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EDITORIAL

Mr. Mandela's meaningful visit

Mr. Nelson Mandela, South Africa's African National Congress (ANC) leader, ended his visit to this country Thursday obviously pleased by the warm response of the Japanese people, if disappointed at failing to obtain a pledge of financial assistance from the government.

So far on his Pacific tour, Mr. Mandela is reported to have collected \$32 million to help provide jobs, housing and education for the 20,000 ANC activists returning to South Africa from exile and the 800 political prisoners being released by the Pretoria government. He asked Japan for \$25 million for the ANC, but Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu was unable to meet his request immediately since this nation has not before made direct contributions to any foreign political party or group.

Initially, Mr. Mandela lashed out, charging Japan's past contributions to the antiapartheid movement had been insignificant in comparison with the aid provided other nations, including poorer countries. But before his departure, the ANC leader apparently realized that the door had not been shut and that Japan is likely to make funds available through appropriate channels.

It is unfortunate that this issue, which should have been resolved before Mr. Mandela's arrival, marred what was otherwise a highly successful visit. His addresses to the public and the Diet — the latter a privilege usually reserved for government leaders — were widely covered by television, giving the nation the opportunity to appreciate his quiet strength and charisma.

Mr. Mandela said he had received a far warmer welcome than he expected from Japan's political, religious and labor leaders, and from the people as a whole. His appreciation for the support in the struggle against racial oppression in his country was clear, although he called on us to do more. We believe that during his six-day stay a stronger bond was forged between Mr. Mandela and Japan that bodes well.

Mr. Mandela specifically asked that sanctions against his country not be lifted until a one-person, one-vote system is in place, but he said little about the immediate concerns and opportunities awaiting him upon his return. On Oct. 22,

an agreement was reached between the ANC and the Inkatha movement, opening the way for a high-level meeting between Mr. Mandela and Zulu Chief Mr. Mangosuthu Buthe to end the factional fighting between blacks that has cost some 4,000 lives in the past four years. The sudden escalation in the violence over the last two months, with a loss of 800 lives, finally convinced the two sides to negotiate. It is in the best interests of both to put a stop to the spiraling bloodshed, not only on humanitarian grounds but to remove a stumbling block to talks on a new constitution.

Mr. de Klerk has now lifted the state of emergency in troubled Natal province, arguing that conditions there — formerly the center of virtual warfare between ANC and Inkatha followers — have been stabilized to the point that ordinary police authority will suffice. Last June, he lifted the state of emergency then existing in three other provinces. The ending of the state of emergency has been a condition both for ending international sanctions and for beginning talks on the new constitution for what the president calls "a new South Africa."

It is encouraging that the ANC responded by hailing the move as helping to "create a climate essential to peace and free political activity," although unsurprisingly it at the same time called for the release of all political prisoners and an end to repressive security legislation. There is yet no guarantee of a speedy conclusion to the talks on the new constitution. The ANC is plagued by sharp divisions in its ranks and that appears to be delaying the timetable for substantive negotiations with Mr. de Klerk's government.

The second, and so far last, round of negotiations took place in August; no date for the next round has been set. Some speculate that Mr. Mandela has been using his trips abroad to mark time until the ANC puts its house in order. It is important that Mr. Mandela have a united ANC and the black community behind him for the talks. But prolonged delays could strain the patience of those on both sides, dangerously slowing the momentum of South Africa's progress toward racial peace.

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world events; it is merely reacting to them. Fierce denunciations of Saddam Hussein, followed by the swift deployment of British troops to the Gulf, do not constitute a Middle East policy; they are instinctive reactions to foreign tyrants, or support for the United States.

Unfortunately for her Conservative critics, the vacuum of Conservative international leadership cannot simply be solved by removing its current leader. For the conflicts demanding policy decisions cannot be solved by negotiations at European summits. They reflect profound differences over what will best serve the long-term interests of capitalist liberal democracy.

Thatcher's stance is not entirely anachronistic or personal. Decisions over how far Europe should be a self-contained political and economic bloc are momentous. Thatcher's opposition to monetary and political union does represent those voices of the future that want global free trade, an end to agricultural subsidies and a place for the U.S. and Japan at Europe's negotiating tables. Thatcher's tragedy is that she has been unable to articulate and develop this position, free from her delusions about herself as global leader. And that is because she cannot move outside a frame in which she is leading a fight to the death against communism, "crypto" or actual.

Sarah Benton, former political editor of The New Statesman and Society, is a lecturer in comparative government at Birkbeck College, London University.

November

The budget crisis, in contrast, casts a pall over all associated with it, and members of Congress cannot help but be tarnished by the prolonged debate and disagreements. However, fortunately for those congressmen running for re-election, the

Scaling up for war

Bush's new effort to pressure Saddam

By DAVID HOFFMAN
The Washington Post

WASHINGTON — The escalation of pressure against Iraqi President Saddam Hussein by the United States is part of a delicate new effort at brinkmanship — to scare Saddam into relinquishing Kuwait, to prepare the American people for possible hostilities and if war comes, to improve U.S. firepower on the ground.

The administration's tactics include a more explicit rhetorical threat to use force by President George Bush and Secretary of State James A. Baker III, the deployment of tens of thousands of additional armored troops to the Arabian peninsula, Baker's forthcoming trip to the Gulf region and still more resolu-

tionary statements by policymakers in numerous foreign crises. So it has been in this confrontation, and there was fresh evidence of the problem Tuesday: Bush told congressional leaders his patience with Saddam was wearing thin, but key lawmakers warned him against moving precipitously toward war. In the same vein, Baker charged in a speech Monday that U.S. hostages are being abused in captivity, but the lawmakers questioned whether the administration is searching for a pretext to fight.

A similar push-and-pull dynamic rippled through international diplomacy in recent days when both the Soviet Union and France talked optimistically about peace pros-

pects while the United States, Britain and others have beat the drums of war ever louder. Senior U.S. officials said the administration's strategy for the next few weeks is to "calibrate" a steady increase in pressure against Saddam. "You don't want to shoot all your ammunition at once," said the State Department official. Baker's trip, which is planned as an effort to solidify the alliance, will include meetings with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze as well as visits to Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Turkey, France and Britain.

Charles Kupchan, assistant professor of politics at Princeton University and author of a book on Gulf security, said the new allied pressure tactics are clearly designed to prepare for war while creating the maximum pressure for a peaceful solution if possible. "There's no question if you

level," he said of the Pentagon decision to possibly deploy up to 100,000 troops and heavy armored divisions from Europe and elsewhere to join the more than 200,000 U.S. soldiers and sailors already in the Gulf region. "But given the nature of the deployment, you can't see it only as that. There is clearly a move toward war-fighting. This is much more than deterrent posturing — you have a sufficient deterrent (already) on the ground. I interpret that size deployment as something that clearly has the goal of upping the ante not simply in bargaining but in firepower." The administration activity comes as Saddam, more directly than before, is probing for weak links in the alliance's resolve. Senior U.S. officials were chagrined this week when Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev suggested that an inter-Arab meeting be convened to resolve the crisis, just the kind of bargaining that officials believe could lead to incomplete compliance with the U.N. demands — thus, a defeat for Bush's goals. Last week, the U.S. officials were similarly upset with a suggestion by the Saudi defense minister that territorial concessions were possible to get Saddam out of Kuwait.

Tuesday, the United States quickly asked Soviet officials for a clarification of Gorbachev's remark, while continuing to praise his cooperation. Separately, Soviet officials insisted that Gorbachev was not trying to create a crack in the alliance.

Senior U.S. officials said they believe France and the Soviet Union are staking out positions somewhat independent of the United States in the event of hostilities, to preserve their longstanding relationships in the Middle East.

The U.S. officials said they had received firm reports that the Soviet diplomatic mission by envoy Yevgeny Primakov had produced a change in Sa-

'Saddam is listening to all of this, and you hope he cracks or falls on the floor and comes to Jesus.'

— State Department official

tions against Iraq at the United Nations, where the United States assumes the chair of the Security Council for the next month.

All these efforts could put U.S. forces in the Gulf closer to conflict, but they also are intended to drive Saddam into retreat, according to administration officials and outside analysts. If he does not budge, then Bush will have to decide, perhaps in November or December, about whether to go to war to liberate Kuwait.

The president's rhetorical and logistical offensive is complicated by the need to prepare an increasingly skeptical American public for a possible conflict and at the same time avoid a domestic backlash that could make it harder to make war.

"We have two very distinct audiences," said a senior State Department official. "Saddam is listening to all of this, and you hope he cracks or falls on the floor and comes to Jesus."

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