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BRITANNICA BOOK OF THE YEAR

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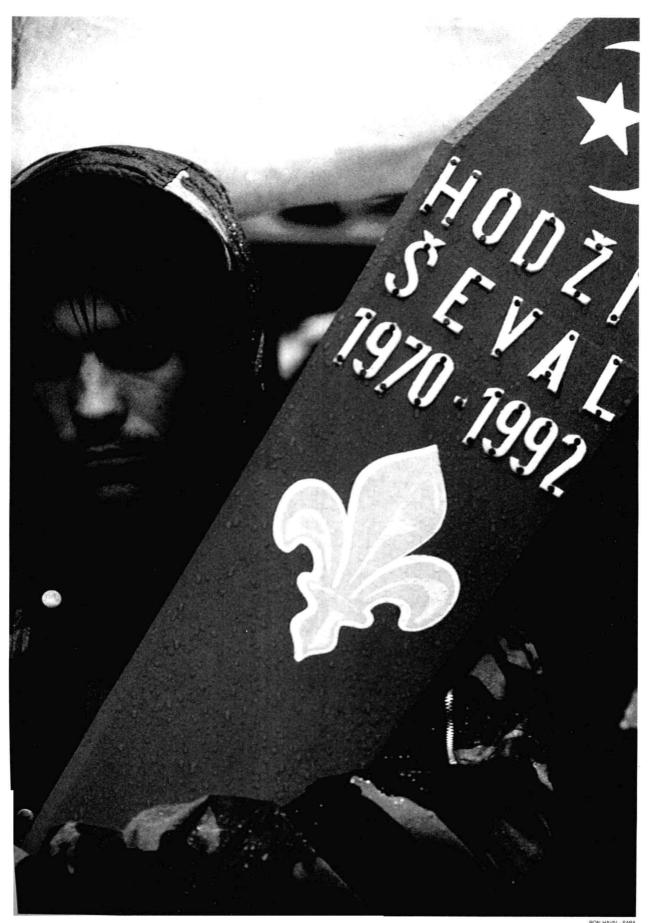
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The Not-So-New World Order

BY HEDRICK SMITH

In the long sweep of time, scholars can point to certain decisive, watershed years when human history is suddenly thrust across an irrevocable divide—when with stunning swiftness a new leader or a political movement seizes control in a powerful nation or when revolution shakes the foundations of an empire, and the aftershocks of this one earthquake radiate outward, altering the destiny of the entire world.

In the 20th century, humankind has witnessed several such defining moments: the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917; the ascent of Adolf Hitler in 1933; the defeat of Nazi Germany and the onset of the cold war in 1945; Mikhail S. Gorbachev's rise to power in 1985 and his launching of *perestroika* to transform the Soviet Union and curb the nuclear arms race; and, finally, the breach of the Berlin Wall in 1989. Each of these developments had shock impact. Each bent the path of human history in a new direction.

A similar bolt of lightning struck Moscow in August 1991 at the climax of the Second Russian Revolution, when unarmed citizens at the barricades stopped the tanks sent by hard-line factions of the military, KGB, and Communist Party to halt *perestroika* and reverse Russia's momentum toward greater openness and democracy. That one brief week in 1991—when the icons of communism were toppled and the Soviet state was shattered—electrified the world and kindled the hope that the death knell of Leninist totalitarianism also sounded the dawning of a new, more peaceful and more promising era. So in 1991, it seemed, the trend lines of history were pointing upward.

Then came 1992, and the trend lines suddenly slanted downward. Dreams of global harmony and exaggerated expectations of democracy and prosperity generated by the collapse of communism and the end of the cold war were harshly jolted, if not exploded. U.S. Pres. George Bush might utter that hopeful, vague phrase about a "new world order," but suddenly the world seemed more chaotic. And meaner, too, whether in the murderous clashes of Hindu and Muslim in India or the epidemic-scale famine fanned by corrupt warlords in Somalia. Even amid the promise of new democracies in the Philippines, Nicaragua, or South Africa, the path seemed more vulnerable.

In eastern Europe, lifting the dead hand of tyranny from long-captive peoples brought not just the anticipated burst of democracy and self-determination but a violent explosion of long-suppressed ethnic hatreds. The world watched in horror as proud assertions of independence in what used to be Yugoslavia turned into a barbarous civil war

among Serbs, Croats, and Bosnians, conducted under the banner of "ethnic cleansing" with its echoes of Nazi racism. Czechoslovakia broke in two, its "velvet revolution" unable to sustain the unity of Czechs and Slovaks. In the Caucasus, civil conflict brought new bloodshed between Christian Armenians and their Islamic neighbours in Azerbaijan. The old Soviet state of Georgia was torn by warfare among Georgians, Ossetians, and Abkhazians.

Elsewhere, liberation brought suffering along with new freedoms. Amid progress in privatizing their economies, Poland and Hungary suffered from mass unemployment and other painful symptoms of readjustment. Russia's fragile experiment in democracy and market reforms was threatened by industrial collapse, political deadlock, and a rampant, malignant inflation that ate away the savings, living standards, and stoic hopes of the nation's 150 million people. Dramatic arms-control agreements announced at year's end by President Bush and Russian Pres. Boris Yeltsin, to reduce their arsenals by two-thirds in 10 years, seemed in danger from the rising assertiveness of Russian nationalists and from the reluctance of the new nuclear states of Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan to conform even with earlier treaties signed when these states were part of the old Soviet Union.

The flood of refugees from eastern Europe into Germany ignited waves of neo-Nazi violence against foreigners, shaking the confidence of bourgeois Germans in their own postwar democracy. The pace of German reunification was set back by the harsh realities of transition. By 1992 many western Germans were balking at the high price of implementing Chancellor Helmut Kohl's ambitious plan to reintegrate the once-communist regions of former East Germany with the prosperous West. More broadly, the German and Japanese economies, so long engines of global economic growth, both reeled into recession in 1992, and the U.S. economy laboured wearily to climb out of an economic trough. Britain suffered its worst downturn since the 1930s. People the world over felt the pain of economic contraction. In the U.S. the protracted economic downturn cost President Bush his reelection. This harsh economic climate contributed, moreover, to the undermining of the muchanticipated "year of European unity" in 1992. Expectations of swift movement toward unity had been high as 1991 ended. Yet 1992 became not a time of crowning achievement but a test of the very idea of European cohesion.

Of course, there were events that countered the dominant trends: the holding of the global environmental summit in Rio de Janeiro; the election of a new Israeli prime minister, Yitzhak Rabin, who began at once to revive serious peace negotiations with Israel's Arab neighbours; new bursts of democratic activism in Thailand and the election of a former dissident to the presidency of South Korea; the relentless

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efforts of Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali to push the United Nations into a more forceful peacemaking role; the belated intervention of American-led forces to distribute famine relief in Somalia; and the election of a new U.S. president, Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas, a spokesman for a new generation. But by and large, the first full year of the new post-cold war era offered less triumph than tragedy, less economic and political liberation than economic dislocation and political disintegration, less renaissance and reassurance than disenchantment and despair.

Whither European Unity. Amid the ashes of a war that had bitterly divided Europe in the 1940s was born the vision of European unity, a unity that not only would underpin peace but would give the old continent greater strength and prosperity by forming the world's largest common market. By surrendering some sovereignty to a supranational entity, Europhiles foresaw not only economic but security dividends: Germany's inclusion in a united Europe would remove the danger of a powerful, independent, and reunited Germany menacing Europe in war, as had happened three times in the previous century. In 1957, six countries had signed the Treaty of Rome establishing the European Common Market, a symbol of postwar reconciliation between Germany and France. In 1985, the British and five more countries endorsed the concept of "Europe '92," an expanded, 12-nation regional market.

So there were great expectations when the leaders of the 12 members of the European Communities gathered in the medieval Dutch city of Maastricht in December 1991. "The train to European union is standing at the platform" was the hopeful prognosis of Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the German foreign minister. Three days later, on December 10, the train was moving: the 12 countries had agreed to form a single central bank and, with some loopholes, to adopt a single currency by 1999, to converge their economic policies in the mid-1990s, to adopt the concept of European citizenship and parallel welfare and social benefits, and to move toward a common European foreign policy with the goal of "the eventual framing of a common defense policy." The Maastricht Treaty laid the foundation for the most powerful economic market of the 21st century, 340 million people strong. French Pres. François Mitterrand summed it up: "A great power is being born, one at least as strong commercially, industrially, and financially as the United States and Japan."

Euroskeptics quickly noted, however, that obstacles marred the blueprint, including the requirement that Maastricht be ratified by all 12 countries and Britain's open reluctance to accept a common currency. Some Europeans were uneasy about the sweeping provisions for unified policies and suspicious of giving too much power to the union's executive commission, the central bureaucracy in Brussels. Some bankers feared domination by the German Deutsche Mark and the Bundesbank, the most powerful financial institutions in Europe. A real jolt came in June 1992, when Danish voters rejected the Maastricht Treaty, fearing that Danish sovereignty would be swallowed up by larger neighbours. With unity suddenly in jeopardy, France voted narrowly in September for Maastricht, saving the concept from extinction, but the slim 51% French majority left serious doubts. Britain put off its consideration of union.

As the debate mounted, the pull of nationalist feelings became an increasing force in one country after another. In each referendum, opposition leaders objected to giving up national currencies, national symbols, national sovereignty. Ironically, the end of the cold war and the disappearance of the Soviet threat seemed to have diminished rather than reinforced the Western sense of urgency for union and

forging common policies. Deprived of the unifying mission of opposing communism, European governments fell to squabbling about each other's economies. Germany's high interest rates cast a pall over other countries seeking lower rates to rekindle growth. Unable to match the strength of the D-mark, England and Italy temporarily pulled out of the European monetary system. The richer countries of northern Europe were reluctant to increase their support of poorer partners such as Spain, Portugal, Ireland, and Greece.

To revive the flagging unity drive, Chancellor Kohl pushed the Maastricht Treaty through the German Bundestag in December, making Germany the ninth nation to give formal ratification. Nonetheless, western European governments backed away from the continent-wide unification of passport controls that had once been considered routine. At a gloomy gathering in Edinburgh in December, a year after the triumphant session at Maastricht, the 12 western European leaders approved new loopholes and qualifications to the Maastricht formula in hopes of luring British and Danish assent. The British were promised less "meddling" by the Brussels bureaucrats. The Danes were even told they could renege on the common pledge to adopt a single currency, a single citizenship, and a common defense. In short, for the facade of unity, advocates were prepared to water down the principles of union.

Balkanization. For all its menace, the cold war had provided stability in the heart of Europe. The Soviet Union and the United States might engage in proxy wars in Indochina, Afghanistan, or Central America, but they were careful not to tread heavily on each other's interests in Europe, for fear of touching off a military conflict that could escalate into nuclear cataclysm. But with the end of the cold war, with nuclear holocaust no longer a deterrent and without nuclear "policemen" on both sides ready to intervene at once against any real or perceived threat to their interests, smaller nations and peoples were suddenly freer to fight petty wars. Not surprisingly, perhaps, what first emerged from the collapse of the Soviet empire was not a new order but old disorder-old passions, old feuds, old hatreds, old conflicts, in the same old places. The dateline of Sarajevo came to symbolize war in 1992, just as it had in 1914.

Indeed, the world's worst conflicts in the immediate aftermath of the cold war have so far been not those between states but those within states, among rival peoples moved to action by the promise of freedom and self-determination. Once the cold war order had been overthrown, historic peoples, long suppressed, moved to fill the vacuum. In the newly independent Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, passionate nationalists wanted the Russians out. In the Caucasus and Central Asia, where Moscow's military writ no longer ran, violence exploded. But nowhere in the world did it approach the scale, the ferocity, and the brutality of the cauldron of animosities in what used to be Yugoslavia. Even before the Soviet Union broke up in late 1991, Yugoslavia had disintegrated. In defiance of the Serbdominated Yugoslav federation based in Belgrade, Croatia and Slovenia declared independence, followed by the republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina, which contained a large Muslim population. All were recognized abroad and made members of the United Nations. But Serbian-led federal military forces under Pres. Slobodan Milosevic, a former Communist leader, moved to reimpose central rule and to form "Greater Serbia." Once again, the Balkans became synonymous with fragmentation and fratricide.

The savagery of the Balkan bloodshed horrified the world. This "cancer in the heart of Europe" left more than 50,000 people dead, mostly civilians, and more than two million

people homeless refugees, according to some estimates. The siege of Sarajevo, a city of Muslims and the capital of Bosnia, epitomized the carnage. Ringed by Serbian artillery in the surrounding mountains, Sarajevo was pounded mercilessly for more than six months. A bus attempting to evacuate 50 children under four years of age was riddled by gunfire, and the next day, during the burial of one of the dead children, Serbian mortars bombarded the cemetery, wounding the child's grandmother. Not far from Sarajevo, in the town of Kozarac, Muslim refugees told of the Serbian policy of "ethnic cleansing"; Serbian commanders had forced the evacuation of 25,000 inhabitants to clear the way for an ethnically pure Serbian state. Croatian troops also moved into Bosnia. People fled by the tens of thousands. Prisoners emerged from Serbian camps to describe a Serbian Gulag: torture and the gunning down of unarmed civilians in cold blood. Other stories of mass killings, allegedly by Serbian forces, surfaced in Croatia. After the U.S. State Department reported that as many as 3,000 people might have been killed in Serb-run camps, the UN Security Council set up a war-crimes commission to investigate alleged atrocities, the first such commission since World War II.

For Europe, for NATO, for the West as a whole, the Balkan war was a test of President Bush's "new world order." Both the Europeans in NATO and the United States shied away from military involvement, initially on grounds that this was an internal conflict, later arguing that intervention would be a quagmire. Western generals said the mountainous Balkan terrain and the guerrilla-warfare traditions of the inhabitants would make it impossible to take full control. Even the Nazi occupiers, they said, could not quell the Yugoslav partisans during World War II. So throughout the year, both the UN Security Council and the NATO governments passed resolutions—condemning the violence, offering humanitarian aid to Sarajevo and other besieged Bosnian regions, imposing economic sanctions against the Serbian government, sending 14,000 military and civilian staff members to supervise a cease-fire between Serbia and Croatia, and eventually sending 6,000 more to try to protect the Sarajevo airport and open up a land corridor for transports carrying relief supplies to Bosnia. To block Serbian air force planes from aiding Serbian ground gunners, the UN declared a "no-fly zone" over Bosnia, but the ban went unenforced. After repeated futile denunciations of Serbia, the UN General Assembly on September 22 took the unprecedented step of expelling Yugoslavia (now consisting only of Serbia and Montenegro). In defiance of the world, Serbs reelected Milosevic, their hard-line leader, amid the rising danger that the carnage would be escalated by Islamic nations. Islamic militants adopted the cause of Bosnia's Muslims as a holy war. Several hundred men, many of them veterans of the war in Afghanistan, volunteered for the

Economic Reform in Russia; Reunification of Germany. For many in the West, the real test of the future in eastern Europe would come not in Yugoslavia—nor in Hungary, Poland, or Czechoslovakia, where economic reforms were being pushed—but in Russia. Over six years, Gorbachev had introduced elections, parliaments, popular movements, and a freer press, albeit in imperfect form, to challenge the Communist *nomenklatura*. But by late 1991, he had done little to alter the centralized Soviet economic system. Yeltsin, his successor as leader of Russia, set out to introduce a market economy, with Yegor Gaidar, a 36-year-old Western-minded economist, as acting prime minister and architect of the transition from Soviet socialism to a mixed market economy. Under Gorbachev, the old state distribution system had largely collapsed, and production had

fallen. To placate the masses, workers had been given more pay, without more output. The Yeltsin-Gaidar strategy was "shock therapy": cutting off massive state subsidies to the old Soviet complex of military and heavy industries, phasing out subsidies on consumer goods, driving to balance the state budget to halt the inflation that had mounted ominously under Gorbachev, and privatizing farms, small retail trade, and eventually larger enterprises.

The first blow of "price liberalization" (freeing up fixed state prices) fell hard on consumers on Jan. 2, 1992. Bread prices tripled. Energy prices rose 10-fold. Milk prices shot up eight times overnight. Pensioners and workers screamed that their life savings were eaten up. Yeltsin's strategy of using higher prices to lure more goods into the market and gradually end Russia's chronic shortages was undercut by the old state monopolies and distribution cartels, which sat on their stocks, choked the flow of goods to stores, and made big profits by jacking up their prices to the maximum allowed. As a matter of survival, barter and gray-market deals became a national way of life.

Several hundred commodity exchanges were launched by private entrepreneurs, the first step toward a wholesale market for industry. But supplies were drastically inadequate, and prices soared. Middlemen dealing in commodities, often obtained through bribery of local officials, reaped enormous profits, giving capitalism and market economics a bad name. Deprived of state subsidies by Yeltsin, industrial plant managers demanded massive loans from state banks to pay their workers, while production fell because the wholesale trade on the commodity markets was far too small to replace the Soviet state-run distribution system. Encouraged by conservatives in Parliament opposed to Yeltsin's reforms, the central bank authorized hundreds of billions in unfunded credits to industry, undermining Yeltsin's reforms and fueling inflation. The ruble plummeted from 60 to more than 400 to the U.S. dollar. By some estimates, national output fell by 25% while inflation raced to 25% a month. To stem the hemorrhaging, Yeltsin needed outside funds to stabilize the ruble. The West promised \$24 billion in loans, but the package was not delivered. Catch-22: Yeltsin, who needed the loans to slow inflation, had to check inflation in order to qualify for the loans.

The mounting economic strains were compounded by political deadlock and the breakup of the Soviet Union. In the new spirit of nationalism, Ukraine, Belarus, the Baltics, Caucasian Republics, and Central Asian Republics all declared their independence. Yeltsin and Ukrainian Pres. Leonid Kravchuk avoided the precipice of open warfare, à la Yugoslavia. But they clashed over who should control the Soviet Black Sea Fleet and various disputed territories, and Kravchuk imposed embargoes on Ukrainian industrial exports to Russia after Yeltsin tried to put the squeeze on Ukraine by restricting its imports of Russian oil. Industries on both sides were hobbled by lack of components from the other side, and this problem was multiplied in every former Soviet republic.

In Moscow, the old guard of the Soviet bureaucracy still had a stronghold in the Russian Parliament, where nearly one-third of those elected in 1990 had been Communist leaders opposed to Yeltsin. Moreover, the shock impact of the Yeltsin-Gaidar economic strategy became so unpopular with ordinary Russians that a middle bloc of deputies, rallying around former Gorbachev aide Arkady Volsky, demanded a slower pace of reform and support for the old Soviet industries. In a confrontation at year's end that symbolized the deadlock crippling Russia, the Congress of People's Deputies rejected Yeltsin's bid to reappoint his reformist prime minister. To salvage his own political neck,

Yeltsin had to make concessions, and his new prime minister backed away from market reforms, reimposing some price controls.

If one region of eastern Europe seemed likely to ride out the wrenching change from socialism to capitalism, it was East Germany. West Germany was to fill the gap. But even Germany felt the strains of the post-cold war era. Chancellor Kohl had committed the prosperous West German economy to pumping \$100 billion a year into the east for several years—on a per capita basis, nearly 40 times as much each year as the West had promised, but not delivered, to Russia in one year. Moreover, a common cultural heritage supposedly offered avenues for lifting east Germans to the west German level. In the first blush of enthusiasm, big corporations like Krupp and Daimler-Benz announced plans to set up new factories in the eastern region. But Kohl had underestimated the problems and had failed to spell out the high cost of reunification. By 1992, west Germans were protesting over increased taxes and other costs. Public employee unions went on strike to protest, and as Germany sank into recession under the weight of reunification, Krupp and Daimler-Benz, among others, canceled their plans for new investments in the east. Chancellor Kohl was forced to scramble in late 1992 to patch together a national solidarity pact to save his reunification policy.

Germany's problems were magnified by the unprecedented inflow of some 450,000 refugees from eastern Europe, fleeing both the Balkan war and the eastern European economic collapse. Frictions with this new mass of foreigners, especially in former East Germany, where unemployment was high, produced outbursts of neo-Nazi violence. Foreigners became scapegoats for the powerful frustrations of young German skinheads, angered by the lack of jobs and the bleak prospects of only a slow rise to Western living standards. Sitting on a powder keg, the German government moved simultaneously to crack down on neo-Nazi groups and to alter the extremely liberal political asylum provisions of Germany's Basic Law. Germany's action was bitter testimony to the imperatives of nationalism in the new postcold war Europe: each nation would have to protect its own citizens, even if doing so meant friction with the rest of

Globalism. If the end of the cold war was to open the way toward common global efforts to combat problems of poverty, hunger, crime, human rights, and environmental protection, the most visible symbol of that impulse in 1992 was the 12-day "Earth Summit" in Rio de Janeiro in June. The gathering attracted 10,000 environmentalists, 8,000 journalists, and 116 heads of state. It adopted a global-warming convention that recommends curbing emissions of carbon dioxide, methane, and other "greenhouse" gases thought to warm the Earth's climate by trapping the Sun's heat in the atmosphere close to Earth; a biodiversity convention that requires inventories of plants and wildlife and offers plans to protect endangered species; a nonbinding Rio Declaration of 27 broad principles for guiding national environmental policies; and "Agenda 21," an 800-page blueprint for cleaning up the environment and ensuring that economic development is carried out in an environmentally sound manner. Activists were frustrated by the vague statement of principles and the lack of clear targets and binding legal requirements for compliance. Several times, the Bush administration watered down tough language. Norwegian Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland voiced disappointment that the need for consensus meant that progress was dictated by "the pace of the most reluctant mover in each field." Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali echoed, "The current level of commitment is not comparable to the size and gravity of the problems."

But others hailed the Rio conference as the first global summit devoted to the environment, rather than to military security or world trade issues.

Like the global environment, global economics has become a byword of the new era. With economics rather than the nuclear arms race now driving world diplomacy, trade is a top priority for every government. One global target pursued by multinational negotiators over six torturous years has been a new world trade accord under GATT, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Late in 1992, the Bush administration, wielding the threat of heavy tariffs on European white wines and other items, broke a long deadlock over the U.S. demand for a reduction in farm subsidies. The French government, politically weak and worried about the anger of French farmers, threatened a veto. But Europe and America proceeded, doubtful that the French would dare to topple the edifice of free trade over that one issue.

Another globalist trend in 1992 was the increasing use of United Nations peacekeeping forces—more than 50,000 on duty around the world by year's end. But even with 22,000 UN troops in the Balkans, 17,000 in Cambodia to promote and oversee free elections, and 12,000 scattered from Cyprus to India and Pakistan, Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali was not satisfied. He pushed member states to send a military force to stop the widespread looting of humanitarian relief supplies in Somalia (a role taken over in December by 26,000 U.S. troops) and another 7,500 troops to supervise elections in Mozambique. The growing use of military escorts to protect relief efforts, Boutros-Ghali acknowledged, comprised "a new dimension of peacekeeping" for UN forces. Another departure was the use of UN teams, including Russians and Americans, for highly visible inspections of Iraq's mass-destruction weapons programs, a potential harbinger of greater UN activity against the worrisome concern of nuclear proliferation.

If President Bush was reluctant to engage deeply in several of the UN initiatives, President-elect Bill Clinton foreshadowed a more forward American policy in Somalia and Bosnia and perhaps elsewhere. Rather than insisting, as Bush had, on the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Somalia by Jan. 20, 1993, the new American leader suggested even before taking office that he would be ready to keep U.S. troops in Somalia longer, to ensure the rebuilding of national stability. On Bosnia, too, he took a more assertive stand, hinting at his readiness to use American air power to enforce the ban on Serbian flights over Bosnia and Hercegovina. Policymakers spoke of the need for a common strategy to aid "failed nations."

But the main promise of the Clinton administration, on an issue of both domestic and global importance, was greater activism to stimulate the rebound of the U.S. economy and, indirectly, the world economy beyond. For the U.S. elections of 1992 carried two messages of global significance. First, that publics everywhere, in Russia, America, and perhaps Britain, France, and Germany as well, will turn away from leaders like Gorbachev, Bush, and maybe Yeltsin who fail to deliver a better economic life. And, second, that a new generation of Americans, geared for greater governmental activism and for expanded social policies at home and abroad, are ready to move away from the laissez-faire economics of the Reagan-Bush period and adopt deliberate policies to make America a more dynamic and competitive player in the global economy. Thus, though the world might be mired in difficulties as it tried to move beyond the cold war, America in 1992 summoned new leadership for that purpose.

Chronology of 1992

JANUARY

1 United Nations gets new leader. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who had been deputy prime minister of Egypt, assumed office as the sixth secretary-general of the United Nations. Boutros-Ghali, the first Arab and the first person from Africa to head the international organization, replaced Javier Pérez de Cuéllar of Peru, who had completed two successive five-year terms.

Tunisia opposes fundamentalists. During a meeting in Tunis with the interior ministers of 16 Arab nations, Tunisian Pres. Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali called for a concerted effort to suppress militant Islamic fundamentalists, who, he said, were using religion as a guise to gain political power. The Tunisian government had rounded up hundreds of supporters of al-Nahda, a banned political party bent on turning the country into an Islamic state. Both inside and outside the country, fears were expressed that Tunisia might be having second thoughts about the steps it had taken to evolve into a true multiparty democracy.

Gamsakhurdia yields to pressure. 6 Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the former Soviet republic of Georgia, fled the capital city of Tbilisi with about 100 of his supporters. The convoy that carried them to safety in Armenia included buses and armoured vehicles. Gamsakhurdia, who informed reporters that he had no intention of resigning the presidency, had become the first freely elected president of the republic in May 1991. Charges that he was attempting to amass dictatorial powers finally led to a military assault on the parliament building and to Gamsakhurdia's departure. The military council that took over the government announced that it would hand over power to civilians as soon as possible.

China expels Canadian legislators. Three Canadian members of Parliament, who had openly declared that they intended to visit Tiananmen (T'ien-an-men) Square in Beijing (Peking) to honour the pro-democracy demonstrators who had been killed by the military in June 1989, were summarily deported by the Chinese government. The legislators had also planned to visit a Beijing prison and speak with dissidents who were known to be held there. Chinese officials had always contended that the Tiananmen incident and the government's treatment of dissidents was an internal affair. Government policy in this regard could not, they insisted, be a legitimate concern to outsiders.

Bush winds up Asian trade talks. After hearing criticism that his administration was harming Australian farm exports by subsidizing farmers in the U.S., Pres. George Bush departed Australia for Singapore on January 3. The following day he announced a tentative agreement to relocate the headquarters of the U.S. Navy's 7th Fleet from the Philippines to Singapore. During Bush's visit to South Korea, talks focused on open trade, trade deficits, and efforts to reunite North and South Korea. Bush's visit to Japan was, as expected, the most important stop on his itinerary and proved to be the most controversial. Among those who accompanied him were leading U.S. industrialists, including the heads of the three largest U.S. automobile companies. They openly declared their determination to improve their competitiveness by exacting concessions from their Japanese counterparts. The latter agreed, among other things, to nearly double their purchases of U.S.made auto parts and to supply Japanese distributors with more U.S. cars. They also agreed to open up their computer, paper, and glass markets. Bush, however, was criticized at home for going to Japan "to beg" and for assuming the role of "a car salesman." The New York Times called the visit a fiasco.

11 President of Algeria resigns. Chadli Bendjedid, president of Algeria since 1979, announced his resignation in the face of potential political chaos. Top military officers had reportedly

insisted on the resignation as a necessary step in preventing the fundamentalist Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) from gaining control of the National People's Assembly and establishing an Islamic state. In the December 1991 legislative elections, the FIS had captured a stunning 188 of 231 seats. There was little doubt that, in the runoff election scheduled for January 16, the FIS would capture more than 28 of the 199 contested seats needed to constitute a majority. On January 12 the High Security Council, which included Prime Minister Sid Ahmed Ghozali and senior military officers, invalidated the results of the December elections and announced that no further elections would be held until "conditions are achieved for the normal functioning of institutions" of government. On January 22, Abdelkader Hachani, the leader of the FIS, was taken into custody. On February 9 Algeria's new High State Council closed the headquarters of the FIS in Algiers and proclaimed a severe yearlong state of emergency.

15 Yugoslav federation crumbles. The demise of the federal republic of Yugoslavia was assured when 11 members of the European Communities (EC) followed Germany's lead and formally recognized Croatia and Slovenia as independent states. Austria, Switzerland, and the Vatican also recognized the sovereignty of the two republics. There was little international concern about the future of Slovenia, but the fate of Croatia remained very much in doubt. About one-third of



The parliament building in Tbilisi stands in ruins after attack by Georgian opposition forces. Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of Georgia for less than eight months, was toppled from power.

its territory was occupied by the Yugoslav People's Army and Serbian irregulars, and the Serbian-dominated central government in Belgrade had vowed to use whatever military force was necessary to prevent some 600,000 ethnic Serbs from ever becoming part of an independent Croatia. According to EC estimates, about 6,000 Croats and 4,000 Serbs had already died in the fighting. The suffering was expected to increase as the civil war intensified.

Peace comes to El Salvador. The 16 bitter 12-year civil war that had claimed some 75,000 lives in El Salvador formally ended with the signing of a treaty in Mexico City. Most of the worries of the government and of the guerrillas had been put to rest during discussions with Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, who successfully mediated the settlement during his final hours as secretary-general of the United Nations. The ceremonial signing of the treaty was unusually emotional. Six government negotiators, five guerrilla commanders, and five rebel negotiators signed the pact one after the other. The treaty was then placed in front of Salvadoran Pres. Alfredo Cristiani, who had earlier declared that he would not be among the signatories. Instead, in the presence of nine other heads of state, Cristiani affixed his name to the document. He then left the podium to shake hands for the first time with his longtime military foes.

Court exonerates Papandreou. A special court made up of 13 high-ranking judges voted 7–6 in Athens to acquit Greece's former prime minister Andreas Papandreou of complicity in a bank scandal. The accusations had helped bring down Papandreou's socialist government in 1989. The same court found two members of Papandreou's former Cabinet guilty as charged. The principal accusations against Papandreou were that as prime minister he had ordered state companies to deposit funds in the Bank of Crete and had accepted bribes from George Koskotas, who, while head of the bank, allegedly embezzled some \$210 million. Koskotas, who was due to be tried separately at a later date, had been the prosecution's chief witness against Papandreou.

Kenyans hold legal protest rally. 18 More than 100,000 Kenyans attended a daylong rally in Nairobi, the first antigovernment gathering since Pres. Daniel arap Moi's administration sanctioned opposition political parties in December 1991. The rally was sponsored by the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy, the only opposition political party thus far officially registered with the government. Its leader was 75-yearold Oginga Odinga, who had spearheaded the campaign for multiparty democracy. He now urged his compatriots to oust Moi when presidential elections were held sometime later in the year.

Thelev wins Bulgarian election. Zhelyu Zhelev, president of Bulgaria, won a relatively close runoff election against Velko Valkanov, the candidate of the Socialist (former Communist) Party. It was the nation's first presidential election decided by popular vote. Zhelev's



On January 16, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, UN secretary-general, signs a treaty aimed at ending El Salvador's civil war. The country's president and guerrillas also signed the agreement.

election to a five-year term consolidated power in the hands of the Union of Democratic Forces party, which had already gained control of the government by winning a plurality of seats in the October 1991 parliamentary elections.

Saudi Arabia welcomes Jews from U.S. Seven leaders of the American Jewish Congress arrived in Saudi Arabia, where on January 21 the pro-Israeli group held discussions with Saudi Foreign Minister Prince Sa'ud al-Faisal as-Sa'ud. It was a historic event because Jews were normally not permitted to enter the Saudi kingdom. The delegates later reported that the Saudi government recognized Israel's right to exist and appeared ready to assume a more active role in the current negotiations to end the Arab-Israeli conflict. The Saudis were said to believe that the animosity that characterized the relationship between Jews and Arabs was more political than religious in nature and could, therefore, be mitigated if both sides agreed to compromise.

Japanese lose railcar contract. The Los Angeles County Transportation Commission voted unanimously to rescind a \$122 million contract that it had recently awarded to the Japanese-owned Sumitomo Corp. to build 41 railcars for a proposed 650-km (400-mi) transportation system. The total cost of the project was estimated to be \$150 billion. Although Sumitomo had submitted a bid that was about \$5 million higher than the one made by Morrison Knudsen Co., the U.S. bidder, Sumitomo was judged better qualified. County officials reversed their decision after local workers complained that many of them had lost their jobs in the defense and auto industries and were now being denied jobs that they desperately needed.

24 Mauritania holds free election. In Mauritania's first multiparty election, the nation's military leader, Col. Maaouya Ould Sidi Ahmed Taya, was elected president with 62.8% of the vote. The main opposition candidate later

claimed that the balloting had been fraudulent and that at least five antigovernment protesters were killed by police on January 26. To control the unrest, the government imposed a night curfew in the capital and in the country's main port city. The election was made possible in April 1991 when Colonel Taya unexpectedly announced that he was terminating military rule. Opposition parties were legalized, and in July a new constitution was overwhelmingly approved by the voters. Several weeks later Taya proclaimed a general amnesty.

Prime Minister Haughey to quit. Charles J. Haughey, prime minister of Ireland, announced his decision to resign on February 10. Haughey, the leader of Fianna Fail and one of the nation's most influential politicians, said that he felt compelled to step aside "to end the political uncertainty." The prime minister had been under attack for alleged corruption on the part of friends and acquaintances. He had also been hurt politically by new accusations that he had known about the government's tapping of journalists' phones in 1982. On February 6 Albert Reynolds, whom Haughey had dismissed as his finance minister in November 1991, was elected leader of Fianna Fail. He assumed the prime ministership on February 11.

Security Council holds summit. For the first time in history, the leaders of the nations that hold seats on the 15-member Security Council met at the UN headquarters in New York City to discuss ways of enhancing the role of the UN in world affairs. The leaders issued a joint communiqué that, among other things, recognized "the responsibility of the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security." The document cited the UN's role "in enabling Kuwait to regain its sovereignty and territorial integrity, which it had lost as a result of Iraqi aggression." It also applauded "the valuable contributions being made by United Nations peacekeeping forces now operating in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe.

FEBRUARY

Cold war relegated to history. Pres. George Bush and Russian Pres. Boris Yeltsin signed a statement of general principles that brought an end to decades of intense East-West rivalry and ushered in a new era of friendship and cooperation. The first section of their joint declaration read: "Russia and the United States do not regard each other as potential adversaries. From now on, the relationship will be characterized by friendship and partnership founded on mutual trust and respect and a common commitment to democracy and economic freedom." The two leaders also agreed to "work to remove any remnants of cold war hostility, including taking steps to reduce our strategic arsenals.'

U.S. begins repatriating Haitians. The U.S. government began the involuntary repatriation of thousands of Haitians who had been picked up at sea while trying to escape the hardships of their homeland. On January 31 the U.S. Supreme Court had ruled 6-3 to void a district court injunction that prohibited repatriation. On February 3 the first group of 381 refugees arrived in Haiti aboard U.S. Coast Guard cutters. The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, after interviewing thousands of refugees, had decided that some 3,400 had credible claims to political asylum in the U.S. In time, all those judged to be victims of political repression would be transported to Florida for further processing. Most of the refugees were currently being housed at the U.S. military base at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba; others were temporarily living on U.S. Navy ships.

Fumio Abe charged with bribery. Fumio Abe, who had been arrested on January 13, was formally indicted in Tokyo on charges of having accepted \$640,000 in bribes from a top executive of the Kyowa Corp. In exchange for money, Abe reportedly passed on information about future government development projects that he learned about as a Cabinet minister. Abe strongly denied that he had violated the law by doing favours in return for gifts. His indictment further damaged the reputation of the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party (LDP), which was still under a cloud of mistrust because of other recent financial scandals involving LDP politicians.

Ershad sentenced in Bangladesh. A special court sitting in Dhaka, Bangladesh, sentenced Hossain Mohammad Ershad to three years in prison for possessing wealth inconsistent with his income. The former president, who had been forced to resign in December 1990 after eight years in office, was already serving a 10-year sentence for illegal possession of firearms. Ershad, moreover, still had to answer charges of corruption and abuse of power while in office. Meanwhile, the country, one of the poorest in the world, was being deluged with tens of thousands of Muslim refugees who were fleeing predominantly Buddhist Myanmar (Burma) to escape the savage onslaughts of government troops.

Army coup in Venezuela fails. Troops loval to Venezuelan Pres. Carlos Andrés Pérez successfully repulsed an early-morning tank attack against the presidential palace in Caracas. A rebel colonel later explained that the insurgents wanted to "rescue the Venezuelan people from politicians, from demagoguery, and bureaucracy." The violent protests and labour unrest that had preceded the failed coup were widely interpreted as expressions of despair on the part of ordinary citizens. The government admitted that nearly half of the population could afford only one meal a day, and soldiers complained that their salaries were being gobbled up by runaway inflation. The European Communities, the Organization of American States, and the U.S. were among those who condemned the coup, in part because Venezuela ranked second behind Colombia as the oldest democracies in South America.

Ethiopia promised financial aid. The World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and other organizations expressed cautious optimism that Ethiopia would begin recovering from years of civil war and disastrous economic policies if given financial assistance. Together they pledged a total of \$672 million, the first \$7 million of which was designated for emergency medical needs. The remaining funds, to be dispensed over a 30-month period, would be used to build roads, bridges, and schools and help satisfy other basic needs. Ethiopia's minister for foreign economic relations summed up the situation in these words: "Our poverty is devastating. We have 1.2 million demobilized soldiers in need of jobs and 100,000 children living on the streets. We have an urgent need for fertilizer and seeds. Industries are idle for lack of raw materials and spare parts.'

Somalians accept a cease-fire. Leaders of the two warring factions within the United Somali Congress accepted an immediate cease-fire that had been mediated by UN Under Secretary-General James Jonah. Three months of fierce fighting in and around the capital city of Mogadishu had left more than 20,000 dead or wounded and caused more than 50,000 refugees to flee across the border into Kenya. The situation became chaotic soon after the ouster of Pres. Muhammad Sivad Barrah in January 1991 because Ali Mahdi Muhammad and Gen. Muhammad Farah Aydid both claimed the presidency. The two men represented different clans within the same Hiwiye tribe. Their acceptance of a cease-fire was tied to an agreement to work out details of a comprehensive settlement in the near future. The country's most urgent needs, however, continued to be food and medicines.

CIS at odds over unified military. Leaders of 11 former Soviet republics, now loosely joined in a union called the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), met in Minsk, Belarus, to discuss the feasibility of a unified defense force that would

replace the former Soviet Union's Red Army. Ukraine adamantly opposed the plan because it would give Russia, the largest and wealthiest member of the CIS, virtual control of all conventional forces. Ukraine was especially concerned about the Black Sea Fleet, part of which it laid claim to. Ukrainian Pres. Leonid Kravchuk, flanked by representatives of Belarus and Armenia, told reporters that the Commonwealth meeting had merely underscored the differences that separated the republics into two distinct groups, one supporting him and the other supporting Boris Yeltsin.

Shi'ite leader killed in Lebanon. 16 Sheikh 'Abbas al-Mussawi, the 39year-old leader of the militant wing of Hezbollah ("Party of God"), was killed along with his wife, small son, and several bodyguards when two Israeli helicopter gunships attacked his sevenvehicle motorcade near the town of Jibchit in southern Lebanon. The Israeli air raid was part of a wave of violence that occurred after the February 14 murders of three Israeli soldiers by four guerrilla assassins who had slipped into an Israeli army camp under cover of darkness. On February 18 the leadership council of Hezbollah elected Sheikh Hassan Nasrallah as Mussawi's successor.

Seoul and Pyongyang sign pacts. The prime ministers of North and South Korea, during the sixth round of high-level talks between the two countries, formally exchanged three signed pacts in Pyongyang that were designed to lessen tensions and lead to the eventual reunification of the divided peninsula. The three documents were entitled "Agreement on Reconciliation, Nonaggression, and Exchanges and Cooperation," "Agreement on



Lebanese villagers carry the coffin and a photograph of Sheikh 'Abbas al-Mussawi. Israelis killed the Shi'ite leader and his family in retaliation for attacks on Israeli troops

Formation and Operation of Intra-Korean Subcommittees," and "Joint Declaration for a Non-Nuclear Korea." North Korea's nuclear weapons program remained a matter of serious concern even though the government had signed the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty in 1985. This was so because Pyongyang continued to resist international inspection of its nuclear facilities.

Yugoslavia to get UN forces. The UN Security Council voted unanimously to begin sending a 14,000-member peacekeeping force to Yugoslavia to oversee the cease-fire accepted by Croatia, which had recently seceded from the Yugoslav federation, and by Serbia. Some 16,000 UN personnel were currently involved in 10 peacekeeping missions in Africa, Asia, the Middle East, and South America. Since 1948, at a cost of \$5.8 billion, more than half a million United Nations troops had participated in 23 peacekeeping missions in various parts of the world.

The Sudan drives 400,000 into desert. Andrew Natsios, director of foreign disaster assistance for the U.S. Agency for International Development, reported that the military government of The Sudan had driven more than 400,000 squatters out of Khartoum, the capital, and into the desert. He called the expulsion at gunpoint a death sentence because the areas to which the people were being driven had "minimal to nonexistent" food, water, or shelter. Many victims of the forced migration were Christians or followers of traditional beliefs who had trekked to the capital to escape drought and the ravages of civil war. Natsios also reported that the government refused to allow UN personnel to assist the newly displaced. Several local groups, however, were said to have offered help to the refugees, but only if they first converted to Islam.

23 Winter Olympics end in France.
After two weeks of competition,
the 16th Winter Olympic Games
came to an end in Albertville, France.
A record 2,289 athletes representing a
record 64 countries competed at 13 sites



The 1992 Winter Olympics open on February 8 in Albertville, France. Among the 64 nations participating were several republics of the former Soviet Union, under the name Unified Team.

spread over some 1,600 sq km (640 sq mi). The great distances that separated the venues somewhat diminished the camaraderie that usually characterized the international sports extravaganza. For the first time since 1964, Germany competed as a single team; it won 26 medals, the most by any nation. Athletes from five former Soviet republics formed what was officially called the Unified Team and finished with 23 medals. When members of the team received their gold medals, the Olympic hymn was played because no national anthem would have reflected the status of the newly independent republics represented on the Unified Team.

24 U.S. will not back Israel loans.
U.S. Secretary of State James
Baker told members of the House
Foreign Operations Subcommittee that the
Bush administration would not guarantee
\$10 billion in loans to Israel as long as
it refused to halt all activity related to
the building of Jewish settlements in the
West Bank and Gaza. The request for
such guarantees had come from Prime
Minister Yitzhak Shamir, who promised

that the money would be used exclusively to facilitate the absorption of former Soviet Jews. Such an assurance meant nothing, Baker noted, because Israel could continue to finance new settlements in the occupied territories by simply using funds currently allocated for other purposes and then replacing them with funds that became available through new loans. The U.S. and Israel thus appeared to be at an impasse because Shamir had vowed that he would never halt the construction of Jewish settlements "even for a day."

All 15 members of the United Nations Security Council approved a resolution calling for an additional 22,000 soldiers, police, and administrators to go to Cambodia to bolster UN efforts to conduct a free and fair election. In October 1991 the Khmer Rouge and its three allied opponents had authorized a pivotal role for the UN in an effort to terminate the fighting and give the nation a stable government. One of the UN's most difficult tasks was to persuade the various factions to disarm.

MARCH

Saudi government to be revamped. King Fahd of Saudi Arabia proclaimed a new constitution that provided for a 60-member Consultative Council selected by the king. Its responsibilities would include conferring with and advising the Cabinet and evaluating the appropriateness of various laws. The king and the royal family would still retain near absolute power, but for the first time dissenting voices would be heard. This fact alone was a major change in Saudi Arabia's traditional governmental structure. During an interview published on March 29, King Fahd ruled out free elections in Saudi Arabia on the grounds that Western democratic institutions were not suitable for Arab states in the Persian Gulf. He also called Islam the only acceptable ideology

for his country, but he strongly rejected Islamic fundamentalism.

Fighting halts UN aid to Somalia. A ship carrying relief food for the starving people in Mogadishu, the capital of Somalia, was unable to reach port because of heavy shelling. James Jonah, the under secretary-general of the UN in charge of the relief effort, resoundingly condemned both rebel groups fighting to take over the government since the overthrow of the previous president. In a message to the two rival leaders, Jonah acknowledged that he was deeply depressed by their reckless disregard for others and warned them that "it should not be taken for granted that the international community, in the face of such behaviour,

will continue to exert all efforts to bring food to Mogadishu when there are equally competing demands in other parts of the world."

President of Azerbaijan quits. Ayaz Mutalibov resigned the presidency of Azerbaijan just six months after assuming office. The collapse of his government was directly related to unsuccessful attempts to control the ethnic violence in Nagorno-Karabakh, an enclave within Azerbaijan that was heavily populated by ethnic Armenians. The four-year-old war for control of the region was also the product of religious differences; most Azerbaijanis were Muslims, whereas the majority of Armenians were Christians. Children and women were among the

thousands of victims either killed or maimed in the ferocious fighting. On March 15, during a meeting in Iran, the deputy foreign ministers of Armenia and Azerbaijan accepted a cease-fire. It was quickly ignored, like others before it.

South Africans cast historic vote. In what many considered to be one of the most important events in South African history, white voters, who constituted only 18% of the nation's population, approved a referendum supporting Pres. F.W. de Klerk's efforts to negotiate an end to white-majority rule. More than two-thirds of the 2.8 million whites who cast ballots favoured an end to apartheid, the policy of racial separation that also denied suffrage to blacks. De Klerk had already taken dramatic steps to remove some of the burdensome restrictions on blacks despite angry denunciations by white extremists. After the election results were announced, de Klerk remarked that the massive yes vote was "a powerful message to all South Africans" that the vast majority of whites really wanted to share power with the blacks.

Sudanese military drives south. Armed with newly acquired Libyan, Iranian, and Chinese heavy weapons, an enlarged Sudanese military force pressed its offensive into the south. A week earlier it had captured Pochala, and on March 13 it had bombed Kapoeta, the most important centre held by the Sudan People's Liberation Army. A UN official reported that the escalating war was impeding UN efforts to transport food from northern Kenya to southern Sudan, where some 200,000 displaced persons were in dire need of sustenance. The war pitted the Arab Muslim fundamentalists in the north against southern rebels who were Christians and animists. Some political analysts believed that Iran's support of the Sudanese government was part of a larger plan to extend the influence of Islamic fundamentalism to other parts of Africa.

White farms seized in Zimbabwe. 19 Zimbabwe's Parliament passed new legislation giving the government Sali Berisha, head of Albania's Democratic Party, campaigns in Tirane. In elections held on March 22, his party gained control of Parliament from the Socialist (former Communist) Party. REUTERS/BETTMANN



the right to confiscate white-owned farms with little compensation and no right of appeal. The intent of Parliament was to provide homelands for some one million blacks. Critics of the law contended that in time agricultural lands would be transformed into subsistence farms and Zimbabwe would cease to be an exporter of food. The 4,500 white farmers, who owned one-third of the land, accounted for most of the nation's export earnings and employed the largest work force in the country. Under Pres. Robert Mugabe, the government had already settled some 160,000 blacks on farms that white owners had sold voluntarily.

Kenya bans political meetings. Kenyan Pres. Daniel arap Moi banned all political meetings in the wake of the nation's worst ethnic violence since independence in 1963. According to observers, members of the Kalenjin tribe, to which Moi belonged, had initiated the fighting by attacking Luo settlements. An intense tribal and political rivalry existed between the two groups because the Luo, unlike the Kalenjin, had long been prominent in politics and was second in size only to the Kikuyu. Some surmised that Moi himself was slow to intervene because the unrest provided an opportunity to slow the democratic process and curb the power of the opposition Forum for the Restoration of Democracy, which was led by Oginga Odinga, a Luo.

Socialists defeated in Albania. The Socialist (former Communist) Party of Albania (SPA) lost control of the government when candidates of the opposition Democratic Party emerged from the national election with an impressive majority in the People's Assembly. The Democrats' victory, spearheaded by 47year-old cardiologist Sali Berisha, was especially significant because the SPA had gained power just a year earlier in a free election. Berisha attributed his party's success to a dramatic change of attitude among rural voters.

Military profits from Thai election. In the first national election since the February 1991 military coup that toppled the democratically elected government of Thailand, candidates of four political parties supporting the junta won 191 of the 360 seats in the lower house of the National Assembly. That same day the junta, which called itself the National Peacekeeping Council, filled all 270 seats in the upper house of parliament with its appointees. More than half of that number were military or police officers. Thailand's deeply rooted practice of vote buying received a jolt in Bangkok, the capital, when the Palang Dharma (Righteous Force), led by "Mr. Clean" Chamlong Srimuang, won 41 seats in the lower house after campaigning on a platform of honest government.

Koreans elect National Assembly. South Korea's ruling Democratic Liberal Party (DLP) suffered a significant setback in elections to the National Assembly when it captured only 149 seats in the 299-seat assembly. With the support of some of the 21 newly elected independents, however, the DLP expected to have a functioning majority. The opposition Democratic Party made impressive gains by winning 97 seats. The Unification National Party won 31. Emphasizing the more positive aspects of the election, the government noted that its 38.5% share of the popular vote was 4.6% greater than in 1988. It also cited the election results as evidence that South Korea had discarded its authoritarian past in favour of genuine democracy. With Roh Tae Woo ineligible



Whites in Cape Town go the polls on March 17 to vote on Pres. F.W. de Klerk's proposal to negotiate an end to white-majority rule in South Africa. The referendum passed overwhelmingly

to run for reelection, politicians and the voting public were looking forward to the presidential election later in the year.

Turkish Kurds battle government. In five days of violent clashes between Kurdish separatists and Turkish security forces, at least 70 persons were killed in the southeastern region of the country. The Kurds, who by and large were adherents of Islam, had long inhabited an area in the Middle East called Kurdistan, which basically included contiguous parts of Iran, Iraq, and Turkey. The Kurds had never achieved political autonomy. Their latest military challenge to Turkish authority resulted in retaliatory air strikes against two of their guerrilla bases inside Iraq. A year earlier, the Kurds had made an even more disastrous attempt to gain autonomy. After Iran's ignominious defeat in the Gulf war, rebellious Iraqi Kurds renewed their fight for independence. In short order they discovered that they were no match for the better trained and better equipped Iraqi troops. Frantically seeking safety, they fled toward Turkey and Iran into snow-covered mountains, where they endured unspeakable hardships until UN forces came to their assistance.

Security Council pressures Libya. The United Nations Security Council voted 10-0 with 5 abstentions to ban air flights and arms sales to Libya if it did not surrender suspected international terrorists by April 15. For the present at least, Libya's exportation of oil would not be affected. Strong evidence indicated that two of the suspects had been deeply involved in the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 over Scotland in December 1988 and four others in the destruction of a French UTA flight over the Sahara in September 1989. The two bombings killed 441 people from some 30 countries. The Security Council resolution obliged all members of the UN to observe the ban if Libya did not comply by the stated deadline. Once the ban took effect, those who wished to depart Libya would have to arrange transportation by ship.

IMF approves Russia's plan for reform. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) announced that it had approved Russia's plan for economic reforms and that as a consequence the republic was qualified to receive up to \$4 billion in IMF assistance during the next year. In return, Russia would have to meet certain conditions laid down by the IMF, including exercising tight control over inflation and the national budget. Neither Russia nor any of the other republics that constituted the former Soviet Union had yet been admitted to membership in the IMF. To date, those republics had received about \$35 billion from Germany, which stipulated that most of the money was to be used to cover the cost of removing former Soviet troops from what had been East Germany.

APRIL

Mitterrand appoints Bérégovoy. Pres. François Mitterrand announced that Finance Minister Pierre Bérégovoy would replace Edith Cresson as prime minister of France. Mitterrand apparently felt compelled to make the change because Cresson's popularity had plummeted during her less than 11 months in office. During that time she had made widely publicized derogatory remarks about people of other countries that many French found embarrassing. Mitterrand's Socialist Party, moreover, had won only 18.3% of the popular vote in regional elections on March 22. The government was also plagued by financial scandals, an intense controversy over immigration, a faltering economy, and an unemployment rate near 10%. Bérégovoy's success in attacking France's festering problems before the parliamentary elections in 1993 could well determine the political future of the minority Socialist government.

Serbs attack Bosnia-Hercegovina. Serbian irregulars and units of the Serbian-dominated Yugoslav army intensified their attacks against Muslim Slavs and Roman Catholic Croats in Bosnia and Hercegovina, which had voted in late February to secede from the Yugoslav federation. The Serbs, who were predominantly Orthodox Christians, warned the European Communities (EC) that diplomatic recognition of Bosnia and Hercegovina would have dire consequences. Undeterred, the EC voted on April 7 to grant such recognition. It did not, however, extend recognition to Macedonia, another former Yugoslav republic, because Greece vigorously opposed having a new neighbouring country bearing the same name as its northern province; among other things, identical names would tend to emphasize the historical affinity between the two regions and perhaps perpetuate old territorial disputes. It became clear in the days that followed that the Serbs were determined to dominate all of Bosnia and Hercegovina, if possible. Tens of thousands of refugees had already fled or been driven from their homes, but greater suffering appeared to lie ahead, especially for Muslims and Croats living in Sarajevo, the capital.

Nepalese killed during protest. At 6 least 7 Nepalese were killed and some 50 injured in Kathmandu, the capital of Nepal, when police fired on striking protesters demonstrating against price increases and alleged government corruption. The strike, organized by the United Nepal Communist Party and backed by other leftist groups, turned violent when the mob began attacking government buildings and vandalizing shops. The ruling Nepali Congress party had assumed leadership of the country in May 1991 following the first democratic election in 32 years. The move toward democracy came after a popular uprising in 1990 that forced King Birendra to relinquish his rights as absolute

PLO leader survives plane crash. Yasir Arafat, the 62-year-old leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), was found alive in the Libyan desert some 12 hours after his plane had crash-landed during a violent dust storm. Three of the 13 persons aboard the plane were killed. There had been no contact with the plane after the pilot radioed that he was in trouble. Until a search party located the aircraft and reported that Arafat had not been seriously injured, deep anxiety gripped the Palestinian communities in the Middle East because there was no obvious choice to succeed him as leader of the PLO.

O Conservatives win U.K. election.
Britain's Conservative Party, under the leadership of Prime Minister
John Major, retained control of the government by winning 336 of the 651 seats in Parliament, a net loss of 31.
The Labour Party, which many political pundits had predicted would win control of

Parliament, gained 44 seats for a new total of 271. The Liberal Democrats finished far behind in third place with 20 seats; the remaining 24 seats were shared by 6 other minor parties. On April 13, Neil Kinnock announced that he would resign as leader of the Labourites when a successor was chosen during a special party convention in July.

Noriega convicted of trafficking in drugs. Gen. Manuel Noriega, the 58-year-old former strongman leader of Panama, was convicted by a U.S. federal jury in Miami, Fla., on 8 of 10 counts involving drug trafficking, racketeering, and money laundering. Sentencing was scheduled for July 10. The seven-month trial was unusual because it was the first in U.S. history that led to the conviction of a foreign former head of state. It also featured a major drug dealer whose friendship the U.S. government had cultivated even when it had abundant evidence that he was criminally involved in drugs. After the U.S. invaded Panama in December 1989, Noriega sought and received sanctuary in the Vatican nunciature in Panama City. On Jan. 3, 1990, he surrendered to U.S. authorities.

Nigeria welcomes Pres. F.W. de Klerk. South African Pres. F.W. de Klerk, who had taken dramatic steps to end white-minority rule in South Africa, was warmly welcomed in Abuja, Nigeria's new capital. The visit was especially significant because Nigerian Pres. Ibrahim Babangida, who had invited de Klerk to visit his country, was a militant leader of black Africa's campaign against apartheid. Before departing, de Klerk told reporters that the visit had been "extremely constructive" even though Babangida had not suggested that he was prepared to grant diplomatic recognition to South Africa.

10 UN pushes for Cyprus settlement. The UN Security Council unanimously approved a resolution

calling on Greek and Turkish leaders to begin serious discussions to end the dispute that had split Cyprus into separate Turkish and Greek regions. The Security Council drafted the resolution after both Canada and Denmark warned that they might withdraw their peacekeeping forces from Cyprus if no serious effort was made to reunify the island nation. Austria and Great Britain had also committed troops to the peacekeeping mission. The Security Council hoped that the threat of withdrawing UN forces would spur Turkey and Greece to reach a compromise. In 1974 Turkey had occupied the northern third of Cyprus after Greek Cypriots ousted Archbishop Makarios III, the president. Key elements in the long dispute involved the right of the minority Turkish community to govern itself and the determination of Greek extremists to make Cyprus an integral part of Greece. In November 1983 Turkey announced the establishment of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, which no other country had ever recognized.

Judge gives Keating 10 years for fraud. A judge of the California Superior Court in Los Angeles sentenced 68-year-old Charles Keating, Jr., to 10 years in prison, the maximum allowed by law, and fined him the maximum \$250,000 for having duped thousands of clients, many of them elderly, into purchasing worthless junk bonds issued by the American Continental Corp. (ACC), the parent company of the Lincoln Savings and Loan Association, which collapsed financially. Keating was both chairman and chief executive officer of the ACC. The judge also refused to allow Keating to remain free on bail during his planned appeal. For many, Keating had come to symbolize the kind of conduct that had wreaked havoc with the savings and loan industry. The total cost of the federal bailout of the Lincoln S & L was estimated at \$2.6 billion.

War interrupts aid to Sudanese. Dangers posed by a new government offensive in the southAfghan refugees living in Pakistan prepare to return to their homeland after the collapse in April of the Soviet-backed regime of Mohammad Najibullah. Many refugees chose to go home even before a stable government could be formed.



ern region of The Sudan forced several international humanitarian organizations, including two UN agencies, the World Food Program and UNICEF, to withdraw from the area and suspend their efforts to feed several million starving people. All told, the relief operations were taking care of more than seven million Sudanese facing starvation. The Sudan, Djibouti, Ethiopia, and Kenya had pledged during a meeting in Addis Ababa, Eth., not to use food and medicine as weapons of war against those living in areas occupied by groups opposing their governments. The leaders of those nations approved a declaration asserting that they would always "be guided by the objectives of saving lives, of delivering timely assistance to people in distress and of alleviating human suffering." Nonetheless, Lieut. Gen. Omar Hassan Ahmad al-Bashir, the Muslim leader of The Sudan, appeared to consider suppression of the predominantly Christian rebels in the south to be of greater importance.

United Nations isolates Libva. United Nations sanctions against Libya went into effect when Libyan leader Mu'ammar al-Oadhdhafi disregarded a Security Council deadline to turn over suspected international terrorists for trial. As a consequence, all members of the UN were obliged immediately to sever air links with Libya, suspend arms sales, restrict the movement of Libvan diplomats within their respective countries, and reduce the size of their staffs at diplomatic missions in Libya. Libya was thus punitively isolated from the rest of the world for refusing to comply with a resolution passed by the UN Security Council. The Arab League had attempted to arrange a compromise solution to the dispute, but after a meeting with Qadhdhafi on April 21, Egyptian Pres. Hosni Mubarak acknowledged that further efforts were needed to resolve the impasse.

Scandals besmirch U.S. Congress. 16 Reacting to intense public anger, the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct of the U.S. House of Representatives released information on 303 current and relatively recent members of Congress who had overdrawn their accounts at the House's private bank. Although the facility was not a bank in the usual sense and the overdrafts cost taxpayers nothing, the use of money that belonged to other congressmen was widely viewed as unethical because it was, in effect, borrowing money interest free. One of the worst abusers of banking privileges had reportedly written 996 overdrafts during the 39-month period under review (up to Oct. 3, 1991). On April 9, while a heated debate was still raging in the House over which details of the bank scandal should be made public, a federal grand jury charged Wendell Magruder, a former clerk in the House post office, with selling illegal drugs, including cocaine, and conspiring with other employees to conceal thefts of postal funds. Three post office employees had already pleaded guilty in February to charges of embezzlement. Frightened by a rising tide of voter outrage over the scandals, the House closed its bank, which had been operating for more than 150 years, and severely restricted other perks ranging from the use of government aircraft and limousines to free use of a private gymnasium.

President of Afghanistan resigns. Mohammad Najibullah, whom the Soviet Union had

SCOTT DANIEL PETERSON-GAMMA LIAISON



Christian rebels march in The Sudan. The country's Islamic government continued its military campaign against non-Muslims in the south, impeding international efforts to alleviate famine

installed as head of the Afghan government in 1986, before it began withdrawing its troops from the war zone, was reported to have resigned the presidency and gone into hiding as Islamic guerrillas and disaffected government soldiers advanced rapidly toward the capital. By April 24 most areas in Kabul were in the control of various heavily armed rebel armies. Despite the collapse of Najibullah's Communist regime, the end of 14 years of civil war, and termination of the Soviet military intervention that began in December 1979, there were serious doubts that the fighting had ended. The leaders of two of the most powerful military factions both wanted to rule the country. One was Ahmad Shah Masood, the military commander of the Islamic Party, and the other was Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, who commanded the Islamic Society. On April 28, Sibgatullah Mojadedi arrived in Kabul. During a meeting in Pakistan he had been elected interim president because he had few political supporters and was highly regarded as a religious leader. The 51 members of his temporary government, moreover, had been drawn from most segments of Afghanistan's highly diverse society.

Los Angeles trial ignites riots. After deliberating for seven days, a Superior Court jury in Simi Valley, Calif., acquitted four Los Angeles policemen on 10 of 11 charges connected with the severe beating of Rodney King, a black motorist they had sought to arrest after a car chase. Other officers at the scene had made no attempt to intervene. The jury was deadlocked on only one count against a single defendant. Millions of people across the nation were stunned by the verdict because they had repeatedly watched an 81-second videotape of the incident, shot by an amateur, on local and network television newscasts. Within hours of the verdict, rioting in the predominantly black and Hispanic area of south-central Los Angeles was out of control. By the time the National Guard restored order, 51 persons had been killed, a thousand businesses destroyed, and perhaps as much as \$1 billion in physical damage inflicted on an area that was already struggling just to survive. In retrospect the jury's verdict did not seem to be so much the cause of the rioting as an incident that provided an opportunity for the community to release its profound frustration over miserable housing, unemployment, lack of opportunities, and what appeared to be government indifference to the desperate plight of many living in the area.

Troops take over Sierra Leone. Rebellious soldiers informed the people of Sierra Leone that "patriotic officers" and other members of the armed forces had ousted Pres. Joseph Saidu Momoh and had set up a provisional government. A dusk-to-dawn curfew was imposed, and the people were warned that violators would be shot. Momoh's fate was reportedly linked to developments in Liberia, where a West African peacekeeping force had prevented Charles Taylor, one of two rival rebel leaders, from seizing power. The fighting in Liberia had then spilled across the border when Taylor's troops invaded Sierra Leone to punish Momoh for supporting the peace force. Soldiers sent to retake towns that Taylor had captured were said to resent their involvement in the conflict and to have complained that they had not been paid and had not received sufficient food or ammunition to enable them to carry out their orders.

MAY

Religious groups clash in Egypt. Fourteen Coptic Christians were reported killed and five others wounded in the Egyptian village of Manshiet Nasser when militant Muslims opened fire on farmers and schoolchildren. The deadly attack was apparently an act of revenge for the killing of a Muslim fundamentalist leader two months earlier. In another incident in late April, a policeman shot and killed a Muslim while a mob was stoning a Coptic church. The policeman said that the man had tried to grab his weapon. Two days later another person was killed by Muslims seeking to avenge the death of their coreligionist. The victim was a 13-year-old girl.

Lebanese government collapses. h Unable to control public anger over the chaotic state of Lebanon's economy, Prime Minister Omar Karami and his government resigned. The announcement came amid mounting chaos in Beirut, where demonstrators were ransacking banks, burning tires, and blocking roads. The previous day labour unions had proclaimed a general strike to protest soaring prices and the plummeting value of the local currency. Schools, banks, and businesses closed down, and the home of the finance minister was set ablaze. On May 13, Pres. Elias Hrawi, whose son had been beaten during the turmoil, asked 66-year-old Rashid as-Solh, a member of the National Assembly, to form a new government. As-Solh had held the post of prime minister in 1975 when Lebanon became engulfed in a devastating civil war.

Germans end nationwide strike.

An 11-day nationwide strike ended in Germany when government officials and labour leaders agreed to an average pay increase of about 5.4% for

some 2.3 million public-sector workers. Those at the lower end of the wage scale would receive larger increases than those above them. The government had originally offered a 4.8% raise, but the unions demanded 9.5%. An arbitrator suggested that they settle for 5.4%. The rank and file of one union rejected the pact, but its leaders, who had authority to disregard the vote, said that a renewal of the strike was unlikely. The job action, which had affected most cities in western Germany, disrupted land and air transportation, postal service, and the collection of garbage. The strikers had flexed their muscles on May 5 by temporarily closing down the Frankfurt airport, the biggest in continental Europe. Meanwhile, labour trouble was also brewing in the private sector, where the leadership of IG Metall, the country's largest union, threatened a full-scale strike unless new wage demands were met. The union represented some 3.5 million workers in the automobile, steel, electronics, and other manufacturing industries. German Chancellor Helmut Kohl warned that any wage increase would have to be "bearable in relation both to the challenges of German unity and growing international competition." Kohl was referring to the huge amount of money the government was committed to spend to revitalize what had been East Germany.

Amendment added to U.S. Constitution. In one of the most unusual developments in U.S. constitutional history, an amendment proposed 203 years earlier by James Madison and sent by the first U.S. Congress to the states for ratification in 1789 automatically became law when Michigan became the necessary 38th state to ratify the legislation. The amendment read in its totality: "No law varying the compensation for the services of the

Senators and Representatives shall take effect, until an election of Representatives shall have intervened." On May 19 the new amendment was published in the Federal Register and formally recognized as part of the U.S. Constitution. Initially there was some uncertainty about the validity of the ratification procedure because the nation had changed dramatically during the past two centuries. No one, however, seriously challenged the law, least of all any member of Congress. On May 20, in fact, both houses of Congress, well aware that voters were deeply dissatisfied with their performance in office, warmly endorsed the new restriction placed on their pay increases.

Ramos wins Philippine election. Fidel Ramos, a retired army general and former defense secretary, was elected president of the Philippines with 24% of the popular vote. He had been endorsed by Philippine Pres. Corazon Aquino, who during her term in office survived six coups, in part because Ramos came to her defense. Ramos had also had a key role in the pro-democracy movement that forced Ferdinand Marcos out of office in 1986. Miriam Defensor Santiago, a colourful former judge who made government corruption a major theme of her campaign, finished second in the field of seven. Eduardo Cojuangco, a wealthy businessman who had accompanied Marcos when he was flown out of the Philippines, finished third. Imelda Marcos, widow of the former president, and the three other candidates trailed far behind. Although the counting of ballots was agonizingly slow, there was general agreement that the election had been unusually free of fraud. Voters had also been asked to elect a national legislature and to fill numerous local offices.