

December
P.O.

The Ylio Clarion

POLLACK LIBRARY

NOV -

DO NOT REMOVE FROM LIBRARY

Vol. 1 No. 1

November 7, 1989

Operation LifeLine Cut Off

By Jordan Mariuma

Say that you were a commander for the UN Emergency Relief Forces. Say that your task was to deliver 115,000 tons of food over an area roughly the size of the United States, west of the Mississippi River, using the outdated methods of transportation one would expect to find in a poor, African, third-world country. And say that an additional problem arose - the Southern part of this country, an area the size of Texas has been embroiled in a bitter, bloody civil war since 1955. Add to this a military coup that takes place only one month after you have convinced the rebels and the government to agree on ceasefire arrangements. This is the situation facing UN relief workers in the South of Sudan, Africa's largest country, that has been at war since its independence.

Sudan's problems began in 1956, when it achieved independence from an Egyptian-English condominium owning system. Civil war broke out almost immediately, pitting the Muslim and Arabic majority of the north against the African southerners, who were either Christian or Animist. When a young Colonel, Ja'far an-Numayri, seized power in 1969, he worked on a peace plan whereby the south was given limited autonomy. This lasted from 1972 until 1983, when a Muslim fundamentalist, Numayri, decided to place the entire country under the Sharia (Islamic Law) turning 1/3 of the population into second class citizens.

At this point, Colonel John Garang, an idealistic nationalist educated at Cornell University, formed the Sudan People's Liberation Movement, a guerilla fighting force which has effectively left the official government with a tenuous control of Southern Sudan. Numayri's popularity started declining and he was eventually ousted in a military coup which led to democratic elections. Sadiq al-Mahdi was voted in as prime minister.

This is another sign of Tyranny of the Majority - al-Mahdi was a pro Arab leader who continued the fight against the SPLM. Luckily, however, he was far less Zealous than his predecessor, so when, in 1988, tragedy struck he was willing to deal. Records show that in the Southern Sudanese combat zone - 250,000 people died of starvation in one year. The UN stepped in to provide relief, and thus was born 'Operation Life-Line'.

The deal? The two warring sides agreed to allow the UN 'Zones of Tranquility' in exchange for the UN's guarantee to provide both the government and the guerillas with an equal amount of food. Many thought that the problem

had been solved. When the distribution began, however, glitches popped up in droves. For example, the only train track leading into the guerilla occupied zone had only one train drive on it in the last 2 1/2 years. UN workers had to strip track from behind them and lay it in front of their relief train to allow the train to cover the gaps in the track that sometimes were up to 300 feet long.

Also, SPLM forces would ambush trains heading for government areas and give the food to their own people, and one UN jet was bombed on the ground. Also, UN trains and jets filled with relief materials for government controlled areas, are subject to frequent SPLM ambushes and bombings.

On June 1st, the new prime minister was ousted in a coup while the head of the guerilla forces was in the United States talking to President Carter about the possibilities for cease fire. The new Prime Minister, Brigadier Ahmed Al-Bahir, restarted the war in the Zones of Tranquility, and UN food supplies were delayed for one fatal month. Death figures are not available, but eventually the Zone of Tranquility pact was reinstated. However, its existence is precarious, and out of 115,000 tons of food the UN had to deliver, only 85,000 arrived.

The Sudan's plan could have been a model for all countries in the Third World torn by civil war, but instead, the country remains in a constant state of danger and fiasco. Assuming that the government stabilizes, (although al-Mahdi, the old prime minister now in exile in Egypt, has vowed to return), and if the government and the SPLM can have productive peace talks, then there is a chance that there will be peace. If, however, is a dangerous work when 250,000 people have already died of starvation, and, according to UN records, 100,000 more people are in danger.

Can Communism Make It Into The 1990's

By Lori Kunin

There once was a time when the Russian people believed that they led the world economically. Under the leadership of Brezhnev, statistics were forged saying that the U.S.S.R was the leading producer of tractors, steel, and other products, in the world. The Russian citizens felt secure with this knowledge and had no reason to question the Communist way of government. A few months ago, however, the Soviet Parliament disclosed that these statistics were in fact fraudulent. This left the Russian people with the cries: What happened to the glories of Communism that Lenin extolled? What happened to the dream of the ideal Russian man who was secular, hard work-

ing, and an internationalist? What happened to the Glorious Revolution?

Karl Marx, the father of Communism, stated that society can be improved by political means. Marx's political program was accepted by the general population because it gave power to the lower working class that was in the majority in Russia. He knew how to appeal to the flouring Russian masses. Communism promised equalization of material conditions but did not do away with ownership of everyday possessions. Marx said that by equalizing material abundance each man would have the freedom to reach their goals. Marx felt that in order for Communism to develop properly, the party must act together and social changes must be made by a collision of opposing economic forces.

The actual power in Russia is concentrated only among the higher echelons of Russian society. The Politburo, which has a monopoly of political power, is accountable only to itself, and is not a divided body. The Nomenclature is the ruling class in this system which does not entertain any forms of mobility. One long term impediment is that this personnel is not picked because of talent, but rather because of loyalty to the nomenclature. Trying to enforce a work ethic of cost efficient productivity is type of entrenched bureaucracy. This causes a lot of resentment among the Russian working class.

Communism has been the form of government in Russia for over 70 years. When it was first instituted, the Russian people felt that they had come up with the perfect alternative to capitalism. They viewed capitalism as a pure form of government that, within a few years, would dominate the global political scene. Obviously, this vision of the inevitability of global communism never came to fruition. Russia, right now, is having problems that may threaten its political, economic, and social way of life forever.

President Bush is correct when he says that "We don't have to talk late into the night about which form of government is better." Economically, the capitalistic system is far superior to its communist counterpart. In 1987, the gross national product of the United States was \$4.4 billion, compared to \$2.4 billion of the U.S.S.R. The gross national product per capita during the same year was \$18,200 in the U.S., compared to \$8,360 in Russia.

As if these economic problems were not enough to tear down a government, Russia has other problems that make the fall of communism inevitable. Collective farmers do not provide enough food, the state of industries do not produce the proper combinations of food, and the police remain excessively oppressive. Social

Continued on page 12

From The Publisher's Desk

On behalf of the Executive Board, I would like to welcome you to the first edition of The YU Clarion. Today, more than ever before, we are witnessing vast changes within the global political arena. One could argue that more change has occurred over the last six months than the forty preceding cold years. An uncontrollable wave of democracy and free-market capitalism has swept through the second and third worlds threatening the very existence of communism as an ideology and political reality. Pride turned to horror and disbelief as the entire world witnessed the student struggle in Tiananmen Square and the bloody massacre that ensued with mocking indifference to world opinion. As the Intifada approaches its second anniversary of chaos, destruction and stalemated politics, Israel is transformed from the romantic "David" of old into the evil and incorrigible "Goliath" of the Middle-East. Domestically, this summer alone produced three landmark Supreme Court decisions on abortion, capital punishment and flag burning. These questions challenged the moral and ethical fiber of America. The decay of the environment and the doomsday "Greenhouse Effect" continues to leave lawmakers in a quandry over the extent of resources that should be allocated for this vital clean up. In Washington, conservatism is on the rise. It has gained the intellectual high-ground moving mainstream America, pushing it further and further to the right. These are just a few of the events and specialized areas of concentration that The YU Clarion will cover over the course of the year.

The amount of political clout and influence that American Jewry has is certainly not a result of our overwhelming masses. Our newsletter is devoted to educating and informing the student body on domestic and world events. We believe that it is political suicide for orthodox Jews to remain politically naive.

Welcome aboard!

- Benjamin Kaminetzky -
 Publisher/Research Director

The YU Clarion

Benjamin Kaminetzky
 Publisher/Research Director

Stuart Ian Bernath
 Editor-in-Chief
 Yeshiva College

Judy Stangen
 Editor-in-Chief
 Stern College

Lisa Lasher
 Executive Editor

Editorial Board

Domestic Affairs

Jonathan Hornblass, Editor
Steven Felsenthal
Natan Horowitz
Mordecai Schreck

Dalit Weiss, Editor
Yael Zieger
Avi Posner
Jeff Stier

U.S.S.R.

Elly Krinsky, Editor

Lisa Lasher, Editor

Asia

David Sheffey, Editor

Michelle Chrein, Editor

Western Europe

Seth Frohlich, Editor

Lori Kunin, Editor

Eastern Europe

Steven Pudell, Editor
Steven Stadtmayer
Rebecca Evans
Amanda Weiner

Helen Pechman, Editor
Jennifer Cutler
Sara Finiberg
Shirly Wodeslavsky

Middle East

Geoffrey Rochwager, Editor
Steven Arnold

Karen Pruzansky, Editor
Seth Cohen

Third World

Jordan Mariuma, Editor

Segal Magori, Editor

Special Projects

Ari Weisbrot, Editor

Business Staff

Steven Lauderdale
Moshe Zwebner

Geneve Hartstein

Art Staff

Behzad Dayanim, Art Director
David Borowich

Jonathan Appel

Political Science Society Governing Board

Edward Stelzer, Yeshiva College
Claudine Sokol, Stern College

Dr. Ruth A. Bevan, Faculty Advisor

Dr. Efreim Nulman, Administrative Advisor

The YU Clarion is published bi-monthly by the J.P. Danner Political Science Society of Yeshiva College and Stern College for Women. Editorial Office: 500 West 185th Street, New York, New York 10033. Telephone (212) 960-5330. Copyright 1989 by The YU Clarion. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED. Nothing herein may be reproduced in whole or in part without written permission of the publisher. All articles must be original. No responsibility will be assumed for unsolicited materials. Submitting material constitutes an express warranty by the contributor that material in no way is an infringement on others. The YU Clarion bears no responsibility for editorial content. Views expressed in articles are those of individual authors.

Printed in the U.S.A. by J.C. Graphics Inc., Paramus, NJ

Legalizing Apartheid In South Africa

By Steven Pudell

Apartheid has been the law in South Africa for years. The election of President F. W. de Klerk may hasten the end of Apartheid, but the starkly different agendas of the government and the African National Congress (A.N.C.), the leading political power in the Black community, may slow the process considerably. Those who expect a sudden change in the government policy do not fully understand why apartheid, a seemingly backward policy, continues to exist.

Apartheid may no longer be a purely racist policy. The increased black activity and awareness has transformed it into a powerful political tool. The government realizes that when apartheid is gone they too may follow. President de Klerk has recently introduced reforms, but he has done so gradually and with extreme caution. The Black community has openly declared that it will not wait and that a radical change is in order. The Government now is moving forward out of fear and it may prove not to be enough. A full understanding of the current situation calls for an understanding of what each side is demanding.

The de Klerk government has allowed the A.N.C. to gather in public to rally. He also has advocated the release of certain political prisoners, but has announced no plans to release Nelson Mandela, leader of the banned A.N.C. The President according to a Time magazine (October 30, 1989) did say that he would "unban" certain organizations if they promised that such a move would not trigger violence. The truth is that de Klerk now is concerned with laying the ground rules for reform. They include the denunciation of violence by Black leaders, and a constitutional amendment guaranteeing "group rights" for 20 years. This is basically a separate but equal doctrine similar to the one introduced in the United States after the Civil War. Contrary to what people seem to think, President de Klerk believes that segregation, not discrimination, is a fact in South African life which may continue to exist after the abolishment of apartheid.

The African National Congress numbed by repeated broken promises and stalling techniques by the government, has repeatedly said that they will continue "the armed struggle" until the government succumbs to their demands. They have not hidden the fact that political reform will not be enough unless it leads to an overthrow of the government. Walter Sisulu, a former general secretary of the A.N.C., released from prison after 26 years by de Klerk, recently was quoted as saying (Time 10/30/89), "But we don't want gradual change. We want immediate radical change." Mr. Sisulu has also said that the government has been vague and he has seen no indication that they are really committed to change. Indeed, de Klerk may just be stalling. The A.N.C. also demands a one-person one-vote election for the blacks. This would be a death sentence for the white government in South Africa. The Blacks are having internal political problems. The A.N.C. claims that they must be the main participant in any negotiations. The government, trying to lessen the A.N.C.'s power demands that there should be a wide spectrum of black leaders involved in the process. At the other

end of the political spectrum, the Pan-Africanist Congress, which is also presently banned, strongly rejects any type of talks with the people they refer to as "the usurpers of our land."

There is, of course, is another motive for the changing tune of the South African government. The United States companies that withdrew from South Africa have succeeded in damaging the country economically. The South African government recently has issued a large mailing detailing their recent initiative in phasing out apartheid. This mailing was accompanied by a reprint of a recent Readers Digest article by David Reed entitled, "Do South African Sanctions Make Sense?" Reed details the destructive effects of the sanctions. He traces the impact on the black community, which according to Reed, was hardest hit by the sanctions. He claims that the American liberals ignored President Reagan's veto that banned South African goods from the market, and caused Congress to override the veto. This triggered a domino effect which has plagued the country with increased unemployment among blacks, depression and famine. He also claims that the major organizations in South Africa were against these sanctions. The veracity of these contentions by Reed are overshadowed by the fact that the sanctions have put the South African in a precarious position. Whether or not they are serious about reform is secondary to the fact they need the business that left, due to the apartheid policies. F.W. de Klerk is not suggesting these policies to be a hero among the blacks, but he is attempting to prolong the white rule in South Africa.

"Black Ball"

By Marni Balter

The 1987 baseball season began amidst the fury of a country waiting impatiently for prejudice to disappear. Al Campanias, General Manager of the Los Angeles Dodgers, at the time, was a guest on Ted Koppel's "Nightline". They were scheduled to discuss the 40th anniversary of the Jackie Robinson's breaking the color barrier.

As a Brooklyn Dodger, he became the first black in major league baseball. When asked a question regarding the success of black athletes, regrettably, Campanias stated that he truly believed "that they (blacks) may not have some of the necessities to be . . . a field manager, or perhaps a general manager." According to Campanias, Blacks simply don't have the intellectual capacity required to handle managerial positions.

The comments of Campanias, and his subsequent resignation, spurred much outrage and focused attention to the position of Blacks in sports. Last month, Los Angeles Raider's owner Al Davis fired head coach Mike Shanahan and replaced him with Art Shell, the first black head coach in The Modern National Football League. Baseball, traditionally has failed to open its doors to black managers.

While Blacks are the dominant holders of the outfield positions in baseball, there are few blacks who are shortstops and practically no Black catchers. Outfielders do not play a major defensive role and are not involved in planning strategy as they are usually positioned by coaches. Most

of the defensive action occurs in the infield, where the shortstop dominates as the defensive catalyst. While there are many White and Dominican shortstops, Ozzie Smith of the St. Louis Cardinals is the only black shortstop in the major leagues today to reach "Super Star" status. The catcher also plays a major role in the game's strategy as he selects the pitches for the pitcher. Once again, one will have difficult time naming three starting black catchers in the major leagues today.

The positions which are held by whites prepares them for managerial and other front office positions while the positions dominated by Blacks offer little training for a career in baseball after they retire. In 1987, less than 21 of the 900 front office positions in baseball were held by Blacks. This contrasts with 11% of Blacks in the American population and an even higher percentage of Black players in sports.

This year, Cito Gaston, the fourth Black manager in major league history, was the first to guide his team, the Toronto Blue Jays, to an American League Pennant. Why is Black success in managerial positions such a rarity? American society has not yet broken down the barriers in sports, as Branche Rickey, who hired Jackie Robinson, attempted to do in 1947. American society has not accepted the fact that Blacks have the ability to excel, as they have done in sports when given the opportunity.

Hopefully, the hiring of Art Shell will be a catalyst for change in sports, and for society in general. Hopefully, the sport which led the road to civil rights before the Little Rock riots and before the March on Washington will continue to lead America toward racial equality.

How Many Polish Governments Will It Take To Screw In A Lightbulb?

By Judy Stangen

Poland has odd luck when it come to news. Even as recently as June, the results of Poland's first semi-free elections since WWII were quickly superseded by the riveting reports coming out of Beijing.

Poland's new two-chamber parliamentary government developed during round-table talks this spring, holding elections for the Senate and lower-house in the first week of June. Out of the 100 seats up for grabs in the Senate, Solidarity now occupies 99 of them. In the lower-house, Solidarity again swept the election by winning 34% of the 35% seats open. The President of this coalition is Jaruzelski from the Communist Party. Once a militant Communist, Jaruzelski recently appointed Tadeusz Mazowiecki a Solidarity lawyer to become the first non-Communist Prime Minister in the Soviet bloc since 1948. However, the Communist party still runs the Defense Ministry and the Interior Ministry, which controls the police.

The results of the elections make it quite evident that Communism is suffering greatly. For the past 40 years the party has been trying to run Poland efficiently as a socialist state.

Continued on page 4

Due to the party's short comings, Poland is suffering enormously. Inflation is 200% and rising. Warsaw owes \$39 billion to the West, and 6 billion rubles to the Soviet bloc countries. Workers are constantly striking, and food supplies are sporadic at best. Poland will be receiving billions of dollars in aid for food and agriculture. The Polish zioty in the black market is at the rate of over 4,500 to the dollar. Needless to say, the present state of Poland is one of desperation.

The new government must cope directly with these problems. At the round-table discussions, some major decisions were finalized.

- * After this president has served for six years, his successor will be chosen by popular election.
- * In the Senate, all seats will be filled by popular vote.
- * There will be greater press freedom.
- * Wages will be indexed to the rise in prices, increases in food costs will be gradual.
- * Private schools will be permitted.
- * Private health care will be extended.
- * A commitment has been made to do more for the environment.

It all sounds good on paper. Solidarity sees the need for radical, and painful, economic changes if Poland is to work its way out of its plight. Solidarity leaders know they lack the experience to govern. When it was formed in 1980, Solidarity was a workers union. Until seven months ago, it was illegal. The question now is whether Solidarity is still a labor movement or it has become a political party.

Looking at both governments, one tends to be quite skeptical for Poland's future. There seems to be a catch twenty-two. Neither government at this moment are capable of restructuring Poland. One then is forced to turn to the question of the present coalition. How long will Communism survive along side Capitalism? We don't have sufficient information to make these speculations. This endeavor has never been attempted before. The advancements thus far have been astounding.

Across the globe, Communism is suffering. People in Communist nations everywhere are bravely risking their lives to gain their first breaths of freedom. How much longer the party will last in Poland is highly questionable. It is unclear even, if they will survive until the next election. It is in this future election that they will be inevitably voted out of power.

It is Solidarity which has the public backing and moral democratic philosophy. "People are impatient", Mazowiecki has been quoted as saying. "In order to succeed, the government needs time. But people are very impatient with the lack of commodities. People expect quick results."

President Bush has decided to support Poland with caution. He is waiting for reforms and socio-economic improvement. The situation in Poland deserves patience. Solidarity needs time to come into its own and flower as a productive form of Capitalism government. It is our responsibility to muster every resource we can to help them.

East Germany - The Long Haul

By Steven Stadtmauer

Even while East Germany was undergoing a

change in leadership last week, hundreds of thousands of protesters struggled with police in the streets of Leipzig and other major cities. Antipathy toward the Communist Party runs deep among the people of this 40 year-old nation, and the new leadership brings only little promise of change to a disillusioned populace.

Erich Honecker represented the hard-line of traditional German communist politics to the German people. He had strongly resisted any Gorbachev-inspired reforms in either the political or economic arenas of the country. The 77 year-old former leader's serious illness and impending retirement had instilled hopes of new, younger leadership and dreams of "glasnost" and "perestroika" in Germany. However, the elevation of Egon Krenz to the top spot by the old guard of the Politburo dashes any expectations of quick and sure reform. Krenz, Honecker's long-time confidant and protege, is staunchly conservative in his ideology and promises an era of "continuity" under his administration. Krenz is not a fresh new leader, but rather, another advocate of Honecker's tough-minded policies.

Born in 1937, Krenz was 12 years old at the founding of the German Democratic Republic in 1949. After joining the Communist Party in 1955, he spent two years in the army before working with various communist youth groups throughout Germany. In 1967, he was appointed to the Central Committee, and in 1974, placed in charge of the Free German Youth Movement. From 1974 to the present, he has worked for the Committee in various capacities, including six years as State Security Chief. In 1983, he was promoted to full politburo status and was already part of Honecker's inner circle.

Krenz's experience as head of Germany's internal security apparatus has led him to be extremely suspicious of all popular protests and anti-government activities. Although he has been forthcoming with certain relaxations of the Government's strangle-hold on the press, this permissiveness as well as the ability of 150,000 - 300,000 protesters to march unhindered through Leipzig this week, is clearly due to the new leader's unwillingness to cause bitterness at this fragile time. In fact, Krenz's continued outspoken support for the government of China in their bloody crackdown on student protests points only to Krenz's unwillingness to reform Eastern Europe's most rigid totalitarian tendencies. Although Krenz has promised freer emigration, the slamming of the doors on hopeful emigrants within the past few weeks and the added restrictions on travel abroad are certainly not indications of rapid change. Krenz has referred to the mass exodus last month as "a great loss of blood" and many analysts feel that he may not hesitate to maintain rigid border restrictions.

Despite his extreme conservatism, the new leader's ideas are still a far cry from his predecessor's neo-Stalinist policies. After being imprisoned by the Nazis during World War II for his political beliefs, Honecker became a staunch communist and exemplified the post-war generation of leaders in communist East Germany. He was known for being very intolerant of opposition and occasionally ordered mass-arrests of dissidents, the last of which occurred in 1988 and orchestrated by none other than Egon Krenz.

Meanwhile, The Bush Administration has

been under increasing pressure to make the current developments in Eastern Europe a primary focus of U.S. foreign policy. The change in German leadership has revived hopes of a possible reunification with West Germany. President Bush, as well as West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, has been resisting this pressure and rumors that a reconciliation and possible reunification are close at hand. In an interview last Tuesday at the White House, the President rejected any notions that the stability of NATO is immediately threatened by a possible reunification. Bush also noted that NATO's European affiliates, primarily Britain, oppose such a reconciliation and consider it highly unlikely, adding that "the change is too inexorable" for Krenz to reverse the separate directions in which the two Germanies are headed. This is reinforced by Soviet Union's firm commitment to the preservation of separate Germanies.

These predictions of reconciliation and reunification would appear to be premature, if not outright fanciful. Mr. Krenz's hard-line communist background and training, as well as his sense of tradition and commitment to continuity, indicate that the radical reforms necessary are unlikely. The German people cannot look forward to any substantial reforms in the near future, and considering Mr. Krenz's relative youth, they may have to wait a lot longer.

Mr. I. Fada's Neighborhood

By Art Weisbrot

I returned from vacation a few weeks ago to some very disturbing news. One of the tenants in my building decided he no longer likes the living arrangements in our building and set up camp in the back yard. We never really did get along, but recently things have gotten completely out of hand. Last week, he made a campfire out of my car tires. When I went out to discuss it with him, his youngest son started throwing rocks at me. He didn't even have the courage to do it himself. Now I was angry! To make matters worse, some of the other tenants are getting a little uptight. A few have even joined his ranks.

To be fair, let me tell you how it all started. Around 40 years ago, I moved into this rent controlled apartment in Brooklyn. From day one, my neighbor - Mr. I. Fada - gave me problems. He shouted slurs at me and my children, hung nasty signs on my door, and basically pulled no punches in trying to get me to move out. Finally, out of sheer desperation, he tried to convince the landlord to force me out of my apartment, and give him title instead. Well, enough was enough. I took out a loan, and bought the whole building. I didn't want any trouble so I decided to let Fada stay, but on the condition that he let me and the other tenants live in peace.

I really made an effort to get along with him. I fixed up his apartment as best as I could, I helped his children find schools, and once, when his wife was sick, I brought her to the hospital. Of course, I have to charge him rent, but everyone has to pay it. He still was quite belligerent. Apparently, he forgot how his life was under the previous landlord: the apartments were like slums, there were virtually no services of any kind, and upkeep was virtually nil.

To make a long story short, things got in-

Continued on page 5

creasingly worse. He continuously fought me tooth and nail. I told him he could move out, but it seemed as though he'd rather stay and fight. It seems, he's now willing to stay and live in peace, but he wants the place to go Co-Op. He'll own his apartment and, as long as I stay, I can continue to own the rest. Personally, I suspect that he's setting his sights on the whole building. I hear him talking to his friends. He'll get one apartment now, but another one later, sort of "annex" a few later on, until finally, I'll be gone.

The truth is I'd be willing to negotiate some kind of arrangement, but he's been helping, he has connections, who have been helping him harass me. I'd just as soon not have to deal with them. You can't really trust them, and you know that they're only involved in order to make trouble. You know, I feel kind of bad for Fada since the mob is using him for their own purposes, so I'm certainly not going to involve them in any kind of dialogue. Furthermore, he's going to have to realize that, for now at least, I'm in control of the building. By virtue of his blunder and stupidity, he's staying on property that I'm in charge of. Finally, he's going to have to stop sending his children out to deal with me. If he's unhappy with the situation, let him grow up and come talk to me.

For now, life goes on. Things are sort of stagnating. He's still outside, throwing rocks and temper tantrums, I'm still waking up each day and going to work. But inside, we're both hurting. Communication, if there ever was any at all, has completely broken down. I wish we could put this past us. The whole building is affected, and it's causing a major stain on the whole neighborhood.

I'm not averse to some kind of settlement, as most of the community seems to think. I just won't be bullied into a decision that will leave me homeless or without proper security for my family. It's certainly not too hard to understand. So why doesn't everybody?

Glasnost Ltd.

By Benyamin Kaminetzky

In Finland, last week, Mikhail Gorbachev declared that the USSR has no political or moral right to intervene in the affairs of another country. The Soviet leader was quoted as saying, "I think the Breshnev Doctrine is dead." Although Gorbachev has relaxed the Soviets' tight grip on the Warsaw Pact, before eulogizing the Brezhnev Doctrine, and in effect the cold war, a close examination of Moscow's activities in other regions around the globe is certainly warranted.

While Soviet troops have retreated from Afghanistan, Moscow has continued to make an extraordinary investment in the Communist Najibullah regime. A Senior American official told the "Washington Post" that the USSR has been pumping in up to \$300 million worth of arms each month since early March. More than 500 Soviet supplied SCVD ground-to-ground missiles, each costing about \$1 million, have been fired at Mujahideen freedom fighters. In addition, Moscow has indicated that it will provide the Kabul regime with advanced MIG-29 warplanes and SU25 ground attack jets. This massive military support has boosted the morale of the Afghan Communists while equally demoralizing the Mujahideen who also have been troubled by

declining U.S. support and internal strife. Far from abandoning its Afghan allies, the Soviet Union is working relentlessly to boost the Najibullah regime, to salvage a pro-Soviet Afghanistan.

In Ethiopia, through their estimated \$1 billion annual military support for dictator Mengistu Haile Mariam, the Soviets have contributed to a modern day holocaust. Over one million Ethiopians have perished under Mengistu's policies of forced starvation and military repression. Troops have used Soviet military hardware to attack civilian targets in rebellious areas and to suppress a coup attempt against Mengistu this past spring.

Mounting evidence has shown that the Angolan government, in collaboration with Cuban troops and Soviet advisors, is using Soviet made chemical weapons in its war against Jonas Savimbi's UNITA freedom fighters. UNITA contends that these chemical weapons are responsible for hundreds of Angolan deaths since 1985. According to Belgian scientist Aubin Heyndrickx, and West German journalist Andreas Holst, both of whom collected toxicological samples in Angola over the past three months, the Cubans, and the Communist Angola regime are using a cyanide based neurotoxin in many of their bomb shells.

Sharp limits to Glasnost and Perestroika were set by the Kremlin in an August 27th statement by the Communist Party's Central Committee. The statement was issued three days after more than a million citizens of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania publicly condemned the 1939 Hitler-Stalin Pact and demanded independence from Moscow. The Kremlin accused nationalist-democratic leaders in the Baltic republics of "inciting national hysteria" and warned of "catastrophic consequences" if the Balts continue their struggle for independence.

Two weeks ago, Secretary of State James Baker III refused to allow Robert M. Gates, the deputy national security advisor, to display even slight skepticism in a speech pertaining to Glasnost and its far reaching effects. Instead of carefully monitoring and objectively evaluating Soviet activity, not just in Eastern Europe, but around the globe, the Bush administration has become a pitiful "hear no evil, see no evil" cheering section for Mikhail Gorbachev. Perhaps the dark days of the Soviet "evil empire" are gone, but the United States' foreign policy and security interests would best be served by observing the effect of Glasnost on forty years of Soviet imperialism not just the region of media focus, but throughout the world. Soviet imperialism, never limited itself to Eastern Europe before any declaration of an ending the cold war. Gorbachev's Glasnost must include the entire globe.

Telescoping Revolution

By Dr. Ruth Bevan

Revolutions have been making headlines the past few months - not revolutions made but being remade. What's been happening in Deng's China and Gorbachev's Soviet Union has nourished great media hype as the Communist revolutionary heirs attempt to pull their respective states out of the disaster zone and to retrack them on the "right" revolutionary path.

Revolutions have also been celebrated lately. Quaddafi sponsored the fortieth birthday party last month of his own *coup d'etat* against the Libyan *ancien regime*. There was no Western hullabaloo. Infinitely more significant, the celebration alone proved, was, of course, the media celebration of the French revolution's 200 anniversary this past July.

Despite the gaiety, pomp and circumstance, the "bicentenaire" provoked a mood of introspection in France. The preoccupying question has been: "Was the revolution a success?" Clearly, France has settled into democratic governance and, finally, since 1958, achieved the makings even of a stable, consensual, two party system. In this regard, the great democratic revolution has succeeded.

The troubling aspect of the revolution remains the Great Terror. Robespierre is no longer given the carte blanche vindication as the great revolutionary hero. He was also a murderer. Thousands lost their lives at the guillotine upon the whim of *citoyen* Maximillan Robespierre and, ironically, at the Place de la Concorde. On August 15, 1989 hundreds of French gathered at the Place de la Concorde to protest against the revolution's brutality and to commemorate the dead.

Was the Terror necessary? This is a tricky question. To answer "yes" is to concede that human lives may have to be the means to a "greater social end." Wouldn't this justify, then, the Communist *gulag* as well? A "no" answer means that somehow the revolution went berserk and got derailed. How did this happen?

Probing the Great Terror has induced the French to scrutinize themselves and revolutions. Long regarding themselves as *la maitresse* of democratic governance and of progress revolution, the French now concede that there is room to learn and improve. They are investigating more rigorously the American revolution. Why did it escape a Terror period? They are rereading Tocqueville's *Ancien Regime*. Could democracy have been secured *without* the revolution? Although Hegel claimed that the French, unlike the English, were culturally tailor-made for the "art" of revolution due to their penchant for abstract intellectual constructs, he would be surprised to see the new pragmatism and spirit of compromise that is trying to take root in the French cultural garden. Politics by intellectual imposition has lost its cachet. Accordingly, democratic, pragmatic America is presently setting the French intellectual fashion trend.

The current disaffection of the influential French intellectuals with the political left (in itself revolutionary) has great significance for how the French view their revolution. Marxist intellectuals have held a monopoly on the historical analysis of the revolution. The French are now troubled that these Marxists have evaluated "bourgeois, capitalist 1789" as the prelude to the apocalyptic Communist revolution. Subsequently, non-Marxists are wresting control of the revolution and its historiography from Marxist ideologues. Specifically, the Great Terror can not simply be understood as "bourgeois exploitation" which the Communist revolution ends. What, then, is the *gulag*?

The collapse of the Communist revolutions

Continued on page 6

has strangely emancipated the French. They are now bringing the French revolution back home to France, disentangling it from Lenin, Stalin and Mao. In the process, the French are seeking to revitalize themselves as *la maitresse* of democratic governance and to purify the democratic message of the revolution as translated into actual practice. Today, France is not only democratically healthier and stronger, but in the fore-front of progressive democratic legislation.

France's re-evaluation of its revolution is a more subtle process than that of the Chinese or Soviets. They all bear, however, a similarity. The re-evaluations remind us in this robotized age that nothing is "scientifically" or "economically" determined. Individuals ultimately make history, albeit under given circumstances (and sometimes in defiance thereof). The Robespierres, Lenins, Stalins and Maos - Like the Jeffersons, Paines and Churchills, *do count* and not just "objective" conditions.

The French re-evaluation, however, is importantly different from the others. It is being made out of a position of *strength*. Dictatorships which, motivated by their economic and social weakness (i.e., failures), seek self-purification, are suspect. A re-evaluation conducted out of the humility of weakness leaves the door open as to what the egotism of strength might bring. By contrast, an honest appraisal by the strong indicates the desire for cooperative and progressive development. In this regard, we hail the soul-searching of healthy France but tread lightly vis-a-vis our ailing Communist "brethren."

Dr. Bevan spent nine weeks in Paris this summer studying modern French politics at the invitation of the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Ruth A. Bevan
David W. Petegorsky Professor
of Political Science

Society Column

Edward Stelzer, President
Political Science Society

Welcome to another exciting year with the J.P. Dunner Political Science Society. Our society has been one of the most active societies on The Yeshiva College campus for several years now. This year plans to be bigger and better than ever! Our basic purpose is to provide a society which will facilitate the politically oriented interests of the students at YU and to make aware the important role that politics plays in our everyday lives as students, Jews and as citizens.

This column will inform our readers of what has been going on in the society and that will be happening in the near future. Allow me to introduce the governing board for 1989-90:

President - Edward Stelzer
Vice President - Bruce Schanzer
Treasurer - Barry Hawk
Secretary - Eric Meltzer

We're all here to hear your advice, comments, and criticisms. Please don't hesitate to approach any one of us.

Our first sponsored event, which took place

the first week of the school year, was a debate among all six of the original New York Mayoral Candidates of The Spanish-Portugese Synagogue. All who attended were excited at the prospect of seeing the candidates "up-close and personal." The society has set a new record this year with our voter registration drive. In a matter of two days, over 330 students and faculty members, at our uptown campus, registered as voters in New York State. We are very proud of this unexpected accomplishment and thank everyone who assisted at the registration tables. On Wednesday, November 1st, the society co-sponsored a debate between Dr. David Luchens representing Democratic Mayoral Candidate - David Dinkins, and Donna Dixon - wife and representative of Republican candidate - Rudy Giuliani. The well-received event received rave reviews from all who attended.

These next few months will see the following exciting happenings. November 16 - 19, we will be sending a delegation to Philadelphia to represent us at the Annual University of Pennsylvania Model U.N. We have been chosen to represent Greece at the conference. In mid-November, at the uptown campus, we will be showing "The Final Days" - the controversial film about Richard Nixon's final days in office, starring Lane Smith as the former President.

In December, we'll see a new innovation in the university: We will be sponsoring an "intra-mural" model U.N. for two days. We will be simulating the security council of the United Nations - right here at YU. Students will be preparing resolutions, debating and arguing just like the real thing! The top performers at this event will constitute our delegation to the Harvard Model U.N. in February of 1990. Anyone interested in participating at Harvard will be required to attend the U.N. at YU.

We are also planning a massive "write your congressman" campaign, where we will be distributing pre-printed postcards for everyone to mail to their respective senators and representatives. These cards will voice issues of concern to us as American Jewish College students. Any sophomore or junior seriously considering an internship in Washington D.C. this coming summer should contact me before November 20th. We have several internships available exclusively to us with congressional and committee offices in our nation's capital.

As always, we urge the active participation of everyone in the school, members and non-members alike. Please become active for a cause which is important to you. We're here to help you implement some of your plans, please come see us. Next issue, this column will be written by Claudine Sokol - President of the society at our midtown campus to report on the society events at Stern College.

I would like to conclude with two points. Firstly, I would like to wish *The YU Clarion* much success on its new format and style. Live long and prosper! Secondly, I urge everyone to exercise your constitutional right by going out to vote on November 11. Whether you are voting locally, in New Jersey, or absentee-ballot in your own state, please don't miss this important opportunity.

Intra-Government Tension Escalating

By Seth A. Cohen

While the media continues to portray the "intifada" as Israel's primary concern, the reality is that recently, mounting tension between the Likud and Labor parties poses an even greater threat to the State of Israel. Their present state of conflict concerns the ideology behind the peace initiative with the Palestinians.

Prime Minister Yitzchak Shamir's right wing Likud party has presented its own plan for peace and has no intention of including the PLO in such talks. Last week, Shamir, reiterated that he would reject any effort to introduce even an indirect role in the peace process declaring, "If the PLO are in, Israel is out." The prime minister has went as far as to reject Egyptian President, Hosni Mubarak's, proposal for Israeli-Palestinian talks in Cairo. The proposal, supported by Israel's Labor party, would have Israel meet with eight Palestinians from the territories and two residents who were expelled by Israel in recent years. Shamir's Likud bloc is against the involvement of the two deportees because of their close ties with the PLO.

The Labor Party, led by Finance Minister Shimon Peres, has threatened to bring down the government if Shamir and Foreign Minister Arens do not resolve their differences with Washington over the Israeli peace initiative. In response, Arens accused Labor of "complicating matters and making things more difficult for Secretary of State, James Baker." He said the two unresolved issues in the ongoing Jerusalem-Washington exchange include the formulation of the Palestinian delegation, and the agenda of the proposed dialogue.

Labor, for its part, was willing to accept Mubarak's proposal and had no objections over the composition of the Palestinian negotiating team.

KOSHER INN II

(Pizza Plus)

Corner of 184th & Amsterdam

927-5858

Coupon

FREE CUP OF SODA
with Purchase of
Two Slices Of Every Pizza
Watch for our new expanded menu!

Coupon

In retaliation, the Prime Minister's office said last week, that Shamir "will not hesitate to take measures himself" if the partnership with Labor "proves itself unworkable." At present, Shamir and Aren's reportedly are seeking to eliminate any reference to separate American-Egyptian consultations on the proposed Palestinian delegation. Likud fears that outside interference would lead to a behind the scenes role for the PLO.

Ministers of the Labor party have decided not to impede American efforts to persuade Shamir and Arens to agree to a policy that is also acceptable to the Palestinians. The Labrites voted unanimously issuing an ultimatum that this effort would have to show significant results before the Prime Minister's scheduled meeting with President Bush, November 15th, or they would attempt to dissolve the government.

While the Israeli partnership government was never considered the ideal situation, its present state of chaos poses a severe threat to the government's very existence. With much Israeli time and effort devoted to the State's, border security and the internal "intifada", a government break-up is not in Israel's best interest. major battle is not for the conservation of the old constitution: rather, he wants all foreign occupiers of Lebanon to evacuate before any new political reforms are implemented. The Syrian position in the agreement could not have been more favorable had he written it himself. But the Syrians will be in for a big surprise if they expect all Christians to succumb to their demands; instead, they will hear the Christians roar in the streets "Syria out! Syria out!"

President Bush's administration said that the Taif Pact is an "extraordinary opportunity... the first step toward restoration of a sovereign unified and independence Lebanon, free of all foreign forces." Exactly who are they trying to fool?! Of course, it could have been an extraordinary opportunity" if 15,000 Christians would not have demonstrated against the Pact. This is not the first time a President and his administration made the same mistake in the Middle East. In Teheran, Carter right before the Revolution of 1979 came back to the U.S. and told the Americans how Iran is an "Island of stability" - well, Carter was an island of stupidity. Why isn't the United States applying pressure on Syria to withdraw its troops and allow the true Lebanese to solve their own conflict? Syria would only be an obstacle in the peace process since they are aligned with the Muslims. Syria's delay in withdrawing its troops could only result in more clashes with Christian soldiers. Perhaps, the reason for this distance in Lebanese affairs is the United States' failed attempts to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict (meddling in one conflict in the same region is more than the U.S. could handle).

General Aoun is prepared to resign from his post if all the Lebanese, including his Christian supporters, decide to accept the terms of the national reconciliation accord. The General is considered a Christian hard-liner who is willing to continue the fight until the last Syrian soldier is removed from Lebanese soil. There is other opposition to the Taif Pact from non-Christians. Walid Jumblat, leader of the Druze militia, leaders of Amal, the pro-Syrian McShiite

Muslim militia and the Hezbollah, have also refused to comply with the Taif agreement because they would receive only minimal power in the government. Therefore, the only groups who are "sweet on this pact" are Syria, the Arab League, the United States and the Sunni Muslims who will gain more authority in government than ever before. How could such a pact work if the main parties of the conflict refuse to accept the terms?!!!

Lebanon is a country filled with secretive ententes, where enemies could become friends in a matter of minutes, and allies could be dead moments later. Joseph Coaget, a French consul-general once said "the feeling of devotion to the little native country does not exist among Lebanese officials and everyone of them is always ready, according to a well-known expression, to set his country on fire in order to light his cigarette. The Lebanese people, Christians, Muslim, and Druze alike want war, sieges, and obituaries to be a "thing of the past" and want to make renovations for the future; but their leaders, who bitterly struggle for power, would not know what to do with themselves if the 'old days' of war, bullets and unnatural deaths were gone forever.

Peace - What's That?

By Karen Pruzansky

The opportunity for peace in Lebanon or, at least, a lengthy cessation of hostilities, seems promising for the first time since the civil war began, fourteen years ago. If you believe this, then without further adieu, go back to your history, sociology, and political science classes and stop reading this article, for you are about to enter into another world. A Middle Eastern world of rubble, chaos, catastrophe, bombshelters, countless cease-fire and war without end.

The Lebanon that we know today was once called the "Switzerland of the Middle East." Lebanon, a country which gained its independence from France in 1943, seems to have been misled by the great myth that Christians and Muslims could exist together in the Middle East in a peaceful pact based on compromise. The allocation of power in Lebanon based on a population census, granted the Christian majority political supremacy over its Muslim rivals. Therefore, from the start, the Muslims were resentful. This lopsided division of power, and the balancing of Islam and Western culture, caused disaster to prey on Lebanon. Lebanon, faced with weak leadership because of internal discord, soon became the battleground for foreigners - Syrians, Iranians, Israelis, and Palestinians (all of which are fighting the infinite number of Christian, Muslim, and Druze factions in Lebanon). For these reasons and others, there have been numerous, but fleeting, ceasefires, which has left little hope for peace or absence of war.

A national reconciliation accord was approved last week by sixty-two legislative (31 Muslim and 31 Christian) on neutral grounds in the "resort" area of Taif, Saudi Arabia. This agreement, called the Taif Pact, has given some war-weary Lebanese hope for the future, while most Christians remain skeptical. The new

National Charter calls for:

- * an equal division of Parliamentary seats between Muslims and Christians
- * the election of a new Maronite Catholic President
- * an endorsement of the continued presence of Syrian troops in Lebanon over the next two years.

This accord, which has been gravely criticized by Christian leaders, would dilute the political dominance of the Maronite Christians, while expanding Muslim power in government. There is only one way to get all the Christians to accept the Taif Pact but it would not be by peaceful means - so what's the point?

When I refer to the Christians, although there are many factions among them, I am referring to General Michel Aoun, commander of the Lebanese Army's Christian units. General Aoun ardently denounces the Taif Pact because it accepts Syria's hegemony over Lebanon, and it would "lead Lebanon to hell." He refers to the Christian legislators in Taif as "traitors to the people" for selling out Lebanon and retreating under Syrian demands. General Aoun has carried out a "war of liberation" against the Syrians, and will not agree to any Pact that does not call for

OUR FAMILY TABLE HABODEGA

Catering For All Occasions

*Shabbat Orders
&
Home Deliveries*

Jacob Ganchrow

Irwin Raskin

(212) 923-5167

**GLATT KOSHER
UNDER VA'AD HARABONIM
OF BERGEN COUNTY**

**2502 Amsterdam Avenue
New York, NY 10033**

**2504 Amsterdam Avenue
New York, NY 10033**

Cleaning Up The Mess

By Jonathan Hornblass

The United States of America is responsible for the dumping, spilling, and emitting tons of polluting agents into our environment each year. According to the Council on Environmental Quality, in 1988, nearly 100 residential areas, home to 135 million people, exceeded health-based federal standards for ozone smog. Dozens more suffer hazardous levels of carbon monoxide and other pollutants.

From 1980-1985, the northeast region of the U.S. discharged 36.54 million tons of pollutants into its coastal waters.

In 1984, the State of New York was solely responsible for 645.3 metric tons of nitrogen oxide emissions and 716.5 metric tons of sulfur dioxide emissions. Nitrogen oxide and sulfur dioxide are the main components of acid rain. New York State was 7th and 9th, respectively, among states in this nation in acid rain production.

The United States certainly has done its share of environmental damage. But, recently, our nation is doing its best to set a precedent for the rest of the world to follow. The "Give a hoot don't pollute," and environmental legal action by the government against polluting companies is certainly a step in the right direction. But the sad fact is that it is not the U.S. government who is initiating promising legislation, but rather, individual states who are taking the first steps.

The White House has been talking tough about environmental issues for several months. "Too many Americans continue to breathe dirty air," President Bush said regarding U.S. air quality. "Every American expects and deserves to breathe clean air. As President, it is my mission to guarantee it."

On June 13, 1989, President Bush proposed an ambitious "clean air plan" to dramatically reduce acid rain, urban smog and the airborne poisons that cause cancer. The President's plan, which would have cost between \$14 billion and \$19 billion a year, should become fully operational in the year 2000. Acid rain would be reduced by lowering chemical emissions by some 12 million tons by imposing tougher emissions standards on 170 electrical companies in 18 states. Urban air will be cleaned by forcing car manufacturers to build cars capable using alternative fuels such as methanol, natural gas and ethanol. Within seven years, the Bush plan calls for the control of 15 out of 30 air toxins by utilizing technologies as they are developed, without new legislation. These 30 air toxins, which cause between 1,500 to 3,000 cancer deaths annually, will be controlled by the year 2000.

This proposal is a two-headed monster. It is a long overdue attempt to update the 1970 Clean Air Act, but it unfairly forces the business community to foot the bill. The cost of the President's proposal would mean an increase in prices of many goods for consumers. Car, gas and heating prices will all rise in the next 20 years. Instead of paying for clean air with new taxes, the American public will pay in increased prices.

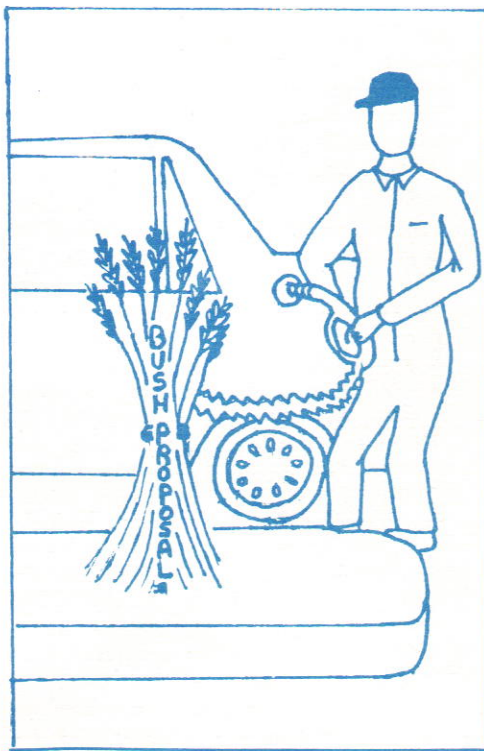
Most people feel that the President's car emissions proposal was too lax. Many argue that changing the fuel in cars is not enough. Legisla-

tion must be more aggressive in overcoming carbon monoxide pollution. They passed California's new limits on car pollution, not the President's. The unanimous approval was for tighter automobile tailpipe emissions control by the year 1996. New York State was one of the first states to support California's standards before the October 2, 1989 action by the House.

New York State has joined with New Jersey and six New England states to insist that refiners change the mix of ingredients in gasoline to inhibit evaporation. The House is expected to act on this soon.

The legislative actions that are being proposed and passed will have a monetary effect on everyone within the next several years. The Bush clean air proposal will raise car prices \$300 to \$400 by 1996. The new emissions laws passed by the House will tack on another \$500 when the most stringent standards go into effect. Methanol, the most probable gasoline substitute, will cost between \$.40 and \$.60 more than the standard gas prices. There is no telling how high private companies will raise prices of other goods to meet federal standards.

New York City, which has one of the highest pollution levels in the country, needs environmental legislation. States like California and New York must take the lead and initiate legislation as a precedent. The President's proposal is a step in the right direction, but if he wants to be known as the "Environmental President," he should heed some of the examples set by states on both coasts of this country.



Monaco: The Corporate Principality

By Helen Pechman

It has been called many things, ranging from "Monaco Inc." to "Playpen of the Rich". The truth however is, that Monaco is run as a successful business.

Little more than a speck on the map, the principality of Monaco is .73 square miles in area. The country lies on the Mediterranean Sea surrounded on its land borders by France. Monaco has a population of approximately 30,000, of which only fifteen percent are Monegasque. The majority of the remainder are French.

Throughout its history, Monaco has been controlled by, annexed by, or allied with various European countries. Since the seventeenth century, Monaco has been allied with France. There is lenient trade between the two countries, beneficial to Monaco, as Monaco is heavily dependent upon French imports.

France is Monaco's link to the European community. Hence it is no surprise that Monaco is heavily influenced by France. The official language of Monaco is both French and Monegasque. In addition, the French franc is the official currency although there is a Monegasque currency as well.

The budget of Monaco is derived from the various sectors of industry, commerce, hotels and real estate. This represents more than seventy-five percent of the state budget. Contrary to popular belief, the revenue generated by gambling is less than four percent of the total state revenue. However, the government is the primary owner of the casino operating Societe Anonyme des Bains de Mer et du Cercle des Etrangers (SBM), holding 69 percent of SBM's total shares.

Since his ascension to the throne in 1949, Prince Ranier III has sought to modernize and diversify the main sources of the principality's income. To this end, he has successfully encouraged growth in areas such as light industry, commercial business, and banking.

Ranier's encouragement of industrial growth is not without its limitations though. He is very careful in protecting Monaco's original interests as well, and is wary of growth in one area impeding growth in another. To establish any new industry, the founder must first obtain governmental permission. The desired industry must be non-pollutant, nor may it cause any deterioration to the environment whatsoever. In addition, the industry must not be detrimental to the "traditional activities" of the principality, that is tourism and leisure activities.

Foreign investments are key to Monaco's growth. In cases where office space is required, the government encourages building new office space rather than occupying pre-existing space, thus generating more revenue for construction companies and, at the same time, further developing the country. The attraction to foreign investors is the fact that there are no personal taxes (except to French nationals). Furthermore, the taxes placed on commercial transactions are relatively minimal.

Monaco's lenient taxation policy is one that works because of the country's small size. Realistically, the taxes that could be collected from 30,000 inhabitants would not add considerably enough to State revenue to warrant them. Neither is it necessary, for there is no debt nor unemployment in Monaco.

Banking as an institution is growing. At present, there are over 34 different banking institutions in Monaco, including branches of most

Continued on page 10



David Dinkins Democrat

David Dinkins: What he's done for students

- Helped create the SEEK program, which provides educational and financial assistance for students to attend college.
- Provided more than \$3 million in funding for CUNY programs and schools.
- Created the Manhattan Borough President's Youth Advisory Committee.
- Actively opposed CUNY budget cuts and tuition increases.
- Supported the restoration of free tuition for CUNY colleges and expanded financial aid programs.

David Dinkins: What he'll fight for

- Collaborative programs using college students as tutors and mentors for elementary and secondary school students.
- More police on foot patrol and a cop on every subway train at night.
- Rehabilitating city-owned property as mixed-income housing.
- Anti-warehousing legislation to keep affordable housing on the market.
- Expanded private and publicly funded child care for all New Yorkers.

On November 7th, 1989, Election Day, New York will have an opportunity to decide whether to alter the current structure of New York City government by opposing or ratifying the revised New York City Charter. However, few New Yorkers are aware of the Charter Revision and even fewer are aware of the ramifications the revised Charter, if passed, will have on city government.

The New York City Charter sets forth the structure of city government by defining the powers and responsibilities of the various branches of municipal government. The Charter also determines how city officials can exercise their power.

The decision to change the Charter arose due to a 1986 Federal District Court ruling in the case of *Morris vs. the Board of Estimate*. The Board of Estimate consists of eight members: the Mayor, the President of the City Council, the Comptroller and the five Borough Presidents. The Court ruled that the Board of Estimate, one of the City's most important governing bodies, violated the one person, one vote system set forth in the Constitution. Each member of the Board has one vote despite the fact that the five boroughs vary in population density.

Mayor Koch created the New York Charter Revision Commission to examine every aspect of the City Charter and to recommend changes to the City's voters. The commission, headed by F.A.O. Schwartz Jr., is an independent body consisting of fifteen volunteers.

Despite the fact that the Charter has over 393 pages of changes in the city government, the most important change for the residents of New York will be the abolishment of the Board of Estimate. The commission decided that a mere alternation of the voting system of the Board would still result in a violation of the Federal Voting Rights Act. A voting system based on population would diminish minority voting strength since only the smallest boroughs, Manhattan and the Bronx have elected minority borough Presidents.

As an alternative to the Board of Estimate, the Charter Commission proposes to increase the number of City Councilmen from 35 to 51. The new city council would be granted sole authority to adopt the city budget. This



Rudy Giuliani Republican

Rudy Giuliani on education:

- As Mayor, Rudy will call for the establishment of an independent Inspector General to root out the corruption which paralyzes our school system.
- He will create "Drug Free Zones" around schools to protect our children, promote the teaching of ethics and civic virtues in the classroom, and reduce bureaucracy so teachers can teach, not just fill out forms.

Rudy Giuliani on crime:

- As Mayor, Rudy Giuliani will arrest, prosecute and put criminals behind bars. Implemented strict forfeiture laws like the one developed at the Justice Department. Criminals will pay for law enforcement. Rudy will put more police on the beat and push for a death penalty law.

Rudy Giuliani on drugs:

- As Mayor, Rudy will enforce the law against those who sell drugs, and those who buy drugs.
- In addition, Rudy will start a comprehensive drug education program from the first day of school.
- The City will provide drug treatment for the thousands who have sought help and have been turned away.

Rudy Giuliani on corruption:

- As Mayor, Rudy will establish an Anti-Corruption Commission to recommend changes and prosecutions.
- He will also enhance protection for whistleblowers and make retaliation for whistleblowing a crime.

would create a highly centralized municipal government dominated by the Mayor and the majority leader.

Proponents of the revised charter feel that smaller council districts and more councilmen would allow as many as 40% of the new members to be minorities. Critics of the revised Charter contend that the new Charter would create a government more representative of the city.

Despite the aforementioned benefits of the new Charter, many New Yorkers are strongly opposed to its ratification. Opponents of the Charter fear that municipal government would give the Mayor and the City Council majority leader a disproportionate amount of power. Under the existing Charter, the Mayor has two votes on the Board of Estimate, appoints agency heads, estimates city revenues and prepares the city budget. Under the revised Charter, the Mayor would have much less influence on the board.

Other opponents feel the revised Charter would argue that by eliminating the Board of Estimate Presidents, lessen local community power. Many Community board members feel that Borough Presidents effectively protect their local interests and concerns. They contend that a voting system is used in many local governments and has neither been decided unconstitutional or unfair to minorities.

Since there are dissenting views among New Yorkers, as to the effectiveness of the revised Charter, it is very possible exists that the Charter proposal will not be passed. If the majority of New Yorkers oppose the Charter proposal, it is impossible to ascertain exactly what would happen. Possibly, the Federal District Court would intervene and impose a solution for the city. Perhaps, the Mayor and the council would appeal to the State Legislature to draft and approve a new city Charter.

Whether or not the Charter is opposed or ratified, the concept of Charter Revision reminds us of the rights we have as American citizens to investigate, question and change existing laws. More importantly, each voter has the right to approve or disapprove changes once they are made. Therefore, on November 7, New Yorkers will not only vote on the Charter, they will be exercising their constitutional rights as a citizen in a democracy.

major international banks. The affluent and positive image that banking promotes is ideal for image-conscious Monaco.

Tourism is an ever growing business in Monaco. The glamorous image that the country projects, attracts wealthy tourists worldwide. Because tourists bolster the economy, Monaco caters to them. The nickname "Playpen of the Rich" is not entirely unwarranted. In fact, Ranier seems to encourage this image, it's better for business. While tourism was once regarded as a summer industry, the advent of business tourism (conventions) established itself as a legitimate year-round business.

The function of government in Monaco is to Promote business as an industry and business as tourism, and at the same time, maintain the balance between the two. The government protects its primary interests which is the productivity of Monaco and it's citizens. To that end, the business of Monaco is Monaco itself.

Deutschland Uber Alles?

By Seth Frohlich

The year is 1998. A reunified Germany has just announced that it is pulling out of NATO and becoming 'neutral'. By merit of the fact that they will have the largest army in Western Europe; 660,000 men under arms; and a domestic product of \$1.5 trillion; one and a half times that of France; this move will do serious damage to the U.S. military position in Western Europe and severely strains relations with one of our most important trade allies. Russia drops its Glasnost facade and attacks Western Europe. America totters on the brink of World War III. Does this sound like a fairy tale or a Worst Case Scenario? Present data seems to indicate that the latter is the most likely possibility.

One Germany. Tear down the Berlin Wall. Build a common European house. For 40 years, leaders in the East and West have intoned such words at varying times and with varying motives. West Germans, in their anthem, sing about a united German fatherland; so did East Germans, until the state told them to forget the words and hum the tune. A common thread ran through every wish; the wishers did not need to wonder if they meant it, for it could not happen.

This comfortable hypocrisy is no longer available. In 1980, West German *Ostpolitik* was between a rock and a hard place when the Soviets invaded Afghanistan and America rallied under President Ronald Reagan against the evil Russian communists. However, in 1981, the Schmidt government, anxious to revive *Ostpolitik* after Afghanistan, extended to East Germany interest-free credits amounting to \$383 million annually. Bonn's long range concern of easing intra-German relations produced windfalls for the East. These credits made possible an 18.7% rise in East-West trade to \$5.24 billion. Still, reunification of the two Germanies at that time was no longer a popular expectation. Only 8% of the population believed that reunification could be achieved by the end of the century.

Then, in 1982, Helmut Kohl was elected to the Chancellery of West Germany. Intent on progressing in *Ostpolitik*, he announced that the West German government would guarantee an unprecedented \$400 million in private, general-

use bank loan to East Germany. German-German relations became firmly anchored at this point. East German interest was almost entirely economical. East Germans were accustomed to subsidized necessities: medicare; rent; food staples; consumer goods; the EG government was unable to meet these goals without WG help due to the failure of EG's economic system. West Germany was EG's path to the currency markets, which were required to propel the neverending search for improved productivity and quality - the key to competing with the West.

The WG interest was less concrete. Their principal aim was the improvement of conditions for fellow EGs and for more contacts with them. This easing of tensions made things easier for West Berlin, located inside the border of EG. Also, while Bonn never mentioned reunification, it was on everybody's mind at the time.

Besides economic ties, increasing concern among both countries about environmental hazards (acid rain; ground water and soil contamination) as well as hazzardous waste disposal, had led to several cross-border agreements to redeem polluted territory.

Still, while the Soviet Union remained antagonistic towards reform, and the U.S. (West) suspicious of any Soviet overtures regarding Germany, reunification was a moot point.

However, the stage was set for reunification. Mikhail Gorbachev was the perfect person to play the part of matchmaker. He introduced one vital factor necessary for reunification: Glasnost; and as a result of Glasnost; reform in EG. Through his policies of non-interference, he has given EG's a chance to voice their feelings. The response has been explosive. It has led to the largest wave of domestic unrest since the worker's uprising in 1953. It caused the deposition of Erich Honecker, the man who built the wall and a staunch supporter of two separate Germanies. This removal was a response of the EG Politburo in an effort to win back the confidence of it's rebellious citizens. He was replaced by Egon Krenz, known to be a Honecker protege, responsible for ordering violent response against protesters, and praising China's use of tanks against student demonstrators. It is not thought that any reform will be forthcoming in the near distant future. The protesters' response to this appointment? Increased demonstrations, and the adding of the appointment to a list of changes that are advocated by the protesters. These include freedom of organization, opposition access to the press, and most surprisingly, public debate on the Communist Regime's past. The implication that the regime has major crimes to admit is a new element in the growing list of grievances.

Due to the winds of reform that are sweeping through EG, the long cherished hopes among Germans of reunification is a hotly debated topic. Mikhael Gorbachev has come out a hero in Bonn, as well as, among the people of East Germany. He has allowed the unthinkable to happen. He delights the Germans because, whether he means it or not, he has given their dream of peaceful and open coexistence between Germanies a chance. Washington was caught with their pants down. President Bush only recently came out with a

policy statement that there is nothing to worry about if there is a reunification. He stressed that it will take time, a prudent evolution, and an understanding with the rest of the EG for reunification to occur. He also said that now the subject is much more front and center because of rapid changes in EG, and that "Egon Krenz can't turn back the clock because change is too inexorable." He did express confidence that Bonn would not inexecutable." He did express confidence that Bonn would not develop neutralist tendencies, and that a whole Germany would lead to a stronger democratic Europe.

President Bush's attitude is radically different from the previous U.S. stance of viewing a whole Germany as threat. This is a result of the combination of Gorbachev and the EC's 1992 face-lift. The commitments of the alliance, stiffened by U.S. and other NATO troops in Germany, would bind one Germany into the defense of European freedom and democracy. The West needs to strengthen Germany's ties to the EC and to NATO for this to occur.

A unified Germany? It is a definite possibility. Proponents of Reunification still have to deal with Soviet fears and EC hostility for while Glasnost has pervaded Europe and Russia, both continents were devastated by WWII, and the spectre of the 'Vaaterland' still hangs over them. The prospect of 80 million Germans living under one 'roof' haunts alot of people.

The Sino-Soviet Connection

By Michelle Chrein

There are certain things that just don't mix: oil and water; fire and ice; Russia and America; yet quite recently, the Soviet Union had asked the United States for help in rectifying their dire economic state. This request seems to be highly out of the ordinary, but it we were to take a peek behind the Iron Curtain, we'd find that Gorbachev's attempt to revamp the economic structure of the Soviet Union to be non-productive. Gorbachev began a program almost five years ago known as perestroika; which is a plan to restructure the Soviet economy by adding touches of capitalism. Unfortunately, perestroika has not worked. Shortages of food and consumer goods have increased. The standard of living has gone down, while inflation and budget deficits have soared.

There are many factors which have hindered the success of perestroika; many of them because of ideologies inherent in the Soviet people. Mikhail Bacharov, who runs one of the first successful self-financed industrial enterprises in Russia, summed up perestroika's major setback. He stated "We still need more freedom from central authorities here." Although Gorbachev has made some reforms in the economic system, he has not gone far enough.

There are various obstacles to perestroika caused by central planning. Although Gorbachev realizes that total central planning by bureaucrats is inefficient, he has not given factory managers full reign in decision making. Managers are still required to present annual plans, get them approved, and must also abide by these plans for the duration of the year. Gorbachev allowed private cooperatives to provide consumer goods, these private co-ops were soon discouraged using

Continued on page 11

restrictive controls and taxes.

Since the elements of Capitalism are reprehensible to the Soviet people, perhaps the Russians should not seek economic help from the U.S., rather, they should look next door to China who was successfully able to revamp its Socialist economy to include the advantages of capitalism.

When comparing the economic performance of the two Communist countries, it is evident that China surpasses Russia, and the latter can indeed take a lesson from the former. China has more than doubled its food production and increased the number of consumer goods, while Russians continue to wait on long, frustrating lines because of a shortage of food and consumer goods. There are many reasons why the Chinese have succeeded and the "Great Russians" have failed. The fundamental difference between the Russians and the Chinese is that most Russians are slow to accept change while the Chinese are flexible in adopting whatever they need from the West. Moscow still insists on its own management for joint-ventures with the West "diluting imported expertise with local ignorance".

Gorbachev's first step for copying China's program for economic reform should begin with agriculture. In 1978, Chinese peasants were able to break away from collective farming. The peasants were required to produce a specific amount of grain. After fulfilling their quota, they could use the rest of their produce for sales, hereby earning profit for themselves. This taste of profit-seeking capitalism gave the peasants the push that they needed. Urban workers benefitted from the economic reforms as well since more goods appeared in the marketplace. The most noticeable difference brought by the economic reform was a distinct increase in output which also led to a higher standard of living for the Chinese people.

The well being of the industrial workers and the peasants is the key to success for both China and Russia. Given the opportunity, the Chinese peasants performed beyond expectation. On the other hand, the Soviet peasantry, as a class, were destroyed by Stalin, and therefore their support was broken and their work ethic has never been restored. It is the peasant class of Russia which has the potential to make perestroika a reality.

Although China and Russia face many obstacles in regard to their plans for economic revision, it is evident that China has been able to achieve success where Russia has failed. Russia should first look to China for help before requesting aid from the U.S. The Soviets must be able to overcome the obstacles which are inherent in their Communist ideology and way of life. China is the best model for Russia to follow since China was able to reshape their socialist economy by adding capitalism elements, but did not lose their socialist point of origin.

The Russians can step up productivity and increase the amount of consumer goods by following an economic regimen that loosens the strict control of central planning allowing the average worker to make profits. Once the worker has profit, incentive productivity will increase and perestroika will become an economic success.

After Tiananmen...

By David Sheffey

For most of us, China has just been a place on a map. Populated with billions of people, beset by economic problems, its presence has never been terribly influential in our everyday lives. Yet, with the advent of the Tiananmen massacre this year, the imprisoning of 30,000 students and educators, and the banning of several English newspapers, a growing affinity has developed between the American public, as a whole, and the Chinese nation.

To say that right now China is in some sort of disarray would be an understatement:

- inflation was 30% in cities last year, the highest level since 1949 - and it is expected to remain above 20% through the end of 1990.
- China's trade deficit doubled to 7.7 billion dollars last year.
- Industrial fell by 1/2 last year result of severe shortages of raw materials.

Not only are the physical problems prevalent, but the social ones are quite pressing as well. The situation in China right now could quite easily be termed explosive. The people who are taking part in actual public protests are employing different strategies now, which, when compared with 40 years of communist rule, are anything but passive. Workers are showing up late for work, taking longer lunch breaks and extended sick leaves. Though these actions might appear quite mild to Americans, with the possibility, for example, of over half of the 10 million inhabitants of Beijing participating in such an exercise, the consequences appear startling.

As a result, there is pressure mounting on the Chinese government to lift the martial law inflicted on the Chinese people since May 20th of this year. The question remains, will this actually happen? In order to take such measures, the Chinese government would be opening itself up to the possibility of additional pressure from the public-at-large to institute many long awaited social, economic and political reforms. Freedom of press, a restructured government and greater economic independence in the open market are reforms that most Chinese people want. However, with the advent of reforms like these, tempered the knowledge of the many reforms in Eastern Bloc countries, the situation could become even more unstable. The government might attempt to crush those policies and individuals it had just helped.

It would be accurate to surmise that at this time, the Chinese government is in a state of fear. To be brutally honest, they are dealing with a monster, a nation that through the months of May and June had just a slight taste of the freedoms and advantages that a democratic society might offer them. This tension alone makes the upcoming months in China all the more explosive.

Yet, what will happen? Obviously, with such dramatic events such as the strangling of four soldiers in a park this mid-July, there are elements that must be dealt with rapidly.

Martial law will be lifted in the near future,

most probably by February or March, after repeated threats, much of international sanctions of trade and capital by countries such as the United States or Japan, countries that China relies heavily on. However, before that is done, there will be many economic reforms introduced in the country. Included among these will be the relaxation of state controls on farmers allowing for more personal income growth, and there will be an overall feeling of self-enterprise that will prevail over the country. Yet the world community should keep a sharp watch over these reforms, for they may simply be a ploy by the government of China to have their loans which were frozen due the social unrest and instability in the country reinstated by the World Bank.

At the same time, the 30,000 imprisoned students, journalists and educators, whose only crime was the expression of their own opinions, will have to be dealt with in one way or another. Realistically, a good number of them will be put on trial, to serve as examples to the Chinese public, or perhaps, many of them might just disappear. It will be done quietly, almost unobtrusively to the world as a whole. After all, the Chinese government does not want another Tiananmen Square episode. Those who will be released will be broken, perhaps, but they will eventually resume their pro-democratic activities.

If there is one faction of Chinese society that has the possibility of fostering democratic unrest to the point of instigating a total revolution in the country, it is the national student body. Only they have the intellectual abilities and organizational skills to rally together all elements of Chinese society to form an effective, powerful force on the political scene. What they will need is courage. This must be, self-induced, at it remains to be seen whether or not it will actually occur.

Democracy

problems such as unemployment, violent crimes, divorce, alcoholism, have added to the other problems that Russia suffers from.

Russian rulers have always demanded complete loyalty and obedience. From the time of Peter the Great through Lenin and Stalin, complete allegiance has been required. Gorbachev is no exception. Boris Shragin, a former research fellow at the Institute of the History of Arts in Moscow says "He (Gorbachev) is mapping out a future in which, by law, he will have even more power than Stalin did. As both president and general secretary, he will be the leader of the party and leader of the State without any system of checks and balances. We are witnessing the rise of a very powerful dictator." This same quote can be used to describe another dictator in recent history who fell, but not without killing millions of people and starting a world war.

The whole communist system has been racked by problems since its introduction. Economically, socially, and politically, communism has failed miserably. The Soviet Union is being called the sick man of Eurasia that will perish of a long drawn out illness. This does not mean that we should no longer fear Russia because "a sick man with gun is still a sick man with a gun." Only after repeated economic failure, did Gorbachev institute his ideas of glasnost and perestroika. Perhaps, if not too late, these reforms can help a situation that Shragin calls "hopeless".

The Ylio
clarion
 500 West 185th Street
 New York, New York 10033

PRINTING

J.C. GRAPHICS INC.

Complete printing & typesetting service

(201) 843-5213

1 Farview Ave.
 Paramus, N.J. 07652

Jerry Bracco
 Cathy Keating

