

CLARION

The
YU

BURMA'S
ENDLESS
INSURGENCY

A Global Review of the J. P. Dunner Political Science Society

VOL. 2, NO. 1

FALL 1988

**SOUTH AFRICA'S
BROKER OF HATE**

**SOVIET KILLER
ELITE FORCE**

**AFRICA'S
AIDS BOMB**

**QADDAFI'S
GLASNOST**

ELECTIONS 5749

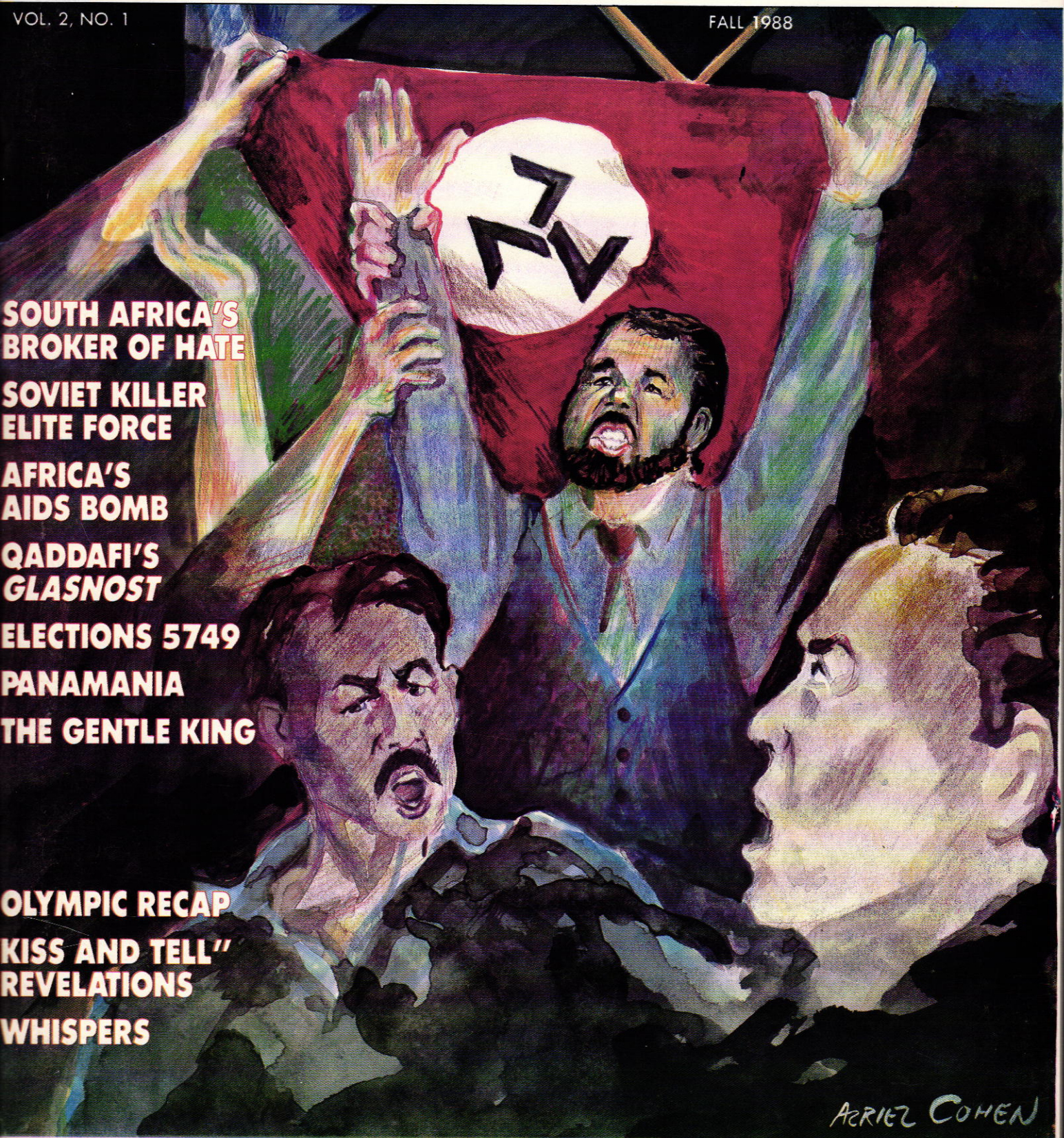
PANAMANIA

THE GENTLE KING

OLYMPIC RECAP

**KISS AND TELL"
REVELATIONS**

WHISPERS



ARIEL COHEN

LETTER FROM THE PUBLISHERS

Last Spring marked the emergence of the first issue of *The YU Clarion*. At the risk of sounding self-congratulatory (and we've been accused of that more than once), on the whole, we're very pleased with the editorial product of the past year. In fact, it is the expert opinion of others that we have created one of the best college political science magazines in the country.

From the very start, our goal has been to combine the newsmagazine style of vivid writing and high-tech graphics with comprehensive research and analytical interpretations of an academic political science journal, offering in-depth background coverage of current events. With all that, we wanted to be different from other publications. We didn't want to give you what you can read elsewhere. We've been looking, therefore, for the unique story with the unique angle and the anticipatory view.

The vision we have of the magazine is coming into ever sharper focus. It is simply to cover thoughtfully, readably and beautifully all aspects of national life and world affairs, from the serious to the humorous, from the religious to the secular, from the highly intellectual to the simplistically sensational. Editorials and commentary, biographical portraits and interviews, investigative articles and special reports exploring unknown aspects of political life on all continents.

This issue, we have focused on subjects that are rarely covered in national periodicals to allow you a glimpse of what is really going on. Our national affairs feature centers on the President-elect George Bush and his running mate, Dan Quayle, their opinions on the issues, their promises, and the effectiveness of the negative campaign that swept the nation towards conservatism. We also had our Alex Wittenberg look into the antics of Arizona's impeached arch-conservative former Governor Evan Mecham, and asked Alan Rothman to search the legal briefs and written opinions of newly-appointed Supreme Court Judge Anthony Kennedy for clues as to his possible voting patterns in the upcoming '88-'89 term of the high court.

In foreign affairs, we had Michael Newman piece together the mosaic of the Soviets secretive Special Operations Forces. We could not resist telling you about today's enfeebled terrible: Muammar al-Quaddafi's latest glasnost approach to his own brand of radical socialism; the Nazi-style "final solution" sought by South Africa's white Fuhrer Eugene Terre Blanche; the latest shenanigans of CAR's former Emperor Bokassa I; and the ongoing saga of General Antonio Noriega's diplomatic intrigues.

Aside from Benson Stone's description of Iraq's adjustment to peace in the Persian Gulf and interpretations of Israel's post-election lurch to the right, we commissioned an expose about the AIDS epidemic in Africa from former British foreign correspondent Leonard Sherman. Written especially for the *YU Clarion*, it reveals the frightening details of the AIDS bomb ready to explode in the heart of the Black Continent. A comprehensive Special Report, written for us by guest contributing editor Herbert Dubensky, is the first installment about ethnic strife in Burma. "Opium Wars of the Golden Triangle," the unlikely alliance of bandits and Buddhists, meres, spooks, warlords and freedom fighters will follow in the next issue. But our main event is no doubt Terri Simckes' political analysis of the Seoul Olympics—"the greatest [security] show on earth."

Furthermore, we have added quite a few technical improvements—a four-color cover among them. We are also proud to be able to offer you more pages (62 instead of 48) and double the amount of copies distributed previously. In addition, to diversify the leisure section we have added numerous new departments.

Last but not least, we urge you again, dear reader, to send us your comments, and if you encounter interesting news which can be used in any of the new departments, send them in. Finally and most importantly we would like to thank you for being with us, for without you, this publication would be meaningless. Best wishes this time until next time.

Ilan Aldouby and Jennifer Notis

CLARION

The YU
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Publisher/Creative Director

Ilan Aldouby

Co-Publisher/Editor-in-Chief

Jennifer Notis

Executive Editor

Jeffrey Haskell

Managing Editor

Stuart Ian Bernath

National Affairs Editor

Karen Pruzansky

Foreign Affairs Editor

David Aidelson

Assistant Editor

David Shemtob

Copy Editor

Alexander Wittenberg

Contributing Editors

Behnam Dayanim, David Goldberg,

Michael Newman, Max Polack,

Alan E. Rothman, Moshe Schwartz,

Terri Simckes, Benson Stone

Art Director

Azriel Cohen

Production Manager

Racheli Singer

Financial Officer/Controller

Barry Kaye

Public Relations Director

Tommy Weinberger

Faculty Advisor/Consultant

Dr. Ruth A. Bevan

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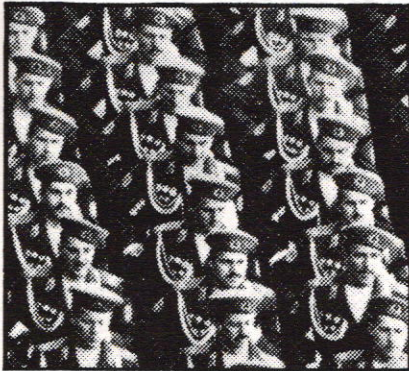
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AFRICAN FRONT LINE AGAINST AIDS

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THE WHITE FUHRER

By Stuart Ian Bernath

Even in Pretoria they call him Mr. Hitler. Eugene Terre Blanche (literally White Land) has formed an extreme right-wing Afrikaner Resistance Movement, whose brownshirted storm troopers disrupt and terrorize meetings of blacks and whites alike, while flaunting Nazi colors and symbols. The *YU Clarion* reports on South Africa's lurch to the right and the white backlash that is gaining wide support.



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ON THE COVER

Eugene Terre Blanche,
South Africa's broker of
hate, as seen by *YU*
Clarion's Azriel Cohen.

Israel

Enough Intifada Already

Intifada, the Palestinian uprising on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip has now slipped into its second year and appears more dangerous than ever for the State of Israel. Continuous violence has forced the hand of the Israeli government to try and find a solution to the Palestinian problem. The choices are few; there is the more extreme position of Rabbi Meir Kahana, recently ousted from the Knesset, who claims that the only way to deal with the Arabs within Israel is to expel them from the state; there are moderate groups that are professing a diplomatic solution to the Palestinian problem; and finally there are organizations such as Peace Now which vehemently believe that territory must be exchanged in order to achieve peace.

Polls before the Intifada had shown that Israeli Jews were evenly divided between those who believed that territory must be exchanged for peace, and those who thought that a more militant approach was inevitable. Now, many of those Jews have lurched to the Right, upsetting the delicate balance that existed in Israel.

One cannot help but wonder if this means that the panic of the recent violence will be an excuse for the more radical groups to seize the limelight and gain support for policies that will do little more than worsen an already delicate situation. Hopefully, reasonable thinking will cause Israelis to keep the balance and possibly find a solution to an evergrowing complex Palestinian problem. ■

Chile

Chile Si, Pinochet No!

Events in Chile are moving toward an uncertain denouement. General Augusto Pinochet, who had come to power in a 1973 military coup d'etat, was forced to experience embarrassment and humiliation when he lost the recent plebiscite. And, to add insult to injury, the referendum had come about due to a stipulation which the Chilean president had enforced when he gained approval for the new constitution in 1980.

Clearly, Pinochet never expected to lose the plebiscite. The opposition had been weakened by internal divisions, and government repression was strong. The general thus relied on the polarization that would likely occur when he was to be named as the only candidate for president. He had hoped for a widening breach between Rightists who had shown allegiance to his government, and leftists who vehemently rejected the military regime.

Indeed, within the opposition, there seemed to have been little that the Christian Democrats, socialists, communists and liberals could agree on except that they did not want Pinochet. The Christian Democrats reflected a position that was shared by an increasing number of Chileans in the banking and business community. They wanted the dictatorship to end, but feared that a return to democracy would bring the left to power.

Those fears could very well be justified. Despite the dynamic economy Chile enjoys, three million Chileans live in *poblaciones*, or shantytowns. Add to that the fact that ten percent of Chile's gross national product goes to the military—including funds for generous salaries for the generals, details of which are classified information—and you do have at least the basic makings for a leftist takeover.

The extremists on both ends of the political spectrum—Manual Rodriguez' leftist Patriotic Front Guerillas and the rightist Chilean Anti-communist Alliance—are already preparing to draw blood. The only group that stands between them and the inevitable bloodshed are the moderates. They are hoping this is the year Chile can make a painless transition to democracy, without broadening the breach between Pinochet followers and the swelling belligerent vehemence of the anti-military leftists.

The moderate dream really wouldn't be that elusive if Pinochet himself would be willing to delegate the power he holds as junta strongman and military commander-in-chief, to pave the way for that peaceful transition from autocracy to democracy. Like most dictators, however, Pinochet didn't hear the message of the people when they defeated his plebiscite. According to sources who are still quite close to the fiery general, he has rejected the idea of a loss of public confidence and donned the messianic mantle of the true dictator, complete with genuine belief in his own omnipotence.



General Augusto Pinochet.

Burundi

Tribal Massacres

From the turn of the century to the present, fighting between the Hutu and Tutsi tribesmen of Burundi and Ruwanda has taken countless lives, some estimates being as high as one million. During the recent massacres in Burundi there was so much suffering and so many people were killed that one must ask the question, who was to blame? And what were the causes?



Perhaps somehow we can find a way to prevent a recurrence of such events.

It is hard to identify the men who played a role in ordering executions, eliminating people for reasons of personal vengeance. The real villains, however, were not these few individuals, but the type of alienation existing in the Burundi nation. Caused primarily by hate and fear, it has triggered from time to time massive violence in both Ruwanda and Burundi. Like a disease, it can recede and then break out again, resulting in further bloodbaths.

For almost four centuries Tutsis and Hutus have lived together in mutual fear. The Tutsis, constituting about 15 percent of the population in both Burundi and Ruwanda, had been dominant for almost 400 years in a role similar to that played by landowning aristocrats in medieval Europe. They were not inclined to give up their privileged position.

The fear of losing power was compounded by the fear of elimination. The Tutsi community feared that, if it loses its dominant role in Burundi, total elimination will follow. Periodic reprisals by the Hutu majority in Ruwanda reinforced this fear.

Until the mentality of dominating or being eliminated is overcome, it is doubtful that the Tutsis will cooperate in trying to resolve the conflicts that have brought such tragedy to their world. ■

Chile

The question, however, still remains: can a transition to democracy ever be possible in Chile? The answer is as complex as it is straightforward—Yes. But only if Pinochet is willing to forego the fear of defeat and genuinely yield to a non-military candidate who can tally the broadest backing behind him. ■

Evan Mecham's Phoenix Follies

BY ALEX WITTENBERG

For over two decades, Evan Mecham has been a political fixture in Arizona politics. He has attempted the run for governor of the fast-growing, conservative, state four times, and once, ran for the Senate seat held by the dean of Arizona Conservatives, Barry Goldwater.

His extreme right-wing views did not appeal to most of the voters. In fact, to summarize the early political years of Evan Mecham, save one term as a State Senator in 1962, he seemed destined to be Arizona's answer to Harold Stassen.

The Utah-born Mecham 63, a former Pontiac dealer, was a simple-minded arch-conservative ideologue. He believed that the constitution was divinely inspired, and he favored eschewing federal control of everything except Defense, Foreign Policy, the Treasury, and Postal operations. He staunchly supported the conservative John Birch Society, and once called President Dwight D. Eisenhower a leftist.

However by the start of 1988, Mecham suddenly became an entity. It all began in 1986, when he upset the favorite in the Republican primary and then took advantage of a split within the Democratic party. He captured a plurality of the vote and squeezed into office with only 344,000 votes, a 40% plurality in a three way race which split the Democratic party.

Upon taking office as Governor of Arizona, he vaulted into the national limelight by rescinding a January 19 state holiday honoring Martin Luther King. The governor claimed that his predecessor, Democrat Bruce Babbitt, authorized the holiday illegally.

Throughout his political career, Mecham has singularly distinguished himself as a "veritable faux pas factory" for his renowned ability to speak without thinking. He has referred to black children as "pickaninnies", and upon questioning explained it was a term of endearment. One day, he asked for a list of state employees who were gay. When he returned from an official trip to the Orient, Mecham was reported to have said that "their eyes had gone round" upon hearing how many golf courses Arizona has. And during a speech before a Jewish organization, Mecham stated that America was a "Christian nation".

The National Basketball Association, the Planned Parenthood Federation of America, the Democratic National Committee, and the National Newspaper Publishers Association, were among the 45 organizations that cancelled plans to hold meetings in Arizona. It has been estimated that \$25 million in convention business had fled. More troubling perhaps, were the many corporations that found Mecham's racism problematic, and reportedly chose not to relocate to Arizona. Even the Chairman of the state's Chamber of Commerce, William Raby, had to lament, "... to the outside world, we look like Alabama in the 1960s."

Mecham soon became a political joke inside Arizona and a cipher beyond his borders. Apart from spearheading the change to a 65-mph speed limit, the governor's biggest accomplishment was the opening of an Arizona tourism office in Taiwan.



Victory. (above) Investigation. (center) Impeachment. (below)

When not putting his foot in his mouth, Mecham got into political trouble due to his efforts to reward some political associates with state offices. First, the governor dismissed the heads of many of the state agencies and tried to replace others with his political allies. Some of the proposed replacements were, to say the least, unusual. For the head of the state Liquor Control Department, the governor chose a man under investigation for a 1954 murder in Mexico. A second appointee had been court-martialed for theft in the military. Mecham's choice to fill an educational advisory post, John Cooper, was reported to have said that teachers shouldn't contradict a student's parents, even were they "to say the earth is flat". Mecham's Marx-brothers-in-government show eventually found its way directed at women, when true to form Mecham defended an appointee's assertion that "working women encouraged divorce."

Such blunders have prompted publication of a hot-selling Evan Mecham joke book. One entry: "What do Mecham's political appointees have in common? Parole Officers!"

By this point, in the fall of 1987, a move to recall Mecham had caught on. The recall movement was led by Phoenix businessman Ed Buck, a Republican who realized that Mecham was a liability. The drive quickly garnered over 300,000 signatures despite Mecham's assertion that the media was distorting the facts. Later, when the issue of Buck's homosexuality was raised, Mecham sought to discredit the recall movement blaming his troubles on "homosexuals and dissident Democrats".

The fact was that only one-third of the people pooled in September 1987 by the conservative *Arizona Republic* supported him. In fact, Mecham only had 39% of the vote ten months earlier.

The *Arizona Republic* and its sister publication, the *Phoenix Gazette*, threw their support behind the recall after the super-collider fiasco.

Nationally syndicated Garry Trudeau lampooned Mecham in his "Doonesbury" strip. *The Economist* even suggested that Arizona was becoming "flakier than California".

At any rate, well before this time, Republican state party officials, even one-time Mecham supporters like Barry Goldwater, began meeting to plan damage control. The fear of a Democratic landslide in the 1990 legislative elections if Mecham, was not muzzled, were ever present on their minds during the deliberations. Eventually, Goldwater had to call for Mecham's resignation. Even some of Arizona's Mormons, who supported the governor as one of their own, turned away. Mecham was the first Mormon to be elected governor of Arizona, and many of the state's 200,000 believers once resoundingly supported him. Yet, nevertheless, one of his harshest critics, newspaper cartoonist Steve Benson, the grandson of Mormon Prophet Ezra Taft Benson.

Steve Benson had been a relentless critic of Mecham since the beginning of the governor's term. His acid depictions of what he called "Mecham's antic's"—racial slurs and cronyism—rankled many church members who chastised Benson for becoming part of the "lynch mob" out to force the Mormon governor to bow out. But the fiercest blow



Arizona Republic Cartoonist Steve Benson

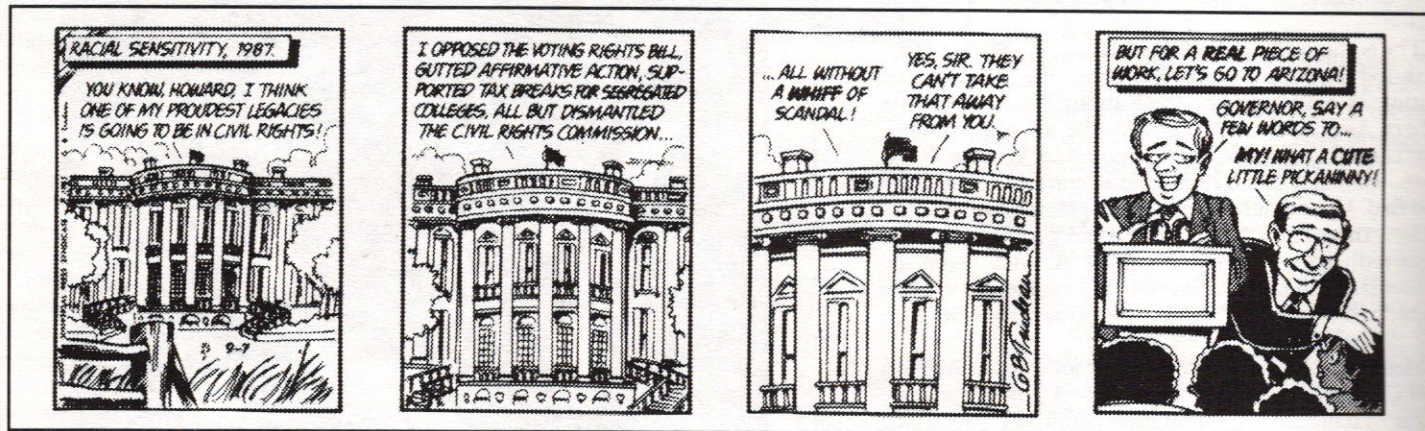
to Benson came from the governor himself. In a telephone call to Benson one late night, Mecham warned him that his attack, rebuking a man with a divine calling to political office, was a violation of the Commandments. "Your salvation," Mecham threatened, "is in jeopardy."

Mecham soon faced even more serious problems. By November 1987, only a year after his election, rumors that Mecham failed to report a \$350,000 loan from businessmen during the 1986 campaign had surfaced. If the allegations were true, he could be convicted of violating Arizona's election laws. In addition, he could be brought up on impeachment charges. Thereafter, both Attorney General Bob Corbin, a Republican, and the GOP controlled state house of representatives initiated probes of Mecham's campaign finances. The governor's reaction was not surprisingly a denial, and he then set about trying to quash the investigations.

The initial probes were soon followed by a newer, more damaging revelation. The governor's own former Security Chief, Lieutenant Beau Johnson, alleged that Lee Watkins, a close aide of the governor had threatened a grand jury witness. The witness, legislative liaison, Donna Carlson, testified in court that Mecham had loaned \$80,000 from the state's coffers for his auto dealership. When the governor was informed, according to testimony delivered by Colonel Ralph Milstead, Director of Arizona's Department of Public Safety, his response was to seek to interfere in the investigation. Once again, Mecham denied everything. In addition, seizing the offensive, he lashed out at reporters and his political enemies for fabricating allegations of wrong-doing.

Mecham's protestations fell on deaf ears. Evidence mounted that he had failed to report the campaign loans, had borrowed state money and had obstructed justice. As the end of his first year in office approached, state legislators began drawing up plans for impeachment proceedings. Calls for Mecham's resignation increased as politicians were beginning to worry about Arizona's image problem.

Around the country and abroad during this entire time Mecham was also fighting



Doonesbury in Arizona: Cartoonist Garry Trudeau, creator of Doonesbury, caricatured the governor in a devastating series.

and losing a public relations battle. On one occasion he said he always kept a radio playing in his office to prevent his political enemies from eavesdropping "with laserbeams..." He declared *Phoenix Gazette* columnist John Kolbe a "non-person" after Kolbe criticized him. Later, the governor attacked a second reporter's criticism, declaring in a fit of anger, "Don't ever ask for a true statement again".

On February 5, 1988, the Arizona House of Representatives voted 46 to 14 to impeach Mecham for "high crimes, misdemeanors, and malfeasance in office". He was officially charged with concealing the campaign loan, illegally loaning his auto dealership money, and blocking the death threat investigation. Due to state law, Mecham had to temporarily step aside while the case was sent to trial in the state senate. Attorney General Corbin prepared the state's case against the governor.

The Arizona Senate began its trial on February 29, with State Supreme Court Chief Justice Frank Gordon presiding. From the start, the trial was not routine. Mecham's lawyer, Murray Miller, had quit four days earlier. Following the granting of a week's delay in proceeding on Mecham's behalf, Jerris Leonard took Murray's place with only three days to prepare.

Testimony about Mecham's obstruction-of-justice charges went first. Colonel Milstead testified that he was ordered not to cooperate in any way with the Attorney General's investigation. Mecham's lawyers responded by accusing Milstead of sexual misconduct. Disgusted, the senate rejected these innuendos.

On March 16, Mecham took the stand for the first time during the trial. Claiming to be wrongly and maliciously persecuted by the press, Corbin, and his political enemies, Mecham portrayed himself as a political outsider who had challenged the Arizona power-brokers and did so too well. With respect to the reported death threat against Donna Carlson, Mecham stated that he never took the reports seriously. He also used this chance to call the whole trial a "miscarriage of justice".

By April 4, the trial reviewed testimony about two other charges. The Senate voted to dismiss the most serious charge, violating election laws. Some Senators said that they had voted for this to avoid prejudicing the court case that was to begin later that month. (The senatorial trial did not ascertain guilt, it merely determined the fitness of Mecham to serve as governor). The state prosecutors, William French and Paul Eckstein closed out the testimony in the remaining days by portraying Mecham as a lying, bullying crook. Jerris Leonard tried to convince the State Senate that his client merely made a political mistake by loaning his dealership money.

Aside from that, Leonard maintained, Mecham was innocent.

Leonard's final claim fell on deaf ears. On April 4, the Senate voted 21 to 9 to convict Evan Mecham of obstructing justice. The vote, just one more than the 2/3 majority needed, removed Mecham from the governor's seat for good. He was then convicted 24 to 6 on the charge of illegally loaning state money. In both cases, a

majority of the Senate's Republicans voted to convict. Thus, Evan Mecham's term as Governor of Arizona ended nearly three years early—ironically, on the twentieth anniversary of Martin Luther King's assassination.

Even with the conviction, Evan Mecham was not yet ready to fade into Arizona's collective memory. No sooner was he impeached and forced to yield temporary control of the governor's office to Secretary of State Rose Mofford, he retreated, along with his closed staff, to a huge ranch house turned into offices in suburban Glendale. There, next to a bard yard full of chickens and haystacks, he behaved not unlike Charles the First declaring war on Parliament from his outpost at Oxford. Mecham raised a political army among old friends, fellow Mormons and others offended by the legislature's actions. He organized fund-raising rallies and sent stern messages to the Senate and to Mofford.

Mecham still publicly maintained that he was an innocent victim of the Arizona legal and business establishment. He still had many supporters among the state's far-right, and intended to run in the recall election, scheduled for May 17. The State Supreme Court ordered the recall to be canceled because the subject of recall was out of office. But on May 14, Mecham was elected at-large delegate to the Republican National Convention. Many party leaders, both in Arizona and nationwide, were dismayed by this victory, and were afraid of both negative press and Mecham himself.

On June 16, the criminal case against Mecham was closed; he was found not guilty intent to defraud. Evan Mecham private citizen, was once again ready to resume his public role. He vowed to help clean up the corrupt state, and due to failure of a special measure in the Senate, he just might. A "Dracula Measure" intended to "slay the vampire forever" by prohibiting Mecham from running for office ever again, failed to get the necessary 2/3 majority. There seemed to be little doubt that Mecham was seriously considering another run for the governorship or a senate seat of the Grand Canyon State.

Mecham's presence in the Republican party continues to embarrass and worry the party leadership. He has hurt the GOP's chances for maintaining long-term success in Arizona, and he might even swing the state's seven electoral votes—Republican since 1952.

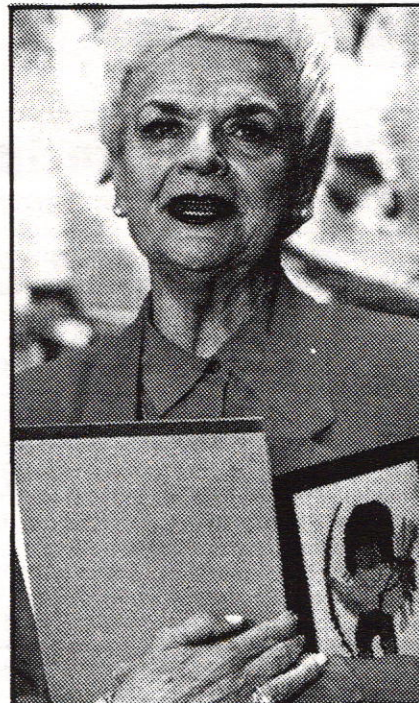
Arizona as a whole would like to forget Mecham. The state faces a rapidly growing population and a dwindling supply of natural resources, and so it hopes to move on from Mecham swiftly. Nevertheless, it will surprise no one if Evan Mecham does his best to "help" his state, while making new enemies and creating new problems. ■



Protesters



Supporters



Former Arizona Secretary of State, now Governor Rose Mofford.

Anthony McLeod Kennedy

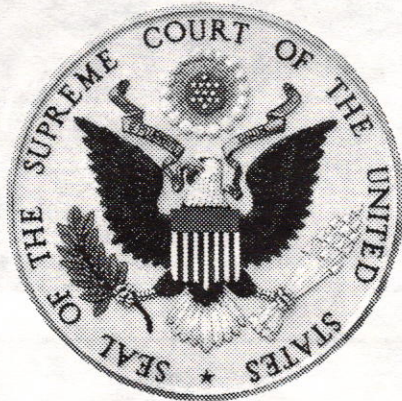
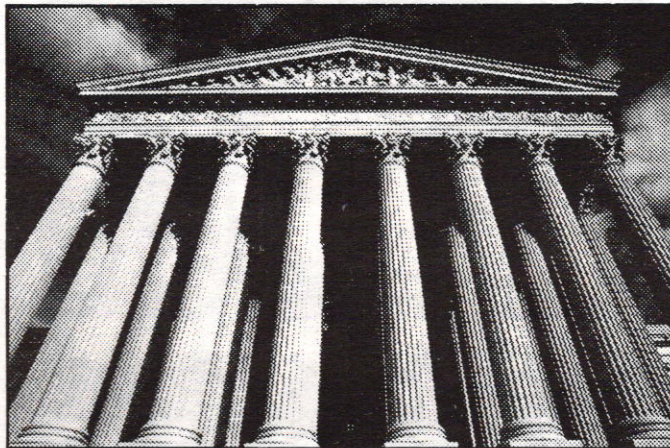
The New Kid on the Bench

BY ALAN E. ROTHMAN

It had been a bitter and grueling winter. The nation watched with shock and apprehension as the Iran-Contra scandal dominated the proceedings of the newly-formed 100th United States Congress. Before the spring thaw could arrive, America braced itself for the commencement of the '88 Presidential campaign. Then, in May, the nation came to grips with another scandal, as Gary Hart, the leading Democratic contender, withdrew after falling prey to the scrutiny of the media.

On June 28, moderate Supreme Court Justice Lewis Powell announced his retirement from the bench. The White House immediately mobilized a search committee which nominated right-wing conservative Robert Bork as Powell's replacement. After a highly emotional partisan battle on the Senate floor, Bork's nomination was rejected 58 to 42. The White House swiftly countered with a new candidate, Douglas Ginsburg. Judge Ginsburg never had the opportunity to be accepted or rejected. A history of marijuana use, a conflict of interest, and a physician wife purported to administer abortions, were some of the personal problems that plagued the nomination, leading to Ginsburg's withdrawal from consideration. The White House took one last swing—the 51-year-old California Appeals Court Judge Anthony McLeod Kennedy.

A Justice At Last. Senate Judiciary Committee Chairman, Delaware Democrat Joseph Biden, promised that the confirmation hearings of Supreme Court nominee Anthony Kennedy would be painless. And indeed, Judge Kennedy breezed through the hearings before the same panel that put Robert Bork through a grueling, highly partisan interrogation last summer. Kennedy's deferential manner, as well as a "well-qualified" rating from the American Bar Association, guaranteed easy treatment.



Supreme Court Justices

JUSTICE	AGE AT APPOINTMENT	AGE TODAY	PRESIDENT	APPOINTED
William J. Brennan, Jr.	50	83	Eisenhower	1956
Byron R. White	44	72	Kennedy	1962
Thurgood Marshall	59	80	Johnson	1967
Harry A. Blackmun	61	80	Nixon	1970
William H. Rehnquist	47	64	Nixon	1971
John Paul Stevens	55	69	Ford	1975
Antonin Scalia	49	52	Reagan	1986
Sandra O'Connor	50	58	Reagan	1981
Anthony Kennedy	51	52	Reagan	1988

The California Appeals Court judge sailed smoothly through two days of questioning. Unlike Bork, he assured Senators of his respect for previous Supreme Court decisions and belief in an individual's "zone of liberty" from government intrusion. Kennedy seemed assured of confirmation when the Senate reconvened after the winter recess.

The Senate Judiciary Committee meeting was a quiet coda to a gripping political drama. The 14 Senators each said "yea," unanimously recommending that Judge Kennedy be confirmed to the Supreme Court. On February 3, 1988, a 97-0 unanimous vote by the full Senate confirmed the moderate conservative Kennedy to fill the vacancy created by Justice Lewis Powell more than seven months before. He became the 104th Justice of the United States Supreme Court.

Anthony "Tony" McLeod Kennedy was born on July 23, 1936, in Sacramento, California to Anthony M. and Gladys Kennedy. He attended Stanford University which included a year at The London School of Economics and later enrolled at Harvard Law School. Upon graduation in 1961, he joined the San Francisco law firm of Thelen, Marrin, John and Bridges. Two years later, he met and married Mary Davis. When Kennedy Sr. died in 1963, Anthony returned to Sacramento to take over his father's law practice. As an attorney, Kennedy represented diverse interests from the Scheley Liquor firm to an optician group. In the following years, he accepted a position of constitutional law professor at the McGeorge School of Law. He also became a lobbyist in Sacramento.

While in the state capital, Kennedy came to the attention of Governor Ronald Reagan and his aide Edwin Meese III. In the early 70's, Kennedy was asked by Reagan to draft *Proposition 1*, a tax-cutting referendum in California. By 1975, the young attorney was so well respected that President Ford appointed him to the United States Court of Appeals for the 9th Circuit, serving nine western states.

In his tenure as an appellate judge, Kennedy wrote 438 opinions and participated in close to 1400 decisions. He distinguished himself on the bench and received the approbation of the American Bar Association, receiving the highest "well-qualified" rating, in the ABA's words, "an honor reserved for



ANTONIN SCALIA



HARRY BLACKMUN



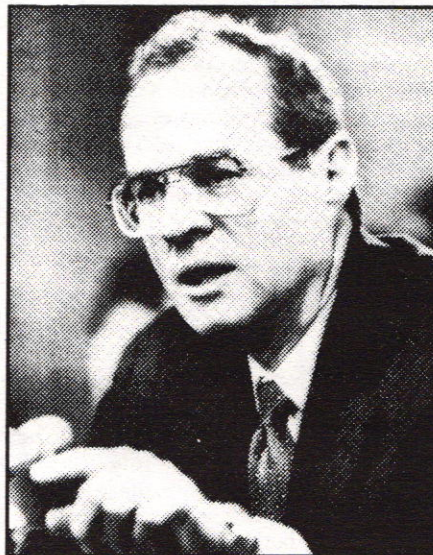
SANDRA O'CONNER



BYRON WHITE

those of high standards of professional competence, judicial temperament and integrity . . . and among the best available for appointment to the United States Supreme Court." Then came his nomination from the White House and his confirmation by the Senate as the 104th justice of the United States Supreme Court.

In considering a Supreme Court nominee, more often than not, one factor hovers above the rest—political ideology—which justifiably or not carries more weight in nomination proceedings than experience. The process of selecting and confirming a justice lends itself to such consideration. The members of the judiciary, unlike their counterparts in the legislature, are not elected by the populace, but are nominated by the President and confirmed by a majority of the Senate. The justices' terms are for life—barring retirement or in rare instances, impeachment. As such, a judiciary with young members of a particular political ideology can have a tremendous impact on the interpretation

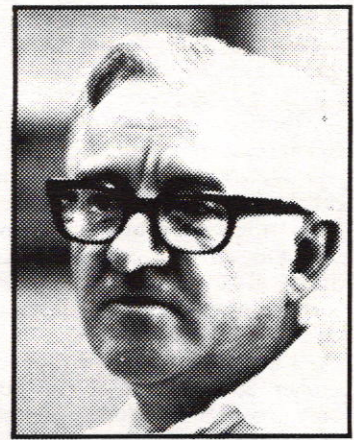


ANTHONY KENNEDY

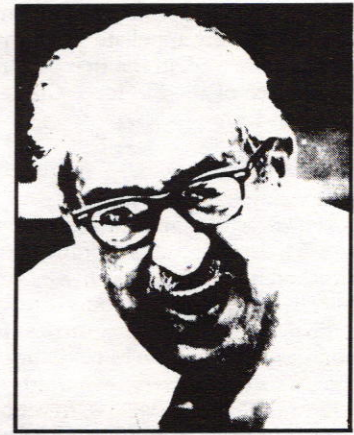
of laws for more than a generation. The President, when called upon to exercise his constitutional duty of nominating a Supreme Court justice, will often select a justice with an ideology similar to his own, in the hopes of insuring the perpetuation of his views even after leaving office. The Senate, on occasion, will vote along partisan lines, if the nominee's views are too extreme.

With this in mind, one can examine the conditions which created the seven month vacancy of the pivotal ninth seat in the Supreme Court. Prior to Justice Lewis F. Powell Jr.'s retirement, the court was virtually split ideologically. Many important cases were decided 5 to 4. Justices Brennan, Marshall, Blackmun and Stevens generally voted with liberal interests, while Justices Rehnquist, White, O'Conner and Scalia represented the conservative view. It was Justice Powell, the moderate, who generally tipped the scales in key decisions.

It is easy to imagine, therefore, the mag-



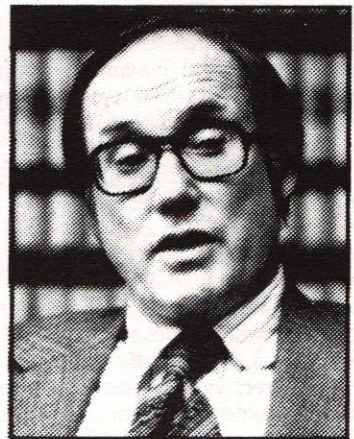
JOHN P. STEVENS



THURGOOD MARSHALL



WILLIAM BRENNAN



WILLIAM REHNQUIST

itude of Reagan's decision for Powell's replacement. With two of the liberal justices 80 or older (Brennan and Marshall) and a third soon to be 80 (Blackmun), Reagan was presented with the opportunity to shape the court's direction well into the next century. In addition, many key cases awaited the new court. Cases involving civil rights, affirmative action and sexual privacy, all expected to be heard, with the possibility of establishing a new star decision in these areas.

As the '88-89 court term opened on October 3, observers of the Supreme Court predicted that Judge Kennedy will cast the swing vote in most cases. To provide an inkling of how Kennedy may vote on the key issues, one must examine his decisions as an appellate judge and the positions he took in the first four months as a justice of the Supreme Court in the previous term.

Civil Rights. It is perhaps on this issue that Kennedy had the majority of his adversaries. Although he had ruled both for and against civil rights claims, he has been attacked by civil rights activists as insensitive to the rights of minority groups. Audrey Feinberg, an attorney for the Supreme Court Watch, testifying before the Senate Judiciary Committee, said: "[Kennedy's] civil rights decisions raise serious concerns about his commitment to protecting constitutional rights... (they) reveal insensitivity to women and minorities."

One decision frequently alluded to was Kennedy's decision in *AFSCME v. Washington*. The case involved a federal sex-discrimination law, which requires equal pay for women performing jobs of "comparable worth" to men. AFSCME claimed that women state workers in Washington were receiving 20 percent less pay than men for jobs of comparable worth. A federal district court had ruled in favor of AFSCME, awarding 15,500 female state workers close to \$1 billion. Kennedy, writing the opinion for a unanimous appellate decision, overturned the lower court's ruling. "There was no proof of discrimination," he wrote, "only market forces." Kennedy maintained that the state had merely utilized the fundamental economic principle of supply and demand in determining wages, and civil rights legislation was "not intended to abrogate fundamental economic principles."

In another civil rights case, *Topic v. Circle Realty*, Kennedy once again ruled against the plaintiff. The case involved a fair-housing organization's claim that real estate brokers denied houses in an all-white community to black members of the organization posing as potential buyers. In his decision, Kennedy stated that only "direct victims"—not those posing as buyers—could sue for discrimination. The Supreme Court, in an opinion written by Justice Powell, later overturned Kennedy's ruling.

Other unpopular Kennedy civil rights decisions included a dissent to a decision which denied airlines the right to impose weight restrictions upon female flight attendants, and a decision against Mexican-Americans who contested a city's at-large election as abridging voting rights. At times, however, Kennedy had granted the plaintiff's claim. In *Flores v. Pierce*, Kennedy awarded two Mexican-Americans \$48,500 in damages for discrimination in the granting of liquor licenses.

Criminal Cases. Nearly one-fourth of Kennedy's appellate decisions concerned criminal matters. President Reagan had hailed him as "tough but fair," a description agreed with by many legal experts. Kennedy's decisions have supported law-enforcement agencies, a policy generally followed by Justice Powell, and most death sentence appeals by convicts were denied. Yet Kennedy has been known for his sensitivity to the capital punishment issue. In *Vickers v. Ricketts*, he overturned a death sentence in which the jury had been misinstructed by the judge. He also overturned a lower court decision which had found a Mexican immigrant guilty of drug possession, discovered as a result of a body cavity search. Kennedy admitted the man's guilt, yet claimed he was "treated in a way below the standards of a civilized society."

Several of Kennedy's criminal decisions dealt with police officers. In *Darbon v. Nourse*, a case that involved the "challenge of jurors with cause," Kennedy ruled that a juror's stating his trust of a law officer's word above that of a prisoner is not reason for a "challenge with cause." But in one of his most well-known decisions in dissent, he ruled that the "exclusionary rule" (the admittance of certain illegally obtained evidence) was not applicable when officers had acted in good faith. The Supreme Court, including Justice Powell, had limited the exclusionary rule in cases similar to that ruled by Kennedy. He has in no way favored the elimination of this rule. In the *United States v. Penn*, he argued against the admittance of evidence in a heroin case, obtained by bribing a five-year-old to inform on his mother.

First Amendment Rights. In cases involving free speech and freedom of the press, Kennedy has generally favored the defendants' case, supporting their First Amendment rights. In *Goldblum v. NBC*, Kennedy denied access to an individual convicted in an insurance scandal, to an NBC film about the case. The suit was based on Goldblum's claim that such a film may hurt his parole and sway public opinion against him. He requested that the court grant him access to review the film for any inaccuracies. Kennedy stated in his opinion that such access would represent "pre-publication censorship." The press, he concluded, has no responsibility to justify or defend expression until such expression has taken place. In a free speech case, Kennedy

dismissed a slander suit against the mayor of Santa Monica, California, by a German woman who claimed that the mayor had compared her to a Nazi with the same last name. In deciding for the mayor, Kennedy ruled that since no "reasonable listener" would have believed the slur, it was a "constitutionally protected statement."

Congressional Powers. In one of his most famous precedent-setting decisions, Kennedy labeled the "legislative veto" unconstitutional—a means by which the Congress could invalidate certain decisions of executive branch agencies. Such a veto, Kennedy maintained, violates the principle of "separation of powers." The Supreme Court concurred with Kennedy, thus curtailing the power of Congress over the Executive Branch.

Sexual Privacy. Perhaps one of the most heated issues of the last two decades had been sexual privacy. Kennedy's opinions on abortion and homosexual rights will undoubtedly shape the court decisions on these highly volatile issues. His role is magnified by the reservations recently expressed by four justices concerning the validity of *Roe v. Wade*, the landmark decision legalizing abortion. To many, the perplexing question is, where does Kennedy stand on this matter. His views on the issue are virtually unknown. Some legal observers, however, base their speculations upon cryptic decisions in related cases, especially from Kennedy's highly touted decision in *Beller v. Middendorf*, in which he upheld the Navy's dismissal of homosexuals from active service. His decision centered upon the "need for order in the Navy," outweighing the "fundamental right and full protection" in some instances to an individual's right to privacy. Such a carefully worded opinion leaves observers with no clear answer as to how Kennedy might rule on other such cases presented before the Supreme Court.

On the issue of abortion, his views are just as unknown. In the *Beller* case, Kennedy did cite decisions protecting abortion, and provided no reason to assume that he disagreed with such rulings. However, students in Kennedy's con-law class at McGeorge were reported to have said that he was "sympathetic" to a student's comment that *Roe v. Wade* was a political compromise and not constitutionally sound. Interestingly, Kennedy's views on the matter were not elaborated upon at his confirmation hearings in the Senate. It is appropriate to conclude that this is one of the issues to which we can aptly apply the adage, "only time will tell."

While Justice Kennedy's decisions tend to indicate a conservative leaning, he will no doubt be flexible on some controversial issues presented before the Court. Alex Kozinski, a former Kennedy clerk and now justice for the 9th Circuit best summed-up Kennedy's judicial tendencies: "[Ken-

Continued on page 49

INTELLIGENCE REPORT



SPETSNAZ

Russia's Killer Elite

BY MICHAEL NEWMAN



The Soviet Armed Forces have several elite units on which it can draw for covert activities. These forces range from elements of the seven airborne divisions to naval infantry brigades in the four Soviet fleet areas. Similar units can be found in most non-Soviet Warsaw Pact countries as well. (See page 14)

The Soviet Armed Forces have several elite units on which it can draw for covert activities. These forces range from elements of the seven airborne divisions to naval infantry brigades in the four Soviet fleet areas. Similar units can be found in most non-Soviet Warsaw Pact countries as well. (See page 14)

The most clearly identified military units specially dedicated to sensitive reconnaissance, sabotage, and covert operations are the Spetsnaz units of the GRU, the general Staff's Tenth Directorate (foreign military aid). In wartime, these units have a theoretical capability to operate deep in the military theater—that is, throughout the enemy homeland—conducting reconnaissance, sabotage, and direct action on military and political targets, in support of army or fleet operations.

In peacetime, aside from training exercises, and other standard duties, GRU Spetsnaz forces actively pursue Party-directed missions of a sensitive, covert nature. Joint KGB/Spetsnaz teams were at the leading edge of Soviet forces in the 1968 Czech and 1979 Afghanistan invasions. Since then, GRU Spetsnaz units have been operating in Afghanistan, performing missions similar to Soviet partisan and anti-partisan operations in Western Russia and Eastern Europe, and the anti-Basmachi campaigns in Central Asia throughout the 1920s and early 1930s.

Another probable peacetime mission of GRU/Spetsnaz forces involved Moscow's support for various Western and Third World terrorist groups, sundry revolutionaries, and national liberation movements. The GRU and regular military units are connected to training and support activities at KGB military facilities in the USSR and to training camps scattered throughout the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America. But given the overall missions and capabilities of GRU Spetsnaz units, their expertise is being employed for such operations. Soviet camps providing



foreigners with terrorist training are located in Baku, Balashika, Simferopol, Odessa, Tashkent, and Batumi. In Eastern Europe camps situated near Prague, Karlovy Vary, Doupov and Ostrava in Czechoslovakia, Pankow and Finsterwalde in East Germany, Varna in Bulgaria, and Lake Balaton in Hungary were connected to Eastern Bloc security services and linked to the KGB, the GRU and the Soviet military; some of these camps were reported to be actually run by Russians.

GRU's Spetsnaz are organized in brigades, with an estimate of one brigade permilitary districts, groups of forces outside the USSR, and the four fleets. Each brigade is made up of between 900 and 1,300 officers and men in a total force of 16 brigades and 41 separate companies. In all, 27,000 to 30,000 men serve in the GRU/Spetsnaz order of battle, exclusive of reserves. Soviet Spetsnaz forces are augmented by counterpart units from other Warsaw Pact countries. Although little open-source data is available on the order of battle of these units, either collectively or by individual country, it is estimated that 20,000 East European special troops, mainly from East Germany, Poland, and Czechoslovakia are available to the Soviets for rear area reconnaissance and sabotage missions. Other allied and surrogate countries are likewise reported to have their special forces. The lead element of Cuba's expeditionary force in Angola in 1975 was said to be a commando unit which had to be withdrawn after being mauled by South African forces.

In war or crisis situations, Spetsnaz brigades are expected to infiltrate the enemy rear and fight in small teams (six or more members per team), with each brigade fielding around 100 teams. A standard team would be led by an officer with a warrant officer or NCO as second in command. Other team members would possess radio, demolitions, and weapons expertise. Frequently, the teams would draw assistance from illegal agents in the target countries.

Spetsnaz training includes: infiltration



tactics, airborne operations, sabotage and demolitions methods and techniques, reconnaissance and target location, hand-to-hand combat and silent killing techniques, clandestine communications, psychological operations, survival, and language and customs of the target country. One former KGB officer reveals that nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons are included in the Spetsnaz inventory. To facilitate realistic training, Spetsnaz brigades work with full-scale mock-ups of enemy installations and weapons systems: airfields, command and communications facilities, nuclear storage sites, aircraft and nuclear delivery systems such as Lance, Pershing and Ground Launched Cruise missiles (GLCM).

In sum, the USSR has built a respectable low-intensity warfare capability with significant potential for Third World intervention such as terrorist training) in peacetime and a major disruptive potential in wartime. The combined forces of the KGB, MVD and GRU are subject to the highest party authority, with the KGB serving as the party's liaison to ensure control, responsiveness, and decisiveness in sensitive operations.

From the very beginning, state-sponsored diversion, assassination, and sabotage have always been viewed as legitimate political instruments of the Communist Party and



its principal action arm, state security. The military, a tertiary partner in this enterprise, periodically found themselves a target of the other two. The cases illustrative of low-intensity conflict in this unique Soviet tradition were:

- Special CHON forces brutally suppress the rebelling Red Sailors of Kronstadt in 1921.
- Party cadres are thrown in to stiffen the CHEKA.
- Special Designation Troops of state security figure prominently in enforcing collectivization and hunting down recalcitrant Kulaks who oppose those policies.

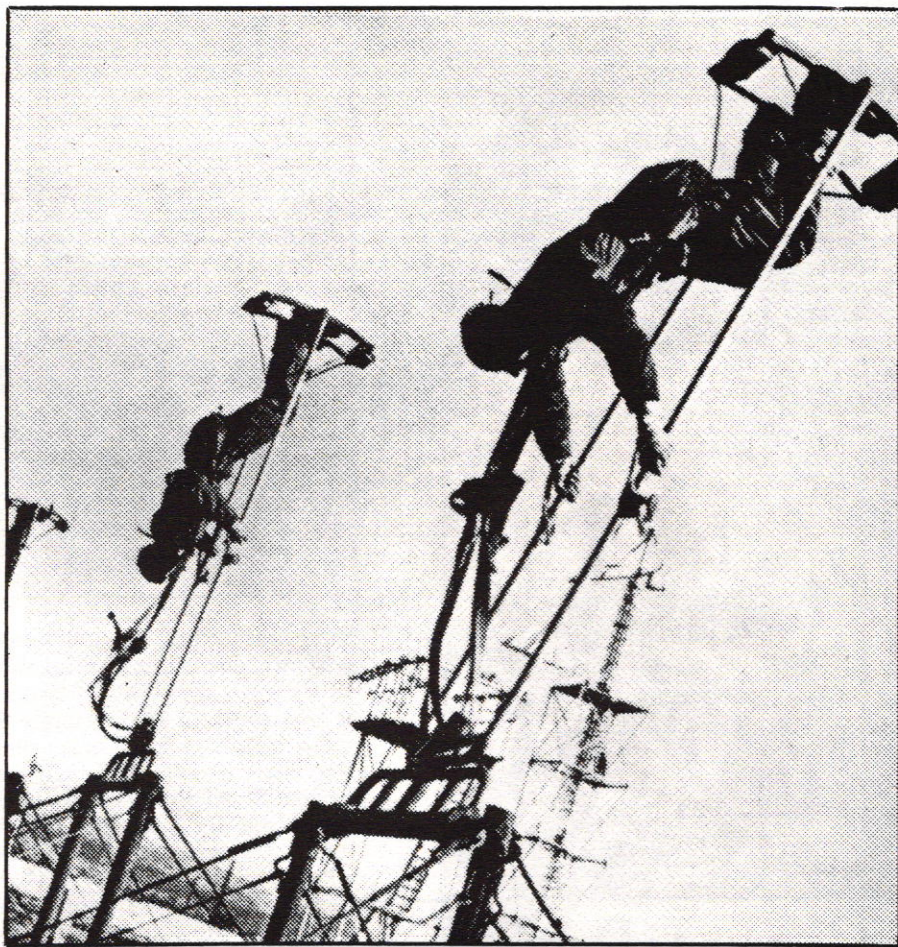
The KGB/MVD Dzerzhinsky Division takes part in these punitive operations. Other state security internal troops and border guards carry out similar punitive operations, including hot pursuit and elimination of peasant families who flee from the Soviet Caucasus Republic across the frontier in to Iran.

The more than decade-long low-intensity counterinsurgency campaign, carried out in Soviet Central Asia from the time of the Civil War to the early 1930s was the *Basmachi uprising* or more correctly the Beklar Hareketi, the Freeman's Movement against the Moslem Turks which spread throughout Soviet carried out Turkestan. Several major campaigns were to crush the movement. State security units, including the Dzerzhinsky Division, were brought in to spearhead the various operations. As late as 1931 the 63rd OGPU Division fought a pitched battle for control of the city of Krasnovodsk. It wasn't until 1933 that the last elements of the Basmachi were defeated.

Afghanistan had played a key cross-border support role for the Basmachi throughout much of the insurgency. When the KGB spearheaded the 1979 invasion, it was rumored to have arrest lists of Basmachi principals it had been seeking since the 1930s.

During the Spanish Civil War the NKVD and GRU carried out terrorist and guerrilla operations at Stalin's orders. Former GRU chief Jan Berzin, the head of the Soviet military aid effort, was ordered by Stalin to hold aside a select group of officers and men to seize military control of Madrid as a key point in an operation should the Republicans win the Civil War. During the Russo-Finnish War of 1939-40 a special unit of fifty men were brought to the front in an unsuccessful attempt to capture Finnish prisoners. This unit was subordinated to the Fifth Department (Otdel) of the GRU and was openly referred to as the *Otdel diversiya* "diversionary department".

Following the creation of the NKVD's Administration of Special Tasks in 1936, assassinations and kidnappings outside the USSR increased in both volume and tempo. The most prominent victim was Leon Trotsky, who was assassinated in 1940 in Mexico by a Spanish NKVD agent. Numerous other Soviet officials, Western communists and Russian emigres were





among the victims. This unit remained in existence, under various titles, within the KGB down to the present. It is now known as Department 8 of Directorate S.

Soviet Partisan operations during World War II served as a major formative for subsequent Soviet state security and military entities and for supporting post-war terrorist and guerrilla movements. Although a Partisan Directorate at the High Command level oversaw all partisan operation, Party and State Security cadres were the actual controlling elements. While the announced purpose of the operation was the harassment of the German rear areas, the real objective was to reintroduce Party control in occupied territories. This involved deceptions and provocations to identify, surface, and eliminate real and potential opponents to the reimposition of Soviet rule. It also included the neutralization and compromise of non-Soviet resistance and Partisan groups. A major means for accomplishing all this was the provoking of terror and German counterterror with the ultimate object of intimidation of the local population. Still many loyal partisan commanders and their subordinates were executed or shipped off to the Gulag at the end of the war. Stalin apparently feared that their small taste of independence boded for the system. Other core Party and NKVD cadres were reorganized under NKVD General Sudoplatov for the planning of diversion and terror behind the lines of what was to become NATO. Major counterinsurgency campaigns against anti-Soviet guerrilla groups in the Baltic and the Western Ukraine, Special State Security border guards and selected army units ran punitive operations. Bashing, scorched earth, mass summary executions and mass deportations characterized state security operations.

In Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968, state security and special designation military units seized key points, echoing Berzin's guidance from Stalin during the Spanish Civil War. In Czechoslovakia, Czech state security collaborated with the KGB in seizures and in the arrests of Czech

officials. One of these agents guided a KGB-led assault team to the Czech Central Committee building where the leadership was arrested.

In Sweden, there were reports for years of repeated incursions by submarines and minisubs. These reported penetrations actually have increased following the sensation caused by the running aground of the Soviet WHISKEY-class submarine #137 well inside Swedish territorial waters, inside a military security zone and almost within sight of the Swedish Naval Base at Karlskrona. According to Arkady Shevchenko, a high ranking defector from the Soviet foreign ministry, in 1970 the Kremlin decided to initiate submarine probes into Swedish and Norwegian territorial waters, despite Prime Minister Palme's efforts to regularize relations with Moscow.

Finally, in Afghanistan, the ongoing Soviet operational laboratory is witnessing a contemporary reenactment of:

- The Basmachi episode with the full repertoire of the Soviet counter-insurgency tradition, including participation of Soviet state security cadres in arrests, interrogations, torture, and executions of real or imaginary opponents of the Soviets and their puppets.
- The horrors of collectivization, which revolutionized the social, population, and agricultural structure of the Soviet Union. A similar social revolution is being imposed on traditional Afghan society with no concern for human suffering bordering on genocide.
- The long tradition of diversion, terrorism, and direct action conducted by the Soviet intelligence and security services under Party direction. In Afghanistan, the Soviets have a controlled environment in which to refine their special operations capability and to work on the effective fusing of the talents of the KGB with those of the GRU Spetsnaz and other special military units. Such joint KGB/GRU/military operations will serve as operational models for preserving and expanding Soviet gains. ■

Warsaw Pact Special Forces

Though no single Warsaw Pact elite unit compares in size or firepower to the massive Soviet airborne potential, its combined strength is a formidable one. Not knowing precisely how much destruction such small units could cause in rear areas keeps NATO defense planners sufficiently off balance. The size of these units also guarantees that only the finest trained and devoted troops are accepted into their ranks.

Soviet paranoia explains a lot of what goes on in the East bloc. Elite unit deployment among its Warsaw Pact comrades is no exception. The Soviets discourage them from becoming too large or autonomous, since they could be used to resist Soviet missions to improve solidarity among its allies. For this reason, Hungary and Czechoslovakia have had their airborne units drastically reduced in the wake of Russian occupation in 1956 and 1968 respectively. More recently, Soviet hesitation to intervene in Poland was due largely to the General Staff's concern about possible resistance from the renowned Polish airborne division.

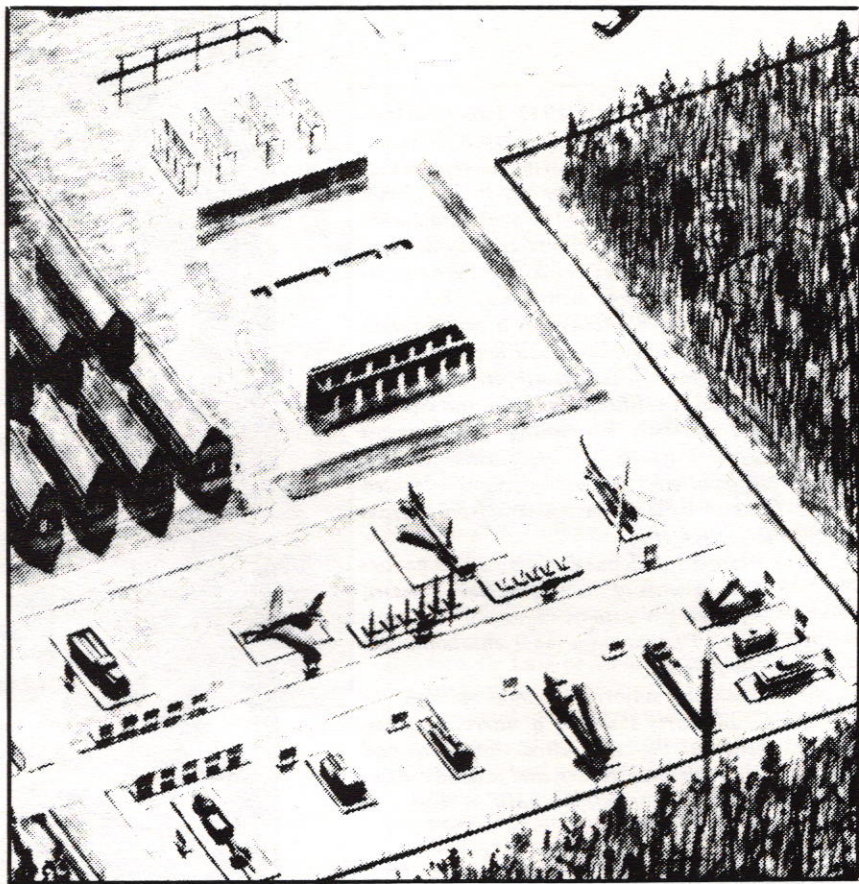
Political paranoia is countered by the Soviet military's recognition that elite units are a potent weapon for quick destabilization of an enemy's defenses. Low-intensity, surreptitious military action is essential if revolutionary conflict throughout the Third World is to continue without triggering a nuclear conflict. The mutual distrust between the Soviet Union and its satellites is outweighed by the strength and security provided during warfare by this massive combined military force. So long as Warsaw and a training battalion plus support units. It is believed to be the successor to the 22nd Vysadkova Brigade. Internal Security is handled by the Czechoslovak Border Guards and the Interior Guards.

Hungary: The Hungarian People's Army has a single, 400-man airborne battalion and Interior and Frontier Guards.

Romania: A nominal member of the Warsaw Pact, Romania has the 161st Paratroop Regiment based at Buzau, the 2nd and 4th Mountain Brigades at Brasov and Curtea de Arges, respectively, and a single naval infantry battalion at Giurgiu. Internally, the regime relies on the 17,000-man Frontier Troops organization plus a Security Troops force of 20,000.

Bulgaria: The Bulgarian Peoples Army has a single airborne regiment based in the Burgas-Plovdiv region, and a few rifle troops trained for mountain operations. The Navy has three Naval Guard companies for limited amphibious operations. Warsaw Pact elite forces can't compete with Soviet Spetsnaz, their existence will continue.

The Warsaw Pact Spetsnaz forces in-



clude troops from the USSR, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria.

The following is a summary of special operations units in Eastern Bloc countries.

Poland: The Polish Army has a proud airborne tradition. Poland has had a parachute unit before World War II. During the war the 1st Polish Independent Parachute Brigade fought alongside the British and jumped at Arnhem. As a result, its special purpose forces include an airborne division and a marine division. The 6th Pomeranian Air Assault Division formed in 1957 is stationed outside Krakow in the Warsaw Military District. About 4,000 strong, it is not as heavily mechanized as its Soviet counterpart. It has an independent special forces battalion, formerly designated the 4101st Paratroop Battalion, which is trained in deep penetration missions, rear area scouting and sabotage.

The Polish marine formation is the Coastal Defense Unit, designated 7th Luzyczna Naval Assault Division. Despite its designation, it is an army, not a navy unit, and has more than 5,000 troops assigned. Its role is to support the amphibious operations of the Soviet Baltic Fleet and attack Denmark in case of war.

Other special military units include the Polish Navy's two battalion naval infantry, the "Blue Berets," and a number of trainer units that can handle demolitions of an offensive and defensive nature. An elite mountain infantry brigade, harking back to the tradition of European mountain

units is known to conduct extensive, almost continuous mountain warfare training in the Carpathians. In addition to these forces, there is a wide range of internal security forces under the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Army Internal Service plus an even larger civilian security structure.

East Germany: In the tradition of the World War II *Fallschirmjager*, there are three elements within the National People's Army that constitute the core of East German special forces: an airborne battalion—the 40th (Willi Sanger) Airborne Battalion, trained as a lightly-equipped raiding unit stationed in the Baltic; the 29th (Ernst Moritz Arndt) Motor Rifle Regiment, based at Rugen Island and trained for amphibious operations; and a number of smaller elite groups such as a diversionary battalion armed with U.S. equipment retrieved from Vietnam, and disguised in West German uniforms; (these troops are expected to infiltrate through NATO defenses by passing themselves off as West German soldiers); and a few similar combat swimmer companies in the *Volksmarine*.

There is a huge internal security force in the East German Frontier Troops—some 50,000 strong—and the Guard Regiment, which is considered the elite of this unit and is responsible for guarding government facilities.

Czechoslovakia: The Czech Army has a light airborne force stationed near Prosnice consisting of four battalions—one active, one reserve, a special operations

Since its founding in 1947, Israel has been burdened with a bizarre method for selecting its Knesset—proportional representation. Israelis vote for party lists, with Knesset seats awarded in proportion to the total votes that parties receive. Little more than 20,000 votes win a seat. Yet no party in Israel has ever won a majority.

This system encourages a proliferation of parties, makes coalitions virtually unavoidable, allows small factions to make exorbitant political demands, and encourages unseemly bargaining and frequent deadlock in forming new governments. This unusual electoral proceeding is tolerated because those who benefit most from it refuse to get rid of it.

Israel's national election saw 15 parties winning seats in the 120-member Knesset, continuing a pattern begun 40 years ago when 11 parties won representation in the first Knesset.

Echoing majority national opinion, the Likud Party shunned a narrow government with the small ultra-nationalist and ultra-religious parties, and instead continued its broad-based coalition with the Labor Party.



Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir is welcomed by a supporter during a campaign stop near Tel Aviv.

ISRAEL

Elections 5749



Foreign Minister at the time Shimon Peres receives a kiss from a young adviser during a campaign tour of Haifa.

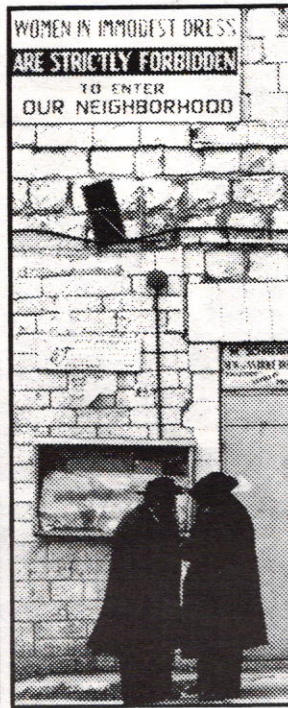
The November 1988 Israeli elections signaled the consolidation of the rightward-shift in the country's cultural and political ethos.

Eclipsed were the values of the "old Israel"—the pioneering spirit of the Kibbutzim movement and socialistic Zionism. In their place, we now found a new ultra-nationalism—the spirit of unyielding territorial expansionism, an awe-inspired perception of the invincibility of the Israel Defense Force (IDF), rigid moral absolutism and a growing cynicism for any residual support of the Camp David Accords. Rather than the message of the past—peaceful coexistence with its Arab neighbors—the prevalent mind-set of most Jewish Israelis became the "Complete Israel."

Cynicism regarding the peace process, however, should not be unexpected. Shimon Peres, perhaps the strongest advocate of negotiations and adherence to the peace process, was dealt a staggering rebuff by King Hussein's decision to relinquish his role in the negotiations. The



The extreme right-wing Kach Party of Rabbi Mes Kahane was barred from competing in the election campaign as "a racist and undemocratic party." The vote in the Central Knesset Elections Committee was 28 ayes, five nos and three abstentions.



King's political abdication merely emphasized what one savvy Israeli analyst had already recognized, "Shimon Peres... was playing chess with himself."

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's simple, straightforward message left little doubt as to his political objectives—a "Complete Israel"—and his historical perception encouraged such unequivocal seriousness. Israel has won all its wars since 1947 and the *Intifada*, the Palestinian uprising in the Occupied Territories, therefore, was just another example of bubbling Arab euphoria.

The elections reaffirmed Shamir's perspective. For the first time, conservatives polled more than 50% of the popular vote, with the **Likud Party** winning 40 seats, scoring a narrow, one-seat victory over its rival and nervous partner in the coalition government, the **Labor Party**, but nowhere near a majority in the Knesset.

The religious parties were now in the advantageous position of being in control of 18 seats, and thus able to exert leverage in any emerging coalition government.

The **Shas Party**, representing mainly emigrant Sephardic Jews, gained two seats from their 1984 total of four. The **National Religious Party**, the mainstream voice of religious Jews and very conservative on the issue of the Occupied Territories, remained stable with five votes. Rabbi Menachem Schneerson, the Lubavitcher Rebbe from Brooklyn and leader of **Agudat Israel**, the ultra-orthodox party, gained three seats, and presently seats five in the 1989 Knesset. Another political gainer was Rabbi

Schneerson's rival, Rabbi Eliezer Schach, the moderate leader of the **Degel Torah Party**, who gained two seats for the first time. The lone decline among the religious parties was **Morasha**, which lost its sole seat gained in 1984.

Secular Jews, roughly 65% of the population, worried that the orthodox parties will attempt to establish a theocracy, alienating the American Jewish population, a vital source of Israel's support, and raising the controversial question, "Who is a Jew?" The real concern over the ascendancy of the religious parties in Israel regarded their opposition to territorial concessions in the occupied West Bank and the Gaza Strip. It was feared that this rise of the religious Right will further complicate an already muddled search for peace.

The success of the religious vote was due largely to the introduction roughly twenty years before of the Sephardic Jews from North Africa and the Middle East, who voted overwhelmingly in favor of the resurgent Right, proving that they have not assimilated the secular, pro-western values of the country. The 1988 election manifested this phenomenon. As the emigrants were asserting themselves in the religious parties, they were causing Israel's political fulcrum to shift perceptibly to the right.

Shamir had a choice of forming a "narrow" coalition with both the religious parties and the three ultra-nationalist groups to the right of Likud, but this would only serve to constrain his political freedom of movement. Rather, he offered several cabinet positions, including the foreign minister, to Labor, if it would supplement Likud

in a broad coalition. The proviso, however, held that Labor leader and former Foreign Minister Shimon Peres must be omitted.

Initially, Shamir had to fend off demands from the more extreme elements of the nationalist and the ultra-religious parties. The nationalists wanted to annex the West Bank and Gaza, while transplanting some or all of the Palestinian residents to other Arab countries. Although Shamir endorsed additional settlement development in the Occupied Territories, he publicly stated that he would abide by the 1978 Camp David Accords, shunning land annexation or displacement of the Palestinians.

Shamir however, did not see eye-to-eye with the religious parties on the issue of the definition of a Jew; they wished to amend Israel's Law of Return, sanctioning only orthodox conversions. Though the number of other converts was slight, the figures did not reflect the entire story, as Israel's reform and conservative Jews felt threatened and alienated by the orthodox position. Shamir had said that he would not seek to alter his party's stand on amending the law, even though the Likud endorsed the amendment, but would not compel its Knesset deputies to vote the change.

Compromise did not come easily to Israel's religious parties where factionalism was rife. Yet, they fared so well, that religious leaders felt obligated to unite in order to reassure Israel's secular citizens. Avner Shaki, leader of the **National Religious Party**, reaffirmed the religious-rights priorities by saying: "... we have no plans for religious coercion. We only want to strengthen the status of the Sabbath, religious education, the rabbinate and rabbinical courts."

It is quite conceivable that Israel's lurch to the right will be counter-productive because of its never-ending search for total security, but election results bear testament to the collective electoral mood in the country.

The Western media may have garnered extensive press coverage on the *Intifada*, but, in retrospect, it appears that they missed the fundamental message. There is a deep-rooted resentment among much of the citizenry in Israel, who are returning psychologically to the mood of 1948. The passion of the nation has again been aroused, with hatred and animosity running deep on both sides.

More importantly, however, the uprising has shown the effect of offering fertile political turf to far-right opportunists. The election results called into question the status of secularism in Israel, and demonstrated that though culturally and religiously unique, Israel is not immune to the flurry of fundamentalism swooping throughout the Middle East. ■



Iranian Parliament Speaker and Chief of the Armed Forces Hajatoleslam Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani (left) meets with Soviet Foreign Minister Edward Shevardnadze (right) in the presence of an interpreter (center).

IRAN

Moscow on the Tigris

The Russians discuss glasnost in Teheran

Soviet Foreign Minister Edward Shevardnadze could not have arrived in Teheran for a three-day state visit at a more propitious moment. Ten days before, the total withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan had been completed, and relations between Iran and the European Community were deteriorating rapidly in the wake of Salman Rushdie's *Satanic Verses* crisis. Shevardnadze's 90-minute long meeting with Khomeini thus acquired special significance.

The main reason Shevardnadze was granted the rare honor of an audience with the Imam was that he came bearing President Gorbachev's reply to an epistle from Khomeini that had been carried some time before by Khomeini's personal envoy, Ayatollah Abdallah Javadi Amoli, and read out by him to Gorbachev in the Kremlin. Protocol required that the Iranian leader should receive the reply to his letter in the same manner.

Shevardnadze's visit was a dramatic reminder of the ties that had been strengthening between the two neighbors since last July when Iran accepted United Nations Security Council Resolution 598 for a ceasefire in the Persian Gulf War. That

removed one of the two major barriers that stood between Teheran and Moscow. The Soviet Union, the leading supplier of military hardware to Iraq, played a crucial role in pressuring Iraqi President Saddam Hussein to drop his preconditions for peace talks and accept unconditionally the ceasefire, which went into effect in August the year before.

By then, the Kremlin had pulled out half its 115,000 troops from Afghanistan and established the sincerity of its commitment to total evacuation in mid-February 1989.

In a larger context, Gorbachev's actions over the past few years had already convinced Khomeini, among other world leaders, that he was serious about implementing his policies of *perestroika* and *glasnost* in the Soviet Union. An editorial in the *Teheran Times* on the eve of Shevardnadze's visit described this change in the Soviet Union as "something colossal to which the Islamic Republic of Iran could not remain indifferent."

The "historic message," that Khomeini dispatched to Gorbachev was written like a typical Friday prayer sermon. The particular aspect of the Soviet reform that interested Khomeini most was the easing of offi-

cial hostility towards religion, especially Islam. "I call on Your Excellency to seriously inquire about Islam . . . because the exalted and universal values of Islam can give comfort and save nations, and Islam can also resolve the basic problems confronting humanity," concluded the Ayatollah.

Lest eyebrows should be raised in the Moslem world at an Islamic personality like Khomeini addressing epistles to the head of an atheist state, Ayatollah Javadi Amoli pointed out that Khomeini was merely following in the footsteps of the Prophet Muhammad. After assuming power, the Prophet had called on both the Byzantine and Sassanian kings to embrace Islam.

"We agree with many major points," was the response of Gorbachev to Khomeini's epistle, "but there are points with which we disagree, too."

While Moscow respected freedom of choice for all nations and recognized the Islamic revolution in Iran, it defended the Soviet system as the right choice for its people in spite of "the gross errors made in the past."

On a more practical level, Gorbachev referred to the Soviet Union's "conviction that conditions are ripe for relations between our two countries to enter a qualitatively new stage of cooperation in all fields." This was welcomed by Khomeini, who had emphasized the importance of "expanding strong ties in various fields so as to confront the devilish acts of the West."

As it was, economic cooperation between the two neighbors was already quite substantial. The Soviets were deeply involved in expansion of Iran's steel, machine tool and electric power industries, and last autumn, a joint exploration venture was launched to seek oil in the Caspian Sea.

During Shevardnadze's visit, the two sides finalized plans for Iran to supply the Soviet Union with 3 billion cubic meters of natural gas annually. Moscow badly needed the fuel, since supplies from Afghanistan were down from 2.6 billion cubic meters a year to only 1.2 billion. For its part, Iran was in dire need of the foreign currency the deal would bring in to finance essential imports and reconstruction projects. The idea of a railway connecting north-east Iran with Soviet Turkmenistan also was to be pursued actively and provide a second link between the two states.

All told, Shevardnadze's visit to Teheran was likely to figure prominently in the history of tortuous relations between Iran and its powerful northern neighbor. ■

Khomeini's Missive

The Full Text of Imam Ruhullah al-Khomeini's Message to President Mikhail Gorbachev

In the name of Allah, the most Merciful, the Most Compassionate—His Excellency Mr. Gorbachev, Chairman of the Presidium of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic.

With the best wishes for the happiness of Your Excellency and the Soviet people.

Since your assumption of responsibility, it has been felt that Your Excellency, in analyzing world political events, particularly the issues pertaining to the Soviet Union, have found yourself in a new era of reassessment, transition and encounter. Furthermore, since your pluck and audacity in dealing with the world realities is quite likely to disrupt the dominant balance of interests across the world, I have found it necessary to draw your kind attention to the following points:

Although it is quite likely that your new attitudes and decisions will be confined to the resolution of Party disputes as well as some of the problems confronting the Soviet people, yet your courage in reviewing a school of thought that has, for many solid years, imprisoned the world's revolutionary youth within iron fences, is praiseworthy. But if you are thinking beyond these boundaries, the first issue that will undoubtedly help you achieve success is to review the policies adopted by your predecessors on enhancing atheism and irreligion, which has doubtless dealt the most devastating blow to the Soviet people. Rest assured that this is the only formula whereby you can tackle world issues realistically.

It is possible that the improper policies and practices of the former Communist leaders concerning the Soviet economy, have helped the Western world seem more appealing. However, the reality is lying somewhere else. If you wish to put an end to the economic woes of socialism and communism by simply resorting to the core of Western capitalism, you will not only not ease the pains prevalent in the Soviet society, but will also call on others to offset the mistakes you commit. Because if Marxism has met a stalemate in its economic and social aspects, the West, too, has become embroiled in similar problems, only of a different description, as well as different problems.

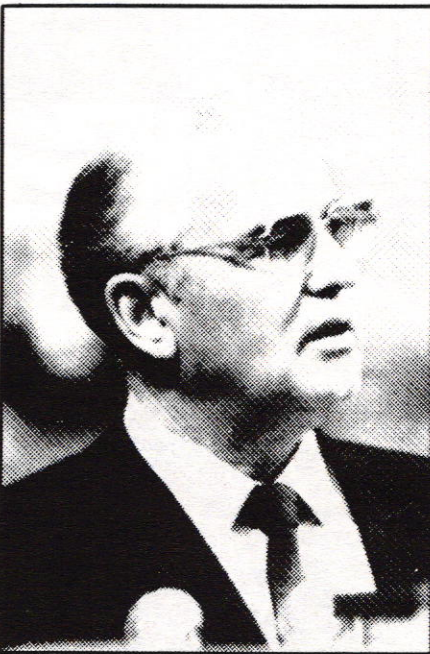
His Excellency Mr. Gorbachev, we should submit ourselves to the truth. The principal problem of your country does not originate from the issues of ownership, or economy, or freedom; your problem, in effect, emanates from lack of a real belief in God, the same problem that has dragged the West into decadence and deadlock. Your main problem stems from the persistent, and futile, struggle against God, who is the actual root of Being and Creation.

His Excellency Mr. Gorbachev, it is crystal clear to all and sundry that from now on one should look for communism in the museums of the world's political history, since Marxism cannot meet any of the real needs of human beings. It is a materialistic school of thought, and by dirt of materialism one cannot save humanity from the crisis of a lack of belief in spirituality, which in turn is the acutest pain pervasive in human societies, both eastern and western.

His Excellency Mr. Gorbachev, it is likely that on some aspects you have not conventionally turned your back on Marxism, and even in the future, you may voice your heartfelt belief in Marxism in public interviews. However, you yourself may be well aware that in reality things are different.

The Chinese leader inflicted the first blow on communism, but you dealt the second, and ostensibly the last blow to it. Today we observe a communism of sorts across the world.

I, however, sincerely call on you not to get trapped in the prison of the West and the Arch-Satan while pulling down the iron curtains of



Marxist idealism. I hope you will have the privilege of wiping off the last residues of the 70 years of the perversion of world communism from the chapters of history and your fatherland.

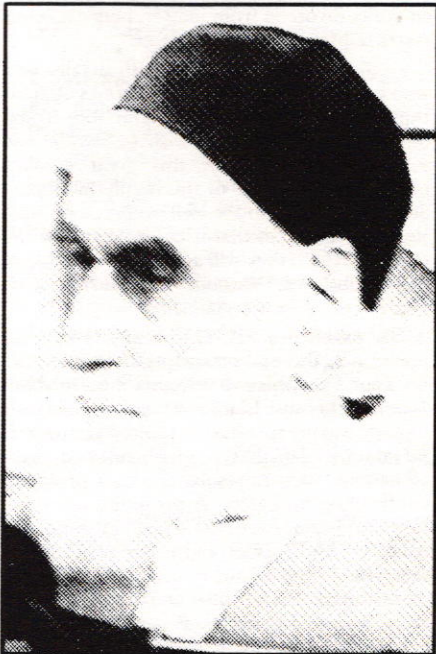
Today, even governments normally considered as your allies, who are eager to secure the interests of their peoples and motherland, will never be able to convince themselves to squander the resources of their countries to prove the validity of communism, the signal for whose failure has already been heard by its proponents.

His Excellency Mr. Gorbachev, when after 70 years the call of prayer—Allahu Akbar, "Allah is above all", and testimony for the prophetic mission of the Seal of Prophet (May Allah's blessing be upon him and his progeny), was heard from the minarets of mosques in some of the Soviet Republics, it moved all the followers of the genuine Islam of Muhammad (May Allah's Blessings be upon him and his progeny) to tears. Therefore I deemed it necessary to mention this point to you so that you can once more rethink both material and divine worldviews.

Materialists regard sense as their criterion for recognition, and anything that is beyond sense

does not lie within the domain of knowledge. They also consider existence as equivalent to material being, hence anything devoid of matter is regarded as non-existent. Then naturally, they consider the world of the unseen, such as the existence of the exalted Almighty, Divine Revelation, Prophetic Mission and Doomsday, as totally mythical.

While the basis of knowledge in the divine worldview is composed of "sense" and "reason", and anything which is "rational" falls within the domain of knowledge, what is beyond sense, as it were, can also be regarded as knowledge of the unknowable.



The Glorious Quran finds fault with the fundamentals of the material worldview and those who believe that God does not exist, otherwise He would be seen; or in the divine desires of perfection in its absolute form. And you are well aware that man is desirous of becoming the omnipotent in the world. Hence, his is not interested in any power which is imperfect. Even if he enjoys full command over the universe and it is said that there is another world, he naturally wishes to wield power and control over that world too.

Man, however, has learned; and if he hears about other sciences he is naturally keen on learning those sciences as well. Therefore he naturally develops an interest in omnipotence and omniscience, both of which we are all, consciously or unconsciously, attracted by, though we ourselves many not be fully cognizant of them. Man is eventually desirous of reaching out to the Absolute and getting dissolved in it. In principle, the intense interest in eternal life, which is inherent in any person, is indicative of the immortal universe, and of immunity to death.

If Your Excellency would like to conduct

research on such subjects, you can order the scholars to consult, besides the books of Western philosophers, the writings of Al-Farabi and Abi Sinna (Avicenna) (peace be upon them) in peripateticism, because such studies will prove that the law of Causality, upon which any knowledge hinges, is "rational" and not sensible, and the comprehension of the Universal terms, as well as the general laws upon which any argument is based, is also rational, not sensible.

In this connection, the noble writings of Al-Sohravardi (peace be upon him) on the philosophy of illumination could be consulted. He masterfully elucidates the fact that matter, and every material object, are in real need of sheer "light" which is totally free of any sensibility; and the intuitive conception of man of his essence, is definitely far away from "sense perception". Your Excellency can also ask the scholars to consult the celebrated work of Sadru Mutaallihyn (May Allah be pleased with him, and May Allah unite him with the prophets and the pious) in transcendental philosophy, so that it will be clarified to you that the reality of knowledge is truly an entity divorced from matter, hence it is not restricted by the laws of matter.

I will no longer bore you with details, so I won't mention the names of the books of great thinkers, particularly Muhyiddin ibn Arabi. Should Your Excellency wish to fathom the subtleties presented by this great scholar, please dispatch some of the highly intelligent Soviet experts, who are well prepared on such issues, to Qum, so that in a few years, by the grace of Allah, they will acquire knowledge of these subtleties. Without this journey such awareness will not crystallize.

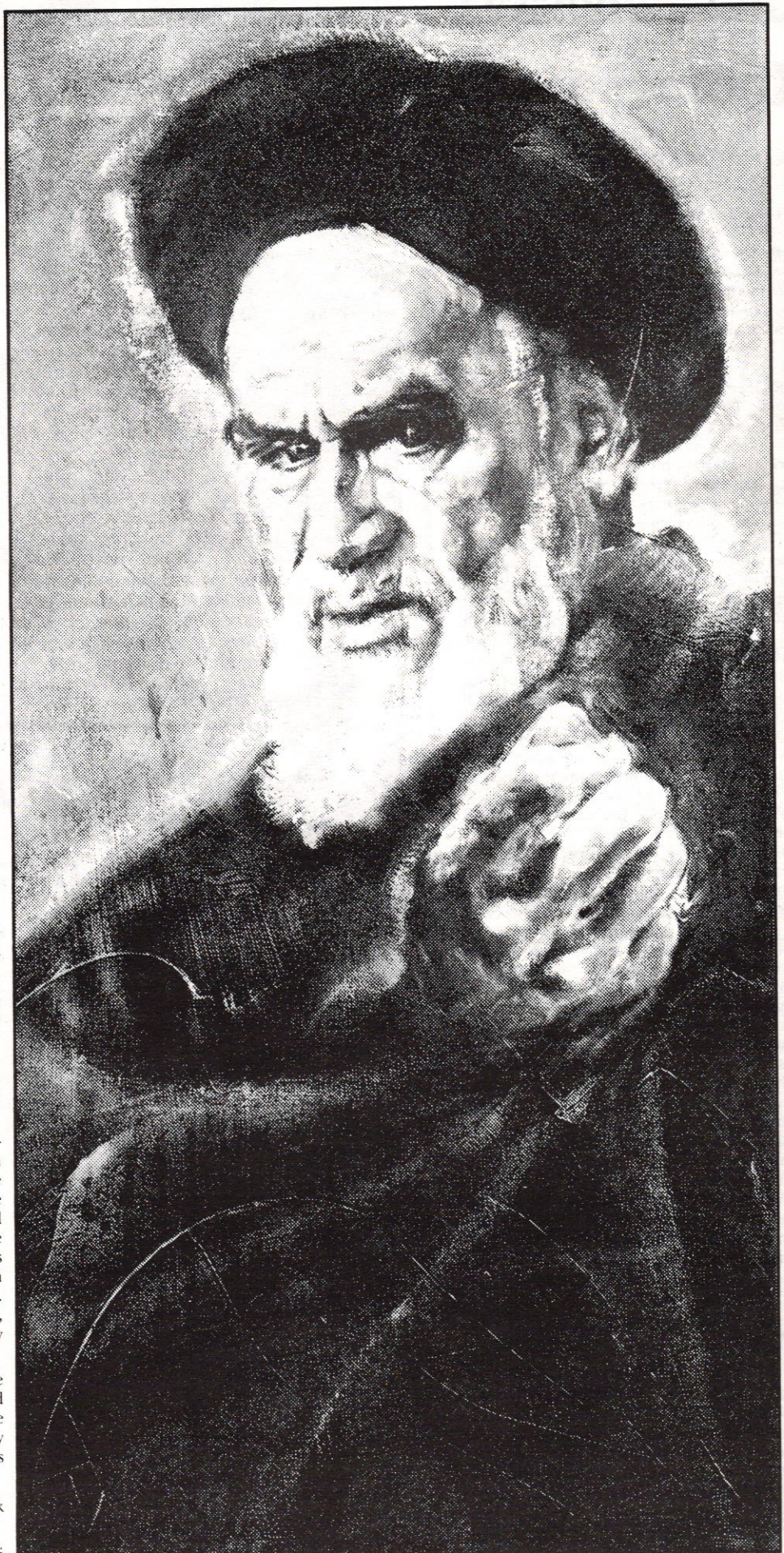
His Excellency Mr. Gorbachev, now after mentioning these points and preliminaries, I call on Your Excellency to seriously inquire about Islam, not because Islam and Muslims need your inquiry, but because it is the exalted and universal values of Islam that can give comfort and save all nations, and can resolve the basic problems confronting humanity. A profound investigation into Islam, could, for ever, rid you of the issues of Afghanistan and other problems of this type. We treat Muslims across the world as we do the Iranian Muslims, and furthermore we share common destinies. By granting relative religious freedom to some of the Soviet Republics, you practically proved that you no longer think that religion is the opiate of society. By the way, is the religion that has made Iran as adamant as a mountain against the Superpowers, the opiate of the society?

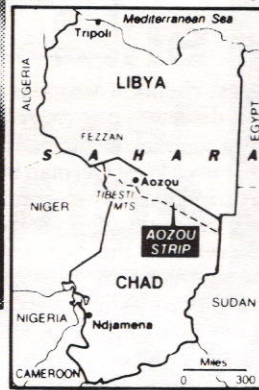
Is the religion that is desirous of the administration of justice in the world, and of freedom of man from material and spiritual shackles, the opiate of society? In fact, a religion that puts the material and spiritual capitals of Islamic and non-Islamic countries at the disposal of the Superpowers, and other powers, and also shouts at the people that its followers should refrain from politics is, indeed, the opiate of society. This is no longer the true religion but, in effect, it is called American-sponsored religion by Iranians.

In conclusion, I explicitly announce that the Islamic Republic of Iran, as the greatest and strongest base of the Islamic world, can fill the faith vacuum pervasive in your system. In any case, Iran, as in the past, believes in and respects good-neighborly and bilateral relations.

"Peace and blessings be upon those who seek the truth."

Ruhullah al-Mussavi al-Khomeini





LIBYA

Qaddafi's *Glasnost*

The Libyan leader launches his personal revolution. Human rights, private enterprise, and a new emphasis on Arab unity are back in, as the Colonel hopes to enjoy the security he has lacked for years.

Libyan Leader Colonel Muammar al-Qaddafi's so-called *Glasnost*, and otherwise dubbed "Green Perestroika" program—a tongue-in-cheek reference to the desert chief's mid-70s manifesto, the *Green Book*—is not so amusing to the West.

Wary and worried over Qaddafi's new affiliations with his North African neighbors he had been squabbling with for years—Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia and even Chad, against whom Libya mounted a lengthy, unpopular and unsuccessful war effort—veteran Western observers are not-so-quietly reminding those countries' leaders that Qaddafi has a penchant and a long-established track record for turning on his friends, just as quickly as he turns on his enemies.

The Maghreb countries of North Africa bordering Libya, weary of a severe, budget busting oil glut, expensive regional warfare, and high unemployment rates at home, are currently experiencing a general reform of socio-economic practices within their borders. They are all letting out an almost audible and certainly welcome sigh of relief at Qaddafi's moderation. But, while they greet the move as timely, previous experience with the vola-

tile Qaddafi, has taught them to sleep with one eye open.

After the Libyan strongman opened its borders back up to Tunisian citizens he had expelled three years earlier in 1985, the recently installed Tunisian President, Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali, remarked, "We've taken measures. It's very difficult with Qaddafi. You have to know how to talk to him. He's changed, and he hasn't changed."

A country that had more than enough oil, phosphate, grain, olive oil and textiles to provide a comfortable lifestyle for its 7.5 million people, Tunisia's emphasis on state projects rather than private investment, the erosion of a once healthy oil market and repeatedly low tourist turnouts, has created an economy that needs all the help it can get.

In fact, like many of Qaddafi's current gestures, Ben Ali paid more than lip service to rioting citizens demands for a better economy and more separation of party and state. He released more than 5,000 prisoners left over from the former regime of 85-year-old President Habib Bourguiba, immediately raised the minimum wage, and generally loosened the reins of government both politically and economically.

Morocco, on more than one occasion

SOCIALIST PEOPLE'S LIBYAN ARAB JAMAHIRIYA

Factfile

- Area:** 679,358 square mile
- Population:** 2.8 million (est.)
- Capital Cities:** Tripoli (Population 308,000) and Benghazi (Population 189,000) co-capitals.
- Climate:** Mediterranean, with summer and winter in a narrow 50-mile wide band along the coast; semi-arid in the region adjoining the coastal belt; arid and hot in the remainder Sahara Desert
- Neighboring Countries:** Algeria and Tunisia (West); Egypt (East); The Sudan (Southeast); Chad and Niger (South)
- Official Language:** Arabic
- Other Tongues:** Berber dialects; English, Italian
- Ethnic Background:** Arab and Berber
- Religion:** Islam
- Products:** Petroleum, peanuts, olive oil, citrus, fruits, almonds
- Currency:** Libyan Dinar (LD 0.30 = \$1.00)
- Former Colonial Status:** Turkish Colony (1553–1911); Italian Colony (1911–1943); British-French jurisdiction (1943–1951)
- Independence Date:** December 24, 1951
- National Day:** September 1, 1969
- Chief of State:** Col. Muammar al-Qaddafi, President
- National Flag:** Plain green field

Qaddafi himself, of course, benefits greatly from his role as the new, benign ruler. Like his counterparts in the Maghreb, he has considerably relaxed the revolutionary role of his earlier regime, released thousands of political prisoners and opened up the borders, allowing his people to travel unrestricted. He has also abolished the state-run import and export companies, giving private manufacturing companies the ability to establish direct connections to the world market.

Most importantly, for a people who were growing weary of a repressed society, a struggling economy and a losing war in Chad that was needlessly costing the lives of their young men, Qaddafi's decision to come to an agreement with Chad, disband the "classic army and traditional police," could very well have been actions that saved him from becoming the target of a coup d'etat.

The patience of the Libyan people, reportedly, was growing thin with their bombastic leader and his apparent "olive branch approach" that was timed as much for domestic consumption as for international consumption.

The main question remains, however, just how sincere is Qaddafi in this apparent "born again" role as peacemaker and diplomat? On the anniversary of the now infamous U.S. Navy air attack on Qaddafi's home that allegedly killed his young, adopted daughter, the Libyan leader appeared on ABC's "20-20" news program with Barbara Walters and blatantly made his peace pitch to both the Bush Administration and the American people. It wasn't long after that appearance, however, that CIA Director William H. Webster announced that Libya was building the



largest chemical weapons plant the CIA had detected anywhere. And, despite Libya's initial denials and the resulting furor over West German business involvement in that construction which almost took attention away from Qaddafi's involvement, the fact remains that the Islamic leader was the architect of a war production machine that could kill literally thousands of people in an agonizing and monstrous way.

But most importantly, even while Qaddafi was basking in the limelight of his new role as the more stable, mellow leader, anxious for world peace, the old Qaddafi found it difficult to stay hidden. Responding to a question regarding the possible improvement of U.S.-Libyan relations while visiting Tunisia during his round of talks with the other Maghreb heads of state, Qaddafi replied, "If America wants to appoint itself as an international policeman, it will have to pay the price." The price? "The lives of... American citi-



zens." And, if American embassies are attacked by individuals, "... who could control them? I can't."

That kind of response sounds a little more like the old Qaddafi than the peacemaker image he is attempting to show to the world. ■

Libyan

CHRONOLOGY

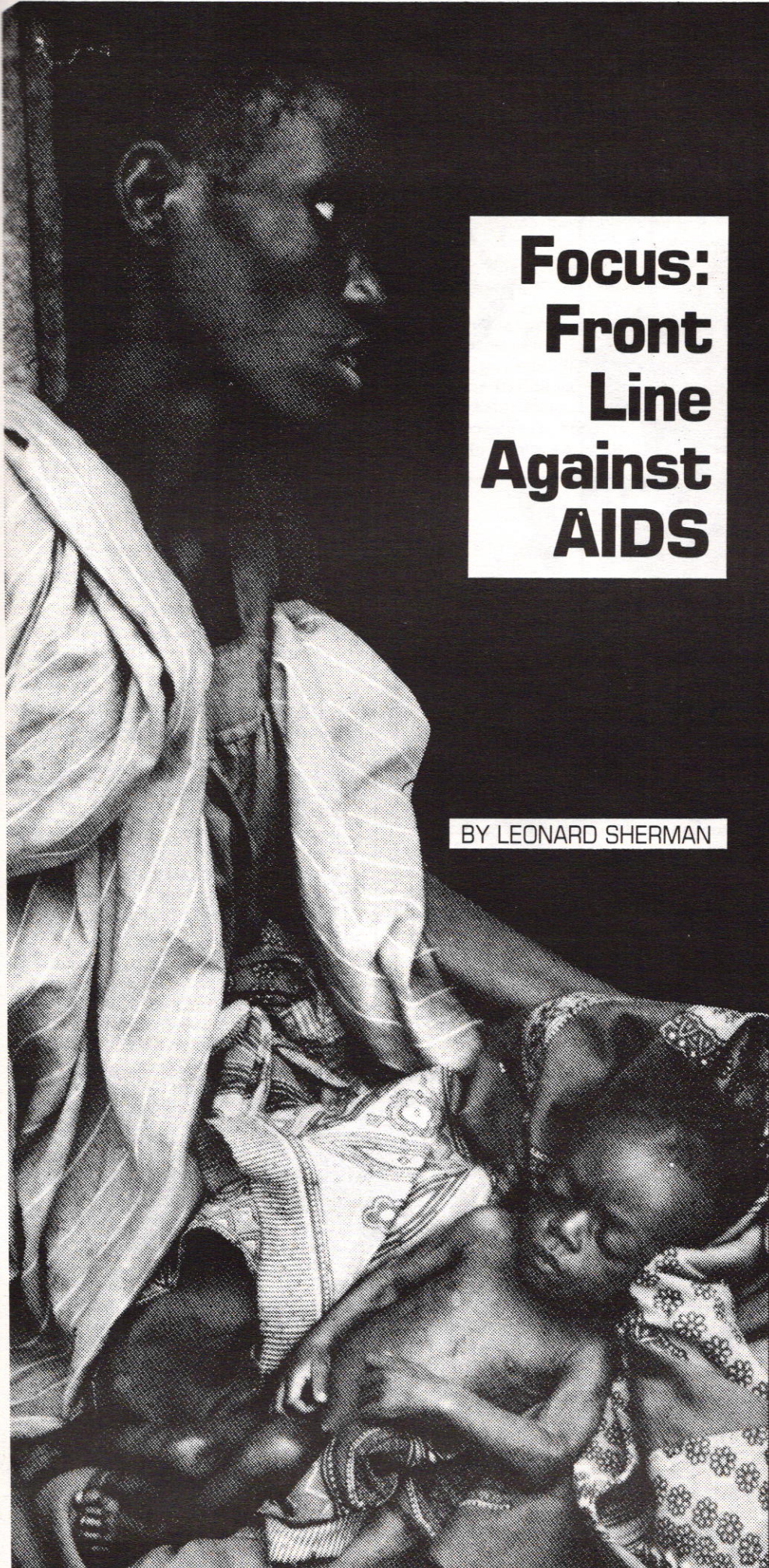
- 1969 - **September 1:** Libya's King Idris is ousted in a coup.
- **October 29:** Libya notifies the United States that Wheelus Air Base must be closed by Dec. 24; sends a similar message to Great Britain on El Adem and Tobruk bases.
- 1970 - **January 16:** Muammar al-Qaddafi becomes premier and defense minister.
- **June 11:** United States formally turns over Wheelus Air Base to Libya.
- **July 22:** U.S. State Department charges that Libya has received shipments of Soviet arms and tanks.
- 1972 - **February 6:** Qaddafi is reported to back 14 Palestinian terrorist organizations.
- **March 6:** Soviet-Libyan arms deal concluded; it includes purchase of MiG-23 jet fighter-bombers, and ground-to-ground missiles.
- 1973 - **November 23:** Qaddafi visits Paris. Egyptian newspaper *Al-Ahram's* editor Mohammed Hassanein Heykal discloses Qaddafi's efforts to obtain an atomic bomb from France.
- 1974 - **September 2:** Qaddafi's anniversary parade includes Soviet-made T-62 tanks and SAM-6 missiles. Report of French intelligence discovers that Qaddafi has turned over technical management of his Mukhabarat (foreign intelligence service) to East Germany.
- 1975 - **February 21:** Reported in Iran, 480 Soviet military advisers are in Libya to train Libyans in the use of SAM-2,

- SAM-3 and SAM-6 missiles, antitank and antiaircraft missiles, radar systems and T-62 tanks.
- **May 11:** Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin begins a state visit to Libya; \$2 billion arms deal signed; it eventually includes 24 MiG-23 fighters, 1,100 tanks, 800 armored personnel carriers and 50 batteries of surface-to-air missiles.
- **September 8:** Libya technically annexes northern Chad in order to obtain access to uranium deposits.
- 1976 - **September 9:** Tripoli issues new official maps showing Libya as owning more than 52,000 square miles of territory in Chad, Algeria and Niger.
- 1979 - **June 9:** Qaddafi tells *Newsweek* he is ready to join the Warsaw Pact.
- 1980 - **April 11:** Anti-Qaddafi journalist Mohammed Mustafa Ramadan is shot outside a London mosque.
- **May 10:** Abdullah Mohammed al-Kazim, an anti-Qaddafi activist, is shot in a Rome cafe. He is the sixth Libyan opposition figure killed in two months in assassinations in Beirut, London and Rome.
- **September 25:** It is revealed that Libyan jets have intercepted U.S. aircraft off the Libyan coast on two occasions.
- 1981 - **March 10:** The West German Orbital Raketten-Aktiengesellschaft (OTRAG) company announces that it has successfully launched a rocket from its new test site in Libya.
- **May 7:** United States orders all Lib-

yan diplomats expelled.

- **August 19:** Two U.S. Navy F-14 Tomcats are shocked by two Libyan MiGs, the MiGs are shot down over the Gulf of Sidra.
- **December 3:** United States intelligence sources claim that President Reagan, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger and other high ranking officials are targets for five Libyan-trained assassins sent to the United States.
- 1982 - **November 17:** Fugitive ex-CIA agent Edwin P. Wilson is convicted on seven charges in the first of four trials he faces for aiding and abetting Qaddafi.
- 1983 - **October 10:** Libya seizes 35 French citizens, demands that France release a Libyan being held for extradition to Italy to face murder charges. On Oct. 29, France yields to Libya.
- 1984 - **January 5:** Qaddafi threatens boycotts against France, which had gone into Chad to protect it from Libya, unless the French government changes its policy toward Libya and Chad.
- **April 17:** A gunman firing an automatic weapon outside a People's Bureau (embassy) in London kills Police Constable Yvonne Fletcher and wounds 11 Libyan students protesting the hanging of two students in Libya after a kangaroo court trial by a Revolutionary Committee.
- **May 27:** Tripoli hosts a meeting of terrorist leaders.

- **August 31:** Libya approves a treaty of unity with Morocco; Washington is shocked by the announcement.
- **October 21:** The Libyan news agency announces that negotiations with the Soviets are under way for the construction of a nuclear power plant in Libya.
- 1985 - **April 23:** Following the overthrow of Gen. Gaafar Numeiri, Sudanese junta representatives sign an agreement in Tripoli as the first step toward the restoration of relations and cooperation between the two countries.
- **October 10:** Qaddafi begins a state visit to Moscow, his first since 1981; he quarrels with the Soviet leadership and stands up Mikhail Gorbachev, Politburo members and foreign diplomats at a state banquet.
- 1986 - **January 7:** President Reagan announces economic sanctions against Libya and orders all Americans residing in Libya to leave.
- **March 15:** Qaddafi opens Tripoli's Second International General Conference for a World Forum to Combat Imperialism, Zionism, Racism, Reaction and Fascism, which is attended by representatives of 300 communist parties, revolutionary and terrorist organizations, terrorist solidarity groups and similar organizations. Qaddafi calls on the group to mount a collective effort to attack the United States.



Focus: Front Line Against AIDS

BY LEONARD SHERMAN

Poverty and malnutrition have long been the lot of much of Africa. Wars take a terrible toll. The ancient scourges of malaria, tuberculosis and cholera outlast all who fight them. And three out of every 10 babies born on the Black Continent do not survive their first four years.

It has become a cliché to call AIDS a plague, but for Africa, no other word seems quite as apt. In an eleven-nation swath stretching from the Congo to Tanzania, a minimum of 50,000 people have died from the disease since its first confirmed appearance in Africa in the late 1970s, according to an admittedly conservative estimate by the World Health Organization (WHO). Privately, some AIDS researchers say the death rate to date is several hundred thousand, and they extrapolate that as many as five million Africans are now carrying the virus. Francis Barin of the Bretonneau Hospital in Tours, France, volunteers: "... It's difficult using these words, but in Africa we risk an apocalypse."

If apocalypse is the right word, medical research is only beginning to comprehend it. The epidemiology on AIDS in Africa is still in its infancy. There is not enough money for a full-blown study. The samples are too small, and even conclusions about mortality are imprecise at best. AIDS increases vulnerability to malaria and other diseases and misattribution of the cause of death is possible—even likely. The sheer size and diversity of Africa also make for difficulties in tracking the epidemic. "Africa is a continent not a country," says Dr. James Curran, director of the AIDS program at the US Centers for Disease Control in Atlanta.

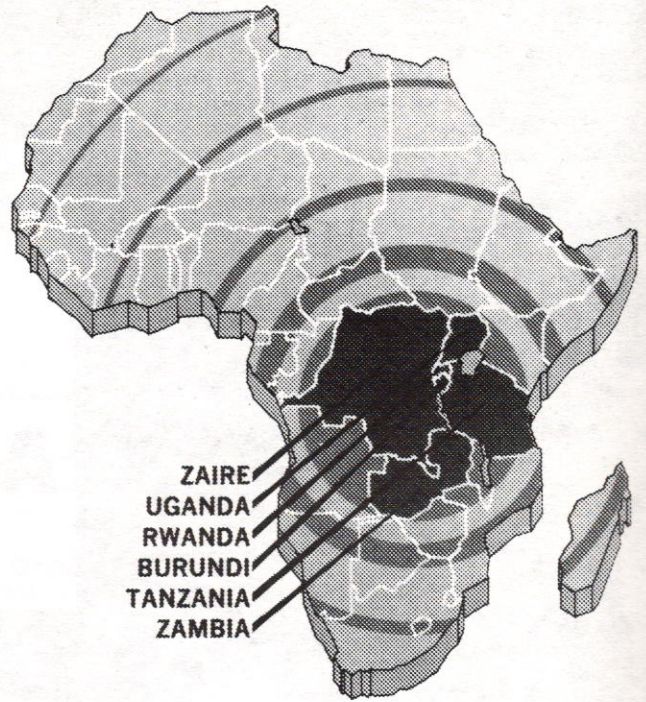
Questions among Western scientists about the origin of AIDS—partly because of the political sensitivity of the question, and partly because many scientists regard it as unproductive—are rarely discussed. The important thing to involved scientists is not where the epidemic started, but how it is spreading.

Indeed, Jonathan Mann, director of the World Health Organization's global AIDS program believes that "every era has the disease of its time. Plague and syphilis arose from the opening of trade routes with Asia and the Americas, and the sudden contact with a part of the world that had never been in contact previously—the 'global village' theory. To the Western man in the street, however, the origin of AIDS seems important, because he has been told that it is only a matter of time before the pattern of the disease in the United States and Europe reaches the stage that Africa is at now.

Many Africans are convinced that AIDS was introduced by Europeans or Americans. Some Zairois firmly believe that the disease was brought in by rich American sports fans who came to Kinshasa for the Ali-Foreman fight in 1974. Others swear that it was introduced in canned food donated by developing countries.

Theories abound about an artificial ori-

Ugandan barmaid and son.



Women wait in line for AIDS test in Tanzania (left); Central African countries affected the most by AIDS (right).

gin: AIDS arose from a lab mutation of the yellow-fever vaccine, or from an accident in a recombinant-DNA experiment; the Soviet theory, once widely disseminated and now disavowed, claimed that the virus causing the disease was developed in a germ-warfare lab in Maryland. According to one German magazine, AIDS was introduced into Africa by American soldiers on shore leave in Mombasa, on the Kenyan coast.

Many concerned AIDS researchers fear that the AIDS pandemic in Africa is a nightmare vision of the future of the West. The discovery, beginning in 1983, that an AIDS epidemic more advanced than anywhere else in the world was raging in Central Africa, and that the main mode of transmission was heterosexual intercourse, created panic in the United States and Europe, where the disease had been confined to largely small, identifiable, risk groups—male homosexuals, IV-drug users and hemophiliacs. Many Western scientists however, were convinced that the deadly disease started in Central Africa, which was indeed the “epicenter.” They therefore described it as the “frontline in humanity’s struggle against AIDS.”

The problem with identifying the source of AIDS was compounded by the fact that there were at least two viruses which have been known to produce acquired immune deficiency in humans: HIV-1, first isolated at the Pasteur Institute in Paris in 1983, and reported in 127 countries in 1985, and HIV-2.

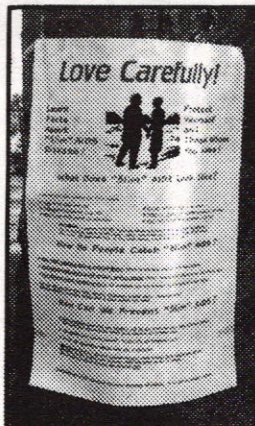
The case for an African origin of HIV-2

is fairly strong. One strain is thought to be 70% genetically identical with a virus found in green monkeys, the most common simian on the continent. The theory is that the virus crossed over from monkeys to humans. Whether the ancestor of HIV in fact passed from monkeys to humans and, if so, the transmission was a single isolated event or recurred, were two of the many unanswered questions about AIDS.

Green monkeys, the alleged natural reservoir of HIV-2, are found throughout the African AIDS belt, where they live in close contact with humans, raiding plantations,

sneaking into backyards, being raised as pets and in many places being killed and eaten. Ingestion is unlikely to have been the transmission mode, because the virus was unstable and quickly killed by heat. More probable would have been transmission due to an accident in butchering, or blood from a monkey seeping into someone’s cut.

Green monkeys can be vicious when cornered, but biting is not an efficient mode of transmission either, since there is not much virus in saliva. The possibility that the virus had been transmitted through



AIDS Warning Poster



Ghanaian prostitutes soliciting in a bar.

sexual contact with monkeys, though fashionable to a few, is highly unlikely. Bestiality is not unknown in Africa, but it is rare, and besides, green monkeys are no larger than groundhogs, much too small even for a pedophile.

Perhaps some time ago, within the last hundred years, HIV-1 crossed over from monkeys as HIV-2 may have. Or, perhaps it evolved from HIV-2. Indeed, scientists intimate that evidence suggests the presence of a *cloud* of strains arrayed between HIV-1 and HIV-2. Possibly, two formerly isolated human viruses came into contact during the widespread turmoil in Africa in the 1970s, and produced a third, lethal one. Mutation could have accelerated in frequency and lethality, faster perhaps than even the flu virus, adapting to growth in sexual fluids, gaining virulence. Also conceivable is that a fully pathogenic (disease-causing) virus percolated in some isolated rural population left undetected for years. The resulting deaths would appear as ordinary dysentery, fever, pneumonia, meningitis or cancer. In fact, it is not inconceivable that the virus could have been established in a population with a natural resistance to it, as has been suggested by Luc Montagnier at the Pasteur Institute.

During the late sixties and early seventies, the populations of eleven cities in Central Africa mushroomed to over a million, and there was tremendous upheaval—civil wars, rebellions, coup d'états. That was the most logical time for the emergence of HIV from its rural hiding place to the fertile urban African setting, where new levels of promiscuity coupled with a contraband utilize genital tattooing, involving the repeated poking of unsterilized needles into the labia and vaginal wall.

The only direct evidence so far of scarification being implicated in the transmission of AIDS, is a study of forty children from two to fourteen years old, done in Kinshasa, Zaire in 1986. But in fact, throughout Africa, AIDS is markedly absent from this age group and not noticeably present in the rural areas where scarification is prevalent, so the practice does not appear to be playing a significant role in transmission. The virus apparently doesn't survive long when exposed on a knife or razor.

The worst hit countries in Africa, all touch on the Great Rift Valley of East-Central Africa: Zambia, Zaire, Burundi, Rwanda, Uganda and Tanzania. One estimate of seropositivity—the possession of antibodies to AIDS-causing HIV virus—is roughly five percent of the region's population. Kenya, too, is afflicted, and to a lesser degree Angola, the Congo, Zimbabwe and Malawi. From East-Central Africa, the disease has reached both coasts and is spreading into West Africa. Cuban soldiers fighting in Angola, brought it home with them, according to exiled Cuban doctors.

Guinea-Bissau is one of the ten poorest countries in the world. In the five centuries

since Portugal carved this sliver the size of Indiana out of the bulge of West Africa, they did little except enslave the indigenous population and ship them to Cape Verde and the New World. The only industry to remain when the Portuguese finally pulled out in 1974 was a brewery.

In the 15 years since independence, Guinea-Bissau has traveled only a short distance down the road to modern statehood. Its infrastructure was inadequate, with virtually no private sector, a floating currency nobody wanted, and only two exportable products—cashews and peanuts. Most of the country's 900,000 population, reside in villages known as tabancas and the traditional way of life remained remarkably intact.

Interestingly enough, the Guineans seem to exhibit a surprising lack of ill feel-

the AIDS strains found in Europe and the United States. By far, the highest rates of HIV-1 infection are found in Central Africa, further suggesting it has been there longer. Moreover, the first identifiable cases in Europe, during the late 1970s, occurred among Africans who had come to Europe or Europeans who had been to Africa.

HIV-2, mostly restricted to Western Africa, seems to have been around somewhat longer than HIV-1, and yet, unexpectedly, has produced fewer cases of AIDS. Most recorded cases of this strain occur in Guinea-Bissau, a small destitute country located south of Senegal. It is possible that AIDS had been present in Guinea-Bissau for decades, but nobody knew it because the disease had not been identified. On the other hand, new



Emaciated patients from slim disease in a Uganda AIDS ward.

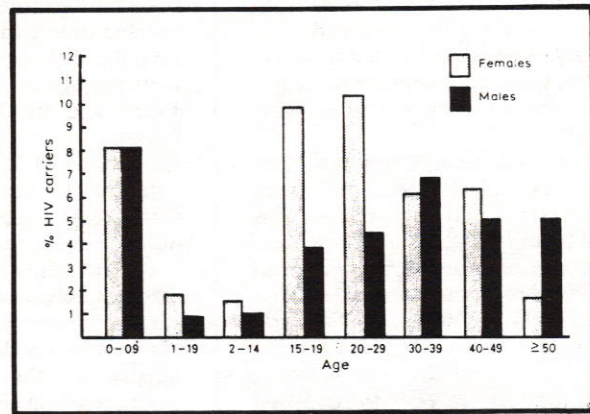
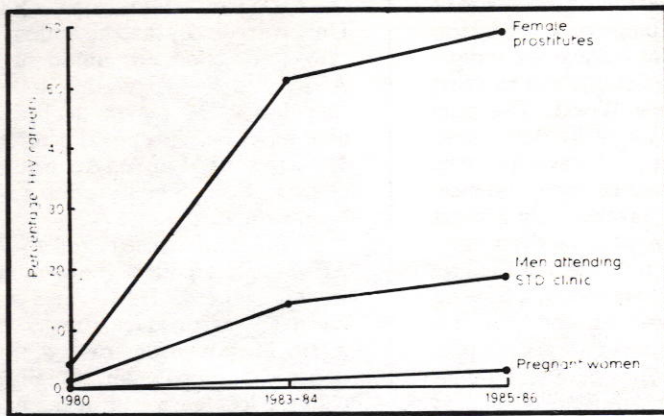
ing toward their oppressors, and it was to Portugal they turned in 1978-79 when the first symptoms of chronic diarrhea, profound weight loss, fever, tuberculosis and other respiratory ailments—none of which would respond to treatment—began to appear at the Simao Mendes Hospital in Bissau, the country's largest hospital. comittant breakdown of health services enabled it to spread quickly. Obliging indigenous conditions—the ongoing war in Uganda, the good road system in Zambia—the population density of Rwanda and the sexual anarchy in Zaire—amplified the proliferation throughout the continent.

Certainly, there are a number of rather compelling circumstantial reasons for believing that HIV-1 originated in Africa. For one thing, the African strains are older and more genetically diverse than

viruses appear all the time, particularly in tropical environments similar to Africa, where over six lethal viruses have surfaced in the past 30 years.

Once the disease gained a foothold, it spread rapidly among Africans in the same way it has among homosexuals in the United States: through sex with multiple partners. Surveys of African AIDS patients in Rwanda and Belgium found that they had had an average of 32 sex partners. Huge reservoirs of infection exist along trade routes connecting the hard-hit countries of the AIDS belt.

Ritual scarification is a tribal ritual that, it has been suggested, also may be transmitting AIDS in Africa. Cuts are made with a shared, unsterilized instrument such as hooked thorn or a razor during group rites of passage. Besides decorative



The growth of the AIDS virus in Africa (left). The incidence of the virus in different age groups—both men and women.

scars, medicinal or curative incisions are made on the back or abdomen to allow passage of the “black blood” sucked out through a cow horn as treatment for malaria, rheumatism, or localized pain. In Uganda, Tutsi children receive three small parallel cuts on their chests to protect them from childhood diseases. Some Compounding doctors’ efforts to control the spread of AIDS in African nations such as Guinea Bissau, was the fact that many of the patients and general population believed the “iras” (spirits) were the cause of sickness and death.

Uganda also ranks as one of the least-developed countries in the world, now being devastated by AIDS. Civil war ravaged the country for over two decades, and intertribal conflict for centuries. It was always one of the world’s chronic trouble-spots, much like Northern Ireland. And then came AIDS.

Nowhere is the disease more rampant than in the Rakai region of southwest Uganda. Rakai’s trade links with neighboring countries appear to have joined it to Africa’s AIDS belt. The first such AIDS cases appeared in the scruffy ports of

Lake Victoria, from which women traders sailed down to Tanzania, often repaying business debts with sexual favors. Since then, wealthy traders from Kyotera have all developed “slim” (African slang for AIDS). Local superstitions say that the disease is a curse bestowed by Tanzanians on Ugandans for refusing to honor debts. People even cite an example of a trader who caught “slim”, repaid the money he owed across the border, and was cured.

Another popular theory is that the disease came with the invading Tanzanian forces who ousted Idi Amin Dada in 1979, or that the disease was caused by “fall-out” after the shelling. But Uganda’s trade link with Tanzania provides a more feasible explanation, as traders are frequently promiscuous, spending large sums of money on prostitutes when they travel. Rakai thus harbors Uganda’s worst AIDS epidemic, but the disease is growing increasingly at an alarming rate around the country.

In Uganda, AIDS has gained much coverage in the local press. The AIDS scare emphasizes the need for government publicity to release correct information. The Health Ministry has already distributed

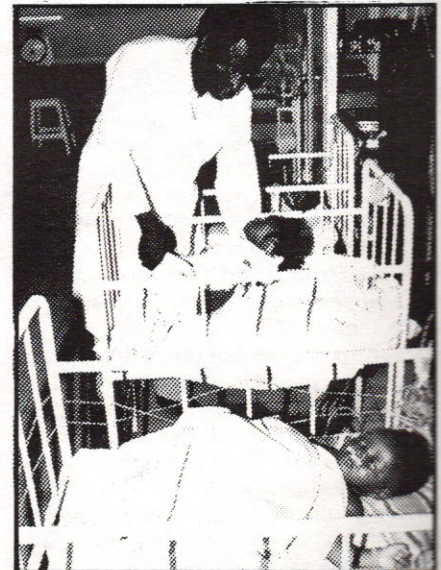
posters to hospitals and dispensaries, reading, “Warning. Advice on the (Slim) AIDS disease,” and “List of precautions such as limiting sexual partners, preferably to one.” The posters also recommend the use of condoms during sexual intercourse, but these are not available in Uganda.

The information is translated into local languages. Publicity, it seems, is the only way to discourage promiscuity and stop the AIDS rate from increasing.

AIDS in Kenya has become a question of nationalism and, mindful of its responsibility to the development of Pan-Africanism, the Kenyan press has concentrated on the origins debate, solidly denying the disease began in Africa.

Zaire, a country of over 30 million people, has had thousands of AIDS deaths—but its government does not acknowledge the disease and does not report to WHO officials. Ironically, it is estimated that every day over 15 new cases of AIDS are diagnosed at Mama Yemo Hospital in Kinshasa, the capital’s main hospital and the largest in Central Africa. Tragically, as bad as the problem is, many seem not to

Continued on page 60



Husband and wife stricken by AIDS in Uganda (left), Baby AIDS victims in Zaire (right).

AIDS THEORIES

From Outer Space To Soviet Disinformation

As the disease Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) was spreading around the world, a number of bizarre explanations for the affliction have been advanced.

Some religious groups felt that the disease was evidence of divine displeasure with mankind's sexual sins. But perhaps the most bizarre was the hypothesis of two British scientists at the University College of Cardiff, Sir Fred Hoyle and Professor Chandra Wickramasinghe. They felt that AIDS was brought to earth from outer space by a passing comet. Clouds contami-

in southern Zaire as a test of biological warfare.

As that theory had taken root, the idea continued to echo through the African press with increasing frequency. A Zimbabwe magazine published an article entitled: "AIDS: USA Home-Made Evil; Not Imported from Africa." *Le Devoir*, a Senegalese monthly, printed a similar article under the headline: "AIDS: Professor Claims Yankee Business, Not Monkey Business."

When it became clear that the story had a life of its own, Surgeon General C.

Everett Koop warned the Soviets that if the allegations didn't stop, the United States would refrain from sharing information on AIDS research. The stories virtually vanished, but soon they were back: the *Novosti* press agency reiterated them, spawning a new wave of reports.

Complaints raised by Secretary of State George P. Shultz about Soviet discussion of the AIDS issue, in a meeting with Soviet leader Mikhail S. Gorbachev, prompted *Izvestia* to publish an article by two Soviet scientists that distanced the Soviet Academy of Sciences from this position. Roald Sagdeyev and Vitali Goldansky rushed to say that they have protested the publication by Soviet newspapers of the germ warfare claim.

In spite of the disavowal by the two Soviet scientists of those allegations, several incidents of similar disinformation recurred. The United States complained bitterly. "No more lies, no more disinformation," promised Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to Charles Wick, head of the United States Information Agency (USIA). But a few months later, USIA officials were again trying to quell the latest wave of unsubstantiated reports around the world that Americans were responsible for the AIDS epidemic.

Whether through wishful thinking or the success of the Soviet campaign, many Africans believed that AIDS entered Africa from the West. In Conakry, Guinea, a United States Embassy official complained that he was making little headway persuading the public that AIDS was not imported from the United States. ■



nated by the extra-terrestrial virus, they claimed, had produced AIDS-filled rain which infected humanity through cuts in the feet of the "mainly barefoot populations" of underdeveloped third world nations.

Trying to get as much propaganda benefit out of the issue as possible, the Soviet Union claimed that the virus was a product of US Army biological weapons research gone amok. The story that AIDS was invented in a Pentagon lab first appeared in 1983 in *The Patriot*, a pro-Soviet newspaper in India. Since then, it has been reported repeatedly in the Soviet press and around the world.

According to State Department reports, Africa proved to be a particularly fertile ground for this Soviet campaign seeking to attribute AIDS to American military germ warfare research. In 1986, monitors in Washington spotted the allegation in the African press for the first time. That year, the press in 10 sub-Saharan countries carried the germ warfare charge. And in the first six months of 1987, 11 countries repeated it.

At one point, Radio Moscow warned Kenyans of AIDS-infected American sailors during a United States Navy visit to Mombasa. Then Radio Moscow broadcast that the United States was spreading AIDS

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Emperor Bokassa I

BY ILAN ALDOUBY

Jean-Bedel Bokassa I, former Emperor of what is now the Central African Republic, was ousted by a French-led coup d'etat in 1979 because of his cruelty and greed and an attempt at rapprochement to Libya's Colonel Muammar al-Qaddafi. Bokassa's early years, his 14-year reign of terror and the long list of atrocities he committed personally, were the subject of the first installment. This segment of the Bokassa PORTRAIT recounts the deposed tyrant's megalomania and decadence, his financial excesses and lavish display of opulence that led to his ouster and exile to France. It details the bewildering story of his voluntary return to the CAR last year to stand trial, his trial and sentence to life imprisonment.

The Harem

How could such an obvious psychotic have stayed in power for so long? Bokassa ruled ruthlessly over a rotting Fourth World empire. Some of his former collaborators claimed that he had been permanently deranged by the loss of his parents. Acting under a repetition compulsion, he would kill by caning his victims to death in exactly the manner his father was murdered. Others attributed his viciousness to alcoholism. And, in fact, Bokassa drank heavily—a fifth of Chivas Regal a day—and always had a servant standing by to refill his glass. Some of his former military colleagues pointed to his paranoic behavior, childlike comportment and inability to follow one train of thought as typical of someone in the tertiary stage of syphilis. Yet Central Africans expected a certain amount of arbitrary cruelty from their leader. Same as a traditional tribal chief who must deal quickly and decisively with his subjects, Bokassa was expected to keep his people in a state of constant fear in order to muster their respect.

The Emperor, a renowned womanizer, did in fact muster the respect of an entire harem. He had several official wives and mistresses, whom he kept under guard, in virtual imprisonment, in separate villas. There were eight love nests on the first floor of his Berengo Palace near Bangui. He also employed a bevy of black and white secretaries, a *regiment feminin*, and a studio of seamstresses from whom he could choose his mistresses. The main task of his Chief of Protocol was to provide him women. Like a medieval despot, Bokassa would roam the capital in his official motorcade to choose one of the local maidens he then ordered brought to his chambers at night. He would often cruise the *quartiers populaires* of Bangui with a suitcase full of money, looking for women. He had a special weakness for teenage girls, whose parents would get a few thousand dollars, a motorbike or even a house for letting him have his way.

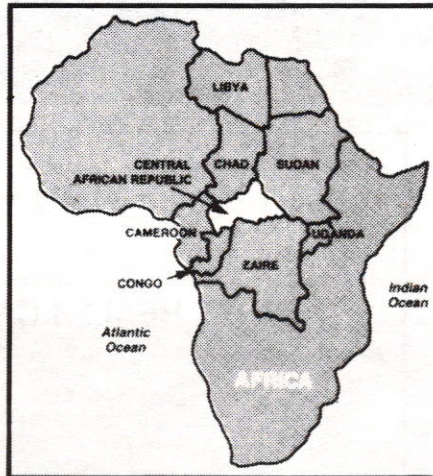
Yet Bokassa never missed a chance to brag about being a devout family man. His first wife, Catherine, was a Zairean who had worked as a stewardess for Air Zaire; she became his Empress. After Bokassa's downfall, Catherine left him and sought asylum in Switzerland. She took with her the two imperial crowns, settled in a lavish Geneva mansion and is now selling

the crown jewels one diamond at a time.

Bokassa built his Kolinga Villa in the mid-1970s to house his number-two wife, "La Roumaine", a blonde Rumanian cabaret singer. But towards the end, he rarely even visited her. One day a maid, Adele Mokossi-Tendel, informed Bokassa that "La Roumaine" was having an affair with her security guards and one of the other maids, Martine N'Douta. Bokassa's Political Police searched Martine's belongings and found an *album d'amour* full of explicit pictures. The Emperor ordered the guards killed; three of them were summarily shot in Banqui's infamous Ngaragba Prison. The fourth survived, was freed after the coup, and testified at the trial. "La Roumaine" was allowed to leave the country. Her whereabouts are unknown.

The Two Martines

The powerful, despot Bokassa had an enormous family, of which he formally recognized only 50 offsprings. While fighting with the French in Vietnam, Bokassa had fathered a daughter; he knew her only by the name Martine and that in 1970 she would have been seventeen. Bokassa suddenly decided to find



his daughter and launched an all-out diplomatic effort in Saigon. However, there was no shortage of 17-year-old, Francasian Martines in Vietnam, as in 1953 the French movie actress Martine Carol had been at the height of her success and many French soldiers stationed in Saigon named their children with local women after her. The French Embassy forwarded a stack of photographs from which finally, in November, Bokassa announced his choice.

A Martine, who had been found selling cigarettes in one of the city's slums, was flown to Bangui, where a tearful Bokassa gave her a full state welcome at the airport and took her into his family. But this Martine was not the real one. A month later, a second Martine, with the right identification and the right scar, surfaced and was given the same emotional airport welcome in Bangui. The false Martine was allowed



Emperor Bokassa I

to remain in the Bokassa family and both Martines were well provided for. Bokassa's real daughter married a doctor, while the other Martine was paired with her adopted father's Commander of the Presidential Guard, Fidel Obrou.

In February 1976, the day after Obrou had been shot for having attempted to assassinate his father-in-law, his widow, who was in advanced pregnancy, entered the hospital and was put up in the presidential suite, where the real Martine's husband delivered her son. Several days later the baby died under mysterious circumstances. A nurse remembered she was told by the mother that Bokassa had said the baby would have to be killed, if it turned out to be a boy. The doctor, Bokassa's son-in-law, had administered poison on the Emperor's orders. The two Martines and their families disappeared after the coup. Their current whereabouts are unknown.

Boundless Greed

Bokassa's sadistic excesses were outshined only by his boundless greed. He maintained not only the Berengo Imperial Palace and the regal villa at Kolinga, but also seven additional "official residences" around the country, many of which sported Olympic swimming pools, and one, in his native village, a private airstrip.

Among his private estates were coffee and manioc plantations, palm groves and cotton farms. Bokassa's court maintained a huge fleet of limousines and sports cars, a private zoo and wild animal menageries.

With funds from the national treasury, Bokassa set up the largest industrial complex in the country at his Berengo Palace. There government employees turned out furniture, buttons, records, bricks, and school uniforms, which he sold tax-free to the state. He even cornered monopolies on his country's diamonds, ivory, coffee, and insecticides. When General Charles De Gaulle gave him a DC-4 as a present, he sold it to Air Afrique, waited until they refurbished it, and when it landed in Bangui,



SDECE commandos make last preparations before departure for the CAR.

seized it and then rented it to the state for his own official use.

His private enterprises flourishing, Bokassa set about depleting the CAR treasury by stocking diamonds, jewelry and some \$15 million in Swiss bank accounts. All transfers and transactions were made officially, and under Swiss law legally, as Bokassa was a head of state who could make such deposits at whim.

The Coup

In Paris, Alexander de Marenches, chief of the Service de Documentation Extérieure et de Contre-Espionage (SDECE), the French CIA, was exasperated. The reports he was receiving from covert sources in the imperial palace and the army as well as diplomatic dispatches from the French Embassy in Bangui pointed to a mounting economic crisis, increasing human rights violations, and an undercover Libyan presence. Marenches saw the writing on the wall. It was time to topple Bokassa and replace him with a politician loyal to France.

The primary aim of the French intelligence services was to help ride the CAR of its Emperor and to prevent the Libyans from gaining a foothold in Central Africa. Qaddafi's political and military master plan for the region was well known by the SDECE. He was still fighting to occupy and Libyanize neighboring Chad, and right beneath it, strategically located, was the CAR. A political victory there would give Qaddafi access to the Gulf of Guinea and an ability to link up with communist Ethiopia. From there the road was open to the Horn of Africa and ultimately the Red Sea. The success of such a political maneuver would have given

Qaddafi access to a major part of the African continent and would have helped fulfill his dreams of grandeur.

Sometime in the late summer, Marenches briefed the Prime Minister Valerie Giscard D'Estaing on the worsening of conditions in the CAR. Knowing that Giscard had been very friendly with the Emperor, had visited him almost every year, and had participated in Bokassa's showy elephant hunts, Marenches tried to present the bad news somewhat delicately. "The CAR affair is turning bad, Mr. Prime Minister. Bokassa is misbehaving. He has become an alcoholic. And they tell the most unbelievable stories about him; they accuse him of cannibalism. We even looked into the refrigerator of his presidential palace for human flesh but could not find any." Marenches urged Giscard to disassociate himself from Bokassa, stop participating in big game hunting forays and refuse any of the Emperor's little industrial diamond gifts he usually showered upon French visiting dignitaries. Giscard promised to ignore Bokassa's overtures and approved the planning of a preventive intervention strike.

Soon after the meeting, SDECE agents reported that a Libyan delegation had arrived in Bangui. A search of their hotel rooms by French agents revealed documentary and photographic evidence that they belonged to Service Action, Libya's Special Forces.

The SDECE Centrale was alarmed. The Libyan CAR conspiracy, coupled with a series of successes in the Chad war, were detrimental to French interests in the region and could deal a heavy blow to Paris' influence among its fam-

ily of black francophile African nations. "If we wanted to avoid another military conflict or perhaps even a real war," later wrote Marenches, "we would have had to move fast. We had to undertake a surgical operation. The time had come to replace our Cher Bokassa."

That night Marenches rushed to the Hotel de Matignon, the Prime Minister's residence. Having explained the urgency of such late night meeting, Giscard D'Estaing received him at once. Marenches wasted no time. "The Libyan presence in Bangui does not represent a great danger in itself, Marenches conceded, "but suppose later we find a battalion of Cubans or a detachment of East Germans in the CAR, like in Angola or Ethiopia. We can't wait any longer, Mr. Prime Minister," he blurted. "This is war. So what do we do now?" Giscard D'Estaing approved the covert operation that would bring about a coup d'etat in Bangui.

The SDECE had anticipated the need to overthrow Emperor Bokassa I and had planned a French-inspired coup d'etat months before. Its African departments had been instructed to provide geopolitical analyses, political and psychological reports, and up-to-the-minute strategic information. The Covert Operations Department was ordered to recruit and train undercover personnel for a mission in Bangui; they organized and rehearsed the details for weeks thereafter.

The operation involved the paramilitary Special Forces unit of the SDECE, the Paras (paratrooper units of the French Foreign Legion) and commando units stationed in neighboring Chad. Internally, the CAR mission was

known by the code-name Caban, but the unofficial inter-service code-name was Operation Barracuda.

At the beginning of September 1979, information relayed by informers at the Imperial Court warned the SDECE that Bokassa was leaving for a state visit to Libya on the 20th. A pact between the two countries was imminent. The Centrale now monitored his personal calls to Qaddafi, and secured the exact itinerary and travel arrangements of his entourage.

When the final intervention plan had been perfected, Marenches decided it was time to pay a personal visit to the former CAR president, David Dacko, whom Bokassa had deposed almost fifteen years earlier and who had lived in Paris exile ever since. A number of opposition groups had sprang up among CAR exiles and rallied around Dacko. Paris wanted a return to Republican rule in the CAR and needed a Francophile president. "Dacko," later wrote Marenches, "had been elected democratically by the people of the Central African Republic, and had been toppled by a military coup. . . He was a political refugee who had served us well in the past. He was considered the right person for the job."

Marenches arrived unannounced at David Dacko's Rive Gauche apartment. The former president was not too happy to see him. He listened nonetheless silently to the situation briefing offered by the chief of the Service.

"Bokassa must go," Marenches finally blurted. "We are ready to help you seize power." He suggested that the time was ripe for Dacko to regain the presidency of the CAR. "Do you want to participate in an operation that would free your country of this alcoholic minityrant," he asked. "Do you want to bring a little democracy to your country?"

Dacko was not thrilled. He hesitated to commit himself to such a monumental endeavor. He lived comfortably in Paris and was tired on internecine struggles and African political intrigues. He was neither young nor healthy and therefore not too eager to take any physical risks.

Marenches did not relent. He first detailed France's commitment to CAR's well-being, and did not fail to remind Dacko how much he himself owed France—and his own country. Marenches urged, prodded and finally demanded Dacko's collaboration. He did not relent until the former president finally gave in. He would go to Bangui supported by French

troops and do what Marenches would tell him to do.

The coup engineered by the French intelligence service was a *fait accompli*, Marenches explained. He then asked Dacko to prepare a statement he would make upon arrival in Bangui. "You must tell them that the French are not colonialists trying to re-conquer an old colony. . . France does not really want anything for the help extended. . . We just do not want the CAR to fall under Libyan influence." Dacko was to submit his speech for confirmation to Marenches. He did so a number of times, each time to the dissatisfaction of the French. "Dacko was intellectually impaired," later commented Marenches. "We had to help him a bit. . ."

About a week before the date set for the coup, the SDECE assembled the chosen of its elite paramilitary unit—some 150 men—for a dress rehearsal in an actual operational environment. A Bangui airport set had been prepared for the occasion, and detailed topography maps of Bangui were set up in a War Room. The exact locations of military hangars, two heavy machine gun emplacements and a detachment of guards were pinpointed; airport procedures, schematics of the runway and its lighting system, and constant weather reports were studied minutely. The SDECE had lists of names, personal histories and exact schedules of all airport employees, particularly control tower personnel, and each and every soldier and officer assigned to the Bangui International Airport. They possessed exact details of their weapons, and even copies of their personal files, psychological profiles and tribal affiliation. The SDECE knew that none of the CAR troops had been paid for the past few months; they therefore planned to take care of this oversight immediately upon arrival. Then someone at the Centrale realized that due to a rampant inflation, the CAR currency had practically no value. To pay the military cadres they would have to use CFA Francs or stronger currency of other African nations.

The French barracudas chosen were specialists of different military branches. Many had served in Central Africa at one time or another and knew the region well; some spoke the language as well. They were commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Jean Claude Mansion.

While last minute preparations were being made by the SDECE Special Operations unit, French agents in the CAR updated political

and military information. All support departments of the Service finalized their reports. On September 18, forty-eight hours before C-Day, Special Operations sent two of its pilots to Bangui under a tourist cover to guide the planes in from the ground. Noone except President Giscard D'Estaing, a chosen few of his advisors, SDECE's Patron, Alexandre de Marenches, his General Staff and Special Operations knew of Operation Caban. Neither the Quai D'Orsay, France's State Department, nor its diplomats in Bangui had any idea of what was afoot.

On the evening of September 20, Marenches and his General Staff were tensely awaiting the start of Operation Barracuda in the underground War Room of their Paris headquarters. Direct communications were being maintained with the Station Chief in Bangui, the two French pilots in the vicinity of the International Airport, and the force de frappe of SDECE's Service Action, which had taken off from a secret military airstrip in two unmarked Super-Transall transport planes.

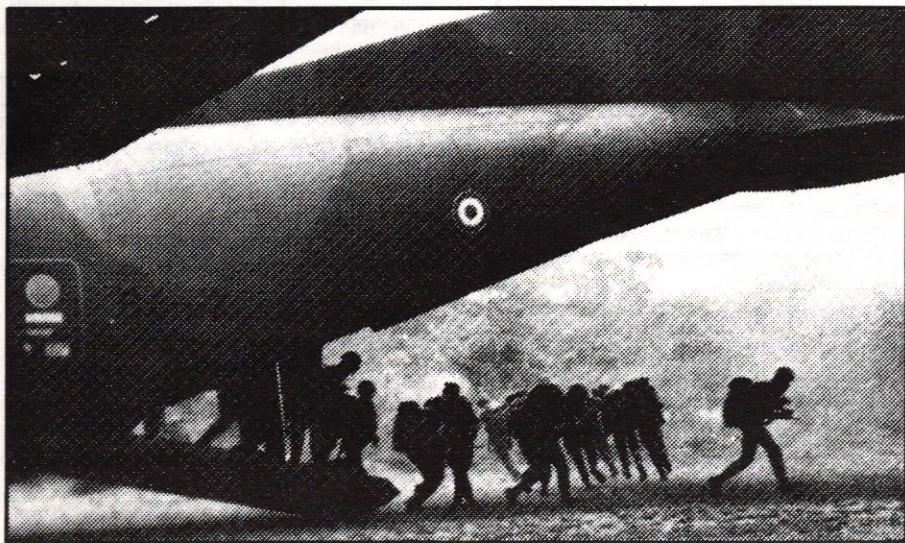
The troop deployment plan called for an "assault landing" of the SDECE force shortly after midnight. French agents had verified all airport schedules for that day and had confirmed that an Air Afrique plane was to take off minutes after 11 p.m. and none was scheduled to touch down before dawn. As always, after the departure of the last international flight, the airport would be closed down and all employees would return to the capital. Except for a token number of guards, the company of soldiers usually assigned to protect the airport would be withdrawn to the adjacent military barracks. Expecting no opposition, the two SDECE pilots on the ground would guide in the military transport planes with special flashlights.

As the Super-Transalls were about to enter CAR air space, flying low to avoid radar detection, a French agent stationed in a neighboring southern country notified the Paris Centrale of an unforeseen change in the flight route of an Air Misor carrier; the Egyptian passenger plane was planning to seek landing rights at Bangui airport.

The SDECE, which had alerted most of its agents in the region to be on the lookout for unexpected changes in air traffic, immediately ordered a delay. The Super-Transalls were directed to change course, refuel in mid-air, and delay their low-altitude approach to Bangui. Meanwhile, the agent who had reported the schedule change was told to "halt the Air Misor plane at all cost. If necessary, attempt mild engine sabotage." Twenty minutes later, the Egyptian crew aborted the take off attempt. The SDECE transports were ordered to resume their mission.

The two unmarked Super-Transalls finally appeared above the Bangui main runway forty-five minutes late. They were guided in by the vanguard of agent-pilots with special equipment available at the time only to the French and Israeli intelligence services.

The planes made a harsh landing as planned and came to a screeching halt at the end of the runway. A small khaki-clad, heavily armed landing party raced towards the main buildings and adjoining military compound in unmarked combat jeeps and armored personnel carriers. While one detachment overpowered the guards on duty in the main terminal, a second unit broke through the doors and windows of the military barracks. Surprised soldiers and their officers presented no resistance. The French rounded them up, and politely but sternly, at gun point, herded them into the Of-



French barracudas arriving in Bangui.

ficers Club. Those who bore arms were warned not to shoot, but were allowed to keep their weapons.

Once assembled in the mess hall, a French black officer who spoke Sangho, their native language, explained calmly: "We are not here to re-conquer anything. We are here only to permit your country to rid itself of a tyrant and, if possible, return to democracy." He paused for a moment to survey their fearful faces and continued obligingly: "We know that you have not been paid for the past three months and are facing grave economic difficulties. We will alleviate them. Kindly line up along the right wall and our paymasters will give you your back pay." Contemplating his stunned audience, he then added: "The officers may keep their weapons; we trust you. All other ranks must place their weapons in a corner of the room."

While the CAR detachment complied with the request of the invading force, two French paymasters sat down behind a large table, called out names from a prepared list and made payments to all present. The tenseness in the air soon relaxed and the officers offered their help to take over the capital.

The second SDECE plane which had been sitting on the tarmac under guard now disembowed a detachment of armed civilians and a half dozen limousines with Bangui plates. One of the cars carried David Dacko.

Within the next few hours, the carefully staged coup was carried out with clockwork precision. The central telephone company was placed under French guard; the sole Bangui radio and television station, which had gone off the air hours before, was surrounded by French forces; the Imperial Guard offered no resistance and the empty palace was occupied by the barracudas. David Dacko installed himself in Bokassa's chambers, and before long, the palace guard pledged allegiance to the new president and became the Republican Presidential Guard. Similar events took place at the Central Police Station and culminated in a silent surprise attack on the two military compounds in and near the capital. French paymasters set up office in one military installation after another promptly and efficiently paying the army and getting receipts. The CAR Armed Forces were paid into submission and joined the new regime of their former president.

Throughout the entire night, neither the residents of Bangui nor the diplomatic community in the capital knew about the landing of French forces or the return of David Dacko. Even the French Embassy was unaware of its country's intervention. Sometime in the middle of the night, the Paris headquarter of Agence France Press received information from its CAR correspondent that something was afoot in Bangui. The wire service bureau questioned the Quai D'Orsay, which in turn called its ambassador in Bangui. The French diplomat walked onto the terrace of his home, listened to the noises of the night and heard nothing but the sounds of the jungle. He reassured his superiors in Paris that all was quiet in the streets of Bangui and went back to sleep. Civilian-clad barracudas who had been guarding the embassy from a hidden position around a nearby street corner did not betray their presence. They coup had been a total and absolute surprise. "The operation was an exemplary coup d'etat," later retold Marenches. "Not one shot had been fired. There were no injured and no dead."

Shortly before dawn, French transport



French Foreign Legionnaires patrol the capital after the coup.

planes carrying uniformed shock troops from Chad began landing at Bangui International which had remained closed to all commercial flights. The paras were immediately deployed in and around the capital and at sensitive locations throughout the country. They first replaced the barracudas, who quickly and efficiently withdrew towards the airport, boarded their Super-Transalls and disappeared into the night. When Bangui awoke, only joint patrols of uniformed French paratroopers and CAR units could be seen guarding key installations and major roadblocks. David Dacko opened the daily radio broadcast with his prepared proclamation, informing his subjects that Bokassa had been deposed and would not return to the CAR, the empire had been abolished and the republic restored. As he spoke, the Libyan Special Forces were booked on a commercial flight to Tripoli. Diplomats of the Jamhuriya were declared *personas non gratas* and sent home.

In Exile

While jubilant crowds were tearing down the statue of Bokassa from its pedestal in the Central Plaza of Bangui, the Emperor bid farewell to a stunned Quadaffi, boarded his DC-4 and flew to Paris, but France would not accept him. The Quai D'Orsay agreed though to act as intermediary with African leaders in an attempt to find him a home. Bokassa sat on the runway for several days, until arrangements were made with the Ivory Coast to grant him asylum. He would be a guest in President Houphouet-Boigny's palace in Abidjan for four years.

For awhile, Bokassa lived a life of luxury in exile. He married a charming Ivoirienne named Augustine and stayed drunk, sometimes for days. But the ex-emperor always considered Abidjan only "a temporary residence". He was just waiting for the signal to return to his country. His bags were packed and ready.

Every morning at five he would tune in Radio France Internationale to see if the moment had arrived. He still hoped he would be able to convince the man he had considered his "cousin," French President Valery Giscard D'Estaing, to rehabilitate him, declare him *persona grata*, and allow him to resume power.

Then, on November 26, 1983, twelve white mercenaries and a group of supporters led by the French writer Roger Delpy flew to Abidjan to pick up Bokassa, take him to Bangui and restore him to power. But Ivorian troops, tipped off by the French SDECE, surrounded the plane. President Houphouet-Boigny was incensed. He threw Bokassa out of the country, along with Augustine, 20 other wives and concubines, and 15 of their children. But no one in Central Africa wanted anything to do with him. The French were thus obliged to offer him political asylum. Although they were hardly enthusiastic about it, Bokassa took up residence at Chateau Hardricourt near Paris with his large family and an entourage of cronies, who for the next three years would bleed him of much of the fortune he had originally hoarded, and now used to amass greater wealth from lucrative financial dealings.

Yet fearing his stolen fortune would be confiscated and returned to the CAR, Bokassa continuously professed poverty. He complained of being profoundly unhappy in France for having only his military pension of 6,000 francs a month to live on. The telephones, water and electricity at the *chateau* were frequently cut off for nonpayment. Three of his children were arrested for shoplifting perfumes and records. Bokassa said they were stealing sausages because they had nothing to eat; he refused to bail them out and had them sent to a state home. How much of his financial miseries were a show for the gallery was difficult to ascertain. Neighbors, however, described him as "a very consid-

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SOUTH AFRICA

White Broker of Hate

BY STUART IAN BERNATH

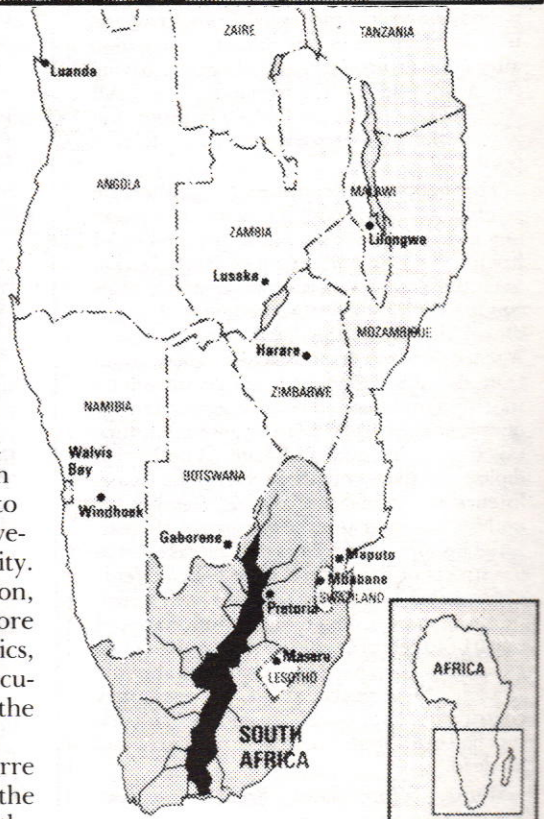
His name is Eugene Ney Terre Blanche. He calls himself a pure Afrikaner nationalist, "the son of his people," and a product of his country's earth. Offering an alternative to his nation's complexities, ambiguities, and deviousness, he seeks the establishment of an independent *Boerestaat* founded on racial exclusivism.

To some, he represents the messiah, promising salvation from South Africa's economic woes. Others see him as Adolph Hitler incarnate. Undeniably, however, Terre Blanche, (literally, "White Land") is a demagogue of South Africa's ultra-right wing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, the Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB) and

self-appointed custodian of Afrikanerdom's soul.

Fifteen years ago, seven whites—a schoolteacher, two lawyers, two farmers, and two former policemen (Terre Blanche was one) met in a garage in Heidelberg, south of Johannesburg in South Africa to strategize for the ultimate achievement of total Afrikaner solidarity. Essentially, the AWB from inception, was inspired by a desire to restore the nineteenth-century Boer republics, whereby white supremacy, more accurately, Afrikaner dominance were the cornerstones.

To achieve this solidarity, Terre Blanche sees the reacquisition of the Transvaal, Orange Free State, and the



Northern part of Natal, lost in 1902, as essential for his goal of an independent all-white Afrikaner state. This *Boere-staat* will be a fatherland for those betrayed by the *volksverraaiers* (traitors of the people), led by President Pieter W. Botha.

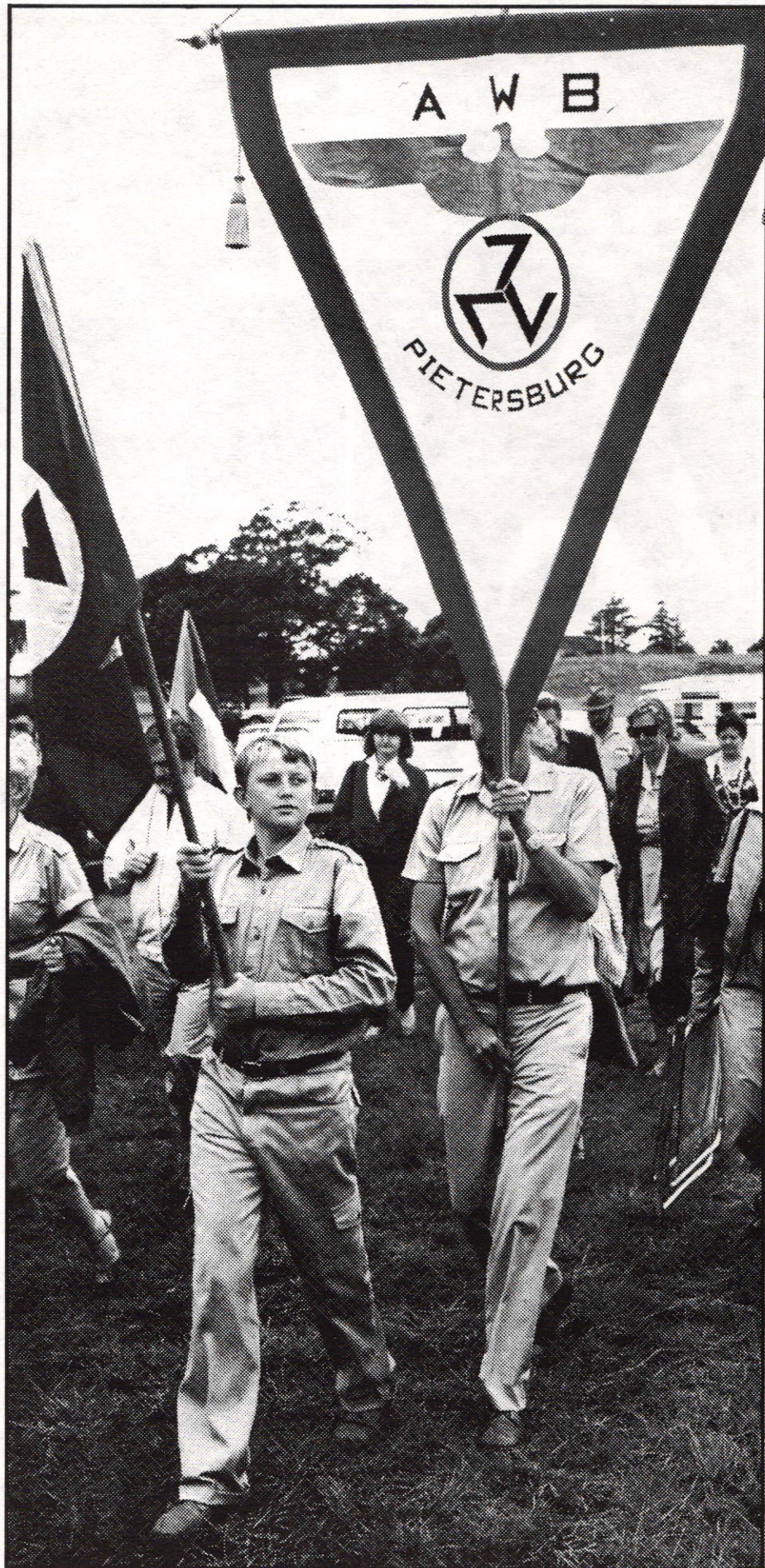
Terre Blanche accuses Botha of betraying the Afrikaners by introducing mixed-race people and Indians into government and by eliminating various apartheid measures, particularly those forbidding marriage and sex across color lines. "Botha is leading the country to chaos . . .," Terre Blanche appealed, "... inevitably we will be dumped into the bloodiest race war in history."

Forming the basis for Terre Blanche's claim to the land is his invocation of the suffering and searching for freedom by the Afrikaner people during the Anglo-Boer war (1899-1903). He recounts in horrifying detail how innocent Boer women and children perished during imprisonment in British concentration camps. According to Terre Blanche, toward the end of the war, the Boers managed to regroup and fight their pivotal battle against the British at the Battle of Blood River. The story continues that after seven days of prayer, God gave the Boers victory. Thus the Afrikaners right to the land was earned by the sanctifying, spilt blood of their forefathers.

Although seemingly very appealing to his followers, Terre Blanche's vision is highly problematic. In order to succeed, he must in effect, redefine the entire political and geographical landscape of South Africa. The land he covets, covers over 50% of South Africa's territory, including the wealthiest agricultural and mining land in the country. Further complicating achievement of the vision is the necessity for first ridding the land of the powerful mining barons of the *Occupied Territory*, who maintain their own well-armed protective forces.

Support for Terre Blanche and AWB comes mainly from what is called the "disadvantaged third", those largely urbanized working class Afrikaners, suffering unemployment, who have not substantially benefitted from the bonanza years since 1948 when the Nationalists assumed power. In the countryside, too, pockets of support exist largely among the small-time farmers struggling against nearly continuous drought.

Indeed, Terre Blanche's message finds a clear echo here, precisely



AWB "Brown Shirts" at a regional rally.



The fuerer and his commanders ride through the bush to a secret leadership meeting in the heart of AWB country.

because these are the people most threatened by increasing black enfranchisement. AWB's roughly 5,000 supporters, out of a total white population of over 5,000,000, are people who vote against President Botha's National Party in favor of white, right-wing challengers, seeing the government's policies of creeping racial reform—which have nonetheless been stalled due to black rejection—as a sellout of white interests. They embody Afrikaner disenchantment, and their perceptible tilt to the right-wing of “white politics” perhaps offers a poignant counterpoint to the equally disturbing radicalization in black townships.

Despite Terre Blanche's claims to the contrary, many critics have charged that the AWB movement is merely a cheap imitation of Hitler's national socialism. Nazi imagery is blatant. Cited as further evidence are AWB's tactics towards their enemies, their espousal of fascist ideology, and the tangible fascist trappings of the group. Yet, as much as the western media may have chosen to ignore it, the Afrikaner nationalist ethos has had a long flirtation with fascism, Botha and his predecessor, John Vorster, were active in pro-Nazi organizations during World War II.

The undercurrent of violence surrounding the AWB has always been present. In November 1983, Terre Blanche and two assistants received suspended sentences for the illegal possession of weapons, including Soviet-made AK47 assault rifles. More extreme, however, is the 1979 incident in which Terre Blanche and a group of his thugs tarred and feathered an Afrikaner academic, Professor Floors van Jaarsveld, when he suggested that the Day of the Vow—an Afrikaner holiday commemorating the victory of Blood River, was less than sacred.

AWB doctrine asserts that South Africa should be organized as a corporate state in which people are represented by the institutions to which they belong, business and labor, rather than by parliamentarians. It has no use for what it calls the “British-Jewish parliamentary system”.

Terre Blanche, claims that he is not an antisemite. Rather, his antipathy towards Jews and Jewish businesses in particular is based on a vision of a shadowy, all-powerful cabal of Jews and capitalists who control the wealth of the world, exploiting the Afrikaner by turning his toil to great profit and



The “Terre Blanche Jugend” is started at an early age.

diverting the land's riches from their rightful heirs. To paraphrase Terre Blanche's cultural philosophy, he is not antisemitic; merely, as a Christian, he wishes to live in a society ordered by Christianity rather than by Judaism or any other creed.

The emblem of the movement—three black sevens in a circle on a red flag—is said to be formed by the three 7s for the seven angels, seven stars, and seven seals alluded to in the Revelation of St. John the Divine, and is to serve as an antithesis of the three sixes evoking the mark of the beast. Further, it is seen as no coincidence to knowledgeable observers, that it resembles a swastika.

In addition, Terre Blanche surrounds himself with brownshirted bully boys. Clad in khaki uniforms and heavy boots, these security detachments are known as *Storm Falcons*, a clear derivative of Hitler's storm troopers. They wear Nazi-style armbands and Terre Blanche often finishes his speeches with the Nazi salute.

Time is running out for the AWB and Terre Blanche. Although the *fuehrer* is still relatively young, it may prove fateful, that to this juncture, he has failed to devise a line of succession. Consumed by an overwhelming desire for absolute political and physical security, Terre Blanche has failed to designate any successor. This omission may serve to be both the death knell of the AWB, as well as the ultimate extinction of Terre Blanche's political legacy.

To Terre Blanche, the history of all Africa clearly elucidates what happens when whites relinquish power: It is the end of Christianity, of private-property

ownership, and the beginning of the Marxist tyranny. Therefore, he says, the “movement's highest priority must be to restore law and order and to keep our land in case of a handover . . . I believe there are only three years left. In those three years, I think we will win or we will be driven out of this land . . .”

For all the anxiety over the AWB, with its swastika-like emblem, it remains to be seen how successful it will be in recruiting new Afrikaner and sympathetic English-speaking whites to its cause. Its appeal may well be exaggerated. Polls continue to indicate a steady liberation of white attitude on issues such as racial segregation in residential areas and in schools. Moreover, to many orthodox Afrikaners, Terre Blanche's vision of redemption seems an aberration, a creation outside reality. The regimented, militaristic qualities of the AWB are in striking contrast with the free-wheeling style of the Boers, who fought a highly individualistic guerrilla campaign against the British. Finally, Terre Blanche's very excesses seem to mirror the nation's turbulence. Once monolithic, Afrikanerdom has splintered, its unity fragmented to the right by the breakaway of white conservatism, and to the left by the still-muted murmurs of dissent from Afrikaner academics and others ready to countenance concessions to the black majority.

Terre Blanche's movement is still a minority of the Afrikaner minority and is confined to the Transvaal and Orange Free State. It cannot take over the government of South Africa, but it can add to the flames already consuming that strife-torn country. ■



PANAMA

The General Strikes Back

Panamania

The humiliating failure of U.S. foreign policy to oust Manuel Antonio Noriega created the occasion and the defiant general rose to it. Psychologically savage, sexually deviant and politically ruthless, he schemed his way from the obscure fringe of Panama's demimonde to the post of Jefe Maximo.

BY JUDY STANGEN

"Well," President Theodore Roosevelt quizzed his Secretary of War, Elihu Root, after responding to charges that he stole Panama from Columbia, "have I answered the charges?" "You certainly have, Mr. President," Root replied "You were accused of seduction and you have conclusively proved that you were guilty of rape."

The current stalemate between the United States government and Panamanian strongman Manuel Antonio Noriega, is an 80-year outgrowth of convoluted American policy that has been the single constant in the relations between the two countries' since the historic Panama Canal project was conceived.

President George Bush is the latest in a long line of United States presidents forced to deal with the systemic corruption and criminal activities, on both sides, which have been part and parcel of the Panamanian political milieu for decades.

Noriega, the antithesis of the ideal democratic leader, is a classic example and most certainly a byproduct of those paradoxical policies. Known to have extensive ties with the Medellin drug cartel, Fidel Castro and the Sandinistas—all avowed targets of U.S. law enforcement and intelligence authorities—Noriega has enjoyed not only the protection and political support of those very same American authorities over the years, but received funding from them as well.

Indeed, President Bush, defending himself against charges that he has had dealings with Noriega as former CIA chief and acting U.S. "drug czar," cited administrations from Eisenhower to Reagan—including Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, and Ford—who dealt with the Panamanian strongman.

What Bush has assiduously avoided commenting on, however, both as presidential candidate and as president, was his role in the "Black Eagle" CIA-Contra weapons operation, coordinated by his top vice presidential aide, Donald Gregg, and primarily orchestrated by National Security Council aide Colonel Oliver North. According to testimony by former CIA pilots, a former Noriega confidant and Panamanian consul, even the former "accountant" for the Medellin drug cartel, accused the CIA and the Reagan administration itself of looking the other way as General Noriega utilized "Black Eagle" aircraft to ship millions of dollars worth of illegal drugs through Panama and into the American markets.

"Noriega must have been mystified by the Reagan switch," said former U.S. Ambassador to Panama Ambler Moss. "North knew. Abrams knew. Everybody had known everything for years. "Noriega must have felt betrayed."

The general, however, apparently didn't take the "betrayal" on too deep of an emotional note. "I've got Bush by the b--s," Noriega boasted, when the Reagan administration, seven years after the fact, moved to oust him. An Israeli intelligence agent involved in the "Black Eagle" operation, as well as Jose Blandon, former Panamanian chief of intelligence now in political exile, both agree with Noriega's assessment. "Noriega has enough to sink Bush," the Israeli agent claimed recently. "This is why the Reagan administration was afraid of Noriega," Blandon insisted, "because in this operation Bush and his men were involved."

Whether or not the allegations by the former Panamanian intelligence chief are accurate, one thing is certain. The former Reagan and current Bush Administration have good cause to be fearful of Noriega, if for no other reason than every effort to oust the recalcitrant dictator has failed miserably.



Noriega and his protege, President Solis Palma at an electoral rally.

Recent reports claim that a congressional panel prohibited the Reagan administration from initiating any covert action to get rid of Noriega. But according to the same reports, the covert action was geared more towards convincing the drug running dictator that the United States meant business than any specific, harsh plans such as kidnapping or assassination.

The economic sanctions actually employed were designed to crush Noriega's economic stability, but hurt only the Panamanian citizenry—most of whom were totally bewildered why the American "giant" did not just come in and oust the upstart tyrant.

When these same Panamanians tried boycotts and strikes to pressure Noriega into resignation and hopefully exile, he crushed them and an attempted coup by the Chief of the National Police and five Panamanian Defense Forces officers, like so many pesky flies. Edward Vallarino, a key leader in the Panamanian opposition complained: "We're faced with the worst scenario: the destruction of the financial center—and Noriega is still here. The United States has not contributed anything except to attack our banking system. We wanted that, but we didn't want just that."

Hinting at the use of military force during the last days of the Reagan administration, the United States attempted to send some strong signals to Noriega by staging an increasing number of military exercises in and around Panama and by beefing up the already 10,000-man U.S. combat force in the area by 1,100. Noriega's response was a series of increased assaults on American servicemen and their families by Panamanian police and military personnel. Complaints by American authorities over the attacks have gone largely unheeded, and in many cases, totally ignored. The senior military command in Panama, SouthCom, claims that short of specific military action, there is little they can do. Reagan administration officials, however, had pointed the finger at senior SouthCom military staffers complaining, "We've heard from colonels and majors that they're fed up, that their troops are being abused, but that the orders are

not to tell the Panamanian Defense Forces to cut it out. SouthCom wants to keep things just as they were," an administration official said, "to go on and keep its little island of stability."

Just recently, the Bush Administration admitted it was finally committing several million dollars of covert operations money to Noriega's opposition to help them win the scheduled May 7 elections in Panama. The last time the Reagan administration utilized U.S. funds to intercede in an Panamanian election, it was to help defeat a Noriega political opponent, Arnulfo Arias, in 1981. When it did not work

Defiant Panamanian pensioners wave their uncashed checks (right). Followers of the opposition National Civic Crusade protest Noriega's political leadership (below).

and Arias won, Noriega simply charged the election was rigged, confiscated the ballot boxes and proclaimed Nicolas Ardito Barletta, the Reagan administration-backed candidate, the winner. The United States then had no choice but to congratulate Panama on a successful "transition to democracy."

One year later, when the headless body of Hugo Spadafora—one of Noriega's more persistent detractors—was found stuffed in a U.S. Mail sack on the Costa Rican border, President Barletta promised a commission investigation into the crime. In keeping with Panama's "transition to democracy," Noriega kept the new president prisoner until he agreed to resign and the investigation idea was dropped.

With the failure of economic sanctions by the United States, attempted military coups, civilian boycotts and strikes by citizens who clearly do not want Noriega running their country, it is unnerving to realize that the biggest success American policy has accomplished in this strategic, but tiny, Central American nation, is the firm establishment of a seemingly invincible paradigm of corruption and lawlessness.

"Not one step backward," Noriega roars defiantly, at the idea of any kind of opposition from his fellow countrymen. "If they s-t on me, I'll s-t on this country." ■





BY ARCADIO FOR LA NACION, SAN JOSE, COSTA RICA

“As long as there is somebody ready to sell his country, there will be someone ready to buy it.”



Characteristically, machete in hand, the General samples his birthday cake.

“I once wrote a column that drove Noriega up the wall. Soldiers came to the house at night and dragged me to prison. Then they brought in a transvestite named Carolina, and I was forced to watch while more than a dozen men raped him. The message was clear: next time this will happen to you. . . .”

A dissenting Panamanian writer.

General Manuel Antonio Noriega's transition from a child of the Panamanian slum, to one of the wealthiest and most powerful dictators in Central America, was not the stuff of Lincolnesque legend. Born in the squalid barrios of Panama City in 1934, Noriega spent all of his formative years in the shadows of a hedonist's paradise—prostitutes, thieves, murderers, transvestites and drunken sailors made up the neighborhood populace.

Raised by his older brother, Luis Carlos Noriega—an affable man who knew full well the value of cultivating wealthy and powerful friends—Noriega didn't escape the debauched squalor of the slum, but he

“Tony” Noriega Exposed

did have the advantage of being exposed to the movers and shakers of the tiny, but strategically important Central American country.

As a testimony to his charm, Luis—a blatant, known homosexual in a male-dominated Latin society that prizes *machismo* above all—made a number of powerful friends in both local and American social circles, and won a minor post in the Panamanian Embassy in Lima, Peru. Young “Tony” Noriega's prize was a patronage appointment on a military engineering scholarship to a Peruvian geodesic institute in the late 1950s. The fact that he was four years too old to qualify for the scholarship, was handled easily with a false birth certificate.

Several years later, in 1961, the education stood Noriega in good stead in a chance meeting with an up and coming military officer, Omar Torrijos, who was destined to become the first military strongman of Panama. Their meeting initiated a 20-year relationship which gained Noriega a commission in the Panamanian National Guard, his eventual post as a ruthless, cunning Intelligence Chief and

right hand man to Torrijos,—who was somewhat infamous himself for his womanizing, hard drinking escapades and bizarre behavior according to speculation—very probably the man who arranged the former dictator's fiery death in an airplane crash in 1981.

But it was while as Intelligence chief for Torrijos in the Chiriqui provincer—that the first evidence of sadistic sexual violence began to unfold.

Noriega's fondness for both mistresses and occasional male lovers was no secret. There is one story, in fact, that claims his love of ballet extended to both the female and male members of the chorus, prompting him to pick up the expenses for at least one particularly attractive male dancer who wanted to go to Europe for continued ballet training. He was also reputed to have a trusted black homosexual retainer and still another who was a transvestite.

But Noriega's sexual preferences notwithstanding, they apparently extended into the area of political retribution, only in a much more violent manner. Accord-

“The only changes I foresee are those of the weather...”

*Thought, Doctrine and Practice
of Comandante Noriega*
by Manuel Antonio Noriega,
Panama Defense Forces

ing to a quote by a Panamanian officer who served with Noriega in the province, “In Chiriqui, people Noriega interrogated would be roughed up. That was not unusual. But some prisoners were also bugged with nightsticks and that was shocking back then. But Noriega did nothing to stop it.”

In 1984, the penchant for sado-sexual revenge hinted at an even more terrifying example of how far Noriega would be willing to go. The headless body of Hugo Spadafora's, who had been a well known and very vocal foe of Noriega's policies, was found in a postal sack on the Costa Rican border. Autopsy reports indicated that the murdered man's thigh muscles were severed first so he couldn't protect his genitals with his legs.

Brutality, of course, is not an unusual trait or characteristic in any dictator, or for that matter, any individual who relies on fear and terror as a weapon for control. But when total amorality and sado-sexual violence appears as the major controlling factor in that kind of environment, it brings fear and terror to an almost unimaginable level. ■



Noriega reviews PDF units with his wife Felicidad (above), with his generals (center), and on maneuvers (bottom).

UESAT

Noriega's Gorrillas

Panama's elite Special Security and Anti-terror Unit

General Manuel Antonio Noriega—strongly suspected of permanently dispatching more than his share of political opponents—is more aware than most of the tenuous security position enjoyed by Central American dictators.

Add to that Noriega's known affiliation with the Medellin drug cartel, his double dealings with the Contras, Sandinistas and the Cubans, not to mention his current, very unpopular status with the CIA and very probably the Israeli Mossad—both of whom he embarrassed with his blatant drug running on a joint intelligence operation—and you have the portrait of a man who is not very likely to qualify for a long term life insurance policy. Accordingly, Noriega has formed an elite, highly trained personal security and secret police—the Unidad Especial de Seguridad Anti-Terror or UESAT—that reports directly to the general and his intelli-

gence chief.

UESAT recruits its members from airborne infantry units in the regular army of Panama—the Panamanian Defense Force (PDF)—on a volunteer basis. All are young and single to avoid the vulnerability of a kidnaped wife or child which could be used to subvert personnel, and, as the "Palace Guard," their loyalty to Noriega must be absolute and unquestioning.

Despite the fact that Noriega's drug running in 1986 allegedly prompted the Mossad to abandon a joint intelligence mission with the CIA in Panama (Oliver North's Contra program, "Black Eagle"), the Israelis had helped organize, train and advise the UESAT, as well as the PDF itself in 1981. The training began shortly after Noriega's predecessor Omar Torrijos, conveniently died in a plane crash. Selected UESAT members still go to Israel to train in special covert operations and Israeli specialists instruct the others in Panama.

UESAT's equipment, in fact, from their Uzi's to Israeli infrared goggles and other covert operations equipment, is supplied by Israel, who want to assure themselves presence in the strategic canal zone.

Nowhere is the Israeli presence more obvious than at UESAT's fortified headquarters at the top of Flamenco Hill. The crude stone wall and two squat towers flanking the barred iron gate of the facility, is a reproduction of the ancient walls and towers of Masada.

UESAT's headquarters is a rebuilt, old U.S. shore battery housing shellproof barracks, armory, infirmary and offices for the 100-man security team, as well as a "dungeon" utilized by Panamanian intelligence as a secret prison for special prisoners. The unit is comprised of three 30-man groups and a 10-man headquarters team, who act as a SWAT unit responding to civil and military incidents. And, like special operations and intelligence units from most countries, they are also trained and employed to kidnap, assassinate and sabotage. In this case, however, their targets are usually enemies of General Noriega.

Recent information also points to the existence of an unknown number of UESAT members who work undercover in strategic military posts to keep an eye on any officers who might be considering a coup. Their effectiveness was demonstrated just six months ago when the head of the Panamanian National Police, Col. Leonidas Macias, and five PDF officers failed to unseat Noriega in an attempted coup.

A United States Army counter-intelligence unit also discovered the effectiveness of Noriega's personal bodyguard. A two-man, unarmed "Quick Reaction" team had been dispatched to plant electronic eavesdropping devices in Noriega's home. Utilizing topographical information gleaned from other Army scouts, informants and—believe it or not—psychics who studied photographs of the grounds, the two gained access to the general's guarded complex. But within fifteen minutes, and before they had an opportunity to plant the devices, they were chased back over the walls by guard dogs and fired on by Noriega's UESAT elite.

The one apparent weakness in the unit, however, is a reflection of Noriega's lifestyle and example. The corruption and involvement in the drug business has filtered down into the officer corps of the UESAT, where some of the officers own expensive sports cars their military paychecks could in no way cover.

If that is the case, the Panamanian strongman's downfall could very well be the mirror image result of his own weakness and greed. ■



New guards at the Presidential Palace in Asuncion.

PARAGUAY

The Tiger and the Dinosaur

Paraguay's former strongman, General Alfredo Stroessner—whose 34 years on the job earned him the nickname, the Tyrannosaur of dictators has assumed the role of a toothless, but still prosperous old dog in exile. His former henchman, second in command, relative by marriage and the man who finally deposed him, General Andres Rodriguez, is now wearing the mantle of the new, so-called, Democratic leader of the country.

Rodriguez, second only to Stroessner in the command of all Paraguayan armed forces, utilized the power of his politically endangered position within the government and as commander of the elite First Army Corps, in a brilliant, bloody, but successful simultaneous attack on the various elements of Stroessner's fierce Presidential Escort Battalion on February 4th, 1989. Within hours, at least 200 soldiers were killed in the savage fighting, Stroessner was under arrest and on his way to exile in Brazil, and Rodriguez was being sworn in as the new president.

The drama began ten days earlier when four of Stroessner's deputies and members of the "militant" faction of Paraguay's 100-year old Colorado political party, plotted with Stroessner's son, Air Force Colonel Gustavo Stroessner, to wrest control of the all-important, First Army Corps—the best equipped and trained fighting unit

in the Paraguayan armed forces—from General Rodriguez.

Fully aware the aging and ailing dictator was nearing the end of his rule, various elements within the general's political party were jockeying for position to take control when Stroessner was ready to step down. The deputies (the ministers of justice, health, public works and the post office; (referred to as the "Gang of Four") and Gustavo, convinced Stroessner that as long as Rodriguez commanded the First Army Corps, he could not only prevent Gustavo from succeeding his father as President, but threaten Stroessner's position as well.

At the same time, Luis Argeno, former president of the Paraguayan Supreme Court and new leader of the "traditionalist" faction of the Colorado Party, approached Rodriguez to help his faction block the succession of Gustavo Stroessner. Gustavo's reputation as a homosexual earned the ire of the macho, Paraguayan ruling class and, whether it was earned or not, the taint of homosexuality hung over the "Gang of Four" as well. Rodriguez, already quietly working behind the scenes within the party structure in an apparent strategy to see which way the wind would blow, participated in the initial planning of the coup but never fully committed himself until he knew he had the backing of the Corps Commanders and



Stroessner's Chief of Intelligence.

The catalyst for the historic confrontation occurred the day before the actual coup. Stroessner called General Rodriguez into the palace and demanded his resignation as First Army Corps commander, offering him a figurehead position as the minister of defense. They reportedly argued and Rodriguez refused to resign.

But Rodriguez had a lot more to lose than just his military rank. The perks he enjoyed as First Army Corps commander included an extremely lucrative participation in the Paraguayan black market and smuggling industry, including, U.S. narcotics investigators claim, transshipment of marijuana and cocaine to Brazil. He also had money exchange houses throughout the country which were said to net him as much as \$20,000 to \$30,000 per day, not to mention the opportunity to launder drug money as needed.

The confrontation with Stroessner, in addition to the assurance that Stroessner's intelligence chief was on his side, prompted Rodriguez to make his move.

With the support of General Humberto Gascete, 4th Division commander headquartered 52 kilometers north of Asuncion which also included an artillery unit, and General Juan de Dios Gasket, commander of the 3rd Division stationed 196 kilometers southeast of Asuncion, Rodriguez was confident he had the manpower to pull it off.

The simultaneous attack started at 9:45 p.m. Thursday evening with artillery fire pounding shells into downtown Asuncion and a tank strike force from Rodriguez's 1st Calvary Division rumbling down on key positions manned by Stroessner's elite palace guard, the Guardia Presidencial. The units hit the headquarters garrison, the palace itself, police headquarters and the radio and TV stations—all located

within a six-block radius on Avenida de Mariscal Lopez. Elements of the 3rd and 4th divisions captured key roads into and out of Paraguay's major cities. Still others surrounded Stroessner's home and the home of his mistress, who lived just one block from the presidential palace.

Stroessner, in fact, had been visiting his mistress when the attack started and according to an eyewitness account by a Paraguayan news reporter, leapt into his car under fire and hurried back to the palace to be with his guard. Totally surprised by the attack, he reportedly thought his second in command, General Rodriguez, was also under siege and tried desperately to contact him.

Four hours later, however, when the firing stopped and an estimated 200 lives were lost—the majority of which were probably the valiant members of Stroessner's Guard—General Rodriguez strode into the captured palace in green fatigues, wrapped in the distinctive blue, white and red presidential sash. "It's all over," Rodriguez told Stroessner, who was waiting for his conqueror behind the presidential desk in the bullet-ridden palace. "I suggest that you resign."

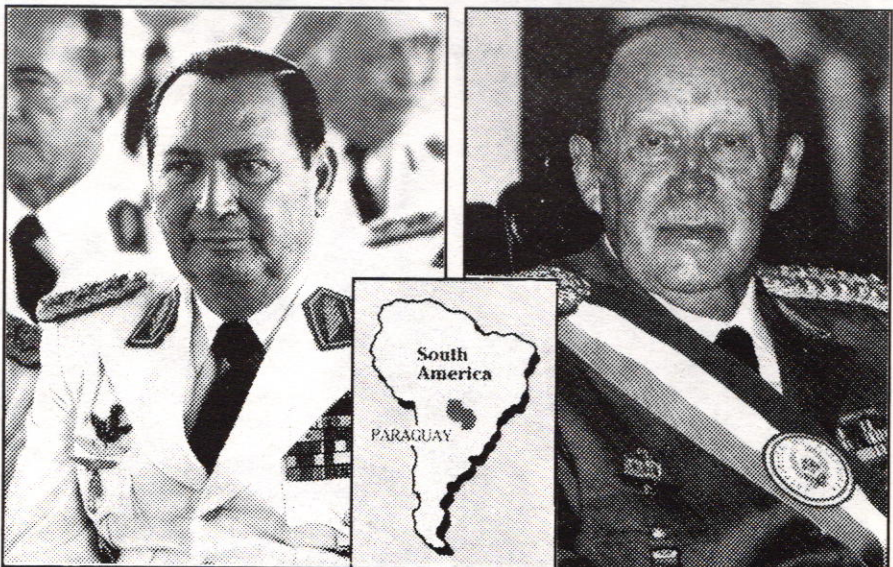
After signing his resignation, Stroessner was whisked away to a safe hiding place. The next day, along with 12 bodyguards to assure his safety, his mistress Estella Legal, his son Gustavo, his oldest daughter Garcia and 15 servants and aides, he was taken to the airport, put aboard a Boeing 707 bound for exile across the border in Brazil. Ironically, he was to stay not far from his greatest economic triumph, the Itumbia Dam.

Stroessner's wife, Oligia Mora de Stroessner and youngest daughter fled to Miami, apparently to open the door for him on a hardship claim, if his visa request to the United States should be denied. Stroessner's younger son, who was married to General Rodriguez's daughter, stayed in Paraguay and continued his career as a businessman in Asuncion.

Since the coup, the "democratization" that has taken place in Paraguay was primarily limited to the re-establishment of a newspaper and a radio station Stroessner had closed down for reporting news critical of his regime.

Those same media continue to be critical of Stroessner's regime and are taking delight in reciting the scandals born under the previous administration, some three months after the old dictator's exile—an option not available to the Paraguayan press for 34 years, at least not without being shut down, or worse. But interestingly enough, nothing has been said concerning the source of Rodriguez' enormous wealth, the fact the same secret police force Stroessner built is still operating, that 40 percent of the automobiles in Paraguay were stolen in Brazil, or that one percent of the population owns 75 percent of the land in the country.

In short, the game's the same but the players have new numbers. ■



The deposed president reviewing a military parade (above). The new leader, Gen. Andres Rodriguez (center/left), Alfredo Stroessner (center/right). The tiger (right) and the dinosaur (left) embracing shortly before the coup.

The Spontaneous Revolt

BY DR. HERBERT DUBENSKY

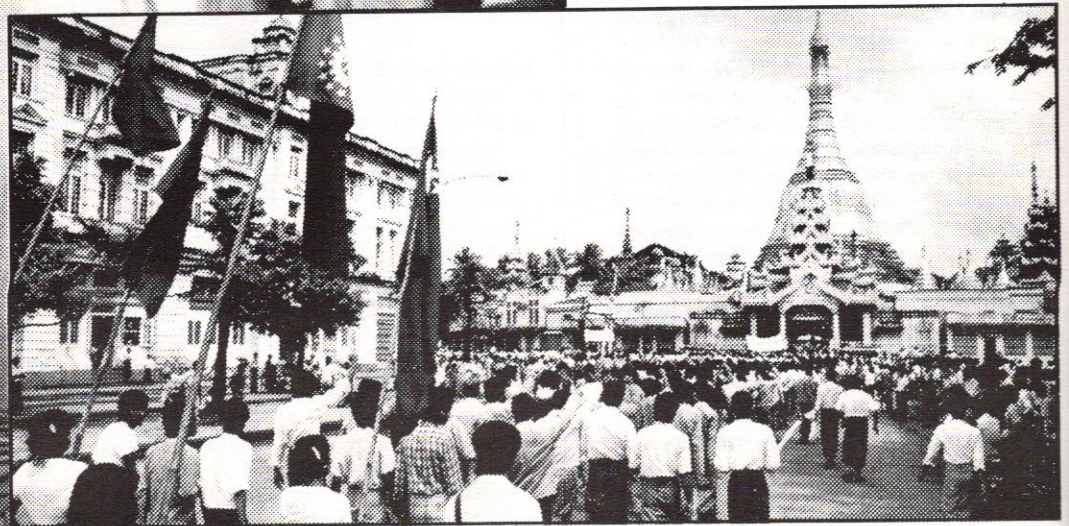
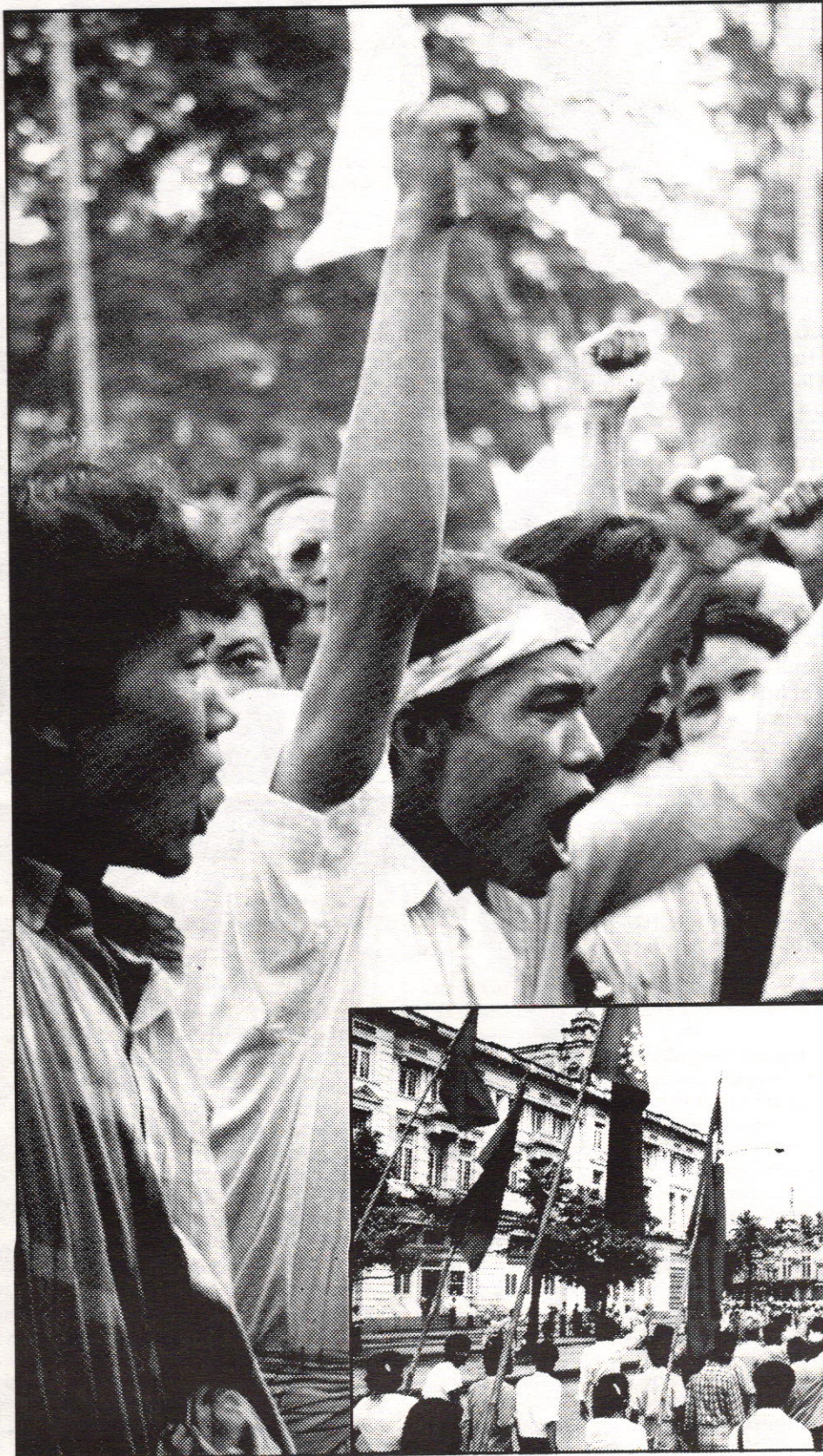
After more than two-and-a-half decades of iron-fisted socialist rule and nationwide poverty brought on by the Burma Socialist Program Party's (BSPS) economic policy, the people of Burma, led by student protesters, have embarked on what has turned out to be one of the bloodiest revolutions in recent memory.

In the 26 years General Ne Win ruled Burma, the former "Golden Land" deteriorated into one of the poorest, most mismanaged nations in the world. Under Ne Win's repressive, authoritarian rule, the once prosperous Asian nation—formerly the leading exporter of rice in the world, with a wealth of oil and teak—experienced an incredible degree of economic decay.

In 1962, before an Army coup organized by Ne Win ousted former Prime Minister U Nu, Burma enjoyed one of the highest annual income averages in Asia—\$670. Currently, Burmese are suffering under the lowest income average, —\$190. And because the government demonetized their already worthless currency, what few Kyats middle class Burmese had stashed away in savings, were completely wiped out.

Prompted by the comparison of flourishing economies in South Korea, Japan and even the Philippines, college students took to the streets in the early and mid-80s. Ne Win's reaction in each case was swift and

Student demonstrators denounce the Ne Win regime at a rally in Rangoon (left). Anti-government demonstrators march in capital (right).



predictable; police and army troops broke up the demonstrations and hundreds of student activists were jailed or killed.

In 1962, before an Army coup organized by Ne Win ousted former Prime Minister U Nu, Burma enjoyed one of the highest annual income averages in Asia—\$670. Currently, Burmese are suffering under the lowest income average, —\$190. And because the government demonetized their already worthless currency, what few Kyats middle class Burmese had stashed away in savings, were completely wiped out.

But student defiance continued, no matter what actions were taken by the Burmese authorities. For a country who had meekly gone along with its leaders for more than two decades while those brought them to the brink of economic disaster, the students' actions were nothing short of heroic. With each confrontation, the movement i/tself began to take on momentum in other segments of Burmese society. Slowly but perceptively, the country started to fall in behind their youthful activists.

Sickened by the violence of the police and army troops, as well as the degenerating economic situation, the Buddhist monks were the second, most visibly organized group to join in the demonstrations; as a primarily Buddhist country, the majority of the people were quick to follow.

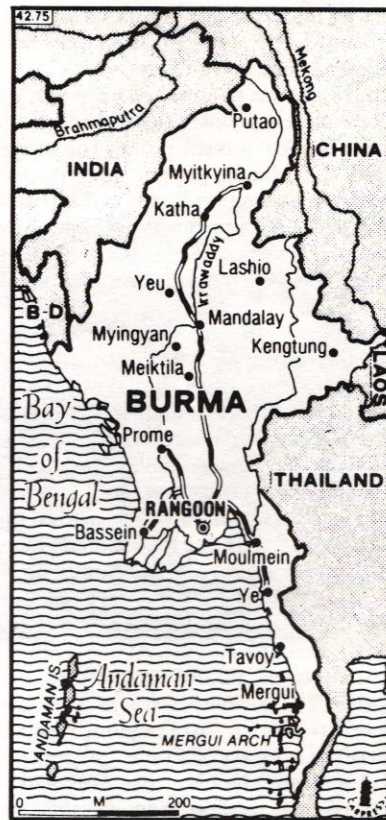
By July of 1988, literally thousands of Burmese had taken to the streets in peaceful demonstrations, flagrantly disregarding Ne Win's orders. Finally, in the first days of August, the unthinkable occurred. Ne Win ostensibly resigned and the BSPS promised free elections, signaling the end

of the one-party system that had been in place since 1972.

But the Burmese did not have much time to enjoy their victory, General Sein Lwin, one of the most despised and feared men in the government, primarily because of his brutal, cold-blooded handling of earlier demonstrations—was named presidential successor to Ne Win. One of Lwin's first official acts was to order the arrest of opposition leader and former Brigadier General Aung Gyi, prompting the first violent demonstrations of the year. Lwin, as an army captain years earlier, had been the architect of a bloody massacre at a student demonstration and the Burmese people were well aware that he had not mellowed any over the years.

Chanting "People Power" and carrying the sign "We're not satisfied," tens of thousands of people took to the streets, virtually shutting down the country. It was then that the bloodshed began in earnest. Police opened fire with shotguns on a crowd of 5,000 protesters in Sagaing, a city of 70,000 in the central plains. 31 demonstrators were reported killed and hundreds injured. In retaliation, three policemen were allegedly decapitated in the suburbs of Rangoon, and protesters stopped motorists demanding gasoline to make Molotov cocktails. Throughout the country, protesters marched carrying their dead aloft, further inflaming the mobs.

Seventeen bloody days after taking power and an estimated 3,000 protesting dissidents dead, Lwin stepped down and still another Ne Win protege was named president—an American educated, former Burmese army officer, Maung Maung. Abandoning martial law, Maung immediately released 2,700 political prisoners and



went on television to tell the Burmese people that the government wanted "... liberty, peace and civility. We will not be stubborn anymore."

But the BSPS continued to stall the promised elections and the people grew angrier as the days passed. The protests and demonstrations continued and the reaction to them grew even more violent. The army began to open fire on the mobs



Masked demonstrators carry flags of peace (left). Burmese troops mount a charge against a student barricade in Rangoon (right).

and throughout the month of August, Amnesty International estimated between 1,000 and 3,000 demonstrators were slain by government authorities.

Animosities were heightened even further by the Burmese people's belief that former dictator Ne Win was still pulling the strings behind the Maung puppet government. Add as the opposition had no charismatic leader to tone them down and put some order and purpose into their protest, the result was a country on the brink of anarchy.

In Rangoon, striking workers paralyzed train and airline services; government-owned refineries were shut down; factories and ports closed, and even the staff of a half-dozen, government-run newspapers walked off the job. Inmates in the capital's prisons rioted, setting fires and running amuck in murderous rampages within the prison walls; five hundred prisoners managed to break out of a prison southeast of the capital.

The violence on both sides escalated considerably through August. At one point, an angry mob of 50,000 protesters surrounded 24 Burmese soldiers who had opened fire on a group of demonstrators in front of the Ministry of Trade. Calling literally for their heads, the only thing that saved the soldiers from decapitation was the intervention of a group of Buddhist monks.

Finally, in the first week of September, the Burmese Army decided the administration of Maung Maung was going to capitulate to the protesters and dissolve itself. They staged a coup, deposing Maung Maung and making former Defense and Foreign Affairs Minister General Saw Maung, the leader of the coup, prime minister. The army, virtually running the country, set up a nine-

member commission to act as a governing board behind Maung.

Again, the precise and highly organized pattern of the coup left few people doubting that Ne Win was still very much in power, pulling all the strings from his hideaway in the Burmese countryside, guarded by a contingent of 500 elite troops. Within one day of the coup, army commanders throughout the country had secondary command posts and detail units set up, indicating the action had been planned and organized well in advance of the actual coup.

Even though Saw Maung was the fourth leader to take over in almost as many weeks and, like the rest, promised elections, few believed either the general's promises or that he and his staff had acted independently. "It's the same people running the country," said one Bangkok-based diplomat, referring to Ne Win and his contingent. "They're just trying to buy time and hold on to power."

The military lost no time moving against protesters. They opened fire randomly on virtually any and all groups of people walking city streets and conducted house-to-house searches, shooting suspected protest leaders right on the spot. At one point, they launched mortars and poured deadly sniper fire from rooftop positions, shooting anyone moving on the streets below. Said one Western diplomat observer, it was like "using a bulldozer to kill ants."

The carnage went on, even to the point of armed soldiers invading a hospital emergency room and shooting doctors and nurses for refusing to turn over wounded protesters. But the people still stood in defiance of the government.

In the latter part of September, Maung published a proclamation the government hoped would break the back of the insur-



rection. All citizens were ordered back to work by October 4, 1988 or face reprisals—the least of which was losing their jobs.

Backing up their threats, 7,000 troops rumbled through Burma's main cities in trucks while army officers appeared in factories, refineries and government office buildings throughout the country to take roll call and list the names of recalcitrant workers who refused to comply with the back-to-work order. Nearly 80 per cent of the work force, according to estimates, did comply but many said they "would only go back for a day or two until they stopped taking names again."

Did the army's heavy-handed, literally murderous tactics manage to regain control of the government? Most Western observers disagreed. The military action had driven the radical student underground. For the first time in several years, Burma's students became highly organized; some even attempted to enlist the Karen guerrillas, long-time ethnic insurgents, as allies in their fight against the government.

Opposition leaders, once fractionalized, organized their efforts to put some order into the chaos of the protest movement calling their party the National United Front. When the BSPS, however, decided to drop its former name and call itself the National Unity Party, the opposition, noting the similarity, renamed themselves the League for Democracy. A few days later, former Prime Minister U Nu, the man who had been ousted by Ne Win in 1962, organized a second opposition party, the Democracy Party.

"The question now is not if the government goes down," observed one diplomat, "it's more a question of when that will happen." ■

Demonstrators carry picture of Aung Gil, a retired officer killed for denouncing corruption (above/right). Masked students and monks stage demonstration in Mandalay (below/left).



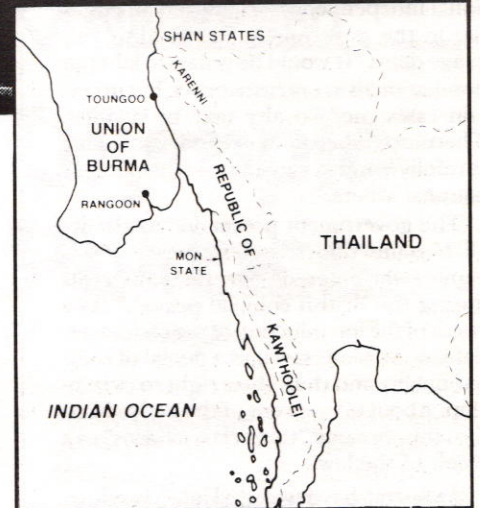


A KMLF rally held in a guerilla camp on the Burmese-Thai border.

Burma's Moslem Separatists

For over two decades Burmese Moslems have been engaged in a deadly struggle with the Rangoon government to retain their Islamic identity.

(Part I)



Burmese Muslims, an ethnic minority of one million faithful had established strong communities centuries ago in Lower Burma, particularly in the Rakhine State (formerly Arakan State). Today, their mosques rise in Arakan, the state capital Sittwe (Akyab) and even Rangoon.

Rakhine State with a population of two million represents only 6% of the nation's citizenry, but has one of the highest concentrations of Muslims—more than one million. Large Muslim populations are also found in the Kawthoolei area, Irrawaddy Delta, the Arakan Coast and the Tenneserim coastal region.

Physically separated from the Burman heartland by formidable mountain ranges, Rakhine was never in the mainstream of national life but always had its own history and concept of its special destiny. Until its capture by Burman King Bodawpaya in the late 1700s, Arakan managed to maintain itself as an independent kingdom, speaking a variant of the Burmese language and practicing Buddhism. Having lost the war, yet retaining the massive ruins of their former capitals, the symbols of a glorious past, the Arakanese nationalists submitted to Rangoon because of the fickleness of history.

Statehood for Rakhine within the union of Burma was therefore a tribute both to

its historical independence and to its international position with reference to volatile relationships with nations to the west. Bordering Bangladesh, the Rakhine State which had the typical minorities of many of Burma's seven states, naturally embodies certain minority tensions, particularly involving Bengali Muslims who had moved back and forth over the border.

Relations with Bangladesh (formerly East Pakistan) were always friendly. In 1972, Burma provided temporary shelter to thousands of Bengali Muslims fleeing the war between Pakistani troops and Bengali fighters for independence. In April 1974, two years after that country had gained independence from Pakistan, U Ne Win paid a state visit to Bangladesh's Prime Minister Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. But relations between the two countries strained briefly in mid-1978, when Burmese immigration authorities, concerned over the tens of thousands of Muslims from Bangladesh who had meanwhile illegally entered the country, launched a campaign to register aliens in western Burma. They focused on the northwestern areas of the Rakhine State, where some of the immigrants were suspected of having tried to link up with local separatist groups. Sudden rumors spread of violence against by civilian and military officials conducting the operation. Stories of arrest

and persecution by Burmese officials spread like wildfire and soon triggered a mass exodus. An estimated 200,000 Muslims, both Bengali illegal immigrants and many local Muslims, whose ancestors had lived in Burma for several centuries, fled across the border into Bangladesh.

The historically porous border between Burma and Bangladesh had been the source of perpetual movement of Muslims back and forth in response to their various political fortunes. The First Anglo-Burmese War in 1824 involved such border clashes. U Ne Win thus found it advantageous now to moderate immigrant issues involving Muslims in Rakhine State in order not to alienate militant Muslims throughout the world.

An aggravation of the relationship was averted through an accord signed in July providing for repatriation in stages of most of the Muslims. In May 1979 another accord was reached to demarcate the land boundary, followed by still another pact in December 1980 concerning border demarcations. The repatriation of 170,000 was completed by the end of 1980. In Feb-

bruary 1982, at the end of his state visit to Rangoon, the then President of Bangladesh, Abdus Sattar, joined Burmese President U San Yu, in expressing satisfaction with the state of relations between the two nations.

But in October the government passed a new Citizenship Act that included as full citizens members of ethnic groups that had lived in Burma before 1824, the date of the First Anglo-Burmese War. Others could apply to become citizens, associate citizens, or naturalized citizens. Those in the last two categories could lose their status if they showed disaffection or disloyalty to the state. The good behavior clauses gave the government considerable leeway in controlling to whom it granted some form of citizenship.

The problem of who should be guaranteed the rights and privileges of citizenship remained an active issue.

"Now we are building socialism in our country and loyalty to the state is essential for safeguarding the sovereignty and national independence," clamored an editorial in the government-run English language daily. "It would be unfair to label all non-nationals as untrustworthy, but in certain cases their loyalty may be divided. Therefore it becomes necessary to gauge carefully how far we can trust them in our national affairs."

The government proceeded to classify all Muslims under the category of "foreigners who entered Burma as immigrants during the British colonial period." As a result of the introduction of the controversial law, Muslims saw it as a denial of their nationality and thus, their right to citizenship. About 90 per cent of the native Muslims thus became "third class citizens" as a result of the law.

As Burma has developed into a predominantly Buddhist country, the Muslims in its midst have had difficult roles to play. Like the country's Hindu and Chinese populations, Muslims had to keep a low profile in terms of asserting their ethnic identity in order to avoid the racial antagonism that had often flared up in the past.

They fared little better than other ethnic minorities, often assigned to butcher roles, for Buddhists disdain taking the life of the animals they eat.

They were not only discriminated against in employment, education and the provision of basic facilities, but were denied the right to political office.

"Although this is our motherland," recently thundered Muhammad Zaid, leader of the Kawthoolei Muslim Liberation Front (KMLF), "we are politically oppressed, economically exploited, culturally absorbed and racially enslaved. We lost all of our rights and privileges." In fact, it has become common for Muslims to willingly declare themselves Buddhist when applying for jobs or registering in college. Muslims also change their names for fear of the Buddhist authorities. Some deco-



Moslem supporters of the KMLF listen to their leaders in the underground.

rate their homes with mango leaves to imply adherence to the Buddhist religion or perform Buddhist rituals while secretly practicing the Moslem religion.

Although the potential for a Buddhist-Muslim confrontation had always been present, the two groups had managed to live side by side without much interaction. But after the Second World War, thousands of Muslims were killed or became refugees in the border areas. Many sought refuge in Thailand.

The conflict between Muslim liberation groups and the Burmese government forces has persisted ever since. But unlike most of their counterparts in Thailand or the Philippines, the Burmese Muslims were hardly noticed. ■

The second installment in this multi-part Special Report will be continued in the next issue.



Moslem warriors prepare for night foray.

THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF THE UNION OF BURMA

Factfile

Area: 261,700 square mile

Population: 33 million (est.)

Capital Cities: Rangoon (Population 3.5 million, (est.))

Climate: Tropical, with torrential rains during the summer monsoon (June–November) in the coastal areas

Neighboring Countries: China (north and east); India, Pakistan (west); Laos (east); Thailand (east and south)

Official Language: Burmese

Other Tongues: English, Chinese, Karen, Shan, Mon, Chin, Wa

Ethnic Background: Oriental Mongoloid mixtures. Burman (60%) in the central valley area; Karen (12%) in the Pegu Yoma and Karen State; Shan (6%) in the Shan Plateau and Chindwin Valley; Chin and Kachin (5%) in the western mountains and extreme north, respectively; Wa (2%), a very primitive group along the Chinese border; Chinese, Indian, Pakistani and other (15%)

Religion: Buddhism

Products: Rice, petroleum, timber

Currency: Kyat (K 6.97 = \$1.00)

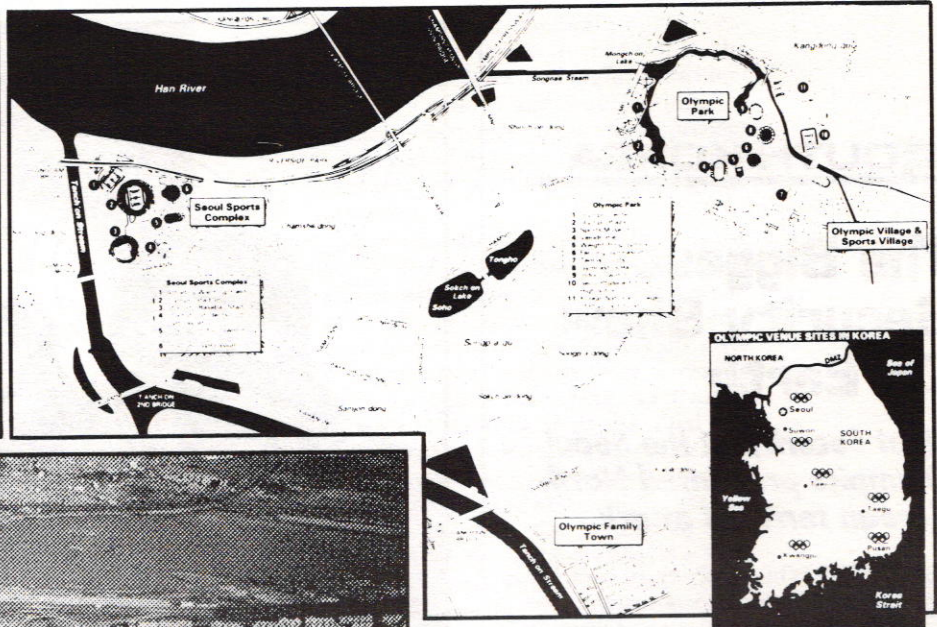
Former Colonial Status: British dependency (1886–1947)

Independence Date: January 4, 1948

Chief of State: President Saw Muang

National Flag: Red field with a blue union in the upper left-hand corner, containing a large white gear superimposed with a sheaf of rice surrounded by 14 small white stars.

The Seoul Games 1988



MAIN EVENT

Olympic Politics

BY TERRY SIMCKE

From September 17 to October 9, 1988, South Korea hosted the sporting elite of 161 countries who participated in the XXIV Olympiad. The universal idealism of the Olympics was almost achieved except for North Korea and Cuba who opted to boycott the games, a sad reminder of the 40-year division of a national and a philosophical dispute that taints the whole idea behind Olympic competition—political polarization.

After the restoration of the games in 1896 by Pierre de Coubertin, the Olympic brotherhood bowed to its antithesis, and the Games of 1916, 1940, and 1944 took a back seat to two world wars.

The very nature of this competition, unfortunately, very often prompted fervor to a negative degree and sometimes the worst chauvinism, instead of the international feeling of good will it was supposed to inspire. During the Berlin Games in 1936, for instance, Hitler chose to leave the stadium so as not to applaud black American athlete Jesse Owens. After the war, the international stage afforded by the Olympic Games, offered political organizations the opportunity to attract the attention of the world to their various causes. In the 1968 Mexico City Games, black American athletes with affiliations to the Black Panthers raised their fists on the

Olympic podium to protest racial discrimination in the United States. During the 1972 Munich Games, Palestinian commandos murdered 17 athletes in the glare of international television coverage. The Olympics were a further witness to political protest against Rhodesia and later South Africa; the two nations were expelled because of their apartheid policies.

The great political spectacle of the Olympic Games has even prompted Third World nations to send their gladiators into the arena to press their athletic prowess to the limit to gain prestige and respectability for their respective countries.

To paraphrase Clemenceau, an attentive observer of the international sports scene could say that "sport is a matter too serious to be confined to sportsmen." Since 1896 and certainly in ancient times, Olympic sports and politics have been inevitably intertwined. In Athens, on the occasion of the first Olympic Games of the modern era, Crown Prince Constantine of Greece descended to the track to accompany his compatriot, Spiridon Louis, in his last run to victory. "Such internationalism will not destroy the nation," wrote Charles Maurras, the famed French author and a young newspaperman at the time, "it will fortify them."

Almost a century later, in 1980, an

excited Gabriel Robin, diplomatic adviser to French President Valerie Giscard D'Estaing, presented his heated political arguments as to why the President should refuse his solidarity with the United States in President Jimmy Carter's boycott of the Moscow games. "In France, Mr. President, not only will our sportsmen be extremely disappointed for not participating in the games", Robin argued, "but also think about all those citizens who are planning on seeing the athletes on television . . . and their votes." President Carter's decision, of course, was entirely political, and so, too, was that of the French, who chose to go to Moscow in order to mark their independence from Washington.

During the first hours of the modern Olympic era, political consideration was inevitable and even accepted as legitimate. The Games of 1908 were marked by the political problems of two participants—Finland and Ireland. Finland demanded autonomy from Russia and Ireland was seeking Olympic Autonomy from Britain. The same problem presented itself when Bohemia attempted to secede from the Austria-Hungarian empire in 1922, while Japan tried to obtain the legitimization of Manchuko and demanded the International Olympic Committee (IOC) to recognize its participation in the games.

SOUTH KOREA

The Biggest Security Show On Earth

Tight Security at the Seoul Olympics prevented North Korean terrorist attack



While athletes all over the world trained diligently for the 1988 Summer Olympics in Seoul, South Korea, at least one group of Croatian dissidents were developing their own deadly training program in a terrorist plot to assassinate Soviet bloc athletes at the winter Olympics in Calgary, Canada.

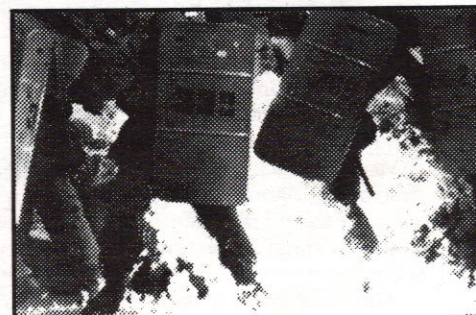
Grimly reminiscent of the Munich tragedy in 1972, Canadian Provincial Police seized over 37 weapons apparently earmarked for the would-be Croatian killers, in January, 1988, approximately one month before the games were scheduled to start.

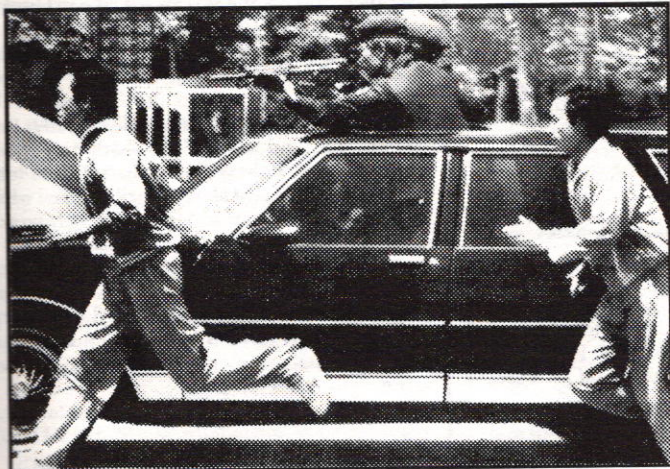
The Olympic Committee and Canadian authorities breathed a collective sigh of relief as the games were completed with casualties limited to nothing more serious than some strained muscles and weary bodies.

But, while that particular incident ended on a happy note, it was a deadly serious precursor to the fears of possible violence and terrorist attacks at the upcoming Summer Olympics in Seoul. North Korea's furious reaction to its rejection by the Olympic Committee as a site for the Summer Olympics, as well as increased activity by Japanese Red Army terrorists and stepped up incidents of student rioting in South Korea, all pointed toward potential disaster.

Even more ominous was the notorious incident which occurred in September 1987 when Korean Airlines flight 858 was the object of a terrorist bombing, resulting in the deaths of all 115 aboard. By the time all of the facts surrounding the bombing were compiled, a clear picture of interference by the North Koreans began to emerge. Kim Hyon-hui, 26, was arrested by South Korean police and confessed to helping blow up the plane in an attempt to discourage tourists and athletes from participating in the upcoming games. It is widely accepted that Hyon-hui acted on orders by Kim Jong Il, the son of North Korea's "Great Leader" Kim Il Sung.

Another aspect which ultimately sup-





ported the nearly fanatical security measures was that in the weeks prior to the actual games, it seemed highly coincidental that a sudden and dramatic increase in radical activities and student uprisings occurred just in time to obtain maximum exposure by world press covering the Olympics.

The main thrust of these efforts by the North Koreans, appears to have been aimed at discrediting South Korean advances in industrial and economic growth—a fact the North Koreans envy with green eyed jealousy from across the barbed wired, no man's land, north of the 38th parallel. Aside from the usual tensions that South Korean's face on a daily basis, a growing terrorist network was actively encouraged within the borders of North Korea itself. Kim Il Sung has been directly linked to contacts within the Japanese Red Army, Palestinian Nationalists, Basque Separatists and even the Irish Republican Army. It was generally feared by terrorism experts that he planned to call in all his favors—because of the fact that North Korea was not allowed to co-host the games as had been demanded. These factors led one expert to remark that the games would be “safer if held in Libya.”

As a measure to counteract the apparent threat by North Korea, the South Korean Security forces were beefed up to include nearly 92,000 participants. This in addition to the 42,000 U.S. troops stationed in South Korea.

The Reagan administration, sensing a need for additional support, contributed to the effort with additional fighter jets and even an aircraft carrier task force to patrol the Korean Coast. Even during periods of alert—security has never been so completely and quietly administered in a such a short period of time.

Athletes, judges, press personnel and other related officials were all issued identification cards complete with magnetic stripping to avoid any counterfeit duplication. Every Olympic venue was equipped with weapons detectors, security dogs and specially trained, armed guards. Athletes and officials were whisked off the playing field and many complained about the lack of time allowed for proper warm-ups before the competition.

The simple fact is that South Korean officials were allowing little or no chance for disruption by the North Korean's during the games and history has shown that the efforts certainly paid off—in spite of the criticism leveled at the Olympic Organizing Committee.

The bottom line comes down to dealing with the North Koreans who are still judged to be entirely too inconsistent to deal with in a normal diplomatic fashion. One U.S. official stated it succinctly with an opinion regarding Kim Il Sung and his prideful, xenophobic nature—Basically the only way to deal with a madman is to attempt to talk to him, but keep your rifle polished just in case.

A purely political step was taken by the IOC itself in 1920, when the vanquished in WWI—Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey—were prevented from participating in the games. Nazi Germany blatantly used the Olympics during the Berlin Games in 1936 for propaganda purposes. "The games are a propaganda event which has never been equaled in the history of the world," proclaimed Walter Funk, aide to Nazi Propaganda Minister Dr. Josef Goebbels.

This Copernican revolution following the games created peripheral political magnifications which have become the order of the day in later years. Such demonstrations would be further enhanced by the invention of television which would popularize political outbursts. Berlin, in fact, was the first competition in history to benefit from television coverage—sixteen days of direct transmission aimed at 200,000 spectators who watched all or part of the 138 hours of program.

The appearance of the U.S.S.R. at the Helsinki Games in 1952 symbolized the beginning of the use of such international spectatorship for political leverage. New nations in particular seized the opportunity to display their national achievements.

In 1978, Henry Adefope, the Nigerian foreign minister remarked, "The philosophy which demands that sports and politics do not mix is hypocritical. The sport exploits are used today as an echelon of the grandeur of a nation." Erich Hoenecker, secretary general of the East German Communist Party, agreed: "Sport is not an end to itself, it is a means of attaining other ends."

After the successes of the Soviet teams and their Eastern European allies at the

Munich Olympic Games, the Soviet Communist Party organ *Pravda*, enthused: "The great victories of the Soviet Union and its sister nations is first-hand proof that socialism is the system best adapted to the physical and spiritual accomplishment of men."

A similar utilization of the political angle was also echoed by President Gerald Ford in 1974. "Do we realize how important it is to compete victoriously against other nations?" he asked. "... Being a leader, the United States must hold its rank ... Taking into consideration what sport represents, a success can serve a nation in the same way a military victory does."

International competition was also used as a means for diplomatic recognition. That was exactly the case when the United States and the People's Republic of China, competed in ping-pong. It became the first step towards full diplomatic relations between the two superpowers.

Basketball diplomacy between the United States and Cuba in 1978, served identical means. The East Germans used international sporting events to break their diplomatic isolation from the West. The constant travels of their athletes promoted the recognition of East German passports in the Western world.

The most symptomatic and commonly used political weapon on the international sports scene is the direct protest of a member nation—the boycott. In 1956, six countries refrained from participating in the Melbourne Games to protest international political events. Egypt, Iraq and Lebanon protested the Franco-British invasion of the Suez canal, while Spain, the Benelux countries and Switzerland would not compete

against the Soviet invaders of Hungary. Since then, there have been African boycotts of the Montreal Games, the American absence in Moscow, and the Eastern bloc boycott of the Los Angeles Games.

The great opportunity televised Olympic competition brings to the world has been evidenced by promotion of Third World countries' athletes such as the marathon runners of Ethiopia, the sprinters of Jamaica and even basketball players in Cuba. The 1964 games in Japan helped that country acquire a respectability and international stature it lacked since the end of WWII. Those same analogous aims were sought by the South Koreans when they utilized the 1988 Olympics for political marketing of their nation.

Sports, often paradoxically presented as the victim of partisan interests, actually can play a significant role in the successful intervention of national interests. The system legitimizes public and social phenomena which may not play well in the parlance of politics.

When the IOC chose Seoul, Korea as host of the XXIV Olympiad, it was the first time since World War II that Soviets, Americans, South Koreans and Chinese participated in an Olympic rendezvous. And, in spite of the absence of diplomatic relations between South Korea and the Eastern bloc countries, it was later disclosed that South Korea and the Soviet Union agreed on the establishment of diplomatic relations.

To state that sports succeeds where politics have failed, would be simplistic. But Olympic competition, many diplomats and politicians agree, may be the best continuum of politics by other means. ■

Kennedy

Continued from page 9

is ... a conservative in the mold of Lewis Powell and an advocate of judicial restraint, but these are simply overall principles; he takes cases one by one."

Kennedy's confirmation in February of '88 enabled him to serve as the Court's ninth member for the latter portion of the '87-'88 term. To the dismay of moderate-liberals, Kennedy's votes in several key issues indicated a more conservative approach than expected. Since joining the Court, Kennedy had been party to nine 5-4 decisions in which political ideology was a factor. In eight of those cases, Kennedy sided with the Court's conservative members. He cast the tie-breaking vote calling for a review of the *Patterson v. McLean Credit Union* civil rights case. In *Boyle v. United Technologies*, he voted to grant immunity from liability to Federal civil and military contractors. Finally, in a Church-State decision, he upheld federal grants to religious institutions. In many instances such funds were used to advise teenagers against sex and abortions.

In upcoming months Supreme Court observers will be watching legal history unfold. Judicial landmarks will be erected, while others will wither away. It would be quite presumptuous to predict how the Court will decide some of the cases presented before it. The late Professor Alexander Bickel of Yale Law School appropriately described how to view the future of the Court with the addition of a new justice: "You shoot an arrow into the far-distant future when you appoint a justice, and not even the man himself can tell you what he will think about some of the problems that he will face." ■

Bokassa

Continued from page 30

erate man with the most charming manners, and very fond of his children." Journalists wrote of Bokassa during that period as "a sad, broken man."

Politically, while in French exile, Bokassa never stopped settling the score with those he

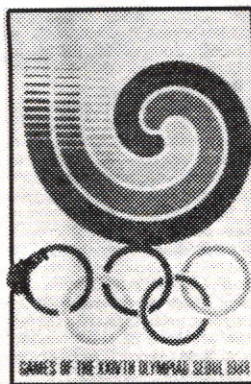
considered his mortal enemies. He surrounded himself with advisors from the French extreme right. He worked on a book of tape-recorded conversations with Roger Holeindre, member of the Assemblée Nationale for the rightist National Front, in which he accused Giscard D'Estaing of having taken his wife Catherine as his mistress and having reputedly accepted gifts of diamonds from him; information he provided about these gifts caused a scandal in France, and no doubt played a role in Giscard D'Estaing losing the presidential election to Francois Mitterrand in 1981. Bokassa eventually burned *Mes Memoirs* in exchange for a substantial settlement from the Giscard family. Roger Delpy helped him publish *Affaires Centrafricaines* and handled his shady real estate transactions. Bokassa later disassociated himself from these *petit blancs* (small-minded white men) who in Central African French jargon were actually branded *small crooks*.

In 1984 Bokassa tried to return to the Central African Republic with false identification papers, but his attempt was foiled by a sharp-eyed clerk. After this incident, he was being held a virtual prisoner in his *chateau* and denied the right to travel. ■

The last installment of this PORTRAIT will be continued in the next issue.



Kim Il Sung



NORTH KOREA

The Unification Myth

Odyssey of the Sung dynasty. A rare glimpse inside the land of the Setting Sun.

An uneasy quiet currently exists in the land of the morning calm, and hopes for a reunified Korea are as fragile as the dialogue that exists between the two separate and distinct ideologies. While the world marvels at the stunning economic successes of South Korea, it can only ponder over the country's enigmatic communist neighbor, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

To its many adversaries, North Korea is backward, stagnant, unpredictable, irrational, and dangerous—a totalitarian state so inflexibly attached to its primitive form of communism that its most noteworthy accomplishment in four decades has been its resistance to change.

The result is a widening gap in prosperity between North Korea and South Korea that is likely to force Pyongyang to take action to ensure the regime's survival.

Estimates of North Korea's per capita income place it at about \$1200 annually, less than half that of South Korea, which has twice the north's population of 20 million people. North Korean trade hovers at about \$3.3 billion annually. Distribution of this trade reflects its isolation from much of its Asian neighbors, as well as that of the rest of the world. Fully 50% of the trade is with the Soviet Union, 15% with the PRC, and 10% is derived from trade with Korean residents of Japan. This is in marked contrast with the ROK whose 1987 trade figures of \$32 billion, resulting in a \$7.7 global trade surplus, and 12% economic growth.

If the gap widens any further, it could threaten the absolute political power held by Kim Il Sung and his son and designated heir, Kim Jong Il. Indeed, these economic pressures may in fact provide the impetus for accommodation. These economic pressures on North Korea are building to the point where it is ripe for reform.

Although friction over the Olympic games has further polarized this geopolitical rift, the post-Olympic era could witness a gradual emergence

of North Korea from its self-imposed isolation.

Pyongyang displayed deep irritation over not being allowed to co-host the games, and boycotted them. North Korea refused because in their perspective, the Olympics were an effort by the South and the United States, to divide the Korean peninsula permanently.

Stickier however, is Sung's long-time ties to terrorist groups active throughout the world. He has openly embraced the Japanese Red Army (JRA) and various middle eastern organizations, such as Abu Nidal, providing economic aid, training and sanctuary to its operatives. In 1983, North Korea was blamed for a bomb attack in Rangoon, Burma, that killed three visiting South Korean ministers and 14 other officials. In 1987, two North Korean agents disguised as a Japanese couple, Shinichi Hachiya, and his "daughter" Mayumi, planted a bomb which destroyed Korean Air Lines flight 858 enroute from Baghdad to Seoul. The plane exploded near the coast of Burma, killing 115 people. In another case, it is believed that the North was responsible for a bomb explosion that killed five persons at Kimpo airport only days before the 1986 Asian Games.

Yet North Korea's economy is at a crossroads in development, and it desperately needs an infusion of capital and technology to resist being eclipsed by its prosperous rival to the south.

Even so, North Korea has given little indication that it is willing to abandon its "Juche" ideology, the personal ideology of Kim Il Sung. "Juche" literally means "nucleus" and the ideology embraces the values of self-reliance and self-determination that have helped keep North Korea frozen in a xenophobic, revolutionary permafrost.

Of late, however, there have been some signs of North Korea's officials toying with the notion of reinvigorating the economy by opening up. Recently, North Korea revised its 1984 investment laws to allow joint-ventures with companies from the west. Several small-scale projects,

including manufacturing facilities, are in progress with participation by companies controlled by Korean residents of Japan, Pyongyang's primary source of western goods and technology. In an attempt to gain much needed hard currency, North Korea has opened up the country to ordinary foreign tourists for the first time last year. Also, President Kim in public speeches has praised the Soviet Union's Perestroika and glasnost initiatives and applauded Chinese economic reforms. He hasn't commented on the lessons applicable to North Korea, but analysts believe that reforms by major socialist allies will influence thinking in Pyongyang. Both the PRC and the USSR attended the Seoul Olympics and are establishing trade with the South. Perhaps most heartening however, is that Pyongyang is said to be studying feasibility options for a free-trade zone at the Yellow Sea port of Nampo. Though the plans are still in the talking phase, reports indicate that the port is being dredged and enlarged to accommodate larger ships.

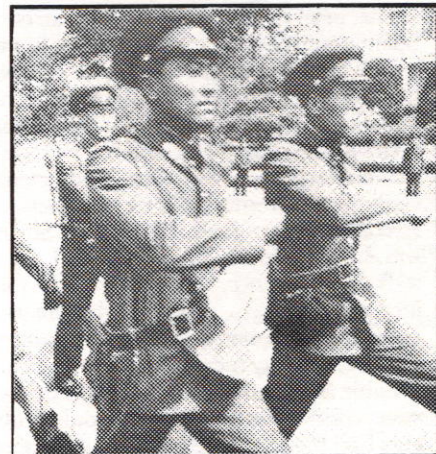
Problems remain, however, including a chronic problem with credit. North Korea has been cut-off from international capital markets since the 1970's, when its lack of hard currency forced it into default, and missed payments on hundreds of millions of dollars in loans. Now with a foreign debt estimated at above \$4 billion dollars, the government has conspicuously failed to undertake a policy of rebuilding its credit worthiness.

Faced with these prospects, Kim Il Sung may be inclined to reduce tensions on the peninsula and to engage with the rest of the world. Confident of their performance, South Korean officials make clear that they would welcome this, but understandably, they remain skeptical.

Moscows' warming relations with the North over the past three years—as evidenced by the supply of Mig23 aircraft and SA3 missiles to Pyongyang, the commencement of Soviet Reconnaissance flights over the DPRK directed against the U.S., Japan and China, and a modest level of military exchange visits and joint exercises—have been irksome to Seoul, but they have not changed the basic military balance or measurably raised the risk of war.

As South Korean forces reach real parity with the North, the time has come to develop proposals for reductions that would preserve the military balance on the peninsula. All these measures would help by deflecting potential domestic criticism tensions and the risks of war, and take the initiative away from the DPRK where of late it has resided.

At this juncture, however, the lines remain drawn and barbed wire remains a barrier between the two nations, although hope on both sides of the DMZ remains. ■



North Korean Changing of the Guard.

The Gentle King

As unlikely a solution as it may have seemed, everyone from Mikhail Gorbachev to old enemies in the government of Pakistan and UN peacekeeping officials as well, called on Mohammed Zahir Shah—the deposed king of Afghanistan—to return after 16 years of exile and head up a coalition government to bring about a peaceful solution to the war ravaged land.

“His having been out of Afghanistan is his greatest asset,” says Ashraf Ghani, a lecturer at Kabul University, explaining why an aging, exiled monarch could be of any value in the convoluted, political cacophony of modern day Afghan politics. The monarchy is attractive precisely because the king has been beyond the fray,” echoed a senior official in the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. “It is not that he has so many allies, but that everyone else has many more enemies.”

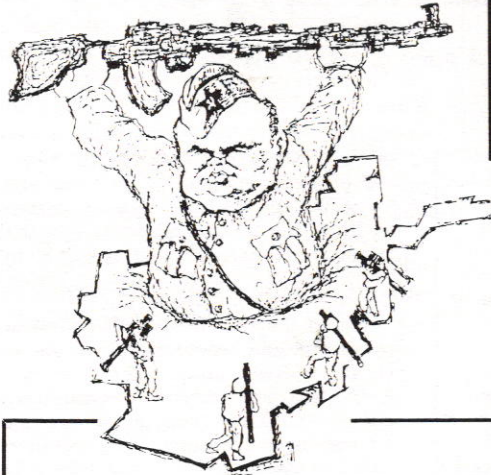
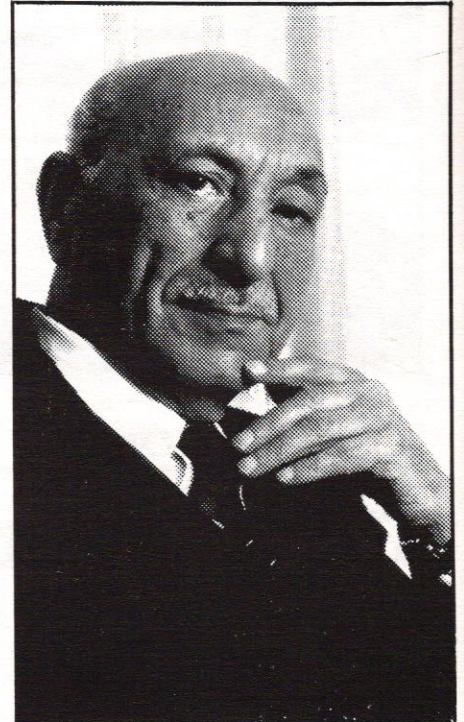
As a 76-year-old exile living on the outskirts of Rome since he was overthrown in 1973 by his cousin and brother-in-law, Prince Daud, Zahir Shah no longer fits the glowing portrait painted by *Time* in 1965. “At 51, Mohammed Zahir Shah can snag the wildest trout in the Hindu Kush, swoop down a ski slope at 60 m.p.h., or drop a brace of partridge as deftly as a skeet champion,” *Time* lauded. “He rides like Lochinvar, golfs near par on any course, and between times, collects rare books and Oriental art.” But time, tide and exile have taken a toll on the man who once led Afghanistan through 40 years of relative tranquility, while neighboring, more powerful countries literally exploded around him in a paroxysm of political and cultural change. At the same time, Zahir Shah skillfully played off the superpowers, vying for home court advantage in his strategically located southwest Asian country, with all of the skills of the competition level chess player he once was.

Today, however, Zahir Shah leads a more sedentary life in his “pleasant, but not palatial” four-bedroom home outside of Rome, in an environment one Italian confidant described as, “. . . the kind of home a bank manager might build so he can live out his retirement tending a garden.” The only clue to Zahir’s status as a former monarch, is the squad of Carabinieri—Italy’s paramilitary police—who took up guard vigils last year shortly after the Geneva Accords were signed, fixing the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. “I take walks in the country around here,” the former monarch says, describing his life as a political commoner in the Italian countryside. “That is my recreation and exercise.”

Zahir Shah is the first to admit he has never tried to learn Italian and would probably find himself hopelessly lost if he tried

a solo tour of Rome. “I have always played chess, but it is getting harder,” the expatriate complains. “I do not always beat my cousin here, as before.” When walking and chess become tiresome, there are always the books, most of which he reads in French, video films and visits from his six children and their families.

Zahirs Shah’s visible lack of his old energies and enthusiasm for life—not to mention his reluctance to become too familiar with either the language or the geography of the country he has been calling home for the past 16 years—could very well be attributed to a lot more than just his advancing years. “What I remember consistently are Afghanistan’s plains, mountains and valleys,” Mohammed Zahir Shah says wistfully. “What I miss most are my courageous countrymen.”



Where Are They Now...

Iran:

Pretender to the Peacock Throne

Amid unconfirmed rumors that the days of Iran's Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, now 88, are numbered, Reza Pahlavi II, the 27-year-old son of the late Shah of Iran and heir to the Peacock Throne, awaits ever more anxiously to regain his family's throne. The Iranian people, he claims, respect his royal parentage: "I don't think anybody could be a better contender than I am." From his safe house in suburban Virginia, close to the District of Columbia, one of several he has used since his family fled the Khomeini regime in 1979, Reza Pahlavi keeps in touch with his native land, where his sources tell him that Iranians are only waiting for the Ayatollah's death to bring him back as head of a constitutional monarchy.

Reza Pahlavi first arrived in the United States some ten years ago, in June 1978. The young, pampered prince had just graduated from high school a week before and had left Teheran alone with two suitcases for England. After a few days stay in London with the British royal family, the prince, who had soloed in an airplane at age 13, went off to Reese Air Force Base near Lubbock, Texas for jet training.

Seven months later, his father, the beleaguered 59-year-old Shah, fled Iran, piloting his personal Boeing 707, and Ayatollah Khomeini came to power. Prince Reza Pahlavi was not to go home again.

A man without a country, denied permanent sanctuary in the United States, the Shah, terminally ill with cancer, shuttled with Empress Farah Diba and a small entourage from country to country—Morocco, Mexico, Panama, the Bahamas—before being granted asylum in Egypt. Prince Reza stayed

with him for the last four months of his life.

On October 31, 1980, his 20th birthday, from exile in Cairo, the young prince proclaimed himself Reza Shah II, King of Iran, King of Kings and Light of the Aryans, after his grandfather, who had established the Pahlavi dynasty in 1925. In an emotional speech, the exiled monarch called on Iranian patriots to join forces in ending "the Khomeini nightmare," and assured them that "this nightmare, like others in our history, shall pass."

Until 1982, Reza Pahlavi continued to live in Egypt, then in Morocco, finally moving to the United States in 1984. Today home is a well-guarded estate in Virginia, where he lives with his 19-year-old wife, Yasmine, daughter of a wealthy Iranian businessman. His mother, as well as his three younger siblings, who are university students, all live in the United States.

Reza Pahlavi, who began his academic education in 1979 at Williams College in Massachusetts, continued his studies by correspondence at the University of Southern California (USC) and earned a degree in political science. He apparently does not have to worry about drumming up an income. The Pahlavis have extensive holdings around the world, including vast real estate in California. Just how much money his family was able to get out of Iran is a matter of speculation, but the Khomeini government still claims that the royal family had transferred \$15 billion abroad before leaving Teheran.

Being a Shah without a kingdom is a difficult role. Reza Pahlavi thus takes his responsibilities as heir to the Peacock Throne very seriously. He has

THE PAHLAVI DYNASTY



■ **1921-25—Reza Khan** (left) a soldier born in a village, who rose to command Persia's major military unit, overthrows government. He then forces Qajar Dynasty ruler Ahmed Shah to abdicate. Reza Khan becomes shah (king) changes family name to Pahlavi, changes Persia's name to Iran and calls himself **Reza Shah**.

■ **1939-44—Reza Shah** flirts with Nazi Germany. British and Soviet forces invade Iran and force him to abdicate. His son, **Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi I** (center) ascends to Peacock Throne in 1941. Reza Shah dies in exile.

■ **1951-53—Iranian nationalist leader Mohammad Mossadegh** becomes prime minister and nationalizes British-owned oil industry. Rightist elements aided by CIA agent overthrow Mossadegh.

■ **1975-77—Shah** dissolves two-party system; opposition to monarchy led by political liberals and Islamic conservatives intensifies.

■ **1979-80—**Following violent street demonstrations and failure of succession of shah-appointed governments to keep peace, monarch flees country. Imam Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini returns from exile to establish Muslim fundamentalist regime. Deposed shah dies in Egypt.

■ **1980-89—Shah's son Reza Pahlavi**, eldest of four children, proclaims himself **Shah Reza II** (right) at age 20. Now living in United States, is focal point of Iranian exiles who seek to restore monarchy.

surrounded himself with a battery of advisers who keep him in touch with "elements inside" around the clock. There are trips, speeches and meetings with supporters and followers here and abroad; there is little time to indulge his favorite hobbies—flying and photography. He sometimes invites friends to the house to watch videos or television, play backgammon, or an occasional game of tennis. It is simply not appropriate, he explains, "to have a night life or go to leisure places."

The "cause" totally absorbs the young monarch. He frequently exhorts his fellow expatriates to "go forth hand in hand and overthrow the Khomeini regime." He speaks of orchestrating a counter-revolution—he prefers to call it "a popular uprising"—and, while stopping far short of outlining the specifics, he emphasizes that he himself is pre-

pared to put his life on the line "as a soldier at the service of my country."

Reza Pahlavi now oversees a clandestine network of operatives inside Iran, communicating with headquarters both by telephone and sophisticated electronic equipment, ready to seize power at the propitious moment. In the last few years, indeed, the aspiring Shah became quite visible. Late in 1986, Tehran residents were surprised to find their regular programming interrupted by an illegal television broadcast in which Shah Reza Pahlavi II asked the Iranian people to overthrow the Khomeini regime. After the broadcast, small groups of monarchist supporters demonstrated in the streets until they were fired on by Iranian Revolutionary Guards.

Washington officially considers the Iranian monarchy abolished, but has not had diplomatic relations with Iran since April 1980, five months after 63 Americans were seized as hostages in a militant takeover of the United States Embassy in Teheran. Reza Pahlavi, however, speaks passionately of the restoration of popular sovereignty in Iran according to the dictates of a Democratic constitution adopted in 1906. "The Iranian people must be free to choose their own future," he concludes, "regardless of what that future may be." He wants to see the monarchy restored, a monarchy in which he would be King and head of state rather than head of government. But he insists that he is "ready to serve in any capacity," that were he to return triumphantly as king, he would require that his people vote him in. ■



Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi I with family after coronation in 1967 (left). Reza Pahlavi II with wife Yasmine (right).



Did You Know That—

The YU Clarion staff and its contributing editors scann the national and international press for research material to be used in this column. News stories and articles are culled from wire services, feature syndicates, major dailies, national and foreign periodicals and academic journals in seven languages. Source materials are checked and confirmed by library and field research; whenever possible, interviews are conducted with major protagonists.



A sensational accusation recently made by a group of Mexican-American historians, claimed that the head of the famous Mexican revolutionary **Francisco "Pancho" Villa** was in the possession of "a secret society active at Yale University in New Haven, Connecticut." El Paso attorney Frank Hunter, who represents the historians, recounted that in 1926, Villa's grave had been desecrated, his body exhumed and the skull severed and robbed. It was later sold to the **Society of Craniums and Bones** at Yale University and properly registered in their books.

Endicott P. Davison, attorney and spokesman for the Yale Society, vehemently denied having Pancho Villa's cranium, which had been sought for decades on both sides of the Mexican-American border, particularly before World War I by General John "Black Jack" Pershing, commander of the American Punitive Expeditionary Force in Mexico.

"Pancho" Villa had participated at the turn of the century in the defeat of President Profririo Diaz. He then signed a peace treaty with both the Mexican and the American governments in 1923, shortly before being assassinated in Parral, Chihuahua located in Northern Mexico.

Still unconvinced, the El Paso group requested the intervention of then Vice President George Bush, a former member of the Yale Society, but to no avail. The controversy is still raging. ■



In the waning days of summer, a group of four Hassidim arrived in Tunis and were greeted warmly at the airport by PLO executives **Farouk Khadumi** and **Bassam Abu Sharif**. Three of the Caftan-clad Jews were aides of the Satmar Rebbe from New York and London, while the fourth was an envoy of Jerusalem's **Neturei Karta**. The head of the delegation, now stationed in Britain, had been known in New York while living there for his *hitvei sina* against Israel.

The four ultra-Orthodox, anti-Zionist Jewish representatives were lodged at a luxurious Tunis hotel as guests of the PLO. For two days they conferred with members of the Executive Leadership and were finally received in audience by Chairman **Yassir Arafat** and his closest advisors.

The two delegations discussed "Jewish problems" for three hours. Even the Palestinians were said to have been astounded by the virulently anti-Israeli statements made by the law about Israel's presence in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and Jewish religious issues. Arafat was asked to intervene and protect Jewish remnants in Tunis, Iraq, Yemen and Syria. The Chairman retorted that his relations with Syrian President Hafez al-Assad were too strained to request favors, but promised to support such queries by Amnesty International and United Nations representatives and bring up the subject

himself during his upcoming speech before the UN General Assembly.

The Jewish delegation then requested that Arafat secure the collaboration of an Arab country to replace Roumania as a transit station for Jewish immigrants from the USSR so that they could immigrate to the United States or western countries other than Israel. Arafat saw no problem in such an arrangement and promised to help.

Before the four left Tunis, the PLO attempted to convince them to hold a press conference, but they refused, requesting that the talks be kept secret.

The Jewish Tunis Summit, as the PLO later referred to it internally, was not the first policy meeting between PLO leaders and ultra-Orthodox, anti-Zionist envoys; it was the first though in which Yassir Arafat had taken part. ■



Some time ago, when Sandinista leaders were still considered *persona grata* by the United States, Nicaraguan President **Daniel Ortega** visited New York City. He was seen jogging around Central Park in a pair of custom-made silver sneakers and purchasing a \$3,500 pair of designer eyeglasses made of bulletproof glass.

••• Comrade President **Li Xiannian** of the People's Republic of China, during a visit to Chicago, stayed at the Hilton Hotel in a \$1,200-a-day suite and demanded several amenities, including a custom-made bed, room temperature set at 77 degrees, a large supply of Perrier and green tea, arrangements of red roses and yellow lilies in every room, and 1,000-year-old duck eggs for breakfast. He got it all but the eggs. ■

Last year, witch doctors in Swaziland banded together to form an organization called the **Association of Traditional Healers**. Recently, they began lobbying the government to remove the term "witch doctor" from the language. •••• **Sishemo Kaluwe** of Zambia, who had been



suffering from fatigue and headaches, decided to get some extra-strength treatment from the local witch doctor, **Dochendee Dumanka**, who promised to cure him by burying him six feet under the ground. Dumanka then danced and chanted around his buried patient. By the time Dumanka finished the therapy, Kaluwe had suffocated. The "traditional healer" was taken into custody by the police and accused of "over-treating the patient." ■

In Liberia, former master-sergeant, now President **Samuel Kanyon Doc**, who had shot his way into the Monrovia executive mansion in 1980, proudly brags about the loyalty of his soldiers. When Brigadier General **Thomas Quiwonkpa** led an unsuccessful army revolt against the ruling government, he was castrated, shot, chopped up, and eaten raw by soldiers loyal to the Doc government. ■

Belize recently announced that citizenship in its country was for sale. Anyone who wanted to become a Belize citizen could do so by buying a \$25,000 government bond which would be worth only \$12,000 to the buyer because the government would keep half the money. ■

Officials of the government-owned **West African Airlines**, discovering that they had drastically overbooked a 100-seat flight, ordered all 300 passengers holding boarding passes—cabinet ministers among them—to run around the plane twice. The 100 passengers who ran the fastest were awarded the seats. ■

Current Events Quiz

NORTH AMERICA:

1. Attorney General Dick Thornburgh, ordered an internal review to determine whether an order by his predecessor, Edwin Meese III, signed on his last day in office, should be enforced. What was the order?

2. Washington lobbyists spent more than \$63 million trying to influence Congress in 1987, and are projected to spend more this year. Which group is known to have spent the most?

3. For two decades, until the late 1960s, wiretapping was so pervasive that virtually everyone important in Washington politics was overheard. What group of people was the subject of surveillance, according to recently released FBI documents?

4. Canadians expressed their concern about an American invasion following in the footsteps of United States manufacturers and oil companies. What did they fear?

5. The Canadian House of Commons approved a Free Trade Agreement with the United States that ended more than a century of economic nationalism in Canada. But the overwhelming vote of 177 to 64 was not the last word on the matter. Why not?

6. President Bush approved a revamping of the foreign policy mechanism. How has it been restructured?

SOUTH AMERICA:

7. The White House issued a blanket order prohibiting the departments of State, Defense and Justice, as well as the Central Intelligence Agency from cooperating with a Congressional investigation. What probe was it?

8. Argentinean Foreign Minister Dante Caputo won a hard-fought international campaign for a largely symbolic United Nations post. Yet some members of the Latin American bloc opposed his victory. Identify their positions.

9. The United States made a loan of \$3.5 billion, to a debt-pressed nation—the largest it had ever granted. To whom and why was the loan made?

10. Bonaire, a little boomerang-shaped island off Venezuela, is a base for Trans World Radio, the most powerful station in the Western Hemisphere. What kind of station is it?

EUROPE:

11. Thousands of demonstrators with state permits, demanding independence from Moscow, rallied against Soviet authority. Where did the demonstrations take place?

12. West German and American officials have uncovered a major spy ring that had been supplying foreign agents with secret NATO military documents for at least 10 years. Who was the key figure in the espionage network, and what country was said to have received the documents?

13. After meeting with members of the Polish leadership, Lech Walesa, the Solidarity leader, urged strikers to return to work. What was significant about the date of the meeting and what prompted Walesa's appeal?

14. A dancer stood center stage after a performance, faced the audience and cried. Who is the dancer and why was the performance historic?

MIDDLE EAST:

15. Iraq's demand for sovereignty over the Shatt al-Arab threatens to scuttle the Gulf War truce, even before the Geneva talks resume. What is the Shatt al-Arab and why has Iraq made this demand?

16. The Reagan Administration expressed concern about the recent expansion of a Soviet military installation in the Middle East. Where is that base, and why would the buildup be strategically advantageous to the Russians?

17. An arbitration panel of the International Tribunal in DeHaag, Holland, ruled in Egypt's favor in a dispute with Israel over Taba. Where is Taba, and what geographical effect will that have when the ruling is implemented?

AFRICA:

18. More than 5,000 people have been killed in ethnic clashes between the majority tribe and the minority group that rules a central African nation. Identify the country and the tribes.

19. An astounding, seemingly anti-apartheid announcement in Pretoria, affected hundreds of thousands of black and mixed-race South Africans. But its larger significance was a psychological breakthrough that went far beyond numbers. What did the South African government announce?

ASIA:

20. The Government of Burma ended weeks of riots and martial law by promising to propose a referendum on an end to the 26 years of one-party rule. But demonstrations demanding a return to democracy continued. Why did Western diplomats fear possible anarchy?

21. Pakistan was left officially leaderless after the death of President Mohammed Zia ul-Haq. Who else was killed in the plane crash?

22. After a foiled attempt to negotiate his return to the Philippines, a Federal appeals court affirmed a decision holding former President Ferdinand E. Marcos and his wife Imelda were held in contempt of court issuing a warrant for their arrest. What prompted the citation?

23. A proposed tourist resort on the coast of North Korea made international headlines. Why?

Questions are based on news reports from around the world. Answers appear on page 55.

Whispers

Around the World

South Africa: The government of Botswana has accused South Africa of state terrorism for sending in a South African special forces team, the Recce Commandos, to assassinate members of the African National Congress. Two members of the team were captured at a roadblock near the South African border after opening fire on a police patrol, wounding three Botswanian police officers. The commandos confessed to being on an assassination mission and gave the name and address of their ANC target . . . Covert recruitment has begun again for South Africa's mercenary special forces unit, 32 Battalion, officially classified as a counter-insurgency unit. Known to their enemies as *Os Terrivals*, the "Terrible Ones," the unit was initially formed in Rundu, Namibia, during the Angolan Civil War with Portuguese and Angolan mercenaries. Shortly after that, they were joined by British, Australian, Rhodesian and American mercenaries fleeing Mugambe's regime in Zimbabwe. The unit thus gained a local reputation as South Africa's "unknown Foreign Legion." **Ethiopia:** After finally agreeing to end over 11 years of warfare with neighboring Somalia, Ethiopia has ordered all foreign relief workers out of Eritrea and Tigre and mounted a massive offensive against anti-government rebels in the province. Their attack, however, didn't meet with much success. Soviet-backed government troops lost over 26,000 soldiers in the fierce fighting, as well as fifty tanks, artillery pieces and rocket launchers. A Soviet Colonel and two of his lieutenants were also captured in the fighting. **Britain:** In show business and scandal mongering, timing is everything. Timed perfectly with the opening of the recent film, "Scandals," highlighting the 1963 "Pro-

fumo Affair," which brought down Harold Macmillan's government, a new cover girl has captured the front pages of Fleet Street's scandal sheets. Pamela Bordes, a sultry former Miss India, made the mistake of accepting \$850 to strip naked and spend the night with a British news reporter. The reporter, however, was the kiss'n tell type who wrote a story about her involvement with several members of Parliament, resulting in a research job, complete with security clearance with the government; dates with prominent editors of Britain's largest newspapers; a tryst with a junior government minister and last, but not least, an alleged relationship with a Libyan intelligence officer who is a cousin of Colonel Muammar al-Qaddafi. Amid all the furor, however, one newspaper may have put it all in perspective calling the whole affair—a "mere storm in a B cup." **France:** Former Lebanese President Amin Gemayel is living in Paris after fleeing the Phalangist militia, a group once controlled by his murdered brother Bashir. Gemayel is supposedly talking of moving to the US and taking English language classes at Harvard . . . French Secret Service agents are frantically checking into a recent rash of passport thefts belonging to Arabs living in France. The government agents fear Iranian and Libyan terrorists may use the documents to smuggle agents into Western Europe to activate *sleepers* cells of Islamic fundamentalists. **Sweden:** Britain's M16 warned the Swedish Secret Police, SaPo, of an Iranian plot to murder their Prime Minister Olaf Palme in 1985, but the warning was ignored. Some intelligence analysts believe Swedish authorities did not act because they felt Palme was working for the KGB and had already compromised Swedish defense by blocking the armed forces from Soviet intruders and sabotage units. **Iraq:** Activists for the Iraqi Kurdish minority staged a hunger strike in Washington, D.C. to protest Iraq's treatment of the Kurdish people. "We could have done other things, like hijack an air-

plane," said a group spokesman, "but we don't think that is nice." **Lebanon:** Beirut, once the fashion mecca of the Middle East, has bowed to a combination of Islamic fundamentalism and good old-fashioned capitalism. Hezbollah, the Iranian-funded militia, is paying \$100-per-month subsidy to Shiite women who don the veil, making the chador a novel way to dress for success. **Syria:** Syrian intelligence claims they have learned the whereabouts of fifteen western hostages held by Iranian and pro-Iranian Hezbollah terrorists, including US Colonel William Higgins. According to Syrian reports, the hostages are being held in well fortified, subterranean cells. Conventional assault and rescue operations would probably result in the murder of the hostages, but the Syrians, meanwhile, have the Iranians and Hezbollah bottled up. **Israel:** Members of the Ayatollah Khomeini's family have traveled secretly to Israel for medical treatment at the Hadassah Hebrew University Medical Center, a facility which boasts the most up-to-date medical technology in that part of the world. Iranians with money stay in a private wing of the hospital which has been nicknamed "The Persian Private Medical Service" because of the number of Iranians who have stayed there. One doctor admitted treating a "very close relation of the Ayatollah." The medical center has also treated patients from other Muslim countries, following the belief that doctors should give the best care possible to whoever needs it. **Argentina:** Lieutenant General Jose Dante Caridi, the chief of staff of the Argentina Army, visited his Israeli counterpart, Lt. General Dan Shomron, and representatives of the Israeli military industries. The Argentines have not forgiven the United States for backing Great Britain in the Falklands war and for instituting an arms embargo during that conflict. The Air Force feels the same about the French, and is looking to the Israelis for aircraft parts, with the Army shopping for the Galil 5.56mm assault rifle. ■

Answers to Current Events Quiz

1. A directive to appoint special prosecutors whenever members of Congress face allegations of wrongdoing. Critics of Meese described the order as his revenge on his many foes on Capitol Hill.
2. The National Committee to Preserve Social Security; it has reported an outlay of \$2.93 million. Common Cause, the public affairs lobby, was second with \$2.56 million in contributions.
3. The Supreme Court. The FBI kept a confidential file on all judges of the high court for more than 50 years from 1932 until at least 1985.
4. An academic invasion—the thrust into Canada by at least eight American universities, which have set up satellite graduate programs north of the border.
5. The vote was a prelude to a national referendum to be held during the upcoming general elections, in which the public will decide the outcome.
6. The White House national security adviser and his deputy will be at the center of decision making, heading top governmental panels on which the Defense Secretary and the Secretary of State are members.
7. An inquiry into the illegal activities of General Manuel Antonio

Noriega of Panama to determine how drug trafficking by foreign officials influenced United States decisions on foreign policy.
8. Dante Caputo won the presidency of the United Nations General Assembly over Ruth Nita Barrow of Barbados, a candidate of the Caribbean countries. Caribbean delegates were furious that the Latin American bloc had never allowed one of their representatives to hold the position.
9. The short-term loan was granted to Mexico in order to allow its government to cope with reduced revenues resulting from the plunge in oil prices. To return it, Mexico will have to negotiate longer loans of similar magnitude from multinational lending agencies.
10. An evangelical broadcasting station.
11. In the capital cities of the Baltic Republics—Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. The marches marked the anniversary of the 1939 Soviet-German non-Aggression Pact that had led to the Russian takeover of the Baltic Region.
12. A retired United States Army sergeant, Clyde Lee Conrad, living in West Germany, was caught passing documents to Hungarian intelli-

gence agents.

13. Lech Walesa disclosed that both sides had agreed to explore the possibility of legalizing Solidarity. The meeting was held on the 8th anniversary of the signing of the main accord approving the formation of the independent Solidarity labor union.
14. Natalia Makarova appeared with the Kirov Ballet in Leningrad, the first time a dancer who defected to the West was allowed back to perform with a Soviet troupe.
15. Iraq demanded full control of the Shatt al-Arab, a waterway separating Iran and Iraq that is Iraq's only outlet to the Persian Gulf. Iraq's intransigent demand is a flagrant violation of the terms of the United Nations cease-fire resolution.
16. The Soviet naval base is in Tartus, Syria. Its expansion would enable the Soviet Union to repair and maintain their Mediterranean fleet without frequent returns to home ports in the Black Sea.
17. Taba is a border enclave between Egypt and Israel that has been occupied by Israel since the 1967 Six Day War. If Israel withdraws from Taba, Egypt would return to the borders that existed before that war.

18. The Government charged Burundi dissidents in exile with inciting the tribal war.
19. Pretoria shelved legislation that would have increased financial penalties on blacks and other non-white South Africans living in residential areas legally reserved for whites, practically allowing interracial neighborhoods on a limited, voluntary basis.
20. The opposition in Burma is demanding that the nation's leaders step aside without the proposed formalities, but they offer no leader or unified plan of action beyond the ouster of the government.
21. In May, General Zia deposed the central government and Pakistan's provincial governments and ordered general elections, which were held on November 16.
22. The Marcoses defied subpoenas by a grand jury in New York to provide their fingerprints, financial records, and other documentation for an investigation into accusations of embezzlement before Ferdinand Marcos left office.
23. North and South Korea agreed in principal to develop the resort, the first such agreement in 43 years of unremitting hostility between the two nations.

MUSIC

South Africa/POP 'Bubblegum' Blowup

A musical wave that means nothing, has a short shelf life, but earns its performers great fortunes, is now hitting black townships.

A new genre of music is currently sweeping South Africa like a fever. While critics brand it "Bubblegum music," exponents praise it as the music of the times—the true beginning of an African pop culture. But whatever one calls it, Bubblegum music rules South Africa's black townships. Go to any party and it blares all night. People dance, laugh and enjoy it.

Bubblegum music is characterized by a noisy, fast disco beat with emphasis on rhythm. The message in the songs is not necessarily constructive or educational. A local group named Splash, for instance, recently produced a new track called *Aids*. They put together two sentences saying that there is a disease called AIDS. That message is repeated for four minutes. No mention of causes, effects or prevention of the epidemic. No social responsibility.

Radio stations which are controlled by the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) play the record constantly. SABC approves and promotes Bubblegum because the lyrics aren't politically offensive. Bubblegum portrays festivity.

As the government-controlled radio stations promote the artists, they turn into superstars overnight. Within months, this harmless bunch of fame-and-fortune-hungry youngsters drive fast cars and live in the poshest homes of the black Soweto township.

There are more than 15 successful Bubblegum artists in South Africa today. They get excellent airplay and earn large amounts of money. The *Makweru* group, for instance, appeared on the music scene this year and sang *Mapansula*, paying tribute to snappy dancers. Music critic Lakela Kaunda called it "the most nonsensical song in history." Listening to the chaotic singers one can't tell whether they're talking, rapping or singing.

South Africa's top five Bubblegum artists are Brenda Fassie, Yvonne Chaka-Chaka, Sello Chico Twala, Lazarus Kgagudi and Danny Kamazu Malewa.

Fassie is the most outrageous and the best voice in South Africa today. Her recent album entitled *I Zola Budd* won her a golden disc. She sings about *kombi* taxis which are called "Zola Budds" in South African townships, in reference to a controversial South African-British athlete.

Yvonne ChakaChaka lacks musical direction and is too conservative to make a



Outrageous Brenda Fassie with her former backup group, *The Big Dudes* (above). *The Stimela* group (below/right). Brenda's arch rival Yvonne Chaka Chaka (below/left).

successful Bubblegum singer. Her music is a mixture of Bubblegum and traditional rhythm, but as the latter doesn't pay well, she prefers the Bubblegum industry.

Sello Chico Twala has a terrible voice, singing as if trying to swallow, and can't dance to his own songs. But when it comes to rhythm, Chico is great. No party is successful without his music. Like Fassie, he "owns" the entertainment scene for the moment. His last single, *We Miss You Manelow!*, the diction was so poor that the words were mistaken as "*We miss you Mandela*," referring to Nelson Mandela, South Africa's symbol of the struggle against apartheid.

Lazarus Kgagudi reigned during the 1987 festive season. Every radio station and black household was playing his *This Place Is Boring*, making Bubblegum a recognized genre of music.

Choosing topical subjects for his songs, Danny Kamaju Malewa sings about commuters pushing each other into trains, and people who do not pay their debts. Many accused him of being used by the SABC to promote tribalism which the anti-apartheid movement is attempting to crush.

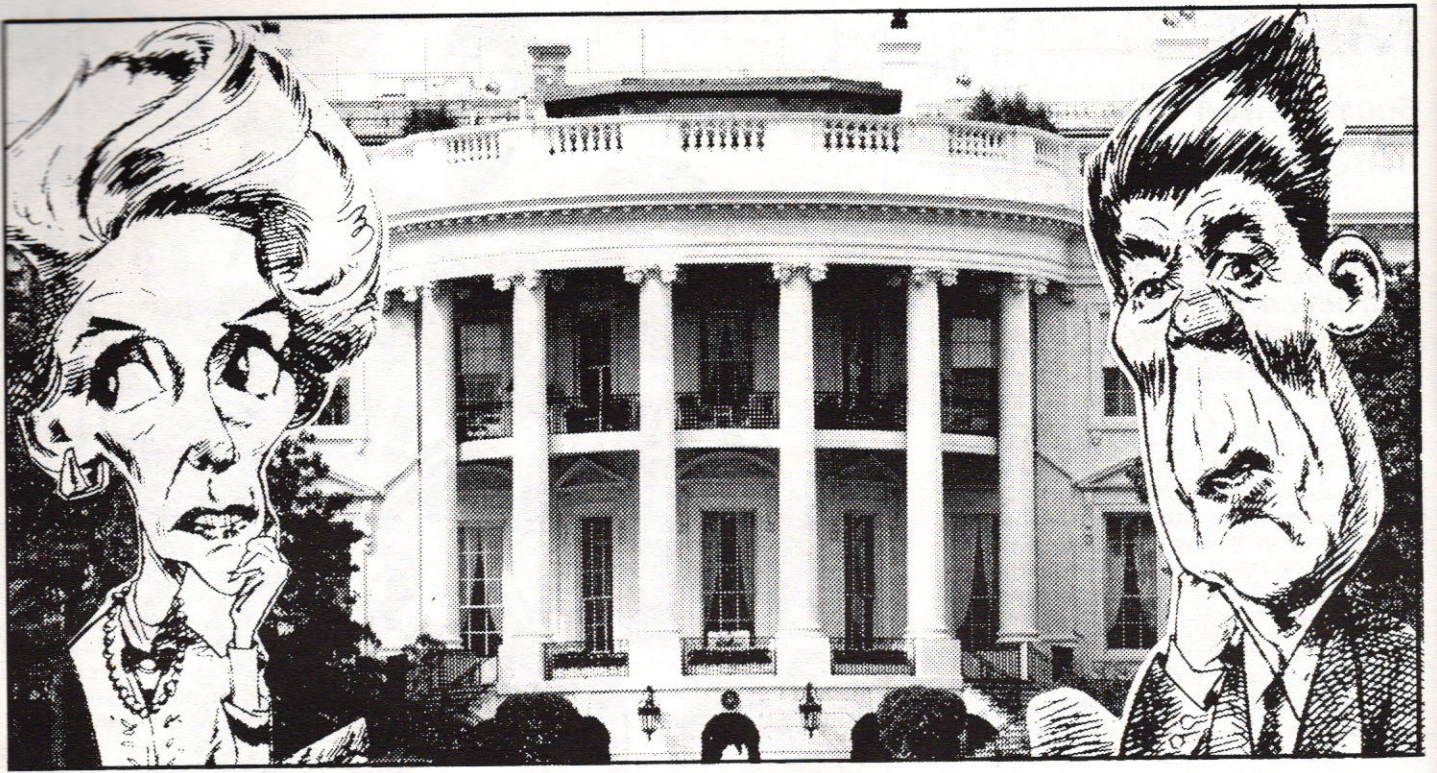
Fortunately for the serious South African music lover, there are mature groups such as Sakhile, Stimela, Bayethe and the exiled Miriam Makeba, Hugh Masekela,

Letta Mbulu, Caiphus Semenya and the Afro-jazz ensemble Malombo. But as South African society doesn't really appreciate indigenous music, Malombo and other jazz groups may leave to go where their music will be appreciated.

Only loyal fans will get Miriam Makeba's new LP containing African lullabies and traditional war and courting songs and appreciate it. "Despite her being banned in her home country," writes Kaunda, "her compatriots have been conditioned into shunning anything that is traditional." Bayethe and Stimela have been able to bridge the commercial and struggle-for-freedom music. Bayethe's 'Mbombela' LP is a study on the hardships and loneliness facing miners in Johannesburg's gold and diamond mines. The album portrays them as they leave their loved ones to live in hostels under appalling conditions.

"Stimela," says Kaunda, "is still one of South Africa's best. Their songs mature with time. When Bubblegum fades, there will always be a Stimela album to turn to."

South Africa's musicians comprise both traditional "singers from the heart" and Bubblegum opportunists. "Bubblegum is contributing nothing to our musical heritage," concludes Kaunda. "Sooner or later, people will have to judge which is music and which is garbage." ■



The Kiss N' Tell Revelations of All the Gipper's Men

Now that the "King is dead, long live the king," there's a plethora of "Kiss N' Tell," not to mention "Slap N' Yell," books on the Reagan Administration. Reagan the man; Reagan the man and his wife; Reagan's wife; Reagan the man, his wife and their horoscope; Reagan the man and his dog. . .

This, of course, is not a new phenomenon. Escapees from presidential administrations have been publishing insider memoirs since Andrew Jackson's time. But never with such haste and venom. Traditionally, such books are more concerned with the virtues of policy rather than the vagaries of personalities. Rarely, however, were they published while a president was still in office.

The emphasis on character rather than policy has been a gradual shift. Today, in an age when presidents are elected more for personality than platform, books detailing the intricacies and foibles of character are the natural result. But why the rash of Reagan, bashing while he was still in office? One possible reason could be the fact that he was the first two-term president since Dwight Eisenhower. Certainly that's enough time for the kissing to end and the telling to begin. But probably the more accurate reason is the simple economic fact that this is the era of sky-high advances for tattletale books.

What price loyalty now Ronald Reagan? Former budget director David Stockman upped his personal budget by a cool \$2 million—supply side economics, indeed.

Michael Deaver took us behind the scenes for \$500,000. But then again, he really needed the money to pay off his \$100,000 fine and fees to the lawyer who won him a suspended three-year sentence for his perjury conviction.

Supposedly, these stalwart examples of Reaganomics were merely capitalizing on the literary equivalent of insider information. And, while there wasn't an awful lot of substance reported in either one of these literary masterpieces, there was a lot of dirt to dish on Reagan and his wife. Nancy's overzealous guardianship of her Ronnie and his patently inattentive style, make lively reading.

But again, why so many books while the President was still in office? There just might be a clue in the fact that the number of Reagan administration members who have had ethical or legal charges leveled against them, is without precedent. So, in that kind of an environment, how can there be any honor in remaining silent? Loyalty, after all, seems to be a two-way street. If this is true, then there is the possibility that people were not loyal to the Reagans, because the Reagans were not loyal to them.

Superficially, this theory seems absurd. But consider that Reagan's apparent devotion arises less from a real emotional loyalty, than from his aversion to face-to-face confrontation and personal unpleasantness. As Duke professor James David Barber notes, the portraits of the president in all the books, have a "remarkable consis-

tency." Reagan, Stockman, Deaver, et al, all play variations of the same theme—that of a passive, disengaged president:

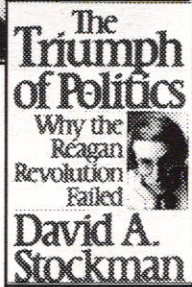
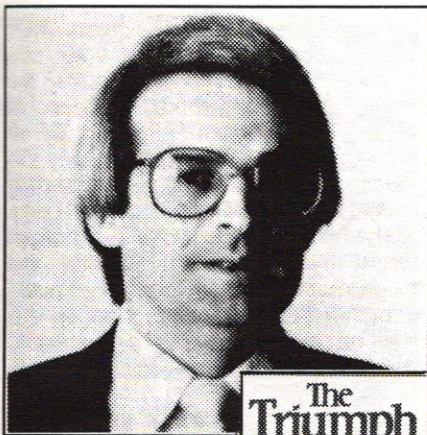
The Triumph of Politics; Why the Reagan Revolution Failed, by David Stockman.

One of the first "Slap N' Yell" books written about the Reagan administration, was, naturally enough, authored by one of the first staffers to be slapped and yelled at—former Director of the Office of Management and Budget at the White House David Stockman, who, as mentioned earlier, was "taken out behind the woodshed for a shellacking." But after Stockman's public castigation by his boss, the former "boy genius" was still smart enough to realize that his future at the White House was limited.

So, what does one do when one is about to become an unemployed director of OMB for the President of the United States? One writes a best selling book about Reagan's economic policies and makes a few dollars.

Like many of these books, and perhaps, reflective of the realities of the administration Stockman worked for, the substance of the book itself was glossed over by the public in favor of the "tell-tale" theme, rather than the subject matter itself—were Reagan's policies impractical and probably the least understood by the man who took credit for them, Reagan himself.

Behind the Scenes, by Michael K. Deaver.
Deaver had been the presidential confi-

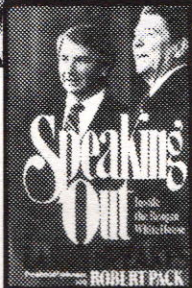
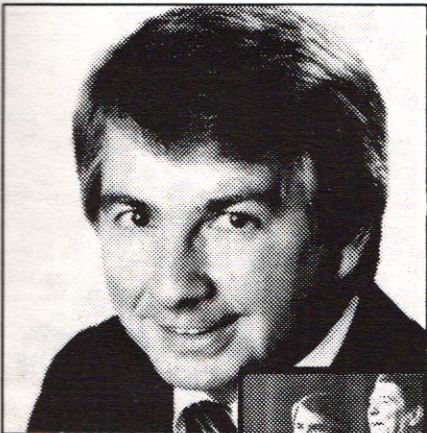


dant for years and was one of the few people Reagan and his wife truly trusted. And Deaver had access to the President as no one had before or since.

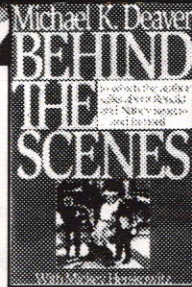
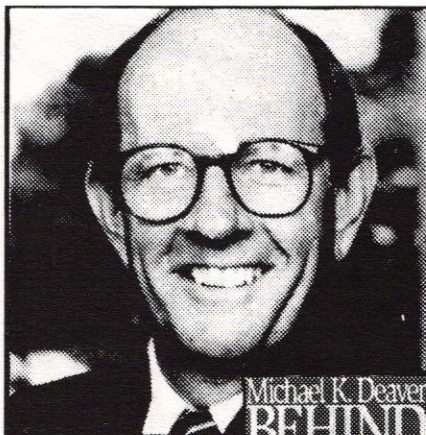
Unlike Stockman, Michael Deaver was a close friend, confidant and advisor to both Reagans from the beginning of Ronald's ascendancy from a pitchman for the twenty-mule team Borax commercials that paid the bills in the twilight of his much-maligned professional acting career, to his much ballyhooed presidency.

As such, Deaver's book reflected a less shrill tone than other Kiss N' Tell books chronicling the administration, but not necessarily gentler. The book was generally favorable to the Reagans but there were statements here and there about the President's hands-off management, that hit hard on his leadership. It was the first time, for example, that anyone in the administration talked out loud about the tremendous political clout Nancy wielded inside the White House.

In that same vein, Deaver painted the



portrait of a rather ineffectual man who had absolutely no clue as to how to deal on a personal level with either his staff or family members.



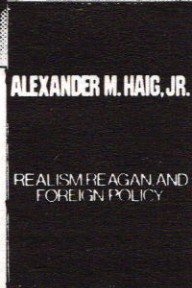
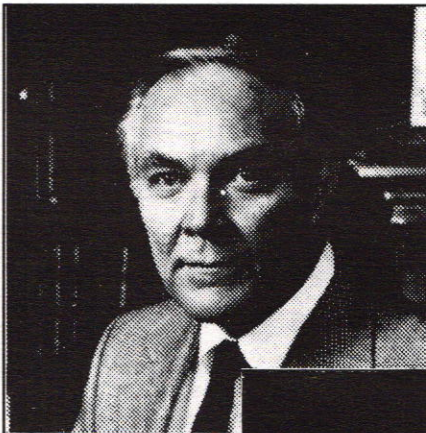
To some readers it was somewhat frightening to ponder the fact that a man who could not cope with the relative humdrum of day-to-day personal crises we all must manage, could be in control of their destiny as a nation—not to mention their survival as a species.

It is also noteworthy that the author was one of the major players on the longest list of presidential miscreants ever compiled during one administration. Whether or not that fact should affect the evaluation of the truth or accuracy of his observations is probably academic.

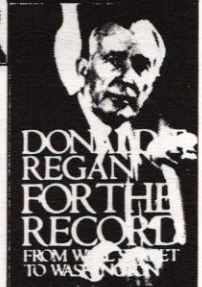
When asked about his reaction to Deaver's book, Reagan refused to offer a comment.

For the Record, From Wall St. to Washington, Donald T. Regan.

Without a doubt, and in keeping with the personality of the author, *For The Record* is definitely the most vociferous and mean-spirited of all the books penned by former Reagan staffers. This epic little tome probably became a best-seller long



before it reached any bookstores based solely on the incredible degree of attention it gained in both the electronic and print media.



Regan, with all of his power, as one of the president's closest advisors, illustrated very clearly the immense degree of power Nancy Reagan had in the formulation of American policy both here and abroad. Needless to say, it was Nancy's dislike of Regan—who apparently was not shy about sharing his disdain of her also—that hastened his early and somewhat surprising departure from the Reagan Administration.

Again, the one overriding theme in all of the Kiss N' Tell books is rampant throughout Regan's. Specifically, the lack of substance in favor of the Yellow Journalistic type of commentary that may give us an insight into personal animosities at the highest level, but given to us at the very lowest.

The Reagan administration, perhaps more than any other in history, has been proficient at creating and projecting images. The spate of "Kiss N' Tell" books, clearly reveals how obsessed the White House was with appearances. There has been so great a discrepancy between the

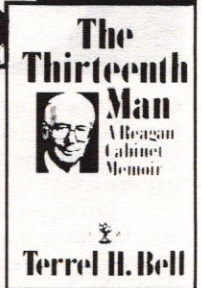
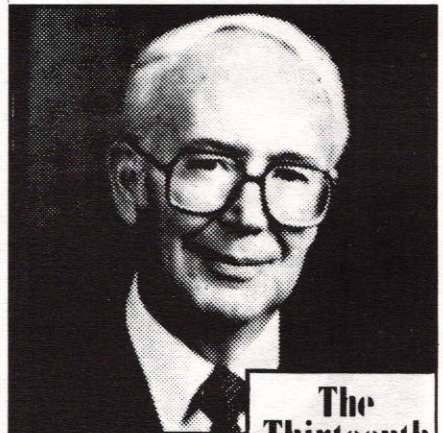
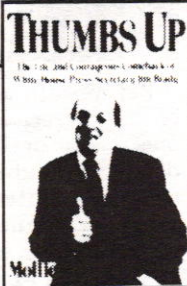
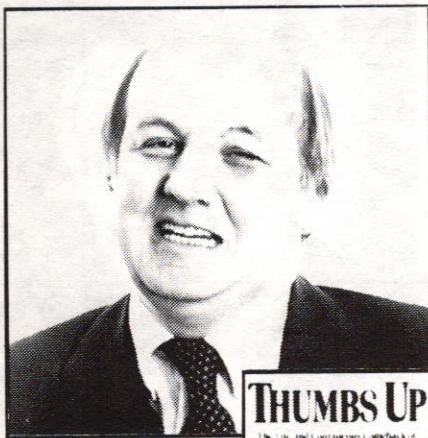


image and the reality of his leadership, that those who were in on the secret, must have found it relatively easy to expose it. Indeed, as Regan

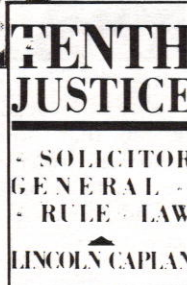
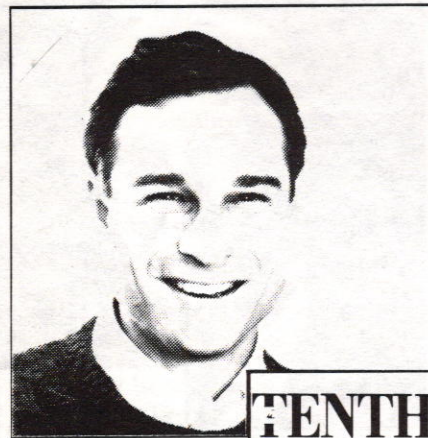


pointed out last year, if his book was embarrassing to the Reagan administration, it was only because it's true history. If you live by the image, you die by the image.

Speaking Out: The Reagan Presidency From Inside The White House, by Larry Speakes.

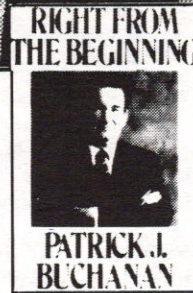
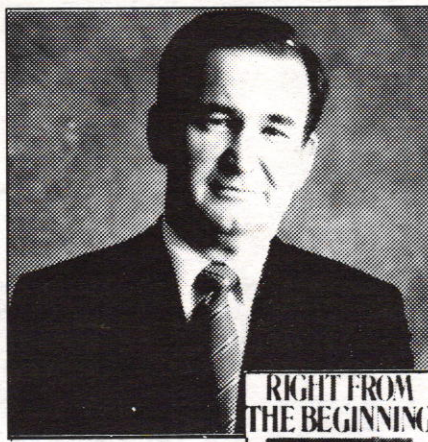
In *Speaking Out*, the President's former spokesperson at least indicates some nice things about his former boss, not the least of which is the fact that the lines Speakes wrote for Reagan were at least delivered well, if not a truthful representation to the American people that Reagan himself never uttered them at all.

Once again, what makes it particularly damaging to Reagan the President, is the recurrent theme that all of his underlings did not only do the talking for him, but apparently his thinking as well. In light of that, it comes as no surprise at all that the very people who had once served so well, are now illustrating the same kind of vacuousness in terms of loyalty to their boss,



that Reagan apparently showed them as presidential material.

In fairness to Speakes, he was as critical of the press staff who covered



the White House, as he was of his former boss. When the media, as Speakes points out so effectively, doesn't ask hard news questions of its leaders, a soft news reflection of those leaders actions must assuredly result. This is one of those situations where a rock has been thrown from around the corner, rather than pitching it through the window from straight out front.

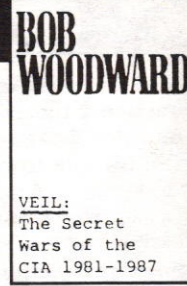
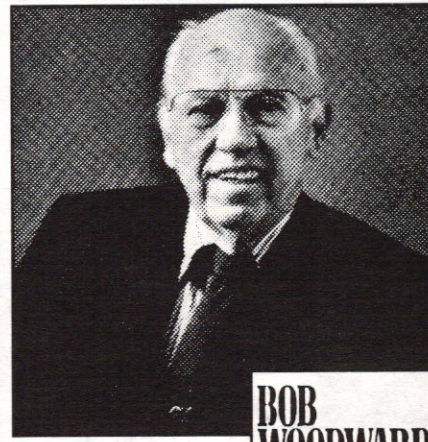
Caveat: Reagan, Realism and Foreign Policy, by Alexander Haig

Reagan's two-term administration was said to have been at the heart of the supposed disloyalty from his staffers. While the first years were manned by those who were close to the president, the second term's years were not. During those years, many people came in and went out, without any regard for loyalty to the president.

General Alexander Haig was a Republican insider during the Nixon years, who became chief of staff after the resignation of Bob Halderman during the Watergate



scandal. He was named Secretary of State by Ronald Reagan only because of his long-time association in the Republican party rather than



his personal friendship with the president.

In his book, Haig claimed that he was always suffering insults in ways the people in the Reagan administration dealt with him. He told readers that he could never meet with the president whenever he wanted to. The Reagan insiders, Deaver, Meese and others, continued to bar his access. It was a frustrating time for this former Army General who was used to having subordinates jump whenever he gave orders. The President's subordinates not only did not jump, but instead set out to limit Haig's term in the Reagan White House.

When the president was shot by John Hinckley, Haig obviously nervous, told the anxious onlookers, including the media, "I'm in charge here!" When later he resigned, Haig was surprised that Reagan accepted his resignation so easily.

Haig was the first of Reagan's high-ranking cabinet officials to resign. And what he said made news and book sales. There were those who were said to have cautioned Haig to soften his criticism and



avoid being totally ostracized within the Republican party. After all, there were other presidents to serve and perhaps when the next primaries

came around, Alexander Haig might be the standard bearer. There were many pluses about Reagan's administration in the book and Haig immediately shifted his comments toward an emphasis on those aspects. His book thus became constructive, not destructive criticism. In 1988, Haig ran for the presidency. But the public never responded, more importantly, neither did the Republican benefactors.

Right From the Beginning, by Patrick J. Buchanan.

This is definitely more like a "Tell" book. As the unblushingly candid, sure-of-himself, my-philosophy-is-the-only-right-philosophy, kind of guy the right wing syndicated columnist, TV commentator and former Nixon speech writer is, Buchanan's semi-autobiographical/pseudo commentary book is more about growing up and out than it is about presidents. Still, there is some interesting material in there about a conservative who claims to be more of a "Reaganite" than Reagan himself.

The Thirteenth Man, by Terrel H. Bell.

This isn't so much a "Kiss 'N Tell" as it is a confirmation of what everyone already knows. Imagine if you will, being hired for a position which your new boss would like to write off as soon as possible. That should give you a good idea of what former Secretary of Education Terrel Bell went through with his cabinet post in the Reagan administration. At one point, Bell illustrates Reagan's complete lack of interest in the cabinet education post. Bell helped put together an important study resulting in "A Nation at Risk," a report deploring the state of education in this country. Reagan offered a perfunctory compliment on the report and then immediately changed the subject to the need for a firm commitment to prayer in the schools.

Home Front, by Patti Davis with Maureen Strange; *On the Outside Looking In* by Michael Reagan and *First Father, First Daughter* by Maureen Reagan.

This delightful little trilogy basically makes hamburger out of the man America loves to love—Ronald Reagan as seen, or not seen, as the case may be, by his three loving children. The first, written by his youngest daughter Patti Davis, is a not so cleverly disguised, fictional version of dear old dad who's portrayed basically as a bumbling, somewhat muddle-minded president with a daughter who prefers to take her own counsel. The plot concerns a conservative governor of California who wins the presidency but is stuck with a liberal daughter who probably didn't even vote for him. Sorry, dad. Michael Reagan, if nothing else, is consistent. He's been bellyaching about one thing or another ever since his father became president. The annoying thing is, we would never have had to listen to his litany of woes if his father hadn't become presi-

dent (I bet Patti didn't vote for this guy either). In this book, Michael says his father was neglectful (poor baby), we get the real lowdown on what he thinks about his sisters and his stepmother and we get to learn the tragic secret he's carried all his life (we can hardly wait). And last, but

Reagan Era Books

Bell, Terrel H., *The Thirteenth Man. A Reagan Cabinet Memoir*, The Free Press, New York, 1988, \$19.95.

Buchanan, Patrick J., *Right From the Beginning*, Little Brown, New York, 1988, 392 pp., \$18.95.

Caplan, Lincoln, *The Tenth Justice. The Solicitor General and the Rule of Law*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1988, \$19.95.

Davis, Patti with Maureen Strange Foster, *Home Front*, Crown, New York, \$15.95

Deaver, Michael K., with Mickey Herskowitz, *Behind the Scenes*, William Morrow & Company, New York, 1988, \$17.95.

Dickenson, Mollie, *Thumbs Up. The Life and Courageous Comeback of White House Press Secretary Jim Brady*, Morrow, New York, 1988, \$19.95.

Haig, Alexander M., Jr., *Caveat. Realism, Reagan, and Foreign Policy*, MacMillan, New York, 1988.

Reagan, Michael, with Joe Hyams, *On the Outside Looking In*, Zebra Books, New York, 1988, \$17.95.

Regan, Donald T., *For the Record. From Wall Street to Washington*, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, San Diego, 1988, 397pp., \$21.95

Speakes, Larry, with Robert Pack, *Speaking Out: The Reagan Presidency From Inside The White House*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1988, 320 pp., \$19.95.

Stockman, David, *The Triumph of Politics; Why the Reagan Revolution Failed*, Harper & Row, New York, 1987.

Woodward, Bob, *VEIL: the Secret Wars of the CIA 1981-1987*, Simon & Schuster, New York, 1988, \$21.95

certainly not least, there's Maureen Reagan's book, a "loving memoir" in which she reveals that her half-sister Patti didn't even know of Maureen's existence until she was eight years old. Her father's explanation? "Well, we just haven't gotten that far yet." ■

AIDS

Continued from page 24

take it very seriously. Some even joke that the French acronym for AIDS, SIDA (Syndrome d'Immuno-Déficitaire Acquis), stands for *Syndrome imaginaire pour décourager les amoureux*, which, loosely translated means, "imaginary symptoms to discourage lovers." Even President Mobutu Sese Seko was said to have joked that if AIDS were so prevalent, why hadn't one of his ministers gotten it? Reportedly, the laughter ceased after one of his ministers died of the disease.

Zaire and other governments face a monumental task in changing attitudes that encourage multiple sexual liaisons, from frequent recourse to prostitutes to the maintenance of several wives and mistresses. Studies show that Africans with AIDS had had an average of 32 sex partners, compared to only three partners for a controlled group of uninfected Africans.

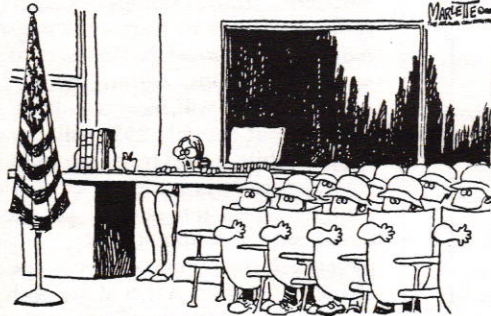
Some countries have made efforts to stop the spread of the AIDS epidemic, even while publicly denying the problem. **Burundi** utilizes bumper stickers and radio programs to warn that indiscriminate sex can spread AIDS. According to some projections, within the next ten years, **Zambia** will have a million AIDS carriers and roughly 25% will die.

Meanwhile, blood transfusions in these countries have become a sort of Russian roulette. With ten percent of Zambia's blood stocks contaminated with AIDS, patients in that country have a one in 10 chance of getting AIDS along with their cure. In some African villages, group inoculations for childhood diseases are done with a single syringe. Consequently, about 25% of Central Africa's AIDS cases are spread by transfusions and injections. But the affected nations cannot afford the expensive diagnostic kits needed to screen their blood stocks. In the United States, in excess of \$50 million a year is spent on blood screening alone. The combined 1982 health care budgets of all the central African countries in the afflicted region amount to only \$674 million. The \$5 cost of an AIDS screening test may seem cheap by western medical standards, but per capita health expenditures in Africa come to a total of about \$1.75.

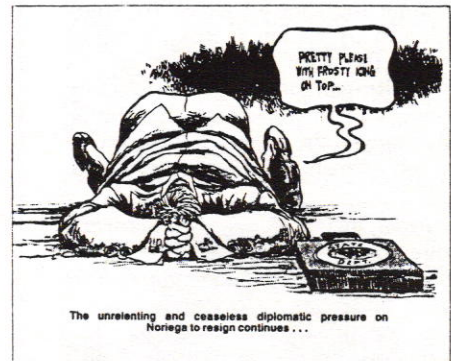
While other diseases may cost more African lives than AIDS does, that is small solace. AIDS is a threat to the social shape of Africa in a way starvation and malaria are not; it has the potential to wipe out the urban elite. Indeed, AIDS seems to attack the productive people society has made an investment in.

The last thing needed is to ignore the dimensions of this twentieth century plague and the implications it holds for the future. Already in much of Africa, no one is completely safe. Even allowing for the disparities between cultures, that may soon be true in much of the rest of the world too. ■

CARTOONS



"... One nation, under siege, indefensible, with liberty and AK-47s for all."



SATIRE

Ed Koch and Ronald Reagan... Distant Cousins

BY JEFFREY HASKELL

Scrutinizing the political career of Ed Koch, one experiences a potent feeling of *deja vu*. Something about Koch's mayoralty that seems so familiar. . . .

For weeks now this persistent, nagging feeling clutched and clawed at the edges of my mind. One dreary night, having nothing better to do than explore this question of undoubtedly paramount significance, I suddenly hit it on the head: Ronald Reagan and Ed Koch are engaged in a secret pact to echo each other's personal foibles.

President Reagan and Mayor Koch are clearly in a class of their own. The Mayor is undoubtedly above playing false modesty. He'll be the first to extol his own virtues: "Come on, everyone knows I'm honest," Koch proclaimed in one of his colorful press conferences. "I'm not corrupt . . .," he blurted proudly on another occasion. After all, not all people in the political arena have "the stamina and ability to resist importuning that I do. . . ." Indeed, the sterling tones of his character have led Koch to declare himself "chagrined and mortified that this kind of corruption could exist, and I did not know of it." He was outwardly perplexed when unending investigations and indictments of members of his administration revealed bribery, perjury, extortion, skimming and conspiracy of city workers from top leaders down to parking-meter attendants and sewer inspectors, along with judges, congressmen and state legislators.

Like President Reagan during the Iran-Contra Congressional hearings, Koch let his pride be bruised by admitting that he wasn't omniscient. Of course, some overly active and paranoid minds might construe such constant and energetic proclamations as the workings of a guilty conscience. Yet, simply because his administration had been accused of being the most corrupt in United States history, one should not make a staggering leap to the ridiculous conclusion that "where there's smoke, there's fire." No siree; that's not the Koch we know and love!

We know Koch to be a man of the people—a true representative of the people of New York. Who else would take pride in having the talent to say just what is being said in every



pizza parlor in a similar vernacular? Others have gone so far as to label our worldly Mayor as being "a moron" (Trump); "blunt . . . tactless and imprudent" (*America*). Anyone with a grain of common sense would know this to be sheer drivel; after all, Koch, like Reagan, is a member of the Actors Guild. The enlightened know his slang and New York twang to be the affectations of a polished performer.

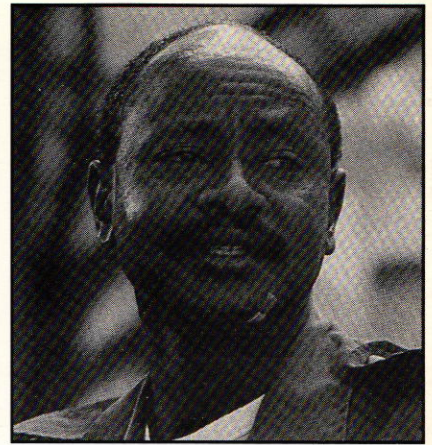
Like Ronald Reagan, Ed Koch is a master showman.

Nor should anyone believe for an instant that Mayor Koch has any element of partiality or bias in his person. So what if he hired Anthony Ameruso as Transportation Commissioner, returning a favor to Meade Esposito for his help during Koch's first electoral campaign. I think it shows commitment. It explains why despite the Advisory Council declaring Ameruso clearly incompetent, Koch went right ahead and appointed him anyway. What's a favor between pals?

Koch obviously has a tight grip of control on the city, and a select place in the hearts of many of its citizens. Little things like big business and corporate headquarters exodus from the city due to skyrocketing expenses, a one-third public school dropout rate, an increasingly polarized citizenry as the middle-class buffer moves to the suburbs, and a 92-week stint by the *Amsterdam News* front-paging a demand for Koch's resignation from office, should all be taken with a grain of salt. Everyone has their problems, and every government has its somewhat duller highlights.

Mayor Koch certainly hasn't lost his touch. To quote from *Time*, "Ed Koch . . . [is] an ebullient practitioner of duking up chutzpah who likes to march at the head of every parade." How many other cities can boast of a mayor who has had a Broadway play or a book (*Politics*) based on his knowledge and antics? Koch is proud of "how I play the game," a charming view of the complex business of running an efficient and productive city.

My only advice to Mayor Koch is to choose better friends—friends who don't have predilections for kitchen knives or parking tickets, and who are not undergoing divorce settlements.



NEXT ISSUE



Chiefly Boxer, Sioux Indian and a former Marine, in Montana (above left); National Resistance Army guerrillas emerge from the jungle to seize power in Kampala (above center); Yoweri Museveni, President of Uganda (above right); Iraqi Kurds show off their Soviet weapons (below left); Mustafa Barzani, former commander of the pesh mergas and father of the Kurdish rebellion (below center); Monaco's size—370 acres—puts land at a premium (below right).

FOCUS: ON NATIVE LAND: The Tearful Trail of Today's Indian Tribes. Only two generations ago did the United States Government end its attempts to break up Indian reservations, opting for formal recognition of tribal governments. But efforts of the **Bureau of Indian Affairs** to correct injustices have been more ceremony than success. Today, 1.4 million American Indians still battle with the federal government for ancient rights, fighting relocations and chronic economic and health problems. These remnants of the Indian nations furiously struggle to cope with the Space Age, making conscious efforts to maintain their culture and traditions alive amid modern America's pressures. ● For the past 15 years, since the Sioux occupation of Wounded Knee, the **American Indian Movement** leads the leftist campaign for Indian rights and cultural revival. While Marxist (pro-Soviet) splinter groups seek financial and political aid from Moscow, breakaway Revolutionary Marxist-Leninist (Maoist) groups resort to violence to publicize their aims.

SPECIAL REPORT: THE KURDS: A Perpetual Guerrilla. For 3,000 years the Kurds have ceaselessly searched for autonomy, and for the past 100 years their armies of *pesh mergas* have fought ferociously for independence. Living in a region that encompasses the border areas of Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Syria and the Soviet Union, the 22 million Kurds periodically rekindle their personal guerrilla war, fighting with one neighboring country against the other to achieve their aim.

UGANDA: NEW BEGINNING FOR AFRICA'S "PEARL." An estimated one million persons were killed in Uganda during the

years of turmoil under presidents Milton Obote, Idi Amin Dada and Tito Okello. When the National Resistance Army (NRA), led by **Yoweri Museveni**, seized power after a five-year guerrilla campaign, Uganda's plains were littered with human bones reminiscent of Kampuchea's "killing fields." But the seizure of Kampala in January 1986 marked the end of an era of murder and corruption and the rebirth of a nation once called the "Pearl of Africa." Museveni, though using fiery Marxist rhetoric, has pledged support for free enterprise. Yet improvement has been sluggish. The country continues to be plagued by insurgencies, allegations of human rights violations and severe economic problems. Strong ties with Libya and North Korea cause concern in the West and temper hope for a more effective government.

MONACO: THE CORPORATE PRINCIPALITY. A Royal CEO Rules a Fairyland State. Monaco, so often thought as a fairyland on the Cote d'Azur, is nothing but a bustling industrial state. Home to renown entertainers and an aristocratic casino in Monte Carlo, the mini-nation has a royal family, complete with legendary love affairs and scandals. But the prince and his ministers insist that they are only the officers of an extremely successful company, trying to provide their citizens jobs, while keeping the state from becoming an international curio.

AND OUR COLUMNS—Update, Did You Know That . . . , Where Are They Now, Whisper, and **REGULAR DEPARTMENTS—**Books, Movies, Theater, Music, Cartoons and Satire.