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THE WASHINGTON POST

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Balkan War Qtimeg Panel

FRIDAY, anmm 19, 1993 A25

Final Security Council Vote on Nureznberg-Style Fibunal Likely

By Julia Preston

Washington Post F orcign Service

UNITED NATIONS, Feb. 18-

The U.N. Security Council is moving rapidly toward establishing a Nuremberg-style tribunal to investigate and prosecute war crimes perpetrated during more than a year and a half of factional warfare in the former Yugoslav republics, diplomats here said today.

i The co-chairmen of an international conference on the Yugoslav crisis-Cyrus Vance and David Owen-have said that such a tribunal is an "essential ingredient" in a comprehensive process aimed at ending the bloodshed, which began in earnest with a bloody Serb-Croat war in Croatia in 1991 and continues unabated among the Serbs, Croats and Slavic Muslims of neighboring Bosnia. Powerful Serb nationalist forces in Bosnia-armed and supplied by neighboring Serbia-now control about 70 percent of the war-torn republic, and officials involved in the Vance-Owen negotiations say a war crimes tribunal could give Bosnia's Muslim-led government some assurance of redress and advance the overall peace process.

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U.N. officials said key diplomats were also working to allay fears expressed by Muslim leaders that creation of the tribunal could be a prelude toward declaration of a general amnesty as part of some future comprehensive peace settlement. Human rights organizations have been arguing here that no such amnesty should be offered, and U.N. officials and negotiators say none is being considered. Human rights observers in Bosnia-including a special U.N. investigating team led by former Polish premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki-have accumulated a wealth of evidence indicating that all parties in the Bosnian conflict have been guilty of war crimes-including beatings, rape, murder and "ethnic cleansing"-the forced expulsion of rival communal groups from their lands and homes. At the same time, however, virtually all international observers have said that the overwhelming majority of atrocities in Bosnia have been committed by local Serb nationalists or Serbia-based paramilitary units. The 15-member Security Council has been considering a French

proposal on the tribunal and is expected to vote next week to begin setting it up under terms of the 1949 Geneva Convention; it would be the first internationally mandated body to prosecute crimes against humanity since top Nazi leaders were brought to trial after World War II. The Council will leave it up to U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali to work out details of how the court would function, but top jurists in France and Italy have already submitted proposals for the structure of the tribunal, while Sweden is preparing another.

Both the French and Italian proposals call for a multinational panel of more than a dozen judges drawn from recognized juridical bodies, such as the International Court of Justice at the Hague. The court

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to Come Next Week

would have broad powers to gather evidence, hold trials and hand down prison sentences, but the death penalty would be ruled out. The French plan also provides for trials of defendants in absentia if their cooperation cannot be secured otherwise.

Under both proposals, accused war criminals would not be able to defend themselves with the argument that they were carrying out orders from superiors as many Nazis did and political and military officials would be deemed responsible for the actions of their subordinates.

Former secretary of state Lawrence S. Eagleburger had accused a number of senior Serb leaders, both in Bosnia and Serbia, of responsibility for war crimes perpetrated by underlings; the Clinton administration has pressed for the tribunal but refrained from specific accusations so as not to disrupt the Vance-Owen peace talks.

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THE WASIHNC'HH POST

Lihya9s New Poison Gas Effort Assailed
Foreign ASSistance to Plant Violates UJV. Embargo, U.S. Says

By R. Jeffrey Smith

Washington Post Sta" Writer

The State Department yesterday criticized Libyals efforts to construct a new chemical weapons factory and said foreign assistance to the plant had violated a UN. embargo on weapons-related exports to Libya. US. and diplomatic officials said construction of the new poison gas factory has been suspected for two years and became clearer roughly six momhs ago. They said the facility, located at Tarhuna, some 40 miles southeast of the Libyan capital of Tripoli, is considered about three years from completion.

The plant has been equipped with material exported from various West European countries, including Germany, Switzerland and Britain, as well as from Japan, according to a US. official familiar with intelligence reports.

U.S. andtdiplomatic officials said the factory, which could eventually become one of the world's largest such facilities, is being constructed principally by workers from Thailand. Some of the foreign equipment sold to Libya was apparently shipped through Singapore to conceal its final destination, they said.

"The United States is convinced that Libya is still in the chemical weapons business and is, in fact, constructing chemical weapons manufacturing and related facilities," State Department spokesman Joseph Snyder said yesterday. Libya, in a dispatch through the state-run JANA news agency, denied the allegation.

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Snyder's remarks were prompted by a German government statement on Tuesday acknowledging that three German firms had sold equipment to the plant. While declining to identify other nations where equipment for the plant had been manufactured, Snyder praised German efforts to halt the shipments and said "the United States calls on all other countries to follow the German example."

Libya has long been accused by Western nations of manufacturing chemical weapons at a complex near Rabta, southwest' of Tripoli, with substantial assistance from West European firms. Snyder said "we are convinced the Rabta facility remains capable of producing chemical agents."

The Libyan government has denied making chemical weapons and has indicated it will eventually open

the Rabta facility to independent inspection. US. officials said last year that in preparation, Libya had dispersed the, poison gases stockpiled there. r .

Officials said last year that Libya's effort to construct a second chemical weapons plant was centered in the town of Sebha, but that site is now considered dormant. '

A German official in Washington, speaking on condition he not be named, said the German firms that contributed to the new plant had legally shipped drilling, electrical and construction equipment to Tarhuna without realizing what the plant's purpose was. He said German export law has since been modified to prevent such shipments in the future.

Weaponsvrelated exports to Libya were embargoed by the UN. Security Council because of Libya's failure to extradite suspects in the 1988 bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 over Scotland.

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Tm: Wisnmmmm POST

. mei', Fiznnnun' 19, 1993

Compromises Needed,

Christopher Warns

Mideast Peace Mission Opens in Cairo

By John M. Goshko

Washington Post Staff Writer

CAIRO, Feb. 18-Secretary of

State Warren M. Christopher ar-

rived here today with what U.S.

officials called instructions from

President Clinton to determine

whether Arabs and Israelis are will-

ing to start making the compro-

mises necessary for the United

States to continue giving high-pri-

ority attention to the Middle East

peace process. .

"It's a big world out there with

lots of things to do," a senior US.

official told reporters on Christo-

pher's plane during the trip here.

"We're willing to do our part if

they're willing to do theirs. But it

cannot continue to have a high pri-

ority if we're pushing against a

closed door."

Christopher himself was more

low-key in his public remarks when

he was greeted by Egyptian For-

eign Minister Amre Moussa.-He

said:

"We believe there are important

opportunities here that should not

be missed by the parties. We have

come to the region ready to do our

best, 'and we will be assessing

whether the parties are ready to do

theirs."

However, the senior official, who

cannot be identified, was more di-

rect, warning that remarks made in

Washington in recent days about

Christopher being in "a' listening

mode" does not mean that the new

administration intends to approach

the 15-month-old peace process in a

leisurely manner.

US. officials acknowledge that

the talks have been "dead in the

water" since the eighth round

ended in December. Now, the of-

ficials said, the Clinton administra-

tion, which is attempting to estab-

lish its foreign policy priorities,

wants to determine at the outset

whether the parties are willing to

end their procedural wrangling and

set new dates for serious negotia-

tion. ,

Efforts to move ahead hayebeen'

held up since Dec. 17 when Israel-

deported more than 400 Palestin-'

ians, accused of fomenting violence:

in lsraeli-occupied territories, to a

barren tent city in the no man's land

in southern Lebanon. The UN. Se-

curity Council demanded that the

expulsions be rescinded, and Pal-

estinian delegates to the talks have

said they will not return to the bar-:

gaining table until all the deportees, are allowed to return.

After U.S. prodding, Israeli: Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin's government said Feb. 1 that 100 of the Palestinians could return immediately and the rest by the end of the year. The United States also helped to arrange a non-binding statement by the president of the Security Council calling Israel's move "a step in the right direction."

However, the deportees have rejected Israel's offer as "piece-meal" and inadequate and the Palestinians have been seeking the backing of Arab governments for greater pressure on Israel. "All of us have to do more in order that the deportees return to their homes very soon," Moussa said at arrival ceremonies for Christopher. Christopher replied that "I'm here to try to encourage the parties to resume the peace process." He did not elaborate, but his words seemed to suggest that the United States believes the deportee issue has been dealt with adequately and that Christopher will argue to the Palestinians and their allies that it is time to move on to resolving the issues of a comprehensive Middle East peace.

That, the senior US. official said, is the message Christopher will stress here to Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak and, in visits over the next few days, to the leaders of Jordan, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Israel. 1

"He'll be inclined to gauge whether or not, as we go around, there's a serious endeavor here on their part," he said. "You have to have some indication of willingness on their part to move forward and take some of the tougher decisions!

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Tm: Wisniwmx POST

Yeltsin Appeals for Truce on Powers
Reach Agreement or Face Referendum, President Tells Parliament
By Margaret Shapiro

Washington Post Foreign Service

MOSCOW, Feb. 18-Russian

President Boris Yeltsin acknowledged tonight that a "crisis of power" is crippling the reform process and, in a folksy television speech designed to recapture some of his flagging popular support, appealed to the conservative parliament for a truce. 4

But in a sign of its increasing assertiveness, the parliament, dominated by ex-Communists and hard-line nationalists, signaled its displeasure with Yeltsin's foreign policy partnership with the United States. By an overwhelming vote, it approved a non-binding resolution demanding that the United Nations impose economic sanctions on Croatia or lift similar ones against Serbia, with which Russia has strong religious, cultural and historical links.

Yeltsin interrupted an announced 12-day vacation at his country house near Moscow to make his televised appeal. Clad in a cardigan and open-necked shirt, the Russian president said he was willing to put aside the battles of the past if the legislature agreed to a well-defined division of powers until a new post-Soviet constitution could be written and new elections held. If a binding agreement cannot be reached, Yeltsin warned parliament he would press forward with an April referendum that would allow voters to decide who should rule Russia, the president or the legislators.

"All of us are tired of tension and confrontation," said Yeltsin, who attempted to sound reassuring both to the public and his legislative opponents. "We need a breather like we need air. We cannot waste time and energy on the fruitless struggle with each other."

Yeltsin's conciliatory address was

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designed to lift him above the political fray and use the public to pressure his opponents, but it was also a signal of his weakening position. Since last spring, bruising battles with the parliament and Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov have eroded Yeltsin's power in dealing with a parliament determined to slow the process of economic reform.

The result has been a sense of drift throughout the country, with a crude and corrupt form of capital-

ism taking hold, branches of government defying each other's orders, inflation skyrocketing and public disillusionment growing about the whole notion of economic reform. '

A tentative truce was reached in December, when Yeltsin and Khasbulatov agreed to the April 11 referendum, but the truce began to
See RUSSIA, A27, Col. 1

T111: WASHINGTON POST

i Yeltsin Appeals

For Compromise

i With Parliament

RUSSIA, From A23

questions for the referendum.

This deadlock, and the growing
uncertainty that he could win the
referendum, led Yeltsin last week
to suggest that the two sides work
together to negotiate a binding
agreement delineating their pow-
ers.

Yeltsin said tonight that he would
keep the option of a referendum
alive as a threat to prod parliament
into making a binding agreement.
Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir
Shumeiko said earlier today that
the referendum should be resched-
uled for the fall.

Yeltsin's representatives
presented a proposed division of
powers to parliamentary leaders
today. The key change proposed
would move the Central Bank from
legislative control and place it un-
der the executive branch. Lax mon-
etary policies by the Central Bank,
whose head has made clear his op-
position to any version of economic
"shock therapy," are blamed by
most Western economic analysts
for Russia's spiraling inflation,
which is now threatening the whole
reform process.

Yeltsin's representatives also
proposed that both sides agree to
stop amending the current consti-
tution until a special constituent
assembly is called to write a new,
post-Soviet constitution.
Parliamentary leaders are ex-
pected to present their own propos-
als Friday. Then the two sides will
try to come up with a binding com-
promise, which would be sent for
ratification to the supreme legisla-
tive body, the Congress of People's
Deputies.

collapse when they failed to come
up with a mutually acceptable set of
More Troops

Ending Stint

In Somalia

U.S. Says "UJV. Slow

In Talking Command

By Stuart Auerbach

and Molly Moore

Washington Post Foreign Service

MOGADISHU, Somalia, Feb. 18

-The US. military, amid com-
plaints from senior commanders that
the United Nations takeover of
peace-keeping operations in Somalia
is progressing too slowly, announced
today that an additional 3,000 Amer-
ican troops will begin returning to
their home bases in the next several
days.

Military officials said the reduction

in American forces-the second wave of US. troops to begin leaving Somalia-is the result of the increasing number of coalition forces arriving in the country, the mission completion of many US. units and the formation of a Somali police force. After the withdrawal, the number of US. forces in Somalia will drop to about 15,000 from a peak of 25,000 less than a month ago. The number ' of troops from other nations has - risen to 14,418 and US. officers say the United Nations should now assume command so remaining US troops can leave.

We' re ready for the handoff right now," Lt. Gen. Robert Johnston, commander of coalition forces in Somalia said in an interview today.

"Things have gone slowly up to this point. The transition doesn't seem to be going as quickly as the operational picture suggests it should be."

Johnston added, "For political reasons, there doesn't seem to be the same impetus for the transition as there was for us to come in here in the first place."

Although the United Nations has selected Turkish Lt. Gen. Cevik Bir to head the UN. peace-keeping force, Johnston said Bir probably will not begin the formal transition until

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U 8 military officials said the reduction of the American troops is not aimed at forcing the United Nations to speed the process of taking over the operating and moving from an American- dominated presence to a more international force.

"This is a redeployment of U. S. 'gforces that are either unemployed or underemployed, " said Marine Col.

Fred Peck, coalition spokesman. He says the remaining US. and international forces "are more than adequate to carry out their assigned mission." ,

Peck said, for example, US. Army units based at Ft. Drum, N.Y., are now able to leave because their peace-keeping roles have been taken over by the arrival of new Belgian troops in the troubled port city of 4 Kismaayo in southern Somalia.

Johnston said he believes most of the American forces could leave Somalia by late April if the United Nations acts within the next several days to formally establish the peace-keeping force and if US. forces do not encounter other delays in departing Somalia.

The U. N. Security Council has not yet scheduled a vote on a resolution establishing the new international force. According to US. and UN. i

officials, that U.N. force will have unprecedented authority to keep the peace, including the same rules of engagement that allow US. forces to shoot back at Somali gunmen and to confiscate weapons. .

US. military officials have expressed concern over a usually heavy rainy season, which begins in early March, and could seriously impede '1 military operations and US. departure. Military engineering teams this week were battling the military bureaucracy in an effort to unload lumber needed for building base camps for the UN. peace-keeping force : before the rains begin, according to , military officials.

While the American military commanders point to an ending of a civil war that was raging when Marines landed on Dec. 9 andta marked improvement in the ability of relief agencies to feed starving Somalis, there are many signs that real peace has not arrived here.

lem, Fiznmxun 19, 1993

Humanitarian Aid for Bosnia

privation now looms in Bosnia as a result of the cutoff of the 2,500 United Nations flights that have sustained Sarajevo with 28,000 tons of relief supplies since last July and of the truck convoys that have delivered 35,000 tons of supplies to 110 other Bosnian locations. The question of the hour is what the Clinton administration, which last week announced the American intention to become "actively and directly engaged" in Bosnia, might now usefully do to restore vital humanitarian aid.

Yesterday the State Department gave a partial answer, urging the UN. high commissioner for refugees to resume deliveries. The agency has performed valiantly. But on Wednesday it was forced to suspend operations by Bosnians Serbs, who have systematically obstructed relief in order to drive out Muslims. So desperate has the Muslim-led Bosnian government become that it barred U.N. flights to Sarajevo-to its own people-ain hopes of forcing an aroused world to !- DEEPENING crisis of starvation and de-greater efforts to ensure deliveries into the rest of Bosnia.

Will such greater efforts now materialize? In this regard, it seems that parties in the war are deliberately testing Secretary of State Warren Christopher's pledge in his Bosnia statement of Feb. 10 to consider "further actions . . . quite determined steps" to ensure the flow of humanitarian aid. The Serbs, the principal aggressors, may be brazenly trying to discourage any American attempt to keep them from working their criminal will in Bosnia. The Muslims may calculate that their best chance of drawing Americans to their side lies precisely in the realm of relief.

Whether the war in Bosnia will end in an acceptable political settlement, as Washington hopes, or will explode into a broader conflagration remains uncertain. But the United States cannot promise specifically to guarantee humanitarian relief and then a week later default. Airdrops, truck convoys, political partners, military escorts_the means can be worked out.

There should not be a day's hesitation.

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FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1993

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ampede for Statism

e end of the worst first month of
lem presidency, there lingers, in
echo, the word "covenant." That
which candidate Clinton used to
the relationship he wanted be-
government and citizenry, means,
:mocracy, a solemn promise to keep
fraying of Clinton's covenant with
orate is pertinent to this ques-
Which president does Clinton resem-
ot Kennedy, whose tax cut ignited 3
Rather, Clinton resembles the two
ents of his politically formative
Johnson and Nixon.

iton's conduct since the campaign
his campaign as the most disingen-
i as at least 1964, when Johnson
sed his intentions regarding Viet-
Also, Clinton's plans for expanding
's graspingness and bossiness
le Johnson's.

:1 Nixon's, whose administration
aw explosive growth of the reg-
y state. Nixon's wage and price
E15 (Clinton is contemplating control-
ct of prices in the health care field)
the most radical extension of federal
r into economic life since the 1930s.

9 economic promise about which
n remains punctilious is one he
d abandon-his promise to stimulate
onomy, which is suxging. What is
taking about Clinton's pork-laden
package-fine-mning tax cred-
its, grants for state and local govem-
ments, Amtrak, road repairs-is its ba-
nality. For this you do not need to go to
Oxford, you just need to have gone to
sleep 20 years ago.

His larger program-tax increases, de-
fense cuts, domestic spending increases,
"administrative efficiencies," proposed do-
mestic cuts, most of which will not mate-
rialize-hardly amounts to "re-inventing
government." (The myriad tax increases
now proposed are just hors d'oeuvres for
the administration. New York Times
headline, Feb. 17: ttZ-Dozen New Taxes
Weighed to Pay for US. Health Care")
Evidence of Clinton's tepid enthusiasm
for cutting spending: He talked for 61
minutes Wednesday evening without find-
ing time to revisit his old endorsement of
a line-item veto. '

George Stephanopoulus, Clinton's
spokesman, promises a "reversal of Re-
aganism." Reaganism: a record 93
months of growth, low inflation, declining
interest rates and unemployment, almost
19 million new jobs, exports nearly dou-
bled, one-third increase in real GNPJ
Clinton may indeed keep his promise to
reverse this.

Still, Clinton has worked one miracle:
Several million Americans overnight have
joined the ranks of the rich. He says that
the proof that he plans to tax mostly "the
rich" is the fact that 70 percent of the

increases will fall on families earning more than \$100,000. Well. A mid-level head nurse in the Northeast earns \$47,000. If her husband is a New York City school principal, his starting salary was \$69,776. Clinton says it is time such people paid for their opulence.

The modern presidency, devoted to incessant manipulation of public opinion, manufactures ersatz crises to hold the public's attention. Hence Clinton's overheated rhetoric about America's "decline." Japan's economy is reeling. Germany's growth rate has lagged behind America's since the 1970s, and its GNP is shrinking. Both Britain and France have doubledigit unemployment. A growing majority of jobs in advanced countries are in service industries, and America's service sector is much the most productive in the world. In spite of the Carter stagflation and the Bush recession, real per capita after-tax income has increased 34 percent in 20 years. America's estimated 25 percent share of the world's total product is about what it was in 1965; and in 1938; and 1900.

Why, then, the rhetoric about decline? To stampede the public to accept more statism. But there is one real decline that Clinton's program should reverse: that of the GOP.

Conservatism's vitality is linked to the public's disgust with the political class. Clinton's multiplying apostasies from his campaign themes and promises—from all that was supposed to define a "new Democrat"—are, to say no more, not calculated to enhance the reputation of the political class.

Furthermore, Clinton's agenda of metastasizing government propels Republicans back to Reaganism from Bushism. Consider, again, Clinton's stimulus. If government raises \$X billions in new taxes and sends out an equal amount of billions in "stimulus," the result is not, as Democrats see it, a wash. Rather, the result is "progressive," because government has gained yet more ground in reducing the scope of private choice and increasing the permeation of life by politics. That is the liberalism of "new Democrats," as of old ones.

Will Congress cooperate? Perhaps. But the House in which Clinton spoke Wednesday evening is composed of 435 members, all of whom did better than Clinton's 42.9 percent in November. Fifteen of them ran unopposed, 104 won more than 70 percent of the vote; 252 got more than 60 percent; the average of those who won against opposition was 63.1 percent, substantially better than even Clinton's 53.4 percent of the two-party vote. They may not defer to his political judgment.

All of them will face the voters again in 20 months. Most of them probably understand that if Clinton had said four months ago what he is saying now, he would still

be living in Little Rock.

eTHE NEW YORK TI_M

ES INTERNATIONAL FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1993

Halt in Aid Leaves Bosnians Stunned,

ByJOHN F. BURNS

Special to The New York Times

SARAJEVO, Bosnia and Herzegovi-:

na, Feb. 18 - Relief officials began to mothball their operations across Bosnia today after the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees suspended deliveries of most of the food, medicine and winter survival supplies in this battered country.

By the weekend most deliveries, which have totaled about 30,000 tons a month, are expected to stop, leaving an estimated 1.6 million recipients cut off! The move to suspend the most elaborate and dangerous aid undertaking in Europe since the Berlin airlift of 1948; left many people here bewildered. In Sarajevo and a score of other communities holding out against offensives by Serbian nationalist forces, who have been the principal aggressors, the aid has often meant the difference between bare survival and succumbing to hunger, disease and cold. Rejecting a 'Mockery'

For months many people in Bosnia had expected the operation to be drastically changed because of the harassment of deliveries, mainly by Serbs. But when the decision to suspend aid was announced Wednesday by Sadaako Ogata of Japan, the High Commissioner, the language of the decision caused widespread distress.

Mrs. Ogata said "political leaders on all sides" of the conflict, in the Government as well as in the Serbian and Croatian forces that have occupied all but a few pockets of Bosnia, had "made a mockery" of the operation by making it impossible to get much aid through.

Mrs. Ogata said she would resume deliveries immediately if the political leaders "guarantee to keep the promises" they have repeatedly made concerning unhindered passage for humanitarian assistance. Anthony Land of Britain, who heads the operation in Sarajevo, said, "Before we wind this thing back up, there will have to be some evidence that these promises will be kept."

'All Necessary Means'

The aid effort has relied on air and land deliveries supported by the United Nations Protection Force.

The Security Council resolution that authorized a major buildup in the relief effort last fall brought in new military personnel, putting the current strength at 8,000 soldiers, and instructed them to use "all necessary means" to get the aid convoys through.

At that time, the relief operation was in deep trouble, mainly from harassment by Serbian forces. Especially in eastern and north-central Bosnia,

where "ethnic cleansing" attacks were most ruthless, Serbs were energetic in devising ways to block deliveries to besieged Muslim communities.

The United States, Britain and France decided not to intervene militarily on the side of the Muslims, as they had been asked to do by the Muslim-led Government, but to organize instead a much more powerful effort to

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SLOVENIA

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In Sarajevo, somewhat embittered U.N. relief officials began shutting down their operation. get an: deliveries through and thus halt, or at least tightly constrain, Serbian efforts to rid wide areas of Muslims.- But when the expanded operation

. began, a military commander, Lieut. Gen. Philippe Morillon of France, said that since the mandate had been drawn up under Chapter 6 of the United Nations Charter and not Chapter 7 (the one used to authorize deployment of allied forces in the war against Iraq), the United Nations could not use force to get aid through.

and Hungry

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General Morillon said the troops would be allowed to use their weapons only in self-defense, and that cooperation from the warring armies would be needed to get aid through.

From the outset, the operation has been beset by obstructionism, mainly by Serbs but also, on a limited scale, from Bosnian and Croatian forces. United Nations soldiers have been repeatedly fired on; 16 have been killed and more than 100 wounded. .

On Sept. 3, an Italian Air Force plane carrying supplies to Sarajevo was shot down, killing all four crewmen. That incident and others, including one last week in which mortars fired at the French barracks at the airport killed one soldier and wounded four, have . been blamed by United Nations officials on the Government.

But local Serbian commanders, often claiming to be acting on instructions from the leaders who had agreed to give convoys passage, refused to open barricades or devised ways of delaying the convoys, like carton-by-carton inspections of food and medicine. United

Nations officials and soldiers who protested were often threatened at gunpoint.

In the north-central areas around Banja Luka, Bosnia's second-largest city, aid efforts were effectively ended when Serbs refused to allow 900 Canadian escort troops to enter the region. In eastern Bosnia, the Serbs have barred convoys from reaching three Muslim enclaves where an estimated 200,000 people have hung on. Deliveries were allowed only when international pressures threatened to push the Security Council into taking tougher action against the Serbs. '

The effective blockade of the Muslim enclaves around Gorazde, Srebrenica and Zepa ultimately precipitated the crisis last week that led Mrs. Ogata to _' suspend aid: after months of reports that many Muslims were dying of hunger, cold, disease and bombardment, the Government announced it would ' accept no further aid for Sarajevo's 380,000 residents until the United Nations began regular deliveries to the - enclaves. ,

For General Morillon, Mrs. Ogata's decision came as a personal blow, and the general has not disguised his fury. Using aid deliveries to eastern Bosnia as a yardstick of the entire operation was irresponsible, he has said, because hundreds of thousands of lives elsewhere had been saved.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1993
Ex-Officials Press for a Harder Line to Aid Bosnia
By STEVEN A. HOLMES

Special 10 The New York Times
WASHINGTON, Feb. 18 - A week after the Clinton Administration announced its decision to become more involved in peace talks for Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Administration came under fire today for failing to take more forceful action to halt Serbian aggression.

In testimony before the Senate and House foreign relations committees, high-ranking officials from previous administrations suggested stepped-up action, including air strikes, an end to commitment of American ground troops to lift the siege of Sarajevo. The critics included Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, former United Nations delegate, Zbigniew Brzezinski, national security adviser under former President Jimmy Carter, and William Colby, former Director of Central Intelligence.

Unilateral Action Proposed
The powerful rhetoric used by Secretary of State Warren Christopher to justify the US. engagement was, much to my regret, refuted by the toothless and essentially procedural steps that then emanated from the the arms embargo there and the com- rhetoric," told the

Mr. Brzezinski
Legislators in Russia
Urge Tilt Toward Serbs

Special 10 The New York Times
MOSCOW, Feb. 18 - Russia's Supreme Soviet voted overwhelmingly today for a nonbinding resolution that would overturn Russian policy on the conflict in the Balkans. , Several days after President Clinton's special envoy on the Bosnian crisis met with Russian legislators and Foreign Minister Andrei V. Kozyrev, the Supreme Soviet voted 162 to 4 to urge the United Nations to impose sanctions on Croatia or, if not, to lift them on Serbia.

Russia has traditionally close ties to Serbia dating back to the 19th century, and Russian nationalists have decried Mr. Kozyrev's "betrayal" of historical allies in pursuit of a "pro-Western" policy. '

MrgKozyrev, who is scheduled to deliver a policy statement on Bosnia to the Supreme Soviet on Friday, has criticized some members of Parliament for their "demagogic" support for Serbia and pleaded for an evenhanded policy. .

Unconditional support for one of the Slav peoples against all the other peoples of Yugoslavia" must be avoided, he said on Tuesday.

The major nationalities involved in the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia - Serbs, Croats, Slovenes and Bosnian

Muslims - are all Slavic; they are divided by religion and by historic conflicts.

House Foreign Affairs Committee's Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East.

On the Senate side, Dr. Kirkpatrick said the Administration's proposal to end the fighting stops short of an adequate response," and she suggested that the United States use such actions as air strikes to stop Serbian aggression. "I'm entirely ready to see unilateral U.S. action," she told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's European Subcommittee.

Perhaps the boldest suggestion was made by Mr. Colby, who told the Senate subcommittee that the United States should commit between 30,000 and 50,000 troops, if necessary unilaterally, to lift the siege of Sarajevo, the Bosnian capital. '

"We should take the lead and begin to do it," Mr. Colby told the subcommittee.

The Administration's plan, which Mr. Christopher announced last week, commits the United States to become involved in negotiations based on a peace plan drafted by the United Nations envoy Cyrus R. Vance, and Lord Owen, the representative of the European Community.

A Plea From Bosnia

Among those who testified before the Senate subcommittee was Haris Silajdzic, Bosnia's Foreign Minister, who expressed a plea often repeated by Bosnian officials that the United Nations arms embargo against all the combatants in the war be lifted. Bosnian officials say that the embargo hurts them since Serbian irregular forces have been able to get heavy weaponry. Under gentle prodding from Senator Joseph R. Biden, Democrat of Delaware, Mr. Silajdzic pointed out what he felt were the crucial differences between the Vance-Owen approach and the new initiative by the Clinton Administration. Mr. Vance and Mr. Owen had threatened to impose a settlement. The Administration's initiative instead expects that a plan acceptable to all sides would be devised: . 0

In his testimony today, Mr. Silajdzic suggested that if the new round of talks fails, the Bosnian Muslims would look for Mr. Clinton to adopt the kind of forceful actions, such as enforcing a no-flight zone over Bosnia, that he advocated in his campaign.

"I see this as Mr. Christopher's attempt to make a final effort to come to a settlement through diplomacy," Mr. Silajdzic said. And I believe that what President Clinton has said during the election campaign is only postponed. It is not ruled out." .

So far, Mr. Silajdzic's Government

has not said whether it will rejoin the
peace talks in New York.

THE NEW YORK TIMES. FRIDAY. FEBRUARY 19. 1993
4U.N. Chief Presses Japan for Peacekeeping DOOps
By DAVID E. SANGER

A Special to The New York Times
a TOKYO, Feb. 18 - On the first visit
of a United Nations Secretary General
here in more than a decade, Boutros
Boutros-Ghali spent the last week in
vTokyo backing away from his earlier
suggestions that Japan amend its
f'peace constitution," while at the same
time pressing reluctant Japanese lead-
ers to dispatch peacekeeping missions
around the globe.

' During several days of talks here,
Mr. Boutros-Ghali was an occasional
target of protesters for his suggestion
of a wide peacekeeping role for Japan,
and he seemed to make little headway
in getting the Government of Prime
Minister Kiichi Miyazawa to commit
itself to dispatching troops beyond the
first small encampment in Cambodia,
where they are building roads and
bridges.

But while Mr. Miyazawa seemed of-
ficially cool to the proposals, Govern-
ment officials say that they are al-
ready at work on tentative plans to
send a small contingent of Japanese
forces to Mozambique if they receive a
formal reqUest from the United Na-
tions. That would be a symbolically

Will the tpeace

constitutioni

sanction troops?

important expansion of Japan's peace-
keeping activities.

Seat on Security Council

It may also be a crucial political
symbol at a time when Japanese offi-
cials feel their long-held dream - a
permanent seat on the Security Council
- may finally be within grasp. While
Mr. Boutros-Ghali stopped short of en-
dorsing the change the way the Clinton
Administration did several weeks ago,
he hinted that discussion of how to
change the Council ,to reflect "post-
cold-war realities" may soon be need-
ed.

At a news conference today, Mr. Bou-
tros-Ghali also promised that the Unit-
ed Nations would tthave a very heavy
military presence" in Cambodia in
coming months as the country ap-
proaches its first elections, held under
United Nations supervision. He also
expressed confidence that the threat
from the Khmer Rouge, who have re-
fused to join in the election, would be
relatively small.

ttl believe we have the capacity to
overcome the problem" if violence is'
attempted during the voting, he said.

Question of Constitution

Before he arrived here early this
week, Mr. Boutros-Ghali touched off a
political embarrassment for Prime
Minister Miyazawa when he suggested
in an interview in New York that Japan

should change its Constitution to allow greater participation in peacekeeping activities. Mr. Miyazawa has steadfastly opposed any amendment to the critical clause that bans Japan from the use of force.

Mr. Boutros-Ghali later backed away from that position, saying Japan had to decide on its own how to deal with its Constitution. But throughout his visit he pressed Japan to move beyond mere financial support. "Japan is a great power, a great country, and we need more participation," he said. "But what your contribution will be to the reinforcement of the UN. is your own decision."

But later he said he was interested in having Japan present in peacekeeping operations in Africa - he specifically mentioned Mozambique -- to show that the United Nations' activities there were supported around the world. "We want to show that we have a global approach and that Japan has a global approach," he said.

The first members of a United Nations peacekeeping force have been sent to Mozambique to prepare for an operation that will oversee an accord ending a 14-year civil war, disarm rival armies and organize elections. Yohei Kono, Japan's chief Cabinet secretary, said today that Japan may be able to contribute personnel in Mozambique under the peacekeeping bill it passed last year. But he said that no decision had been made, and that "full public support" would be necessary before Japanese politicians endorsed the idea. On Wednesday, Mr. Boutros-Ghali was booed as he entered Waseda University, one of Japan's most elite private institutions, by left-leaning students who were upset at his suggestion that Japan find a way out of its current constitutional limitations.

THE NEW YORK TIMES INTERNATIONAL FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1993

U.N. Council Move to Create
Balkan War-Crimes Tribunal

By PAUL LEWIS

Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, Feb 18 - The

Security Council is expected to vote unanimously early next week to ask the United Nations Secretary General to prepare a new international tribunal to judge those accused of war crimes in the Balkan conflict.

This will be the first time such a war crimes tribunal has been created since the victorious World War II Allies set up the Nuremberg tribunal to try the leaders of Nazi Germany.

The Council has already set up a commission to collect evidence of war crimes in the former Yugoslavia, but it has not yet presented its findings. In a report to the Council, a committee of French jurists has recommended a 15-judge panel and a separate commission to identify the guilty and prosecute them before the new court.

The draft resolution, informally approved by all Council members at consultations today, calls for the Secretary General to draft a plan for an international criminal court "that would try those accused of grave breaches of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of the former Yugoslavia after 25 June 1991," when the federation started falling apart.

A second Council resolution will be necessary to approve the Secretary General's plan and create the tribunal.

In another move intended to signal its determination to end the Balkan crisis, the Council has agreed to adopt a resolution on Friday strengthening the 12,000-member United Nations peacekeeping force in Croatia.

The resolution, which is also expected to win unanimous support, also demands the resumption of aid deliveries blocked by Muslims and Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina and paves the way for possible sanctions against Croatia unless it pulls out of Serbian enclaves and respects the United Nations peace plan for Croatia.

The resolution was drafted by France, which has seen 12 of its peacekeepers killed in the Balkans so far. It extends the peacekeeping force's mandate in Croatia until March 31 and asks the Balkan mediators, former Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance and Lord Owen of Britain, to try to formulate a political settlement by then.

For the first time, the resolution says the entire United Nations peacekeeping effort in Croatia and Bosnia is operating under the provisions of Chapter 7 of the United Nations Charter, which allow forces authorized by the Security Council to use military might to accomplish their mission.

This will give the peacekeepers in Croatia as well as the troops around Sarajevo airport an unambiguous right under international law to use force if necessary to achieve their objectives. The British, French and other troops escorting relief convoys in Bosnia and Herzegovina already have this right. But it also serves as a warning to President Franjo Tudjman of Croatia that the Security Council may impose economic sanctions on his country unless he withdraws his forces from Serbian enclaves, And it tells Bosnia's Muslims that they will also face punitive action unless they allow the United Nations to resume relief deliveries in areas they control.

THE NEW YORK TIMES INTERNATIONAL FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1993

Mandelas Group Accepts

5 Years of Power-Sharing

Defeating Militants, It Backs Deal With de Klerk

By BILL KELLER

Special 10 The New York Times

SOWETO, South Africa, Feb. 18 -

The African National Congress subdued its angry militant wing today and approved a plan to let minority parties share in governing the country for five years after the end of white monopoly rule.

The agreement, which takes South Africa a major step closer to its first post-apartheid government, creates the prospect that President F.W. de Klerk's National Party would stay on as a junior partner in running the country until near the end of the century.

Until three years ago, the congress and the National Party were bitter antagonists, with the congress outlawed and waging guerrilla warfare against the Government. Sharing executive power with the National Party, which devised apartheid, remains anathema to many blacks.

Cyril Ramaphosa, the secretary general of the congress and its chief negotiator, told reporters that the agreement could not be described as "power sharing" since the majority party the secretary

1 P general of the African National Congress and its chief negotiator.

Cyril Ramaphosa, would get its way on most matters.

- If the agreement is finally enacted, white rule would end with the election by April 1994 of a 400-seat assembly, the first in which South Africans 30 million blacks would have the vote. The assembly would write a new constitution and serve as the interim parliament for a term of five years.

The president would be chosen from the most successful party, and any party that won at least 5 percent of the seats in the new parliament would also be entitled to places in the cabinet. It is widely assumed that Nelson Mandela, the congress leader, would become the new president.

Approval of Cabinet

The president would be obliged to get cabinet approval on major decisions - two-thirds approval on certain issues of fundamental importance, which have not yet been specified.

This arrangement already had the endorsement of Mr. de Klerk and must now be sold to other participants in multiparty talks, expected to resume next month.

The proposal has evoked furious denunciations from Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi of the conservative, Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party, and from black militant groups like the Pan Africanist Congress, which fear they may

be relegated to the margins by a future
, black-white coalition.

Agreement Called Binding

But the congress and the Govern-
ment have sworn to treat their new
i agreement as binding, which means
these longtime antagonists in effect re- _
enter the multiparty talks as a formi-
dableteam. .

The formula for coalition govern-
ment was worked out by' negotiators
for the Government and the congress
in January, but it caused an uproar
among militants within the congress
. who regard it as a sellout. There was
some doubt whether the congressls 100.
member governing committee would

Continued on Page A7, Column 1

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NEW YORK TIMES FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1993

'U.S. and Allies Discuss Sanctions

V To Force Mobutu to Yield Power

By KENNETH B. NOBLE . .

Special to The New York Times I

LONDON, Feb. 18 - In the after-

math of the rioting and looting this

month that claimed hundreds of lives

in (Zaire, the United States, France and

Belgium are considering political and

economic sanctions against Zaire and

its leader, Mobutu Sese Seko, Western

diplomats said today.

Such a move would put pressure on

President Mobutu, who has ruled for 28

years, to hand over real power to an

interim government. 1

A State Department paper outlining

1 possible steps describes Zaire's plight

as extremely dire. Zaire, one of the

world's poorest countries, is develop-

ing into "Somalia and Liberia rolled

into one, with vast potential for lim-

mense refugee flows, regional destabil-

ization and humanitarian disaster,"

the paper said.

Clinton's Approval Expected

The paper, dated Feb. 11, added that

if the United States and its allies "allow

Mobutu, one of Africa's strongest and

longest dictators, to destroy the coun-

try in order to prevent the emergence

of democracy, United States efforts to

foster democracy in Africa may suffer

'a tremendous setback."

The final form of the sanctions has

not been decided, but officials said they

would be debated and probably ap-

'proved by President Clinton within the

next few days. An official indicated

that at the very least, the allies would

seek to freeze Mr. Mobutu's personal

bank accounts in the United States and

Europe.

African and Western diplomats say

President Mobutu has used his position

to make himself one of the world's

richest men. Critics estimate his per-

sonal fortune at \$4 billion.

The State Department paper said

seizing "personal assets (plane, yacht,

and houses) would send a strong mes-

sage to him, without affecting the Zair-

ian economy or, for that matter, seri-

ously disrupting United States or Euro-

pean business." '

But the paper cautionedg'llt may be

difficult to identify the personal bank

accounts of Mobutu and his support-

ers: they may be under aliases."

Other steps being discussed are the

ouster of Zairian diplomats from vari-

ous posts, the denial of visas to Zair-

ians closely associated with Mr. Mo-

butu, suspension from the Internatidr

al Monetary Fund, an arms embarg

and a ban on exports from Zaire, pa

ticularly copper and cobalt. '

The options were discussed in .

meeting last week of senior officials

including Herman J. Cohen, the Assist

ant Secretary of State for African Affairs. The subject was also raised Wednesday in Washington in a meeting between Secretary of State Warren Christopher and the Foreign Minister: Willy Claes of Belgium. Zaire was still the Belgian Congo. Western diplomats involved in the discussions acknowledge, however that even if stringent sanctions are trying to pry authority from what seems like an iron grip; imposed, it is far from certain that they will have much impact on Mr. Mobutu who has repeatedly 'defied prediction: of his imminent ouster.

So far there has been little indication that recent efforts to pressure Mr. Mobutu have made any headway. Early this month, in a pointed rebuff to the Western allies, Mr. Mobutu dismissed Etienne Tshisekedi, who was Prime Minister and head of the interim Government, and indicated he would not relinquish his tight control over the treasury and the armed forces. Still, moves to impose sanctions mark a dramatic change in United States policy. During most of his tenure, President Mobutu has had close links with Washington, and the Central Intelligence Agency in particular. / The current crisis began early this month when soldiers rioted after being paid in new high-denomination bank notes that were issued by the President but outlawed by Mr. Tshisekedi and rejected by traders. 'Among those killed was the French Ambassador. As the pillaging and unrest spread France and Belgium flew in hundreds of troops to evacuate their citizens.

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Palestinian Teen-Ager Killed

In an Israeli West Bank Raid

JERUSALEM, Feb. 18 (Reuters) -

Israeli troops shot and killed a Palestinian teen-ager in the occupied West Bank today, Israeli security officials and Palestinians said, bringing the Palestinian toll to 36 dead in the first 49 days of the year.

Troops killed Jaafar Mohammed Asrawi, 17, when he fled during a raid on the village of Illar, the officials said. He was the fourth Palestinian killed by Israeli troops in two days.

On Wednesday night in Gaza City, Palestinians said, troops killed Khalid Abu al-Komsan, 27, and wounded Mohammed Sarsour, 18, as they walked down a street 10 minutes after the nightly 9 PM. curfew. The army said Mr. Komsan was shot while fleeing.

On Wednesday afternoon, two other Palestinians, ages 13 and 18, were killed by soldiers in clashes during army operations in the West Bank.

NEW YORK TIMES

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1993

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U.S. Van Attacked in Somalia

SpCClill 10 The New York 1 Imes

MOGADISHU, Somalia, Feb. 18 — A in Somalia, announced today that 3,000 Toyota Land Cruiser belonging to the more American troops would Withdraw United States Embassy came under gunfire in southern Mogadishu today, in what embassy officials described as a carjacking attempt. The Somali driver of the car was injured by broken glass.

4 Col. Fred Peek of the Marines, a Spokesman for the joint military task force, said an Air Force colonel, Richard Mentemeyer, was in the van, along with two embassy employees, when the shooting occurred. Col. Mentemeyer, the military's liaison to the embassy, fended off the gunmen, who fled. Later searches of the surrounding streets yielded no suspects.

. The shooting occurred outside the offices of CARE, and it prompted coalition forces to step up security around the embassy. Throughout the afternoon, employees did not leave the embassy in their usual ears, and most worked by wireless radio.

New Vehicles Stood Out

' An embassy officer, speaking privately, said that staff members had feared a carjacking attempt on the embassy's gleaming new Land Cruisers because most vehicles in Mogadishu are patched together from scraps of other abandoned cars and trucks.

11 In other cities, an Australian soldier on foot patrol in Baidoa was wounded by sniper fire today, while Canadian forces in Belet Huen shot at protesters hurling rocks, killing one demonstrator and injuring three on Wednesday.

Lieut. Gen. Robert B. Johnston, the commander of United States-led forces from Somalia beginning next week.

The pullout will take a week to 10 days, and the largest reduction 'will be among United States Army forces, with 2,200 troops belonging to the Army infantry battalion and members of the aviation unit returning to Fort Drum, NY.

He said the United States presence was being scaled down because of a corresponding increase in the number of coalition forces, now roughly 14,000 troops from 23 countries;

The withdrawal, the largest since a pullout of 2,700 troops that ended Tuesday, will bring the number of American forces down to about 15,000.

Will Mullahs Rescind

Rushdie Death Edict?

To the Editor:

Re OA 4-Year Death Sentence, and Counting" by Salman Rushdie (Op-Ed, Feb. 7): Only by understanding the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's alleged authority to issue his death

fatwa against the author of "The Satanic Verses" can we comprehend the prospects of rescinding the edict. When the Ayatollah Khomeini issued the edict in 1988, there were five grand ayatollahs, with Khomeini considered second to Abdghassan Khoi, who resided in Nejal, Iraq. Ayatollah Khoi, who died last year, was scrupulously nonpolitical. The closest he came to a political stand was in the spring 1991 Shiite uprising in southern Iraq, when he pleaded for mercy and forgiveness for his followers. A death fatwa could only be issued by a grand ayatollah of Khoi's reputation and popular acceptance, but Khomeini, the only grand ayatollah who ruled a Shiite country, could justify his action because of Khoi's inaction. The position of the top ayatollah is vacant. Iran usually elects an ayatollah to this rank. or the remaining four Iranian grand ayatollahs, none could claim the right to succeed Khoi. Ali Khamenei and Hashemi Rafsanjani, .— respectively spiritual leader and- ' President of Iran, are two levels below grand ayatollah and unqualified to move to the top position. The fatwa could be revoked if (1) Shiite communities worldwide found an Iranian grand ayatollah who could reverse it on a festive occasion, such as the birth of the prophet Mohammed, or (2) the remaining grand ayatollahs unanimously decided to rescind it. SEPEHR ZABIH
Visiting Scholar, Hoover Institution
Stanford, Calif., Feb. 10, 1993

At Home Abroad

ANTHONY LEWIS

THE NEW YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1993 (What VW'II Happen P,
MEXICO CITY

Bangladesh has a land area smaller than Wisconsin # and a population of 114 million. 115 numbers are growing so fast that by the year 2025 it will outstrip the present U.S. population of 250 million;

"What will happen to those poor people?" M. F. Perutz of Cambridge University asked last fall in a piece in The New York Review of Books.

"Even if by some miracle of science enough food could be produced to feed them, how could they find the gainful employment needed to buy it?"

The case of Bangladesh is just one among many stark examples of a profound world concern. World population is growing at a staggering rate, and almost all the increase is occurring in the poorest countries.

The earth's population was around one billion in the year 1800, two billion in 1920, three billion in 1960. Today it is five billion. By 2025 it is expected to be more than eight billion, and 95 percent of the increase will have been in the third world.

Prof. Paul Kennedy of Yale makes this demographic outlook - the overwhelming of already overcrowded and poverty-stricken lands - a main focus of his new book, *Preparing for the . Twenty-First Century.*" He makes the point that the situation will affect not just those countries but all.

0 The population explosion in South Asia, Latin America and Africa leads in all those areas to overgrazing, soil erosion and clearing of tropical rain forests. But, Professor Kennedy argues, it also tends to produce regional conflicts, global warming, flows of refugees and great pressure on developed countries to admit emigrants from the underdeveloped.

Anyone who has visited there knows that the pressure of population is taking its toll already, in nature and human psychology, in many places in the cities of China the crowds can be claustrophobic. In the y mountains of India and Nepal people desperate for fuel have denuded forests, so topsoil is being washed into rivers and out to sea.

India has about 880 million people now. It is growing so fast that experts i say it will pass China as the most populous country by the year 2035, and the growth may not end until there are two billion people in India. China; with about 1.165 billion now, is expected to reach 1.5 billion.

Mexico is a telling example of population growth and its social and political consequences. It has made dramatic progress in reducing the birth

rate recently. But the increase had been so great in previous years that the population is very young and will therefore continue to grow rapidly. With about 85 million people now, Mexico is expected to have 150 million in 2025. In Professor Kennedy's vision, that means a terrible strain on schools, health care, the environment. It means the crowding of more and more people into "mega-cities." Already 20 million Mexicans live in Mexico City, many under appalling conditions. Half the country's people live without sewers and a quarter without safe water. Can anyone be surprised that, despite the country's improving economic record, many Mexicans are desperate to get into the United States?

Rational self-interest, not just humane concern, should make the rich countries do all they can to prevent overpopulation and the suffering and strife it brings. 10

But rationality has not been the mainspring of American population policy lately. Presidents Reagan and Bush shaped their policy to please the staggering world population growth rate affects us all.

anti-abortion movement and a the Christian right. .

The Reagan Administration sabotaged the world population conference here in Mexico City in 1984 by taking the position that rapid growth was a "neutral" phenomenon. That was, ironically, the classic Marxist view of population growth.

Since then the US. has drastically reduced aid to population control efforts abroad, at a time when underdeveloped countries were recognizing the need for restraint. Michael S. Teitelbaum, writing about the policy in the current issue of Foreign Affairs, calls it self-inflicted blindness." Here is one problem that President Clinton can address quickly, without great legislative complications. He has ended the Reagan-Bush distortions of domestic policy on birth-related matters. The need for change in foreign policy is even more urgent: the need to face a reality more menacing in the long run than just about any on earth. . D

FINANCIAL TIMES FRIDAY FEBRUARY 19 1993

UN general orders

Bosnia aid delivery

By Laura Silber In Belgrade

GENERAL Philippe Morillon,

French head of the United

Nations protection force for aid

convoys in Bosnia, yesterday

ordered his troops to go ahead

and deliver emergency supplies

to a besieged Moslem enclave

in eastern Bosnia - regardless

of suspension of relief

operations by the UN High

Commissioner for Refugees.

The UNHCR in Belgrade wel-

comed the efforts of Gen Moril-

lon. "If he gets through it will

be good news for the people of

Gorazde," said Ms Judith

Kumin, head of the Belgrade

UNHCR office.

Diplomats said the indepen-

dent initiative of Gen Morillon

reflected possible splits

between the UNHCR and some

of the national contingents of

the UN peacekeeping forces.

One diplomat described Gen

Morillon as a "loose cannon".

UN forces on the ground in

Sarajevo were reportedly

stunned by the decision on

Wednesday of Mrs Sadako

Ogata, the UN High Commis-

sioner for Refugees, to halt

relief operations in all Serb-

held parts of Bosnia and air

and land convoys to Sarajevo.

Serb commanders yesterday

pledged to allow a convoy to

travel to Gorazde today after

Gen Morillon met Bosnian Serb

commanders in Rogatica,

about 30 miles north of Gor-

azde.

Gen Morillon promised Serbs

that the road to Gorazde would

be repaired, according to the

UNHCR Belgrade office.

Eight UNHCR convoys over

the past four months have

reached the mainly Moslem

Gorazde, in a Serb stranglehold

since war erupted in April.

UNHCR officials yesterday

said warehouses in Sarajevo,

which are at capacity, would

be unlocked in an attempt to

provide food for some 380,000

people trapped in the Bosnian

capital. The Bosnian govern-

ment last week said Sarajevo

would refuse further aid ship-

ments until the UNHCR suc-

ceeded in reaching some

100,000 Moslems besieged in

eastern Bosnia, some without

outside relief since the war

began.

Bosnian Serb commanders

have repeatedly refused to allow the passage of UN humanitarian relief for Moslem enclaves.

Serb commanders for four days this week stopped another convoy bound for Cerska, eastern Bosnia, because of fighting in the region.

Envoy affirms US support

By Robert Mauthner and

Michael Littlejohns

in New York

THE new US envoy to the Bosnian peace talks, Mr Reginald Bartholomew, said yesterday the US did not want to replace the Vance-Owen efforts to broker a settlement, but to contribute to a solution.

He gave this assurance after his first meeting with Mr Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, the international mediators on the former Yugoslavia. He spent two hours in intensive discussions on the Vance-Owen plan for dividing Bosnia into 10 largely autonomous provinces.

"We are not here to supplant the process," Mr Bartholomew said afterwards.

His remarks confirmed the impression given by Mr Warren Christopher, the US secretary of state, when he announced Washington's new policy on Bosnia last week, that the US did not have a ready-made alternative to the Vance-Owen plan, in spite of its reservations about certain of its provisions.

Mr Bartholomew had talks last week in Moscow, during which Mr Andrei Kozyrev, the Russian foreign minister, underlined his support for the VanceOwen plan.

The US envoy is not expected to propose any major modifications in their plan. But it is probable he will join them in proposing some modest changes to their proposed map, so as to make the provincial boundaries more acceptable to the Bosnian Moslems.

Mr Vitaly Churkin, the new Russian envoy to the Bosnian peace talks, was due to meet the international mediators, including Mr Bartholomew, later in the day. But there was no sign that representatives of the warring parties, except Mr Mate Boban, the Bosnian Croat leader, were ready to resume the talks, which were in abeyance pending last week's US policy announcement.

Bosnia's Moslem President
Alija Izetbegovic is due to visit
Washington at the weekend
but has not announced firm
plans to go to New York. It is
understood that US officials
will try to persuade him to
resume his participation in the
peace talks as soon as possible.
Mr Radovan Karadzic, leader of
the Bosnian Serbs, has
declined to rejoin the talks in
the absence of Mr Izetbegovic.
"w" W.. M. WV.

ANC backs
away from
conflict
over plan

By Patti Waldmeir In
Johannesburg

THE African National
Congress yesterday backed
away from confrontation with
the South African government
over a proposed plan for multi-
racial power sharing.

The organisation's policy-
making national executive
committee yesterday decided
to endorse the plan, which
calls for a multi-party interim
government to rule until the
end of the century, reversing
an earlier decision to refer the
deal back to its membership
for approval. . -

Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, the
ANC Secretary General, said
the decision had been unani-
mous. However as he spoke in
Johannesburg, Mr Chris Hani,
a prominent ANC leader and
general secretary of the South
African Communist Party,
contradicted him in a speech
in Cape Town, saying the ANC
would share power with the
National Party in a "govern-
ment of national unity" only
for about nine months - the
time it would take to write a
new constitution - and not
for the five years announced
by Mr Ramaphosa. .

,Mr Ramaphosa's success at
pushing the deal through the
national executive could give a
boost to multi-party negotia-
tions on a new constitution,
with the first round of talks
due to take place next week.
However, there are many cru-
cial issues which remain unre- .
solved in the outline agree-
ment due to be debated in the
talks, including whether pow-
er-sharing in the interim gov-
ernment should be voluntary
or compulsory.
Another area of dispute will
be the cabinet mechanism for

decision-taking: Mr Ramaphosa insists that the majority party will dominate cabinet except in certain limited cases where a two-thirds majority will be required.

a magic cave

National assembly flexes its muscles over foreign investments, writes Mark Nicholson

OR the first time in

Kuwait's history, a

small group of elected

representatives will examine

the state's books. '

Under a law formally pro-

mulgated in Kuwait last week,

all state-owned companies and

investment organisations,

must now pass their accounts

to the auditor general. He must

then pass them to a committee

of Kuwaiti MPs.

The law, which will also

toughen penalties for misuse of

public funds, is likened by its

drafter, Mr Hamad al-Jouan,

chairman of the National

Assembly's legislative commit-

tee, to the secret word with

which Ali Baba opened the 1'

magic cave. "With this law we

have invented our secret word

for that cave to open."

The cave, of course, contains

Kuwait's rich - if these days

diminished and

managed by the London-based

Kuwait Investment Office

Since the earliest days of

democracy in Kuwait, people

have been asking what KIO

was doing," says Mr al-Jouan. "1

But parliament has never had

the strength to make such a

law a reality".

That changed last October,

when Kuwait's 84,000 eligible

voters returned what many of

the 50 elected MPs consider to

be the Gulf states most power-

ful National Assembly ever -

and certainly the most power-

ful assembly in the Gulf. In

three-and-a-half months, the

assembly has mandated parlia-

mentary scrutiny of the state's

accounts, and embarked on an

unsparing examination of what

went wrong in the days leading

up to the Iraqi invasion in

August 1990. Next it wants a

scandal - I

tarnished - trove of overseas

investments, most of which are

decisive say in determining

economic policies.

In a country which has seen

almost as many suspended par-

liaments as sitting assemblies

since the 1962 constitution

came into force, MPs finally

appear to have won a measure

of real governing power.

This is not a development

which will bring hails of joy in

neighbouring capitals, where

vaunted steps towards wider political participation more . closely resemble a reluctant y shuffle.

Nor is it entirely to the liking of the ruling al-Sabah family. However, since their return to liberated Kuwait in 1991, they have had little choice but to accommodate a profoundly changed public mood.

In part, this reflects anger at "the way the al-Sabah handled: the crisis before the invasion, and its indecision afterwards. However, increasingly, it reflects growing suspicion that al-Sabah hands have not been the safest for guaranteeing the security of Kuwait's endowment to its future generations: being its foreign investment bounty.

The emergence since the end of the Gulf war of a stream of embarrassing revelations Since the first days of democracy, people have been asking about KIO about Kuwait's overseas investments. which topped \$100bn (£69bn) before the Gulf war, not only helped sweep an opposition majority into the National Assembly, but gave the new MPs a considerable lever over the ruling family. It already appears that some members of the al-Sabah family may face prosecution for their part in the \$4bn losses of Grupo Torras, KIO's Spanish holding company.

Meanwhile, Kuwait's public prosecutor is helping to prepare a criminal law suit against former KIO executives in London.

"This affair runs very deep," says one western diplomat.

The government has said it will do its utmost to uncover and punish all wrongdoing at KIO - whatever the family names of anyone found guilty. It has also agreed to allow the assembly freedom to conduct its own investigations. But if the al-Sabah have agreed to cede some of their governing power to the National Assembly, the parliament in its turn appears to have come to an understanding with the "political leadership" in the family.

In the words of one eminent MP: "We're saying give us more power to supervise our wealth and our future, and in

return, the government can look after the investigation and punishment of its own."

This, in essence, appears to be the deal being out between Kuwait's assertive new parliament and its ruling family.

"The National Assembly understands our ruling family very well," says Mr al-Shatte.

"It also remembers the suspensions of previous parliaments, and we have decided not to push affairs to a confrontation."

The emir, Sheikh Jaber: has come to an understanding". But he adds something of a warning. We will also not accept mistakes by important people which could be considered crimes."

Kuwait lives in too unstable a region to wish to damage entirely the credibility of its rulers. As a local diplomat says: "Whatever internal conflicts there may be here; there is unity towards the outside world. And there has to be."

Kuwaitis concede damage from row. See International Capital Markets Page

Kuwaitis concede
serious damage
from KIO row

By Peter Bruce In Madrid

THE KUWAITI authorities
have for the first time con-
ceded that the row surround-
ing investments by the Kuwait
Investment Office (KIO) in
Spain is seriously damaging
the emirate's standing in inter-
national credit markets.

Mr Abdullah al-Gabandi, the
head of the Kuwait Investment
Authority (KIA, the MOS con-
trolling body), told a group of
Spanish journalists in Kuwait
that Kuwait had been forced to
postpone a borrowing in the
international capitals planned
for December.

"The loss of image provoked
by the KIO case and the way it
has been treated makes it diffi-
cult to obtain credits and those
that are available would be
very expensive," Mr al-Gabandi
was quoted as saying.

i The KIA negotiated a \$5.5bn
loan for Kuwait soon after the
war that ended the Iraqi inva-
sion in 1991. But after new
managers took over the KIO
last May they quickly became
involved in a vitriolic and pub-
lic row over what they allege
was \$5bn lost by their
predecessors in risky invest-
ments in Spain. Bankers in
London said yesterday the row
had "inevitably" undermined
the emirate's position in debt
markets.

There are few signs of the
row subsiding although two
attempts to bring criminal
charges against former manag-
ers of the KIO and its Spanish
operations have been rebuffed
this year by the Spanish
courts for lack of evidence.
The new KIO management
says it is determined to con-
tinue pursuing Sheikh Fahad
al-Sabah, the former KIO chair-
man, Mr Fouad Jaffar, its for-
mer general manager, and Mr
Javier de la Rosa, the former
manager of their Spanish
operations, for alleged fraud.
While this effort will keep
the affair public, it appears
increasingly to have Kuwaiti
political rather than legal
objectives. Mr al-Gabandi, who'
said Kuwaitis were "furious"
about what had happened in
Spain, pointedly did not accuse
the former KIO management of
illegalities. Instead, he said the

KIA's investment guidelines had been ignored. The KIO should have contracted an institution and not Mr de la Rosa to run its affairs in Spain, he said. .

These remarks reflect the marked differences of opinion now emerging from Kuwait on just how the MOS Spanish debacle should be concluded. The new KIO management currently reports directly to the finance minister and is being encouraged to keep up public pressure on the former KIO management.

In contrast, Mr al-Gabandi appears to favour an internal, less public, settlement which would in effect shift Kuwait's sensitive finances away from public scrutiny.

The desirability of the KIA taking control of all of the KIO's direct investments overseas has been canvassed inside Kuwait in recent weeks. -

Nigeria reforms challenged

By a Correspondent In Abuja

NIGERIA'S relaunched reform programme faced its first big challenge yesterday, as the naira fell sharply against the dollar and state governments began conceding demands for 45 per cent pay rises.

The government promised in January to trim spending and cut the budget deficit, reduce inflation and curb money supply in an effort to put the economy on a stable footing before the planned handover to civilian rule in August.

At yesterday's Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) foreign exchange auction, the dollar sold for 24.99 naira, compared with 20.56 naira at the CBN's last sale on January 19. Bankers blamed the decline on high inflation and a continuing

Mitsubishi

Heavy in .

job cuts

By Mlchiyo Nakamoto

in Tokyo

MITSUBISHI Heavy Industries

yesterday became the latest

Japanese company to

announce a big cut in its

workforce in response to the

worsening Japanese economy.

The company, Japan's largest heavy machinery manufacturer, said it would reduce the number of employees at its

Mihama plant in Hiroshima by about 10 per cent. or close to

400 workers, to meet an equivalent fall in demand for products made at the plant.

Last autumn, the company sent a number of employees working at its machine-tool plants temporarily to Mitsubishi Motors, a fellow member of the group.

shortage of foreign exchange.

Fewer than 18 of the 80 banks that bid at the Dutch auction were successful. The central bank was reverting to the system scrapped two years ago of competitive tendering by the banks. It has cancelled all but two of its scheduled weekly foreign exchange sales in the past two months.

Fears the counter-inflationary policies set out in the January budget will be undermined were raised yesterday when Lagos state administration joined Yobe and Katsina States and gave way to 45 per cent wage claims. Other states

are expected to bow to pressure from striking employees. Last June, the federal government announced a 45 per cent pay increase for its staff. Union leaders have warned that further wage demands should be expected, saying the awards should be treated as an interim measure. Inflation at present exceeds 45 per cent. The naira, which exchanged for more than a dollar in the early 1980s, was devalued by 41 per cent last March to close a gap with the parallel market. It is worthless than five cents today. In March the CBN reformed its foreign exchange system to make itself an active participant in the market, buying and selling foreign exchange at market rates. Mr Ernest Shonekan, chairman of the country's transitional council, is expected to stress the importance of keeping to budget targets when he addresses a conference on the economy beginning in Abuja today.

Mitsubishi Heavy said it aims to curtail its Mihama workforce over two years through natural wastage, reduction in graduate intake, and by transferring staff to affiliated companies.

The move highlights the spreading impact of the slowdown in Japan's economy on the nation's workforce.

The downturn has not yet led to huge redundancies, but Japanese companies have been encouraging older employees to retire early, transferring staff to affiliated companies and restricting the intake of graduates.

Palestinians
shot dead

Israeli troops shot dead four Palestinians yesterday in renewed clashes, providing a bloody backdrop for the first Middle East tour by Mr Warren Christopher, the US secretary of state, Reuter reports from Jerusalem. The killings came as Mr Christopher set off on a Middle East tour designed to restart Arab-Israeli peace talks.

Egypt and IMF

a delay reform

I Egypt and the International Monetary Fund have agreed to push back the start of a new economic reform programme by three months to May because of "technical difficul-

ties", an Egyptian minister
said yesterday, Renter reports
from Cairo. Cairo has now
agreed on a budget deficit tar-
get set by the IMF but has still
lagged on privatisation of the
vast, inefficient public sector.
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FINANCIAL TIMES FRIDAY FEBRUARY 19 1993

Russia 6trying to paralySe Ukrainei

By Chrystla Freeland In Kiev

and John Lloyd In Moscow

RUSSIA was trying to bring about "a full paralysis" of the Ukrainian economy, Mr Leonid Kuchma, Ukraine's prime minister, said yesterday.

Such action could present the west with a "distorted" view of the republic's economic position, he said.

The remarks by Mr Kuchma, who has consistently sought an economic and political rapprochement with Russia, indicate a sharp deterioration in relations between the two former Soviet republics.

"Unfortunately, there is already a conflict," Mr Kuchma said. "Worse still, this is a conflict in which there can be no victors."

The weapons in the struggle are oil and gas, for which Russia is demanding world prices or threatening to decrease supply, and the unresolved issue of the foreign debts and assets of the former Soviet Union.

But recent comments by Russian officials suggest that disagreements about these economic issues are underpinned by political; and military disputes between Russia, which is seeking to retain some of the former Soviet Union's old sphere of influence, and Ukraine, which is adamantly charting a separate course.

In an effort to save the situation, Mr Kuchma said that he had telephoned his Russian counterpart, Mr Viktor Cernomyrdin, yesterday to arrange a meeting next Friday.

"I cannot understand the Russian position," Mr Kuchma said. "It is not motivated by economics. It can only be seen as some sort of pressure on Ukraine; But Russia must realise that to return to the former Soviet Union is neither technically nor politically possible." Earlier this week Mr Viktor

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Shokhin, Russian deputy prime minister, said Ukraine could have subsidised energy only if it made concessions to Russia over the Black Sea Fleet, allowed Russian military bases to be established in Ukraine, and permitted Russia to export oil and gas through Ukrainian pipelines.

Mr Shokhin's statements

came on top of Russians unilateral increase in the prices it charges Ukraine for natural gas to world levels - a jump of 2,500 per cent - and the announcement by the Russian prime minister that Ukraine would receive only 15m tonnes of oil this year, 5m less than Russia promised in January and one third of Ukrainians energy requirement.

"They understand perfectly that to move to world prices in one day means a complete paralysis of the Ukrainian economy," said Mr Kuchma.

He said Ukraine received no oil from Russia in January.

Nuclear missiles in Ukraine are being drawn into the struggle. Ukrainian and Russian sources say the missiles are not being properly maintained by the Russian factories which produced them. Western diplomats in Kiev say that in a worst case scenario the missiles would not be mistakenly launched but could explode, spreading nuclear material throughout the region.

"We have the impression that Russians are withholding technical assistance in an effort to discredit the Ukrainian armed forces," said Lieutenant General Oleksiy Kruzhka, who is in charge of the nuclear missiles in Ukraine.

A senior Russian official, quoted in the Moscow daily Izvestia, said the failure to maintain the missiles "has created the threat of a second Chernobyl".

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Yeltsin

I seeks

I nationis

I backing

for reform

I By John Lloyd in Moscow

MR BORIS YELTSIN. the

Russian president, yesterday

I appealed to the nation to support

his version of a constitution if a

referendum on who rules the

country becomes necessary.

The president outlined his ver-

sion of a constitutional agree-

ment with the Russian parlia-

ment on dividing the balance of

power. His proposals seem cer-

I tain to be rejected by parliament

because of uncompromising

demands for the government to

take sole charge of economic

I reform and to control the central

bank.

His proposals amount to a neu-

tering of parliament, with the

added insult of taking from it the

I decision on a new constitution

and giving it to a constituent

assembly.

Mr Yeltsin said that there were

I forces, "inherited from the old

system and...responsible for

nothing" who were benefiting

from the crisis" _ a reference to

parliament, which was elected

I during the Soviet period.

He endorsed a referendum uin

which the people can have their

say" as the only way out of a

I power crisis if the current negoti-

ations with the team selected by

Mr Ruslan Khasbulatov, the par-

liamentary speaker, fail.

Mr Yeltsin's constant stress on

the possibility of failure, coupled

with the maximalist nature of his

proposals, suggest that he gives

the negotiating process little

I chance. '

He reminded his audierice that -

he had tried many times to get

agreement with the Supreme

Soviet on a respite from the con-

stant power struggle. He said

that only when the threat of a

referendum was held above their

heads did they agree to negotiate.

The Russian president said

that he supported early elections

once an election law had been

adopted - with elections for par-

liament in the spring of next

year, and for president in the

spring of 1995. uTo hold the two

elections at the same time would

risk destabilisation," he said.

Mr Yeltsin knows, however,

that he is launching an appeal for

support at a time when indiffer-

ence, even disgust, with politics

is running high and when his own popularity ratings have slipped to their lowest level since his election to the presidency less than two years ago.

Mr Mikhail Poltaranin, head of the Federal Information Centre
FINANCIAL TIMES FRIDAY FEBRUARY 19 1993
estsn with no ability to usave Russia from dismemberment".

Mr Poltaranin said that a referendum on the constitution - scheduled for April - was the last attempt to resolve the struggle for power peacefully.

Mr Yeltsin and Mr Khasbulatov have agreed that a presidential-parliamentary commission must find a formula for a division of and a close presidential aide, yesterday described parliament as merely "the sum of local inter-T1211)

powers by the end of the month. It Will be put to the Congress of Peoples' Deputies next month.

an closer to an enhanced UN role
By Charles Leadbeater
In Tokyo

JAPAN may become a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council after a wide-ranging review of the Councils structure, Mr Boutros Boutros Ghali, UN secretary-general, said yesterday. "There is a lot of possibility of Japan having a permanent seat, but it is a decision of the member states," Mr Boutros Ghali said at the end of a four-day visit to Japan.

The countrys case for a permanent seat was also backed by Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany, who begins a visit to Tokyo in a weeks time.

Mr Kohl told a Japanese television interviewer that it was natural that Japan should become a permanent member, following changes to the make-up of the Council, to reflect the rise of Asian economic power.

Germany itself is seeking a permanent seat on the Council. Mr Boutros Ghali's comments may well rekindle debate over reform of the Security Council, which has 15 members and five permanent members. The UN is canvassing its 180 members their views on the subject.

Any reform must be backed by the five permanent members, at least nine of the over-all membership, and two-thirds of the General Assembly.

It could, however, be subject to a veto, perhaps from Britain or France, neither of which is enthusiastic about Japanese permanent membership. It might also open up a flood of ' applicants from other states claiming such status. '

Mr Warren Christopher, US . secretary of state, recently supported reform of the Council i through agreement among its members, which would allow Japan a permanent seat.

His remarks provoked a sharp response from the British government, a permanent member, which is concerned it may lose its seat under a I restructuring. .

Mr Boutros Ghali seemed intent on wooing Japan, partly because a greater Japanese involvement in the UN might ease some of the organisations financial pressures.

The secretarygeneral said he would welcome Japanese peacekeepers as part of the UN operatibns in Mozambique, as a step towards Japan deepening its involvement with the organisation.

Japan's involvement in peacekeeping activities was not, however, a precondition for it gaining a permanent 2 Security Council seat. Japanis ; first peacekeeping unit took up its post in Cambodia last September, after years of agonising over whether such'a role was appropriate under a pacifist constitution.

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UK unemployment hits 3m
for first time in six years
By Peter Marsh, Philip Stephens
and Peter Norman In London
THE PROSPECT of UK tax
increases in next month's Budget
appeared to harden yesterday
after an hour-long cabinet discus-
sion of the economic outlook was
accompanied by news that head-
line unemployment last month
pushed above 3m for the first
time in six years.

With little hope in the UK gov-
ernment of any falls in unem-
ployment until the mid-1990s, Mr
Norman Lamont, the chancellor,
left ministerial colleagues in no
doubt that tax increases to cut
the government's deficit were a
real possibility in the March 16
Budget.

The suggestion that the gov-
ernment should "bite the bullet"
on raising taxes sooner rather
than later also appeared to be
winning support among Tory
MPs. The extension of value
added tax to domestic fuel and
heating as part of a number of
"green" taxes is considered a
front-runner.

Hopes of economic recovery
Details

Editorial Comment ...Page 13
received a modest boost from
news that seasonally adjusted
bank and building society lend-
ing increased by an unexpectedly
strong 514.1bn (\$5.8bn) in January
after falling by £74m in Decem-
ber. The Bank of England and
the British Bankers Association
suggested that January's lending
figure could have been inflated
by companies borrowing to pay
corporation tax bills.

The headline figure of people
unemployed and claiming benefit
in January rose to 3.06m, while
on a seasonally adjusted basis
the figure was 2.99m.

The seasonally adjusted rise in
unemployment between Decem-
ber and January was a lower-
than-expected 22,100, the smallest
monthly increase since June. But
Downing Street officials acknowl-
edged there was little prospect
that the jobless total would turn
down for two or three years.

Mrs Gillian Shephard, the UK
employment secretary, indicated
that a new package of measures
to take tens of thousands off the
unemployment register would be
ready by Budget day.

The jobless figures brought
fierce clashes in the House of

Commons. Mr John Major, the
UK prime minister, appeared
unsettled as Mr,John Smith, the
Labour party leader, accused him
of creating a "social tragedy" and
"economic madness".

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JAPANESE AIR THEIR JOA GRIPES

A Japanese hotline. operated for two days for workers who have been fired or pressured to quit, got an earful, especially from white-collar people older than 45. The Japan Labor Lawyers' Association said the reaction pointed out the severity of labor conditions in a weak economy. and an increase in unfair dismissals. Though the jobless rate is just 2.4%, firms with sluggish profits often move workers into tedious or irrelevant posts in hopes they will quit. Callers complained about pay cuts or assignments for which they weren't qualified. A manager who refused to resign had to work in the basement for six months. A computer software worker was transferred from Tokyo to a remote branch where he had to chop wood and write a daily composition.

Meanwhile, the Supreme Court upheld a lower court ruling that Asahi Fire & Marine Insurance Co. committed an unfair labor practice by transferring an employee who thus had to live apart from his family for eight years.

The plaintiff's lawyer said this marked the first time the high court annulled a transfer that separated a married couple.

BRAZIL SLASHES MANY TARIFFS

Brazil slashed tariffs on more than 100 imports, including foodstuffs and cleaning and beauty products. The move, to fight inflation that last month ran at a rate of at least 26%, is aimed at making imported products more competitive with domestically made goods. The tariff on wheat, which Brazil imports from Argentina and the U.S., dropped to 5% from 15%. Duties on canned goods were cut to 15% from 25%, pastas and noodles to 30% from 40%, biscuits and cookies to 20% from 40%, and fruits, vegetables, candy, jams and tomato paste to 10% from 20%.

BRITAIN'S JOBLESSNESS RISES

The British unemployment rate rose to 10.6% of the work force last month from 10.5% in December. This marked a setback in the government's battle for economic recovery from the longest downturn since the Depression. The number of people out of work rose a seasonally adjusted 22,100 to 2,995,000. The unadjusted total climbed 78,726 to 3,062,065, the highest since April 1987. Unemployment could grow to a seasonally adjusted total of at least 3.3 million and stay above 3 million for the rest of the decade. Joblessness usually doesn't fall until well into a recovery.

MALAYSIA ENDS ROYAL FEUD

Malaysia's monarchy assented to a compromise bill curbing the constitutionally guaranteed privileges and above-the-law status of the nine royal sultans. This settled a legislative feud between the gov-

ernment and royalty. Parliament will consider the amended bill next month. The dispute had triggered fears of a further split in allegiance of the Malay majority between its symbolic protectors, the sultans, and its political power base, the United Malays National Organization.

BANK SOUGHT TO ALB RUSSIAN FIRMS

German Finance Minister Theo Waigel proposed setting up a bank to lend to small and medium-sized businesses in Russia to help keep the republic's economic reforms on track. The new bank, he told the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development in London, would complement and not compete with the EBRD, which mainly lends to state-owned companies in Eastern Europe and arranges financing to rebuild infrastructure. The EBRD responded positively to the idea.

CHINA KEEPS LID ON INFLATION

China said its inflation rate last year was 6.4%, though the pace in some regions hit 14% after low prices of many products were freed from state control.

The government, which has been worried that the economy is overheating, said pressure for rapid inflation is being held under control, even though the money supply has expanded more than Beijing wanted. China in the past year has deregulated prices of 600 production materials, as well as grain and other consumer staples. Gross domestic product per capita last year was 2,055 yuan (\$352), up 19% from 1991 for the biggest increase ever. Industrial production rose 21%, the most since China began economic reforms in 1978.

State-owned enterprises operating at a loss fell to 25% from 35%. More than one million workers were laid off, but one-fourth of them were given new jobs and about two-thirds were trained and reassigned, while 10% had to fend for themselves.

Retail sales climbed 9.8% to 109 billion yuan (\$18.66 billion), as per capita urban incomes rose 8.8% to 1,826 yuan and farm incomes increased 5.9% to 784 yuan.

Posrscnms . . .

Civil servants in Greece staged a one-day strike, closing government offices, schools and hospitals and demanding pay raises greater than the 9.1% offered, as inflation may hit 12.5% this year.

Tourist arrivals in New Zealand totaled 140,900 in December, a record for any month, and up 12% from a year earlier. For the full year, arrivals rose 10% to 1.1 million, compared with 1991.

-Compiled by Richard L. Holman

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global role 101 Japan

TOKYO- The UN. secretary-

! general suggested Thursday that

Japan Join peacekeeping efforts

outside Asia, but he left questions

about the country s peace consti-

tution to the J apanese people.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali, making

the first trip to J span in 1 1 years

by a UN. head, said he urged J apa-

l nese leaders to broaden and in-

s crease their support for the world
body.

His visit comes as Japan is de-

bating what kind of larger global

political and military role it should
play.

J apan already is the second-

largest financial contributor to the

United Nations, after the United

States. But it has set limits for its

participation in UN. peacekeep-

ing operations because of a consti-

tutional ban on the use of force in

resolving international disputes.

About 700 J apanese soldiers in

the UN. military force in Cambo-

dia are repairing roads and are un-

x l

der instructions to avoid armed

conflict. They were the first Japa-

nese ground troops sent abroad

since World War II.

Boutros-Ghali said at a news

conference that he was interested

in having a J apanese presence in

UN. operations outside Asia to

boost the credibility of peacekeep-

ing forces by making them more

multinational. ,

India on guardlagainst

religious festival riots

VARANASI, India - Hundreds

of thousands of Hindus streamed

into this holy city Thursday for a

major religious festival, as police

patrolled the streets to try to pre-

vent another ohtbreak of Hindu-

Muslim violenbe.

Many of thei6, 000 heavily armed

policemen guarded narrow lanes

around Kashi Vishwanath temple,

which is next door to a mosque

that Hindu fundamentalists have

long wanted to tear down. '

u

llavaged by Iraqis, zoo

ls restored In Kuwait

KUWAIT - Dalal the elephant

happily twirled grass in her trunk

and threw it across her back

Thursday, apparently oblivious of

Ithe bullet lodged ln her right shoul-

der from an Iraqi attempt to kill

her two years ago. a

"After liberation, she was so

hin you could see her bones," Ku-

wait Zoo director Mousa al-

_Khashti said at a ceremony mark-
g the zoo s reopening after a \$2.1
illion renovation. 4

During the Iraqi occupation, sol-
diers acting on orders from Bagh-
ad transferred some of the ani-
als to Iraq ,killed those they
couldn,t catch, and ate some of
them. , - ,

Among the victims were two ze-
bras, all the gazelles and ostriches,
a few camels, and a baby water buf-
falo, which was barbecued, Al-
Khashti said.

He believes the puma, black
leopards, and a spotted leopard
went to Baghdad.

Kuwaiti volunteers who tried to
save some of the animals, includ-
ing one man who took home a bear,
said the Iraqis also set fire to sev-
eral buildings ln the 18 acre park.
The volunteer said the bear helped
keep Iraqi soldiers away from his
house.1

The U S. Marines who helped
liberate Kuwait made some initial
repairs at the zoo, and neighboring
countries donated many of the ani-
mals.

Emmi

?ITNG agrees to 5 years

of joint government

SOWETO, South Africa - The

. African National Congress formal-
ly agreed Thursday to govern
jointly with whites and other par-
ties for up to five years after the
end of apartheid:

. The announcement, following
three days of meetings by the
ANC's top leaders, was seen as an
important compromise in the deli-
cate black-white political negotia-
tions.

But the ANC also tried to assure
supporters it would hold the stron-
gest share of power if, as expected,
it captured the country,s first all-
race election. Militant members of
the nation's biggest black party
had opposed multiparty rule.

"The objective will be to unite
our country, to bring about stabil-
ity, to ensure we embark on a re-
construction program with other
parties," Cyril Ramaphosa, the
ANCis secretary-general, said at a
news conference in this black
township outside Johannesburg.
Key differences remain between
the government and ANC. But
they appear to be converging on f
the idea of a multiracial, multi-
party government that would lead
South Africa out of the apartheid
era.

Ramaphosa said joint rule would
not last more than five years, while
President F rederik W. de Klerk
has spoken of permanent power-

sharing entrenched in a new constitution.

All parties receiving at least 5 percent of the vote in a multiracial election would be represented in the interim government, but the , largest party would wield the most power, Ramaphosa said. That likely would be the ANC.

THE RECORD

, MIDEAST

Christopher to gauge

Arab, Israeli intentions

.7 CAIRO, Egypt - Secretary of

State Warren Christopher began

his first mission to the Middle

East on Thursday with a promise

and a warning to Israel and its

'Arab neighbors: The Clinton ad-

ministration will work to help

peace talks succeed, but not if the

Arabs and Israelis play hard-

get, senior officials said.

"It's a big world, with lots of

things to do," one official said, not-

ing that the administration al-

ready has its hands full with prob-

lems in Bosnia, Russia, and

elsewhere.

3,000 more U.S. troops

to depart from Somalia

MOGADISHU, Somalia - Ma-

jine Col. Fred Peck announced

Thursday that nearly 3,000 more

American troops are to leave So-

malia beginning next week.

The withdrawal will include

2,200 from the U.S. Army's 3rd

Battalion, 14th Infantry based at

Fort Drum in New York and other

units. Also returning will be 25

Army helicopters and four Marine

helicopters and 250 Air Force per-

sonnel, Peck said.

That will reduce the U.S. pres-

ence in Somalia to about 15,000

troops and support staff.

More than 14,000 soldiers from

other countries are in Somalia as

the United Nations prepares to ap-

prove a peacekeeping force to as-

sume control of the coalition from

the United States.

American forces in Somalia

reached a high of 24,883 on Jan

26, Peck said. The total coalition

peaked at 38,301.

Peck said the U.S. reduction was

unconnected to an upcoming Secu-

rity Council debate on the Somalia

mission.

The Middle East "seems to us to

have a very high priority, but it

can't continue to have that priority

if we're pushing against a closed

door," the official warned.

Christopher plans to spend

much of his weeklong trip through

the Middle East investigating the

attitudes of the region's leaders

and deciding whether the peace

talks are worth a major investment

of time, officials said.

"He's going to be listening very,

very carefully to what he hears

from. The Arabs, the Israelis,

the Palestinians, as to how serious

they are in promoting meaningful

negotiations that can move this

peace process forward another

senior official said.

A round of talks between Israel and Syria in the fall briefly raised the prospect of a peace between the area's two most implacable enemies, but little concrete progress followed.

0.8. says Libya striving for chemical arsenal

WASHINGTON - Libya is expanding its chemical weapons capability and other nations should cut off supplies for the project, the State Department said Thursday. Department spokesman Joseph Snyder said any weapons-related exports to Libya violate a UN Security Council resolution binding on all U.N. member states.

The United States and scores of other countries signed a convention last month in Paris to ban chemical weapons. But officials said the Libyan facility is not illegal because the accord has not yet gone into effect.

The convention accord has been open for signature at the United Nations. Libya had not signed it as of Wednesday, U.S. officials said. Libya, in a dispatch Thursday from the state-run JANA news agency, denied it was building a chemical weapons plant. The agency said Libya labeled the accusations a form of psychological terrorism.

The New York Times reported Thursday that Libya is building a subterranean chemical- weapons plant capable of producing and storing poison gas.

The underground factory remains disguised as part of a water project, the Times said. It is about 40 miles southeast of Tripoli, not far from another facility that the United States also believes is capable of producing chemical agents.

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I EDITORIAL

BY MORTIMER B. ZUCKERMAN

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CLINTON'S SHAKY START

andidate Clinton established a rapport with the No Democrat will hold the political allegiance of the

c American people. President Clinton has blown working and middle classes of America by a doctrine-

it. He has the highest disapproval rating of any naire division of the country. Merit matters; so does

president since such polls began in the 505. This is a unifying the country, instead of dividing it still further.

fair judgment. His handling of his pro-gay position A government that started up short of cash is now

with respect to the military gave a bizarre sense of short of political capital. Clinton can build it only by

priorities. His selection of the attorney general has getting back in touch with the voters who elected him

been one foul-up after another. The successive leaks of and by taking on the congressional leadership that may

his economic program have only given the lobbyists stand in his way if he tries to produce a real economic

more time to gear up against his anticipated proposals. program. He can do this if he has the people behind him,

The transition has given edge to Ross Perot's campaign - if they feel a real sense of purpose and fairness. He will

campaign gibe that running Arkansas is somewhat different not be able to do it if he caves in to the Democratic

from running America. Clinton's idol, Congress on issues where he promised

John Kennedy, zoomed out of his transition - reform, like campaign finance.

sition with a complete team hand - The president seems to be waking up

picked on merit from universities and is so far, the to this reality. His town hall meeting boardrooms. FDR is 100 days restored - last week, for all its obvious stunt value,

confidence and purpose. It really was president has seemed to have a serious intent in preparing -

morning again with Ronald Reagan in emerged as the paring the country for more taxes and those early months of 1981. So far, Clinton's champion less services. When he unveils his plan,

ton has emerged as the champion it will have to meet the tests of tackling

backpedaler, blown off course by any backpeddler, blown the deficit and sustaining the government -

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breath of hot air from a radio comment - off course by any signs of economic growth. The new

tator or phone-in campaign. His treatment - (7th h t - , mantra must be that it is the deficit, statement of Kimba Wood was a disgrace in 1960 of 0 (117'. The Congressional Budget Office -

itself and an ominous portent. She had committed no mistake except to be a

mother and to be associated with a

face deficit predictions are now far

worse than previously imagined. Without

surgery, deficits during a possible

panicky White House. The gender - two-term Clinton presidency would

remanding of the job and the establishment of a higher - add \$2.7 trillion to our debt load - double the \$1.3 trillion -

than-Zoe standard of acceptability for major appointments - lion that President Reagan added to the national debt.

ments have made the administration look like a bunch of The country longs to hear something of the initiative -

prigs. The president has finally got an attorney general that candidate Clinton declared he would take: the

who meets his criterion of being a woman. It is an ironic investment in high-speed transportation and communication -

postscript on campaign promises about families that she tions, a health care plan, the emphasis on rehabilitation -

is safe, in the eyes of the White House, because she has tions in the drug war, sustenance for the cities. But he

never had children who needed extra care. must deal with the deficit first.

The cabinet does not so much look like America. Nothing impedes the current recovery movement

ore than our
as candidate Clinton promised. It looks like an amal- exceptionally high real interest ra
tes and the shortage of
gam of the pressure groups of America. Candidate capitalthat resultsdirectlyfrom the accu
mulateddeficit.
Clintonis campaign message was that he was a itnew It will take great political courage t
o deal with it. But if
Democrat? He now seems to be a retread of an old the president does not adopt a set of bo
ld initiatives
Democrat, captive to the stultifying politically correct during his State of the Union me
ssage in the coming
concept of an America balkanized into racial and gen- week, by 1996 the country will be e
ven worse offand even
der groups who press for benefits for their own constit- more outraged by the wastage of
another four years.
uents at the expense of the general interest. This is not President Clinton was given a m
andate, not for appease-
what middle- and working-Class Democrats voted for. ment and dither, but for Change. Now
let him use it. I
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I ON EUROPE

BY JOSEF JOFFE

Hearts and minds in Bosnia

Richard Nixon had a top secret plan to end the Vietnam War. We now have two plans to end the carnage in Bosnia: one by Messrs Vance and Owen and the other by President Clinton. Cyrus Vance, United Nations subcontractor, and Lord Owen, eminent plenipotentiary of the European Community, have Switzerland in mind. They would like to bring peace to the Balkans by dividing up Bosnia into 10 cantons, each ethnically tailored enough to live peacefully ever after- and perhaps even to start up a thriving banking industry.

Clinton did not like the Swiss model because it would ratify Serbian conquests and reward aggression. So Plan B proposes more pressure on Belgrade, harsher sanctions, more humanitarian aid and less flying in the no-fly zone. Boldly, the president has at last put an American presence on the ground. Well, not quite. The force consists of only one man. Reginald Bartholomew, a shrewd fixer from the Foreign Service, is supposed to talk Serbs, Croats and Muslims into surrendering.

For Bartholomew, this is the mother of all diplomatic missions? For his sake and Bosnians, we should hope it does not end like Saddam Hussein's mother of all battles? But we should be fair to Clinton and allow him to forget his own ringing campaign calls to arms to stop force with force in Bosnia. The president is right to leave the military out of Plan B. The reason is not the callous one Bismarck put forward in 1876: that the Balkans and beyond were not worth the healthy bones of a sin. There are lots of good reasons to intervene in the Balkans, moral and political ones. The point is that there is no military option at a tolerable cost with a decent chance of success in a reasonable amount of time. A jackhammer or a drill? This is why moral outrage ought to be tempered by level-headed calculation. Shall we unleash a Desert Storm on Belgrade? The West could lay low all of Serbia in a few days. But that is like using a jackhammer where a dental drill might work. The West could make the rubble bounce, but it would not stop the bloodshed in Bosnia, where local warlords who already have plenty of AK-47s and ammunition are directing the killing. Also, shall the Serbs be bombed back to the Stone Age in order to punish their mini-führer Slobodan Milosevic?

Then what about the dental drill? Surely, with missiles, weapons, ultrasharp eyes in the sky, cruise missiles that can hit the second bathroom window from the left, the West could use military might with surgical precision. U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT, FEBRUARY 1993

There is no military option

at a tolerable cost with a

gle Pomerama" musmeew reasonable chance of success. 1

sion. Perhaps, but doing so would not solve the problem.

The Classic conflict of the post-cold-war world is about ethnicity, culture and faith. It is a struggle between identities that brook no coexistence, not a clash of interests that allows for compromise. The purpose of war is to deny

coexistence to unscramble myriad ethnic-religious elements in lots of small places. Hence the tactical nightmare facing any would-be intruder. Serbs, Croats and Muslims all look alike; none of them wears a badge proclaiming his ethnic affiliation. Also, the war has become a three-Cornered one, with each party trying to conquer or reconquer turf from the other two, depending on the hour of the day. Whom does the West target with the smart bombs and cruise missiles and when, where and why? The Israelis, who are among the best soldiers around, tried to forge a new Lebanese order with warlords and holy men, Shiites and Maronites, Druze and Palestinians. They bled, lost and left, even though their purpose was not humanitarian but solidly strategic. And when the last Western soldier has gone, Serbs, Croats and Muslims will still be in place, full of hatred and lusting for revenge. So Mr. Clinton was right to listen to his generals-as Messrs Major, Mitterrand and Kohl did to theirs. Bosnia may well be worth the tattered bones of Western paratroopers if only to teach the Serbs and their would-be imitators that ethnic crime does not pay. But the price is not right, and the prospects of success are very dim. Perhaps the symbolic injection of American clout in the guise of special envoy Bartholomew will sober up the Serbs. But Slobodan Milosevic may not be much impressed by a peace plan that pointedly excludes force. So we might recall what served the West so well during 40 years of cold war. Instead of fighting violence, we deterred it by putting force in place before terror followed temptation. The most urgent business now is to stop the Balkans from reverting to their historical role as a tinderbox of world war, and hence to quarantine the fighting. A sizable U.N. force could be deployed in Macedonia before the Serbs attack. Mr. Milosevic can be told which of his assets will turn into rubble if he cleanses Kosovo (with its 90 percent Albanian majority). And, yes, the Bosnian Muslims could be armed to better defend themselves from Croats and Serbs. If, for sound strategic reasons, we will not aid the victims, our minimal moral obligation is to help them to fend off the thugs themselves. I

PAUL LOWE - NEYWORWMATRIX

