

SPECIAL YEAR-E

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IN PICTURES

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A T e T A NS

The Other Windsor

IN YOUR ACCOUNT OF THE IRELAND AND
Northern Ireland soccer match in â\200\234Ready
for the Kickoff in 1994â\200\235 (sports, Nov. 29),
Windsor Park was described as being situ-
ated in a â\200\234gray Protestant neighborhood
defiled by abandoned houses, boarded
windows and angry graffiti, all testimony
to . . . [Belfastâ\200\231s] terrible strife.â\200\235 I must pro-
test! Windsor Park is actually a lower-mid-
dle-class area of south Belfast, an area
untouched by the Troubles. Northern Ire-
land suffers from a great deal of negative
publicity. When you are reporting from
here, please try to be accurate and do not
report the popular misconceptions.

ALISTAIR MCCLEERY
BALLYNAHINCH, NORTHERN IRELAND

The Truth About Vietnam

CONGRATULATIONS TO DAVID HACKWORTH
on his impressive article on the Vietnam
War (asla, Nov. 22). He says more in three
pages than most of the words written by all
the politicians and retired generals. Hack-
worth asks, â\200\234all these dead, all this waste,
and to what end?â\200\235 The â\200\234endâ\200\235 was not to
keep Vietnam from going communist, but to
pour money into the coffers of the Ameri-
can military and to make huge profits for
industry.

G. GHASSAN
ABU DHABI

THE SOLDIERS WHO FOUGHT IN VIETNAM
were twice asked to pay the price for a
stupid and immoral foreign policy. They
fought the war, then bore the stigma of
defeat and disfavor when they got home.
I'm glad Hackworth was able to heal him-
self in Vietnam. I hope the rest of us can
share in that healing by admitting the un-
pleasant truth about that war and about war
in general.

PAMELA MCABEE NESBIT
WYCOMBE, PENNSYLVANIA

A Different Kind of Racism

YOUR ARTICLE â\200\234THE SOUTH AFRICA OF
South America?â\200\231(WORLD AFFAIRS, Nov. 15)
accurately described the racial situation in
Brazil, but it missed an important point.
Tensions among different races here are
much less pronounced than in South Africa
or the United States. Although we are far

from racial democracy, we at least have a better chance of avoiding the interracial violence other countries have suffered.

MAURICIO BATISTA
RIO DE JANEIRO, BRAZIL

Letters to the Editor, with the writer's name and address, should be sent to: Letters Editor, Newsweek, 444 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022 or faxed to: (212) 350-4120. Letters may be edited for reasons of space and clarity.

NEWSWEEK/JANUARY 3, 1994

THE RACIAL SITUATION IN BRAZIL IS worse than portrayed by Tom Masland. It is a joke when Antônio Carlos Magalhães, the governor of Bahia state, claims that racism doesn't exist here. I wish your magazine would devote more space to this problem.

UBIRAJARA JUNIOR
SAO LOURENCO, BRAZIL

One Nation Under God

REGARDING YOUR NOV. 29 RELIGION PIECE, it's not hard to understand why, as the study you report on suggests, while religion pervades the American landscape, only a minority take it seriously. People hold religious beliefs for six fundamental reasons: for explanation of natural phenomena, for divine assistance through prayer, for reassurance about death, for moral and ethical guidance, to engage in ritual and ceremony and for the exchange of power. A belief in God is required only for the second and third reasons: that we should believe in God solely for the purpose of praying to him and being with him when we die is a little like believing that the moon is made of green cheese so that we might one day be served moon rocks for dessert. Many of us, if only unconsciously, take note of that circularity. As for power! Under the cloak of religion, there will probably always exist sufficient multitudes who are eager to obey those in charge.

KENNAN C. HERRICK
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

IF AMERICA'S RELIGIOUS CONVICTIONS could be accurately measured by our mere performance of ritual, Newsweek's The Rites of Americans might have amounted to more than another media slam on religion, more than another round of slipshod reporting. Only in our day-to-day conduct can our religious convictions and hypocrisies be truly revealed. If taking our faith seriously means attending church and re-

sponding to polls rather than living within
the basic Christian tenets of universal love,
unity and respect, then religion may indeed

be in decline in America.

RyaN GrAY

MORROW, ARIZONA

Dumping on Japan

YOUR ARTICLE ON RUSSIAN NUCLEAR
waste dumped into the Sea of Japan (asla,
Nov. 1) ended with the sentence â\200\234There
arenâ\200\231t many things that would upset Japa-
nese voters more than sushi that glows in
the dark.â\200\235 T am outraged that you would
allow your writers to make such a joke
about a people who have suffered greatly
from the effects of nuclear radiation.

CLARE BURKE

ST. NIKOLA, AUSTRIA

North Korea and the Bomb

I STRONGLY OBJECT TO U.S. INTERFERENCE
in the affairs of other sovereign nations
(â\200\234Nuclear Nightmare,â\200\235 asia, Nov. 29). If
the United States can acquire nuclear
weapons, why can't North Korea? The
United States is nothing but a declining
superpower that realizes it is losing its hold
over global affairs. Bill Clinton should keep
out of other countriesâ\200\231 affairs and worry
more about problems closer to home.

Nojam MAHMUD

CANTERBURY, ENGLAND

Ecstasy and the Hooligans

THE ARTICLE ON DRUG ABUSE (â\200\234THE NEW
View From On High,â\200\235 TRENDS, Dec. 6)
states that British soccer fans use the drug
Ecstasy. This statement is totally inaccurate
and quite unbelievable. No doubt your
writer was influenced by the poor reputa-
tion British football fans have. T would like
to make it clear that the British football
hooligan is in the minority and it is very
doubtful that these mindless thugs need de-
signer drugs to provoke their actions.

KEerTH HEDINBURGH

SUNDERLAND, ENGLAND

Carol and Her Sisters

I DISAGREE WITH THE CONCLUSION TO
the riddle posed in your article â\200\234Doinâ\200\231
What Doesnâ\200\231t Come Naturallyâ\200\235 (SCIENCE,
Nov. 29). There isnâ\200\231t enough information to
answer the question of which woman is the
manâ\200\231s long-lost sister. If Carol, who said,
â\200\234At least two of us always lie,â\200\235 is telling the
truth, then, of course, neither Amy nor Bar-
baraâ\200\224both of whom claim to be the manâ\200\231s
sisterâ\200\224can be the sister, as you note. But if
Carol is lying, it means only that two of the

three contenders donâ\200\231t always lie, not that they are telling the truth. Either Amy or Barbara, in short, could still be lying. By the way, I am a CPA, not a physicistâ\200\224but the tax code is more confusing than your riddle.

Magrk Oâ\200\231NEIL
NORTH PLAINFIELD, NEW JERSEY

Human Rights in Ghina

I AGREE THAT WORLD TRADE IS OF GREAT importance, but we should not abandon human rights to promote commerce. Wu Jianmin, spokesman for the Chinese delegation in Seattle, was quoted as saying that East and West have different conceptions of human rights (â\200\234Pacific Overtures,â\200\235 ASIA, Nov. 29). We cannot allow China, or any other country that violates human rights, to join international trade organizations. This has nothing to do with â\200\234[making] a public fussâ\200\235 and everything to do with showing respect for the numerous victims of torture, political killings and disappearances.

ASLE SKREDDERBERGET
BERGEN, NORWAY

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Nelson Mandela
shared a Nobel
â\200\230and a nation

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LOUISE GUBB\200\224]B PICTURES

r Communist Chris Hani, 50, was a voice
for young black South Africans

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r Lillian Gish, 99, was Americaâ\200\231s
silent-film sweetheart

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~ Kakuei Tanaka, 75, was
the godfather of Japanâ\200\231s
money politics

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[Nobelist Sir William
[Contralto Marian Anderson, 96, broke musicâ\200\231s | Golding, 81, took society to task
I color line and touched Americaâ\200\231s soul in â\200\230Lord of the Fliesâ\200\231 7

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â\200\234â\200\224-- dies.â\200\235 How stable would Syria be without Hafez Assad? How about Iraq after Saddam Bussein? Or Jordan after King Hussein? Or the Palestinians without Yasir Arafat? This is not to suggest that any such event is imminent. The point is that personality is central to politics in the Middle East, in a way that makes problems less susceptible to outside influence based on calculations of mutual self-interest.

South Asia. The rebuke of the Hindu-nationalist Bhartiya Janata Party in last monthâ\200\231s elections in India meant at least a temporary narrowing of the political base for the religious extremism that produced mass riots only a year ago. But will this relieve any of the tension in Kashmir, where the religious conflict is intertwined with a bitter territorial dispute between India and Pakistan? Meanwhile, an equally virulent conflict may renew itself this year in Afghanistan, where a temporary truce among various ethnic and religious factions will expire with elections in mid-1994. And that might spill over into a repeat of last summerâ\200\231s fighting between the government of Tajikistan and Afghan Tajiks, or between Afghans and other ethnic populations in what used to be Soviet Central Asiaâ\200\224raising again the possibility of Russian intervention.

These are all areas of concern to the West in general, and the United States in particular. Real interests are at stake. But as the experience in Bosnia, Somalia and Haiti showed in 1993,

A Muslim woman mourns a daughter killed by Sarajevo snipers

part a reflection of this mood. He framed his campaign around domestic issues such as health care and industrial growth. Foreign policy was almost an afterthought beyond campaign excoriations of President George Bush for not pursuing a Bosnian peace settlement with sufficient assertiveness.

Then Clinton inherited the Bosnia problem, and the resulting chronology is a testament to American immobility. On Feb. 10, 1993, the administration said it would bring

the full weight of American diplomacy to the search for peace. But it handed the dilemma off, endorsing mediation by the United Nations and the European Community. Earlier hints of willingness

THE 1994 WATCH

If recent years are any guide, 1994 will be full of unexpected upheavals and upsets. Fairly safe calls:

there are limits to the exercise even of American power. Following the gulf war of 1991, it became fashionable to speak of the United States as the last superpower. It had the necessary attributes: ideological self-confidence, great wealth and the ability to project power over long distances. But already the will to use that power showed signs of erosion. Selective disengagement from global politics was a Washington buzzword. The conservative churl Patrick Buchanan, soon to be a Republican presidential candidate, was urging the Bush administration to can this Beltway geo-babble about our responsibility to lead, and even keyholders to the foreign-policy establishment like William G. Hyland, then the editor of Foreign Affairs magazine, were talking about the need for the country to make a psychological turn inward. Bill Clinton's election was in

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Jewish settlers claiming West Bank land

ALFRED SIPA

MARTIN McCULLOUGH

IRA leaders at funeral of slain comrade

Front Runners Long Shots
Nelson Mandela Helmut Kohl
Turmoil in Peace in Ulster
Palestine
Millennial cults The millennium
Malawian elections Nigerian
democracy
Winter Olympics World Cup
host team host team

to use force were forgotten.

By April 23, intervention was back on the agenda, as Washington promised â\200\234serious considerationâ\200\235 of airstrikes against Serbian positions in Bosnia. Diplomacy took over again, and on June 17, Clinton appeared to accept the idea of partitioning Bosniaâ\200\224effectively, a victory for the Serbs. He did, however, hold out the prospect that up to 25,000 U.S. troops would be dispatched to help monitor any peace agreement, only to qualify it heavily on Sept. 8 by saying the offer was subject to congressional approval. Any chance that Congress might approve deployment soon vanished in the Somali sands, however. On Oct. 3, a contingent of U.S. Army Rangers on a U.N. mission in Somalia were trapped in a fire fight after a helicopter crashed, and 18 Americans were killed. At that moment, the idea of an American presence in Bosnia died, too.

In the current climate, most other proposals for U.S. intervention would meet the same fate. This is not a simple matter of American isolationism. If force is an extension of diplomacy, as Clausewitz suggested, itâ\200\231s a limited one, even for a superpower. It is logistically difficult: few adversaries will give the United States six months to mobilize, the way Saddam did in the Gulf War. It is expensive, in a time of shrinking military budgets. And only rarely is it successful; one of the Pentagonâ\200\231s chief arguments against a Bosnian mission was the hostility of the terrain and the certainty of high casualties.

Finally, any demand for American intervention must reckon with the peculiarities of the U.S. political system. The constitutional scheme of divided powers frustrates the development of foreign-policy consensusâ\200\224as it was in part designed to do. Fearing the governmentâ\200\231s vulnerability to the enthusiasms of temporary majorities, the framers of the Constitution institutionalized hesitation and caution. American policy toward Bosnia in 1993 reflected that. Its policy toward the ex-Soviet Union in 1994 will doubtless do the same.

The British essayist Lord Macaulay once taunted an American by saying, â\200\234Your Constitution, sir, is all sail and no anchor.â\200\235 In fact, as U.S. foreign policy shows, it often is

mostly anchor. Those who disapprove
should remember the purpose of an anchor:
to keep the ship from going adrift. =1