

LOOKING BACK AT WORLD EVENTS

1994 — the Year the Archbishop Danced a Jig

Special Report by Derek Ingram

THE diminutive, ebullient Archbishop of Cape Town stood in the pulpit in Lopdon's Westminster Abbey on July 20 and told it like it was: "I entered a polling booth for the first time in my 62 years and emerged on the other side and said: 'Hey! I'm free. Now, he added, "we can only say WOW!" Moments later photographers caught Desmond Tutu dancing half a jig as he left a celebratory service by the Abbey's Great West Door. The elections in South Africa brought great hope in 1994. If an intransigent problem like this could be unblocked, people asked, why not others? After all, we had already seen the Berlin Wall come down, the Cold War end. The question was soon answered. After 50 years of conflict the beginnings of a Palestinian homeland took shape and Jordan and Israel made peace. After 30 years of war there were real signs that peace was coming to Mozambique and Angola. And after 20 years of violence a cease-fire took place in Northern Ireland. These were the areas of hope in 1994 — a year in which boxer George Foreman sent his own message of hope to the over-40s by becoming a world heavyweight champion; the year West Indies batsman Brian Lara became the world's highest cricket scorer, the year Brazil reclaimed the World Cup on a 3-2 penalty shoot-out; and the year drugs became the big issue in sport worldwide. The grim side of 1994 was the horror of Rwanda, the continuing bitter turmoil in the former Yugoslavia and the 80-odd other wars that were still sputtering around the world: Sudan, Liberia, Iraq, Afghanistan, Burma, Sri Lanka.

cautions explosion was being misused to spread around the world a culture of mediocrity. Corruption, long seen by many in the rich world as the preserve of the poor world, was rampant under the new god known quite simply as 'the market'. Perhaps it was just that easy communication was bringing more openness. If so, that was good, whatever the reason. In Britain MPs were found out for accepting payment from lobbyists to ask question in the House of Commons, persistence by members of the judiciary in Italy led to the prosecution of top politicians, even past prime ministers, and accusations against the new incumbent, media tycoon Silvio Berlusconi. In 1994 the world still lacked leaders of real distinction. Clinton began to disappoint. Mitterrand was fading out, Kohl survived re-election, but only just; Deng was now a shadow; Yeltsin was a survivor and probably underrated, but understandably consumed by affairs in his own backyard. One man shone out in 1994 and he was 76 years old: Nelson Mandela. The transition of South Africa to a fully democratic state was often described as a miracle and by the end of 1994 it still seemed just that. It has been tough and go. As preparations went ahead for an election on April 27 by millions who had never known what it was to vote. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelez refused to let his Inkatha Freedom Party take part. More and more concessions were made to pull him in. Not until days before did he agree. Meantime, the extreme Right, poorly organised but dangerous, had made a last stand in the "homeland" of Bophuthatswana. Horrified film of a bearded Afrikaner plead-

South Africa there had been a long struggle with sporadic violence, but no all-out war. The installation of Mandela brought a galaxy of world leaders to Pretoria, from being the world's pariah state South Africa was suddenly its darling and the dignity of the man who had spent 27 years in prison and lived to become head of state was universally admired. Rarely in modern times has there been such a worldwide feeling that right had triumphed. It was the stuff dreams are made of. It sent strong signals everywhere about racial tolerance that would have lasting international influence and it said that if deadlock in South Africa could be broken the same must be possible elsewhere. Soon, South Africa was back in international organizations from which it had been excluded for decades. On June 1 it rejoined the Commonwealth, and it became a member of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) for the first time. The effect of what had happened in South Africa was soon felt in the whole southern Africa region. An attempt to topple the newly-elected government in Lesotho was frustrated with help from Mandela, who sent jets on a warning flight over the capital and put troops on the border. His influence on the parties in Mozambique helped after a first election was held there under UN supervision in November. The ruling Fretilim, led by President Joaquim Chissano, won comfortably and Repamo, the former rebel movement led by Alfonso Dhlakama, ultimately accepted the verdict. South African pressures were at work, too, to bring to an end months of Angolan peace talks in Lusaka, Zambia, between the government of President Eduardo dos Santos and the stubborn Jonas Savimbi of the rebel Unita movement. Yet more bitter fighting took place as the talks dragged on. Finally a peace deal

included the woman Prime Minister and ten Belgian members of the UN mission. In the first days 20,000 died and the people fled Kigali. The UN reduced its force from 2,500 to 270. Salim Salim, Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity, said the contrast with what the UN was doing in

damentalism. News reporting from Algeria was much hampered by the extension of violence to intellectuals, diplomats and journalists. In January the ruling High Council of State had appointed Defence Minister Brigadier-General Lamine Zeroual as President. During the year Zeroual held talks with the five

barriers. The developing world had other worries, particularly the failure of International Monetary Fund managing director Michel Camdessus to persuade major industrialised countries to agree an increase in the volume of reserves in the monetary system. The reality was the economic map of the world was rapidly changing. Liberalisation and privatisation were proceeding faster than ever. The sharp divide between rich and poor, developed and developing countries of the Seventies and Eighties was blurring at the edges. Within countries, however, the divide was often steeper. The rich were getting richer but often the poor were getting poorer. Two areas were adrift in all this — Africa and the great bloc of countries of the former Soviet Union. Some African economies were slowly improving, but the unstable continent was out of fashion with investors and was suffering from a diversion of aid re-

hardly noticed when, for example, the last Russian soldiers left Polish soil in September. The Russians also left Berlin and a few days later French, British and US troops followed, watched by Mitterrand, Major, Kohl and US Secretary of State Warren Christopher. The death in Chile of the architect of Communist East Germany, Erich Honecker, drew a line under a tragic era of European history. For Europe this was a year full of symbolism, ceremony and hard memories. On June 6 the leaders of the World War Two allies stood together on Omaha Beach, Normandy, to mark the 50th anniversary of the D-Day landings there in 1944. This was also the year of the Channel Tunnel when France and Britain became linked by land by a massive engineering project first dreamed about 200 years ago. In October the first passengers from London found themselves in Paris three hours later. The tunnel did not symbolise, however, any greater unity between Britain and Europe. The British remained reluctant partners in the 12-nation European Union that was to grow to 15 in 1995. They still fought to keep the Union a looser association than other members wanted — and they looked like getting their way. As several other countries lined up to join, the likelihood of a federal Europe seemed remote. One candidate for membership, Norway, decided by referendum not to join after all. The war in Bosnia continued to agonise Europe. At the end of 1994 the map of the former Yugoslavia looked very much the same as it had at the end of 1993. Thousands more were dead. Sarajevo was still under siege. Two-thirds of Bosnia was still under Serb control. The UN now had 38,700 troops there from 28 nations. In December the focus was on the Muslim enclave of Bihaq, declared by the UN a safe area but now under fierce attack from the Serbs with the international community powerless to save it. It became increasingly difficult to keep the countries of western Europe, NATO (the West's main military alliance), Russia and the US together. Arguments over sanctions and whether NATO forces under the UN flag should bomb the Serbs went on all the year. As 1994 ended the war looked like entering a more dangerous stage with a possible UN withdrawal. The Bosnian war raised new questions about the role of NATO after the Cold War. The purpose of its continued existence was still not clear and at the organisation's meeting in December the Russians suddenly decided not to sign an agreement for closer cooperation because it did not like the plans to embrace Eastern European countries. At the European security conference in December Yeltsin said NATO should not move its boundaries to Russia's frontier. He told Clinton: "It is a dangerous delusion of supposition that the destinies of continents and of the world community can somehow be managed from a single capital." In other quite different ways, Western Europe was not in very good shape. In the year that Richard Nixon's death brought back memories of the Watergate scandal, the British had a word for what was going on — sleaze. The Italian judiciary had for some time been trying to clean up corruption at the top. Former prime ministers like Giulio Andreotti and Bettino

over occupation following the disappearance of the former head of the Civil Guard. In Britain revelations of sleaze among politicians produced an almost daily diet for the newspapers. Under a weak Prime Minister the government tottered from one crisis to another. An extraordinary series of episodes came to light involving suicide, homosexuality, marital breakups, financial scandals, and acts of corruption. On top of all this Major found himself facing a formidable new opponent — Tony Blair. Labour leader John Smith had died suddenly and Blair was elected to succeed him. 'His antics often gave aides and hosts palpitations. But Yeltsin was no clown. He was proving a great political survivor and Russia was muddling along.'

He was a new breed of Labour leader from a generation born after World War Two, so youthful in appearance by called him Bambi (after a dewy-eyed character in a classic Disney cartoon). Suddenly, Major and his Tories, now 15 years in power, looked tired as they broke records for low opinion poll ratings. Then, too, there was the battle royal — the continuing saga of Diana and Charles, filling more media space than any American movie stars. The heir to the throne and his wife, now running separate courts in a modern reflection of medieval practice, went public. A novel called Princess in Low written as trashy romantic fiction was followed by a huge and important biography of Charles telling how he had never really loved Diana and then a book giving Diana's side of the story, blaming Charles and his father. In between, Charles appeared in a frank two-hour television programme. Where all this left the monarchy was not clear, but it was certainly not stronger and the Labour Party started talking about a sealing down of the royal paraphernalia. Queen Elizabeth retained wide respect, but the institution was in lower esteem than at any time this century and republicanism, while still a remote possibility, was openly discussed in circles where once the word was never whispered. For Britain and for the beleaguered Major, however, one great prize had come in sight — peace in Northern Ireland. After 20 years of strife the joint Downing Street Declaration made by Major and Irish Prime Minister Albert Reynolds at the end of 1993 opened a process intended to end the violence. Many months passed while Britain, Ireland and the IRA (the guerrilla Irish Republican Army) haggled over interpretation of the Declaration. The Sinn Fein party led by Gerry Adams asked for "clarification," then a visit by Adams to the US angered Britain, as did mortar bomb attacks on London airport in March and other violence. On September 1, the IRA declared a ceasefire. Major

The faces of 1994



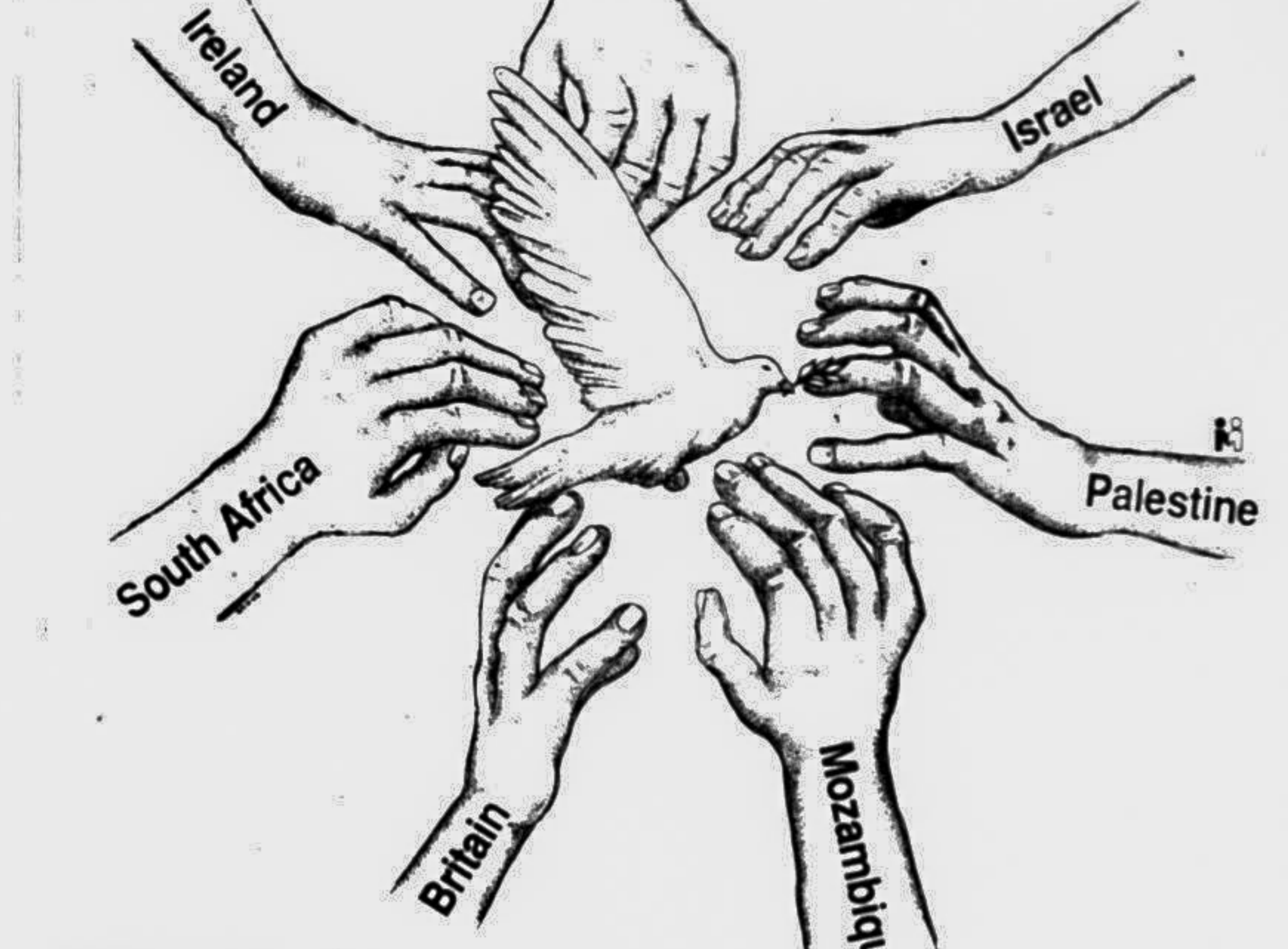
1.Princess Diana 2.George Foreman, heavyweight champion at 44 3.Bakili Muluzi, outvoted Banda to become President of Malawi 4.Chief Moshhood Abiola, jailed in Nigeria 5.Tony Blair, new British Labour Party leader 6.Silvio Berlusconi, Prime Minister of Italy 7.Tom Hanks, as Forrest Gump 8.Helmut Kohl, Chancellor of Germany 9.Yasser Arafat, Palestinian Nobel winner 10.Bill Clinton, US President 11.Nelson Mandela, President of South Africa 12.Chandrika Kumaratunga, new Prime Minister of Sri Lanka

Bosnia showed it had double standards for Africa and Europe. By the end of May it was estimated 500,000 people, mainly from the Tutsi minority, had died and 1.5 million had fled to Tanzania and Zaire. It had been an act of genocide. As the RPF took over the country the French sent in troops on June 23 (and soon withdrew them) and in the face of international outcry the UN began to deploy 5,500 troops. Refugee camps set up in Goma, a bare area just inside Zaire, were the scenes of appalling squalor and violence that shocked television viewers across the world. By contrast with what was happening in Rwanda, Malawi presented a totally different picture. There, the first multiparty election since independence in 1964 was held. Kamuzu Banda, who had once declared himself Life President and was now into his nineties, was rejected by the voters after ruling for 30 years. In a peaceful and well-organized election Bakili Muluzi became the new President. In West Africa the anglophone countries marched in a different direction. Under General Sani Abacha, Nigeria made no progress towards 'civilian rule. As the economy slid, repression grew. Pro-democracy campaigners were arrested, draconian decrees introduced and newspapers closed. In June, Chief Moshhood Abiola, generally believed to have won the aborted 1993 presidential election, declared himself president and called for a national uprising to force Abacha out. He was arrested and accused of treason. A two-month strike stopped the oil industry. Violence on the streets increased. Abiola's health deteriorated in jail and Nobel prize-winner Wole Soyinka slipped out of the country after his UN passport had been seized. In the tiny state of The Gambia, President Sir Dawda Jawara was ousted in a coup by junior officers on July 23. Lieut Yahya Jammeh named himself President and Jawara fled to a US warship after 30 years in power in what was regarded as one of Africa's most peaceful states. To the north, much more serious was the deteriorating situation in Algeria caused by the increasing military of fun-

legal opposition parties to search for ways to end the violence, but it continued unabated and in September Zeroual said 10,000 people had died since January 1992. In 1994 the developed world was hesitantly moving out of recession. Inflation was low and growth rates were slowly improving. Progress was uneven. There were surprising leaders in the recovery — New Zealand at one end of the world, Britain at the other. Germany was still suffering the economic indigestion induced by reunification. Japan, experiencing its worst political instability since World War Two. Still bumped along the bottom with only about one per cent growth and industrial output down. The fall of Tsutomu Hato after two months as Prime Minister led to the election of Tomichi Murayama as the first socialist premier since 1947. The United States began recovering fast, and everywhere the Western economies became nervous of heating too fast and falling into the carefree spending trap of the Eighties. They were also wide-eyed at what was happening in Asia, particularly in China and the Southeast. Annual growth rates in places such as Malaysia, Thailand, Singapore, Indonesia and Hong Kong continued at between five and nine per cent while in China it was well into double figures. Against this background, on April 15 trade ministers from 111 countries finally signed in Marrakesh, Morocco, a 20,000-page agreement. It was the Final Act of the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Under it, industrial tariffs would be cut by up to 40 per cent and agricultural export subsidies reduced. After nearly eight years of negotiations, a trade monitoring body called the World Trade Organisation (WTO) would replace GATT. Not everyone was happy with the agreement. The developing countries found parts of it could leave them worse off. Quarrels between the US, the European Union and developing countries continued to the moment of signing. One dispute was resolved at the last minute when the US agreed that the WTO should not discuss links between trade and workers' rights, seen as a way of erecting trade

sources to Eastern Europe. Russia had become something of an economic nightmare. No-one should have been surprised, considering the huge change from total state ownership to a free market and the volatile political scene in Moscow. Incredibly, Boris Yeltsin managed to keep the show, and himself, on the road — just. His antics often gave aides and hosts palpitation. When Yeltsin's aircraft landed for a brief stopover in Ireland, Prime Minister Albert Reynolds waited in vain for him to emerge. Yeltsin stayed tucked up on board asleep on a visit to Berlin escorted by Kohl he peeled off to conduct the military band, arms waving in every direction at one. But Yeltsin was no clown. He was proving a great political survivor and Russia was muddling along. In the process there were some winners and a lot of losers and whether the discontent would boil over into turmoil was a question for 1995. Meantime, Yeltsin started the year with a new Federal Assembly and a new Cabinet and juggled almost weekly with the reformers and centrists. In September Yeltsin and Clinton held in Washington their fifth summit in 18 months just after US and Russian forces had held joint exercises in the Urals — an even of little military significance but a milestone politically. Historically, the visit of Britain's Queen Elizabeth in October was the even of the year in Russia, marking the first time a reigning British monarch had stepped on Russian soil. A sour note for Yeltsin came with the return home of author Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, who had been expelled in 1974. He travelled the country declaring Russian democracy a "sham." In the other parts of the former Soviet bloc, the most serious crisis arose in the Russian republic of Chechnya, where civil war had raged since it declared independence in 1991. Fighting reached a peak in December. Five years after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the eastern bloc, it remained remarkable how calmly this vast area had taken the huge political changes that had engulfed it in such a short time. The old order had just faded away and the world

was cautious in response, demanding an assurance that the ceasefire was permanent. Adams was allowed to speak on British radio and TV (for years government had insisted his voice must be dubbed) and he was able to enter Britain. In November he held court in the House of Commons and was well on the way to the kind of transformation from terrorist to statesman familiar to so many nationalist leaders in post-colonial situations. And the peace process stayed on track even when one of its main architects, Reynolds, suddenly fell from office. In France the right-wing government of Prime Minister Edouard Balladur was hit by scandals and resignations. And in Spain Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez faced a long crisis



and dozens more — almost every one a civil conflict. In the last years of the 20th Century it was civil, not international, strife that was cursing humankind. For relief and peace, attention was increasingly focussed on the international organisations, the United Nations and the burgeoning regional bodies. Their success was limited. The UN and European Union struggled in Bosnian and the Organisation of West African States (ECOWAS) was bogged down in Liberia, but use of the first Pacific peace force in Bougainville, Papua New Guinea, and diplomatic intervention in Burman by the UN and the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) did hold promise. For the first time the military leaders of Burma talked in September to their house prisoner of six years, Nobel laureate Aung San Suu Kyi. Hope had to be tempered with concern that as the year 1995 approached — dubbed by the UN the Year of Tolerance — all the signs were of growing intolerance born of increasing materialism. The capitalist world that had emerged with the eclipse of socialism was ever more greedy for money. More and more arms were being sold with scant regard of humanity while the communi-

ing for mercy and then being shot dead at his car door caught the final graphic chapter of Boer struggle. In one violent day in Johannesburg 53 died and hundreds were injured as Inkatha followers attacked the headquarters of Mandela's African National Congress party. Car bombs followed just days before the elections. And yet, when the day came for people to put their X on the long, complicated ballot form, peace reigned as it had not in South Africa for decades. It was not a totally free and fair election. Organization was patchy, tricks were pulled, ballot boxes were stuffed, the count was often a muddle. But it was the first proper, open-person-one-vote election ever held in South Africa and the result was accepted by all the parties. A government of national unity took over with former president F W de Klerk as one of two vice-presidents and all the main parties represented having Cabinet posts. It had truly been a miracle because, uniquely, a minority had handed over power to a majority without a fight. In much smaller Zimbabwe a war had been fought for ten years at a cost of 30,000 lives. In

'The communications explosion was being misused to spread around the world a culture of mediocrity'

The rejoicing in April over South Africa was soon muffled as horror piled on horror in Rwanda, more than 2,000 miles to the north. No-one will ever know how many people died in fighting that started when the presidents of Rwanda and Burundi were killed in a plane crash near Kigali, the Rwandan capital. The death of President Juvenal Habyarimana ended the pact he had signed with the rebel Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF), and within hours hundreds died as members of the security forces rampaged through the streets. The dead

Class of '94 Buzzwords: Sleaze, Smart card, Cyberspace, Information superhighway, Downsizing, Generation X, CD-Rom

Craxi and many other big political names were exposed. In March, a bitter general election under new rules brought the right to power in the shape of Silvio Berlusconi. It was supposed to be the beginning of a new, cleaner era, but even as he was elected his company was accused of corruption and Mafia involvement. By November the Berlusconi government was on its knees. In France the right-wing government of Prime Minister Edouard Balladur was hit by scandals and resignations. And in Spain Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez faced a long crisis