushed for improvements in roads, airports and other municipal facilities. He won credit for managing the budget carefully and reducing the number of city employees.

"As mayor," his son said, he could not only make a difference in people's lives, but "he could see the difference he made."

been a railroad laborer, and the judge, who was known in his Cleveland days as "Tough Tony," helped eke out his educational expenses by working on the railroad as well.

After three years as a lawyer for the state government, he practiced on his own in Cleveland. He served as a Navy seaman during World War II, and began his political career by winning election to the Ohio Senate in 1950.

"He believed that government and politics were a way to make people's lives better," his son said. "He was a fighter. He fought for people who didn't have much, and he fought to make government responsive."

In addition to his son, survivors include his wife, Anne; daughter Jean Anne Porto of Washington and Susan Marie Sullivan of Boston; 10 grandchildren; two brothers; and a sister.

IN MEMORIAM



RY C. BEALL Oct. 31, 1997 - On loving memory of the first anniversary passing this site to be with our Heavenly Father. I love you and miss you so much. Ways be in our hearts. Until we meet again.
Your Loving Children, Grace
Great-grandchildren

INARD, MAVIS L. Oct. 31, 1997 - On loving memory of Mother, you are not forgotten. You are in our hearts. Still as memory as you always were before. Delores, Fred, Bill and O.

VINS, DEAN R. 10-31-98 - On loving memory. Shine your ever-loving light. Your family.

ITALDO, ELIZABETH RIO. 1918 - October 31, 1998 - On loving memory of our Mother and Mother-in-law.
Your Children

DINTING, MARY ELIZABETH. Happy 87th birthday to our 1st grandmother, whose treasured memory is eternally reflected.

MAMA: Health I did retain, because I was always thence. All and all, I am in God in every way. Although I see, it was always known the way for us, and now she's gone and I will show that way. All you taught, because I will show and show surely grasp.

Written by: "You Have to" MARY E. DINTING. Possessed in we had love which is.

DEATHS ELSEWHERE

John J. Hyland Navy Admiral

John J. Hyland, 86, a Navy admiral who commanded the Pa-

team, and made a few extra dollars in the boxing ring as a youth. He studied at John Carroll University in Cleveland and Ohio Northern University in Ada, from which he received his law degree in 1936.

Judge Celebrezze's father had

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"He had the daily drudgery of appearing before congressional committees to press for the president's demands," she wrote.

The job that Judge Celebrezze held in Washington was described vividly by his predecessor, Abraham A. Ribicoff. The HEW secretary, Ribicoff said, "wears 20 different hats a day, runs 110 different programs and is responsible for 75 separate budget items. And the list is growing all the time."

Despite all this, Judge Celebrezze's son, Anthony J. Celebrezze Jr., a former Ohio attorney general, said in an interview last night that he believed the job his father derived greatest satisfaction from was that of mayor of Cleveland.

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"As mayor," his son said, he could not only make a difference in people's lives, but "he could see the difference he made."

It was true, his son said, that Judge Celebrezze "got a lot of satisfaction out of the Great Society legislation he helped get through Congress." But, he added, the results of federal policies are often visible only in the long term. As mayor, he said, you "see results almost on a daily basis."

Judge Celebrezze was the ninth of 13 children born to Rocco and Dorothy Celebrezze. His brothers and sisters were born in the United States, but he was born in Anzi, Italy, to which his immigrant parents had returned on a brief visit.

Judge Celebrezze grew up in Cleveland, started contributing to the family income by selling newspapers at the age of 6, played halfback on his high school football team, and made a few extra dollars in the boxing ring as a youth. He studied at John Carroll University in Cleveland and Ohio Northern University in Ada, from which he received his law degree in 1936.

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been a railroad laborer, and the judge, who was known in his Cleveland days as "Tough Tony," helped eke out his educational expenses by working on the railroad as well.

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IN MEMORIAM



MARY C. BEALLE Oct. 31, 1997 - Oct. 31, 1918
in loving memory of the first anniversary of the passing of our dear mother. We love you and miss you so much. Always be in our hearts. Until we meet again.
Your Loving Children, Grandchildren and Great-grandchildren

BERNARD, MAVIS I.
Dear Mother, you are not forgotten. Earth you are no more. Still in memory with us as you always were before.
Delores, Prim, Brian and O

BEVINS, DEAN R.
6/20/37 - 10/31/94
in loving memory.
Shine your ever-loving light
your F

CASTALDO, ELIZABETH RIO
August 4, 1918 - October 31, 1997
in loving memory of our Mother
Grandmother.
Your Children

DINTINO, MARY ELIZABETH
Happy 87th Birthday to our 1st grandmother, whose treasured memory is eternally luminous.

Health I did retain, because name. She was Always th splendidly. All and all along God in every way. Altho you see, it was always knew the way for us, ar Now she's gone and learned to go the way I will show that way. All love forever. MARY

Phil-

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Response?

yes

no

Dana

10-31