

BOSNIA: WILL THE U.N.

ARMAG-NSWK-12-5-34

Newsweek

THE INTERNATIONAL NEWSMAGAZINE

December 19, 1994

Russia's Filthy Rich



Opening night at a Moscow club



51

Algeria 14.00 AD
Bahrain 1.40 BD
Burundi 700 FBu
Egypt 8.50 EC
Gambia 20.00 D
Iran 6000 Rials

Jordan 2.20 JD
Kenya 150 Shs
Kuwait 1.100 KD
Lebanon \$3.00
Liberia \$3.00
Libya 0.700 LD

Malawi 7.00 K
Mauritius 35.00 Rs
Morocco 24.00 DH
Nigeria 60.00 N
Oman 1.40 QR
Ostar 14.00 QR

S. Arabia ... 14.00 riyals
S. Africa 6.90 rand
Sierra Leone ... 1000 L
Syria 110.00 S£
Sudan 163.00 S£
Tanzania 1100 Shs

Tunisia 2.400 TD
UAE 14.00 Dh
Uganda 2600 Shs
Yemen 75.00 YR
Zimbabwe (incl tax) 8.00\$
U.S. Forces 3.00 \$

Periscope

PHILATELY

Return to Sender

EVEN IN THE AGE OF GLOBAL E-mail, stamps still matter. Just ask the U.S. Postal Service. Its proposed stamp commemorating the 50th anniversary of the atomic-bombing of Japan caused an uproar. So last week Postmaster General Marvin Runyon announced the stamp, which depicted a towering mushroom cloud and the legend, ATOMIC BOMBS HASTEN WAR'S END, AUGUST 1945, had been scrapped after consultations with White House officials. "We are changing the de-



Atomic bombs hasten war's end, August 1945

Stamp of disapproval

sign... because of the importance of U.S.-Japan relations at this critical time in U.S. foreign policy," Runyon said. The replacement, personally OK'd by Bill Clinton, will show Harry S. Truman announcing the end of World War II.

VITAL STATS Your Average Cup of Tea

Teatime is still serious business for Brits, but they don't sip the most. Who does, and doesn't:

Highest consumption

COUNTRY	AVERAGE CUPS PER PERSON PER YEAR
Ireland	1,416.8
U.K.	1,148.4
Qatar	1,012.0
Turkey	941.6
Hong Kong	765.6
Iran	765.6
Kuwait	743.6
Syria	730.4
Bahrain	620.4
Egypt	550.0

Lowest consumption

COUNTRY	AVERAGE CUPS PER PERSON PER YEAR
Thailand	4.4
Italy	39.6
Tanzania	44.0
Czech Rep. & Slovakia	61.6
Belgium & Luxembourg	66.0
Austria	70.4
Finland	79.2
Germany	88.0
France	92.4
Sweden	136.4



SOURCE: INTERNATIONAL TEA COMMITTEE

ILLUSTRATION BY STANFORD KAY-NEWSWEEK



Mandela: Trying to broaden his base of support?

SOUTH AFRICA

Toward a Multiracial ANC

THE LEADERSHIP OF SOUTH AFRICA'S RULING PARTY, THE African National Congress, may be due for a racial makeover. At its 49th national conference, set to kick off this Saturday, the ANC's top decision-making body—the 75-member National Executive Committee—will be chosen with an eye toward bringing in more whites, Indians and mixed-race Coloreds. (Currently, nonblacks occupy 28 percent of the seats.) The idea comes from South African President Nelson Mandela, who has voiced concern that his group's upper echelons are dominated by blacks. And while it came as no surprise that few whites voted for the ANC in last April's elections, Mandela is well aware that it placed second to F. W. de Klerk's National Party among Indians and Coloreds, even though both groups suffered under apartheid.

CHINA

Traffic on the Drug Route

WASHINGTON HAS GROWN increasingly concerned over the use of China by drug traffickers as a conduit for the shipment of heroin—much of it making its way to the United States. In his first Asian visit

since taking over as Drug Enforcement Administration chief in March, Thomas A. Constantine told reporters in Hong Kong two weeks ago that China's common border with Burma—a major opium producer—makes it an ideal route for narcotraffickers in the region. The drug, he says, is smuggled through China's southern border and shipped out of Hong Kong and Shanghai. Some drugs stay behind, Constantine says, as payments to intermediaries along the routes. That has caused a huge jump in the number of China's drug addicts; from 70,000 in 1988 to 250,000 in 1992. "The Chinese pretty much wiped out drug use after 1949," Constantine says, "but heroin addiction is on the rise." With the growing use of China's drug route, the country's addiction problems can only worsen.

PRODUCTS

Look Ma Bell! No Hands

FOR ANYONE WHO SPENDS a lot of time on the telephone, JABRA Corp. of San Diego, California, is marketing the JABRA 1000, a lightweight device that combines the listening and speaking components of a standard telephone in a small "all in one" earpiece. Unlike other hands-free telephones, it has no headset; instead, a high-powered microphone and speaker are both built into an earpiece that fits snugly in the outer ear. "The JABRA 1000 completely liberates people from their telephones," says Randy Granovetter, president and CEO of JABRA Corp. "It also produces the kind of clarity and distortion-free sound people have come to expect from high-quality telephones." The JABRA 1000 plugs directly into a telephone's handset jack and is compatible with all digital and analog-style telephones. The device consists of a ½-inch sponge-covered earpiece, a small volume and mute control that clips to a pocket, lapel or belt, and a base unit. Noise- and echo-cancellation software are programmed into the digital signal processor contained in the base of the unit. Unlike other telephone noise-cancellation methods, which block out noise only when the user is not speaking, the JABRA 1000 continuously blocks out background hubbub. A quick-release plug allows the user to disconnect from the phone easily. Cost: \$300. Models are also available for cellular phones (\$99) and personal computers (\$169).

ED SILVER and JOHN WOJNO



'I Would Like to Ask Him, "Why?"'

Ethiopia: Judgment day for a regime's atrocities

KEBEDE ADMASE IS A LIVING TESTAMENT to the torments of life in Ethiopia. In December 1977, at the height of a brutal crackdown on alleged enemies of the Marxist dictatorship then in power, Kebede's teenage son and daughter were arrested, denounced and thrown into prison in the capital, Addis Ababa. On March 18, 1978, Kebede was on his way to bring them breakfast when he noticed blood splattered on the street outside the jail and an anxious crowd milling around the entrance. "The officials read the names of prisoners executed during the night," he remembers. "My children were on the list." When he sought an explanation for their deaths, the neighborhood security chief warned him to drop it. "For 16 years my heart has been bleeding," Kebede says. "These killers caused Ethiopia so much suffering, but we have received no justice."

Justice for Kebede, and for hundreds of thousands of other Ethiopians, may soon be delivered. This week 44 senior officials of the Dergue—the savage Marxist regime that ruled Ethiopia between 1974 and 1991—will appear before a three-judge tribunal in Addis Ababa to face a litany of charges, including murder, torture and other crimes against humanity. If found guilty, they could be hanged. At least 1,300 other Dergue henchmen also await trial. And Ethiopia's transitional government is seeking the extradition of 22 other former key figures, including the country's reviled ex-dictator, Mengistu Haile Mariam, who escaped to comfortable exile in Zimbabwe in May 1991 and is being tried in absentia. The trials, which could drag on for years, will constitute the most extensive judgment of human-rights abuses since Nuremberg and will mark the first time that African leaders have been held accountable for atrocities committed under their rule. Among those watching with interest: Rwanda's new Tutsi-led government, which is readying trials for thousands of Hutu militiamen and officials implicated in the 1994 genocide.

The Dergue's violence against its own people was comparable in horror, if not quite in number, to the excesses of Cambodia under Pol Pot and the Soviet Union under Stalin. Led by Mengistu, the cabal



CHRIS KUTSCHERA

Atrocities: Human bones discovered by rebels in 1991, expatriate Mengistu



ALAIN KELLER—SYGMA

toppled Ethiopia's aging Emperor Haile Selassie in September 1974 and two months later summarily executed 60 imperial cabinet ministers and military officers (the emperor died in prison in August 1975). It was the first bloody act of an increasingly repressive regime. Hundreds of thousands of young people were soon forced out of Addis

Ababa and into rural areas for Marxist re-education. As resistance to it grew, the Dergue launched the Red Terror in 1976, imprisoning, torturing and killing tens of thousands of suspected "counterrevolutionaries," most of them students. "The streets of Addis were strewn with corpses," remembers Alamayehu Selassie, 65, whose 22-year old son was shot to death by revolutionary guards in 1978. Mengistu's brutality helped kindle several rebel movements and a decadelong civil war. In 1984-85, 1 million Ethiopians starved in the northern province of Tigre during a famine intensified by the government in order to depopulate rebel areas. As rebel armies approached the capital in May 1991, Mengistu fled. The Dergue fell a week later, and the officials Mengistu left behind, including the 44 about to stand trial, were jailed.

The evidence against the regime is vast. A team of 400 Ethiopian investigators has seized 300,000 pages of documents from ministries, military compounds and *kebeles*—neighborhood security centers that monitored every Ethiopian. The evidence,

Clinton's Values Blowout

Politics: The president shifts to the right and fires Joycelyn Elders. But it may be too late in the duel with Gingrich over the legacy of the '60s.

By HOWARD FINEMAN

NEWTON COULDN'T HAVE ENGINEERED it. Rush couldn't have made it up. First, Newt Gingrich charges that President Clinton is a card-carrying member of the '60s "counterculture." Part of the evidence: his surgeon general, the controversial Joycelyn Elders. "Why does the president keep her?" the speaker-to-be asks. "I assume he shares her values." Days later, word of Elders's latest gaffe surfaces. At an obscure U.N. conference, she had suggested it might be wise to teach masturbation to kids in health class. Calling all "ditto-heads"! Clinton quickly gets the message. With uncharacteristic speed and coldness, he abruptly fires her.

Bill Clinton is moving to the right fast, but perhaps too late. The Elders episode is only the most recent reminder that the baby boom's first political establishment—the liberal one Clinton joined in the '60s—is finished. Think of the recent election as a race for generational class president. The candidates: two loquacious, overachieving white males who wear relaxed-fit slacks and own 1967 Mustangs. For years, Clinton's crowd—obsessed with racial and gender justice, sexual freedom and the risks of war—got most of the attention and power. They were opposed, then and now, by a counter-counterculture—obsessed with the family, private enterprise, Biblical values and the

need to use force to protect society. Last month the voters spoke: former cool dude Clinton clearly was bested by former geek Gingrich.

When he ran for president, Clinton seemed to sense the rightward drift of his generational history. He angled away from his early student days, picking fights with Jesse Jackson, promising to "end welfare as we know it," dedicating himself to "people who work hard and play by the rules." But once in Washington, it was as though he were back on campus, surrounded by professors, law jocks and Rhodes scholars. They produced the early cultural debacles, summarized by Hillary Clinton as "gays and guns": politically damaging support for gun control and new rights for gays in the military. Hillary's colossal health-care plan was easy to tag as old-fashioned big-government liberalism of the '60s variety.

Voters didn't like the Clinton they saw. He seemed too much like Yale Law, circa 1970. Postelection surveys show that voters punished Democrats for Clinton's failure to deliver on his promise of "fundamental change" in Washington and for his inability to make people feel more secure about their jobs. But the generational war played a part, too, polltakers say. Republicans effectively portrayed the Clin-

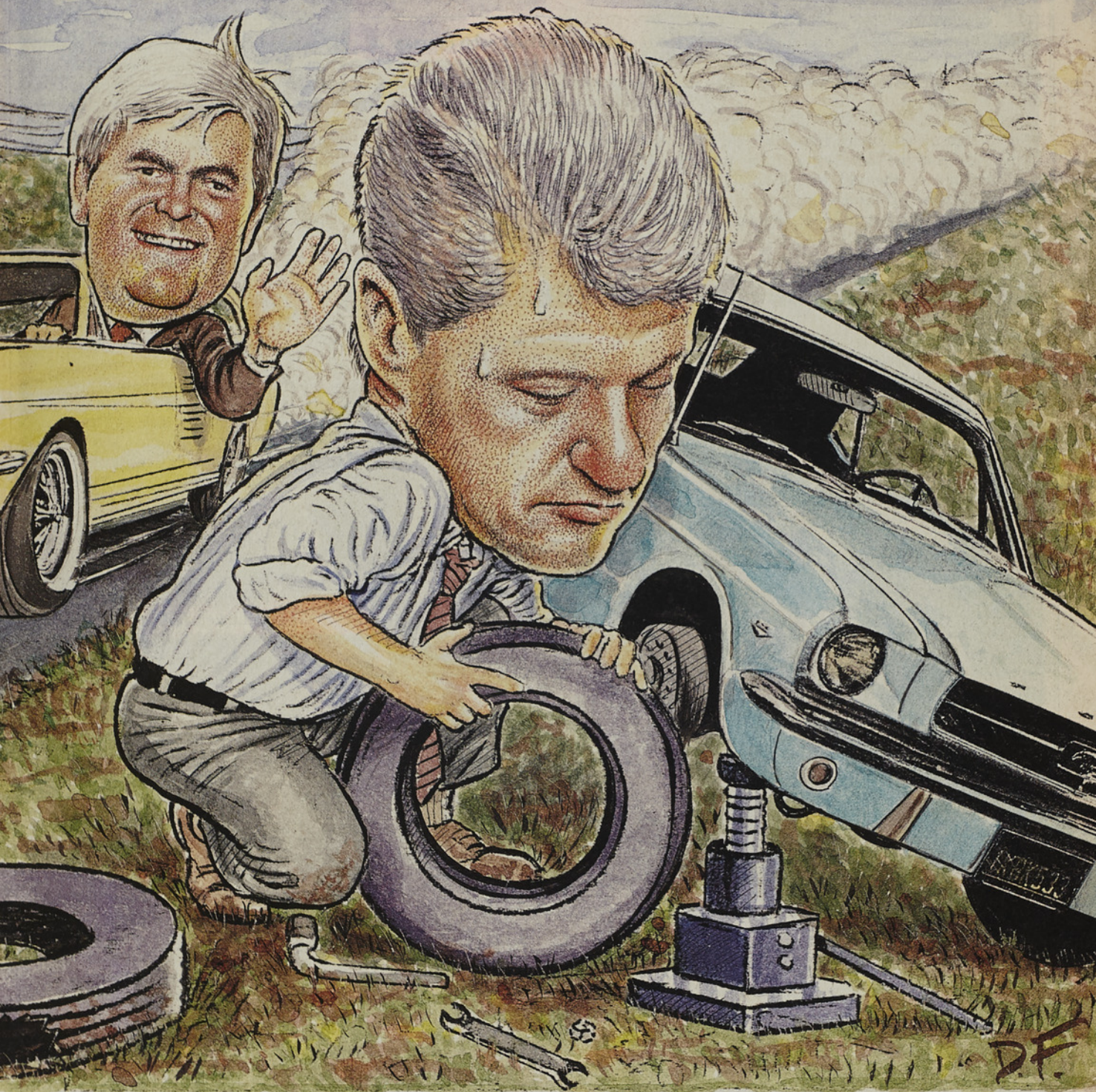
Former cool dude Clinton was bested by former geek Gingrich

ton crowd as an enclave of the old-left '60s, led by Hillary Clinton, health-care adviser Ira

Magaziner and "condom queen" Elders. "A lot of baby boomers were reflecting a change in attitude about their own past," said GOP polltaker John McLaughlin. "It began in the '80s; it's accelerating now."

Shape up, the Democratic Leadership Council warned Clinton last week. The president is a former chairman of the self-styled "mainstream" group, which had





given him a national platform in the center in 1991. DLC leaders such as Sen. John Breaux and Rep. Dave McCurdy bluntly lectured the president. They told him he had to move right, shake up his cabinet (Elders was among those they urged him to replace) and sign on to at least some of Gingrich's "Contract With America." The DLC released its own alternative "contract," which included tax cuts and a crusade against teen pregnancy. Clinton is merely a "transitional figure," McCurdy

publicly declared. He'll be a marginal one—and a loser in 1996—if he doesn't move quickly, Breaux privately warned.

Clinton is trying. Indeed, he began within days of the election, agreeing to discuss school prayer (he'd supported a moment-of-silence bill in Arkansas) and proposing to raise defense spending by \$25 billion. Last week he ended all doubt about where he was headed. Administration officials said they were considering a massive downsizing of government agen-

cies, including leveling the Department of Housing and Urban Development. Clinton announced he would convene a bipartisan conference of mayors, governors and members of Congress on welfare reform. When Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen announced his retirement, Clinton was careful about whom he chose to replace the most conservative figure in his cabinet. He picked Robert Rubin, an economic adviser who is admired on Wall Street—and who had been a vehement foe of

Hillary's health-care plan. Administration officials were delighted at the chance to fire Elders. "She was a bomb waiting to go off," said a top insider.

How far will Clinton be willing to go? Will he take on soulmates from the '60s? Democrats from the old days, with ties to the remnants of the old establishment, warn of betrayal. "If the president tries to out-Republican the Republicans, he'll fail,"

declares Joseph Califano, who oversaw or ran welfare policy for former presidents Lyndon Johnson and Jimmy Carter. DLC officials dismiss such concerns. "The elections have liberated Democrats from special-interest liberalism," said DLC executive director Al From. "Now the party is free to look ahead."

Free, yes. Serious, who knows? The president will have to do more than an-

nounce a policy shift to convince skeptical voters, who have seen him back and fill on too many issues. He'll actually have to cut deals with Newt, whom most White House insiders loathe. Loather-in-chief is Hillary Clinton, who still harbors hopes for a major health-care overhaul, and who encourages the notion—shared to some extent by her husband—that last month's debacle was strictly the result of lousy PR strategy. "She

Goodbye to the 'Condom Queen'

WHEN SURGEON General Joycelyn Elders suggested last week that schools might teach masturbation as safe sex, President Bill Clinton fired her. But he can't say he was surprised. In 1987, after Governor Clinton appointed Elders to be director of the Arkansas Health Department, she was asked at her first press conference whether she favored giving condoms to public-school children. "Well, I'm not going to put them on their lunch trays, but yes," she answered. On her desk in Little Rock, she put an "Ozark Rubber Plant" that sprouted curled condoms. She told an abortion-rights rally in the state capital that abortion foes needed to get over what she termed "their love affair with fetuses." She badgered Arkansas state legislators for money to pay for sex education and contraception. She did pause to ask, "Governor, should I back off?" But Clinton just replied, "No, no, Joycelyn, I love it. Keep it up."

Elders described her job as surgeon general as a "bully pulpit." She preached without regard for the political consequences. Should homosexuals be allowed to join the Boy Scouts? inquired *The Advocate*, a gay magazine. Absolutely, declared Elders—and lesbians, for that matter,



BILL HABER—AP

'Bully pulpit': Elders was not about to change her brash style

should be allowed to join the Girl Scouts, too. Asked why the government should spend more on AIDS research than on heart disease and cancer, she replied, "Most of the people who die with heart disease and cancer are our elderly population." She took special delight in tweaking the religious right, whom she referred to as the "un-Christian religious right" for its opposition to her proposals on sex and AIDS educa-

tion in schools. She announced that Medicare must have been "developed by a white male slave owner" because it failed to pay for new forms of contraception like RU-486.

The anti-abortion legions need to get over 'their love affair with fetuses'

She seemed to court disaster. In December 1993 she suggested studying the legalization of drugs, arguing it would reduce inner-city crime. Two weeks later Arkansas police arrested her son for selling cocaine to a police

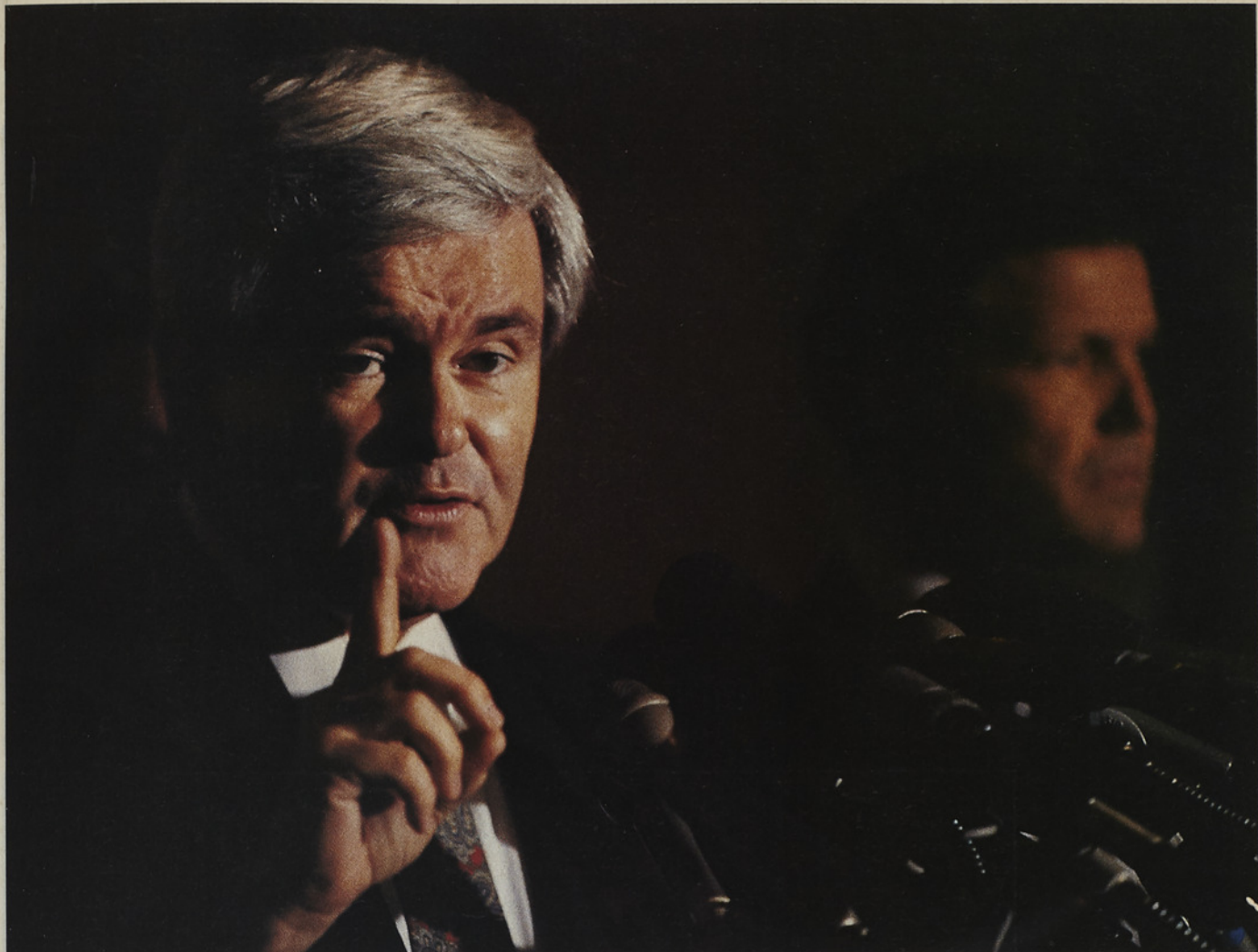
informant in a sting operation the previous summer. He admitted he was a cocaine addict, and received a 10-year prison sentence.

The inevitable outcry swept talk radio. Rush Limbaugh dubbed Elders the "Condom Queen." The Traditional Values Coalition mailed petitions to 30,000 churches to request her dismissal as surgeon general. White House aides recognized that she was becoming a liability. Chief of staff Leon Panetta told reporters that he had taken Elders to "a modified woodshed" after her comments about abortion foes. Aides say Clinton himself warned her to be more discreet.

Life of defiance: But moderation has never been her style. Her house near Little Rock had a bathtub that could fit four people and a barbecue large enough to roast a cow. Elders has lived all her life by defiance. The daughter of a sharecropper, she never saw a doctor as a child, but she became a pediatric endocrinologist and published 150 research papers. Home from medical school for a visit in 1957, she took a couple of her young siblings to a drive-in movie. Told to park in the back because she was black, she parked her car in the middle and refused to budge.

When she made her remark about masturbation last week, she knew there was a reporter from U.S. News in the audience, sent to write a profile. Elders was not about to change her style or her convictions. What changed was Clinton—and the election results.

BOB COHN in Washington



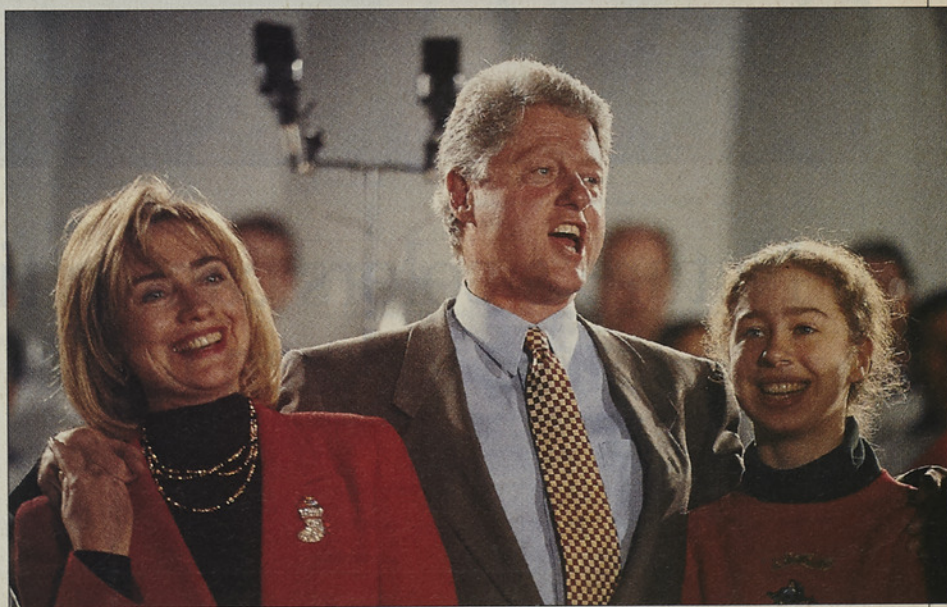
JOHN FICARA—NEWSWEEK

The president will have to cut deals with the speaker: *Gingrich addresses GOP newcomers, White House holiday cheer*

just doesn't get it, and I'm not sure she's going to try," said a top Democratic insider.

While Clinton scrambles, Gingrich reigns triumphant—at least until they start the tough votes in the House. The parallel histories of the two men are fascinating—and instructively ironic. In some ways, it's now clear, Gingrich is the more representative '60s figure. He was, in fact, always more rebelliously anti-establishment than Clinton, who coveted traditional credentials. In the summer of 1963, as the world now knows, 16-year-old Bill Clinton already was tagged as a future insider, shaking hands with President Kennedy. That same summer, Gingrich, a 20-year-old college student at Emory University, was trying to talk one Jack Prince, a Georgia poultry processor, into running for Congress as a Goldwater Republican in a state full of Yellow Dog Democrats. At that time and in that place, Gingrich was as far from the political establishment as a young man could get.

That was then. Now Gingrich is consolidating his power in the House. He packed key House committees with his loyalists—and began setting a timetable for his forced



JAMES COLBURN—PHOTOREPORTERS

march through his "contract." His every utterance is news. Pursuing his attack on Clinton's "counterculture," Gingrich said last week he'd been reliably told that "up to a quarter of the White House staff, when they first came in, had used drugs in the last four or five years." He offered no proof. The

White House accused him of cultural McCarthyism and hypocrisy, since he admitted to having smoked dope in the '60s. But the Clintonites were missing the point. Politically, it doesn't matter anymore what you did in the '60s. It matters what you say about them now. ■