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BRITANNICA BOOK OF THE YEAR

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The New World Disorder

BY DANIEL SCHORR

My friend Flora Lewis summed up the year 1991 in these pages, with appropriate tentativeness, as "a time of transition." She noted the fears and uncertainties that had started cropping up in the wake of the collapse of communism and the end of the Cold War. My friend Hedrick Smith saw, in 1992, the trend lines of history no longer pointing upward, but downward as explosions of ethnic and religious violence signaled a more chaotic world. His article was headlined "The Not-So-New World Order." In 1993 the trend line plunged more sharply downward. Not only did sources of instability multiply, but the international community displayed a waning capacity to cope with its many firestorms. Call this, then, "The New World Disorder."

The year opened with Czechoslovakia dividing into two states, continuing the centrifugal tendency of nation-states to fragment into state-nations. In January also, negotiations on Bosnia and Herzegovina termed "the last chance for peace" were in progress, one of many "last chances" that proved to be no chance at all. At the same time, Croatia was conducting an offensive against Serbia in which thousands were killed. In Somalia the first American soldier was killed. On Haiti, President-elect Bill Clinton reversed his promise to lift the antirefugee naval blockade that Pres. George Bush had imposed. All these sores on the body politic continued to fester during the year, and more were added, among them an attempted coup against Pres. Boris Yeltsin in Russia and civil wars in former Soviet states such as Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Moldova.

If Year Four after the collapse of communism should have brought us anything, it was surcease from nuclear peril, but that did not happen. In January, Presidents Bush and Yeltsin signed a new Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty, START II, which provided for the dismantling of a large part of the nuclear weapons stocks on both sides, but in Russia the process was delayed by economic problems. Ukraine, the world's number three nuclear power, because so many Soviet weapons had been left on its soil, dragged its feet on disposing of them. Iraq sparred with nuclear inspectors as though still reluctant to come clean about its weapons potential. And North Korea, ruled by the last un-

reconstructed Stalinist regime, resisted effective inspection by the International Atomic Energy Agency, suggesting the chilling prospect that it was on its way to breaking into the nuclear club. Indeed, by the end of the year, the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency had concluded that North Korea probably already had one or two nuclear devices.

Ruth Leger Sivard, a one-time U.S. government economist who produces, from her Georgetown home in Washington, D.C., a unique annual survey of the world's investment in its salvation and in its destruction, reported in November that when all current arms-reduction commitments are met, the five acknowledged nuclear powers will still have 900 times the explosive power expended in World War II. She reported also a record number of 29 "conventional" wars going on around the world, from Turkey to Peru, from Georgia to South Africa. Since the end of World War II, she noted, more than 23 million people have been killed in internal and across-border conflicts.

Particularly dismaying about 1993 was the growing sense of international helplessness in trying to quench the flames. There had been a season of high hopes after the United Nations-brokered Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan and after the big powers, freed of the Soviet veto, had successfully assembled a coalition to fight the war in the Persian Gulf. The new secretary-general, Boutros Boutros-Ghali of Egypt, began planning for the day when an international force, free of colonial taint, would be on call to control eruptions around the world. President Clinton told the UN General Assembly that the United States, while not earmarking combat units, would make a modest contribution to a combined headquarters and provide sophisticated communications. At one heady juncture, the UN expanded its definition of "threat to peace" to apply not only to invasions but to human tragedies generating a flow of refugees in countries such as the former Yugoslavia and Somalia.

The heyday of multilateralism did not last long. Soon Boutros-Ghali found himself being jeered at in Sarajevo and Mogadishu. UN authority was eroded by lack of funds, lack of consensus, and, under the pressure of events, a cooling of America's enthusiasm about multilateral approaches.

Bosnia soon became an enormous source of frustration to President Clinton, who had denounced President Bush during the campaign as not being assertive enough and who promised forceful intervention to rescue the Bosnian Muslims. But, in trying to go beyond humanitarian aid to lifting the arms embargo on the Muslims and threatening air attacks on Serbian siege artillery, the president found himself checkmated by Western Europe and Russia. He talked for a while about taking unilateral action but was quickly persuaded by the Joint Chiefs of Staff that this was not feasible. Soon the Clinton administration retired to

Daniel Schorr, the last of Edward R. Murrow's legendary news team still active in daily journalism, is senior news analyst for National Public Radio. Among his most recent honours was the presentation in 1993 of the George Foster Peabody Broadcasting Award, the radio-television equivalent of the Pulitzer Prize for journalism, which cited him "for a lifetime of uncompromising reporting of the highest integrity." His books include Clearing the Air and Don't Get Sick in America.

(Opposite page) Photograph, Reuters/Bettmann



Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali (right) tours under the protection of United Nations peacekeeping troops on his visit to Sarajevo. The inability of the UN to intercede effectively in the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in other conflicts could, to a large degree, be attributed to lack of support from major member nations.

TOMAS MUSCIONICO—CONTACT

the sidelines, leaving a series of fruitless peace initiatives to UN and European mediators. Clinton called his failure to achieve consensus for intervention “the greatest single disappointment” of his first year in office. Secretary of State Warren Christopher’s epitaph for American engagement was, “We are doing everything we can consistent with our national interest,” and “This is a problem from Hell.”

In the series of on-again, off-again negotiations about the fate of Bosnia and Herzegovina, one fact stood out sharply—whatever the final outlines of partition, Bosnia was finished as a unitary multiethnic state. This meant that, for the first time since World War II, the internationally recognized borders of a sovereign state were being changed by force—a flouting of everything collective security stands for and a precedent as menacing to the rule of law as the Italian invasion of Ethiopia and the German-Italian-supported civil war in Spain that served as harbingers of world war.

Nor would dismemberment of Bosnia necessarily end the fighting. One goes back over the history of partition arrangements—Ireland, Korea, Vietnam, India, Palestine—and notes that in each case bloody conflict ensued.

Somalia became an almost equally frustrating problem for a president threading his way through the international arena while trying to focus on problems of the economy, health, and crime at home. What started, with President Bush, as a humanitarian enterprise for U.S. forces, ensuring safe delivery of food to starving people, deteriorated into a punitive—and punishing—military expedition. Hardly realizing how the mission was changing, the Clinton administration allowed its Army Rangers to be drawn into a hunt for Somali strongman Gen. Muhammad Farah Aydid. When, in June, 24 Pakistani soldiers under UN command on a search mission were ambushed and killed, Rangers became involved in the effort to track down Aydid, with the result that 18 Americans were killed in an ambush on October 3, and a helicopter pilot was taken prisoner.

In the age of live, instantaneous global television, foreign policy tends to be video-driven, influenced by viewers’ reactions to the scenes presented to them. So, ironically, U.S. forces were drawn into Somalia by televised scenes of hunger and suffering and, in effect, driven out again by pictures of an American body being dragged through the streets and an injured American pilot in hostile hands. This

was, in its way, like the videotape of American hostages in terrorist hands in Lebanon that helped to push the administration of Pres. Ronald Reagan into trying to ransom them by selling missiles to Iran. In any event, Clinton, under strong congressional pressure, gave orders that the U.S. contingent first be beefed up for its own protection and then withdrawn from Somalia by March 31, 1994—the end of a second well-intentioned involvement that went sour.

Twice burned—in Bosnia and Somalia—the Clinton administration was thrice shy when it came to dealing with Haiti. In July, in negotiations on New York City’s Governors Island, the military junta led by Gen. Raoul Cédras, feeling the pinch of UN sanctions, agreed to the restoration of the elected president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, on October 30. But, when American troops arrived to fulfill technical tasks under the terms of the agreement, they became the target of an organized demonstration on the docks at Port-au-Prince, and their ship was quickly withdrawn. One could only speculate on whether the military junta had been emboldened by American faltering on Bosnia and Somalia. In any event, Cédras reneged on his promise to step down, and the introduction of some form of democratic rule to Haiti was aborted. By year’s end the Clinton administration was displaying impatience with Aristide’s intransigence and his unwillingness to strike a new deal with the Haitian military.

It had become all too easy to face down a mighty superpower, deeply involved in its own economic and social problems, wrestling with natural disasters like the Midwestern floods and the Southern California fires and human disasters like the assault on the Branch Davidian sect near Waco, Texas. The one deliberate use of force abroad by the Clinton administration—the missile raid in June on intelligence headquarters in Baghdad in reprisal for a supposed Iraqi attempt to assassinate former president Bush during a visit to Kuwait—was an action that stood out because of its singularity.

In the fourth year of the post-Cold War era, it seemed remarkable how little influence the sole remaining superpower exerted on the principal arenas of conflict. President Yeltsin found the West solidly supporting him as he grappled with the colossal task of converting Russia from bureaucratic governance and a command economy to representative government and a market economy. But, unable to affect the

course of events, the U.S. watched with the rest of the world as Yeltsin, in September, dissolved an obstreperous Parliament, then became the target of a coup that resulted in occupation of the Parliament and City Hall buildings and almost succeeded in capturing the Ostankino television centre—probably the most crucial objective. In the end it was not the U.S., NATO, or any outside force but the Russian army that saved Yeltsin. The West watched also as Yeltsin cracked down on his opponents, arranged elections for a new Parliament—but not for a president—and cracked down on opposition parties and the media. The West was left with some doubts about Yeltsin's fealty to democracy but without any other options or any idea how to exercise those options if it had them. The lack of an acceptable alternative to Yeltsin was driven home by the appearance on the political stage of a new menace—the ultranationalist Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, vaulted by the December 12 elections into the position of principal opposition leader in the new Parliament.

It seemed characteristic of the year 1993 that when long-festering conflicts showed signs of finally yielding to peaceful resolution, it was usually more because of the internal dynamics of each situation than because of outside intervention. The world's three most enduring and intractable civil conflicts were in South Africa, Northern Ireland, and the Middle East. In all three, 1993 produced stirrings of hope for peaceful outcomes. In all three, peacemakers had to cope with forces of violent resistance.

In South Africa, Nobel Peace laureates Pres. F.W. de Klerk and Nelson Mandela, president of the African National Congress, agreed in February to form a "transitional government of national unity," then began steadfastly campaigning for an election in April 1994 that would introduce majority rule to a country long ruled by apartheid. More than 13,000 persons had died in violence since February 1990, when the dismantling of apartheid began. Violence continued through 1993, mainly between ANC supporters and its rivals in the black community. It seemed not in the cards that a new South Africa would be born without further bloodshed. By year's end, however, South Africa had a new interim constitution, and apartheid was officially ended.

In Northern Ireland, where for a generation the language had been guns and bombs, it seemed a miracle that there

had been talks between antagonists. Over a period of many months, the British government had maintained contacts with the Irish Republican Army and its political arm, Sinn Féin. The disclosure of the talks in November produced a political explosion, but when the dust settled, the British and Irish governments were still talking. This was a slender reed on which to base any hope of peace in this bloody conflict but, yet, the first hope in a very long time. It was bolstered when the British and Irish governments agreed on a set of principles for peace negotiations that would allow the IRA to participate and opened to the people of Northern Ireland the possibility of a referendum to decide their own fate.

The most dramatic breakthrough of the year occurred in the Middle East. Forty years of alternating wars and negotiations had failed to bridge the gulf between Israel and the Palestinians. The latest negotiating process, starting with a full-dress conference in Madrid, was plodding along with little visible result. Suddenly, on August 31, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Yasir Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, stunned the world with the announcement of a preliminary agreement reached after months of secret talks in Norway. Its essence was a grant of autonomy, under PLO auspices, in the Gaza Strip and in Jericho. On September 13, President Clinton presided over the photo opportunity of the year, nudging Rabin and Arafat into a self-conscious handshake on the White House lawn. But the main credit belonged not to him but to them, both taking tremendous political risks for peace.

Eruptions of violence followed—Palestinian against Israeli, Israeli against Palestinian, Palestinian against Palestinian. But, as in South Africa, and perhaps someday in Ireland, the imperative for violence was finally being countered with an imperative for peace. The year's end found Israel and the PLO strenuously working to resolve their differences over implementation of the autonomy agreement.

During the Cold War it would have been most unlikely to see so much movement in deep-seated conflicts with so little big-power involvement. During the Cold War all conflicts, and efforts to resolve them, were measured on an index of how they fitted into East-West confrontation. For the U.S., the proxy battles with the "Evil Empire" tended to take the form of military or covert CIA action to bolster or

MOSHE MILNER—SYGMA

Colonists and right-wingers opposed to the Israeli-Palestinian accords on the West Bank and Gaza Strip battle police in Jerusalem. Despite movements toward peace in the Middle East, Northern Ireland, and South Africa, violence continued in these areas.



destabilize regimes from Vietnam to Nicaragua, from Iran to Chile. The East-West theme was gone, and perhaps with it the motivation to keep the pot boiling in Third World countries.

Now the pot was kept boiling by an outburst of ethnic, religious, and, in some cases, tribal passions. If any new unifying theme was to be found to replace communism versus capitalism, it was the threat of militant Islam. There was no doubt that what had helped bring Israel, Palestinians, and Arab states together was a shared apprehension of Iranian-based holy war, threatening all the secular states in the region alike—Israel, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, and, eventually, Syria. Prime Minister Rabin, visiting Washington, said that the wave of fundamentalist fervor and terror sweeping out of Iran was much more threatening than the secular radicalism of Iraq had ever been. (A pity that Israel had not realized this in 1985 when it was shipping missiles to Iran and helping to involve the Reagan administration in doing the same.)

The U.S. State Department branded Iran “the world’s most dangerous state sponsor of terrorism” and called the Iranian-supported, Lebanon-based Hezbollah, or Party of God, “the most aggressive and lethal” sponsor of terrorism in the world. The name could also have been Islamic Jihad, Hamas, Muslim Brotherhood, or Islamic Salvation Front. These were all evidences of radical Islam on the march.

Shadowy, unstructured groups, including many veterans of the Afghan war who were once protégés of the CIA, sometimes clustered around mosques with radical sheikhs. In Egypt terrorists tried to assassinate the prime minister and sought to scare off foreign tourists with attacks on tour buses. In Argentina the Israeli embassy in Buenos Aires was bombed with the all-too-familiar car full of explosives. An Iranian dissident was killed in Rome.

In 1993 the Islamic holy war was transported to the United States. In January an immigrant from the Afghan border region of Pakistan, where guerrillas had once consorted with CIA agents, stood outside the agency’s headquarters in Langley, Va., killed two of its employees and wounded three others, and then fled the country. Muslim militants were allegedly involved in the explosion in New York City’s World Trade Center in February—the most destructive terrorist act ever perpetrated on American soil. Plans for other attacks on UN headquarters and the Lincoln Tunnel were foiled. The terrorists were connected, in one way or another, with a radical Egyptian sheikh, Omar Abdel-Rahman. He denied issuing any orders to kill but, in his Jersey City, N.J., mosque, had been heard exhorting his followers, “Hit hard and kill the enemies of God on every spot.”

Other than the threat of religious fanaticism, however, the West seemed to lack any unifying theme to replace the anticommunist ideology that had guided policy making and resources allocation for a half century. In the wake of the Cold War, there were a series of corruption scandals from Italy to Japan to the U.S. As though concluding that they had taken their governments too long on trust, voters in many countries began turning against long-accepted leaders and parties.

In February, Canada’s Prime Minister Brian Mulroney resigned, his approval rating at 17%, and in the October election his Conservative Party was all but swept away (plunging from 154 to 2 seats in the House of Commons). In Japan the government of Kiichi Miyazawa fell in a no-confidence vote in the parliament in June, and in the July election his Liberal-Democratic Party lost its majority. In Italy the long-

ruling Christian Democrats lost heavily in municipal elections in November, and the successor to the Communists, the Democratic Party of the Left, emerged as the strongest political force. (This must have been particularly galling to veterans of the American effort, starting with the Marshall Plan in 1948 and involving years of CIA covert operations to support the Christian Democrats against the Communists.) In Germany the long-ruling Christian Democrats led by Chancellor Helmut Kohl suffered humiliating defeats in regional elections in November and December, and the former Communist Party came back strongly in eastern Germany. In December angry voters in Venezuela rejected the nation’s two traditional ruling parties and elected as president Rafael Caldera, who ran as an independent.

It was as though some “political immune deficiency” virus were sweeping across much of the industrialized world. Indeed, one could hardly find an incumbent leader, President Clinton and Britain’s Prime Minister John Major included, who enjoyed a majority approval rating in opinion polls. (It should be noted, however, that Clinton’s standing improved to 53% in December.)

No longer afraid about a communist monolith, people seemed now to be mainly worried about economic insecurity as a recession spread across the industrial world, tempering even the economic miracles in Japan and Germany. In Germany, where economic tensions have historically expressed themselves all too quickly in political extremism, recession combined with anti-immigrant xenophobia and the burden of absorbing eastern Germany to produce a rash of skinhead violence and neo-Nazi political activity. The Central and Eastern European states of the former Soviet Bloc, finding the West more generous with verbal support than economic aid, knocked in vain at the door of the European Community. They also sought shelter in the North Atlantic alliance, which offered them something less than half the loaf of participation with a vague NATO “partnership” status.

For the U.S., slowly climbing out of its recession, the closest thing to an international ideology seemed to be international trade. In the name of trade, China was forgiven its human rights trespasses. In the name of trade, President Clinton fought and won a battle for congressional approval of the North American Free Trade Agreement. Then he went on to woo the nations of the thriving Pacific Rim at a Seattle, Wash., summit conference and to stage a full-court press for conclusion of the long-stalled General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which was crowned with success hours before the December 15 deadline.

It was significant that President Clinton, who campaigned for the desk in the White House with the incessantly repeated invocation of “change,” shifted his emphasis to “security.” As he learned from the off-year elections, “change” could be a double-edged sword for an incumbent. But, beyond that, he seemed to be addressing global anxieties when he set his sights on three forms of security—economic, health, and personal. If Americans did not respond with the enthusiasm they had shown for Pres. Franklin Roosevelt’s “Four Freedoms” speech in 1941, it was, well, perhaps because they were too anxious to be lulled by words.

A paradox of 1993 was that leaders enjoying such high-tech capabilities for communicating their messages still seemed to be held, generally, in such low esteem. The “Information Highway,” which broke into American consciousness in 1993, promised a new dimension of interactive communication. Whether leaders would have anything more inspiring to communicate remained to be seen.

Chronology of 1993

JANUARY

1 Czechoslovakia now two nations. What had been the single nation of Czechoslovakia officially became two independent states, the Czech Republic and Slovakia. Vaclav Havel, the former president of Czechoslovakia, and many others, especially ethnic Czechs, had argued vehemently against separation, but to no avail. However, once an agreement was reached on a peaceful division of the country, both sides promised to cooperate in the future. National assets were divided on a 2-1 ratio based on the Czech Republic's larger population. The International Monetary Fund chose a somewhat more precise figure in reallocating the assets and liabilities of what had been Czechoslovakia. On January 26 Havel was elected to a five-year term as president of the Czech Republic. On February 15 Michal Kovac was chosen president of Slovakia.

EC inaugurates open internal market. The 12-nation European Community (EC) began implementing the first phase of its open internal market, which, among other things, allowed individuals to transport unlimited quantities of items for personal use across national borders. The ultimate goal of the open market was to allow a free flow of people, goods, information, and currency within the EC. Some of the measures envisioned by the EC had not yet been formally adopted; others had not yet been approved by all of the individual

states. Certain measures, moreover, were not scheduled to take effect until a later date. The EC market, representing some 350 million people, was expected to constitute one of the most formidable economic powers in the world. Poland was among several former Communist nations in Eastern Europe to express fears that its exports to EC nations, which were critical to its economy, would diminish significantly because it was outside the market.

3 U.S. and Russia sign START II. U.S. Pres. George Bush and Russian Pres. Boris Yeltsin initiated the second Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START II) in the Kremlin, an agreement that called for the total elimination of land-based multiple-warhead missiles and a two-thirds reduction in their respective long-range nuclear weapons. Unlike previous arms control negotiations, the details of START II were worked out in just six months. Both the U.S. and Russia agreed that START II would not take effect until all those who had signed START I had ratified the accord and complied with its provisions. Neither Ukraine nor Belarus had as yet ratified the treaty.

4 Daniel arap Moi begins new term. Daniel arap Moi, leader of the Kenya African National Union party, took the oath of office as president of Kenya for the fourth time. According to official tallies, he had won 37% of the

popular vote in the controversial December 1992 national election. Moi's closest rival, Kenneth Matiba, leader of a faction within the opposition Forum for the Restoration of Democracy, finished second with 26% of the vote. In the National Assembly, Moi's supporters would hold 97 of the 202 seats even though 15 of Moi's 21 Cabinet ministers had been defeated when they ran for reelection. Matiba and two other leaders of the opposition repudiated the election on the grounds that it had been fraudulent. Observers noted that Moi might not have won reelection if the opposition had joined forces during the campaign.

6 Japan's crown prince picks bride. The Japanese press announced with great fanfare that 32-year-old Crown Prince Naruhito and Masako Owada had become engaged and would marry in early summer. An official announcement from the imperial palace was not expected for several weeks. The two met for the first time at a diplomatic reception in 1986. The 29-year-old future empress, whose father was Japan's vice minister of foreign affairs and the nation's senior career diplomat, had attended Harvard University and the Universities of Tokyo and Oxford before deciding to pursue a career in Japan's Foreign Ministry. In that capacity she had been deeply involved in delicate and highly technical trade negotiations with her U.S. counterparts.

12 Reynolds to lead Irish coalition. The tenure of Albert Reynolds as prime minister of Ireland was extended when the Dail (parliament) approved a new coalition government under the continued leadership of the Fianna Fail party. The Labour Party, led by Dick Spring, joined the government as a junior partner. It was the first time that the two parties had formed such a political alliance. Together they would control 101 of the 166 seats in the Dail. Reynolds began to look for political allies after the November 1992 election, when his conservative party faltered and the left-of-centre Labour Party increased its seats to 33 from 16. Because of Labour's new power, Spring was named deputy prime minister and the country's foreign minister.

Court halts the trial of Erich Honecker. A German court in Berlin dropped manslaughter charges against Erich Honecker shortly after the Constitutional Court declared that the 80-year-old former leader of East Germany was too ill to stand trial and that his continued detention would be a violation of human rights.

REUTERS/BETTMANN



On January 1 citizens of Bratislava celebrate Slovakia's birth. The Czech Republic and Slovakia separated just three years after the end of the Communist regime in Czechoslovakia.

Honecker had been accused of ordering East German guards to shoot anyone attempting to flee to West Berlin after the erection of the Berlin Wall. On January 13 a separate court in Berlin dropped charges of embezzlement related to Honecker's alleged use of public funds to build a sumptuous complex for Communist Party officials. After his release from prison, Honecker was allowed to fly to Santiago, Chile, where he was reunited with his wife and daughter on January 14.

13 Religious strife engulfs Bombay.

More than 550 persons were reported killed in Bombay, India, during nine days of sectarian violence between Hindus and Muslims. Firemen were attacked with gasoline bombs and stones when they attempted to save burning homes, businesses, and vehicles. Policemen also came under attack when they tried to quell the riots, put an end to looting, and enforce the curfew. The police commissioner described the chaos as "incidents of madness." Order was finally restored with the help of army troops and paramilitary commandos.

Senate panel issues its final MIA report.

The U.S. Senate Select Committee on POW-MIA Affairs issued its final report after a 15-month effort to determine the fate of hundreds of U.S. servicemen listed as missing in action during the Vietnam war. The panel concluded that there was no compelling evidence that any U.S. prisoner of war was still being held in Indochina. It also conceded that a small number of Americans who were listed as missing in action in Laos might have been alive and in captivity when the Paris peace accords that ended the war were signed in 1973. Sen. John Kerry, who acted as chairman of the panel, summed up its conclusions by saying: "This report does not close the issue. There is evidence, tantalizing evidence, that raises questions. But questions are not facts and are not proof."

15 Italy apprehends Mafia leader.

The Italian police announced that plainclothes paramilitary police in Palermo, Sicily, had apprehended 62-year-old Salvatore Riina, the reputed boss of bosses of organized crime in Italy. Riina, who was unarmed, had been sought by police ever since his 1969 escape from house arrest in Bologna. In 1987 he had been tried in absentia and sentenced to life in prison after being convicted of murder and drug trafficking. He was also believed to have ordered the 1992 assassinations of two prominent prosecutors of organized crime and to have established links with such groups as the Colombian cocaine cartels. Several hundred Mafia informers were said to have contributed significantly to the government's recent successes against organized crime.

U.S. Pres. Bill Clinton and his wife, Hillary Rodham Clinton, greet visitors to the White House the day after his January 20 inauguration. Those invited to the open house represented a wide spectrum of Americans.

WALLY MCNAMEE—SYGMA



20 Clinton becomes U.S. president.

William J. Clinton, who had been the longtime Democratic governor of Arkansas, took the oath of office as the 42nd president of the United States. In the November 1992 national election he captured 370 of 538 votes in the electoral college by winning a plurality of the popular vote in 32 states and the District of Columbia. His two major opponents had been the Republican incumbent George Bush and independent Texas billionaire H. Ross Perot. Clinton's running mate during the campaign, Sen. Albert Gore of Tennessee, took his oath as vice president shortly before Clinton was sworn in by William Rehnquist, chief justice of the United States. Justice Byron White administered the oath to Gore because retired justice Thurgood Marshall was too ill to participate.

25 Denmark gets new government.

Poul N. Rasmussen, a 49-year-old Social Democrat, became prime minister of Denmark. His four-party coalition government included the Centre Democrats, the Radical Liberals, and the Christian People's Party. All three parties had supported the coalition that had formed Denmark's government before Prime Minister Poul Schluter resigned on January 14 after more than 10 years in office. Niels Petersen, a Radical Liberal, announced that his top priority as foreign minister would be to reverse, in a new referendum, Denmark's June 1992 rejection of the European Community's (EC's) Treaty on European Union. During a December 1992 meeting in Scotland, the EC ministers had agreed to modify the treaty to accommodate certain Danish demands.

Police kill protesters in Togo. European diplomats reported that at least 20 pro-democracy campaigners had been shot and killed by police in Lomé, the capital of Togo. The stated goal of the demonstrators was to compel the president, Gen. Gnassingbe

Eyadema, to end military rule. The tiny West African nation had been under his control for 26 years. Eyadema had tried in vain to end violent antigovernment protests by legalizing opposition political parties in April 1991.

27 Clinton delays decision on gays.

White House officials announced that President Clinton had decided to delay issuing an executive order reversing a government policy that banned homosexuals from serving in the armed forces. Although Clinton had promised during the presidential campaign that he would remove the ban if elected, he encountered vigorous opposition from the Joint Chiefs of Staff and other military personnel as well as from influential members of Congress. The issue, which was of only marginal importance compared with other critical problems facing the nation, was nonetheless certain to be hotly debated in the mass media and among individuals, both military and civilian.

28 Israeli court backs government.

The seven-member Israeli High Court of Justice in Jerusalem ruled unanimously that the government had exercised legitimate powers in December 1992 when it deported 415 Palestinians from the occupied territories to a no-man's land in Lebanon. All the deportees were said to be actively involved with a militant Arab organization called Hamas (Islamic Resistance Movement). Such deportations had earlier been condemned by the UN Security Council as violations of international law. Shortly before the Israeli court announced its ruling, UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali had recommended that the council take "whatever measures are required" to enforce its demand that the Palestinians be allowed to return to their homes. On February 1 the Israeli government announced that about 100 Palestinians would be permitted to return and that the remainder would be allowed to return to their homes within a year.

FEBRUARY

4 Help sought to topple Mobutu.

Étienne Tshisekedi, prime minister of the central African republic of Zaire, publicly pleaded for foreign help to

oust Pres. Mobutu Sese Seko, who had ruled the country for 27 years. Tshisekedi was fired the next day, but it was by no means certain that Mobutu had the

authority to dismiss him. Tshisekedi had been elected prime minister by a national conference in August 1992, but his five predecessors had all been appointed by

Mobutu and had served for a combined total of less than 18 months. Refusing to relinquish his post, Tshisekedi issued a plea for outside help to establish a new government. The call went out after a week of violence that erupted when soldiers in the capital city of Kinshasa were paid in new large-denomination bank notes that shopkeepers refused to accept. An estimated 1,000 people were killed when the rampaging soldiers clashed with troops loyal to Mobutu.

5 Yeltsin faces strong opposition. Ruslan Khasbulatov, speaker of Russia's Congress of People's Deputies, raised political tensions another notch when he told visiting Swedish Prime Minister Carl Bildt that Pres. Boris Yeltsin had "failed to cope with his duties." The two had long been on a collision course over where the ultimate power in Russia should rest. Khasbulatov, who had also publicly accused Yeltsin of acting like a dictator, was adamant in his insistence that the will of congress should prevail when the president and the congress were at loggerheads. On more than one occasion, Yeltsin had been forced to compromise because his plan to implement market reforms had been stymied by the congress. The situation was not likely to change as long as hard-line Communists, who had been elected before the demise of the Soviet Union, held the balance of power in the national legislature.

6 Chung Ju Yung faces indictment. Chung Ju Yung, the 77-year-old billionaire founder of one of South Korea's largest conglomerates, was officially charged with slander and with the illegal funding of his ill-fated presidential campaign. In 1992 Chung, a member of the National Assembly, had founded the United People's Party as a vehicle to gain the presidency. He was accused of slandering Kim Young Sam, who won the presidency, when he asserted that Kim had illegally received financial support from the nation's central bank. The government indictment also charged that Chung had diverted more than \$60 million from his shipbuilding unit to his campaign coffers and had coerced employees into backing his party.

10 Kuomintang chooses Lien Chan. Leaders of the Nationalist Party (Kuomintang) in Taiwan approved Pres. Lee Teng-hui's nomination of Lien Chan as head the Republic of China's Executive Yuan. The post was equivalent to that of premier. With formal approval by the National Assembly a virtual certainty, the government in Taiwan would, for the first time, have native-born Taiwanese serving as both president and premier. The ascendancy of locally born politicians was expected to diminish still further the influence of Chinese who had taken refuge in the province of Taiwan when Communist forces gained control of the mainland in 1949.

11 Clinton nominates Janet Reno. Janet Reno, a highly respected 54-year-old state prosecutor in Florida, was nominated by President Clinton to head the Department of Justice as

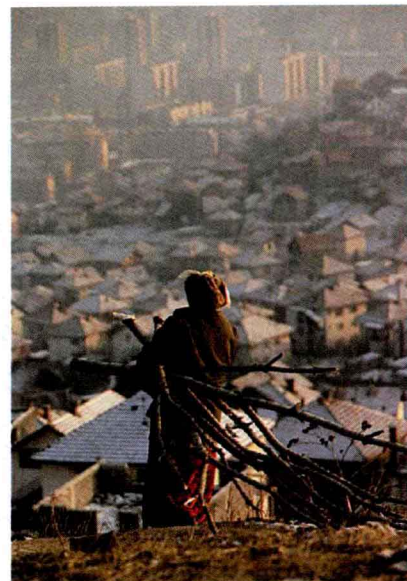
U.S. attorney general. Although Reno had little experience at the federal level, she was an adept administrator and well versed in criminal law. Two earlier nominees, both women, had withdrawn from consideration amid controversies over their employment of illegal aliens for child care. On March 11 the Senate unanimously confirmed Reno's nomination by voice vote. The following day she took the oath of office and became the first woman to head the nation's highest law-enforcement agency.

12 Historic pact in South Africa. The South African government and the African National Congress (ANC) reached agreement on a transitional government of national unity that would end white-minority rule by April 1994. This would occur when South Africans of all races were allowed, for the first time in history, to cast ballots for a new 400-seat assembly. That body would then draw up a new constitution that would stipulate, among other things, how the new government would function. There was already agreement, however, that the nation's future president would be chosen from the party that had gained the most votes in the April 1994 assembly election. As things now stood, Nelson Mandela, the president of the ANC, was expected to fill that role.

14 Greek Cypriots elect Clerides. In an extremely close runoff election, Glafcos Clerides, candidate of the Democratic Rally party, defeated incumbent George Vassiliou in a race for the presidency of Cyprus. Only those living in the southern portion of Cyprus cast votes. The northern third of the island, controlled by Turkish Cypriots since 1974, had been declared a Turkish republic in 1983, but the international community refused to recognize its existence. In the first round of voting on February 7, Clerides won 37% of the popular vote and Vassiliou 44% with the strong support of the Communist Party. In the final round of voting, however, the Democratic Party, which had supported the candidacy of Paschalis Pascalides, gave Clerides the votes he needed to emerge victorious with 50.3% of the total ballots cast.

Lithuanians elect former Communist. Algirdas Brazauskas, whose Lithuanian Democratic Labour Party had won 73 of the 141 seats in the two-round October–November 1992 parliamentary elections, scored an easy victory in the presidential race by capturing 60% of the popular vote. His opponent, Stasys Lozoraitis, represented the Lithuanian Reform Movement (Sajudis), which held 30 seats in the Supreme Council (parliament). Brazauskas, the former Communist leader of Lithuania, campaigned on a promise to revitalize the nation's foundering industries by fostering closer trade relations with Russia and other former Soviet republics. One of his most urgent priorities was to secure a source of cheaper energy.

22 UN backs trial for war crimes. Faced with mounting evidence of unspeakable atrocities taking place in what had been Yugoslavia, the UN Security Council unanimously sanctioned



With fuel scarce, a woman gathers wood in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina's capital. On February 22 the UN Security Council voted for formation of a war crimes court.

JON JONES—SYGMA

the formation of an international court to try those accused of committing war crimes during the civil conflict. UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali was asked to determine the legal structure of the proposed court. Outside observers, including members of the European Community and the U.S., roundly condemned the barbarous manner in which civilians as well as combatants were being treated. Although all parties in the civil war—Serbs, Croats, and Muslims—were taken to task for their inhumane behaviour, the severest criticism was leveled at the Serbs, whose military might was vastly superior to that of their adversaries. Whether any of those guilty of war crimes could be identified, apprehended, and brought to trial was by no means certain.

24 Canadian prime minister resigns. After eight and a half years in office, Brian Mulroney resigned as prime minister of Canada and as leader of the Progressive Conservative Party. With his personal popularity rating standing at a miserable 17%, Mulroney was widely believed to have tendered his resignation in order to improve his party's prospects in the next general election, which by law had to be held by November.

25 Kim Young Sam assumes office. Former dissident Kim Young Sam took the oath of office in Seoul as president of South Korea. Unlike his most recent predecessors, Kim had no ties to the military. During his inaugural address Kim pledged to eradicate political corruption and misconduct, which he called "the most terrifying enemies attacking the foundations of our society." Potential targets of the planned anticorruption campaign included members of Kim's own Democratic Liberal Party. The president also promised to take steps to invigorate the nation's stagnant economy and to



Emergency vehicles jam the area around the World Trade Center in New York City after a bomb exploded on February 26. Officials later charged Muslim extremists with the bombing.

ALLAN TANNENBAUM—SYGMA

work for the eventual reunification of the Korean peninsula. When Kim named his entire 26-member Cabinet on February 26, he broke with tradition by including three women. Ten days later the president summarily dismissed three of his ministers when rumours circulated that they had engaged in activities deemed unbecoming members of the new administration.

26 New York Trade Center bombed. A horrendous midday explosion in a parking garage on the second subterranean level beneath one of the twin World Trade Center buildings in lower Manhattan killed at least five people and left a 60-m (200-ft)-wide crater several stories deep. Because of dense smoke and the lack of electrical power, it took some

six hours to evacuate an estimated 50,000 people from the building. On March 4 police arrested Mohammad Salameh, a 26-year-old Jordanian-born Palestinian, when he returned to a car-rental agency in New Jersey to reclaim the \$400 deposit he had paid when he rented the van that investigators said had been used to transport the explosives to the garage. FBI agents also found evidence of bomb making when they searched Salameh's apartment. On March 10 Nidal Ayyad, a Kuwaiti-born Palestinian with a degree in chemical engineering, was arrested in New Jersey and charged with aiding and abetting the bombing. As the investigation continued, the FBI was reportedly gathering evidence against other suspects. Observers noted that the World Trade Center bombing brought violence attributed to Islamic fundamentalists to U.S. territory for the first time.

28 Food drops aid Bosnian Muslims. U.S. Air Force planes began air-dropping food and other supplies desperately needed by Muslims under attack from Serb forces in the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The unilateral U.S. mission had been ordered by President Clinton, who underscored the humanitarian nature of the operation and promised that priorities for the air deliveries would be decided "without regard to ethnic or religious affiliation." Although airlifts were admittedly an expensive and relatively ineffective way to deliver supplies, there was some hope that the use of aircraft would open up land routes that had been closed and possibly improve the prospects for a negotiated peace.

MARCH

5 WMO reports ozone depletion. The World Meteorological Organization reported that ozone levels over northern Europe and Canada had fallen 20% below normal. A few days later an independent Canadian study was released showing that the current ozone levels over Edmonton, Alta., and Toronto were the lowest in some 30 years. Because ozone in the atmosphere protects the Earth from the harmful effects of ultraviolet radiation emitted by the Sun, members of the European Community had agreed in December 1992 to end the production of chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs), which were a major cause of ozone depletion. They set January 1995 as their deadline. E.I. du Pont de Nemours & Co., the largest producer of CFCs, joined the campaign by announcing that by the end of 1994 it too would end its production of CFCs.

6 Kanemaru is taken into custody. Shin Kanemaru, widely viewed as the most powerful member of Japan's ruling Liberal-Democratic Party (LDP), was arrested by federal prosecutors in Tokyo on suspicion of income-tax evasion. Investigators, who on March 9 found millions of dollars' worth of undisclosed assets in Kanemaru's house and office, estimated that the 78-year-old veteran politician had concealed more than \$10 million in income that he had allegedly

used in the late 1980s to buy discount bonds. Kanemaru's arrest was but the latest item on a growing list of financial scandals plaguing the LDP and eroding confidence in the government. He was formally indicted on March 13, one day before the five-year statute of limitations was due to expire.

7 Tentative peace in Afghanistan. A peace plan designed to end the civil war in Afghanistan was signed in Islamabad, Pak., by eight of the rival military factions. The agreement, brokered by Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, was reaffirmed in Mecca, Saudi Arabia, on March 11. According to the terms of the peace accord, Afghan Pres. Burhanuddin Rabbani would remain in office and Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, the leader of the Hezb-i-Islami organization, would become prime minister. The two would then share power for 18 months until elections were held. The 14-year-old communist regime of Pres. Mohammad Najibullah had finally collapsed in April 1992. Since then, an estimated 5,000 Afghans had been killed as rival groups sought to establish control over Kabul, the capital, and over other regions of the war-ravaged country. Despite the positive outcome of the latest peace negotiations, there were a variety of reasons to wonder if the truce would be any more permanent than those that had failed in the past.

Swiss to permit high stakes in casinos. Swiss voters, who had been allowed since 1956 to engage in legal small-scale gambling, overwhelmingly approved a referendum that reversed an 1874 ban on high-stakes casino gambling. Those who favoured the change, which would benefit the nation's social security programs, pointed out that other European countries had increased government revenues significantly through such means. The Swiss government's share of the gambling profits was expected to be nearly \$100 million annually.

11 Suharto begins his sixth term. Indonesian President Suharto took the oath of office for the sixth consecutive time one day after being unanimously reelected to another five-year term by the People's Consultative Assembly. Suharto, who had already begun relaxing government controls over many aspects of Indonesian life, had promised even greater freedom in the months ahead. Two months before the formal election, the opposition Indonesian Democratic Party had endorsed Suharto's reelection even though it had campaigned for change, including electoral reforms and the eradication of corruption in government. Try Sutrisno, who had retired as commander of the armed forces on February 17, was elected vice president. The choice of Sutrisno was reportedly dictated by high-ranking military officers.

It seemed clear that no matter what other changes came to pass, the military would remain a potent force in Indonesian politics.

12 Bombs set off in Indian cities.

The first in a series of early afternoon bombings in western India destroyed several floors of the 29-story Bombay Stock Exchange and killed some 50 people. Within the next hour or so, bombs in other parts of the city wreaked havoc on banks, movie theatres, an airline office, and a shopping complex. Five days later, in what appeared to be an unrelated incident, two apartment buildings in Calcutta were destroyed by a bomb, with the loss of at least 80 lives. On March 19 another bomb exploded at a Calcutta train station. All told, more than 300 people were killed and more than 2,000 injured in what authorities called the worse wave of criminal violence in India's history. No individual or organization claimed responsibility for the atrocities, but on March 15 the Bombay police charged a 26-year-old Hindu and a 30-year-old Muslim with direct involvement in the bombings. Both, however, managed to escape. Political commentators publicly speculated that the terrorist acts were an attempt to destabilize the government of Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao.

North Korea withdraws from NNP treaty.

The North Korean government announced that it was withdrawing from the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty, which it had signed in 1985. Pyongyang cited Article X of the treaty, which permitted any signatory to give a 90-day notice of its intention to withdraw if it felt its "supreme interests" were being jeopardized. The aim of the international agreement was to inhibit nuclear arms sales and the spread of technology needed to manufacture nuclear weapons. The North Korean announcement came at a time when the International Atomic Energy Agency, a UN-affiliated organization, was insisting on its right to inspect several facilities in North Korea that were suspected of having acquired the capacity to produce weapons-grade plutonium. It was certain that North Korea would be immediately subjected to intense

international pressure to reverse its decision and adhere to the provisions of the treaty.

13 Australians back Labor Party.

Australian voters, obliged by law to cast ballots in the national election, returned the ruling Australian Labor Party (ALP) to power for a record fifth consecutive three-year term. The ALP was led by Paul Keating, who had succeeded in ousting Bob Hawke as party leader in December 1991. Incomplete election returns indicated that the ALP's victory over the Liberal Party-National Party coalition would increase its majority from 6 to perhaps 16 in the 147-seat House of Representatives. Numerous political pundits had expected the ALP to be unseated because the nation's economy was moribund and Australia's unemployment rate was the highest it had been since the 1930s.

President Diouf reelected in Senegal.

The constitutional court in Senegal announced that Pres. Abdou Diouf had won the February 21 presidential election with 58.4% of the popular vote. Diouf, the leader of the Socialist Party and the current president of the Organization of African Unity, had ruled the West African republic since 1981. His closest rival in the eight-candidate race was the Senegalese Democratic Party candidate, Abdoulaye Wade, who officially garnered 32% of the vote. The official results were not announced earlier because the court had to respond to complaints from Diouf's opponents that the election had been rigged.

14 Andorra opts for a new system.

Voters in Andorra, an independent principality between France and Spain, massively supported a referendum that called for the end of a seven-century-old feudal system of government and the creation of one having separate executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government. Under its new constitution, Andorra would qualify for membership in international organizations, and its citizens would be free to form political parties and labour unions. In the past the tiny country of some 57,000 people had been jointly ruled by the president of France and the

Roman Catholic bishop living in a nearby Spanish town. Their roles in the new government structure would be drastically reduced.

20 Rwanda moves closer to peace.

Leaders of the Rwandan Patriotic Front and rival government officials accepted two proposals that would, if implemented, merge government troops and rebel forces into a single army. The negotiations took place in Arusha, Tanzania. The Tutsi rebels had taken up arms to enforce a demand that the majority Hutu tribe stop its alleged oppression of Tutsi. A spokesman for the International Red Cross reported that the fighting had forced up to one million civilians to flee their homes.

21 Commandos release all hostages.

Five Nicaraguan gunmen released the last of about two dozen hostages they had seized in the Nicaraguan embassy in San José, the capital of Costa Rica. After long negotiations, the commandos agreed to accept only \$250,000 of the millions they had originally demanded and a guarantee of safe passage out of the country. José Manuel Urbina Lara, who had led the embassy takeover, sought and received political asylum for himself and one companion in the Dominican Republic. The three other gunmen chose a location inside Nicaragua. The gunmen's chief complaint was that Pres. Violeta Chamorro had betrayed her supporters by leaving Sandinistas in high government positions after ousting them from power in the 1990 election. Among those they demanded be discharged was Gen. Humberto Ortega, a Sandinista who commanded the nation's army.

27 Algeria cuts official ties to Iran.

Algeria formally severed diplomatic relations with Iran for allegedly supporting the terrorists who had assassinated Algerian government and military officials in an attempt to destabilize the country. In January 1992 the military had seized power in Algeria to prevent the Front Islamique du Salut (FIS) from establishing an Islamic state. The FIS had seemed on the verge of taking over the government in December 1991 when a vast number of its candidates won parliamentary seats outright and thus avoided a runoff election. Before the final round of the elections could be held in January, the military declared an emergency, forced the president to resign, and canceled the January election showdown. The FIS was outlawed and thousands of militant extremists arrested, but others associated with the FIS had been able to carry out a successful urban campaign of assassinations. Algerian officials pointed the finger of blame at Iran.

28 Yeltsin escapes impeachment.

During a special session of Russia's Congress of People's Deputies, Pres. Boris Yeltsin survived political attack when his adversaries were unable to persuade two-thirds of the assembly to vote for his ouster. With both factions in the power struggle constantly shifting positions and offering compromises, the country was in turmoil. Until there was



BALDEV—SYGMA

Rescue workers remove the body of a victim of the bombing of two apartment buildings in Calcutta in mid-March. Later in the month, a bomb exploded in a Calcutta train station, and earlier, on March 12, bombs had destroyed a number of public facilities in Bombay.

a clear-cut division of power between the president and the legislature, there would be no mutually acceptable way to resolve the impasse.

29 Socialists battered in French vote. After his Socialist Party suffered a stunning defeat in parliamentary elections on March 21 and 28, French Pres. François Mitterrand was forced to name a member of the opposition as prime minister. It would be the second time in 12 years that Mitterrand's Socialist government had to accept "cohabitation" with a member of the political opposition. Mitterrand chose 63-year-old Édouard Balladur, who had been named minister of finance by Prime Minister Jacques Chirac in 1986 and, like Chirac, was a member of the neo-Gaullist Rally for the Republic (RPR) party. For the Socialist Party, the election was nothing short of disastrous. The RPR and the Union for French Democracy coalition won a combined total of 460 of the 577 seats in the National Assembly, and conservative independents won an additional 24. When the dust cleared, the Socialists had lost more than 75% of the seats they had held in the previous assembly. With all eyes focused on the presidential election in 1995, the field was wide open for presidential aspirants because Balladur had said that he had no interest in joining the race.

31 Patterson scores an easy victory. Percival Patterson was guaranteed a full term as prime minister of Jamaica when his People's National Party captured 52 of the 60 seats in the House of Representatives while receiving 61% of the popular vote. Patterson had replaced Michael Manley when he was forced to resign in March 1992 because of poor health.



Chinese leaders take part in a ceremony at the National People's Congress. At the congress, which ended March 31, Jiang Zemin (Chiang Tse-min) was chosen president of China.

REUTERS/BETTMANN

The Jamaica Labour Party, led by former prime minister Edward Seaga, was severely weakened, losing 6 of the 14 seats it had previously held in the national legislature. Despite sporadic violence and reports of widespread irregularities at the polls, the turmoil was insignificant compared with the 1980 election, when some 750 people were reported killed.

Jiang Zemin given a second position. The nearly 3,000 members of China's National People's Congress adjourned a two-week meeting after giving 67-year-old Jiang Zemin (Chiang Tse-min), the general secretary of the Communist Party of

China, the additional post of president. He succeeded Yang Shangkun (Yang Shang-k'un). The legislators also reelected Li Peng (Li P'eng) to a second five-year term as premier. Although 88-year-old Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-p'ing) held no party or government posts, he continued to exercise unchallenged power to set policy and make appointments. One of his decisions had been the selection of Jiang as his successor. Jiang was also chairman of the central military commission. The fact that Jiang did not possess Deng's natural gifts for leadership and had no true power base of his own created speculation about China's future leadership.

APRIL

2 Lesotho turns against military. The tiny South African kingdom of Lesotho returned to parliamentary government when 74-year-old Ntsu Mokhehle took the oath of office as the nation's first civilian head of government in 23 years. In the March 27 election, Mokhehle's Basotho Congress Party (BCP) won all 65 seats in the National Assembly and complete control of the Senate. The BCP had also been victorious in the 1970 national election, but leaders of the Basotho National Party had voided the results, declared a state of emergency, and suspended the constitution. After Gen. Justin Lekhanya's successful military coup in 1986, the country was ruled by a military council.

5 Ramos pushes electrical output. Philippine Pres. Fidel Ramos received emergency powers for one year to deal with a dire electrical power shortage throughout the country. Manila, the capital, with a population of nearly two million people, was especially hard hit. Many businesses had to curtail their working hours, and domestic life for many was in constant turmoil. Invoking his new authority, Ramos could begin awarding contracts for new electricity-generating

plants without public bids. He could also reorganize the state-owned electrical company and use gambling casino revenues to fund new desperately needed power projects.

8 Macedonia enters United Nations. The United Nations welcomed a new nation into the organization under the strange provisional name of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. Greece had vigorously opposed use of the simple name Macedonia because, it said, the newly independent republic had designs on the neighbouring Greek region of Macedonia. Officials on both sides agreed to search for an appropriate permanent name. Meanwhile, by mutual consent, the new nation would not hoist its flag outside the UN headquarters or at any UN agency because Greece objected to its design. The flag's sunlike disk with 16 rays had been a symbol of Alexander the Great, who ruled Greece in the 4th century BC.

10 Gunman murders African leader. Chris Hani, the 50-year-old leader of South Africa's Communist Party and a charismatic member of the African National Congress (ANC), was shot and killed outside his home near Johannesburg.

The police quickly arrested Janusz Walus, a Polish immigrant whose car had been seen leaving the scene of the crime. Walus was said to be a violently anticommunist member of the Afrikaner Resistance Movement, a militant group of whites opposed to black majority rule in South Africa. Black anger before and after Hani's funeral on April 19 was to a great extent muffled by ANC crowd-control marshals and by pleas for calm from Nelson Mandela, president of the ANC.

15 Sex survey revises gay statistics. The Allen Guttmacher Institute published the results of a national sex survey conducted by the Battelle Human Affairs Research Center in Seattle, Wash., involving 3,321 U.S. males between the ages of 20 and 39. It was the most comprehensive sex survey since the Kinsey Report of 1948 and reached conclusions that closely corresponded to similar recent surveys carried out in Great Britain, Denmark, and France. The most surprising finding, which became the focus of most news reports, was that males who described themselves as exclusively homosexual made up only 1% of the population. For decades it had been assumed that the 10% figure given by Kinsey was relatively accurate.

17 Two police convicted in beating.

A federal jury in Los Angeles convicted two white policemen and acquitted two others on charges that they had violated the civil rights of Rodney King. In March 1991, after a wild, high-speed car chase, King was savagely beaten while being subdued by police and taken into custody. When the jury informed the court that verdicts had been reached, police and national guardsmen fanned out across the tense city. The next morning, during a live nationwide telecast, the verdicts were read one by one. The first two policemen were found guilty of violating King's civil rights; the other two were acquitted. Tensions eased almost instantly as it became clear that there would be no repetition of the horrendous riots that had erupted in 1992 when a state jury acquitted all four policemen of assault. Efforts to avoid a second trial on the grounds that the four policemen would be subjected to double jeopardy were futile because the state and federal governments represented different jurisdictions and charged the men with different crimes.

18 Khan dismisses prime minister.

Pakistani Pres. Ghulam Ishaq Khan dismissed Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and dissolved the National Assembly, but he did not announce a date for new elections. Sharif was ousted, as had been Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in 1990, for alleged corruption and mismanagement. Once in office, Sharif began reversing Bhutto's socialist policies by welcoming foreign investment and selling off unprofitable state-owned enterprises. One of Sharif's more risky political maneuvers was an attempt to weaken the presidency. The incumbent, who was chosen by the Senate and by the national and four provincial legislatures, had the power to dismiss the prime minister and the national and provincial legislatures. He also appointed the chief of staff of the armed forces.

19 Standoff in Waco ends in tragedy.

A 51-day standoff between federal agents and members of a Christian religious cult ended in tragedy when the cult compound near Waco, Texas, burned to the ground. David Koresh, the 33-year-old leader of the Branch Davidians and the cult's self-styled messiah, perished along with at least 74 others, at least 17 of whom were believed to be young children. The first act in the drama occurred on February 28 when four federal agents were shot and killed during an assault on the heavily armed compound. Earlier requests to enter the grounds to investigate charges of child abuse had been denied. After weeks of chaotic negotiations and no evidence that the talks were leading anywhere, federal agents were ordered to end the stalemate. Using special equipment, they rammed holes in the compound's walls and sprayed nonflammable tear gas through the openings. As soon as the cultists realized an assault was under way, some began racing about setting the compound ablaze. The intense heat and the extent of the conflagration were more than the firefighters could handle. Medical examiners reported that Koresh and others had been shot through the head, and many may have died by their own hand.

21 Brazil votes to keep presidency.

In a binding national plebiscite, Brazilians overwhelmingly approved a republican form of government over a monarchy (68% to 12%) and preferred, by a margin of better than 2-1, to retain their current presidential form of government; the alternative would have been an elected parliament. In pre-election surveys pollsters discovered that numerous voters had no clear understanding of the constitutional issues they were supposed to decide; some 20% of the voters, who were required by law to go to the polls, cast blank or incorrectly marked ballots. The voting went forward because the pro-monarchists and pro-parliamentarian members of the National Congress had succeeded in making the plebiscite mandatory under the 1988 constitution.

24 Eritreans approve independence.

More than 99% of the voting citizens of the Ethiopian province of Eritrea approved a referendum calling for total independence. Isaias Afwerki, one of Eritrea's most prominent leaders, announced that formal independence would be declared on May 24, the second anniversary of the final victory of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front over Ethiopia's armed forces. The war for independence had lasted nearly 30 years and had claimed the lives of some 100,000 Eritreans. On April 22 Isaias had told reporters that he considered five years too short a time to prepare properly for civilian rule.

London rocked by huge IRA bomb. A huge bomb concealed in a parked construction truck was detonated in central London by Irish Republican Army terrorists. Because the financial district was relatively deserted on weekend mornings, only one person was killed, but more than 40 were injured. The damage to buildings over several square blocks was so severe that the chief executive of an insurance company estimated the loss at more than \$1.5 billion.



A London store puts damaged goods on sale after an Irish Republican Army bombing on April 24. The terrorists targeted the City, London's financial district.

SYGMA

26 Italy gets new prime minister.

Carlo Ciampi, the head of Italy's central bank, was named prime minister by Pres. Oscar Scalfaro. Ciampi, who became Italy's first head of government chosen from outside of Parliament, succeeded Giuliano Amato, who had resigned on April 22. Amato's Socialist Party and the long-dominant Christian Democratic Party were both caught up in a nationwide corruption scandal of such proportions that a week earlier Italian voters had angrily annulled a series of laws, including one on proportional voting, that disassembled much of the nation's current political structure.

GAMMA LIAISON



Eritrean women celebrate the victory of the April 24 referendum approving independence. The struggle by Eritreans to secede from Ethiopia had been going on for three decades.

MAY

1 Sri Lankan president is slain. During a May Day political rally in Colombo, Sri Lankan Pres. Ranasinghe Premadasa was killed along with most of his bodyguards and several aides when a man detonated explosives strapped to his body. A week earlier Lalith Athulathmudali, the country's leading opposition politician, had been shot and killed by an unknown gunman. Although no one came forward to take responsibility for the president's assassination, suspicion quickly focused on the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, who had used suicide assassins in the past to kill government officials. For years the Tigers had used terrorism as a weapon to reinforce their demand that the region of Sri Lanka that they called home be granted independence. The Tigers were also blamed for the murder of Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in 1991 because he had sent Indian troops to Sri Lanka to help curb the violence of the rebel Tigers.

Despondent politician takes his life. Pierre Bérégovoy, who had been prime minister of France until the Socialists suffered a humiliating defeat in the March parliamentary elections, died after shooting himself in the head. Colleagues reported that he had been deeply depressed over charges of personal financial improprieties while he held office and was distressed by charges that his handling of the national economy had been a disaster. Earlier in his career, Bérégovoy had won respect as France's finance minister. He held the position twice as a member of Pres. François Mitterrand's Cabinet, first from 1984 to 1986 and then from 1988 to 1992.

4 Cristiani begins to purge army. Alfredo Cristiani, president of El Salvador, bowed to intense international pressure and began relieving 15 top army officers of their commands. Two were removed. After completing its investigation, a civilian commission had called for the dismissal of 102 officers on grounds that they had flagrantly violated human rights. Cristiani, however, apparently had tried to assuage the anger of powerful military figures by announcing that some of

the officers could not be discharged until 1994 at the earliest, even though the UN-sponsored peace accord he had accepted specifically ordered a purge of certain top military personnel. Their number included Gen. René Emilio Ponce, the defense minister, whose name headed the list because allegedly, among other human rights atrocities, he had ordered the murders of six Jesuit priests in November 1989.

9 Paraguay holds first free vote. Politicians of various persuasions came together and agreed that, despite confirmed cases of fraud at the polls, Pres. Juan Carlos Wasmosy of the ruling Colorado Party had clearly won the first democratic election in the nation's 182-year history. Domingo Laíno, candidate of the Authentic Radical Liberal Party, garnered about 3% fewer votes than Wasmosy. Former U.S. president Jimmy Carter, whose delegation from the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs had checked nearly 2,000 polling stations, agreed that the official margin of victory was sufficient to offset any impact fraud might have played in the final tallies. The Colorado Party also won a majority in Congress and most of the state governorships, but it no longer held the country in a viselike grip. As Carter was quick to point out, opposition candidates collectively won almost 60% of the total vote.

13 Japan's whaling plan is rejected. The International Whaling Commission, during an annual meeting in Kyoto, Japan, rejected a proposal that would have allowed certain Japanese to engage in restricted whaling in their coastal waters. Japan proposed that four of its whaling communities be allowed to harvest 50 minke whales a year along Japan's coast to sustain their traditional culture and support their livelihood. The plan did not advocate the resumption of commercial hunting. For a number of years the regulatory body had reconsidered its position, then voted to continue the ban on limited whaling. Ten member nations supported Japan's proposal, 16 opposed

it, and 6 abstained. Because there was little likelihood that the commission would lift its moratorium on commercial whaling in the foreseeable future, Norway was seriously considering withdrawing from the organization.

18 Danes approve union with Europe. Danish voters, who had rejected participation in the Treaty on European Union by a fraction of a percentage point in June 1992, solidly supported a revised treaty in a new referendum. Anger in some quarters was so intense after the results were announced that the police, who were generally very restrained, felt compelled to fire at leftist demonstrators, who hurled tons of cobblestones and rocks at them, barricaded a main thoroughfare, set bonfires, and smashed windows in commercial buildings. Ten or more protesters were reported to have been hit by bullets, and several dozen police officers had to be hospitalized overnight after being treated for injuries. The antigovernment riot was described as the most serious in decades. The balloting in Denmark was closely followed in other European countries because all 12 members of the European Community had to approve the treaty for it to take effect. A major objective of the treaty had been to establish a common currency by 1999. The referendum approved in Denmark, however, did not oblige the country to accept a single currency, nor did it require acceptance of a joint defense policy, European citizenship, or common immigration and judicial policies.

19 United States recognizes Angola. The United States officially recognized the government of Angola, in part to entice the rebel National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) to continue peace negotiations with the democratically elected government of Pres. José Eduardo dos Santos. The U.S. decision marked a dramatic change in its relations with Angola, which had previously been ruled by a Marxist regime reinforced by thousands of Cuban troops. On May 21, when the UN-sponsored peace talks ended in failure, there was not only little immediate hope for a cease-fire but expectation that the fighting would intensify. Among many differences separating the two sides was the question of who, under a cease-fire agreement, would control the territory captured by the rebels after fighting resumed in October 1992.

20 Britain ratifies European treaty. Members of Britain's House of Commons ratified the Treaty on European Union by a vote of 292-112. After more than 200 hours of debate, Britain became the 12th and final member of the European Community to support greater interdependence among members of the organization. The leaders of Britain's Labour Party had urged its members to abstain when the final vote was taken, but 66 Labourites joined 41 Conservatives in casting negative votes. In a matter of weeks, the bill would be discussed in the



CARLOS CARRION—SYGMA

Supporters of Juan Carlos Wasmosy celebrate his election as the first civilian president of Paraguay in nearly four decades. In the voting on May 9, Wasmosy, of the Colorado Party, defeated two other major candidates.