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POST-DICTATORSHIP

TEN TYRANTS WHO HAVE REACHED RETIREMENT

by Lea Zeltserman, illustration by Team Macho

As Saddam Hussein has shown, life after dictatorship isn't what it once was. Traditionally, one's rule ended in death, either of natural causes or at the hands of the next up-and-comer. But in the later years of the past century, a different breed of despot appeared, for whom "dictator" was merely a punctuation point on a resumé. In 1975, Greece's George Papadopoulos became one of the first to survive his downfall (he was tried and imprisoned). Four years later, when Pol Pot, Jean-Bedel Bokassa, Idi Amin, and the Shah of Iran were overthrown, their escapes into exile set the tone for the next two decades. Ferdinand

Marcos ended up in Hawaii and "Baby Doc" Duvalier remarried on the Riviera. In Amin's words, life was "fine, absolutely fine."

Then, in 1998, Augusto Pinochet was yanked out of Chile's senate, and placed on the centre stage of international justice. The "Pinochet Precedent" marked another shift in attitudes. The fate of tyrants has become a global matter, and retirement with impunity is no longer guaranteed. These days, dictators such as Milosevic and Saddam are accorded all the courtesies of the rule of law while awaiting justice. Our map shows what ten notorious dictators are now doing.

EFRAÍN RÍOS MONTT (B.1926)

RULED: Guatemala, 1982–1983

RECORD: UNDER INVESTIGATION FOR KILLING THOUSANDS. AWAITING TRIAL.

A militant who presided over the bloodiest period of Guatemala's civil war, Ríos Montt resurfaced in the news last year when his daughter, a Guatemalan senator, married a US Republican representative. Guests at the wedding included the US ambassador. Ríos Montt is currently under house arrest in Guatemala City.

ALFREDO STROESSNER (B.1912)

RULED: Paraguay, 1954–1989

RECORD: THOUSANDS KILLED. INTERNATIONAL ARREST WARRANT OUTSTANDING.

The anti-communist Stroessner, a US ally, was infamous for providing a refuge for Nazi fugitives. He escaped to Brazil and now lives comfortably in Brasilia's suburbs.

HISSÈNE HABRÉ (B.1942)

RULED: Chad, 1982–1990

RECORD: OVER 40,000 KILLED.

NO CHARGES LAID.

"Africa's Pinochet" was supported by France and the US. Habré's arrest in Senegal in 1990 was Africa's first attempt at international justice, but his case was thrown out in 2001; extradition efforts to Belgium have failed. Habré continues to live in Senegal.

AUGUSTO PINOCHET (B.1915)

RULED: Chile, 1973–1989

RECORD: ABOUT 3,000

MURDERED. NO CHARGES LAID.

In 1998, Pinochet was charged under international law (despite the support of Margaret Thatcher), but was excused for dementia. Back home in Chile, the Supreme Court continues to seek trial, and in July, stripped Pinochet of constitutional immunity. He currently resides in La Dehesa, an upscale neighbourhood in Santiago.

VALENTINE STRASSER (B.1967)

RULED: Sierra Leone, 1992–1996

RECORD: NUMBER OF DEATHS UNKNOWN.

NO CHARGES LAID.

The world's youngest dictator, Strasser fled to England after he was overthrown, and enrolled in law courses at Warwick University on a UN scholarship. When funding ran out a year later, he moved to London, eventually returning to his mother's house in Freetown, where he still resides.

SLOBODAN MILOSEVIC (B.1941)

RULED: Serbia, 1989–1992;

Yugoslavia, 1992–2000

RECORD: CHARGED WITH GENOCIDE AND OTHER WAR CRIMES. ON TRIAL SINCE 2002.

When he moved to a jail cell in The Hague, Milosevic used his daily telephone allowance to make calls to his wife in Belgrade. She has since moved to Moscow; some observers speculate that Milosevic will serve his sentence in Russia, close to his wife and brother.

JEAN-CLAUDE "BABY DOC" DUVALIER (B.1951)

RULED: Haiti, 1971–1986

RECORD: 60,000 DEATHS. NO CHARGES LAID.

After Baby Doc fled on a US military airplane, he rented a villa in the French Riviera next to Graham Greene, whose novel, *The Comedians* (1966), satirized Duvalier's father's regime. France "lost track" of Baby Doc during the 1990s. Legal status secured, he now resides in Paris with his wife and dreams of reviving Haiti through the use of solar energy.

SADDAM HUSSEIN (B.1937)

RULED: Iraq, 1979–2003

RECORD: CHARGED WITH 1982 MASSACRE OF 143 SHIITES. TRIAL EXPECTED TO BEGIN THIS MONTH, PREFERABLY BEFORE THE VOTE ON THE IRAQI CONSTITUTION.

Since his capture, Saddam has entered the celebrity annals of pop culture. He has been photographed in his underwear by a British tabloid and profiled in GQ where he listed his favourite snacks. From his cell in a US military complex near Baghdad, Saddam has been fine-tuning his alternate career as a writer. His fourth novel, *Get Out, You Damned One*, completed just before the US invasion, was released in June. The book was immediately banned in Jordan, prompting bootleg copies to sell out all over the Middle East. His trial before an Iraqi tribunal will be broadcast throughout the Arab world, and will likely rival the ratings enjoyed by Bill Clinton's impeachment proceedings and OJ Simpson's trial.

MENGISTU HAILE-MARIAM (B.1937)

RULED: Ethiopia, 1974–1991

RECORD: ON TRIAL IN ABSENTIA SINCE 1994 FOR GENOCIDE.

When his Soviet-supported republic fell to resistance forces, Mengistu fled for Zimbabwe in a plane sent by the US government. As his trial slides into its eleventh year, Mengistu writes his memoirs and acts as a consultant to President Mugabe's secret service, all from the comfort of his two suburban homes in Harare.

SUHARTO (B.1921)

RULED: Indonesia, 1968–1998

RECORD: DEATHS IN THE 100,000s.

TRIAL FOR CORRUPTION PENDING.

Suharto remained in Indonesia after his forced resignation. In 2001, on his eightieth birthday, he was moved to tears while distributing food to orphans at a Jakarta mosque. His old-age medical expenses are paid by the government in hopes that he will be fit to stand trial.

(THREE DISHONOURABLE MENTIONS WHO HAVE SINCE DIED)

JEAN-BEDEL BOKASSA (1922–1996)

Central African Republic, 1965–1979

RECORD: ALLEGATIONS OF CANNIBALISM. TRIED. DEATH SENTENCE COMMUTED.

Bokassa once counted former French President Giscard d'Estaing, creator of the EU constitution, among his hunting friends. He fled to France after a coup, but in 1986 returned home, where he died peacefully, secure in the belief that he had been secretly appointed the thirteenth apostle by Paul VI.

FERDINAND MARCOS (1917–1989)

Philippines, 1965–1986

RECORD: INDICTED IN THE UNITED STATES IN 1988 FOR FRAUD AND EMBEZZLEMENT.

NUMBER OF DEATHS UNKNOWN.

Marcos's spending habits (he had his face carved into a mountain) bankrupted his country before he and his wife Imelda fled to Hawaii in a US military helicopter. After his death in Honolulu, Imelda returned to Manila, where she still resides.

IDI AMIN (1925–2003)

Uganda, 1971–1979

RECORD: ALLEGEDLY TORTURED AND KILLED 300,000 UGANDANS. NEVER CHARGED.

When Tanzanian forces invaded Uganda, Amin fled for Libya and eventually arrived in Saudi Arabia, where he lived out his days swimming, playing the organ, and dining on food shipped from Uganda.