

a year more to do likewise.

The government also finally allowed a Swiss historian, Thomas Huonker, limited access to the relevant documents so that he could write a historical study of this sordid affair. Even though Huonker could not examine the most important files, what he did find and then publish in his short study was damning enough. The historian revealed two months ago that in persecuting the gypsies, Swiss authorities collaborated closely with Nazi Germany, whose policy it was to eradicate all gypsies. For example, in 1936 Switzerland joined the "International Central Authority for Fighting Gypsy Mischief," an outfit created by the Nazi police to garner support from neighboring countries for the Nazi policy of gypsy extermination. Following the authority's guidelines, the Swiss government collected voluminous and highly detailed files on all Swiss *Jenische*.

The Swiss government's ideologi-

## Norwegian pacifists put bomb on docket

The signing of the Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) treaty in December banned U.S. and Soviet intermediate-range nuclear missiles from the European land mass, but did nothing to limit the fearsome nuclear chess game being played out in the North Atlantic.

Peace activists are therefore delighted that the Norwegian pacifist monthly *Ikkevold* (Nonviolence) was recently cleared of spy charges after a four-year legal battle. "Much more than free speech is at stake," says Dorie Wilsnack of War Resisters International, with which *Ikkevold* is affiliated. "The *Ikkevold* people were really arrested for exposing the myth of Norwegian neutrality in America's enormous North Atlantic naval buildup."

The September 1983 article that got *Ikkevold* editors indicted disclosed the location of a U.S. submarine-detection base on Andoya Island in northern Norway. Because of its location barring the route Soviet submarines take to enter the Atlantic from their bases near Murmansk, the system would be on the front line of a wartime attack on the Soviet Union's Arctic forces.

A month after the article appeared, more than 50 officers of the national security police raided *Ikkevold's* office and the homes of its staff and carted off 400 pounds of files. The editors were charged with "damaging state security on an international level" by gathering and releasing secret information.

The raids were the first of their kind since the Nazis occupied Norway. In the weeks that followed Norway's press took up the story. Concern spread from journalists and lawyers to the whole population.

The affair was particularly curious because the existence of the Andoya network was no secret outside Nor-

cal justification for persecuting the *Jenische* was borrowed straight from Nazi race ideology that categorized the gypsies with such terms as "anti-social," "imbecile," and "parasitic." Huonker also discovered that *Pro Juventute's* former president, Gen. Ulrich Wille, and Alfred Siegfried, the man who headed *Kinder der Landstrasse* had close ties to Nazi officials like Robert Ritter, head of a Nazi gypsy "research" institute.

Moreover, the Swiss historian found evidence of the systematic mistreatment of *Jenische* by Swiss police, prison authorities and the personnel of state psychiatric hospitals. There are indications that in the infamous Bellechasse prison in Fribourg, where brutality against inmates was routine, there were a number of suspicious deaths among gypsy inmates. A similar case recently came to light in Zurich, and the Zurich government responded by putting the relevant documents under lock and key for 70 years.

way. For example, an article on anti-submarine warfare in the February 1981 *Scientific American* contains a map that clearly shows a submarine detection system in operation near Andoya.

Observers contended that the offending *Ikkevold* piece deeply embarrassed the government by exposing the permanent basing of foreign troops on Norwegian soil and the connection of these troops to U.S. nuclear forces. Nuclear weapons and foreign bases have been prohibited in Norway for decades. This prohibition served to both mute criticism of NATO membership and disengage the Norwegian public from the international debate over nuclear arms.

When the case was first heard in May 1985, seven *Ikkevold* staffers were found guilty. One editor, Ivar Johansen, was ordered to serve nine months in jail and fined \$1,200. The rest received suspended sentences. A Norwegian Court-ordered retrial in December 1986 resulted in the seven getting jail terms of from two to six months, with two years probation. But when it unanimously set

The federal government in Bern is not eager either to open up these files to public scrutiny. It has proposed setting up a commission to which the *Jenische* could apply for permission to look at the government's records. However, the *Jenische* would not be represented on the commission, and the commission would not have the final say. It could only recommend to the state governments that certain files be opened. The states would make the final decision. But how likely is it that the state governments that were part and parcel of the gypsies' persecution are going to allow full and free access to the relevant files?

For *Beobachter* magazine, this whole shameful affair raises an "exemplary and ever-fresh question: How do we treat minorities in our country when they can no longer be used for show, when they become inconvenient or when they attract unpleasant attention to everyday life?"

-Reto Pieth

aside these verdicts last August, the Supreme Court ruled that although the Andoya station was not common knowledge, the defendants had discovered its presence using "straight-forward journalistic methods." The judges further said this type of activity is "socially valuable and not criminal." The court concluded that "if the military wants to hold something secret, then it is up to the military to keep the secret....It cannot hold journalists accountable for uncovering such things."

Although legal problems have taken up much of the Norwegian War Resisters' time and energy over the last three years, Ivar Johansen is gratified by the results. "The central issue of critical journalism on defense and national security matters was examined," he says. "This is a good example that such a case can be won if you work hard."

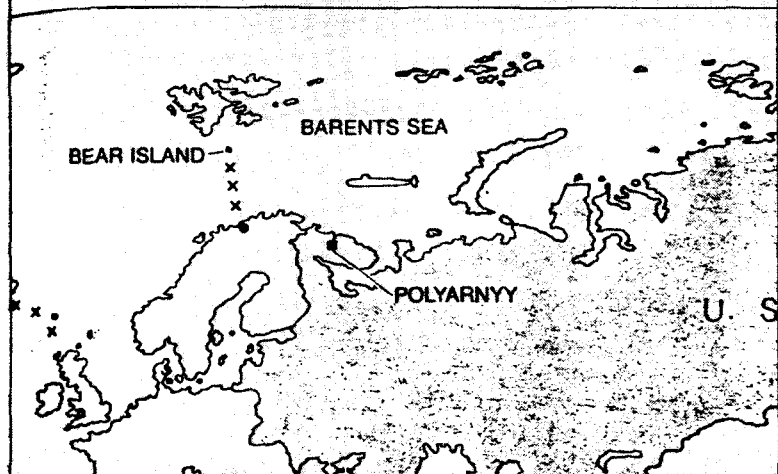
*Ikkevold* is now free to focus its energies on its "Bomb-Target Norway" campaign that stresses the risks Norway runs by participating in the North Atlantic arms race.

-David Gilden

**Some secret:** In 1983 Norwegian pacifists were taken to court for exposing the existence of a U.S. submarine-detection base. The base is shown here on a map published by *Scientific American* in 1981.

lines base... tropavlov... to surveillance while they are still in port, and they are also monitored on leaving port; at the same time, however, new patrol areas in the Sea of Okhotsk

marines is their low ra... Currently on any nor... percent of the Russia... (compared with the Ar



## Something to smile about

At the January 15 Democratic candidates' televised debate in Des Moines was a face that hasn't been seen much around Iowa—Sen. Albert Gore of Tennessee. Having abandoned Iowa to the liberals, Gore has shifted the focus of his campaign to the more conservative South. "Al, it's good to see you back," said former Arizona Gov. Bruce Babbitt. "You know I thought they might start putting your picture on milk cartons." A good jibe, but as the *Chicago Tribune's* Philip Lentz and Dorothy Collin observed, one that might "fall flat in Iowa where milk cartons were used as part of a nationwide attempt to find missing [Des Moines] *Register* newspaper boy Johnny Gosch."

## Let me count the ways

An Israeli Foreign Ministry official has said that his office, in response to criticism of Israel's handling of the Palestinian rebellion, has come up with a press release titled "Ten ways Israel is not like South Africa." The *New York Times's* John Kifner, who reported this, failed to elaborate. The Israeli Embassy in Washington was no help either. What are those "ten ways Israel is not like South Africa"? Remove the "not" and the question is a little easier to answer.

## How about 12 ways

There are of course differences between Israel and South Africa. But there are also disturbing similarities, which are giving some Jews in the U.S. cause to reexamine their formerly uncritical support of Israel. How are Israel and South Africa alike?

- 1.) In an attempt to quell public protests, both countries have sealed off communities and imposed curfews.
- 2.) Israel and South Africa both persecute journalists, limit press access to strife-torn areas and justify government censorship on national security grounds.
- 3.) Both governments forbid their ethnic opponents to display flags and other expressions of nationalism.
- 4.) The two countries both restrict the ability to hold funerals for those killed in the rebellion.
- 5.) In an attempt to control dissent, both Israel and South Africa operate a gulag of a judicial system. (Israel in its occupied territories.)
- 6.) The two countries have developed extensive, interlocking, weapons industries.
- 7.) Israel and South Africa have reportedly worked together to develop nuclear weapons.
- 8.) The economies of the two countries both depend on the labor of low-paid workers who are not allowed to live in the cities where they work.
- 9.) The rebellions in both countries are fueled by the rage of youth who believe they have nothing to lose and everything to gain. These young people are convinced that the more moderate resistance of their parents has accomplished nothing.
- 10.) Both Israel and South Africa have defied United Nations resolutions calling respectively for recognition of Palestinian rights and independence for Namibia.
- 11.) The two countries are surrounded by neighboring states ethnically related to the populations being suppressed. Both Israel and South Africa have been at war with their neighbors.
- 12.) Israel and South Africa both have gotten a lot of mileage out of identifying themselves as America's allies in the crusade against the two great evils—"international terrorism" and "world communism."

## Hi-tech behavior mod

"You're not working as fast as the person next to you," reads the message that flashes on the computer screen. Welcome to the brave new world of worker-control through subliminal suggestion. Arnold Hamilton of the *San Jose Mercury News* reported last fall on a new growth industry—software packages that help businesses manage their employees through subliminal messages. These messages are flashed upon video display terminals. Some of them exhort the worker to "relax," thereby lowering stress and upping productivity. Other of these subliminal suggestions, say Hamilton, "subtly offer positive slogans about the employer and the work place." Last fall, Democratic California Assemblyman Tom Hayden got the Democratic legislature to pass a bill that would have banned the use of subliminal messages that were not worker-approved. But Republican Gov. George Deukmejian supports free enterprise. He vetoed the proposal.



## Hart may deserve some heart, but he doesn't merit many votes

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

**W**HEN FORMER COLORADO SEN. GARY Hart re-entered the Democratic race for president last month, he was greeted with scorn and derision from the national media. The usually phlegmatic Jim Lehrer, the co-host of public television's *MacNeil/Lehrer NEWS-HOUR*, mercilessly badgered Hart about his sex life. The viperish Gail Sheehy, *Vanity Fair*'s lay analyst, meanwhile declared that

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Hart was doing it all for the money. And the *Washington Post*'s august David Broder blasted Hart for his unseemly ambition.

The media's unrelenting hostility stirred temporary sympathy for Hart. Many Americans are sick of the national press corps attempting to decide elections before they are held. But not even sympathy for the underdog is likely to rescue Hart's campaign from its journey to oblivion. It appears that Hart will not be able to overcome the substantial doubts about his character created by the Donna Rice incident. And as the January 15 Democratic debate in Des Moines showed, Hart will also suffer from being merely equal to, if not the inferior of, the other Democratic candidates.

Hart is now less interesting as a candidate than as a piece of political history. He will be remembered for his travails with the media but also for his contribution to Democratic politics.

**The role of the press:** Hart has been mistreated by that small coterie of prestigious publications that pride themselves on steering opinion. From the moment Hart announced his candidacy in April 1987, the press, led by the unlikely trio of the *Washington Post*, *Newsweek*, and the *New York Post* hounded him about the rumors of his womanizing and his persistent campaign debts.

*Newsweek* and the *Washington Post* reported rumors before they had confirmed them—a practice usually reserved for the *National Enquirer*. As the *Miami Herald* later acknowledged, the national press corps' preoccupation with Hart's personal life was behind the paper's decision to put a tail on Hart as if he were some crime lord engaged in drug-trafficking. And having uncovered what looked like a liaison, the media continued to trade on cheap sensationalism. For instance, reading the analyses of last June, one could hardly have anticipated that Hart's family would now be campaigning with him in New Hampshire and Iowa. This suggests a certain private complexity that the media can violate but can't comprehend.

The continuing stories about Hart's campaign debt are equally egregious. A few arti-

cles were certainly in order, including the *Miami Herald*'s recent revelations of possible illegalities, but not the steady stream of stories, nor the claim—made most recently by the *Post*'s Broder—that Hart's debts disqualify him from being taken seriously as a candidate. Democratic presidential candidates who go the distance have invariably had a difficult time paying off their campaign debts. In 1980, the Democratic National Committee (DNC) assumed the 1968 campaign debts of Hubert Humphrey, Robert Kennedy and Eugene McCarthy. In 1984 the DNC was still trying to pay those debts off. Hart's remaining debt was a function of the vagaries of Democratic campaign finance and of his unusual 1984 campaign, in which he had to raise enormous sums in a short period of time. This economic shortfall has no bearing on Hart's judgment or character.

The media did not go after Hart because it objected to his politics or programs. Since Watergate, the national media has competed to see who can destroy leading political figures, whatever their political views. And to the extent that it lays off certain Washington insiders like President Reagan's chief-of-staff, Howard Baker, it was not likely to lay off Hart, the perpetual outsider.

**New ideas:** Hart has been repeatedly attacked and ridiculed for claiming that he has new ideas, but for contradictory reasons. Some old-guard Democrats charge that Hart was a media creation who has never had any ideas at all, while rival Democrats like former Arizona Gov. Bruce Babbitt claim that Hart's

ideas were once new, but are now shared by many Democrats including himself. Babbitt is right and Hart's old-guard detractors are wrong.

The first, but less important, contribution Hart made has been to the debate over military spending. In the late '70s, he and aide William Lind helped pioneer the idea of military reform—that qualitative and not simply quantitative changes were needed in military spending. The concept eventually won over both Democrats and Republicans. The obscene excesses of Reagan's military budget have made reform less important than simple reduction, but the questions that Hart and Lind raised and that were popularized in James Fallows' *National Defense* will recur.

Hart's most important contribution, however, has been to champion a new economic policy that emphasizes the role of government in restructuring industry to achieve growth rather than simply in redistributing the fruits of growth more equitably. Hart, of course, was not the only Democrat to promote these concepts, but in the early '80s he

**The other Democratic candidates, sometimes drawing from Hart's "new ideas," outshined him in a recent debate.**

was the only presidential candidate to do so.

At the 1982 Democratic midterm convention in Philadelphia, Hart staged his own workshop with path-breaking economist Robert Reich and Fallows. In the 1984 campaign, he called for massive expenditures on education and worker retraining. He also proposed a new trade policy that demanded a *quid pro quo* from corporations that sought protection from imports. In the context of Carter-Mondale liberalism, these were genuinely new ideas.

In the beginning of the 1988 campaign, he introduced the idea of a strategic investment initiative. This approach, first suggested to Hart by former Jerry Brown aide Fred Branfman, was meant to contrast between Republican spending on a strategic defense initiative with Democratic support for civilian economic growth.

The economic program pushed by Hart sought to combine growth and equity. He argued that in a post-industrial economy providing workers with regular retraining and giving them a stake in business through employee ownership and worker control committees is essential to productivity and growth. Hart's program also shifted the focus of political debate from military competition with the Soviet Union to economic competition—from alleged military decline to genuine economic decline.

But other presidential candidates like Babbitt and Massachusetts Gov. Michael Dukakis share these ideas. Democrats now see education not merely as a right to be guarded but as an essential part of building a new economic infrastructure. They see welfare not simply as a means of keeping the poor at bay, but of retraining workers. They are beginning to abandon the trade policy of the Carter-Mondale years that consisted in protecting industries without requiring them to restructure and renovate. And they are beginning to shift the political focus away from the Cold War toward peaceful economic competition.

**A sinner:** Hart's political failure is ultimately personal. As political consultant and former Hart adviser Patrick Caddell said after Hart's re-entry, Hart could only succeed in this election if he could show that he had learned something from the Donna Rice episode. But the impulses that drove Hart to lead a kind of double life—presidential candidate and reckless rake—now prevent him from overcoming his own past.

He has tried to explain away his behavior by erecting a distinction between public and private life. But at the same time the straight-laced Hart describes his private behavior in terms that invite condemnation of the man as a whole. "I am a sinner," Hart said at the Des Moines debate.

Hart's failure also reflects a certain Democratic success. Before the Des Moines debate, the big question was whether Hart would solidify his front-runner status in the poll by outshining the other candidates or whether he would be brought down to their level. Hart did fairly well in the debate—certainly better than he did during the 1984 debates with Walter Mondale—but the other candidates, sometimes drawing from Hart's "new ideas," showed that they have learned something over the last six months. By bringing themselves up to and beyond Hart's former level, they demonstrated that there is no justification for Hart's continuing candidacy. □



Steve Kagan